Colonising Te Whanganui ā Tara and Marketing Wellington, 1840-1849

Colonising Te Whanganui ā Tara and Marketing Wellington, 1840-1849:

Displaying (Dis)Possession

By

Patricia Thomas

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing

Colonising Te Whanganui ā Tara and Marketing Wellington, 1840-1849: Displaying (Dis)Possession

By Patricia Thomas

This book first published 2019

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-5275-3907-5
ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-3907-5

RĀRANGI UPOKO

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PREFACE

This is a book that examines one of the processes undertaken by the New Zealand Company to colonise New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century. As such, it presented me with a number of issues to consider: obstacles to understanding caused by historical distance; complexities of encounter when two worlds meet in one place; issues raised by languages that represent that encounter, and by words and meanings that change over time; and the complicated ways that one can speak about topics such as place and identity. Terms like the 'West' (with a capital 'W') argue for a fixed geographical centre from which the 'East' (with or without a capital 'E'), the 'south' and the 'antipodes' each gain their locus. To speak of the West (and of Europe) also is to ignore the fact that neither is a single entity nor are they, or have they been, separate entities from the rest of the world.[1] Nevertheless, all these terms, and the processes and practices they employ, remain useful as shorthand for a particular, if disparate, body of people whose power structures enabled them to control others in myriad ways. On another matter of geography, the word 'country' as it refers to New Zealand assumes a single politically, economically and socially unified nation. It is the term the Company used and continued to use in spite of having to deal with a people who neither saw it nor operated within it as such. The Company also referred to New Zealand and the New Zealanders, names acquired not by experience, but by inheritance. In the European experience it was *always* 'New Zealand' or something like it. The specific area discussed in this book was known in Britain as Port Nicholson until it became Wellington. To the resident Māori, it was Te Whanganui ā Tara. I begin using this name along with Port Nicholson, but as the circumstances on the ground changed, I switch to its English name, Wellington and finally, to Te Whanganui ā Tara Wellington. I do the same with New Zealand; I begin with Aotearoa, move to New Zealand, then finally to Aotearoa New Zealand. Other ways of speaking also require some clarification.

Whakamārama Clarifications

I refer to the groups of Māori who occupied Te Whanganui ā Tara at the time the events in this book took place as Te Āti Awa. Other ways of spelling this is Te Ātiawa and Te Atiawa (without the macron). Similarly,

Te Whanganui ā Tara is often seen as Te Whanganui-a-Tara and Te Whanganui-ā-Tara. I simply follow the spelling used on the map on page 26. Similar complexities concern language itