Colonising her cultural identity

Geographies of a hybrid identity in colonial Turanga

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Abstract

This thesis is a feminist historical geography of the construction of a woman's identity in Turanga (now known as Gisborne), New Zealand from 1840 to 1893. Using textual analysis of private and public documents from the time period, it reveals socio-spatial power structures, cultural relations, and gender relations of the place and time, and the ways in which they contribute to the conditions necessary for a fluid cultural identity. The research finds that three key conditions of cultural hybridity proposed by Homi K. Bhabha are applicable to a subject of the place and time period, Keita Wyllie. The thesis further argues that a fourth condition is necessary, namely the role of space as an active and constituent agent in the process of identity formation. The research complements previous histories of the East Coast/Turanga region by examining issues of cross-cultural identity, power structures and gender relations previously absent from historical accounts of the area.

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Chapter One:
Introduction

Debate about culture in New Zealand is increasingly about the relationship and balance between Maori and Pakeha, and the constitution of personal identity in relation to those terms. Whether self-perceived or implied by another, issues of identity have inevitably led to a reassessment of New Zealand's past – the foundations of Pakeha identity in the nineteenth century, and the emergence of a (new) Maori identity both in opposition to and complementing that.

To date, no concentrated effort has been made by any single discipline to use historical texts in order to better understand the flexibility of identity in the nineteenth century. In some areas (such as Maori studies, social history, cultural anthropology and more recently, cultural and human geography) there has been a trend towards an analysis of aspects of difference and identity within specific historical or social contexts, e.g. the New Zealand wars (Morin and Berg, 2001), and World Wars One and Two; particular regions or communities (e.g. Daley's analysis of gendered Taradale, 1999) particular contexts e.g. European settler women (Porter and Macdonald 1996; Macdonald, 1990 and 1993); social atomisation (Fairburn, 1989). In some more uncommon cases, cultural difference has been examined (e.g. King, 1985). While an increasing focus on the experience of women in New Zealand's history (by a range of disciplines) has added their story to conventional accounts of the colonial era, there have been few attempts at a theorisation of gendered identities or analyses of the discursive practices at action in constructing female identity in the colonial setting.

This research has been undertaken out of both personal and academic interest in the geographic constitution of identity and its relationship to the social and cultural history of places. This Thesis is a feminist historical geography of the construction of a woman's identity from 1840 to 1893. Its central goal is the revelation of socio-spatial power structures and gender relations, and the ways in which they contribute to the conditions necessary for a fluid identity, specifically a cultural hybrid. In order to establish a woman of the time period 1840 to 1893, Keita Wyllie, as a culturally hybrid subject (Maori-Pakeha), the research critically examines her identity with reference to three key conditions of hybridity proposed by Homi Bhabha (1994). This thesis suggests that a fourth over-riding condition is necessary, namely the role of space as an active and constituent part of the process of identity formation.

The space of particular interest to this study is Turanga, the area in which Keita Wyllie was born, lived and worked. Turanga is located on

the east coast of the North Island of New Zealand. The main urban area of this area was Turanganui, the settlement now known as Gisborne[1] (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Map of study region, Turanga
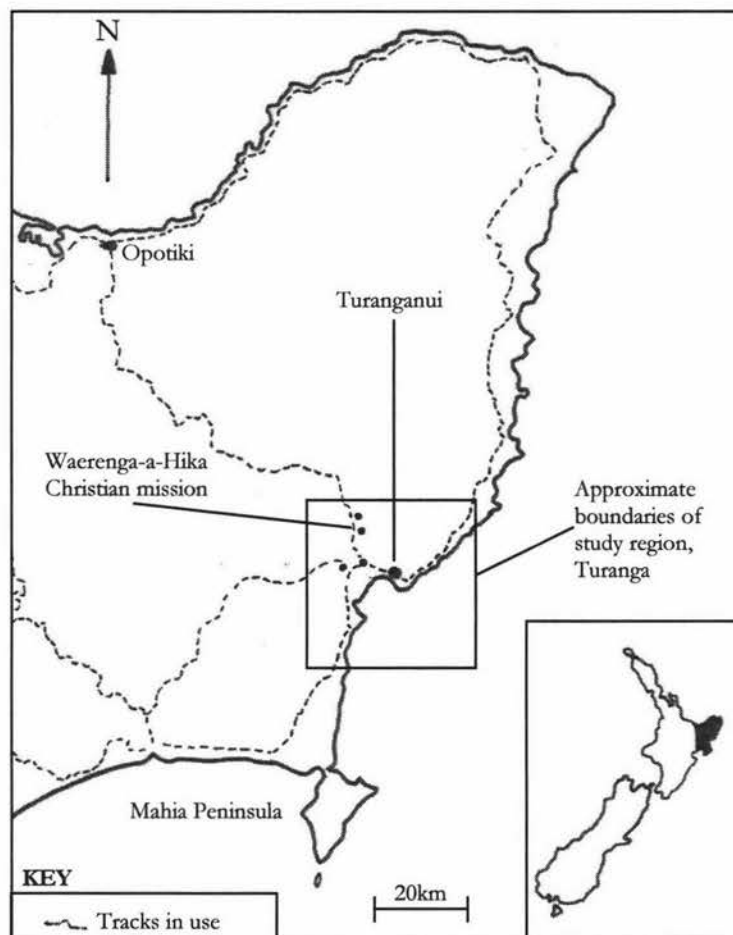
Isolated geographically, socially and economically from the rest of the country, Turanga did not share all of the features of colonisation that are readily attributed to other parts of New Zealand (for example, the New Zealand Company had no planned or assisted settlements in this area, and it is not well known for its whaling stations or Christian missions as the northern parts of the North island are). Despite its key place in New Zealand history as the location of 'first contact' between Maori and

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[1] Tūranganui -a-nui was the name given to the harbour used by the first migrants to the region arriving by the waka Horouta, and more specifically to the harbour. The name Gisborne appeared in documents from 1875, although the regional name of Poverty Bay, given by Cook on his first arrival, appears much earlier. The name of Gisborne was officially confirmed in 1877. For the purposes of consistency the urban settlement now known as Gisborne will be referred to as Tūranganui (the more commonly used spelling) throughout the thesis because that was the name by which it was known for the majority of the study period. When referring to the region as a whole, Tūranga will be used in place of East Coast or Poverty Bay, again for consistency.

European in the eighteenth century, it lacked the organised settlement and convenient across-land access that other parts of New Zealand enjoyed. Turanga was one of the last regions to have infrastructural links to the rest of the country. It was also one of the last to have European settlers outnumber Maori. It remains today a highly politicised region in terms of its construction and facilitation of Maori identity, and relationships between Maori and Pakeha. This alone makes it an area of great interest geographically and culturally, and its unique socio-spatial context establishes a unique base for a study of cultural identity.

As a region, Turanga has rarely featured in any general historical or social analysis of New Zealand's history short of honorary mentions for specific events or notable people. More common are memoirs of local families and contemporary photographic collections of the area's people and environment that refer to past times. A small number of historically specific accounts of and for the area have been written. Most notable of these are: studies of 'first contact' in 1769, and further interaction between Maori and Captain Cook and the crew of the Endeavour in their travels around the New Zealand coast (Salmond, 1991 and 1995); an analysis of Te Kooti and the context for the Hauhau rebellion in the mid nineteenth century (Binney, 1995), a history of settlement in the region (Mackay, 1966); and an analysis of the economic and social development of the region (Oliver, 1971).

The choice of subject, Keita Wyllie, was born near Turanganui in 1840 to a Maori mother (Kaikiri of the Rongowhakaata iwi, Ngati Kaipoho hapu) and Scottish trader father (Thomas Halbert, also known as Tame Poto or Tommy Short to local Maori). Her mother was the fourth of Halbert's five wives, and Keita Wyllie was the eldest daughter of four girls born to Kaikiri and Halbert. Born into a line of chieftains, she held a great deal of tribal mana. As eldest daughter she performed an important role as claimant in the Native Land Court in the mid to late nineteenth century, as kaiwhakahaere (manager/administrator) for her tribe. In terms of local standing, she followed similar path to that of her half-brother Wi Pere (MP for Eastern Maori, 1884 - 1887 and 1894 - 1899), in the responsibilities she took on locally, but she was without the regional or national recognition afforded to Wi Pere. Family tradition reports that Keita Wyllie was married at fourteen years old in 1854 to James Ralston Wyllie, a local trader and government interpreter. She bore eight children to him. Wyllie died in 1875, and Keita married Michael Joseph Gannon (also a government interpreter) in 1881. Keita bore four children to him, and the Gannons shifted to Auckland permanently in 1893. They returned to Turanganui periodically until Keita's death in 1913 at her daughter's house in Remuera. The ways in which she occupied both Maori and Pakeha life-worlds and identities is revealed through the use of documentary and artefact evidence from both Keita Wyllie's family and other public and private sources.

The way in which this thesis is structured reflects the way in which is theoretically informed. Chapter Two introduces the colonial subject in geographic research, by examining the ways in which a subject is constituted in the historical (colonial) context, and the theoretical relevance of examining the colonial subject with cultural geography's terms of reference. Chapter Two then discusses the role of culture and ethnicity in addressing identity with a particular focus on the formation of Maori and Pakeha identities from 1840, and the emergence of the problematic 'half-caste' identity.

Chapter Three examines the construction of a fluid identity, and the way in which spatiality interacts with the concept of 'Other' and difference. In both Chapters Two and Three, this study's understanding of identity is intrinsically linked to gender, culture and place. The concept of the fluid and hybrid identity is introduced to incorporate gender, culture, place and historical specificity in the colonial subject's identity.

Chapter Four considers the methodological approach taken in this study, and its implications for the research of both an individual subject and socio-spatial practices. In doing so it introduces the role of discourse in constructing identity, and the techniques used to analyse the texts available to the research. The methodology is discussed with reference to the key aspects of the hybrid identity that have been considered, addressing Homi Bhabha's three key conditions for the hybrid identity, and the particular roles of space as an active and constituent agent in identity formation.

Chapter Five introduces Turanga as a 'contact zone' and 'third space' and sets the scene for a critical construction of identity by unfolding and assessing 'conventional' history's representation of the time and place. This includes a description and discussion of the physical environment and the contextual (social) environment.

Chapter Six addresses the construction and maintenance of Keita Wyllie's identity with reference to the first condition of hybridity, the subject as the product of a splitting. This includes attention to Keita Wyllie's roles as daughter, wife, and mother; her home and property; her appearance and presentation, and the importance of authority and leadership to her identity.

Chapter Seven addresses the second key condition of the hybrid identity, the ability to translate, negotiate and mediate from a position between Maori and Pakeha. This includes Keita's particular involvement in the Native Land Court and her impact on the cultural relationship between Maori and Pakeha in Turanga.

Chapter Eight considers the importance of counter-hegemonic agency to Keita Wyllie's hybrid identity, with attention paid to agency and

resistance by way of social and cultural movements, and the way in which Keita Wyllie fitted into different groups within society.

Chapter Nine considers the ways in which a fluid identity reviews the conceptualisation of resistance, action and counter-hegemonic identity construction in the colonial setting, and concludes the Thesis.

Chapter Two:
Colonial identity as a spatialised problem

One of feminism's central demands of cultural studies has been the need to break out of universalistic assumptions. At the very core of this is defining the identity of 'woman' as a marker of identity. Mohanty, in a discussion of historicised identity and identity in context, defines *Woman* and *women* as two separate and distinct identity markers that contribute individually (though sometimes jointly) to specificity in the historical context:

> "The relationship between Woman – a cultural and ideological composite Other constructed through diverse representational discourse (scientific, literary, juridical, linguistic, cinematic, etc.) – and women – real, material subjects of their collective histories – is one of the central questions the practice of feminist scholarship seeks to address. This connection between women as historical subjects and the representation of Women produced by hegemonic discourses is not a relation of direct identity, or a relation of correspondence or simple implication. It is an arbitrary relation set up in particular cultural and historical contexts" (Mohanty, 1993:197).

Mohanty identifies the position of women in history as intrinsically linked to the construction of the identity of Woman, and that the relationship between the two is set up in particular cultural and historical contexts. As a starting point, there could be no better theoretical stance than this for this research. This study seeks to examine the construction of a woman's identity, in the context of Women's identity in colonial Turanganui. The specific cultural and historical context is the way in which nineteenth century discourse moulds and shifts Keita Wyllie's identity in relation to its own hegemonic practice. The remainder of this Chapter will therefore unpack and examine the construction of Women as an identity, and the place they occupy in studies of colonial settings.

Before advancing this Chapter, a brief note explaining what 'the colonial setting' means is important. Colonialism refers to the "establishment and maintenance of rule, for an extended period of time, by a sovereign power over a subordinate and alien people that is separate from the ruling power" (Johnston et al, 2000:93). It is closely associated with the process of colonisation, which is the physical settlement of people from the centre to the colonial periphery, and some characteristic features include political and legal domination of society, relations of economic dependence, exploitation, and racial and cultural inequality (Fanon 1996, cited in Johnston et al, 2000:93). In comparison, imperialism recognises

the unequal relationships (e.g. economic, cultural or territorial) between groups of people, especially territorial, and is closely associated with the emergence of capitalist economies in colonised sites and the processes of uneven development (Johnston et al, 2000:375). For this thesis, colonialism is the preferred term because it encompasses the ongoing relationship and tension between Maori and Pakeha by acknowledging the important role of the ruling authority in the process of colonisation. The concept of unequal power relationships (especially economic) imparted by the term imperialism is noted. These inequalities often resulted from the administrative, political and legal processes of the new society, conveyed by the process of colonialism, so are essentially included in the working definition for this thesis. A 'colonial setting', therefore, is the location of the process of colonisation, and simultaneously the relationships formed between Maori and Pakeha in the establishment and maintenance of rule.

A gendered geography can be understood as "the ways in which sexual difference and gendered relations are constituted in different ways across space…because of their interconnection with other areas of power" (McDowell, 1999:10). Some examples of the areas of power that may influence an understanding of gender, culture and identity include physical ability, class, sexuality, age and ethnicity. The choice of a range of personal and public primary texts as supporting evidence for this study attempts to address some of these axes, by including perspectives from previously excluded voices in the historical context (above and beyond the commonly recognised absence of women from conventional historical texts). This also includes consideration of the colonial nature of the environment and the role of British colonialism in the dominant social structures of the time.

Sara Mills contends, "apart from a few eccentric female representatives, women seemed to function mainly at a symbolic level, rather than occupying any real conceptual or physical space" (Mills, 1994:38). This comment highlights the problem of 'finding' women in History (the permanent record, as opposed to history, the events of the past). In New Zealand, the conventional (commonly accepted) historical discourse is generally (although not always) the product of a patriarchal historical discourse – it presents a hierarchised picture of gender relations, if it considers them at all in its analysis of historical events and processes. In a feminist historical account, women may become sites upon which various versions of history, scripture, tradition, law, etc. may be elaborated and contested. To take it a step further, a feminist historical account may choose to examine society from a matriarchal perspective, where women are dominant or have a voice above that of their male counterparts.

Assuming gendered relations across space existed, the power relations between men and women (and between women themselves) must then

be examined. A better understanding of the specific processes at work in creating and maintaining power relations highlights the role gendered power relations play in establishing roles within a society. Power relations have been commonly summarised up in a series of binary opposites, which build on the theoretical notion of the *Other*. Iris Young (1992) refers to the Other as "the process whereby those who do not belong to the dominant group are excluded on the basis of their differences". It signifies the opposite of the self, constructed by the self for the self. In other words, it is the construction of a person not as they really are, but as they are perceived by the person constructing them (in relation to themselves and their own knowledge). One key use of the term 'Other' in this thesis is to describe the process by which Europeans defined Maori in relation to themselves, for example 'the savage' in relation to the European civilised gentleman. It is important to note that the relationship to the Other is also codified into a hierarchy by the analytical terms used to define it. That is, within the general grouping of the Other there is another hierarchy – e.g. black woman below black man.

What has usually been thought about as a question of identity, can be understood as relating to *boundaries* on the one hand and *hierarchies* on the other. Identities that are based on ethnicity and race entail categories of difference and identity (boundaries) and construct social positions (hierarchies). This leads to the allocation of power and other resources and the inequalities in those allocations. Some of the most frequently cited binaries in a study of this kind include: male/female, coloniser/colonised, strong/weak, black/white, modernity/tradition, material/spiritual, public/private, public/domestic, outside/inside. Each of these binaries creates an expectation of roles and responsibilities for the male and female counterparts, e.g. female:domestic. While gender is a lens through which identity and place may be examined, it is by no means a universal one. Different groups of women have different relations to space. It is these differences that are most telling when examining identity. Gender studies have therefore drawn on the aforementioned binary opposites to assist in examining and describing power relations encapsulated within space.

A central goal might then be to shift the existing knowledge of women's identity construction in the colonial process, in order to document the ways in which people have excluded, or been included, on the basis of socially constructed categories (see Kobayashi, 1997:4). From this comes the attention to the paradoxical tension between the processes of exclusion and the processes of identity formation that allow resistance to develop through common cause.

Like patriarchy, colonial discourses of difference are spatially distinct. Shirley Ardener argues the "social map of patriarchy created 'ground rules' for the behaviour of men and women, and that the gender roles and relations of patriarchy constructed some spaces as 'feminine' and

others as 'masculine' and this allocated certain kinds of (gendered) activities to certain (gendered) spaces. Gender difference was thus seen as inscribing spatial difference" (Ardener, 1981; cited in Blunt and Rose, 1994:1). Acknowledging this, it is important to add that in reading colonial discourse, "no smooth history emerges, but rather a series of fragments, which read speculatively, hint at a story that can never be fully recovered" (Hulme, 1986:21; cited in Mills, 1994:31). Colonial difference must therefore be read with some spatial metaphors in mind to 'ground' the fragments of history into a coherent story and space.

Since Ardener's work in the early 1980s, further anthropological and geographical work has been exploring the relationship between gendered identity and space, and suggests that "gendered spaces should be understood less as a geography imposed by patriarchal structures, and more as a social process of symbolic encoding and decoding that produces as series of homologies between the spatial, symbolic and social orders" (Blunt and Rose, 1994:3). In other words, space is not just a container within which identity 'happens', but is itself a process of signification and identity construction. Addressing space as a process then, to consider women's role in colonial history means not only to add their story but also to address their particular agency in the mechanism of colonial history:

> "Women have not been merely passive victims of patriarchy; they also colluded in, undermined and survived patriarchy. But neither have women been free agents; they have always faced ideological, institutional and practical barriers to equitable association with men (and indeed other women)" (Judith Bennett; cited in Chaudhuri & Strobel, Eds., *Western Women and Imperialism*, p4; in Mills, 1994:36).

As a result, a new History of women needs to address both the existing structures in which women operated and lived, as well as those they constructed themselves in the process of their particular actions. In this way, History is not merely rewritten; it is rewritten in a gendered way.

As a discipline, geography sheds new light on this rewriting process. Mona Domosh's work in unpacking methodologies for feminist historical geography identifies two key things that may be added to theoretical discussions of difference in the historical context. Firstly, feminist historical geography calls for the subject's constitution through experience to be emplaced, because the identities it constitutes are both spatial and social. Historian Joan W. Scott has been especially influential in the foundation of this line of thought, arguing that historians of difference need to examine the conditions under which the identities of women were produced, not the conditions under which that difference was being constructed. "It is not individuals who have experience, but subjects who are constituted through experience" (Scott, 1992:26).

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Secondly, Domosh argues, a landscape has its own particular histories, "inscribed with layers of past experiences and therefore relays to "readers" past identities, but identities and experiences that are not fixed" (Domosh, 1997:227).

Culture, gender and identity are not just <u>emplaced within</u> space, but also <u>constituted by</u> spatial practices. Conventional historical accounts have shown us that women in the colonial context traditionally occupied private/inside, domestic roles, separate to the public world men occupied. As a result of an improved focus on women's [archival] sources and the emergence of 'difference' as a study in its own right, an increasing body of work in feminist historical geography successfully identifies exceptions to this rule. The underlying assumption for this Thesis is that gendered identities (that is, male and female identities) are constructed by the intersection of gender, race, age, class, sexual orientation and any number of other facts and attributes. This, of course, changes at different stages in a person's life-course, and within different spaces.

Linda McDowell suggests that a flexible understanding of space has been central to recent feminist analyses of space, place and identity (especially gendered identity):

> "...places are contested, fluid and uncertain. It is socio-spatial practices that define places and these practices result in overlapping and intersecting places with multiple and changing boundaries, constituted and maintained by social relations of power and exclusion (Massey 1991, Smith, 1993). Places are made though power relations which construct the rules which define boundaries. These boundaries are both social and spatial – they define who belongs to a place and who may be excluded, as well as the location or site of the experience" (McDowell, 1999:4).

Anthropologist Judith Okely recognises space as relational – places are defined, maintained and altered through the impact of unequal power relations. She argues, "different groups inhabiting the same spaces can create and shift boundaries by subtle means" (Okely, 1996:3). In the context of nineteenth century Turanga, the dominant groups were Maori and Pakeha. The ways in which they inhabited space and interacted with boundaries were intrinsically linked to their identity and they ways in which they lived that in daily life. Their identity was constructed and maintained through discourse and everyday actions, where "people, knowledge and social institutions are subject to and defined by unequal gender divisions" (McDowell, 1999:25). Complementing this are the divisions of ethnicity. This Chapter now turns to the way in which identity is determined through race and ethnicity, and its implications for Maori and Pakeha identity in nineteenth century New Zealand.

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It is generally accepted in New Zealand research that in order to study Maori geographies of identity and culture researchers need an adequate understanding of the Maori life world. Additionally, Evelyn Stokes argues, "a geographical analysis of cultural relationships between Maori and Pakeha must come to terms with the conflict over land and land tenure, and the role of land and land grievances in tribal Maori society" (Stokes, 1987:120). This study examines Maori and Pakeha perspectives through the lens of socio-spatial structures of nineteenth-century Turanga. Such structures are inherently bound up in land transactions and the workings of the Native Land Court at that time, which includes the ways in which Keita Wyllie participated in its mechanism.

It would be easy for this research to assume a coloniser-colonised stance in order to understand Pakeha-Maori relations. However, this study has the potential to step outside of the coloniser-colonised stance, and pursue an understanding of power relationships in other ways, whether issues of equality, equity or other power structures.

Culture, ethnicity and race

Culture, ethnicity and race are all mechanisms by which a society can be ordered. Each consists of a different set of rules by which people may be regulated, leading to a social order within society as a whole. The ways in which culture, ethnicity and race are defined and operate within the study of cultural identity, influences the ways in which they contributed to social order in nineteenth century New Zealand. This section of the Chapter examines operation of culture in the analysis of Maori and Pakeha identities in the nineteenth century. This includes a brief analysis of 'normative' identities (as compared to actual or 'lived' identities). Before addressing the formation of these identities, some discussion is made of the terms 'race', 'ethnicity' and 'culture' and their applicability to identity in the colonial context.

Race concerns a group of persons connected by common descent, posterity, house, person, tribe or nation regarded as of common stock. It was traditionally used as a scientific marker of difference, relying on physical criteria such as skin colour, nose shape and type of hair. More recently, however, race has been regarded as a political and social construction rather than purely biological or genetic; and is often constructed by the process racism (Johnston et al, 2000:699). In nineteenth century New Zealand, race provided the basis for establishing order – and it was most probably workable in that context because the dominant groupings were Maori and white-skinned European (predominantly British).

Ethnicity is more difficult to define. In contemporary usage, "ethnicity is seen as both a way in which individuals define their personal identity and a type of social stratification and emerges when people form groups based on their real or perceived origins" (Johnston et al, 2000:235). But

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this is not entirely appropriate for a colonial setting. One application of the term ethnicity has been in reference to minority groups, "assuming that people in the majority are 'normal' while everyone else is 'ethnic'" (Johnston et al, 2000:235). This application was especially prevalent in the nineteenth century, and although it has since been acknowledged as incorrect, it is useful to this study. There is ambiguity in the use of the term ethnicity when it is used interchangeably with race, or as a subset of race (e.g. race = Caucasian, ethnicity = New Zealander).

The use of ethnicity as a classification (also known as racialisation), is generally a negative process that allows one group to define another as inferior in order to dominate and oppress it – such as in the colonial context, or apartheid. On the flipside, though, it is acknowledged that an ethnic consciousness may be harnessed by minority identities in order to facilitate their struggle against discrimination. A complicating factor is the perception of 'degrees of ethnicity', in which individuals may have varying levels of attachment to their ethnic identity or heritage. In the context of nineteenth century New Zealand identities, it may be a little simpler to determine ethnic identities. Maori is separate to British, which is separate to Scottish or Irish, and so on. And in cases where ethnic mixing has taken place, the degree of ethnicity can more easily be determined by tracing back parentage or through information recording ethnic status because the degree of 'mixing' that had taken place was still limited. An analysis of ethnic identity is often accompanied by census data, an often poor or limited source. Most censuses (especially those in the early to mid-nineteenth century) use ethnicity as an indicator of national or racial origin, rather than ethnic affiliation (e.g. all people of Maori descent, with little regard for degrees of affiliation, or personal identification with that ethnicity, or separate tribal identities).

Ethnicity, like race, can be regarded as an essentialising category of definition, because it partly relies on outward appearance and biological construction. The practice of categorising a group based on an artificial social construction imparts an "essence" of that group, homogenising the group and effacing individuality and difference. Where ethnicity is about the outward appearance, based on racial origin, culture is potentially a way of identifying the whole identity, e.g. including beliefs and knowledge.

The Collins English Dictionary (Third Edition, 1991:387) reference to culture suggests:

> "1. total of inherited ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge, which constitute the shared bases of social action [and] 2. the total range of activities and ideas of a group of people with shared traditions, which are transmitted and reinforced by members of the group."

The Dictionary of Human Geography (Johnston et al, 2000:143) adds culture is best understood contextually and historically, "...an active force, working through people and possessing existence or agency beyond its specific and contingent historical and geographical expressions". Simply leaving it at that is inappropriate, however, because it confines the usage of the term. Instead, the term culture is best examined in light of how it will be used.

There are three key applications of the term applicable to this study. Firstly, culture refers to the refinement and growth by a community in its application of skilled human activities to the transformation of non-human nature (e.g. *agri*-culture and *horti*-culture). This assumes its dialectical opposition to <u>nature</u> as a primary and consistent dimension of the existence and use of both concepts. Its usefulness to this study is found in the idea of refinement and growth – change over time and space. This is especially appropriate in discussing the impact of Pakeha culture on Maori in the early nineteenth century.

Secondly, culture's association with ethnographic interest in the Other has close links with discourses of nature and gender. This includes:

> the "...consistent colonialist use of culture as a strategy of differentiation wherein non-European peoples whose modes of life diverge from those familiar to westerners have been characterised as having different and implicitly inferior (because more 'natural') cultures" (Johnston et al, 2000:144).

Of particular interest to the study of culture in colonialism is the task of geography to relate cultural experiences to the physical environment in which they were located. Its usefulness in this research is in examining the colonial relationship in Turanga, and the way in which colonialism was lived through the application of cultural difference.

A third aspect of culture is the way in which it responds to actual changes in an individual's material life. This, in particular, is linked to the 'cultural turn' in geography, where culture is regarded as an "active agent in social processes" (Mitchell, 1995; cited in Johnston et al, 2000:145). Its usefulness in this study is the application of culture as a way of understanding development of identity in a practical sense. In other words, the way in which a person changes over time in relation to the socio-spatial context in which they live and work.

As a loose anthropological concept, culture is a realm of communal thought that people of a given society participate in. Rather than a system, though, it is a <u>context</u> where all acts are potentially meaningful, but also inherently ambiguous – a realm of contextual meaning in or through which events or behaviours may be made intelligible for a given point in time and for a given setting. For [feminist] anthropologists, an

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analysis of culture is therefore to examine the ways in which the real phenomena of culture and their natural environments interact with a gendered politics of identity, power and place.

Within sociological studies there are at least three main ways in which the term 'culture' is used, and which become especially applicable to a discussion of cultural citizenship. Firstly, as content or product, culture denotes a set of attributes of artefacts, of a locality or a particular group, denoting its symbols and practices. This may also include a distinction between 'high' culture (music, literature, art, poetry), and 'low' culture (that of the masses). Secondly, as process or mechanism culture is a world-view, involving an orientation to the world, and often depicted as a way of being and doing. A culture is a pool of components from which culture or cultural products/resources is drawn. Finally, as form or structure culture is patterned ways of knowing and doing. These are institutionalised within hegemonic processes and structures. Transgression of the central core elements leads to forms of social regulation, prohibition, exclusion, or banishment.

The postcolonial use of culture attempts an understanding of culture as a tool of both oppression and individual power. In other words, using culture as a tool may create "prejudicial categories and human values that set boundaries and divisions between people and that inform social practices meant to maintain such boundaries as an inexorable divide" (Kobayashi, 1997:3-4). A study of the power relations at work requires a critical examination of the workings of the ideological system itself (apparently underlying the culture), its categories of representation, its premises about what these categories mean and how they operate, its notions of subjects, origin and cause (Scott, 1992; Valentine, 1997; Butler & Scott, 1997).

Examining the culture to which a person 'belongs' demands attention to conceptual and pragmatic issues, especially if the positioning intends or claims (or, alternatively, denies) a multi-racial status (Torres, Miron and Xavier Inda, 1999). Setting aside the problems of determining 'degrees' of race in order to understand multi-racial, such a status implies a multi-cultural positioning of the Self, even in cases where culture is no necessarily linked to race.

Defining the culture of the person has traditionally been to take into account the definition of their colour – i.e. whiteness/blackness. But such a definition does not allow for cultural difference between a single race, such as the cultural differences between the French and Dutch despite their similar racial origins. Instead, racial categorisations work to define who is within an acceptable race, and who is not. A racial categorisation establishes two key things: (1) a register apart from individual identity, asserting that racial matters influence and inform lives; and (2) the notion of "(*colour*) culture" - developed and consistent

over a number of years, through traditional action and reinforcement (domination). A cultural categorisation, alternatively, provides an identity that is based on self-identification and self-determination.

Culture, ethnicity and race may be also used to create and legitimate subject positions:

> "Any social order which is hierarchically organised into relations of domination and subordination creates particular subject positions within subordinated can legitimately function. These subject positions, once self-consciously recognised by their inhabitants, can become transformed into more effective sites of resistance to the current ordering of power relations" (Larner, 1998:162).

In the context of nineteenth century New Zealand, ethnicity was a key way of ordering society because difference was an integral part of the colonisation process. The ability of British settlers and officials to assert themselves as a ruling authority depended on the process of assimilation of Maori into British social patterns. This included Maori becoming British subjects under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi.

One of the ways in which distinctions between ethnicity, culture and the contribution of both to identity is the context of citizenship. Citizenship is used as both a class and a cultural distinction, and this was especially so in colonial New Zealand. Inequality and social positioning are integral to its operation. Citizenship is also subjectification of the person, for example surveillance, discipline, control and administration. In declaring a person to be a citizen of a particular race, culture or political unit, they have been subjectified and categorised. Simultaneously, however, cultural citizenship might be 'earned'; through action, process and shared belonging. It is these principles of distinction that made this study all the more difficult.

Rather than stressing the essential 'sameness' of phenomena, post modernism urges a great sensitivity to the differences that exist between phenomena in all sorts of ways both obvious and subtle (Cloke et al, 1991; Valentine, 1997). For most of New Zealand's history, Spoonley suggests, "being a New Zealand citizen was a colonial construct defined in terms of the rights of a British 'subject'" (Spoonley, 1998:22). The Treaty of Waitangi, in 1840, made an important distinction about Maori identity, which was systematically denied or ignored after its creation. It refers to "Maori in two different ways as individuals with the rights of any British subject, and as members of iwi and hapu (Ammunsen, 1996)". The argument, therefore, is that Maori have been dual citizens, at least in principle, since 1840. This is an example of Maori dual citizenship long being subverted by the state on an official level. This raises an interesting point about New Zealand identity in this time period

– to be a New Zealand was to be British. Simply put, being Pakeha was being British. And for the most part of the nineteenth century, this dominated identity for white New Zealanders.

The New Zealand national profile was not solely the British/Maori dichotomy emphasised by many general and regional histories of Turanga or New Zealand. The 'Britishness', James Belich suggests, permeates the post-encounter period, reflected at both the official level and also at the level of 'desired' identity – the sought after character for any individual. Many of the settlers in the Turanga region came from Scotland, in addition to England and Ireland. It would be inaccurate to suggest that "British" encompassed only English culture. Not only was there a process of assimilation in place to 'Europeanise' Maori, but also a desire to see a unified New Zealander, whose cultural background was absorbed into the identity of white New Zealander. "Inherent in this process was the elimination or 'toning down' of aspects of cultural heritage in order to 'assimilate' or conform to an acceptable and united entity. This is termed 'compound culture'"(Belich, 1998:11).

Reflecting on the pragmatic issues of New Zealand identity, however, Pool argues that "national identity is bound up in far more than ethnic heritage, which is a more manifest aspect, but is fundamental for the most basic of societal functions: its growth, reproduction and very survivorship" (Pool, 1998:39). This thesis will now turn to look at the construction of the Maori and Pakeha identities in the nineteenth century, reflecting on the different ways in which they are visualised and captured in the hegemonic expectations created by and for the societies they served.

Maori

Superficially, there should be no problem deciding who is 'Maori'; "Somebody who feels he or she is a Maori, and who is recognised as such by other people is clearly a Maori (Pool, 1991). This is what might be termed a cultural definition and corresponds to social reality, or popular usage." Legal and statistical definitions, however, differ both from this and each other. Furthermore, they have changed over time, so Maori in the nineteenth century is different to Maori in the twentieth century. These inconsistencies in definition mean that there are several problems raised for demographers and researchers hoping to use statistical and qualitative data relating to the collective Maori. The long history of intermarriage in New Zealand, and the interdependence of Maori and Pakeha cultures also raise questions about the ability to produce accurate statistical representations of ethnicity. Confounding this issue further is the self-representation of individuals in surveys designed to capture ethnic information – some identify as non-Maori may have part-Maori descent, while those who identify as Maori may have part-European descent. The implications of this are far-reaching in the present day, especially politically. "The definition of the boundaries

of ethnic group membership is one of the more critical conceptual issues in many bicultural or multicultural societies seeking redress of wrongs orginiating in the period of colonisation" (Pool, 1986, cited in Pool 1991:12).

The term 'Maori' itself had not been in use until the arrival of white Europeans to the country, because the Maori had no need to classify themselves ethnically prior to that. The term Maori refers to 'ordinary' or 'normal' people, as opposed to the foreign white people. King (1985:12) defines 'Maori' as a derivative "from 'tangata maori' meaning 'ordinary people' or referring to the "descendants of the country's first Polynesian immigrants". He writes that the term "'Maori' relates closely to 'tangata whenua': people of the land; but with connotations of 'those who were here first' and 'host people'" (King, 1985:109). Identification of the Self by Maori people is made through whakapapa, and connection to iwi and hapu, rather than a collective [ethnic] or pan-tribal identity. As a term used in the context of nineteenth century New Zealand, 'Maori' has its greatest meaning when used as the 'Other' of Pakeha.

Maori social organisation of the early to mid-nineteenth century was based on a hierarchised system of kinship. At the highest level was the *waka*, the extended tribes that contained members of the same migratory canoe. The second level was the *iwi*, a specific tribal grouping, while at the third level were *hapu*, sub-tribes, each claiming their own identity but under the encompassing umbrella of the iwi. Finally, *whanau* were the extended family at local level. Each level of social organisation had its leader, appointed by terms of *whakapapa* (family bloodlines) and *mana*. Table 1 shows levels of Maori social structure, and their applicable definitions, and persons in authority at each level.

Table 1: Definitions of Maori social structure

Maori term	Literal translation	Kingroup term	Collective definition	Person in authority
Waka	Canoe	Phratry	Super tribe	
Iwi	Bones; people	Clan	Tribe	Ariki
Hapu	Pregnancy	Ramage	Sub tribe	Rangatira
Whanau	To give birth	Extended family	Extended family	Kaumatua

Mana was the practical force of the gods at work in people and everyday affairs, and had the important task of determining roles for individuals within the communal structure. This structure formed the basis of Maori society and was arguably the single greatest difference between Maori and Pakeha social organisation:

Whakapapa (genealogy) was the central driving force that ordered the Maori universe – it established kinship between all living things, which began with the magnificent creation account – the pan-tribal story of the separation of the Earth Mother and Sky Father. Salmond notes:

> "These and other stories emphasised the kinship between people and their ancestor-gods, and people learned to call on those gods who looked after particular aspects of their daily lives. To do this they used rituals and karakia chants), learned from senior relatives or in the schools of learning...
>
> People prized this contact with the gods and safeguarded it by observing the laws of tapu, which set apart those people, times and places where the gods were present and in communication with the human world" (Salmond, 1991:43).

Maori society was bound up spiritually, intellectually, artistically, economically and socially with land and matters of ownership and occupation.

> "To the early Maori, land was everything. Bound up with it was survival, politics, myth and religion. It was not part of life but life itself. Taking culture in its widest sense, there was no part of early Maori culture that was not touched by the land. The continued occupation of a piece of land was the most obvious sign of a link between generations – between those dead, those living and those yet to come – in a society without written records" (Asher and Naulls, 1987:3).

Almost all land was held tribally, with no general right of private or individual ownership. There was, however, the right to occupy, use or cultivate certain portions of land, subject to the paramount right of the tribe. Customary title allowed individuals and groups to 'own' rights in the use and occupation of land, but the veto existed on all alienation or absolute giving away of land outside of the tribe. The mana of the tribe (and consequently individuals within that tribe) was strongly associated with territory and the ability to defend it. That defence was linked to clear boundary markers, usually physical landscape features such as mountain ranges, rivers, coastlines and rocks. Although Maori spirituality established the primacy of humanity over nature, validating the right to use the natural resources of the earth, they were not above nature. Maori perceived themselves as an integral part of nature and were expected to relate to it in a responsible and meaningful way (Walker, 1982).

All discussions about the occupation and use of land were public policy – and public policy was decided on the marae by tribal hearing. The ability to speak on the marae was obtained from membership of the tribe and occupation of land. The mana of the land itself was vested in the

tribe's chief, and only the whole group, with the consent of the chief, could alienate land (Walker, 1982:70).

New Zealand had a finely balanced system of land tenure before European settlement, with tribal unity and survival key to the way in which land-use was determined. All tribal members lived on, worked on, and derived their economic, social and political sustenance from, the land. Group unity was the key to the system, and in return for working the land, they were rewarded with some say on the marae in how the land was used or disposed of. The importance of group unity became increasingly important with the change in population numbers and structure with the arrival of European contact and settlement.

There has been a variety of archaeological, oral, ethno-botanical and historical methods used to divine the extent of the population prior to formal written record keeping (widely regarded as the period of 'prehistory', prior to 1769). It has been valuable for demographers and historians to combine several sources, but it is important to remember that the data "are only as representative as their baselines permit, and thus it is usually difficult to extrapolate to New Zealand as a whole, or even to one region" (Pool, 1991:33).

The Census Act(s) prior to 1916 "expressly excluded Maoris from the ambit of the census except in so far as the Governor should direct to the contrary" (New Zealand Government; *Introduction to the Report on the Census of New Zealand, 15ʰ October* 1916:10). Various enumerations of Maori did take place however, and may be found in several provincial records, notably Otago and Wellington. A Native population of New Zealand recorded in the 1858 Census results appears to have been ascertained from a census taken between September 1851 and September 1858. No further enumeration took place for a number of years, although the Census reports of 1867 and 1871 contain estimates of the Maori population supplied by the Native Department.

For the period this study is concerned with, total approximated national population data can be seen in (census data was collected from 1858). One important point to note is that the Maori population appeared to have a very high male:female ratio in the nineteenth century (e.g. 121:98 in 1881 and 115:100 in 1901) . This can be attributed to two main things. Firstly, there are usually more males than females in most populations (generally 104 boys:100 girls). Secondly, Maori society was pro-natalist and valued children. Women were encouraged to have families, and the physiological effects of childbearing took its natural toll on the female population in maternal deaths. Male life expectations regularly exceeded those of women across a wide range of ages, especially in reproductive years. Another notable point is that Table 2 shows a resurgent growth in the Maori population in the late nineteenth

century and early twentieth century, defying the predictions of Maori extinction.

Table 2: Approximated General and Maori Population Totals from Censuses taken 1858-1916[2]

	MAORI			GENERAL			
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Maori %
1858	31667	24303	56049	33679	25734	115462	49%
1861	n/a	n/a	55366	61062	37959	154357	36%
1864	no census due to war			106580	65578	172158	n/a
1867	n/a	n/a	38540	131929	86739	257208	15%
1871	n/a	n/a	37052	150356	106037	293895	13%
1874	n/a	n/a	45470	170981	128533	344984	13%
1878	n/a	n/a	43595	230998	183414	458007	10%
1881	24368	19729	44097	269605	220328	534030	8%
1886	22840	19129	41969	335089	285221	620310	7%
1891	22861	19132	41993	355738	312913	668651	6%
1896	21673	18181	39854	393088	350126	743214	5%
1901	23120	20023	43143	429104	386758	815862	5%
1906	25538	22193	47731	502770	445879	948869	5%
1911	26475	23369	49884	564834	506076	1070910	5%
1916	25933	23843	49776	584507	557786	1162293	4%

A discussion of specific population details for Turanga strikes a number of problems. Firstly, up until 1878 the region was a part of the Auckland province. While censuses were taken from 1858, the specific data collections stopped at Onehunga in Auckland, and only the total figures were included for areas further south. This may be a reflection of the political and military situation of the time, and the prevalence of fighting. Furthermore, any census details from that time period in the Auckland province rarely give accurate breakdowns of Maori/non-Maori, and it is highly unlikely Maori were included in the count with any accuracy. The 1901 Census saw the first count that specifically included Maori as a category, but results were erratic because the local Police Constable was charged with the responsibility of counting and returning results. Given that the region was highly inaccessible inland, and that the majority of Maori were not located in urban areas in the Turanga region (even as late

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[2] Figures for Table 3 are taken directly from Census Year results. 1858 to 1881 Māori results are approximately only. For those years, the approximate Māori totals have been added to the general population totals, as the general totals were exclusive of Māori. From 1886, the overall total given in the census was inclusive of the Māori total.

as 1901), there can be little confidence that the count is accurate. The 1911 formal census sees a far more reliable count of Maori with formalisation of the Census process again.

One alternative to Census data is private collections of population data by travelling ethnographers, historians and government administrators, such as the information collected by Fenton in his 1859 Census. Such information has been consulted for this section of the Chapter, as drawn together by Ian Pool in his 1991 study *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population Past, Present & Projected.* Pool reveals that Turanga had 17% of the total Maori population in 1801, increasing to 32% in 1840, and then dropping again to 23% in 1857/8 (Pool, 1991:51[3]). Overall, this was a percentage increase of 6% over the years 1801 – 1857/8. This change is most likely due to tribal migration and the absorption of some tribes into large East Coast ones, and the depletion of tribes in other areas due to war. The region was sheltered from rapid population change until the late 1870s, when the opening up of land purchasing opportunities saw a rapid increase in Pakeha population, especially between 1874 and 1891. There are three main impacts of these demographic changes to Turanga. Firstly, the Maori population outnumbered Pakeha for far longer than in any other region, and the settlers, missionaries and officials that did arrive to the area were reliant on the local Maori population for support. Secondly, Maori attempted to retain an independent sense of governance for longer than other regions, especially seen in the emergence of social movements and the reluctance to sell land as quickly as other parts of New Zealand. This reluctance was partly connected to the strong links maintained with the land, and the length of time it took settlers and military to attempt removing Maori hapu from their tribal areas. Thirdly, Turanga became a Maori stronghold in the later parts of the nineteenth century, but one with the ability to participate politically in governance of the country. The emergence of leaders such as James Carroll, Wi Pere and Apirana Ngata reflected a community of Maori willing to communicate and compromise with Government, but always keeping in mind the best interests of Turanga Maori.

Image and identity are intrinsically linked to the growth and maintenance of society. Therefore, identity may also be concerned with population change, economic development, perceptions of homogeneity of culture, and potential sources of disharmony. Other important factors might include geographic location and mobility (especially in relation to family and spiritual homes), the population structure (age, urban/rural location, ethnicity, and spirituality), and the growth and structure of the family and tribal units. In the nineteenth century, the social and cultural context had factors that were not so relevant today, for example the timing and nature of Pakeha contact; attitudes towards Government and governance; and attitudes of local settler communities; the extent and

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[3] Sources: Urlich 1969, Appendix; and Fenton, 1859

date of land sales and leases, Government policy for 'natives'; and the relative strengths of different ethnic communities.

Taha Maori is the construction of a Maori identity based on Maoritanga: a collection of information about descent, geographic locality, skin pigmentation, language, spiritual beliefs, tribal affiliations. It is important to emphasise that race and ethnicity were never an issue for Maori, because until contact with Europeans they required no categories for difference using racial or ethnic categorisations. Ranginui Walker (1989:35) argues of Maoritanga:

> "Maori identity is the view which Maori people take of their culture. Maoritanga is analogous to culture, an equally different concept to define by listing what are thought to be its major characteristics and which may best be defined broadly as a collection of human phenomena...that is, everything that is socially learned by the members of a society. ...
>
> Ethnicity became a component of Maori identity. The historical process of colonial despoliation reified Maori and Pakeha ethnicity to the point of being identified as binary oppositions in the contest for land, resources, status and power in New Zealand."

As Walker argues in the above extract, Maori cultural identity cannot rest simply on racial and stereotypical constructs, and nor can we simply believe in the binary constructs resulting from the colonial process. Maoritanga is an alternative to a statistical definition. It is a complex and detailed way of pulling together aspects of Maori life in order to better understand a lived identity. The list below is a collection of terms and concepts Walker has used in defining Maoritanga (equally applicable to identity in the nineteenth century as in present day):

- Mythology: cultural heroes, institutions and structure, sequences of explanation, and relationships
- History: Treaty of Waitangi, Pakeha, travel (waka) and custom
- Ethnic identity: culture and language, ambivalence, political, economic/educational capital, +ve and -ve definitions
- Cultural continuity: cultural survival, ritual, role of the marae
- Negative definition of Maori identity: superiority, 'deviance', statistics, Pakeha as presumed norm, loss of land language and erosion of culture (socially incapacitating)
- Taha Wairua: tangata whenua, missionaries, Te Kooti, prophets, parihaka
- Cultural invasion: missionaries, education and language, (society)
- Land alienation: dynamic tension, settlement, Turangawaewae, kotahitanga, tribal land/identity, pupuri whenua
- Tradition: settlement, systems, war, tribes, land

As a geographical study, this research has a particular interest in issues of land and space. The key to New Zealand identity is land – Pakeha sought land to settle on, and land confiscations affected the Maori in distinct cultural, economic, social and emotional ways. Land is therefore intrinsically related to race, gender and class – they all shape our ideologies and actions. Maori identity has been in past centred on ownership and occupation of land; and in the present day it centres in part on the struggle for the return of that land. Walker's list, above, also has an implicit spatiality about it. Each of the concepts described is linked in some way with the relationship Maori had with land, and provides the basis for a spatialised identity even before a physical location is discussed.

One of the key differences that has demarcated Maori from others has been an emphasis on 'community', which recognises strong social ties, denies the classical rational individual, and identifies a community as constitutive of capacity of judgement and of identity of self. As a practical example, this includes communal landownership. Community, however, is not necessarily inclusive of all equally, because men and women experience their relationship with land differently. Johnston and Pihama explain:

> "as Maori women we have a relationship to the land, we are each
> connected to Mana Whenua. As Maori women we have a relation
> to spirituality, Mana Wairua. As Maori women we are located in
> complex relationships within Whakapapa, Mana Tangata. Each of
> these aspects of Tikanga Maori are part of who we are as Maori
> women, whether or not we experience them in our day to day
> realities, as they originate from historical and cultural sources that
> both precede and succeed us. The complexities of such
> relationships extend into whanau, hapu, and iwi, so no single
> expression is one, but that each way and does find a range of
> expressions. Hence, what may be viewed as an essence in cultural
> terms does not, in our terms, equate to essentialism, rather it
> expresses the historical and social construction of cultural
> relationships" (Johnston and Pihama, 1993:16).

For women, land becomes part of a complex network of identity defining features, whether or not there is daily or sustained contact, and whether or not they can express the relationship that they have. The historical and social constructions of their relationships (with spirituality, with the land…) are what become important – the context of their growth and change as emplaced people.

One over-riding aspect to Maori life in nineteenth century New Zealand is the clash of cultures with European settlers. It may not have been as negative as first expected, however, as Maori adopted a market economy. This allowed new opportunities for mana and competition,

developments that were largely not unwelcome. It is naïve to think that all Pakeha settlers wished to see the extinction of Maori. Victorian ideas of progress, material gain and advancement were not without idealism – with individual effort the end result is further development and improvement of all of society, not just individual [white] members. The cultural framework of the 1840s was essentially Polynesian, and all Pakeha residents absorbed some Maori values to some extent (Owens, in Oliver, 1981:29). But in the following decades, Maori were participants in a series of developments that other cultures had taken centuries to absorb. This showed a remarkable sense of resilience, innovation and willingness to adapt in both individual Maori and in the society as a whole. The success of this was probably linked to the setting in which such adaptation took place – within the context of a Maori framework of values, representing continuity of traditional ways with new European methods and ideas. The social structure and controls of Maori society equipped kinship groupings with an ability to withstand stress and pressure (for example, war and famine) at the local level.

Pakeha

Pakeha identity, as it is 'accepted' today, was not constructed in the same way as Pakeha in the nineteenth century. 'Pakeha' itself is a problematic term that has undergone a number of revisions in past decades. The arguments over its use are an interesting marker in the examination of New Zealand's [still] emerging national identity. Pakeha identity emerged from the mix of settlers arriving in New Zealand arriving from a variety of locations. Each brought cultural baggage, which was diversified and developed; producing a new identity in contrast to that of the population they left behind. Pakeha identity was formed in opposition to Maori identity. Maori identity, however, was constantly in flux as colonisation progressed. British identity was essentialised, and was embraced as the 'standard' for the new colony, despite the variety of settler origins. This was as much the result of British laws and institutions being put in place as the origins of the first settlers groups arriving in the colony.

In order to be Pakeha one must be diametrically opposed to the Maori – it was the Maori opposite, for where they were dark skinned, Pakeha were pale and white-skinned. Where Maori were local, Pakeha were foreign. The term Pakeha arrives in common usage from about 1815, meaning 'white person', or non-Maori, generally those arriving from overseas to live and work in New Zealand. Later in the nineteenth century it came to refer to any fair-skinned person without their ancestry or birth mattering. It is this definition that is generally applied today., although King (1985:12) more recently described Pakeha as any non-Maori New Zealander, with no definition to colour. Pakeha is in part a racial definition, rather than an ethnic one, because it does not differentiate between different white ethnicities e.g. between British and Australian. For the purposes of this study, Pakeha will be used to

understand reference to the group of people of European (predominantly British) origin, living and operating under the British colonial system and legal structures.

When New Zealand became British in 1840 there were a number of American and French men working and living throughout the country, in addition to a range of other Europeans (who, for the most part, were British subjects). Settlement was continuing, and it was "an age when, for better or for worse, British people were certain to emigrate in some numbers" (Oliver, 1960:51). There was a worsening social situation in Britain. The daily threat of falling wages, unemployment and increasing food prices was enough to encourage the working-class to demand change. They saw the solution as simple – political democracy, wage-strikes and revolution. The middle-class didn't want revolution, and encouraged emigration instead – promoting it as the alternative to striking and starving. These factors made it increasingly attractive to immigrate to the new colony, and settlers departed to become "the nucleus of a new and better Britain" (Oliver, 1960:52). While organised settlement under the New Zealand Company dealt with the fears and desires of many emigrating British workers by organising and concentrating them in areas such as Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth, there was also a steady stream of settlers heading to less central and accessible areas, such as Turanga. The high concentration of British immigrants meant that to be Pakeha was to be British.

There was a firm belief at all levels of British administration that a system of rule depended on the fusion of British and Maori, meaning the Europeanisation of Maori. This was partly in opposition to the missionary charter, especially that of the Church Missionary Society, which was to protect natives by offering civilisation and religion. Settlement and commerce were to play important roles in this different kind of fusion. As humanitarian as it sounds, the position actually came from the firm view that "Europeans had a clear responsibility to the weaker peoples with whom they came into contact" (Oliver, 1960:51).

For the most part, Pakeha settlers in the early nineteenth century, especially in Turanga, were dependent on Maori chiefs for patronage, protection and trading opportunities. This included missionaries, who also needed protection and opportunities to acquire food and necessary tools. Population estimates for 1840 suggest that Maori outnumbered Pakeha by approximately 40 to 1, but within twenty years, the populations were approximately equivalent size (Pool, 1991:61). Population didn't necessarily provide coherency, though, because the small but rapidly increasing European settlements throughout the country operated under separate governments. This was mainly because major settlements were so far apart and lacked regular communication with each other. This was especially the case in Turanga, highly isolated geographically.

Daily life was difficult. Towns were rarely more than a sprawl of rough buildings, mostly ill-planned and poorly-sited. Settlements were primitive, yet they strained to concentrate and distil the fashions and habits of England – officials, soldiers, and well-to-do farmers and traders set the social tone (often to the detriment of "society"). Such towns were devoted to moneymaking and personal advancement; "however much men might cling to the manners of the metropolis, birth and breeding gave place to energy and wealth" (Oliver, 1960:74).

By the 1850s, the English class pattern of social order had shown significant signs of disintegration, and a local social order had developed. The 'smaller man' had prepared for power – wealth and ambition was raising them above English-born and educated 'gentleman'. There was a new middle-class aristocracy, where merchants and financiers came into their own. Communities developed distinctive identities, depending much on the source of their settlers and the trials faced. The physical environment and the natural resources of the area played a huge role in shaping the character, aspirations, and financial resources of individuals.

Available historical sources deal with the specifics of attitudes and self-images inadequately, but there are several themes to the Pakeha identity that can be revealed. Firstly, immigrating men brought with them Victorian British attitudes towards the roles of men and women, such as the subordination of women and a particular gendered division of labour (e.g. inside = women, outside = men). In fact, there was considerable partnership and co-operation between husband and wife (Phillips, 1996:5), and a great deal more equality than the British immigrant male might have expected. This degree of partnership is one aspect of the Pakeha identity.

A second theme that can be revealed is the shift back from urban occupations to outdoor work (increasingly lost in Britain with the process of industrialisation). Emigration was the new confrontation with nature, the chance to:

> "face life in the raw, to show courage and physical strength". Emigration was "a career which calls up pluck, bottom, energy, enterprise, all the masculine virtues. The feeble-minded, the emasculate, the fastidious, the timid, do *not* emigrate; they bow their necks to the yoke, ply the distaff, and spin wealth for the great at home. It is the strong a bold who go forth to subdue the wilderness and conquer new lands" (Phillips, 1996:5).

The Pakeha male became typified by the confrontation with a wild landscape, and the taming of it (from space to place). The Pakeha female, by virtue of her marriage, was equally drawn into the battle, and was expected to fight equally hard.

A third theme of Pakeha identity is the demographic imbalances of the Pakeha population. The 1851 colony-wide census reveals a small European population, just 26,707. But within that total population figure was a large surplus of men to women: 15,035 males to 11,672 females. This was approximately 776 females for every 1000 males (Phillips, 1996:6). By the beginning of the 1860s, the imbalance had grown further. Despite a massive growth in total population to 99,021, the male:female ratio had dropped to 1000:662. Ten years further on, the population had continued to grow, reaching over 250,000, with the ratio of men:women growing only slightly to 1000:705. These figures are quoted for the total population – which included children. From 1881, available data separates adults from children, and the imbalance is even more pronounced. The census revealed that there were now 656 adult women for every 1000 men.

This ever-shifting balance is of particular importance to the way in which society operated. The obvious predominance of males meant that men were less exposed to female influence, and were less likely to settle down into a permanent state of marriage with women. Additionally, the large (growing) male population had no married obligations and relatively footloose, looking to other men for support and company rather than women. Many men in the nineteenth century New Zealand "spent most of their time in the exclusive company of their own sex" (Phillips, 1996:9).

The age distribution of the growing population was also revealing. As a new society, New Zealand attracted mainly young people – for some time there was an absence of children and elderly in the population. Pakeha fertility levels were very high and mortality was very low in the period 1840 to 1901, producing rapid rates of natural increase (Pool, 1991:61).

Half-caste

Keita Wyllie was born to a Scottish father and a full-blooded Maori mother. She was, in the legal sense, half-caste because she had half of each bloodline in her genetic make-up. This term, though, is problematic in its nineteenth century context, let alone its present day connotations. Statistical definitions until the 1986 census generally employed a biological base, using the criterion of half or more Maori blood. The population has been defined broadly into Maori and non-Maori groupings, with Maori referring to persons from 'geographic New Zealand' (specifically excluding Cook Islands Maori). In historical use, half-caste could have been used to describe anyone of mixed parentage, and by the late nineteenth century there was certainly confusion over its use.

Literally, the term half-caste mean fifty-percent one race and fifty-percent another. The word 'caste' comes from the Portugese term for

race, breed or ancestry, and is also used to refer to the rigid Indian social stratification system (Collins English Dictionary, 3rd Edition, p252). The term originated with reference to persons having parents of a different race, especially European and Indian (Collins English Dictionary, 3rd Edition, p700). The arrival of the term 'caste' in New Zealand is a reflection of the British process of colonisation, which had already begun in India.

Unlike other places of colonial contact, New Zealand didn't use 'equations' of blood to legally or culturally define the individual[4], resulting in census enumerators' efforts to categorise half-castes as 'living as Maori' or 'living as Pakeha' as a measure of the process of colonisation and absorption. The Census was not designed to collect information on degrees of blood, but the basic understanding was that any degree of Maori blood made an individual half-caste, and was therefore classified as Maori:

$$\text{Maori} + \text{Maori} = \text{Maori}$$
$$\text{Maori} + \text{European} = \text{Half-caste Maori}$$
$$\tfrac{1}{4}\,\text{Maori} + \tfrac{3}{4}\,\text{European} = \text{Half-caste Maori}$$
$$\text{Half-caste} + \text{Half-caste} = \text{Half-caste Maori}$$

In most official records, the letters *hc* or the words *half-caste* denotes this ethnic status. The 'Maori' is implied. Children born to parents of different European origins, e.g. French and Scottish, were not distinguished as half-castes. It is unclear how the distinction between half-caste (living as Maori), and half-caste (living as European) was made in the field. The information on half-castes living as Europeans was published separately in the main censuses, but only as totals, making them hard to reconcile with the other category of half-castes and the total Maori category. Furthermore, it is nearly impossible to identify those in the 'category-jumping' position, so the information is difficult to incorporate into national or regional statistical population trends for Maori.

The best estimates of the population defined as half-caste (and living as Maori or Pakeha) in the period of this study are shown in Table 3. The data is taken from the approximated Census results for the whole country for the year 1861 to 1916.

The 1916 Census had seen a departure from the earlier processes of census collection with regards to Maori data collection. The Maori population was enumerated with the European population, and recorded in the same schedule. Half-castes living with Maori were enumerated as

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[4] The only exception to this was that some limited laws were passed for landless half-castes in the South Island.

Maori, and half-castes living as Europeans were enumerated as
Europeans.

**Table 3: Numbers of half-caste (HC) population living as Maori or
Pakeha, and their percentage of the total Maori population**

Year	Half-Castes living as Maori				Half-Castes living as Pakeha				Total HC	% of total Maori	Maori Total
	M	F	Total	%HC	M	F	Total	%HC			
1861	~	~			622	506	1128	100%	1128	2%	55336
1867	~	~			631	601	1232	100%	1232	3%	38540
1871	~	~			756	709	1465	100%	1465	4%	37502
1874	~	~	863	32%	931	929	1860	68%	2723	6%	45470
1878	51	42	93	5%	968	979	1947	95%	2040	5%	43595
1881	~	~			1052	992	2044	100%	2044	5%	44097
1886	1227	1027	2254	54%	969	989	1958	46%	4212	10%	41969
1891	1469	1212	2681	55%	1122	1062	2184	45%	4865	12%	41993
1896	1944	1559	3503	61%	1123	1136	2259	39%	5762	14%	39854
1901	1694	1439	3133	57%	1188	1218	2406	43%	5539	13%	43143
1906	2151	1787	3938	60%	1307	1271	2578	40%	6516	14%	47731
1911	2291	1890	4181	59%	1475	1404	2879	41%	7060	14%	49844
1916	1914	1615	3529	52%	1513	1708	3221	48%	6750	14%	49776

The degree to which inter-racial mixing took place may be considered a
measure of assimilation by Europeans. The nineteenth century
conception of marriage was an appropriate metaphor for assimilation;
"Pakeha wanted Maori to join them in some kind of relationship, but
Pakeha wished to be able to define the relationship and be the dominant
partner" (Riddell, 1996:8). The relationship between Maori and Pakeha,
however, was an uneasy and negotiable one, especially because of the
expectations attached to 'relationship' and 'marriage'. Assimilation was
unlikely to have been one-sided. The Maori may have tried to found and
maintain alliances with Pakeha settlers and traders through intermarriage,
perhaps having no idea in the early years of the population growth that
was to come.

Half-caste status may have been a sign of mana as well as economic and
material strength in the early nineteenth century, intermarriage
guaranteeing good behaviour and loyalty from the Europeans living in
their communities. A wide range of conflicting documents tell stories
about half-castes in the early to mid-nineteenth century, for example:
missionary sources, commercial records, Maori evidence re: early land
claims, and local histories. Unfortunately, the group of most interest to
this study, Maori women, were afforded on the smallest voice in such

bodies of evidence. Riddell argues, "Maori women, enduring the effects of both sexism and racism, have been gendered and racialised to the peripheries of historicism" (1996:15). Most accounts of early inter-marriage and half-caste families (especially those from early visitors and traders) seem to agree largely with missionary accounts, albeit with fewer moral misgivings. There was an acknowledgement of short-term liaisons, which often had an economic foundation, but which could rarely be described simply as prostitution. Such relationships imposed a social order or the unruly European population, and fitted in with Maori marital practices. A working definition for inter-marriage is that they were "culturally sanctioned and lasting relationships, many of which produced 'acknowledged children'" (Riddell, 1996:29). For the most part, such marriages were between Pakeha men and Maori women (although there are isolated examples of other partnerships).

The 1840s and 1850s were decades in which intermarriage between Maori and Pakeha was well established, as was the fact of half-caste children of these unions. But intermarriage was not a universal practice throughout the country. The 1850s saw small centres of Pakeha dominance, even within tribal domains. The four main settler towns (Nelson, New Plymouth, Wellington and Auckland) were largely settled by established families, and were not easily assimilated by intermarriage.

The effects of intermarriage and the production of half-caste families were important to the development of the colony. Firstly, the marriage itself had political and economic implications for both the European and the Maori:

> "a marriage might be confirmed simply by making a love affair public…[But] such a marriage was irregular, offending the social creed which said that marriage should be aata koorerotia (well-discussed) beforehand.
> …the greater the mana of the woman and her tribe, the greater the taonga required" (Biggs, 1960:50).

The taonga referred to in the passage above was offered as compensation for the loss of the girl to the tribe of her services, and as atonement for irregularities in the marriage. But in return for the taonga, the married couple received protection; material support and general care for their well being, especially in the early part of the nineteenth century. Part of this relationship was the way in which tribal lands were used and distributed. Married couples received land to cultivate, and one which to build their home, usually as a leasehold arrangement. Maori tradition allows grants of land from Maori to wives of Pakeha, and their half-caste children. Pakeha men could act as trustees and cultivate the land, but those claims were strictly only through wives or children, and they had no right to alienation. With the Victorian moral view that wives were 'owned', and their goods became the husband's with marriage,

intermarriage had the potential to become somewhat more of a political battlefield than a personal relationship (Riddell, 1996:35). If married to Pakeha, Maori women could potentially find their traditional rights to land (and sometimes familial contacts) threatened by British property law. It eventually came to pass that if married legally, they didn't necessarily lose their right to land, so long as they were loyal Crown subjects.

Half-castes embodied the ultimate fulfilment of the marriage of the races. As the decades passed, the argument that half-castes were increasingly living as Pakeha reinforced half-castes as a successful example of assimilation. "'Half-castes' living as Pakeha legitimated domination by the Pakeha paradigm, while giving hope for the salvation of a sanitised and domesticated, Pakeha-defined (in fact, Pakeha-like) Maori" (Riddell, 1996:93).

The way in which cultural identities were formed and grew over time depended on the ways in which race, ethnicity and culture were used to inform them. Demographic balances within and between their respective populations informed nineteenth century Pakeha and Maori identities, but the new impact on identity was setting. The space in which they lived and worked and interacted informed a variety of aspects of behaviour and action. The next Chapter of this thesis addresses the importance of space in the construction of identity, and the particular way that both identity and space becomes fluid. The emphasis is therefore on the theorisation of identity by geography.

Chapter Three:
Fluid identities and space

The way in which identity is understood is often limited by our need or desire to put conceptualisations into a written format, language thus limiting our ability to 'know' identity. Of importance then is the determination of specific contexts in which identity is constructed, and ways of acknowledging its ever-changing nature. This Chapter addresses the ways in which geography has understood and theorised identity, and how contextual and physical spaces impact those theorisations. Using the concept of fluidity as a basis for understanding the non-static/ever-changing identity, the discussion turns to the theorisation of the hybrid identity as a potential explanatory structure for Keita Wyllie's identity in later Chapters of this Thesis. The Chapter concludes with a brief critical discussion of the use of the hybrid identity as a tool of identity construction in this research.

Identity must be understood as a social process of continuous re-writing of the self, and of social collectives – for example, Van Houtum and Van Naerssen argue, "one's social identity is a product of the social relations one is embedded in" (2001 and 2002:132). This non-spatialised argument reveals that identity is defined as much by what is absent or excluded as what is present or included. The shifting balance between self and collective, absence and presence, is partly what creates fluidity in identity. Fluidity refers to the non-static, ever-changing nature of individual identity, and the constantly adjusting social processes and relations that construct and re-define aspects of that identity. Fluid identities are constructed by both Self and Other (working if not simultaneously then at the very least parallel), and are by nature both embedded within and influenced by spatial contexts. These contexts also often have a specificity, or fluidity of their own. Doreen Massey argues that places are moments in a continuing networked process of social relations that stretch across space. Landscapes, one physical manifestation of social relations across space, are always in the process of 'becoming'...always subject to change, and everywhere implicated in the ongoing formation of social life" (Schein, 1997:662). Just as social relations and identities are fluid, so too are the spaces they occupy and interact with.

The production of geographic knowledge "has always involved claims to know in 'space' particular ways" (Johnston et al, 2000:767). For some, that means to know it as an objective container (see Smith, 1984), but for others (Harvey 1996) it may mean a more subjective, relational perspective where space is 'folded into' social relations through practical activities. Neither of these adequately describes the way in which fluidity operates in space, though. Space becomes an active participant in the

construction of identity, with its own specific role in shifting the balance of a fluid identity. Foucault's work in the mid 1970s led to a call for attention to boundaries, and the determination of the space for the Same and the space for the Other; and the realisation that the presence of the Other was within the space of the Same – transgressing the supposedly pure colonial spaces (see Mills, 1996). The alternative to this is the imaginary 'somewhere else' space; often referred to as paradoxical space, a space that "straddles the space of representation and unrepresentability" (Rose, 1993:153-4). In order to spatialise a fluid identity adequately, the space itself must be allowed fluidity. This comes with the acknowledgement of a "dualism between 'real, material, concrete space' and 'non-real, imagined, symbolic space'" (Rose, 1996, cited in Johnston et al, 2000:771). As a result of this, "space and time are now seen as being 'produced' or 'constituted' through action and interaction" (Johnston et al, 2000:771). Subjects are positioned within the flows of everyday life, a contextual approach that forms the basis of historic-geographic materialism. Space, once thought of as the dead container, is now "fully involved in the modulations of tension and transformation" (Johnston et al, 2000:772).

The discussion of fluidity demands a momentary vigilance to the speaking positions occupied by the researcher in relation to the subject. Mobility between subject positions, for both the researcher and the subject, should be a state of continual displacement rather than a mapped shift, neither one being privileged over the other. But the concern for mobility, fluidity and general disruption to social categories has risks. If mobility and fluidity are always foremost in the mind, it is difficult to argue for an unsituated researcher. Engaging in research and undertaking a study of a subject's fluid identity situate the researcher with respect to the positioning of the subject. So perhaps a better way of describing the researcher's position is to note that it is differently situated – not sharing the subject's positioning – aware of both the similar and dissimilar. The key to a workable positioning is to acknowledge that researchers cannot always know where they stand, and that sometimes positionality is unconscious in its very action.

Fluidity of space, place and identity

Working with fluidity begins with the acknowledgement that there must be some stability in the social relations determining some identities, but this does not have to be at the loss of a theorised fluid identity. A discussion of 'place' and 'space' now becomes necessary, as is some discussion of their importance to the theorisation of identity. A 'sense of place' has been re-theorised and revised over the last decade or so, both through and in response to the cultural turn in geography (see, for example, Massey, 1993; Sibley, 1995; McDowell, 1997). It is commonly accepted that a sense of place is no longer passive, no longer fixed, no longer undialectical, and combines both location and locatedness. Each of these features of a new sense of place is intrinsically linked to the

subjectivities of the identities that occupy it. From this work a number of new projects have emerged in the general areas 'spaces of politics' and a 'politics of identity'. These include, especially in postcolonial and cultural studies, locations of struggle, communities of resistance and political spaces.

Geographers have long drawn upon multiple conceptions of space in their work, particularly since the cultural turn in geography, which has implications for the ways in which feminist geography is emplaced in the wider geographical field, and also how a feminist historical geography is emplaced in the historical field or work. To conceptualise space as difference, is to "acknowledge that 'different places, regions or localities are substantially different – in a material as well as an immaterial sense – and that this difference influences social processes and social life' (Simonsen, 1996:499)" (Morin and Berg, 1999:314).

To examine a sense of place from a historical geographical perspective is to introduce a sequence of new spatialities, incorporating concepts of gender, class, race and, most importantly, time. Keith and Pile (1993:1) list some of the key spatial metaphors encountered in an historical geography of spatiality: not-space, liminal space, third space, position, location, city-rural, situation, mapping, global-local, geometrics of domination, impossible space, centre-margin, open-closed, and inside-outside. This research cannot hope to discuss them all – each is a work in itself. But ways in which the metaphors may be used becomes important: the theorising of power, the flexibility of relations of domination, strategies of resistance and dimensions of oppression. Each of these uses of spatial metaphors has a part to play in understanding how fluidity may be spatially embedded. Of particular interest to this research are the ideas of third space, situation, and global-local (in the colonial New Zealand context, i.e. commonwealth-local). Each offers an alternative space within which Keita Wyllie may have lived, sometimes simultaneously. And each suggests a particular role she may have performed. For example, within the third space she identified herself and set the boundaries for her own identity (operating as Self), but within the global-local setting she was identified by someone else (becoming the Other).

Spatial metaphors don't just operate on their own – they come attached to spaces. One important aspect of space is the physical construction – landscape. Landscape is mythological – it holds both literal and symbolic meaning for a subject. "Spatialities produce landscapes loaded with ethical, epistemological and aestheticized meanings" (Keith and Pile, 1993:26). Especially important in this research is the role of the physical and metaphorical landscape in determining relations between Maori and Pakeha, each consuming its literal and symbolic meaning according to their own culture and heritage. The colonial mechanism itself is constructed of layers of meaning, and is especially concerned with ethics (e.g. British society and religious authority in missionary

action) and aesthetics (the need for order and uniformity in town development, e.g. grid patterns and street names) in its operation. Within Maori society, moral and ethical geographies operated, in the sense that tapu "set apart those people, times and places where the gods were present and in communications with the human world" (Salmond, 1991:43). In that sense, the physical spaces of Maori life were guided by the spiritual life of the people. The metaphorical is often not so obvious, however, and a challenge for this research will be to determine the ways in which the physical manifestation of the colonial mechanism alters the symbolic and metaphoric meanings for identity and relationships.

Fluidity does not assume the constant shift from a single subjectivity to another single subjectivity. Multiple identities may be occupied, in whatever configuration necessary at any given moment. This is the heart of the problem for a politics of identity – everyone 'represents' several groups at once, and may assume speaking positions for them as well. As fluidity alters the balance between subjectivities, it also alters the spatiality of the subjectivity. The subject experiences simultaneity, and on its flipside, dislocation. This is at the core of Us and Them, or Self and Other:

> "every identity is dislocated insofar as it depends on an outside which both denies that identity and provides its conditions of possibility at the same time. But this in itself means that the effects of dislocation must be contradictory. If on the one hand they threaten identities, they are the foundation on which new identities are constituted" (Laclau 1990:39).

Fundamentally, the existence of something cannot be threatened without simultaneously acknowledging it. And as one goes through the process of dislocation, and the subtle fluid shift from place to place, a multiple spatiality is formed that argues for a range of representations of the subject. To pare an identity down to a single subject position would be to do it injustice. The difficulty is that research takes time and fluid social relations and spaces rarely remain static long enough to capture the full picture. The researcher's attempt to 'freeze' the moment is often necessary, whether desirable or not. Similarly, instead of analysing a full set of social relations within a space, it might become necessary to examine a partial set, extrapolating evidence and following threads of a story. In these cases, the context becomes all the more important, filling in gaps of a story and offering explanation for situated social relations. This is especially so where space itself plays a role in the construction of identity.

Space itself is an active and constitutive component of the struggle for hegemonic power. Struggle has a location, and the politicised spaces of struggle become the fundamental structures of oppression, situating the centre and the margin. Paradoxically, space is the location of a

community of resistance (the challenge to hegemonic constructions and authority.

An example of resistance is the production of spatial and metaphorical borders. Borders are both physical and symbolic, but rarely do physical and social borders meet. One particular context of borders is the surveying of land in the nineteenth century, where surveyors demarcated the lines that turned unwritten 'space' into 'place' (Byrnes, 2001:6). The construction of artificial boundary lines through spaces by visitors, in places long populated and 'known' by Maori, must have been cause of concern in the nineteenth century. Byrnes notes, "while the early settlers may have assumed that the land was empty and hence 'undiscovered', it was in fact already known, named and mapped by Maori. Surveyors who claimed to explore the country with the aid of Maori guides did little more than confirm existing local knowledge" (Byrnes, 2001:9). Of special significance was the was in which surveying contributed to the colonisation process, and the consequences it held for land ownership, personal and collective autonomy over land decisions, and the introduction of the Land Court mechanism to formalise such boundaries.

Boundary markers divide two contiguous estates. They can be tangible, such as a fence line or surveying posts; or they can be intangible, such as social rules and graces. Boundaries in nineteenth century New Zealand fitted into four general categories: physical, cultural, literal and metaphorical (Byrnes, 2001:95). The physical boundaries could be seen as parallel to the boundaries of cultural difference. And just as British surveyors forced artificial straight lines through a landscape with little regard for its natural form, so they too pushed straight lines through a cultural landscape with little regard for tradition or tribal structure.

"The boundary marks used in a survey were powerful symbols of British occupation" (Byrnes, 2001:97). Of particular importance to British administrators was their accuracy, and efficiency of demarcation, because they determined land awards, supporting the weight of the whole system of colonisation and settlement. Surveyors, by definition working in the 'contact zone', acted as cultural mediators and inhabited the space bound by cultural boundaries. Their ability to communicate in Maori was a particularly essential tool, and they were often called upon to facilitate understanding between local tribes and settlers. Surveyors were not required to facilitate and understanding about boundaries, however, because the vital role of demarcation remained the sole domain of British governance. The surveyors' potential was never really fulfilled, and the awkward boundaries remained, both cultural and physical. Byrnes argues, "by the end of the nineteenth century, Pakeha cultural space was by no means complete or comprehensive, but for the new settler society, New Zealand was much less of a 'wilderness' that it had been at the onset of organised European colonisation" (Byrnes, 2001:122).

Literal and metaphorical boundaries affected the way in which people operated in relation to one another in the growing settlements. These types of boundaries determined social structure, especially in relation to cultural difference and gender difference. Like the physical landscape, culture and gender had spatial patterns. While their demarcation may have been less clear at times, they operated as a controlling force behind social expectation and behaviour.

Colonial discourses and representations of women impacted the lived domain of everyday life – the discourses establish the hegemony within which the women lived and worked. The discourses also establish subject positions, and create potential agency within women's actions. The discursive creation of the colonial in both fact and fiction literature has tended towards a homogenisation – a stereotypical character in terms of voice, agency and representation. For example, the colonial female identity – civil, domestic, private – ties in with the dominant themes of the same period of kinship ties and marriage, home and the binary opposites of oppression/freedom. Here, the practical context of Otherness begins to fall into place, and the manner of telling becomes important, in the sense of for/about/against, and the dichotomy of speaking on behalf of, as opposed to talking with.

To understand colonial identities and otherness, then, requires an appreciation for the relationship between aspects of identity – the parts that make it up and constantly shift in relation to each other. There is no single balance, where the identity can be ultimately defined. To go beyond the individual and acknowledge the collective, all human societies are hybrids, biologically and socially. The fact that this research examines a colonial society makes no difference – it too has a particular mix of character, race, gender, class etc. that creates a fluid collective identity. And colonial society is also spatialised because the historical context does not remove the space within which it was lived. Like an individual, a society's balance is only found in the split-second, there is no long-term static construction of community.

Hybridity

One applied use of the fluid identity has been the postcolonial theorisation of hybridity, from the work by Homi Bhabha in his 1994 work *The Location of Culture*. In that work, the hybrid becomes an identity in its own right, which portrays certain characteristics that draw on a number of features of colonial identity, fluidity theory, and the key tenets of a cultural politics of location and site of struggle and resistance. The hybrid identity demands asymmetric power relations, in order to produce the particular configuration of cultural and other elements – the hybrid is not a singular identity either, for it too can have different constellations and configurations within itself. A simple definition of the hybrid is impossible to realise, but the working definition for this research is that the hybrid is *neither one nor the other* (Bhabha, 1986:172 and 1994). This

relies on two fundamental assumptions. Firstly, that it is the product of a splitting between ruler and ruled, and secondly, that it is an assertion against a ruling culture. In being neither one nor the other, the hybrid is potentially both.

Judith Binney notes of New Zealand history; we cannot translate other histories into our own. We can merely juxtapose them. The structures and the events have been bonded, culturally, in time and place (Binney, 1995). The majority of New Zealand archival evidence is culturally specific and contains few alternative perspectives outside of the white, colonial, British ruling class. Alternative histories, those contained within Maori texts (such as Maori language newspapers, letters or personal notes) or oral histories are rarely accessible to those writing the (authoritative) History because of language barriers. Such barriers include both the inability to read Te Reo, and the lack of desire to read or include Te Reo accounts. So the very foundation of a discursive colonial is within the colonised documents – and the authority of History is dependent on how those documents are interpreted. Similarly, the authority of Bhabha's hybrid identity is also within texts, and the ways in which they are used and colonised:

> [The hybrid is] …the product of a splitting which occurred when the colonial ruling authority attempted, in its texts, to impose upon the ruled. The assertion, through means as descriptive classification of subject 'races', was turned back upon its authors as inscrutable Orientals or indescribable rituals; subjects which made the ruler uneasy, even fearful. In the context of colliding cultures, the hybrid text, by articulating the different views together (thereby displaying the 'in-between'), destroyed the "negative polarities between knowledge and its objects" (Bhabha, 1994:25, 29)

The juxtaposition of colonial (and anti-colonial) texts with the local history of an area, or the texts produced by local historians, produces a context within which identity can be played off against itself. There are dangers, however, in any analysis of historical texts. In the attempt to gather the threads of a story together, the researcher is left with the "tools of probability, shreds of evidence and speculation" (Belich, 1989:243). The juxtaposition of the hybrid text with the local text, within a location is an attempt to minimise the speculation and probability in an analysis.

Bhabha's suggestion that the hybrid turns the colonial text back on the colonisers is an interesting one. It suggests a level of agency not normally attributed to the colonised Self. His further suggestion that "the hybrid text, by articulating the different views together (thereby displaying the 'in-between'), destroyed the "negative polarities between knowledge and its objects" (Bhabha, 1994:29) displays an astute

estimation of the power of the hybrid in addressing inequalities within power struggles. Where the coloniser only presents one side of the story (thus producing Binney's culturally specific archival texts), it is denying the role of the Other in the formation of its identity. Where the hybrid presents both (or more) sides of a story – because it is 'in-between' both – it addresses the variety of conditions and aspects of its identity.

Bhabha argues for a further set of circumstances required for the hybrid to form effectively:

> "Bhabha (1994), on the other hand, sees the transgression of national or ethnic borders as the key to the condition of hybridity; a double perspective becomes possible and signals the migrant artist/poet/intellectual as the voice that speaks from two places at once, and inhabits neither. This is the space of liminality, of 'no place' or of the buffer zone of 'no man's land'. For Bhabha (1994, p. 38) the space of the 'inter' is 'the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the '*in between space*'. This always produces a counter-narrative or 'Third Space' to 'elude the politics of polarity and emerge as others of ourselves'. Bhabha therefore sees hybrids as cultural brokers. It is clear that this does not occur out of a simple process of accretion nor is it ever complete; it is full of discontinuities and ruptures" (Anthias, 2001:626).

For Bhabha, to take a dual-stranded view is to repeat the old colonial relationships of coloniser and colonised as separate, polarised identities. Instead, the hybrid is an 'in-between', positioned somewhere in the moment between coloniser and colonised. This is referred to as the "third space", the moment of colonial relationship and contact.

The hybrid is positioned in a role of agency within the third space, as a lubricant in conjunction with other cultures. The great potential of the hybrid identity is in their knowledge of transculturation – their ability to live both cultures – and to translate, negotiate, and mediate affinity and difference within a dynamic of exchange and inclusion. They have encoded within them a counter hegemonic agency. At the point at which the coloniser presents a normalising hegemonic practice, the hybrid strategy opens up a third space of/for rearticulation of negotiation and meaning (Bhabha 1996).

The 'third space' is therefore the point at which the hybrid identity rearticulates negotiation and meaning. It is the position from which it might be possible "to elude the politics of polarity and emerge as others of ourselves" (Bhabha, 1994:39). In other words, the third space allows for the displacement of oppositional categories in a geographical analysis (see Routledge, 1996; Soja, 1996; and Pile, 1994). Soja (1994) further argues that within third spaces, new things happened and this disrupts

the old and dominant ways of thinking and doing. The third space cannot exist without the hybrid.

It is clear, however, that despite occupying a 'third space', hybridity does not resolve the tension between two cultures. Neither is it a move towards cultural relativism. An alternative explanation is that hybridity is the product of both mimicry and originary identity. The preservation of colonial authority requires an essentialist conception of the identity of the colonised to maintain the us/them construct, so hybridity is not a globalising construct.

As a strategy of resistance identity formation hybridity acknowledges its element of agency necessary to its configuration – and the third space becomes a political space within which identity is configured as political and important to power struggles. As a conceptual tool, hybridity was of particular attraction this study for three key reasons. The first is found in Bhabha's argument that the hybrid is ..."the product of a splitting which occurred when the colonial ruling authority attempted, in its texts, to impose upon the ruled" (1994:25). Keita Wyllie is the product of a splitting in Turanga, in a society that had experienced British contact for a little under a century (although British rule is highly debatable, even as late as 1860). Of particular interest is the way in which Keita Wyllie was both a ruled identity (as local Maori under a colonial government) and a ruling identity (the daughter of a prominent Scottish trader and wife of a prominent British government interpreter; and Rangatira and kaiwhakahaere for her tribe). In this sense, she was split between the two positions, unable to occupying both simultaneously.

The second key use of the hybrid is its construction of the third space. The hybrid's opportunity to translate, negotiate, and mediate affinity and difference within a dynamic of exchange and inclusion is an essential element to Keita Wyllie's identity that cannot go unnoticed. Keita's role in Native Land Court transactions, and as a respected woman in both Maori and Pakeha communities provides a particularly good example of translation, negotiation and mediation for this study.

The third key use is that hybrid identities have encoded within them a counter hegemonic agency is an added prospect for constructing an identity of a Maori/Pakeha half-caste woman in the nineteenth century quite unlike those presented by conventional histories of the time and place. Keita Wyllie epitomised counter-hegemonic agency, in opposition to the hegemonic expectations of women and of Maori. This is especially distinct in the ways in which she lived her family life, and took an active part in Pakeha and Maori societies, blending aspects of the two as she went.

Despite these three key uses of the hybrid identity, there remain problems, and Bhabha's ideas about the hybrid's setting needed some expansion for this research. Feminist geography and postcolonial scholarship in general have raised issue with a number of Bhabha's assumptions in theorising the hybrid. The discussion turns to these criticisms, and will consider their impact on the way in which hybridity (as descriptive and conceptual term) may be used in this Thesis.

Avril Bell, in her analysis of settler identities in New Zealand, suggests that hybridity can be applied to both Pakeha settlers, in terms of their hybrid origins, and the connection between Maori and Pakeha people. She argues that "hybridity is not seen as politically useful to indigenous peoples, whose struggles for political and legal recognition and autonomy depends on claims to a distinctive identity and value system". While this is a reflection of a present day struggle, rather than an historical one, Bell also recognises the role of hybridity in New Zealand's emerging nation – "despite the reality of biological and cultural mixing between settler and indigene, the politics of colonial relations in New Zealand operate to encourage individuals to choose a singular, rather than hybrid, cultural identity" (Bell, 1999:124).

So while the hybrid may not be contemporarily useful for New Zealand, it was useful to nineteenth century identity. Bell argues for distinctive identities and value systems in the present day, rather than the less useful (homogenised) hybrid. Within nineteenth century Turanga the hybrid is far more useful. The struggle for political and legal recognition didn't rely so much on the ability to maintain a distinctive identity but the ability to live a similar one. The British attempts to 'civilise' and 'homogenise' the Maori population into the ideals of British society saw a different path for many Maori. The struggle for political recognition came from within the colonial system, rather than against it. And the faster the Maori of Turanga realised that, the faster the hybrid identity emerged as a politically advantageous position to occupy.

One of the most important breakthroughs of the hybrid was its ability to position itself in contrast to an essentialised identity. But in doing so, it dangerously offers heterogeneity to identity. In essence, while offering a new space from which to theorise identity, it is actually masking the increasing problem of identifying existing cultural hierarchies and hegemonic practices. Individual become part of a hybrid grouping (often still positioned as the Other). Hybridity has liberated the analysis of colonial discourse from the binary oppositions between self and other, between the speaking subject and the silent 'native', but in doing so has also enabled an autonomous position for the colonial within hegemony, and privileged migrancy and exile (which ostensibly confers intellectual critical edge to those living the migrant/exiled state). Both of these issues create hierarchised power relations and speaking positions for varying subject positions, within and with-out of the research process itself as well as the subjects of the research.

Bhabha is further accused of paying too little attention to the importance of class and gender in his construction of the hybrid, problems indeed for this research. It is argued that little attention is paid to subject position outside of the cultural/ethnic perspective. In his favour, Blunt and Rose suggest, "Bhabha's work on subject positionality is crucial [to a critique of representation]. ... Highlighting the ambivalence of colonial discourse provides greater potential for the study of colonial constructions of gender differences. Colonial discourse depends upon fixity in its construction of "otherness", which is, however, an ambivalent form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is already 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated" (Blunt and Rose, 1994:11-12). But in of itself, the hybrid does not acknowledge class and gender.

In conventional historical conceptualisation of identity, dynamism and fluidity in identity are associated with mobility and modernity (the twentieth century), while nineteenth century identities are tied to relatively fixed social stations and geographic locations. A colonial identity cannot, theoretically, be fluid because the society in which it was created didn't allow for a mobilised self-created/self-determined identity – there was structure, but little independent agency. This is intrinsically linked to an understanding of the physical and metaphorical space(s) the subject occupied – the interaction of the identity with the socio-spatial relations (and discourses) enveloping it.

The contact zone is often glossed over by Bhabha in his attempt to highlight the third space as an alternative. Regrettably, in doing so the hybrid is accused of focusing too much on transgressive elements and underplaying alienation, exclusion, violence and fundamentalism as part of cultural encounters, particularly where there is social asymmetry as in colonialism. One balance to this is to acknowledge space as an active constituent agent rather than a container within which the hybrid identity operates. This means focusing on the socio-spatial relationships that form and interact with a hybrid identity. Incorporating space into the identity equation allows a perspective of the hybrid that expands and grows it without losing its essential elements of discontinuance, renegotiation and agency. A focus on space as an active and constituent element allows an analysis of the intermingling of cultural elements with attention to the contexts in which they develop and operate. With attention to the socio-spatial environment, the hybrid becomes a subject position that allows for a wider range of elements to be introduced (e.g. gender, class, sexual orientation...) without these becoming complicating elements in the hybrid identity itself. They are contextual elements that support and adjust the cultural identity of the subject. Where some critics argue the hybrid identity privileges the domain of the cultural as opposed to the material or political (restricting its sense to that of cultural products), in creating this geographically founded study, cultural domination and power become embodied in the culture and society of a place.

The methodology chosen for this research has made allowances for a number of factors that may have previously restricted the use of hybridity in a work like this. Where feminist and postcolonial authors may have preferred the use of a translocational identity (building on the idea of many simultaneous subject and speaking positions and with a greater use of fluidity in its conceptualisation) this research prefers to remain grounded in the use of the hybrid as a subject position partly constituted by the space in which it forms. The translocational concept does remain useful, though, because it "focuses on issues of cultural 'cut and mix' and deploys a notion of identity, however multi-layered or fragmented" (Anthias, 1999, 2001:633). Social relations of 'othering' and resource struggles are also both of continuing importance, but the socio-cultural perspectives of a spatialised setting gives both physical depth (relationship to natural and cultural resources) and theoretical depth (socio-spatial emplacement and cultural/societal discourse).

Anthias' emphasis on positionality, translocational or other, highlights the way in which the hybrid may be challenged to operate in the postcolonial context, especially given the dubious collective identity given to 'in-betweens':

> "Collective identities involve forms of social organisation postulating boundaries with identity markers that denote essential elements of membership (which act to 'code' people), as well as claims that are articulated for specific purposes. The identity markers (culture, origin, language, colour and physiognomy etc) may themselves function as resources that are deployed contextually and situationally....
>
> By focusing on location/dislocation and on positionality, it is possible to pay attention to spatial and contextual dimensions, treating the issues involved in terms of processes rather than possessive properties of individuals (for example, see Mouffe 1994)" (Anthias, 2001:633).

Attention to location as an aspect of social organisation – equally the spatial and contextual dimensions – leads to a greater awareness for issues and processes involved. Emplacing the hybrid identity within a located dimension, whether it be spatial or contextual, or both, gives both approaches greater depth. Hybridity includes the postcolonial theorising of struggle, and locatedness and positionality introduces the spatial and contextual dimensions, each complementing the other. Alone, neither would be sufficient to deconstruct the identity of Keita Wyllie. Together, then acknowledge the importance of both the structure of authority, and the local socio-spatial context in determining identity.

The next Chapter of this Thesis addresses the methodological approach for the research, and the way in which it fits with the theory discussed. Particular attention is paid to the use of texts as surviving remnants of historical evidence, and the way in which they may be interpreted and 'read' for meaning. Of importance to that process is the positioning of the researcher in relation to the subject and location of the enquiry.

Chapter Four:
Research design and methodology

The importance of a flexible but critical methodology in analyses of identity and culture cannot be under estimated. This Chapter outlines the research design chosen for this work, and the ways in which it is implemented within feminist geographic terms of reference. The key focus is on the analysis of surviving historical texts, landscapes and artefacts, the availability and reliability of which is addressed. The texts (which are more than just written) reveal the ways in which socio-spatial relations are constructed in Turanga, and the ways in which they form and interact with the cultural hybrid identity. Concluding the Chapter is a discussion regarding the positioning of the researcher and the importance of acknowledging the balance between subjectivity and objectivity in cultural research.

The research design for an intricate, multi-dimensional topic such as the relationship between space and cultural identity demands a broad framework from which to work. Because this topic involves feelings that may be taken for granted, it must be explored and opened in such a way that the experiences of the subject, Keita Wyllie, and the community of Turanganui are peeled back layer-by-layer and uncovered slowly. The fragmented nature of the evidence means that extra care must be taken.

A feminist approach has been taken to this study for a number of reasons. The particular experience of women in the context of nineteenth century Turanganui is not prominent in conventional histories of the region, so this study aims to contribute that marginalised (and previously hidden) element to the general local history. In line with feminist geographic goals of renegotiating role and structure within space, this study aims to reveal power structures, gender relations and, in particular, the cultural fluidity and hybridity previously absent from a conventional understanding of women in historical Turanganui.

From McDowell's work, feminist geography means to:

- Look at the actions and meanings of gendered people: examine their histories, their personalities and the meanings of places to them.
- Look at the different ways in which spaces are gendered: examine how this affects people's understandings of themselves as women or men.
- Look at the institutional and legal frameworks of a society that defines women in opposition and inferior to men.

(McDowell and Pringle, 1992; cited in McDowell, 1997)

These guidelines will be used in the critical 'reading' of the documents, photographs and artefacts of nineteenth century Turanganui. A feminist historical geography is one that "brings both feminist and geographical sensitivities to bear on the study of past phenomena" (Morin and Berg, 1999:312). Morin and Berg suggest that while feminist historical geographies are not explicitly methodological, nor studies of fixed and autonomous subjects, they allow a more spatialised form of historical enquiry that brings feminist concerns to bear. A critical material-feminist approach was undertaken to assist my understanding of Keita Wyllie in a cross-cultural context, which allowed a more general focus on discursive constructions of identity. More specifically, this approach undertakes a "critical investigation, or reading, in the strong sense, of the artefacts of culture and social history, including literary and artistic texts, archival documents, and works of theory, to be a potential site of political contestation through critique" (Landry & Maclean, 1993, p xi, cited in Mills, 1996). This is especially important to the study of colonial discourse because the "analysis of a wide range of documents and public statements will show us that they…have their own distinct cultural loading" (Lindsay, 1997, p64). Duncan and Barnes (1992:7) assert:

> "…Just as written texts are not simply mirrors of a 'reality' outside themselves, so cultural productions…are not 'about' something more real than themselves. But although not referential, such practices of signification are inter-textual in that they embody other cultural texts and, as a consequence, are communicative and productive of meaning. Such meaning is, however, by no means fixed; rather it is culturally and historically and sometimes even individually and momentarily variable."

This allows the sources themselves to exist independently and in relation to each other simultaneously, opening the 'reading' of such texts up to a wide range of interpretations. The word *text*, as used throughout this Chapter and others, does not refer exclusively to written sources, but includes anything that may be 'read' for discursive representation, such as maps, photographs, pictures and other artefacts.

There are four key aspects of the hybrid identity that have been considered with respect to Keita Wyllie. Firstly, the research endeavoured to find the ways in which she was the product of "a splitting which occurred when the colonial ruling authority attempted, in its texts, to impose upon the ruled" (Bhabha, 1994:25). Secondly, it examines how in order to be a hybrid Keita Wyllie was also in a position to translate, negotiate, and mediate affinity within a dynamic of exchange and inclusion, i.e. the third space (Bhabha, 1996). Thirdly, it argues that that Keita Wyllie had an element of counter-hegemonic agency, in direct opposition to the expectations of the time period and place for gendered and racialised identities. Finally, this Thesis argues that the active and constituent role of space encompasses Bhabha's three key conditions for the hybrid identity, forcing an evaluation of the socio-spatial structures

of Turanga in an analysis of Keita Wyllie's identity. The time period chosen to investigate these four aspects of hybridity is 1840 to 1893. The starting date is chosen because that was the year of Keita Wyllie's birth. The year 1893 is significant to Keita Wyllie's life because it was the date from which she was no longer a permanent resident in Turanga, so the importance of the space of Turanga on her identity becomes less relevant.

Texts

This research does not limit itself to solely written sources, for two key reasons. Firstly, the variety of texts that are available from the colonial context is not limited to written sources. It also includes photographs, paintings and artefacts, all of which may reflect the dominant discourses of the time. Secondly, there is a paucity of written material produced by colonised subjects in New Zealand (see Mills, 1996:127). This research refers specifically to personal letters, Maori Land Court Minutes, land deeds and other legal documents, research notes, newspaper articles, photographs, the family house and other miscellaneous remaining artefacts (e.g. the family's Maori language Old Testament) from Keita Wyllie's life. For more general information, it refers to historical accounts from the time period in question, as well as retrospective accounts of the time period and area written by twentieth century New Zealand historians.

By considering a feminist historical geography in terms of its relationship with space, we can better understand "the social production of historical geographic knowledge, and the spatial production of social geographies" (Morin and Berg, 1999:314). This is shown in two key areas. Firstly, the physical site of Turanga as a place and home to Keita Wyllie, and secondly, the metaphorical site contained within archival texts. The former involves an analysis of the physical, cultural and social landscapes of the township and surrounding area in the context of identity formation (for example, Keita Wyllie's choice of site for her family's home, and the layout within, and the implications of that for her daily life). The latter involves a careful reading of the social, political, economic, and cultural influences on her identity and operation as raced and gendered person within Turanga.

Turanga was chosen as site for this research for several key reasons. Firstly, accessibility to the researcher – I live and work in Gisborne and in attempting Masters research felt it necessary to have as much primary/archival material as close to hand as possible. Secondly, the history of the area lends itself well to cultural research, because of a rich history of Maori/Pakeha relationships and a particularly unique present-day population composition. Thirdly, and possibly most importantly, a work of this type has not been attempted in the area. There are only two major general histories of the people and area, which in combination with a variety of biographies, provides the basis of a regional history.

They have not attempted an analysis of raced or gendered identity, although Salmond provides an in-depth study of race relations in New Zealand up to 1840 in her authoritative books *Two Worlds* and *Between Worlds*, both of which mention Turanga.

Primary and archival sources

This research drew on a variety of sources to build up a picture of Keita Wyllie. Firstly, the Tairawhiti Museum collection on the Wyllie Family provided a number of leads and potential sources. In addition, the Museum has the preserved and renovated family home from Whata-upoko on site as an exhibit, an artefact in itself. Gisborne Herald and Poverty Bay Standard newspapers round out the sources, while the transactions from the Native Land Court also provide reference to Keita Wyllie in their daily minutes. Some Maori language newspapers, in addition to the Poverty Bay Standard, contain details of Keita Wyllie and/or James Wyllie, commenting on local events and Land Court processes. Professional assistance was sought in examining the Maori language newspapers. The necessity for English translation from Maori in some isolated cases means the use of Maori concepts and sources has been vulnerable to potentially inadequate translation. It should be noted that the local dialect is distinct, and that vocabulary and usage have changed significantly in the last century. There was some difficulty in gaining accurate translations of a number of documents, but the general intention of the texts was clear. For the most part, the newspapers contributed information already reported in English in other documents.

A number of photographs of the family survive, including several of Keita Wyllie. A small number are portraits while others are by local photographers of society events at which she and the family were present.

The primary sources were not exhaustive. This made the task difficult, but not impossible. A number of accounts by other settlers in the area have survived in various personal memoirs, all of which contribute a little more to the knowledge of her life. In addition, the Tairawhiti Museum Historian of the mid 1970s and 1980s, Sir R. de Z. Hall, left correspondence with remaining family members (great-grand-children) relating to Keita Wyllie and general family history in the Wyllie Family museum archive. This proved an invaluable source, especially in relation to tracing the origin of photographs.

Secondary sources

Since W.H. Oliver's 1971 book on the economic and social development of the East Coast, *Challenge and Response*, no other across-the-board histories of the region have been undertaken. Individual features of the region's significant part in New Zealand's history can be seen, such as in Salmond's works on Te Kooti Irirangi and race relations in general in

New Zealand. It is easy to forget the impressive individuals that came from the region in the face of its otherwise lack of notoriety. Necessarily, therefore, this section of the research draws on a limited range of sources. This is not a lack of desire on the part of the research to deliver a balanced view, but reflective of the lack of general histories available about the region, and the time frame allowed to read around the topic.

Key references are W.H. Oliver and J.A Mackay, both of whose historical works focus on the early years of Turanga. Mackay's study, *Historic Poverty Bay*, centres on key individuals in the European history of Turanga area, in particular traders around the area. In addition to the published book, most of Mackay's own notes throughout the writing of the book are now held at the Tairawhiti Museum and H.B. Williams Memorial Library, in archive collections. Oliver's work *Challenge and Response* focuses on political and economic development, set against the backdrop of changing race relations – a closer match with this study, but it is necessary to read it with Mackay's for a fuller picture of the early history of the area. If both are read with more general New Zealand histories in mind, such as Oliver's *A Story of New Zealand*, they are of even greater use as the local events and patterns are set in a wider context of colonial New Zealand.

This Chapter now turns to the way in which texts are used to construct and perpetuate identity, and their usefulness to an examination of fluidity and hybridity.

Using texts to examine identity

Edward Said suggests texts are 'worldly'. This means "they are … a part of the social world, human life, and of course the historical moments in which they are located and interpreted (WTC: p.4)" (Kennedy, 2000:10). In order to understand both the message the text is imparting and the context in which it is imparted, a critical reading must be undertaken. The primary texts were read using the key tools of postcolonial literary criticism:

1. reading for realism
2. reading for resistance
3. reading for the collective voice (but not at the expense of the individual)

This process involved a reading of the physical construction of the text and a reading for the representations of identity within it. This includes a re-reading of the "cultural archive', in terms of the 'metropolitan history that is narrated' and 'those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts" (Said, 1983:59-60). The reading must therefore encompass both colonialism and resistance,

and adopt a global/universal perspective. Text has a coherent texture that must be encountered, in particular the need to confront contradictions and highlight the fragmented and multi-faceted nature of human consciousness.

Where Edward Said conceptualises hybridity as the overlapping point of colonising and colonised cultures, Bhabha places more emphasis on the resistance to and the subversion of colonial power:

> "Colonial discourse becomes hybrid when the language of the colonised intersects with that of the coloniser, and when two meanings attributed to the same words. This leads to subversion, potentially at least, since what begins as part of the dominant discourse turns into an inappropriate and therefore challenging reply" (Kennedy, 2000:122).

Exploring the relationship between texts, culture and power, all of which contribute to knowledge of the subject's identity in this study, aims to decentre, dislocate and disrupt conventional understandings (Bhabha, 1984). Of particular interest to this research is the way in which the surviving documents of the time act as colonising forces themselves. "Writing constituted the major type of formal communication" in the nineteenth century. As a discursive framework, writing functioned in three key ways: to transmit information; to define and categorise Maori in ways that European readers could understand; and to hide the complexities of relationships between Maori and Pakeha (O'Leary, 2001:1). With specific reference to the site of Turanga, documents and artefacts of the time could be read for:

- Timing and nature of Pakeha contact
- Attitudes of government (and governance)
- Attitudes of local settler communities
- Demographic patterns
- Extent and date of land sales and leases
- Government policy
- Loyalty (esp. to govt.)
- Natural resources available
- Skills needed for natural resource utilisation
- Relative strengths of land sellers and holders

Representational analyses of texts are predicated on the understanding that, as social products, literature, language, and the products of the visual arts, they are both reflective and generative of the wider social contexts (including other texts) within which they are produced and received. As such, texts ask key questions about both the subject and the author. Firstly, who has the (social) power to represent? Secondly, what is the form and content of the representation? And thirdly, what are the

reception contexts – or "readings" – of the representation, including the intended and unintended social outcomes? It is also important to remember "ruling class documents…can be read both for what they say and their silences" (Chakrabarty, 1988).

In past work of this type, a colonial gender analysis might have been completed in terms of stereotypical notions such as confinement in that time and place. This is insufficient for this study. An examination of the broader spatial and societal frameworks that developed as a result of the clash between ideological constraints and women as agents – producers of knowledge – means that a broader variety of roles existed for women that just a confined one. There can be no doubt that examining the relationship between a (gendered) hybrid identity and space is complex – a conventional/stereotypical identity must be considered together with subaltern re-evaluations. Sara Mills argues that a gendered analysis in colonial space must "examine the possibilities of developing a materialist-feminist analysis of representational space which will be aware of the way that women and men, colonised and coloniser, negotiate their positions in space through their interrogations with their respective social positions" (Mills, 1996:126). In reading space itself as a text there can be an attempt to interpret its social and contextual history. The relationship between the texts and spatial representation is noted in Moore's argument that "meanings are not inherent in the organisation of … space, but must be invoked through the activities of social actors" (Moore, 1986:8, cited in Mills, 1996:129). The activities of social actors participate with space, rather than within it.

Mary Louise Pratt's theorising of colonial space has led to the term 'the contact zone', where "disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (Pratt, 1992:38). In this space, the coloniser and the colonising culture mutually influence each other's norms and values. It is the moment of colonial interaction, and thus the moment of colonial identity formation. In the New Zealand context, the theorising of the contact zone is especially useful. Eddie Durie has noted, in papers relating to ethics and values in Maori research, that there needs to be a greater awareness and consideration in researchers of the historical take-up/incorporation of Pakeha norms and values by Maori, a recognition of the important role the contact zone played in creating a more equal meeting ground between Maori and Pakeha.

Reading for the subject

Discourses exist in written and oral forms and are embedded in our social practices of everyday life, on our 'common sense' and in our built environment. They act to limit and define what we can imagine – enabling or constraining us to write, think, and act in particular ways within particular contexts (i.e. discursive formations). The key themes to emerge from Foucault's work that underpin this study are his concepts

of discourse as a system of representation, issues of power and knowledge, and the question of the subject.

Discourses position subjects within their own discursive formations and shape the contours of the taken-for-granted world. Ultimately they help us to understand how what is said [and not said] fits into a network that has its own history, spatiality and conditions of existence. At any point in time there are a range of discourses in circulation, although not all carry equal weight or power. Some account for the status quo (and become hegemonic), others challenge existing practice (counter-hegemonic). To understand the way in which meanings are created (and sustained over time), we must look at the historically constituted discourses that define that meaning.

Conventional historical research held that the subject is an individual fully endowed with consciousness, an autonomous and stable identity, which is an independent and authoritative source of action and meaning. In comparison, Foucault argued that the subject is constituted by discourse and 'speaks the subject'. There is no unified subject or essential meaning to the subject – there is a range of possible subject positions available simultaneously, subjectivities constituted by different discourses. "Human subjects and historical events are not firm and discrete (id)entities but are fragmented and changing sites across which the flows of power move" (McHoul and Grace, 1993:41). Because the subject is produced within discourse, it can become the bearer of the kind of knowledge that discourse produces – it becomes an object through which power is relayed.

Power involves knowledge, representation, ideas, cultural leadership and authority, as well as economic constraint and physical coercion, but cannot be captured solely in terms of force or coercion (especially in the colonial context). Power is everywhere and cannot be thought of in terms of one group having a monopoly of power – there are levels of power operating at all levels, from micro-level to wider strategies. As a force, it constrains and prevents, and is also productive. It produces news discourses, new kinds of knowledge, new objects of knowledge, while also shaping practices and institutions within society.

Discourse produces subjects – figures who personify the particular forms of knowledge that discourse produces (e.g. homosexual men, hysterical women, etc.). These figures are specific to discursive regimes within historical periods. The place for the subject is also created by discourse from which its particular knowledge and meaning makes the most sense. It is important to remember that not all individuals in a particular period will become subjects of a particular discourse. To do so, they must locate themselves in the position from which the discourse makes the most sense, and thus become its subjects by 'subjecting' themselves to its meanings, power and regulation. All discourses construct subject positions from which they alone make sense (from which a subject alone may speak).

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"What is important to remember here is that discourses do not
inhere in people; rather, we inhabit different discourses which
frequently overlap or are in conflict with each other. The
translation, integration, and hybridisation our involvement in
multiple discourses demands is something each individual must
negotiate. But the individual does not negotiate meaning and
translate concepts and metaphors from one discourse to another
in some internal mental realm of pure ideas. Discourses are not
disembodied ideas but the product of social action and
interaction. The process of translation and negotiation takes place
in a variety of sites in our lives. These sites constitute the
contexts of culture creation. The struggle to create meaning takes
place in the context of particular historical configurations.
Different public cultures selectively emphasise certain ideas and
forms of representation while repressing others that are struggling
against current hegemony" (Munck and O'Hearn, 1999:17).

The aim of this analysis, therefore, is to analyse how hybrid identities
understand themselves in culture, and how knowledge about the social,
the embodied individual and shared meanings comes to be produced in
the colonial time period. There is a focus on the relations of power and
how discourse works to (re)produce them.

A discussion of the position the subject takes in the production of
knowledge begins with the acknowledgement that there is a great need
for positionality in the production of knowledge. For example, women
don't form relatively stable or unified female subjects: identities are
constituted, not just subject positions within discourse, but also in
relation to shifting contexts made up of economic and social conditions,
cultural and political institutions and ideologies. As such, identities are
fully implicated in social formations (Mohanty, 1988; Sandoval, 1991;
Larner, 1998:161). Positionality therefore relates to the space at the
intersection of <u>structure</u> (as social position/social effects) and <u>agency</u> (as
social positioning/meaning and practice).

"…working with an understanding of positionality involves
developing theoretical and political frameworks in which conflicts
and contradictions between women are integrated into the
analysis rather than ignored" (Larner, 1998:172).

Using positionality as a reference for the spatial dimension of identity
politics creates issues for research about social position, and the creation
of the Other in practice. The focus on location (and translocation)
recognises the importance of context, the situated nature of claims and
attributions and their production in complex and shifting locales. In this

case, the location is a colonial setting; the border[5] of a settler society, where European meet Maori. Settler societies are "societies in which Europeans have settled, where their descendents have remained politically dominant over indigenous peoples, and where a heterogeneous society has developed in class, ethnic and racial terms" (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, 1995:3). They fall along a continuum, rather than within clear and fixed boundaries, and they feature "extensive systems of exclusion and exploitation of both 'indigenous' and 'alien' peoples within, exercised through a variety of coercive, ideological, legal, administrative and co-optive mechanisms" (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, 1995:4). Settler-state analyses have tended to privilege one form of social relations and one form of domination – centre periphery, class or race – reducing the inherent complexities.

Some New Zealand historical analyses of the colonial setting additionally identify the settler culture as being typified by trade and dependency, in which women played an active and important role. A study of colonialism as gendered seeks to examine the distribution of power and resources between women and men in this context. It is important to remember that gender interacted with race and class relationships, and a gendered view can alter many historically established assumptions about colonial relationships. For example, a Maori/Pakeha marriage (such as Keita and James Wyllie's) combines two houses rather than establishing a single patriarchal household – exercises of power over family resources may well have been as much the matriarch as the patriarch. The colonial setting also saw a transformation of gender roles, especially as personal and society expectations changed. Additionally, the colonial period saw a revival of identity politics (especially paralleling the emergence of women's suffrage) that challenged racially defined subordination.

Positioning of researcher

I am aware of my subject positioning in this research for two reasons. Firstly, Linda McDowell's work (1996, 1999) in feminist methodologies for geography has revealed that the methodological approach taken is intrinsically linked to the theoretical perspectives we hold, not only as geographers, but also as individuals. The research questions that I pose are intimately bound up within my view of the world. Secondly, Wendy Larner (1995), in theorising difference in Aotearoa/New Zealand, noted that there is an increasing argument for analyses of Maori women to be based on self-representation. That is, "academic work concerning Maori women should be promoted and undertaken by Maori women" (Irwin, 1992:7). Arguably, this leaves little room for Pakeha geographers (sometimes accused of being Eurocentric in their approach) to theorise on Maori identity. My response to a challenge such as this is that I am attempting a geography of socio-spatial relations that contribute to the

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[5] This term is sometimes replaced by the word 'frontier' to describe the point at which coloniser and colonised meet, and the expansion of occupied land.

fluidity of identity, not the geography of a Maori identity. Like Larner, the theoretical and political challenge for me, therefore, is:

> "to recognise the fact that my own knowledge is situated and to engage ethically with the knowledges of others. This involves paying close attention to the sites within which knowledges are named and how the person or group is situated when making their claims. It means entering into an ongoing dialogue that acknowledges the differences, as well as exploring the interrelationships, between these knowledges" (Larner, 1998:172).

The researcher is an agent of the interpretative paradigm they employ, and the available research sources. In many cases, the voices of subjects are refracted through the narrative position of the account being read. The involvement of historical concerns adds a further subjectivity quotient that is impossible for the historian to ignore completely. Complications might include the implicated ness of the historian's subject position (in relation to the place or person studied); the framing of fragmentary documents (especially incomplete archival documents); or ideological predilections e.g. euro-centrism.

An historian is necessarily concerned with explaining change over time - the interrelationship of ideas and events (social, economic, intellectual milieu), but to examine these in the colonial context and attempt to offer an analysis creates problems that this study will have to address before offering an alternative/ additional story in the history of the Turanganui. Colonial discourse analysis is not dissimilar to the role of an historian reading textual sources for conventional history. While colonial discourse analysis is deliberately wide ranging and eclectic, crossing disciplinary boundaries in its effort to find significance, the historian is first and foremost a textual scholar of any source, taught to read closely. Quayson (2000:61) notes;

> "...not only is history essentially textual but every textual fragment of the historical archive allows a similar insight into the significance of historical processes through the inherent *textuality* of the fragment. The historical is thus situated in a deliberately heterogeneous domain in which every fragment of the archive, no matter how unrelated of seemingly innocent, can be read for signs of tropes, metaphors and discourses that can be brought into a relationship of equivalence with the major historical documents of the archive such as parliamentary minutes, political speeches, official diaries etc."

This has methodological implications for the researcher. A series of textual fragments from any archive will embody contradictions, and what becomes significant are both the ways in which they contradict each other and the fact that they produce contradictions. Furthermore, these contradictions are representative of a wider structure and historical

domain – embodying a sense of the views and values of the historical period.

It appears necessary for the researcher to increasingly question their task, and the entanglement of their own history with History. Remembering a key feminist goal – breaking out of universalistic assumptions – there is a need for an examination of the historical, institutional and social relations that have produced subjects. The feminist historian, and in this case, feminist historical geographer, must therefore be "eager to delve into archives or engage in fieldwork in order to lay claim to a lost and repudiated history" (John, 1996:24).

As a researcher I acknowledge my positioning in relation to my subject. I am a Pakeha feminist geographer, currently living in Gisborne (formerly Turanga). I make present claim to the area that I study, but I cannot claim to know its history as a long-term resident. I hold no ties of whakapapa to this area or any other, nor do I speak or read Te Reo Maori. My interest in the subject, Keita Wyllie, comes from an interest in the socio-spatial relations of Gisborne, and a curiosity for the ways in which the present-day social cultural landscape of the township have been influenced by past events. As such, my reading is first and foremost for socio-spatial relations, regardless of whether they are Maori or Pakeha.

There are obvious difficulties in this type of research for me, with no Maori background or formal training in Maori geographies. However, every effort has been made to make the transition between Maori and Pakeha sources easier and more accessible, especially in the use of local texts. I recognise the vulnerability of some translations and my interpretation of some rituals and events.

The next four Chapters of this Thesis address the construction of Keita Wyllie's identity in the context of the socio-spatial relations of colonial Turanga. Chapter Five will examine the particular relationship between identity in space; Chapter Six the way in which Keita Wyllie was the product of a splitting; Chapter Seven the way in which Keita Wyllie was in a position to translate, negotiate and mediate meaning; and Chapter Eight will discover the ways in which Keita Wyllie had an element of counter-hegemonic agency.

Chapter Five:
Identity and space in Turanga

Turanga has a history of race relations and social development that makes it distinctive to New Zealand. In particular, the physical environment and type of settlement contributes much to its story. Turanganui's physical isolation, especially by land, separates it from the rest of New Zealand in a time of great change and upheaval, creating an additional social and economic isolation. The region also experienced specifically local impacts and changes, for example the Hauhau movement and Te Kooti, and some extremely hard fought and personal disputes over land confiscations. Tribal links were, and remain today, strong – for example the close connection of the National Provincial Competition (NPC) rugby team *Ngati Porou East Coast*. All of these factors are important in understanding the context in which mixed-culture identities were formed. This Chapter will review the history of Turanga as represented by local and national historians studying society, culture and economic development. Of particular interest will be the socio-historical context within which Keita Wyllie was raised and lived – the period 1840 to 1893.

An analysis of colonial identity becomes especially relevant to geography when it takes space into account – becoming a spatialised and historicised setting. The setting of Turanga, specifically the township of Turanganui, is the spatialised context within which Keita Wyllie's identity is revealed. The term context needs to be addressed in order to understand the specific conditions of situating an identity both historically and spatially. Jones, Nast and Roberts argue, "we can reserve the term 'context' for the interrelationships among things, practices, persons and places. To the extent that feminist geographers call attention to the gendered and sexed spatial interrelationships in this array, they can be said to offer a feminist contextual approach to research" (Jones, Nast and Roberts, 1997:xxvi). Context, therefore, is a way of understanding where identity is situated, both physically and symbolically. This fits in with feminist geographic research, which demands an exploration of how gender relations and geographies are mutually structured and transformed (with reference to perspectives drawing on feminist politics and theories). Physical and symbolic representations are implicit to the construction of context – they cannot be separated. Likewise, Edward Said argues that representations cannot be isolated from the material circumstances that make them possible and intelligible: "Representations are worldly, to come degree they are events, and, even when they appear to deny it, they are nevertheless a part of the social world, human life, and of course the historical moments in which they are located and interpreted" (Said, 1983:4).

It is important, therefore to understand how the discursive framework within which Keita Wyllie lived came to have meaning. Meaning is constituted through repeated representation, and the symbolic creation of identity (which uses the key reference points of self and other). As a result, the identities and meanings created are entirely linked to the socio-cultural and historical context in which they are constituted. In addition to the where and when questions of context, meaning and representation are the questions of who and why. Morin and Berg argue "representations of 'race', nation, and history are more than 'mere' symbolism, since those with the authority to impose their specific identity norms on others may appropriate them for their own ends" (Morin and Berg, 2001:198).

The essence of historical geography is that a place on a map is also a locatable place in history. The physical location of an historical and cultural setting is as important as the people and social mechanisms that work within it. Turanganui 's location and space contributed to its cultural and social setting in ways both similar and different to other regions in New Zealand. There were unique and important consequences of a number of features. Firstly, Turanga was isolated and separated from the rest of the North Island and country, including its distance from any 'organised' colonial settlement. In addition, the 'difficult' interior landscape made it hard for settlers to colonise quickly or easily. Secondly, the region had a particular mix of coastline and river as its key means of transport and communication, rather than the more traditional or conventionally used across-land communication lines. Until the growth of national shipping from the mid 1870s, followed by the emergence of refrigerated transport (the first local freezing works was permanently located near the port from the mid 1870s), the region did not have regular contact with other parts of the country, except through the change of military personnel at the Ormond base. Thirdly, the region carried the legacy of Cook's landing in New Zealand, and the consequent colonial relations established in the region. In parallel with this was the number of [independent] Maori tribes identifying locally, with their own roles and responsibilities, and all articulating their own Maori stronghold in the face of change.

Positioning the subject

> 'You see I am a woman, and although I am, you cannot tire me
> out. I can hold my own with you or any other Maori or European
> when I have to fight for my right.' (Keita Wyllie quoted in Poverty
> Bay Standard, 26 July 1873, p2).

Keita Wyllie lived through some of the most traumatic and violent years of Turanga's history, and her life was deeply affected by conflicts which divided tribal groups and split Maori interests from those of Pakeha. At the same time, she lived in a world where an intermingling of Maori and

Pakeha and their cultures was taking places, through marriage, birth of children, and friendships.

Colonial domination relies on separation by a clear boundary. If this is not defined or becomes greyed, the domination itself is blurred. The ways in which hybridity may be used to define identity in the colonial context, and the advantages of using the hybrid's terms of reference in the specific context of Turanga, are grounded in the concept of greyed boundaries and the shift of power. The power of the hybrid identity is to work within those greyed areas, and to negotiate meaning for both themselves and the people on the border.

Physical boundaries for the region known as Turanga are difficult to define. The broken landscape, with high mountains, thick forest and rolling river plains does not lend itself well to easily plotted sections. Turanga can be approximated with the present-day Poverty Bay, however, and Figure 2 shows the approximate physical boundaries.

Figure 2: Turanga, and main natural features
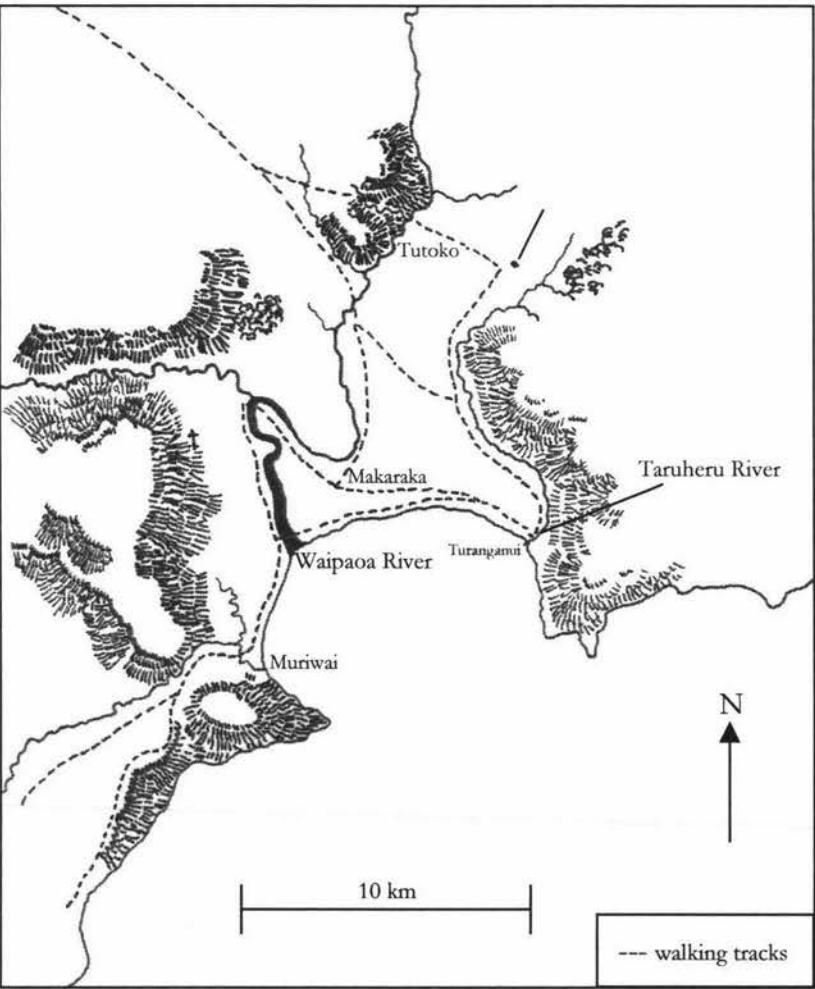
It is difficult to determine social boundaries, both past and present. Marks of ownership in place-names and land uses belie both Maori and European populations. The two are intrinsically linked. W.H. Oliver, who wrote an historical study of the economic and social development of the region (*Challenge and Response*), suggests that in order to understand the region's relationship to factors outside of itself, it could be regarded as at the centre of a series of concentric circles. These circles include such things as its connections with other regions (Hawkes Bay, Auckland and Taranaki), the general evolution of New Zealand life and an economic and social sense, and the role of world primary export/import markets. But, as Oliver adds, "it is marked by some distinctive social characteristics", such as the relationship of its extreme natural features to its growing farming economy, the role of migration (and especially out-migration), and "the presence of two races more nearly in balance than is the case in most other parts of New Zealand" (Oliver, 1971:4). Finally, it is important not to forget the associated social tensions, and economic frustrations of the region. All of these things are connected with the remoteness of the area, and its relative primitiveness, dominating features of its development, socially, culturally and economically.

Despite being one of the most sparsely settled regions in the country Turanga had a strong sociality and an extremely strong sense of regional identity (Oliver, 1971:9). On the other hand, it had its fair share of frustration and disappointment, and a history of race relations like no other. Oliver argues that it yields "the only episode in New Zealand history to which the word 'massacre' can be sensibly applied". But it was not so totally isolated from the rest of the country that it did not share the experiences of pioneering, entrepreneurship, the struggle for public works, upswings and downswings of an agricultural export dependent economy, natural disasters and the conflict of races with other dominant regions.

The story begins with the arrival of the Horouta canoe to the area. The original inhabitants of Turanga were the crew of the Horouta canoe, who migrated from Ahuahu or Great Mercury Island…

> "The migration, in the early part of the fourteenth century, was
> led by Paoa (or Pawa), the grandson of Ngatoroirangi I of the first
> Arawa canoe, which had originally come from Hawaiki and made
> its landfall at or near Whangara. Paoa had the East Coast in mind
> when he moved south, and no doubt knew of the area from the
> favourable reports of his grandfather" (Halbert, 1999:26).

After damage to the Horouta and losses to both crew and in the Bay of Plenty, a skeleton crew continued by canoe to the East Coast to find a suitable meeting place, while the remainder of the crew travelled overland, bringing some people from the Bay of Plenty as they marched.

Three landings on the East Coast are mentioned in the story of the Horouta Canoe. The third was at the mouth of a stream:

> "…at Te Muriwai, Poverty Bay, where Paoa's sister Hinehakirirangi and a few of her helpers decided to stay, while Kiwa continued across the bay to inspect the land on the other wide. He decided that the area on the west bank of the Turanganui River (between the Gladstone Road and the railway bridges in what is now Gisborne) would be ideal for the planned rendezvous of the Horouta people. To commemorate this decision, Kiwa gave the title Turanganui-a-Kiwi (The rendezvous selected by Kiwa) to the neighbouring land, streams, and settled down to wait for the main party.

> Rongowhakaata was descended from the three sons of Paikea: Rongomaituahu, Marupapanui and Pouheni, and also from Ruakapanga of Parinuitera…. Rongowhakaata had been raised at Uawa, of which Tolaga Bay is the centre, and came to Turanganui-a-Kiwa (or Gisborne) from Puatai, which is between Tolaga and Pakarae. He visited Te Huia Pa, fell in love with Moeahu's second daughter, Turahiri, and married her. Their only child was a son, Rongomairatahi, who became the chief ancestor of the Rongowhakaata tribe" (Halbert, 1999:26).

Tribal history in the area is complex, but reasonably well documented in Native Land Court proceedings. Salmond notes:

> "each of the major tribal groupings was divided into many hapu, linked by a maze of intermarriages and keeping in active contact with other groups both to the north and the south of the bay. The population was mobile and fluid, but estimated to have been large. First missionary congregations were estimated at 2,000 [based on congregation estimates by rev. William Williams], and recent calculations based on local volumes of crop-storage pits suggest that from 300 to 1,000 people could have been fed by each of the gardens on each of the major river fans in the bay" (Salmond 1997:121).

In most parts of the country, Maori chiefs welcomed European settlers when they first encountered them. Michael King argues that competitive tribalism was the basis of Maori society prior to organised European settlement, and that "because of the persistence of tribal competitiveness, chiefs saw Pakeha as a source of protection and a means of consolidating local power" (King, 1985:30). This was mainly, King suggests, through the acquisition of muskets, trade goods and useful advice by each chief. The period 1864 to 1868 (almost 40 years after the first traders settled in the area) saw a number of small skirmishes between tribes up and down the coastline. These were linked

to the general unrest of the region at the time; some examples include the emergence of religious groups and leaders such as Pai Marire and Te Kooti, and an increasing sense of urgency among Maori with respect to the rate of land alienation. On the flipside, European traders and early settlers saw the opportunity for protection and care in such tribes, and valued the support and markets. The opportunity for marriage opportunities was also taken advantage of. This was one way in which loyalty was assured on both side – the marriage of a chief's daughter to a European trader established a contract much harder for either party to break. It was "a swashbuckling period of cross-cultural trial and error" (Salmond, 1997:13).

Beginning the more coherent history of Maori and Pakeha contact, it is estimated that traders and settlers were permanently established in Mahia around the early 1803s. A lack of sources makes it difficult to confirm any European settlement prior to that that. It is suggested that trader John Rutherford was working in the district from 1816 to 1826, and J. William Harris (often credited as being one of the first settlers in Turanganui) settled into the area in 1831. One prolific entrepreneur, Barnet Burns (a trader of some legend and repute) was certainly established in 1832, and he is described as a white, tattooed trader living with Maori. For the most part, traders travelled up and down the coastline, with the majority of their trading bases at Mahia Peninsula.

Thomas Halbert, Keita's father, arrived in Turanga in 1832 and was one of the earliest settlers to the region. Born in Newcastle-on-Tyne of Anglo-Scottish descent, Halbert landed in the area from a whaling boat and began work as a trader in the Mahia area. A short time later Halbert married his first wife (of Rongomaiwahine tribe) in Mahia. The son of that marriage died in infancy, and when Halbert returned to Turanga his wife did not accompany him. Soon after his return to Turanga, Halbert took up trade in muskets, tobacco, and blankets (Mackay, 1949:104). In 1834 he married his second wife Pirihira Kanikani (of Te Aitanga a Mahaki iwi) and fathered Otene Pitau. They lived at Muriwai (most likely pig-farming, as land records suggest), but while Pirihira was pregnant, she and Halbert quarrelled and she went to live with Raharuhi Rukupo, who gladly adopted Pitau as he had no children of his own. Pitau was later chief of Ngati Kaipoho from 1880 to 1921.

Halbert's third marriage, to Mereana Wero, was short lived and produced no children. His fourth marriage however was more fruitful. Riria Mauaranui bore Halbert a son, Wi Pere, in March 1837. Pere was destined to be involved in local and national politics and is remembered for his pro-Government stance during the colonial period. In a hearing in 1869 conducted by the Poverty Bay Crown Grants Commission, Halbert acknowledged Wi Pere as his eldest son and heir, in the process disinheriting Otene Pitau. It may have been that he felt he had no further claim over him since Raharuhi Rukupo adopted him, but to this day it is unknown why Wi Pere was so named. In 1837, Halbert

returned to Turanganui to operate a whaling station. While maintaining his homes at Muriwai and Turanganui, Halbert then purchased land at Pouparae in 1839[6], and he went to live there to raise pigs for export. Halbert's fifth marriage was to Kaikiri, proving a durable alliance of some length of time.

Keita Wyllie was born in 1840 to a Maori mother, Keita Kaikiri and Anglo-Scottish father, Thomas Halbert. Kaikiri belonged to Ngati Kaipoho of Rongowhakaata and was descended from Te Hukaipu. She was also closely related to Raharuhi Rukupo, a chief of the Rongowhakaata tribe at that time. The Ngati Kaipoho line was one of the most important lines of Rongowhakaata (although not necessarily the biggest), and Kaikiri also had links to Te Whanaua Taupara of Te-Aitanga-a-Mahaki iwi (see Appendix One for Keita's whakapapa). Keita was born in an area known as Tutoko, near Waerenga-a-Hika mission. She had three younger sisters (all of whom also latter married European men). Nothing is recorded of Keita Kaikiri's fate after the birth of her children, apart from Halbert moving on to his next wife.

Halbert's sixth and last wife was also of Rongowhakaata iwi, bearing four children to him (of whom two made it past infancy). Halbert's trading proved an inconsistent and eventually unprofitable operation because of the credit lines he was continually extending. The early settlements had chronic cash-flow problems, and eventually Halbert was forced to close the business. With children of mixed blood and the knowledge that his livelihood depended on Maori customers, it is not unlikely that Halbert had sympathy for the Maori situation. It is not impossible either, in the later years of his life as his children grew up, that Halbert encouraged his children to take up the cause of Maori in the face of growing Pakeha pressure, particularly his eldest, Wi Pere and Keita. In doing so he equipped them with the ability to translate their Maori lives and strengths into workable contexts within the Pakeha world, and vice versa. This theory is supported in part by Halbert's willingness to trade gunpowder and muskets with Maori in the region. He was arrested and brought before court in 1851 for supplying local Maori with 15 lbs of gunpowder. He was fined £20, and the Court made it known that any native who furnished further information concerning the future sale of powder would be given £5. It was implied that Halbert was not only violating the law but also "seriously endangering the lives and property of the Europeans" (Mackay, 1949:199). An alternative explanation is Halbert's dissatisfaction as a Scotsman with the British elements of the settler population arriving in the region. By better equipping Maori he may have been fulfilling his desire to clear his own grievances with the British colonial attitudes.

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[6] As shown on a marine survey plan of the East Coast, compiled by Captain Wing of the Schooner *Trent*, and confirmed by evidence given to the Poverty Bay Crown Courts Commission in 1869 by William Morris, James Wilson and Peter Simpson (Halbert's neighbours).

Halbert maintained a certain amount of power in the district as the local trader for muskets, tobacco and blankets. In marrying into Maori communities along the coastline between Mahia and Turanganui, and later providing them with export services, Halbert was ensuring protection of both himself and his family. It made economic sense to get as broad a trading base as possible, establishing himself as supplier to as many hapu as he could. Marriage would have seen him nominated as preferred supplier in a number of locations up and down the coast.

Thomas Halbert acquired land on the 18th of December 1839 (dated 4th November 1840 in the official transaction) consisting of 1004 acres known as Pouparae, to be used for rearing pigs for export. This purchase was considered one of the most important at the time of European settlement in the area. This was the site where Barnet Burns has originally squatted, and was bought for the sum of £315 in cash and goods. The block was later sold in 1841 to Rev. W. Williams, local representative of the Church Missionary Society, and J. Williams Harris. It is thought that Halbert's son, Wi Pere, was to benefit from it – native witnesses certainly testified so in the 1859 Commission on land purchases (Mackay, 1949:141). Harris later sold his share to Williams, and when the claim on the land came up for consideration under the process of Old Land Claims in 1869, Wi Pere withdrew his claim to it and the Crown Grant was issued to Bishop W. Williams. The area of the block by then was estimated to be at just less than 500 acres.

The land claim process had begun in approximately 1825, recording the purchase and sale of blocks of land in the Turanga area. Between 1825 and the 1850s, Thomas Halbert appears no less than four times, indicating a regular involvement in the land purchasing process, but unlikely to be on a large enough scale to be considered speculation. In all cases Thomas Halbert was selling land, and in all cases the sale was granted. In a lawless and violent period of time, Halbert's entrepreneurial opportunity as a link between Maori and Pakeha could have been exploited. In this period, a number of local traders grasped opportunities and favours and became very rich. Halbert was not one of these men. He died on the night of April 12 1865 in a terrible accident. Returning from a drinking session on board a schooner berthed in the Taruheru River, his boat overturned in shallow muddy water. Halbert sank deep into the silt, pulled down by the weight of his sea boots, and was drowned by the rising tide.

Maori and Pakeha contact in Turanga in the early- to mid-nineteenth century can be structured under four general headings. Firstly, strategic alliances initiated and controlled by Maori chiefs for competitive advantage over local hapu; secondly, the role of inter-racial marriage in gaining advantage and negotiating power (again, often initiated and controlled by Maori chiefs); thirdly, the role of trade and economic development in the relationship between Maori and Pakeha; and finally, a spirit of independence, allowing Maori and Pakeha to live together in

mutually satisfactory settings. Underlying all of these was an ongoing tension surrounding land purchases, and the associated British colonial and administrative authority. For the most part, Maori in Turanga were not subjugated to British rule – the region was one of the last to accept colonial authority, and maintained a fierce independent streak, which included the key Maori politicians emerging from the area in the late nineteenth century, for example Wi Pere and Apirana Ngata. For this area in particular, "it is naïve, romantic, or even patronising to the Maori of that time to contend that in most cases they remained unaware of the real intentions of settlers with whom they entered into such dealings" (Webster, cited in Sissons, 1998:2). One of those who did not harbour naïve or romantic impressions of Pakeha was Keita Wyllie. Her particular role in the growth of the community at Turanga was an informed and active one, and she consistently worked with both Maori and Pakeha to broker a liveable situation for both peoples in a time of disruption and unrest.

The next three Chapters examine the way in which Keita Wyllie is constructed as a hybrid identity in the setting of Turanga. The emphasis is placed on the particular socio-spatial relations of Turanga that influenced her identity. Each Chapter addresses a separate condition of hybridity, as proposed by Homi Bhabha. Chapter Six discusses the way in which Keita was the result of a 'splitting', imposed by the authority of colonial texts, and how Turanga influenced her occupation of both Maori and Pakeha identities. This includes her childhood and formative years, marriage and motherhood, the family homes and property, and her presentation and appearance.

Chapter Six:
The product of a splitting

This section addresses the early life of Keita Wyllie and the factors influencing her formative identity. This includes such things as whakapapa (genealogy), her childhood and upbringing, the ways in which she was represented in official documents (e.g. Census and Maori Land Court records), marriage and motherhood, her property and home, and her personal presentation. Of particular importance are the ways in which they contributed to her ability to split between two distinct subject positions, Maori and Pakeha, and simultaneously occupy them both. In addition, this theme focuses closely on the ways in which Kate Wyllie identified herself, and how she identified others in relation to herself.

There is no doubt that Keita was destined to be a young woman of some influence and authority in the district. Her immediate and extended Maori family were significant people – they were men and women of rank, mana and authority. To be born into a line of chieftains is no small thing. As eldest of four daughters, Keita held seniority in the family line, and carried the equivalent responsibilities of the eldest son. Through her link to the European world through her father, Keita may well have also gathered a certain degree of astuteness for inter-cultural dealings, and a shrewd commercial and entrepreneurial mind.

Family

Keita's mother and extended family raised her at Manutuke. Her father was likely to have been a regular visitor, if not a permanent resident, as the relationship with Kaikiri (Keita's mother) was durable and lasted longer than any of his other marriages. Family tradition records that Keita was raised in traditional Maori society with schooling at the Anglican mission school at Waerenga-a-Hika (Wyllie family papers, MS). A missionary education may have attempted to emphasise the reduction of individual power and mana in deference to an approved Christian lifestyle. It is noted in archival papers for the Wyllie family that they were Protestant, Anglican in denomination, suggesting that Keita was raised in this particular religious tradition. It is better documented that her half-brother Wi Pere was raised and remained a practising Anglican, suggesting it not unlikely that Keita practised as a child, if not as an adult. One of the remaining artefacts from the Wyllie family is a copy of the family's Maori Old Testament, maintained by Keita and dating from approximately 1852. Her name appears written inside the front cover and the handwriting within is also almost certainly hers. If nothing else, her childhood imparted the importance of Scripture to a family. The idea that Christianity played an important part in Keita Wyllie's life is interesting. It is one avenue by which Keita could have chosen a path of

hybridity, but it was also a potentially constricting path in nineteenth century New Zealand. For example:

> "Nineteenth century evangelical Christianity held no place for [female power and female sexuality]... Female power interfered with God's ordained patriarchal authority and potentially ran up against the missionaries' own authority over indigenous peoples. If conversions were to be effected, indigenous women had to be brought under control, to show decency and restraint, to become obedient, modest, faithful and pious wives according to the model provided by the missionary" (Rountree, 2000:63).

On the other hand, though, Christianity offered literacy, and 'civilisation', the opportunity to be more like the Pakeha. In Turanga, in particular, there was an emphasis on the development of the 'whole self' by missionaries. Females, in particular, were taught home-making skills and moral virtues, and no doubt these lessons included the roles and duties of a Victorian wife. Balancing this, Keita was still living in traditional Maori society. The lifestyle and patterns of the Maori of the Turanga had been little affected by a missionary and trading presence, and life changed little until the 1870s when large-scale settlement by Pakeha took place. Despite the large-scale baptisms taking place in the area, as recorded by William Williams, there was no sustained conversion by communities to Christianity. The greatest advantage to local Maori was the trading presence and literacy, and as long as they outnumbered the Pakeha, life continued as normal.

At the age of eleven, in a census taken in the district (1851), Keita was recorded as a half-caste Maori child of Thomas Halbert (unnamed, but enumerated under his surname). By now, she was recognised as being in a cultural 'half-way house', neither one thing nor the other. Missionary attention in her in schooling centred on her 'Maoriness' rather than the European aspects to her identity and the focus was on making her more European, dispelling the Maori character flaws.

Keita was likely to have been an accomplished student at school. By the time of her marriage in 1854 at the age of 14 years she had learned to both read and write, with proficient handwriting, and accurate grammar and spelling. This can be seen from her regular letter writing later in life, and her ability to communicate effectively in a range of formal and informal situations. There is no doubt she was fluent, and able to communicate the subtleties and nuances of language in both Te Reo Maori and English. This is particularly remarkable because when Wi Pere (Keita's half-brother) attended the mission school at Waerenga-a-Hika, lessons were being taught predominantly in Maori (Ward, *Pere, Wiremu*, 2002) and few students gained full command of the English language. Keita would have attended shortly after Wi Pere, so she would have likely experienced the same teaching style. It may well have been

her opportunity for exposure to English at home while growing up (something Wi Pere did not experience in the same way as Keita) that would have led to her better use of the language.

Keita's childhood was one of learning and opportunity. While she lived in a Maori community, she was raised with European values in mind through the influence of her father, and the impact of local missionary preaching and teaching. At the age of fourteen her life changed, though, with her marriage to James Ralston Wyllie.

By the late 1840s, a theme was emerging locally. Beneath all the friendship locally between Maori and Pakeha, and underlying their mutually advantageous relations, "there lay the stubborn fact that they were rivals for the possession of the land" (Sinclair, 2000:116). The way in which Maori and Pakeha wanted to use land were mutually exclusive. For Maori, land was life itself and it is impossible to fully appreciate the importance of tribal linkages to location and setting. They cultivated small areas and relied on the forest for berries, birds and roots. To Pakeha settlers, land was money and independence, and occupation and use should be on a large scale, planting grass seed in the ashes of the forest areas they burnt.

The administrative story begins in early 1851 when Donald McLean, recently appointed as Hawkes Bay Land Commissioner in the Native Land Purchase Department, discussed the possibility of formalising a township with a group of European settlers[7]. Their request for a formal arrangement had originally been made in 1847, when they sought a resident magistrate. Several discussions with both settlers and Maori chiefs included the possibility of land sales, both for settlement and for a township. But the approach was tentative because of the local Maori structure – McLean was aware that there were many chiefs of small groups with no acknowledged head to their big grouping.

Also in 1851, a local census was taken. The records show the names of settler men and their wives, although where they had taken a native wife, her name was not recorded. The number of children was also recorded, in two ways: if the children were European, their names were listed with the family, but if they were half-caste, they were simply enumerated under the father's name. Data for families with at least one European parent is shown in Table 4.

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[7] McLean also had a reputation among Maori as 'Maori doctor', or 'tohunga Pakeha'. He was a key land buyer for the Government, but worked to ensure a fair deal for Maori, and worked, frustratingly for the Governor of the time, quite independently of the expectations of Parliament.

Table 4: 1851 Census data for Turanganui

| 1851 Census, Turanganui	
Men	30
Women	14
Total Adults	**44**
European children[8]	10
Half-caste children	25
Total Children	**35**
TOTAL	**79**

A Resident Magistrate was appointed in 1855, lasting five years with little success, other than the negotiation and purchase in 1857 of a little over 20 hectares of land downstream from the trading centre and settlement of Makaraka alongside the Taruheru River. Turanganui was the principal harbour of the area, but traders tended to operate their businesses from Makaraka, closer to their market and also on a riverbank navigable by small ships travelling upriver from Turanganui. One of the most prominent traders in this time period was "Yankee" Smith, who had a near monopoly on exports from Turanganui port. In 1854, Smith had been bought out by (Captain) G. E. Read. Read shifted the headquarters of the trading post to Kaiti (downstream) and combining experience with initiative, he built a wharf in front of his house and store and began to trade. In 1865, he transferred the business to the western bank, to the point where the Taruheru River meets the Turanganui. Major traders locations in Turanganui are shown in Figure 3.

The surrounding township was unsettled by the spread of the Pai Marire religion. Pai Marire was 'The Good and Peaceful Religion', founded in the Taranaki by Te Ua after a visit from the Angel Gabriel in a dream. The new faith was a combination of a little Old Testament morality, Christian doctrine, and primitive Maori religion. For example, the faith invoked the Holy Trinity, but retained cannibalism (Sinclair, 2000:145). The religion closely identified with the plight of the Jews, believing they were the second Chosen People, and that with divine aid, they would return from the wilderness to retain their hereditary lands. The followers were often called Hauhau after an incantation they performed; Te Ua taught his followers that "strict adherence to his instruction would make them impervious to bullets if, when under fire, they raised their right hand and cried '*Pai Marire, hau! Hau! Hau!*'" (Sinclair, 2000:145). In Turanga, where the religion had spread by about 1865, small skirmishes marked the relationship between Maori and the arriving Government officials and militia assisting the settlement process. Of particular importance to the region at the time was that all those under suspicion of

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[8] Children were officially between the ages of 1 year and 17 years old.

being in league with Hauhaus were arrested (often unjustly, as was the case with Te Kooti) and imprisoned on the Chatham Islands. Te Kooti was a talented leader of rebel Maori who founded his own religion, Ringatu, which was a Maori variant of Christianity.

Figure 3: First trading locations, Turanga, c. 1850s
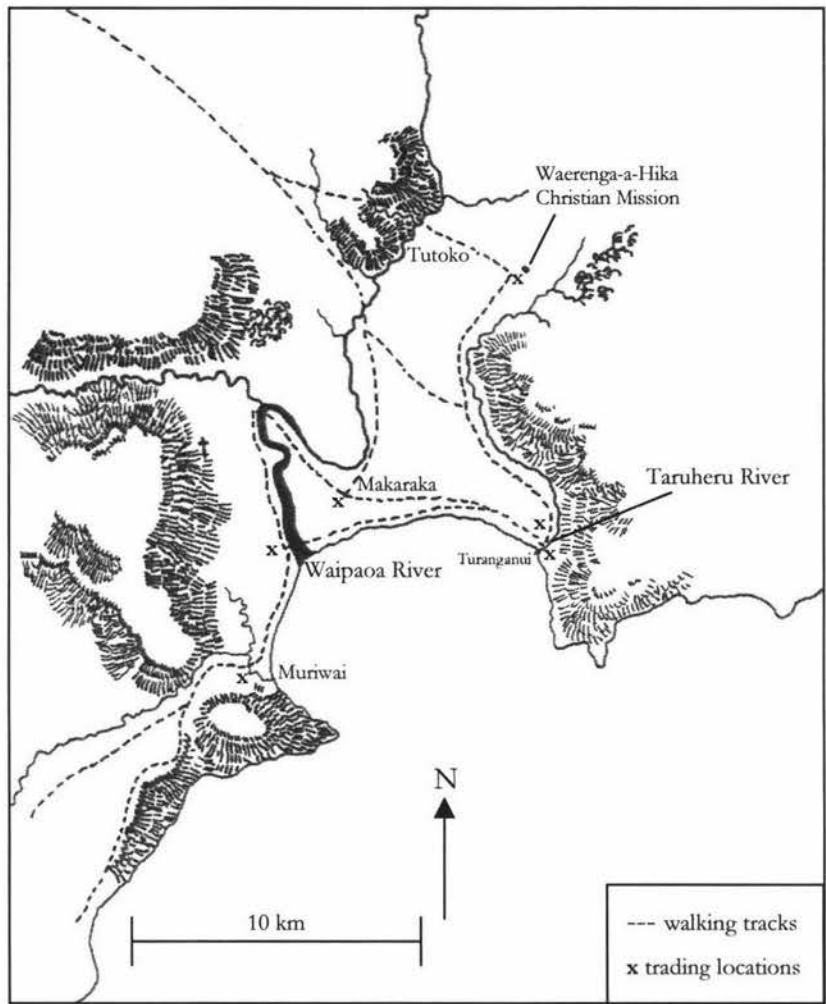
Captain Read carried on regardless and bought freehold land of approximately 1 hectare in area. While small, when the area was fully developed it gave rise to an 'army of buildings' – supporting, by then, the active intention to form a township. It is suggested that Read's shift to the western bank of the Taruheru River formed the basis for the site of present day Gisborne (see Figure 4) – but in logic, the Government probably agreed with Read that the potential availability of vacant, flat land (even if somewhat prone to flooding) was far more appealing than the swampy scrub-covered land of Kaiti. The site on the western bank of the Taruheru River allowed good land communication with Makaraka, and the opportunity for regular agriculture, neither of which the Kaiti site could offer. An early settler, Robert Thelwall, still alive in 1927, reported that the surveyed road commenced at the Turanganui River. It ran as far as Grey Street, then went through to Palmerston Road as far as

Disraeli Street, to Aberdeen Road until just past Lytton Road, where it cut across and joined the main road near the cemetery. The entire road mentioned was constructed of pure sand. The area bounded by these roads is shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Extent of settled area of Turanganui, c.1850s
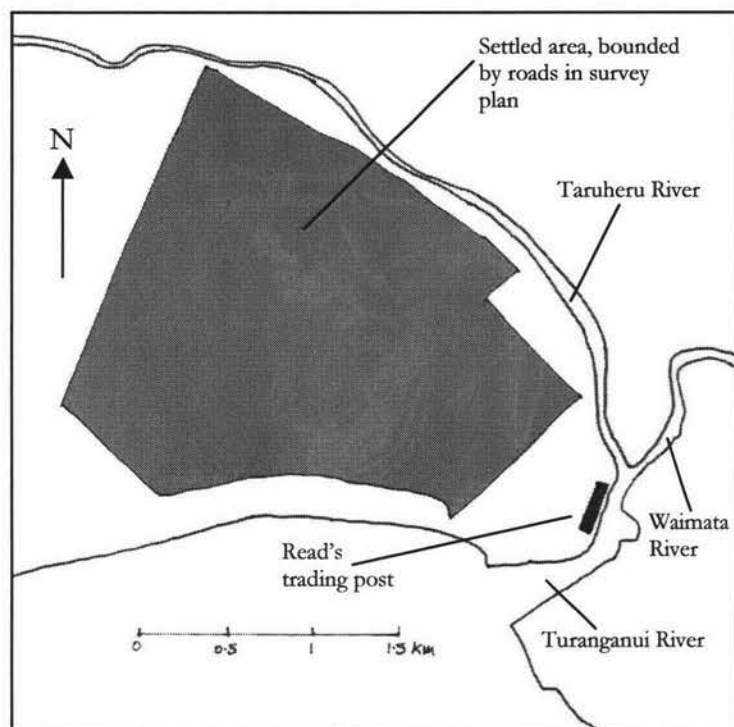
Marriage and motherhood

Keita married English man James Ralston Wyllie on the 14th of August 1854, at fourteen years old. At that time, well-known local entrepreneur Captain G. E. Read employed Wyllie as a trader. Wyllie's obituary suggests in Keita "he found a worthy helpmeet. Mrs Wyllie's mother was a chieftainess of influence of (we believe) the Wahanauakai [sic] tribe" (The Standard and People's Advocate, 22 December 1875).

An initial example of Keita's splitting is the name by which she was known. Following her marriage to James Wyllie, Keita Halbert became Keita Wyllie. She took her husband's surname (as was expected by the European 'texts' of marriage) but retained the Maori spelling of her Christian name. She is consistently referred to as Keita Wyllie in documents and texts of the time written by her husband, and also in family documents. The Native Land Court, however, records her as Kate Wyllie. This is evidence of the way in which she is split between her Maori background and her Pakeha background, in the way she is represented by her name. It was the style of the time for Maori women marrying European men to take the European surname, but retain their

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own Christian names – Noko Read, wife of Captain G.E. Read, is a good example.

James Wyllie was regarded as a man of natural ability, with a shrewd business mind and a good education. The Standard and People's Advocate (SPA) newspaper said of him:

> "His mental perception being singularly vivid, he was not at a loss to comprehend readily, what appeared to others of less perceptive powers than himself, to be abstruse. He was, moreover, a warm hearted and generous friend; and there are few in the district, if any, who will not deeply regret his death" (Standard and People's Advocate, 22 December, 1875).

Not everyone in the district did like James Wyllie, though. The Obituary from the SPA suggests that he was well liked by the Pakeha community, and well respected. But he had made some enemies among the Maori for his part in the orchestration of Te Kooti's arrest, and when he was appointed Magistrate's assistant and official Government interpreter for the region, there were further issues to be addressed.

In choosing his wife, there would have been several factors weighing on Wyllie's mind. For example, there was competitive advantage to be gained from an appropriate partnership with local Maori, given his employment as a trader. It was the practice of the time to secure protection by marrying into a local tribe. James Wyllie was accepted into the Ngati Kaipoho community, and was given land and a wife in return for the trade benefits he brought to their people.

Over the course of the next twenty years, Keita gave birth to nine children. It is not recorded whether she suffered any still births, or gave birth to any that died in infancy, as one would expect them to appear in the family bible. Nor are there any recorded childhood problems for her first nine children, although there is one instance of James Wyllie seeking medical help from the mission at Waerenga-a-Hika for Keita. It seems remarkable, given the infant mortality rate of the day that there were no deaths of her children, but perhaps she benefited from experienced midwives while living with her family.

William Wyllie was born in 1855, just a year after Keita's marriage. He survived to the age of thirteen years old, when Te Kooti's men killed him (and others with him) in a raid on 12 December 1868. As eldest son, he was no doubt mourned deeply. The family received compensation from the tribe for the loss of their son. Hannah Ralston Wyllie was born in 1857, and little is known of her other than when she married she left Poverty Bay. Flora Ralston Wyllie was the third child, born in 1861, quickly followed by Gavin Ralston Wyllie in 1862. There are two photographs of him remaining, one with his mother and another,

European portrait-style. Born the fourth child, he was forced to assume the roles of the eldest son at the time of William's death in 1868, at around age six years. This would have been about the time he was photographed with Keita. Gavin is particularly remembered for his strong local involvement, including his significant role in land court pleadings after his mother had left the region and shifted to Auckland with her second husband. He had nine children listed against his name by the family genealogist.

Alexander Ralston Wyllie in 1864 and James Wyllie in 1865 followed Gavin. Alexander lived in Gisborne his whole life and had eleven children. James died at the age of 21 years, on 22 December 1886. It is thought he was omitted from the family tree of the time because he committed suicide. One family explanation suggests that the suicide was connected with bullying by his elder brothers. The omission of 'Ralston' from his name was taken from his father's evidence in his claim to the freehold of land at Tutoko. It is unsure what was meant by this omission when all the other children (with the exception of William, the eldest) had Ralston as part of their name.

Nigel Ralston Wyllie was reportedly born in 1868 (according to the burial register), and one family tradition has him on his mother's shoulders as she crossed the river to escape from Te Kooti's raiding party. However, Keita's evidence to the Poverty Bay Commission in the Paokahu case of 1875 argues that he was born in 1869, and if anyone is likely to know it's his mother, so the family tradition should be discarded.

Kate Ralston Wyllie was born in early 1871, and was a young child around the time of great change in the Wyllie family. As a young girl she saw the shift to the family homestead, Wyllie Cottage, as well as the death of her father. For the most part of her childhood, she would have only had one parent. Her personality and ambition most resembles her mother's. In 1901 she became the first to apply for formal nursing registration under the *1901 Nurse Registration Act*. She was a strong link between Keita's first marriage and her second marriage and was the caretaker of a lot of the family history. Kate's younger brother, William Ralston Wyllie was born in 1874, the only child born in Wyllie Cottage.

The young Wyllie family settled first on a 30-hectare freehold farm at Tutoko, near Waerenga-a-Hika mission. This was near where Keita had been born and raised, and the property was large enough to farm and produce goods for trade. By mid-1865, when Keita and James had six children, the area became engulfed by Pai Mairire troubles, and the ongoing fighting devastated their farm. The fighting, it appears, was between groups of Maori, as well as between Maori and Pakeha.

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Figure 5: Location of Wyllie Family farm at Tutoko
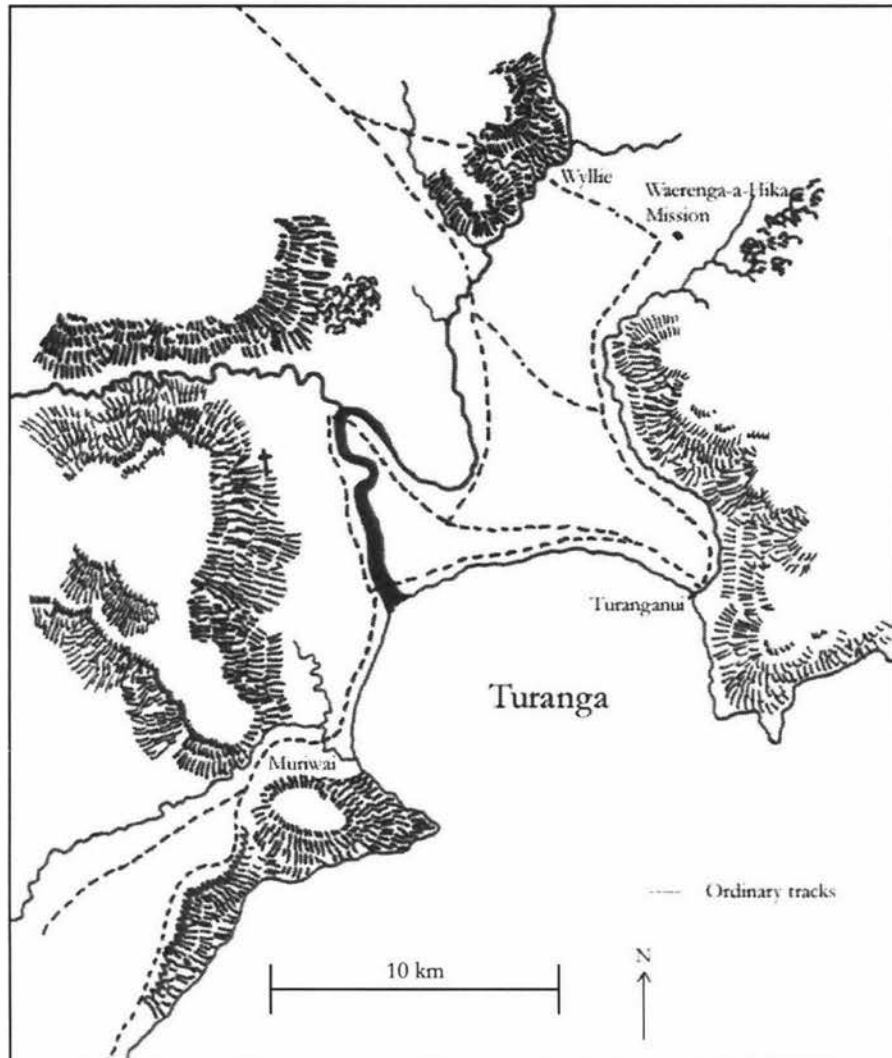
During the trouble, James Wyllie had volunteered as interpreter and guide for the local military, and he worked closely with local Maori in maintaining good relations. It was in this role that he became more closely embroiled with Te Kooti and his followers. When there was a brief return of peace to the area, the Wyllie family were made a gift of land at Kahanui, further upstream, where the family relocated. Within three years further fighting devastated this land. Lying in the path of Te Kooti's raid on Matawhero and Turanganui they only narrowly escaped his attack by way of warning from local Maori. Following this, Keita took refuge with her tribe and James Wyllie returned to military service as part of the local effort to restore peace to the region. It was shortly afterwards this that James, their eldest son was killed in an accidental encounter with Te Kooti's men.

When peace was restored, the family reunited. They shifted to Gisborne, where Wyllie was able to gain permanent work because of his considerable knowledge and experience of local Maori. Keita's tribe owned land on the northern side of the Taruheru River, under lease to

European at the time of the family's shift. The Wyllie family took out a sub-lease and built Wyllie Cottage on a crest of a rise facing the township of the time (see Figure 6 and Figure 7) and moved in towards the end of 1873. The house was the only one of European style on that side of the river, one of the first built on the opposite side to the township. During the time the Wyllie family lived there, the only communication with the town was by boat of swimming a horse across the river. During high tide, schooners could sail up to five kilometres upstream.

James Wyllie had ambitions for the land, which was mostly under manuka and scrub at that time, as a sheep-run. He extended the lease and took out another larger area of land. Unfortunately, the titles were insecure, and the land was swept into a major contested land transaction covering some 8000 hectares of township land. In the freeholds that emerged from the Land Court, Maori only owned two properties on a 10km long river frontage. One was the most powerful Maori woman of the period, Riperata Kahutia, and the other Keita Wyllie. This reflects a degree of the importance of the two women that men did not hold the freehold land titles. Keita Wyllie secured 120 hectares, including that on which the house stood. At the end of that year, James died at the young age of 44 years.

Figure 6: Wyllie Cottage, on the northern bank of the Taruheru River, Turanganui (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti)
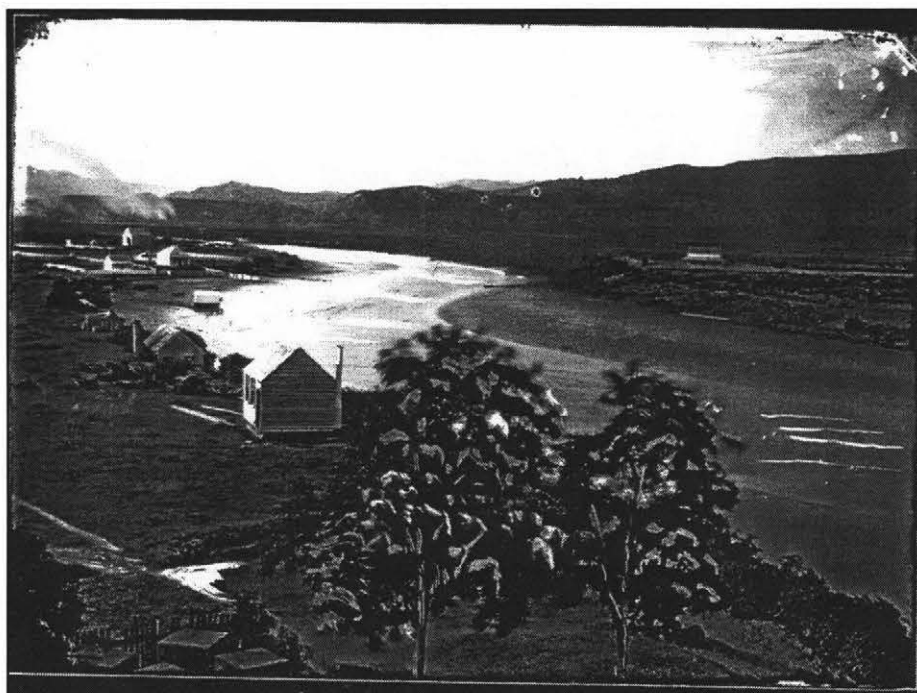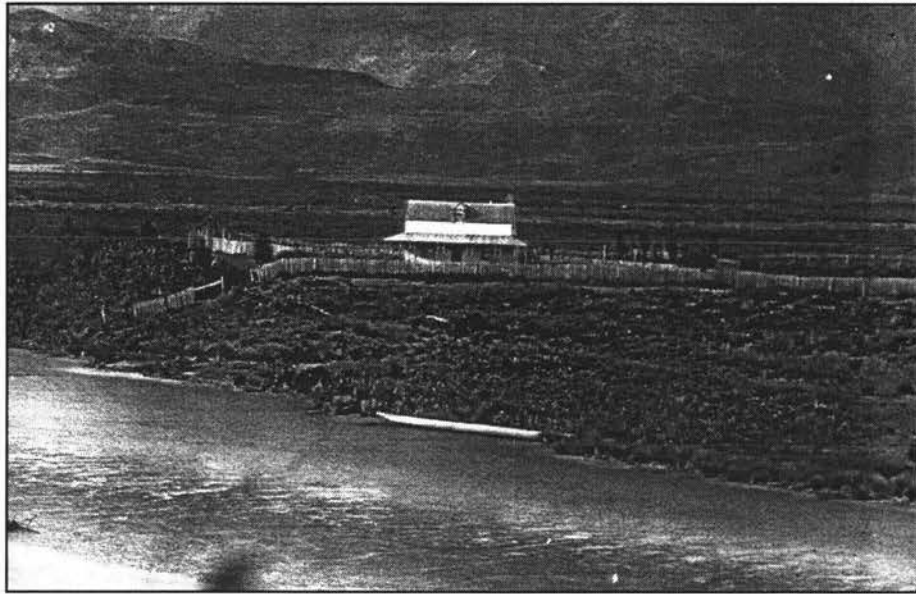
Figure 7: Wyllie Cottage on northern bank of Taruheru River (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti)

There are two key things to note about Wyllie Cottage. Firstly, the style and size of the cottage can reveal the family's social standing and is a measure of success. Secondly, the floor plans reveal much about the functions of the house and of Keita as its manager. Each of these contributes to the way in which Keita may be positioned as a hybrid. A Poverty Bay Standard Reporter described the house in 1924 as "a relic of a day when it was considered a first-class gentleman's residence" (see Figure 8). The house consisted of $85m^2$ of floor area, not including the verandah – more than some modest houses of the present day. The house was of European style, with a 'Gothic' gabled roof. It appears to have been pre-planned and built on the spot rather than pre-fabricated, due to the irregularity of the stud placement. The verandah drawn on the house in Figure 8 is slightly different to the verandah shown in the photograph of Wyllie Cottage in Figure 7. This anomaly can be attributed to two things. Firstly, the Cottage underwent a number of alterations by both the family and other tenants between the time it was first built and the artist's impression in 1983. This included two relocations and the addition of rooms at the back. Secondly, windows were added to the Master bedroom on the left side of the ground floor the house (obscured by a tree in Figure 8), possibly prompting the reduction of the verandah at the sides of the house for increased privacy.

Figure 8: Pen Sketch of Wyllie Cottage as it exists in present day (Hall, Wyllie Cottage, 1983)
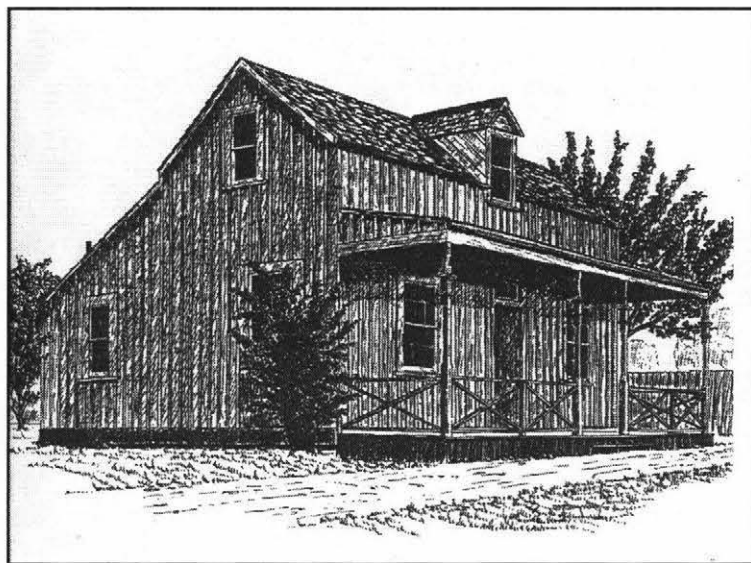
The same carpenter appears to have worked on the house and the later additions – the workmanship and style is the same. In order to meet the needs of a large family (by this stage eight children), the main house was probably built first, with the verandah and lean-to at the back added as soon after as possible. The house was constructed out of totara and kauri, in varying degrees of treatment for building.

The type of rooms in the house reflects the lifestyle of the family. The *verandah* (1) extended along both the front and ends of the building, providing protection against he weather and extra usable space. This space was later reduced to just the front of the house. The front door opened to a *central passage* (2). Off the passage was a small staircase turning through a right angle to the rooms upstairs. To the right of the passage was the parlour (3). The fireplace was at the end of the room with a chimney inside the room. The walls are unlined, but there was some decorative moulding on the inner corners of the studs.

The *main bedroom* (4) was on the left of the passage and the window at the end of the room was a late addition to the building. In the lean-to at the back of the cottage, there was a small *back bedroom* (5) and a long *back room* (6) open through to the passage and the back door. There was no original chimney or vent for a stovepipe in this room, so it is highly unlikely that there was any cooking done in here. It is more likely that Keita Wyllie continued with the Maori practices of food preparation and cooking, separate from the buildings that contained sleeping quarters. The back porch was a later addition to the house. The *upper floor* contains two good-sized bedrooms.

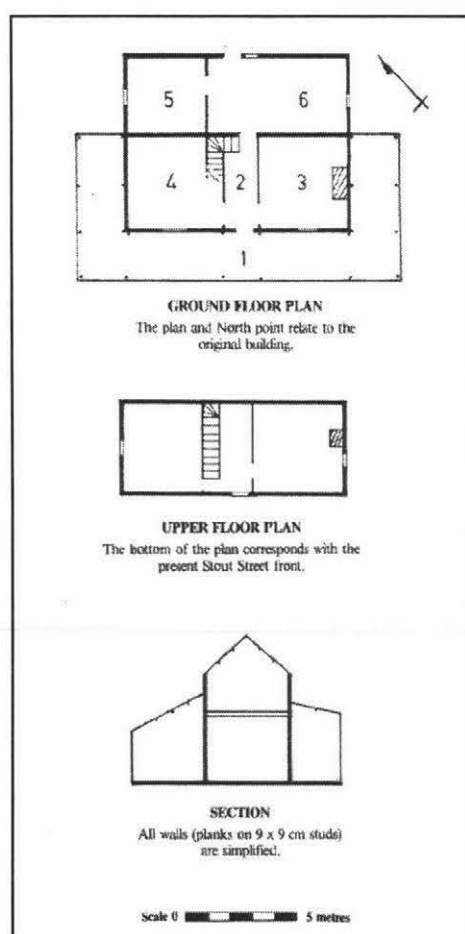Figure 9 shows the floor plan for the cottage, reconstructed from measurements taken of the original buildings and early photographs. The type of rooms in the house reflects the lifestyle of the family. The *verandah* (1) extended along both the front and ends of the building, providing protection against he weather and extra usable space. This space was later reduced to just the front of the house. The front door opened to a *central passage* (2). Off the passage was a small staircase turning through a right angle to the rooms upstairs. To the right of the passage was the p*arlour* (3). The fireplace was at the end of the room with a chimney inside the room. The walls are unlined, but there was some decorative moulding on the inner corners of the studs.

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Figure 9: Floor plan of Wyllie Cottage, the first home of the Wyllie Family in Turanganui (Hall, Wyllie Cottage, 1983)

GROUND FLOOR PLAN
The plan and North point relate to the original building.

UPPER FLOOR PLAN
The bottom of the plan corresponds with the present Stout Street front.

SECTION
All walls (planks on 9 x 9 cm studs) are simplified.

Scale 0 ▬▬▬▬ 5 metres

The way in which the property functioned can be seen as an example of the splitting of identity as a result of the imposition of the colonial ruling authority through the use of texts. In this case, the text is the design and function of European housing, seen above in Wyllie Cottage. In imposing this text upon Keita, its form and function was actually split, with cooking and food preparation most likely being completed outside, Maori style.

By 1882 the lease on the land had become the property of the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company, and most of the block had been surveyed into streets and sections. In this year, the river was bridged.

The Wyllie family had shifted by this time to another property in Mangapapa (a European suburb of Turanganui), and it is likely that Wi Pere occupied Wyllie Cottage from time to time. He was "closely concerned in the negotiations which led to the Company's freehold title. There was litigation, in which Keita Wyllie's second husband, Michael Gannon, was involved" (Hall, *Wyllie Cottage*, 1983). Litigation ended in 1883 and the Wyllie family had shifted out by the end of 1884, when the sections were sold.

After Keita's marriage to Michael Joseph Gannon in 1881, four more children followed. The family then had to shift from their Mangapapa house to a new, larger house, now believed to have been located in present-day Stout Street. Surviving family members record that "there was a large outhouse, apparently of the same age as the house. Mrs Gannon being of increasingly Maori temperament as she grew older might be expected to insist on cooking in a separate building from the living and sleeping house" (letter to Mrs O. Haxton, 9 February 1975, Wyllie family papers, MS). Again, the balance between Maori and European lifestyles can be seen in the way in which Keita managed her family and her household, even after several decades living in European society. It is also a reflection of the way in which Keita operated within public and private spheres. The private, family space reflected her Maori upbringing and values (e.g. the family Old Testament was in Maori, cooking facilities were outside), while the public sphere was a reflection of her place in European society – the house was of European style, one of the first in the area, and in photographs her clothing is predominantly Pakeha. The family shifted to Auckland permanently in 1893.

Appearance and presentation

Keita's physical appearance is an expression of identity that represents two key positions. Firstly, it is indicative of how she presented herself in choice of clothes and setting. Secondly, it also reflects how other people viewed her, and the types of images that have survived bear testament to the way in which she was perceived. The study of the body and its (re)presentation is "a site of resistance – for it exerts a recalcitrance, and always entails the possibility of being self-marked, self-represented in alternative ways – multiple configurations of identity (see Robinson, 1994:218). There are several photographs of Keita Wyllie surviving, in different settings. Some are posed studio portraits at varying ages, and others feature her at society events – a garden party and a picnic. A discussion of the photographs is preceded by a brief explanation of the significance and problems of studying nineteenth century photographs in discovering Maori identity. Michael King (1985) argues most Maori were photographed in contexts that bore little or no relation to the manner in which they lived, and that when they appeared in grouped photos they were usually in European dress, appearing statuesque rather than alive.

Culturally, photographs are both sacred and profane to the Maori – they are treated as living persons. By taking the photographic image of a person, they are also capturing their *mauri* (life force) – if the *mauri* is seen, then the image becomes 'alive', ipso facto the person is alive. When photographed, some *mauri* can be removed, and when that happens people lose their spiritual protection and are diminished. Eventually, they will die. The act of photography by non-Maori is condemned, but the historical results of such photography are revered, because it brings the dead person 'back to life' (King, 1985). This dichotomy demonstrates the Maori capacity to accommodate features of Western technology into a framework of Maori values, with a consequent strengthening of those values – a reflection of hybridity and the degree to which absorption and adaptation took place. It is clear that Keit'a family valued photographs because a large numbers survive of both her and her family. Maori did not feature in large numbers in local photographs, which is surprising given the proportionately high population of Maori in the area. Those Maori who were included in photographs, therefore, were afforded a certain level of respect and prestige by the rest of the Pakeha community.

Nineteenth century photographs are more concealing than revealing. Maori activities are absent because they didn't fit notions of photogeneity. The traditional or accurate Maori context was not familiar to a European audience, and it was technically difficult to record such a context realistically. The photos of Keita Wyllie appear in a European style. Only one acknowledges her Maori heritage, but it does so in such a way that there can be no doubt of her mana and whakapapa. The other reflect the Europeanised setting in which she lived, posed studio portraits and group sittings.

The photograph in Figure 10, dated c.1872-75, shows Keita wearing a European dress, with a Maori feather cloak, and adorned with waiwhara, the emblems of a chief, a kotuku feather, and that of a huia in her hair. Tairawhiti Museum records indicate that there may be as many as three different versions of this photograph in existence, held by different parts of the family. This photograph is most likely the original. The second photograph shows Keita as having marked European features, lightened skin and with re-touched eyes. The third photograph is alleged to show her as markedly Maori, possibly with a moko added to her chin (family tradition reports there is a copy, but it has not been included in the family papers at Tairawhiti Museum). These re-touches would have been added by hand and then re-photographed in order to produce a new print. It is likely that they would have been done before the end of the nineteenth century. It is unlikely that Keita herself commissioned the photographs, but it cannot be entirely discounted. Either way, the touching up was considerable; to meet the desire of the person commissioning the photograph at that particular time for a considerable degree of Pakeha features and skin colouring. It is unknown who commissioned the original photograph, but of particular note was the

removal of the waiwhara (chief's emblem), being the most important Maori feature, from the two later versions of the photograph.

Figure 10: Keita Wyllie, c. 1872-1875 (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti, Ref. 908.2-2)

One contextual aspect of the period from the late 1860s through to the early 1890s was that the Maori sank to their lowest numbers with the spread of disease and war. Maori standing in the community became so low that people once proud of their Maori blood began to make the least of it where they could. This may be one explanation for the shame attached to a photograph so proudly Maori being Europeanised and sanitised for general viewing.

The example of the re-touched photo shows the ongoing battle for Keita between Maori and Pakeha. The very presence of alternative versions confirms that different groups of people, probably for different reasons, perceived her as Maori and Pakeha. One explanation for this is the process of *reappropriation*, by which "...it could be agued that Maori have appropriated European representations for their own purposes or have reappropriated images that were 'taken' from them, that 'belong' to them" (Bell, 1992:258).

Such a use could be considered an act of politics, and an act of resistance to a dominant European culture that sought to shape Maori people and culture to service European requirements. But in this case, the tables were turned. The powerful representation of a female Maori leader in her emblems of chieftainship was reappropriated by the dominant European discourses, and the image was represented as an affirmation of an identity other than that which Keita chose to assert at that time. Where she affirmed herself as Maori, she was reminded that she was also Pakeha. In essence, the imposition of the European text of photogeneity and proper representation of a Pakeha woman produced the splitting of Keita between the two cultures. Different people will remember her in different ways, according to the image(s) they have seen, and which they choose to affirm as the accurate representation of her.

The next two photos show Keita in studio-style portraits. The first sees her sitting along in European dress, while the second sees her sitting with her half-brother, Wi Pere standing next to her. The seated portrait in Figure 11 shows Keita in a traditional portrait pose. Her hair is elaborately finished and she wears several items of jewellery, including pierced earrings and a cameo brooch.

Figure 11: Photograph of Keita Wyllie (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti, Ref. 908.2-3)

This type of photograph is similar to many taken around the same time of women in Turanganui. Her dress is of good quality, most likely velvet, and such fabric reflects the relative wealth in her family. In this photo, most likely commissioned by her husband, Keita appears a woman of European style, with no Maori influence in the choice of presentation.

Appearing in Figure 12 with her half-brother Wi Pere, Keita is seated. The family resemblance is clear.

Again, Keita is dressed in a good quality European dress, thought to have been silk. She is wearing jewellery again, including the cameo featured in Figure 11. Keita's Rongowhakaata heritage is more apparent

in this photo than in Figure 11, especially in the eyes and cheekbones. Keita is seated with book in hand, possibly an indication that she was a woman of learning. It is unlikely to have been the family bible as the cover does not match the bible attributed to the family, now held by the H.B Williams Memorial Library in Gisborne. In photographs of the late nineteenth women were often pictured with a small object in hand to reflect their interests or background, for example sewing or a book.

Figure 12: Photograph of Keita Wyllie with Wi Pere (her half-brother) (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti, Ref. 020.1-30)

It appears to have been her habit to not wear gloves when photographed. This may be a reflection of her Maori upbringing, that she did not ordinarily wear them. One striking feature of these photographs is that Keita appears at ease in all of them, despite not looking straight at the camera as Wi Pere does in Figure 12. Instead, she gazes toward some far off point, sitting with great dignity and a calmness. In the photos where she is standing, Keita is upright and steady, which gives the impression of height despite her diminutive stature. It should be noted that photography was a time-consuming process in the nineteenth century. Turanga was lucky to have more than one photographer working in the district, but that did not make the process any less difficult to achieve good results in. Slow shutter speeds meant sitting still for a long period of time to ensure clarity, and as a result many subjects look slightly studied or strained.

A different aspect of Keita's presentation is the way in which she communicated. Surviving texts indicate that she wrote proficiently in both English and Maori. Family tradition suggests she was a prolific letter writer, and surviving letters in Te Reo to Maori language newspapers such as *Te Pipi* in the mid to late nineteenth century evidences this. Letters in English to the *Standard and People's Advocate* and the *Poverty Bay Standard* indicate her level of involvement in local political debate, especially with regard to land transactions. Her use of both Maori and English languages recognised that "…the survival of Maori language is important not only to the restoration of Maori sense of dignity, but also to the retention of the knowledge and wisdom that language represents. Maori language in its words, structure, and ways of expressing things mirror a different reality" (Reedy, 1998:8).

Retaining Maori language was critical to Keita's dignity and mana. While living at Tutoko, the primary language at home was likely to have been Maori – James was a Government interpreter later in his life, so he was certainly fluent in both languages. Once in Gisborne, Keita operated in English and Maori, as evidence by public debate and Land Court proceedings.

The level of debate among Maori women of this period, as reflected in their letters to Te Puke Ki Hikurangi and other papers, was intellectually and politically sophisticated. This was hardly surprising. The various Maori newspapers of the period, even the less political more Anglican versions such as Te Pipiwharauroa and, later, Te Kopara, provided contemporary Maori of both sexes with a forum for vigorous intellectual debate. The Maori speech forms used in written debate retained the rhythms of oral discussions but demonstrated the language's versatility as a vehicle of written communication. Allusions to ancestor stories, proverbs and genealogy give a unique quality to the women's debates (as well as to the men's) on the political realities of the time, but did not obscure the participants' familiarity with contemporary issues. Also of note are that women did not confine themselves to letters, using the strong tradition of women's composition of waiata in the political arena. The politically sophisticated and well-organised leadership of the women of the late nineteenth century was regarded as an élite. Keita Wyllie was no exception.

Keita's greatest accomplishments came in her Maori leadership role, especially her ability to present cases at Land Court. It appears she was given an open mandate by her tribe to function as kaiwhakahaere (manager or administrator) for tribal lands, and she was regularly trustee or grantee for land awards. One particular aspect of the Land Court process was the two-part need for identification of individual's right, and justification of the claim. With this, came the process of self-identification as the appropriate representative (by right of descent, whakapapa), and the attempt to discredit any potential counter-claimants. Keita Wyllie's claims always reflected her chiefly line, but she

only mentions James Wyllie in cases that reflect her personal or immediate familial involvement. She appears to have been so confident in the Court's processes that her whakapapa would far outweigh any need to 'trade' on her husband's local standing with Pakeha judges. As a woman of mana and rank, Keita was more likely to have been acknowledged in the Land Court for her Rangatira status than for her marriage to Wyllie.

In attempting to discredit counter-claimants, Keita made some interesting comments about the status of half-caste. It is important to remember that at the point she was sworn into Court for her testimony, her name was always recorded with the letters *hc* after them, as record of her half-caste status. It is not clear whether this was an advantage or disadvantage to the claimant, but given the high percentage of cases Keita won, it is unlikely to have disadvantaged her.

In addressing the Court in 1885, Keita announced the following of her cousin a counter-claimant against her block of land: "...he Paraka is not Maori being a three quarter caste..." (MLC, Minute Book No. 10, 20 January 1885, p127). Her statement suggests that Paraka could not legitimately call himself a Maori when his blood percentage was ¼ or less. This raises two significant issues for Discussing Keita's identity. Firstly, in claiming that a three-quarter-caste cousin is not Maori, does that legitimate all half-castes (like herself) as Maori, or does it leave space open in her argument for a similar attack on her bloodline? The second issue is that her children are, by calculation, three-quarter caste as well. What implications would this have had for their identity where their mother was so clearly occupying both Maori and Pakeha subject positions? It is doubtful that Keita would have two rules, one for her family and one for others, although that suggestion can't be ignored. However, the statement is more likely to be a shrewd attempt at discrediting her opponent in Court. It is known that her children were raised in predominantly Pakeha style. Their schooling was in English, and they all attended Anglican or Presbyterian Church (Keita was Anglican, James Wyllie Presbyterian) at various stages in their life. Her meaning cannot be attributed retrospectively – it is unlikely we will ever know her motives for such a statement. But it is clear that how she perceived Paraka was likely to be disconnected from her perceptions of the Wyllie family. She simply saw them as separate to her role in the Native Land Court.

Keita Wyllie occupied a hybrid identity by virtue of her life being split between Maori and Pakeha. This splitting was a product of the attempt by a colonial ruling authority to impose upon the 'ruled' through the use of texts. In Keita's case, the texts were ones of family, lifestyle, housing, photography and legal mechanism. In all cases she found a striking balance between the Pakeha and Maori expectations, and in some cases was quite inventive about the way in which she represented herself. It is clear that whatever positions she occupied, the splitting allowed her to

be mutually acceptable to Maori and Pakeha societies, each valuing her for different but important reasons. She was the wife of a successful trader, mother of nine children, and she lived in one of the larger European houses in the area. She was also a noted Maori Land Court claimant and pleader, Rangatira, and remarkably well-versed in tribal history. She did not have to be one or the other, because she was split between the two, occupying a third space. This Chapter now turns to the occupation of the third space, and the responsibilities and privileges it brings with it – the ability to translate, negotiate and mediate affinity and difference.

Chapter Seven:
Translation, negotiation and mediation

Bhabha argues that the hybrid identity occupies a third space, within which it might be possible to "elude the politics of polarity and emerge as others of ourselves" (Bhabha, 1994:39). It is a space within which oppositional categories may be disposed of, and it offers the hybrid identity the opportunity to translate, negotiation and mediate new meaning as a sort of cultural broker. Their greatest potential is in their knowledge of transculturation – their ability to live both cultures – and their ability to highlight both affinity and difference within a dynamic of exchange and inclusion. In doing so, the hybrid strategy opens up the third space of/for rearticulation of negotiation and meaning (Bhabha 1996).

In taking this role of transculturation on, the hybrid becomes almost immediately given a role of power within an ongoing unequal struggle. Separated somewhat from the positions of coloniser and colonised, the hybrid steps between these two subject positions to speak from a position of transcultural knowledge. Their position becomes one of leadership.

This Chapter addresses the ways in which Keita Wyllie operated from the third space, in her ability to translate, negotiate and mediate meaning for both Pakeha and Maori cultures from her position 'in-between'. Particular attention is paid to her leadership roles, including attendance at the Maori Land Court, and her relationship to dominant social groups of the time period.

Leadership

Maori women were concerned with the ongoing disadvantages suffered by Maori society as a whole through its domination by colonial authority and legislation (Ballara, 1993:129). This included:
- the ongoing pillage of their property through the Native Land Court system and other Native Land legislation
- the inability of the Maori community to prevent the sale, mortgage and leasing of its lands by individuals
- the costs of surveys and court fees
- the disruption of life by land courts
- support for the efforts of Te Kotahitanga to redress these evils
- concern with the failure of the men to find any remedies through that movement.

In comparison to European women, concerned with temperance and moral reform in the nineteenth century, Maori women sought solutions to the material and political problems confronting their communities. They took a more political stance in comparison to Pakeha women, partly derived from the different attitudes of and toward Maori women. An understanding of Maori women's political determination is founded on their background and status within society:

> "Division of labour was a strongly gender-determined among Maori women of any rank as amongst their Pakeha contemporaries, and remained so throughout the period being discussed....Ceremonial roles were perhaps even more determined by gender, save that in certain districts such as Turanga and Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa, women of high status and ability occasionally spoke on the marae.
>
> Maori society embraced a world view determined by whakapapa; people reckoned their kinship to each other, including their seniority or inferiority, by descent from former common ancestors. Descent from bilateral senior lines conferred senior status which was, by definition, not confined to males. In a society which recognised the pre-eminent rank and status of *some* women, *all* women could not be regarded as inferior to *all* men.
>
> In the contact period, women of pre-eminent rank...personified mana over land and people in their communities and descent groups. They were 'wahine rangatira', women of chiefly rank and power; some were Ariki, the apex or contemporary focus of several senior lines of descent, in which resided spiritual forces or awesome potential. These women took part in debates, made decisions binding on all their people, male and female, possessed mana and were tapu. These properties were not confined to males" (Ballara, 1993:130-131).

Keita Wyllie had a type of leadership that was epitomised by rank, force of character and political acumen. She took her birth right and opportunities afforded to her at a young age, and worked them to her advantage. In some cases, she may be accused of playing both ends against the middle. While there were times and places where she may have been regarded as inferior, she was at the very least confident that in the Maori setting she maintained a superiority that allowed her room to move freely within European circles without retribution from her Maori family.

Of particular interest to this study is the position of Maori women within tribal groupings and the role they played. For the most part, women were considered inferior to men, and there was no specific leadership role. In present day, women may take a chiefly role of Kuia, with explicit responsibilities and integral to the successful functioning of the community. In pre-European times, "women managed to come to the fore occasionally through the strength of superior kinship and personal

ability, although the status of aristocratic women in the political system differed from tribe to tribe" (Winiata, 1967:164). The advancement of Maori women in positions of importance was partly due to the changing role of European women in nineteenth century society. Women's interests ran across ethnic and race groupings, and the process was assisted by the ease of mobility in New Zealand society, and the interlocking of a number of important social institutions, especially in the later part of the nineteenth century.

The characteristics of Maori women leaders were often common pantribally. Firstly, kinship connections were vital – a woman must prove kinship to a chiefly hapu, and often be the eldest descendent of a family of females. Secondly, education was important, and became increasingly so with the availability of missionary schools and training. Literacy was a key skill to gain in the early to mi-nineteenth century. Thirdly, the women must be of an appropriate age, and take an interest in communal projects over the interest of the individual. Finally, an increasingly valued characteristic was bilingualism – and to a certain extent biculturalism. The ability to translate experience to both originary Maori community and its European counterpart was an important mediation and translation role women often played. It was in these roles that a half-caste woman often found herself, either with a European father, husband, or both. Their usefulness as a communication tool was essential to both Maori and Pakeha populations, especially when decisive action would be combined with apparent warmth and personal affection.

The hybrid position was a politically advantageous position to occupy. The struggle for political and legal recognition relied in part on Keita's ability to translate her Maori upbringing into a Pakeha system of reference. The point of hybridity, in the 'third space', allows the hybrid identity to translate, negotiate, and mediate affinity and difference within a dynamic of exchange and inclusion (Bhabha, 1996).

One aspect of hybridity that comes into play in understanding her leadership role is the way in which she occupied both a ruled and ruling subject position within the colonial context. Maori women leaders shared the aspirations of Maori men, of dealing effectively with the problems of Maori faced by Pakeha colonial dominance. Women's efforts were a response to what they saw as the men's continuing failure (Ballara, 1993:127). Some women who had particular powers over tribal land took an active role in land transactions in the early to mid- parts of the nineteenth century. For example, in the Hawke's Bay district the Maori Queen took a particular role:

> "From 1854 into the 1870s Hineipaketia pursued a course of land
> selling, exercising her mana over land and people as though they
> were her personal property. This was an abuse of power
> developed in a transition period in which introduced concepts

caused confusion among chiefs, allowing them to confound their unilateral rights to 'tuku whenua' (make gifts of land usually limited to temporary use rights) which the power to alienate it permanently without consulting their descent groups. But it demonstrates the kind of power some Maori women could exercise." (Ballara, 1993:131).

Keita Wyllie also had a certain level of power over land purchases. As Rangatira and kaiwhakahaere for Ngati Kaipoho, she exercised her power over land transactions in two distinct ways. Firstly, she was one of the signatories to the sale of land to the Government for the township of Gisborne. Secondly, she represented her hapu at Land Court hearings, pleading their case for occupation of ownership. She was one of a number of women who held this kind of power locally, partly encouraged by the particular rules regarding ownership by Maori women:

> "The position of Maori women with regard to the ownership of property was in great contrast to that of their Pakeha contemporaries. In Maori society before and after contact, use-rights over land and resources were 'owned' or held by women as individuals as well as by men, subject only to the overriding right of the tribal community and the mana (authority) of chief over the land and people. Inheritance was bilateral....Gifts of land and resources were often made by parents to their daughters on marriage. These lands remained the property of the women, not their husbands, and they could hand them on to some or all of their children. Residence was often on the wife's lands, rather than the husband's, for at least part of their married life. Although the husband, or the extended families of both husband and wife, might assist the owner to work on and collect the resources of that property, it remained hers, and decisions regarding it were hers to make" (Ballara, 1993:131-132).

The control and ownership of property by women was recognised in the Land Court era after 1865. Women often gave evidence, and were regularly grantees under the ten-owners system. No distinctions were made on the basis of gender. The Native Lands Act (1869) allowed conveyances of property by married Maori women, permitting them to be as valid and effectual as if signed by a feme sole (a woman legally separate from her husband). But in the Native Land Act 1873 (clause 86), it provided that husbands should be party to all deeds which the law required to be acknowledged before Commissioners executed by married women. This clause was still in force in 1876.[9]

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[9] Angela Ballara (1993:135) notes the following: Samuel Williams wrote to Sir Donald McLean in 1876, complaining that the successive Native Lands Acts threatened great injustice because of this clause: *"We all of us know that according to Native usage and custom a Native woman can deal with her land without reference to her husband and Native women who have had their lands brought under these acts have in very many instances dealt with them without their*

The changing situation in Turanga

War between Maori and British in other areas had left behind a complex
racial situation – in some cases relations were severed completely. The
conquerors held that "the defeated race was inferior and that the fate of
inferior people was to become extinct" (Oliver, 1960:247). But this was
only one facet of the total situation. The Maori were not all resentful
and sullen, and not all had the desire to cut off relations with colonial
authority. The time was ideal for Maori to begin a programme of revival,
defending their identity, skills, and land. It is important to note that by
the end of the century, just twenty years later, a few individuals had
enabled the local Maori society to flourish economically, spiritually and
socially. Not all Europeans treated the Maori badly – not all Europeans
were race supremacists. Official policy was to deprive Maori of their
land where they had displayed rebellious tendencies. This was achieved
in two key ways – confiscation and land sales: "Confiscation, through
spectacular and sudden in its impact, had the smaller long-term effect. It
did, however, provide the background to some important events...Land
sales were more destructive. Maori tenure itself was endlessly
complicated" (Oliver, 1960:249).

The Land Court machinery was designed for 2 main purposes. Firstly, to
facilitate colonisation of the North island by extending settlement, and
secondly, to achieve 'detribalisation' of Maori, ideally resulting in
Europeanisation. To achieve this, it turned converted Maori tenure into
the individual titles of English Law. The Court was a major institution in
the daily life of Maori, and when it was sitting some Maori became
professional court-goers. In particular were the old people of each hapu,
the repositories of centuries of tribal tradition and genealogy, following
each claim and counter-claim with interest, knowledge and astute
judgment.

The Europeans anticipated that the Maori was about to be turned into
'the brown-skinned British'. But it is important to remember that in
1860, the township was still at its most basic and "civilised society" was a
misnomer in the case of Turanga. In fact the whole region was still "by
the time the wars began in 1860, largely unknown to Europeans other
than the isolated missionary, trader or official. Here was resistance
organised" (Oliver, 1960:82). The isolated setting made it idea for
organised resistance to British colonial authority, and in 1860s, the real
problems began.

The actual purchase of land for the township began in 1865. As quickly
as the unsettled political state of the region developed, so did the
administrative and judicial processes. In fact, the political disruptions
and fighting of the 1860s is likely to have sped up the desire for

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*husbands signing the deed they not considering that their husbands had any voice in the matter and the
husbands considering that they had no right to interfere[.]".*

development and formalisation of the township. The practice of the period was that after rebellion was subdued, land was confiscated in punishment. The Turanga situation was a little different, in that the original fighting in the district was between Maori Hauhaus and Maori who adhered to established order. The intention, therefore, was to cut out the lands of the Hauhau for the benefit of the Government, as recorded in a report of a Committee of the House of Representatives in 1867 (made after study of the official files of the rebellion). The report essential said that Mr Donald McLean, Superintendent of the Province of Hawkes Bay, was General Government Agent; and in that capacity he concluded, with the unanimous consent of the whole Native Population of the Turanganui District (including the rebel natives who had been defeated, the loyal natives who had fought on the Government side, and the neutral natives who had take no active part on either side), an arrangement to the effect that the whole of their joint lands should be at the absolute disposal of the Government.

This statement is unpublished locally. The essence is that the submission and acceptance of it was verbal and not by any deed of cession. But action had to wait for legislation. The East Coast Land Titles Investigation Act was passed by the General Assembly in the 1866 session, enabling the separation of the loyal Maori from the rebel. Captain R. N. Biggs, representative of the Native Department was called as Agent to the General Government for the region. Biggs, in passing on this news to a surveyor friend, commented that "the Maoris are all willing to give the land from Turanganui to Makaraka from the government paddock there to the Waikanae and there to Awapuni as a sight [sic] for a town the Court might sit at once and the town [be] surveyed and sold so as to get some money to in hand to go on." The area described was well over 400 hectares, an incredible amount of somewhat unattractive land, situated where there was no hinterland development and interrupted by sporadic fighting. Despite this, surveying went ahead from 1867.

Native Land Court sittings in 1867 had seen the first of claims for land confiscated by the Government from 'rebels'. The priority of the Government had been to deal with Te Aitanga a Mahaki lands – for the most part it was they who refused to relinquish Hauhauism and were defeated by arms. Those not already deported placed their interests in the hands of J. W. Preece, a local land agent. These included "Keita Wyllie, half-caste" who was claimant for the land known as Pukewhinau, on the Karaua River. The claim was dismissed as it appeared not be included in the latest of many versions of the Government survey boundary. Most of the surveying work was done from a base in Turanga, and the task was much more complex than had first been envisaged. The patterns of ownership became increasingly blurred and could not be established at hapu level. The Government found that Chiefs recurred as principal claimants on several blocks, representing a variety of families. The celebrated "face-to-face" policy of the

Government land agents in determining ownership and addressing survey boundaries appeared not to be working as well as it could.

The Native Lands Act had been suspended from 4 February of 1867, in order that action might proceed under the Land Titles Investigation Act – the Native Land Court was not the mechanism by which the transfer of ceded land was to take place. When the special Court sat, the Land Titles Investigation Act was declared unworkable by the sitting Judge (who had already received word from the Chief Land Court Judge that it was his decision on the day what was to be done about the Act). Those present appeared unpleased, not least the Government, already concerned at the high cost of surveying and Court sittings.

The Native Lands Act was amended during the year, and by 1868 progress was evident. The area to be acquired was reduced by a quarter, the owners determined and a price agreed. S. Locke, the Government surveyor, and Donald McLean were in Turanganui during the sitting of the Court (quite likely on other business), and were conveniently on hand to draft a formal agreement on the sale and the limits of the land involved. Paratene Pototi, signatory of the Treaty of Waitangi, spoke as senior chief, representing the interests of Rongowhakaata tribe, and his daughter-in-law, Riperata Kahutia, was chief and spoke for Whanau a Iwi clan of Te Aitanga a Mahaki. McLean represented the Government (probably due to his prestige), despite Biggs' presence as appointed Land Agent. The agreement was presented to the Native Land Court on its last day of sitting, with the sum to be paid by the Government £2000. This amount was authorised by Locke, in his other role as Government Land Purchase Officer.

The Land Court proceedings themselves were brief. Judge F. E. Maning ruled that within the meaning of the Native Lands Act 1865, the land was not native land. Instead, the proceedings fell within the scope of the Land Titles Investigation Act – applying to aboriginal and other British subjects. The document of sale for the land in question referred to the Queen of England, and the Queen was not a subject. Therefore, the Court lacked jurisdiction on the sale. This was likely a setback for the Government, but not for long.

The general political and social setting, and the land situation, changed little over the following three years until the culmination of Te Kooti's raids with a charge on the Waipaoa valley in November 1868. Te Kooti had risen as a leader of religious and military genius, but was deported to the Chatham Islands for an obscure episode that most likely involved arousing the "enmity of his European neighbours in Poverty Bay by a rather truculent self-confidence" (Oliver, 1960:90). Te Kooti escaped from the Chatham Islands early in 1868, with about 150 followers, and set up his headquarters inland from Turanganui. His raid of the

settlements at Turanganui, Matawhero and Patutahi in 1868 took seventy lives, both Maori and Pakeha.

The largest raid was the evening of the ninth and tenth of November in 1868. In addition to a number of other Europeans, Biggs was killed and his house torched, thus losing all official land documents in single act. Maori also suffered losses, including the murdered Paratene Pototi. The community was instantly divided. Relatives and friends were split, and Keita Wyllie found herself torn between her Pakeha volunteer militia and interpreter husband, and Maori family.

Attempts by some Maori chiefs to delay the land settlement were swept aside in favour of a new submission to the Government by the resident Europeans. The Native Minister, J.C. Richmond negotiated the submission at the beginning of December. By February, a formal deed of cession had followed and Native Land Court judges appointed (Judges Rogan and Monro) as Commissioners to carry out the task intended three years before. The final surveys were completed to ensure no overlaps or voids between blocks, and difficulties fell away. The first township block came before the Court on 6 August 1869. The block was designated Turanganui No. 2, enclosing G.E. Read's small area known as Turanganui No. 1. Survey lines were confirmed, and the award was made, based on the Deed of Cession to the Government.

Keita Wyllie and the Maori Land Court

There were 18 names listed in the Deed of Cession to the Government, naming chiefs of Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Under the terms, most of Turanganui was deeded to the Crown on account of rebellion, murders and burnings. In order to regain their share of land after the cession, individuals and groups had to apply to the Government Commission on a site-by-site basis, showing both legitimacy of interest and loyalty to the Crown. All supporters and sympathisers of Te Kooti were automatically dispossessed.

Riperata gave evidence to the Court recounting the agreement previously to sell 765 acres to the Government. In doing so, she named the principal owners as herself, Raharuhi Rukupo, Hirini te Kani, Kateraina Kahutia and Hori Karaka. Riperata headed the list on account of the death of Paratene, and Raharuhi came in second as head chief of Rongowhakaata. The others appearing on the list were of various tribes, and were to some degree complimentary. Two of those brought in out of respect were half-European Wi Pere and Keita Wyllie, who had the common father, Thomas Halbert. The wording of the award ensured that signatories were affirming their loyalty to the Crown as well as cession of land. The confiscations of this period and this cession of land were later disputed hotly in the Native Land Court. Almost 85% of occupied Maori land in the region was confiscated, despite what appears

to be a comparatively low participation rate in uprisings and rebellions compared to the rest of the country.

The beginning of 1869 had seen the appointment of a local magistrate, Atkinson, to whom James Wyllie was appointed as assistant. It was the responsibility of Atkinson and Wyllie to travel the area of Turanga, securing signatures of chiefs and others to the award of land. There was some local concern at Wyllie's role in collecting signatures – in 1868 he had advised local Maori to give some land and get the matter settled (AJHR, Letter from Biggs to McLean, 28/9/1868). Furthermore, Wyllie was recorded by Richmond (a government land representative) as being opposed to organised settlement in Turanga – "I hope to make a good settlement of land in question – only one Pakeha in the Bay opposes – Wiley [sic] is his name" (AJHR, 1869, A4A Telegrams). From December 1868 Wyllie was both assistant to the local magistrate and a Gazetted Government interpreter.

Keita Wyllie had signed the deed of sale for the land for the township of Gisborne to the Government on behalf of her hapu. It was well known at the time that her husband James Wyllie was opposed to the township going ahead. In February of 1873, he publicly repudiated her sale of the land in a letter published in the Poverty Bay Standard, on the basis of *feme covert* (a married women under the authority or protection of her husband):

> Notice: To the General Government of New Zealand or to Those Whom it May Concern.
>
> I hereby give notice that it is my intention to repudiate the sale, by my wife, MRS KEITA WYLLIE, of the GISBORNE TOWN LANDS, to the General Government so far as her interest therein is concerned, on the principle that, as a *feme covert*, she had no power to sell or alienate her estate in the same, - nor can such sale, on her part, be enforced by the Government, either at law or in equity.
>
> I now therefore propose to refund to the Government, the amount received by Mrs Wyllie as part of the purchase money of the said Block (£55'11), with interest thereon from the date of payment; and will, in CONJUNCTION with MY WIFE, proceed WITHOUT DELAY to deal with her interest in said Block in such manner of way (by leasing or selling) as to us may appear expedient.
>
> I am thus, with great reluctance, compelled to repudiate the act of sale, entirely through the tardiness of the General Government, in coming to a *final arrangement* with me, in reference to my *life interest* over the GISBORNE TOWN BLOCK.
>
> Whata-upoko, 14th February 1873, J. WYLLIE"
>
> (Poverty Bay Standard, 15 February 1873, p3)

Keita's relationship with land was both spiritual, and practical. It was the economic means by which she could secure both her personal and her hapu collective futures. But in securing and governing areas of land for her family's future, she was, in part, engaging in a process of bordering with potential exclusionary consequences. In order to secure land with a legitimate European title, the number of owners registered to the title could be no more than ten. If the selection of names for the land title was carefully managed, she or her children could potentially stand to benefit when the land passed through the Maori inheritance system and the Land Court processes. It would be grossly unfair to suggest that all of Keita's decisions were based on personal benefit over and above tribal benefit, and Land Court records clearly suggest otherwise. But it did not escape the attention of other settlers in the region that the Wyllie family accumulated and occupied large amounts of land very quickly. Keita was proficient and more often than not, successful in the Land Court and she appeared as either an individual or representative claimant in many cases over a twenty-year period. After her second marriage to Michael Joseph Gannon, and her consequent shift to Auckland, Keita's eldest living son Gavin Ralston Wyllie took over her role and appeared in the Land Court on behalf of the family. In the years from the emergence of the Land Court in the mid-1860s until her second marriage in the early 1880s, Keita was a force to be reckoned with. The Minute Books from the Maori Land Court sittings held in Turanganui over the twenty or so year period in which Keita attended Court are a testament to her commitment and endurance (see Appendix Two for details of court appearances). It seems surprising that she was able to commit so much time to Court appearances when she had nine children.

> "She smoulders. Nobody can dampen her fire, her passion…in that taniwha line of fearless women…
>
> I guess beauty, of the amazing kind, has a leadership *power* of its own. But beauty is not enough, of course, in the Māori world where the power is mainly with the men – where women are not usually able to speak on the marae. They are not allowed. The arena of debate is the arena of men only. You have to be of that taniwha line if you're a woman and you want to break the rules. You really have to know your stuff, the stuff that is usually taught only to the men in the whare wananga – the cut and thrust of debate, the historical and genealogical references, the protocol. A women has to be a virtual superhuman to be able to do this and get away with it."[10]

A usual appearance before the Land Court would begin with the swearing in process. The minutes record her as following in almost every case (it being oral testimony recorded by the Court): "Keita Waere *hc* (Kate Wyllie) being of duly sworn status…". Keita would then usually

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[10] Witi Ihimaera, *The Matriarch*, Secker and Warburg, Auckland, 1986:26; in reference to women in the line of Thomas Halbert.

begin with either reference to her husband and European property: "I am the wife of James Wyllie. I live at Turanga"; or with reference to her Maori whakapapa: beginning with her Rangatira lineage in Ngati Kaipoho. She had an astounding knowledge of Rongowhakaata whakapapa, especially Ngati Kaipoho and was able to make familial connections with almost any local Maori through the twisted and inter-connected paths of tribal growth and development over hundreds of years. The standard format after that was to declare her interest in the land or block of land in question in two ways. Firstly, she acknowledged that she *knew* the land, by naming key landmarks and physical features (in the Maori way of determining borders, see Byrnes 2001). Her second step was to make a claim on the basis of right of ownership by descent, marriage, occupation or gift. Her right to speak on behalf of the tribe was established by phrases such as "the whole tribe has acquiesced in my ownership of this portion [if] there was any dispute about it" (MLC 16/7/1869:140). Occasionally, she acknowledged the rights of other individuals or groups, but not until she was guaranteed that her claim was watertight. Her phrases belie a certain degree of arrogance in her approach to the Land Court. It was not a scornful attitude, but one of absolute surety that she was entitled to her views, a strong sense of mana in other words. For example, in 1885 (after many years of practices Court attendance), Keita began her testimony by addressing the judge with "I am ready" (MLC, Minute Book No. 10, p127). She usually finished her testimonies with "I am finished". This must have been difficult for many of the European men of the day to deal with. She was a strong woman, holding her own in a court of law and in the economic transactions of land.

It is interesting to note that Keita's name was usually the first to appear in list of claimants or in judgement decisions. This is a reflection of two things. Firstly, she was often the first to speak, establishing the case for the whole tribe so that other speakers may stake their smaller claims as sub-parts of her overall case. Secondly, it was a reflection of her rank in the Maori Land Court, which recognised whakapapa as an authority of its own, so to deny her rangatira status would have been to undermine the whole basis on which they used whakapapa in the Court mechanism. Keita's delivery was always to the point and very focused. She was adept at cross-examination and regularly challenged counter-claimants with difficult questions in order to discredit their descent, or their period of occupation. She was also careful to address their intentions for the land – as well as being interested in who was making money from land sales, Keita was careful to watch who was selling tribal lands. For example, in testimony in 1869, she says:

> "Te Waka Perohuka sold this land and a great deal more to
> Pakeha – he sold the land which belonged to other people. All
> the owners collected money and bought the land back. Each
> hapu got back its own land…" (MLC, Minute Book No. 3, p78)

Keita rarely got a result she didn't like. In the rare events that she was handed down a judgement that didn't suit, her reaction was clear:

> "...and therefore the decision of the Court will be that all the claimants be included in the order for Memorial of Ownership. With the exception of Keita Waere and Wi Paetarewa who in the opinion of the court had not sufficiently substantiated there [sic] claims. The conquest on which they base their claims appears to have taken place, but no occupancy on their part has been proved and at the same time it was pointed out to them that the option of claiming a rehearing of the case was open to them.
>
>   Keita Waere stated that she intended applying for a rehearing" (MLC, Minute Book No. 2, p245).

Keita applied for a rehearing and the next sitting of the case found in favour of her. Aware of the Court's power to award, she often made clear her goals and requirements:

> "I ask for 43 acres for myself: that is the least I shall be satisfied with; and I ask the same for my sisters, Hera Cunningham; Mary Heaney, and Martha Cuff. I leave the allocation to the Court: but I will take the bad with the good" (MLC, Minute Book No. 10, p128).

In this case Keita and her sisters were awarded 44 acres of Kaiti land each, despite there being some controversy over the decision – the Court heard opposition from several witnesses claiming Keita and her family had no right to any land in the Kaiti area.

On several occasions (more rare than one might think), Keita's husband appeared in court to plead her case. The dates appear to marry with the approximate times of her third trimester of pregnancy, so it can be assumed that she followed Pakeha society norms of a confinement period, not appearing in Court or in public in the advanced stages of pregnancy. She would have, however, regularly testified in the early stages of pregnancy.

It appears Keita Wyllie took her responsibilities very seriously. Recognising her ability to operate in-between Maori and Pakeha, she was in a position of power in colonial mechanisms such as the Land Court. She made full advantage of her ability to represent Maori in a Pakeha setting, using her upbringing, marriage, and standing in local society to good use. It was, admittedly, an uneasy position for her family. Her husband, James Wyllie, attempted to assert his [Victorian] dominance over Keita by questioning (and repudiating) her land sales, but given that Keita continued to buy and sell land for a decade after the incident, he cannot have had a great impact.

Keita's greatest strength in her leadership roles was the element of transculturation. She lived both cultures, and found workably ways of incorporating elements of both into a single lifestyle. In doing so, she began to push the boundaries of both Pakeha and Maori societies. The next Chapter of this thesis addresses the way(s) in which Keita Wyllie lived a counter-hegemonic life, challenging the expectations of her as Maori, and woman. In particular, her role in public society will be addressed.

Chapter Eight:
Counter-hegemonic agency

Keita Wyllie epitomised the hybrid condition of counter-hegemonic agency in her approach to public and private tasks. She acted against three key prevailing hegemonies in action in Turanga: expectations of women, expectations of Maori, and expectations of Pakeha. Tied up in these prevailing hegemonies were Keita's relationships with land, space and other people, especially her family, her tribe, and Pakeha 'society'. This Chapter describes the ways in which Keita Wyllie enacted the hybrid condition of counter-hegemonic agency, and the particular role the space of Turanga played in creating that identity for her. Underlying these issues is the way in which Keita 'belonged' to each of the aforementioned groups, and the demands that placed on her.

The role of 'belonging'

Two key things defined the way in which Keita belonged to the social groupings of Maori, Pakeha and women. Firstly, the ways in which she was included in the activities and daily life of each group influenced her ability to function as a part of the group. Secondly, how she defined herself in relation to the group influenced the way in which she acted both with the group, and separate to it. Anthias argues for a narrative of belonging, the way in which social discourses control which groups an individual may belong to, and the identity of members:

> "A narrative of belonging (and its disclaimers) may then be seen as a form of social action, that is, as actively participating in the very construction of subject positionalities. They are also a narrative of dislocation, relocation and alterity at multiple levels – structural, cultural and personal. They relate (or more accurately construct) a history and interpellate location and position (social place and hierarchy). Narratives of location/dislocation (and translocation) are produced in interplay with the available narratives that characterise the cultural milieu both in terms of local contexts and the larger epistemological and ontological contexts of a particular Weltanschauung[11]" (Anthias, 2001:633).

The context in which Keita was raised and lived cannot be ignored when attempting to understand the particular roles she played as an adult. In this case, the role of colonisation cannot be ignored, because it brought with it a change in society, for both Maori and Pakeha. Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis argue, for example:

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[11] Philosophy of life or world view

"The autonomy and influence of indigenous women were
frequently undermined by the almost exclusive access of men to a
money economy via wage labour while women remained the
custodians of traditional economies. Ideologically they were also
undermined by missionaries and their wives who imposed
Christian European sexual, conjugal and nuclear familial norms
through religious indoctrination and the teaching of European
homemaking skills." (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, 1995:13-14).

However, it cannot be avoided that some women made the most of the
situation. Keita Wyllie was not a passive victim of colonisation, and
when she had the opportunity to alleviate the degree of exploitation she
was potentially to experience, she did. In performing the role of cultural
intermediary and Land Court claimant; and in being a wife to a local
trader, interpreter and member of the volunteer militia, she was offered
certain privileges. These privileges became even more important with
the arrival of Pakeha women to the community in Turanga, by which
time Keita had established herself is indispensable for the local
community. But in recognising her power as an individual, she also
recognised the importance of remaining part of a strong group – despite
being a strong woman who could 'hold her own' in a man's world
(including an inherently masculine Land Court system) she retained
strong ties to both Maori and Pakeha women in the area.

Agency and resistance

One form of Maori social organisation in the mid to late nineteenth
century in Turanga was the emergence of Te Kooti as a prophet of
Ringatu faith and his followers after Pai Marire and its Hauhau followers
had been outlawed. This saw the emergence of civil war in Turanga:
both intra-tribal (within Ngati Porou) and inter-tribal conflict (between
the majority of or sizeable elements in Rongowhakaata and Te-Aitanga-
a-Mahaki). The end of the conflict was firstly in the defeat at Waerenga-
a-Hika, and then in Te Kooti's flight in early 1870. Binney's
authoritative biography of Te Kooti Arikirangi, *Redemption Songs*, is an
excellent source of local information on the complex relationships
between Maori, Pakeha and Te Kooti.

There are two important points to be noted about the Hauhau
movement and Te Kooti in relation to Keita Wyllie and the theme of
counter-hegemonic agency. Firstly, to a certain degree, to join the
Hauhaus was to follow the hegemonic expectations for Rongowhakaata
Maori. Secondly, a line of dissent against the Hauhaus meant they were
'loyalists' to the Government, a position that many Maori could not
occupy when their closest family were labelled or enacted 'rebel'
positions. Keita Wyllie appears to have occupied both these positions at
one stage or another in the course of the 1860s.

The Land Court transactions of the 1870s saw attempts to discredit claimants by way of declaring them 'rebels' of Government, by way of their Hauhau conversion. On this basis loyalists might be supposed to receive preferential treatment, but this was rarely the case. In a claim heard in early 1870, Keita Wyllie discusses her connection with Te Kooti and the Hauhaus:

> "Keita Wyllie *hc* (sworn) stated. I am well acquainted with Mere Howa. I have known her for eight years. Our homes were close together. Mere and Tamati warned us to be careful lest Te Kooti should kill us.
>
> There being called upon for her defence said 'I have nothing to say about my joining the hauhaus the first time. I will speak of my second joining them. A letter was written to Te Kooti by some of the [*obscured*], to which he replied, "yes". I do not know what was in the letter. I was not the first to join Te Kooti at Patutahi. I did not join Te Kooti of my own accord. I went in consequence of my Hauhaus joining. I did not see Paora Kati, neither did I say what he has laid to my charge about Te Kooti's cutting off his head. A great many of us went to Te Kooti at the same time" (MLC, Minute Book No.1, 5 December 1870, p207-208).

Keita was more connected with Te Kooti than she was willing to reveal in this excerpt. Firstly, her husband, James Wyllie, was involved in the initial arrest of Te Kooti 1866 which eventually led to his imprisonment in the Chatham Islands. Binney notes, "A fourth account names James Wyllie, who was also one of the militia volunteers and was notorious for his abusive language and behaviour. Wyllie said, when he saw Te Kooti sitting on the beach at Muriwai, 'Take this man too'[12]" (Binney, 1995:54). This may be why Keita was warned that Te Kooti might kill them.

The second incident connecting Keita Wyllie to Te Kooti and the Hauhaus was in 1869, shortly before Te Kooti's raid and massacre through Turanganui. Binney notes "It was James Wyllie's wife, Keita (sister of Wi Pere), who had already given Biggs the vital information about the direction [of the attack on Turanga], which he chose to ignore: that the route was to be from the north, through Patutahi[13]" (Binney, 1995:118). Biggs remained adamant that the attack would be from the south, to the detriment of the community. In the November 1869 raid, Te Kooti's raiding party passed by the Wyllie household in order to remain undetected on their path from the north. It appears to have been the intention of the raiding party to return to the property to attack the Wyllie family, but by that stage Keita had escaped with the children (after

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[12] O.G. Denton, 'Mohaka Raid Account', MSS, ATL. Based on the information from his mother, Joanna Sim of Mohaka.

[13] H. Strong (who lived near the Patutahi ford) in the Poverty Bay Herald, 9 February 1903, and in Cowan, NZ Wars, II, pp538-39.

receiving a warning from neighbours closely connected with Te Kooti's camp), and James Wyllie had travelled south with the volunteer militia. He was later injured in this pursuit. There is a third incident, of far more personal note to Keita Wyllie, to be recorded. On a raid led by Te Kooti on 12-14 December of 1869, Keita's eldest son William was killed in an accidental encounter with the raiding party near Pipiwhakao.

The eventual defeat of the 'rebel' Maori by British military forces meant that greater numbers of Pakeha settlers 'got on the land' in Turanga from the beginning of the 1870s. Life wasn't made any easier for Maori-Pakeha relations however. Oliver points out that "military victory was to prove the prelude to a generation of confused litigation, that the tenacity and skill of the Maori in war were to be transferred to the courtroom" (Oliver, 1971:97). The Land Court testimony and the three incidents described above show the fine balance Keita Wyllie occupied between 'loyalist' and 'rebel'. She had an element of agency that afforded her with the ability to influence proceedings. She chose to exercise that agency in serving both Maori and Pakeha. It was counter-hegemonic for Keita to serve both sides, and she is quick to defend her actions in her Land Court testimony in 1870, to avoid being labelled on one side or the other.

Another example of Keita's counter-hegemonic agency is the way in which she dealt with members of the land sale repudiation movement. In July 1873, a Native Meeting was held at Manutuke. Henare Matua, spokesperson for the repudiation movement in Hawke's Bay had travelled to Turanga to address local Maori. The Poverty Bay Standard reported the event, as described by an eyewitness:

> "Henare Matua, who it will be remembered arrived in this district
> some little time back, ostensibly on an electioneering stump, but
> really as an emissary to agitate the native mind, in the hope of
> gaining the adherence of the Maoris to the cause of repudiation,
> addressed a large meeting on Wednesday at Pakirikiri. There were
> only a few Europeans present, and the whole proceedings did not
> seem to cause much stir, outside the circle of those who were
> immediately interested" (PBS, 26 July 1873, p2).

Keita Wyllie attended the meeting, and she took issue with Henare Matua's comments:

> "They evidently were expecting us, for we had not been five
> minutes on the ground when Hikawera, the "mangai"
> (mouthpiece) of Henare Matua, enquired whether or not Kate
> Wyllie was present. Mr Wyllie stepped forward followed by Mrs
> Wyllie and desired to be informed what Henare Matua wanted.
> The reply was, 'I want to question your wife'. Mrs Wyllie said,
> 'Go on'.

The following dialogue then ensued:—

HIKAWERA: Keita Waere (Kate Wyllie), 'Are you a grantee in Te Kuri claim?'

KEITA WAERE: 'I was; but have sold my interest in it.'

HIKAWERA: 'You say you have sold it; what was the money you obtained for it?'

KEITA WAERE: 'I will not permit you to question me at all on the subject. Are you a Commissioner appointed by the Government to institute an enquiry? The land was mine, and I sold it; it is no concern of yours what sum I may have received for it, therefore you had better sit down at once'" (PBS, 26 July 1873, p2).

This raises two important points. Firstly, in the presence of her family and tribe, close to her family marae, Keita asserted her dominance by refusing to answer questions as asked. A second important point is that when it was asked whether Keita Wyllie was present, her husband stepped forward first, but it was Keita who answered the questions. Despite it being a Maori setting, James Wyllie assumed the role of European husband by stepping forward before his wife, but had to defer to Keita Wyllie when she agreed to answer the questions.

The debate continued:

"HENARE MATUA then spoke thus: 'You ask if I am a Commissioner appointed by the Government to institute an enquiry? I am not; but I am a Magistrate; and I know that the Court says that no individual grantee is at liberty to sell his or her interest until partition.'

KEITA WAERE: 'I will sell my own interests whenever I choose, without asking the sanction of yourself or of anyone else. Your disapproval is of no consequence to me. I have sold my interest in many blocks of land, and received the value. I have no intention now of seeking to repudiate these sales.'

HENARE MATUA: 'You say these interests you disposed of belong to the Europeans, no; I tell you they are yours still.'

KEITA WAERE: 'Do not talk to me in this foolish strain. You can see I am a woman, but you must not think I am a child or a fool. I have had to fight my own fight in European Courts against the European lawyers before today with reference to land matters; and I tell you, Henare Matua, that I feel myself quite able to cope with you today'" (PBS, 26 July 1873, p2).

Immediately, Henare Matua is put on the back foot, failing to acknowledge Keita as a talented and effective debater and claimant. She makes no apologies for the sale of the land, despite the fact that most of her family and many of her friends agreed with Matua that they must

seek redress and repudiation of the land sales in the area. She stands firm in her opinion that she carries her own responsibility for her actions:

> "KEITA WAERE: 'Henare Matua, your name has been in my ears as that of one of the most eloquent Maoris in New Zealand. I have listened to your words today, these do not bear out the reputation you appear to have earned. Raharuhi and yourself invited my husband alone to meet you here today, because you thought he would side with your part. I, as in duty bound, have come with him: all the arguments you can use will never convince me that your course is the right one. I tell you, Henare Matua, that these people carried their land to the European and disposed of it, as they would have disposed of any other commodity. No doubt they received the prices stipulated, if they did not, it was their own fault; and besides, if wrongs have been committed the Courts of Law are yet open to them – these at least are pure; and from that source they can always obtain redress. Raharuhi, a dying man, seems to be the prime mover now in this repudiation of sales: I am astonished Raharuhi has hitherto been the most facile seller: he led the way in the sale of Matawhero Cut in Whakawhitiru; in Makauri – in all the lands. Raharuhi ought to reflect on his past deeds"... (PBS, 26 July 1873, p2).

In openly denouncing Raharuhi (one of her closest relatives and a chief) Keita was pushing the boundaries of appropriate discussion. But she made her point – that she was not the only one disposing of land, and was there opportunity for redress if the transactions had been illegal or improper. It appears that Keita was a target for accusations of improper land dealings because of her prominence in both Maori and Pakeha society, and possibly the impression of her increasing family wealth (it was around this time that the family moved into Wyllie Cottage). Henare Matua identified Keita as a leader in the community, and was concerned for her ability to lead people towards greater partnership with Pakeha in land sales and settlement, perceived by him as detrimental to Maori. He argued, while she had benefited personally, would all the people of the Turanga area?

> "HENARE MATUA: ...Still your ideas and mine do not altogether clash. I am glad you have come to talk to me, for your speech is good and will carry weight, with the people. What I complain of is this:— Has your husband permitted you to sell your land for matches, or on any terms, without his also being a party? I do not think so. I can tell you that although your husband sits here today to oppose me, in his heart, he feels for our cause.'" (PBS, 26 July 1873, p2)

Unable to overcome Keita's Maori leadership, Matua targeted her apparent counter-hegemonic actions in Pakeha society. He challenged her ability to buy and sell land without her husband being a part of it. He then tries to further undermine her by saying that even though she might wish to sell Maori land, her husband doesn't want to, and he's Pakeha...so what does she think she's doing? In response, Keita gently switches the subject sideways:

> "KEITA WAERE: 'If you advise these people to litigation, the lawyers will eat up the remainder of the land. Lawyers do not work through philanthropic motives; they work for their pay.'
> HENARE MATUA: 'Yes, that is true. You are right; but I meet the law expenses incurred; the Government will pay the Commissioners.'
> KEITA WAERE: 'Well, Henare Matua, I tell you plainly, you will have all your labour for nothing. You see I am a woman, and although I am, you cannot tire me out. I can hold my own with you or any other Maori or European when I have to fight for my right.' (PBS, 26 July 1873, p2)."

By this time, the discussion had carried on for sometime, including two long speeches by Keita Wyllie in response to Matua's dogged questioning of her over land sales. Keita acknowledges his attempts at drawing her out into admitting wrong-doing, but she was far too intelligent to be caught in that game. Her last sentence in the quote above appears to sum up her whole character. She can see that Matua is underestimating her because of her womanhood. She acknowledges the perceived weakness of women of the time period, but argues herself to be different, separate from that ideal. Keita is, by her own thinking, more powerful, more energetic, and willing to fight until the last if necessary. She recognises in herself a counter-hegemonic streak; she works against the repudiation movement by selling Maori land and she works against the expectations of women, by publicly debating and appearing in Land Court.

Keita was utilised by both Maori and Pakeha for advantage in the decades of the 1860s and 1870s. The forces of play within the colonial context are not just external influences. Colonisers look for similar people to work with, and often target the most powerful people internal to the group being colonised to form strategic alliances e.g. Maori gun trading in Turanga. The native is not always an under-privileged partner – the weak elements of the colonised group may be colonised by the stronger elements of that group. These stronger elements are sometimes known as the sub-altern. This creates a new hierarchy within the colonised group – positions of privilege for some. Which raises a new question – who do they engage with, and how?

It appears, looking at Keita Wyllie's life that it is possible to be both an agent and a victim of colonial control. While her life was tightly prescribed by the demands, expectations and controls placed on both gender and ethnicity by early 19th century, English, middle-class society, she found ways in which to operate to her own advantage, and to that of her family and tribe. It is notable that the rank of Maori women in Turanga (which recognises women's mana and speaking rights more than any other tribal region in New Zealand), were often in a subordinate (and sometimes submissive) position in a hierarchy, but they worked as agents to obtain submissions to the hierarchy's authority. It was the particular allowances of Turanga that meant Keita's rank and authority were maintained into Pakeha society; her ability to translate her Rangatira status into the role of a colonial 'lady' in a predominantly Pakeha community in the 1870s.

Community and society

The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography notes that Keita "moved in both Maori and Pakeha worlds, protecting her mana and interests through determination and skill in debate and discussion.... She is remembered as a woman who sought to defend her rights and those of her people" (Oliver, 2002). In addition to this role in Maori society, Kate is remembered locally in photographs and newspaper articles in the context of her Pakeha role in local society (wife of James Ralston Wyllie), at social events, garden parties and general visibility in the community.

Photographs remain of Keita at two important society events in Turanganui. In the first photograph, shown in Figure 13, Keita appears in the middle of the large group gathered for a picnic at the Waimata River in 1875. Keita is standing slightly apart from those people around her and there appear to be few Maori adults in the image. There are a small number of Maori children, a couple of whom are believed to have been Keita's, but this is unconfirmed. Dressed with hat and jacket, Keita is not wearing gloves but does carry a parasol. Her hat is elaborate. She appears to be the model European woman, if not for her marked Maori features in comparison to her companions.

The second group photograph, shown in Figure 14, pictures Keita at the Graham Family Garden Party in 1885. This panoramic shot, of which only the left panel is shown, has been particularly vital to the historical records of the district because it pictures almost every member of Turanganui 'society' at that time.

Figure 13: Waimata Valley Picnic (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti)

Figure 14: Graham Family Garden Party (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti, first [left] panel of four)

Of particular note in Figure 14 are two things. Firstly, Keita appears in the middle of this group, standing slightly apart from the people nearby. She wears gloves, a hat and carries and parasol, again reflecting her standing as a lady in the community. The second point of note is that there are very few Maori in the photograph, perhaps only one other standing to Keita's left. It makes Keita appear markedly Maori in feature in comparison to those around her.

In both photographs, Keita stands with great dignity and stares directly at the camera, a change from the studio portraits. But she is not entirely at ease in the community group. Garden parties and picnics formed the basis of summer, outdoors events, while musical evenings and book readings were popular in winter. Entry to such events was strictly limited to appropriate members of society, and rarely were Maori admitted without some strong European link. It appears that Keita regularly attended society events, and far from being excluded at such events, she was regarded a central figure. The dichotomy of her 'Maori-ness' against the very 'European-ness' of it all establishes the image of the split identity. Despite being thrust into a Pakeha setting, with Pakeha rules and Pakeha people, she was undeniably Maori.

There is some argument for Keita being accepted into Pakeha society because she was arguably not Maori in many of her lifestyle choices, her action and demeanour. Keita's income and land ownership would have made her one of the wealthiest women in the region at that time. In addition to family land, she personally held deeds to a large amount (including some in trust for her tribe in her name). The way in which Keita was accepted into society is reflection of the way in which she was so intrinsically a part of the space of Turanga. Her life revolved around the complex relationships with land, people and the places around the growing Pakeha urban settlement, and without those particular socio-spatial elements she could not have operated at such a high level in Pakeha society elsewhere. It can be seen in the previous Chapter that each time Keita shifted home with her family, they moved to an increasingly urban, European style home. From strong Maori roots, Keita may have been shifting towards a Pakeha lifestyle and an acceptance of Pakeha society.

One society event of particular importance and prestige to the region was the occasional visit from Government representatives. For example, Premier Sir George Grey and the Native Minister, Hon. Mr Sheehan, visited Turanganui in 1878. The Maori newspaper *Te Wananga* reported the event:

> "After lunch, Sir G. Grey and the Hon. Mr Sheehan proceeded across the river to Rawiri. There they found an immense assemblage of Natives who welcomed them in the usual Maori manner, with war dances, & Several Native ladies also assisted at

the reception. Among the most prominent in receiving the Premier and Native Minister were Mrs Wyllie, Mrs Riperata, Mrs G.E. Read, Mrs Karaitiana and others. There was also a large concourse of European ladies and gentlemen as spectators" (Te Wananga, Vol. 5, No. 13, 30 March 1878).

This passage of text makes three important points about Keita Wyllie that may be considered. Firstly, Keita was a prominent part of a contingent of Maori women who welcomed prestigious Government guests in the 'usual Maori manner'. Secondly, the passage refers to Keita and her companions as a 'Native ladies'. Finally, the passage makes the point that this was a Maori welcome, and that the Europeans were 'spectators', not part of the actual meeting or process. That Keita welcomed the Premier and Native Minister in the 'usual Maori manner' indicates that she was a ranking woman on the marae onto which the visitors were welcomed, Te-Poho-a-Rawiri marae. To have taken a prominent role in the powhiri (greeting) indicates that she often took this role and it was accepted by the wider Maori community and the other women (one of whom was higher ranking than her, despite Keita being listed first by *Te Wananga*). This is an excellent example of translation and negotiation by Keita as a hybrid identity. She translated the Maori ritual of her region to a European context and time for the welcoming of colonial visitors. The phrase 'Native ladies' is a thorny term to use in describing the aforementioned Maori women of the time. Firstly, the term 'Native' could indicate a translation from the original Maori text that the author may not have intended. Setting that aside, though, 'Native' asserts their Maori identity over any Pakeha identity they may have occupied. In this case the author appears to be emphasising for readers, who may not have otherwise known, that they were Maori women despite their European names, and therefore were in a position to take their roles in a powhiri. The second part of this description, 'ladies', may be considered a courteous indication of their importance in both Maori and Pakeha society.

The writing style of the piece indicates a European author, e.g. the use of language – words such as 'assemblage' – and descriptions of processes and rituals that would have been well known to Maori. If written by a Maori author for a Maori audience, the emphasis would have been less on details such as:

"The party having been escorted to Te Poho a Rawiri to a sort of enclosure in front of the Runanga house, the speeches commenced by Henare Potae, who welcomed the Kawana, as they insisted in calling Sir G. Grey" (Te Wananga, Vol. 5, No. 13, 30 March 1878).

In this and other parts of the report can be seen evidence of the third point, that Europeans were spectators while Maori were the key

participants in this meeting. In particular, the Hon Mr Sheehan offered advice to the Maori assembled on the progress of their land grievances. It was clearly a courtesy visit on the part of the Premier and Native Minister, but "the meeting dispersed in the most orderly way, all parties apparently satisfied" (Te Wananga, Vol. 5, No. 13, 30 March 1878).

Keita Wyllie recognised that at various times and in various ways she belonged to different social groupings: Maori, Pakeha and women. In addition, though, she was a hybrid in the third-space, and she was also rangatira, in a position of authority that in part transcended gender and ethnicity because of her whakapapa. Living an element of counter-hegemonic agency depended on her ability to transcend the expectations of these groups, stepping outside the taken for granted and 'natural' behaviours and beliefs. Her ability to step outside hegemony was tied up in her firm belief that she had the right to defend her interests by any means necessary. Her interests included her land, her family, her tribe, and her increasingly influential place in Pakeha society. In response to challenges, she defended herself with clarity and skill, and she never once allowed her gender to undermine others' estimations of her ability and resourcefulness in all matters.

Chapter Nine:
Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to show the way in which a colonial identity may be constructed and lived as a cultural hybrid. Using Keita Wyllie as an example, it has shown the ways in which she lived her life balanced precariously between Maori and Pakeha. Her identity was constituted in the historical setting by a number of factors, not least of which were the impact of colonisation and its associated administrative processes, the changing balance of power between Maori and Pakeha in Turanga, and the physical location and structure of Turanga itself.

Textual analysis was used to read a variety of historical 'texts', including newspaper items, letters, Land Court minutes, floor plans, photographs, and personal items. These offered an insight into the real person of Keita Wyllie, and attempted to build up a picture of identity that is not be found in existing historical accounts of the region.

Theoretically, the argument for this thesis has been predicated on the knowledge that space, like identity, is fluid. The two interact, and cannot be disconnected from each other. To do so would be to underplay the importance of spatiality and the way in which different places, regions or localities influence social processes and social life for individuals and groups. It can therefore be seen that culture and gender have spatial patterns. While their demarcation is less physically clear than a fencepost or line of trees, they too operated as a controlling force behind social expectation and behaviour.

To understand colonial identities and otherness, then, requires an appreciation for the relationship between aspects of identity – the parts that make it up and constantly shift in relation to each other. There is no single balance, where the identity can be ultimately defined. To go beyond the individual and acknowledge the collective, all human societies are hybrids, biologically and socially. The fact that this research examines a colonial society makes no difference – it too has a particular mix of character, race, gender, class etc. that creates a fluid collective identity. And colonial society is also spatialised because the historical context does not remove the space within which it was lived. Like an individual, a society's balance is only found in the split-second, there is no long-term static construction of community.

In practice, Keita Wyllie's identity was neither one nor the other, as the hybrid demands. But it cannot be forgotten that she was also both. Concrete geographical and historical circumstances, the place and time in which a person lived, contribute to the expression of identity and the

abstract conceptualisation of social relations. In other words, space plays an active and constituent role in the construction of identity. On different scales, it influences both action and belief, and is intimately bound up in a 'view of the world'. The importance of the space in which Keita Wyllie lived cannot be underestimated.

Turanga was geographically isolated from the rest of the country, its social structure traditionally regarded as incoherent, yet it retained a strong sense of social identity. Its Pakeha settlers were remarkably dependent on the local Maori population for protection and economic security, but offered financial freedom and imported goods (e.g. muskets, tobacco, alcohol) in return. The region was marked by social unrest for a large part of the time period studied, and was unlucky to have had the large amount of land confiscated that it did. There was a spirit of rebellion among the local Maori, and with the emergence of the Maori Land Court, land claims were among the most hotly contested anywhere in the country. It is these features that make it a site that influences the way people think, act and relate to each other.

Keita Wyllie was called to behave in ways that were appropriate and necessary to her calling and her identity. Her somewhat ambiguous cultural identity as a 'half-caste' split between Maori and Pakeha became her greatest strength in a colonial context of change and upheaval. Culture, ethnicity and race all played an important role in the construction of identity.

For Keita Wyllie, her ethnicity had biologically determined her place in society, but her culture was what formed her lived identity. Her lifestyle was positioned in the slippage between Maori and Pakeha, a fluid identity positioned in the conceptual third space. She was simultaneously Self and Other, both a member of the ruling British class, and a ruled Maori. Keita operated within both settings in a spirit of translation, negotiation and mediation, but did so in a way that she could be regarded as ahead of her time.

Living through one of the most tempestuous periods in New Zealand's history, she occupied a position of strength and operated with authority in both societies. She was a persuasive advocate for her Maori family in the Native Land Court of the time, protecting her mana and interests through determination and skills in debate and discussion. Equally, Keita lived a Pakeha life. She married two European men in the course of her life and gave birth to thirteen children. She lived in a variety of European style houses and presented a predominantly European appearance in her hairstyle and clothing. As a culturally hybrid woman, she attempted things that full-blooded European and Maori women were excluded from doing or unable to do.

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Bhabha argues that the hybrid is the voice that speaks from two places at once, and inhabits neither (1994:38). The identity of Keita Wyllie that was revealed through textual analysis fulfilled Bhabha's conditions for the hybrid being. Firstly, she was the product of a splitting, "which occurred when the colonial ruling authority attempted, in its texts, to impose upon the ruled". Her greatest strength as an 'in-between' came from the fact that she occupied both the ruler and the ruled positions at varying times in Turanga. Pakeha were not the dominant population until the mid 1870s, and even then it was a tentative hold on the region. Maori held a position of strength, which was recognised in the need for intermarriage in the community, assuring protection and economic facilitation for Pakeha traders. The ways in which she demonstrated a splitting included her upbringing and family life (between traditional Maori society and the Christian mission school); her marriage (to a Scottish trader) and consequent children; the house she lived in and the property she owned (especially in terms of location, form and function); and her physical appearance (presentation shown in photos, and use of language).

Keita Wyllie fulfilled the second condition of hybridity in her ability to translate, negotiate and mediate affinity within a dynamic of exchange and inclusion. This was especially demonstrated by her skilful and effective debate in the Maori Land Court, and her willingness to always stand up for what she believed was her right. She is still known locally as a persuasive and skilful advocate for Maori interests, and is respected for her ability to defend both her tribal and personal mana in trying circumstances

The third way in which Keita Wyllie may be considered a hybrid identity is the way in which she performed counter-hegemonic roles within the community at Turanga. In particular, she sought to find ways in which she could stand independently, between Maori and Pakeha, attempting to find a balance that would suit both sides. She brokered deals with a shrewd business mind, and operated autonomously in the Maori Land Court system.

Keita was also willing to defend herself publicly, an act that was defiant on two levels. Firstly, as a woman she took responsibility for her own decisions and her own transactions, rather than take protection from her husband. Secondly, in doing so she challenged the role women took at the time. While Maori women were often allowed speaking rights on the marae in the area (in comparison to the rest of the country where only men were allowed to speak), Keita extended this privilege to any setting. In Pakeha society she operated with ease, and was a regular visitor to European social gatherings, often the only Maori woman present. The remaining photographs of Keita in European poses, and present at society gatherings are a testament to the way in which she fitted, and was accepted by others in the community.

In practice, Keita Wyllie's identity was neither one nor the other, as the hybrid demands. But it cannot be forgotten that she was also both.

> "She didn't just happen to be this way. It was cultivated in her.
> She was made that way. She had few peers, as a Māori woman of
> the taniwha line, in the Māori world... but there was more – her
> accomplishments in the *Pākeha* world.
>
> [She had a] kind of killer instinct, the power of arrogance."[14]

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[14] Witi Ihimaera, *The Matriarch*, Secker and Warburg, Auckland, 1986:26; in reference to women in the line of Thomas Halbert.

Appendix One

Keita Wyllie's whakapapa
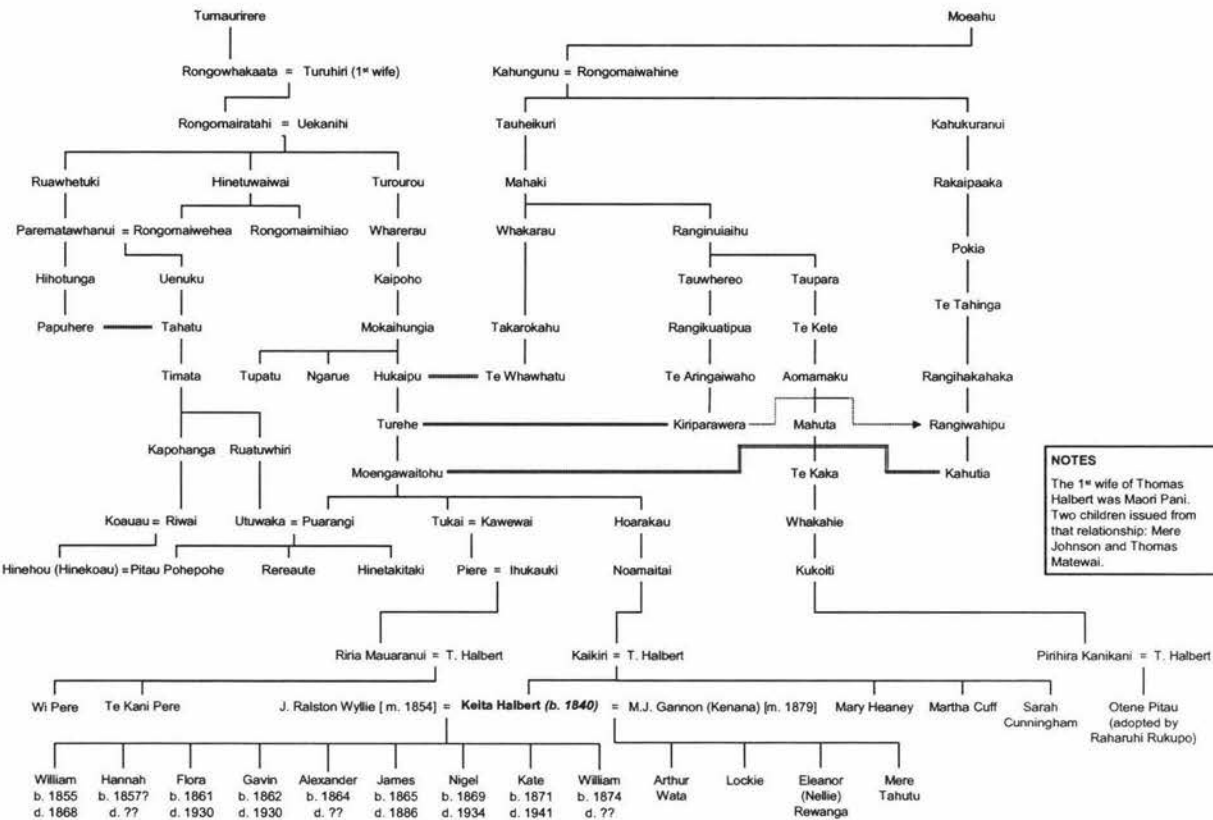
Appendix Two

Keita Wyllie's Maori Land Court appearances

5 July 1869	KARAUA [Poverty Bay Commission], 351 acres Reel 1315, Poverty Bay Commission, pp47-50
8 July 1869	PUKEWHINAU [Poverty Bay Commission], 74 acres Reel 1315, pp86-88
16 July 1869	RAHUI [Poverty Bay Commission], 21 acres Reel 1315, pp140-141
5 December 1870	OARIKI [Title Investigation], 93 acres Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 01, pp154-155, 204-208, 209 **Note:** *Adjourned because of confusion in Court*
5 December 1870	PUKETAPU [Title investigation], 127 acres, 10 owners Reel 1312, pp156-164, 165-169, 171-172, 176, 184-185
6 December 1870	MANUTUKE [Title investigation], 9 owners Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 01, pp172-184
8 December 1870	OKIRAU [Title investigation survey] Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 01, pp193-194, 204
8 December 1870	TE NGAU [Title investigation], 0.25 acres, 3 owners Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 01, pp194-195, 203
15 August 1873	OKIRAU, WHATATUTU [Poverty Bay Commission] Reel Raupatu Document Bank, Vol. 129 Poverty Bay Commission, 1873, pp5-6.
26 August 1873	WAIKOHU [Poverty Bay Commission], 22,720 acres Reel Raupatu Document Bank, Vol. 129 Poverty Bay Commission, 1873, pp7-15.
17 March 1875	OKAHUATIU NO. 1 [Title investigation], 31,550 acres, # owners disputed Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 02, pp56-61, 77-98
12 July 1875	TURANGANUI -O-TE WHETUIAPITI [Title investigation?], 9 acres, 11 owners Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 02, pp268-270
13 July 1875	TE IKA TU A PA [Title investigation?], 2 acres, 5 owners Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 02, pp274-276
26 July 1875	OKIRAU [Title investigation], 55 acres, 52 owners Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 03, pp1-14, 42-45
27 July 1875	RUAOTAUA [Title investigation], 55 acres, ?? Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 03, pp15-23, 24-29, 41, 43-45
26 February 1876	OKIRAU [Rehearing title investigation], 55 acres Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 03, pp65-82, 102-103
28 February 1876	RUAOTAUA [Rehearing, title investigation], 159 acres Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 03, pp82-104

9 February 1877	WHAREONGAONGA [Title investigation], 3,100 acres, 140 owners
	Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 03, pp203-208, 217-238, 245-250
22 May 1879	PARITU [Title investigation], 12,142 acres
	Reel 1312, Gisborne MB No. 04, pp230-253
1 June 1880	WHENUAKURA [Succession]
	Reel 1313, Gisborne MB No. 05, pp233-266
13 August 1880	PAOKAHU [Title investigation], 615 acres, 105 owners
	Reel 1313, Gisborne MB No. 06, pp211-267, 277-283, 286-289, 293-296
8 September 1880	MATAWHERO B [Partition]
	Reel 1313, Gisborne MB No. 06, pp310-327
1 March 1882	MARAETAHA NO. 2 [Title investigation]
	Reel 1313, Gisborne MB No. 07, pp430-445, 449-455, 457-459, 461-469 **Note:** *Continued in Gisborne MB No. 08; Plan 287*
19 May 1882	PUKETAPU [Partition], 127 acres, 26 owners
	Reel 1314, Gisborne MB No. 08, pp190
6 March 1883	MAKAURI [Rehearing]
	Reel 1353, Judge O'Brien's MB No. 04, pp35-108
6 March 1883	MATAWHERO NO. 1 [Rehearing?]
	Reel 1314, Gisborne MB No. 08, pp244-247
7 March 1883	MAKAURI [rehearing]
	Reel 1314, Gisborne MB No. 08, pp253-320, 322-323
	Note: *includes clippings from Poverty Bay Standard on judgement p319-320*
7 September 1883	PUKETAPU [Partition], 127 acres
	Reel 1314, Gisborne MB No. 09, pp16, 60, 75-76, 80, 176 **Note:** *Plan 2038*
11 September 1883	MIRIMIRI [Partition], 90 acres, 84 owners
	Reel 1314, Gisborne MB No. 09, pp31-32, 92-93, 98-99, 101, 201 **Note:** *Plan 124*
7 May 1886	RANGAIOHINEHAU [Partition] (for sale – struck out)
	Reel 1314, Gisborne MB No. 10, pp420-421 **Note:** *Plan 124*
10 May 1886	TAUOWHIRO C [Partition] (for sale)
	Reel 1314, Gisborne MB No. 10, pp436-438
27 May 1886	WHAKAONGAONGA NO. 2 [Partition]
	Reel 1315, Gisborne MB No. 10, pp439, 441-442
28 May 1886	PUKETAPU H MAUNGA [Partition]
7 December 1885	KAITI [Rehearing partition lease]
	Reel 1314, Gisborne MB No. 10, pp89-166, 169-213

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Wyllie Cottage on northern bank of Taruheru River (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti)

Photograph of Keita Wyllie, c. 1872-1875 (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti, Ref. 908.2-2)

Figure 11: Photograph of Keita Wyllie (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti, Ref. 908.2-3)

Figure 12: Photograph of Keita Wyllie with Wi Pere (her half-brother) (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti, Ref. 020.1-30)

Figure 13: Waimata Valley Picnic (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti)

Figure 14: Graham Family Garden Party, (Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairawhiti, first [left] panel of four)

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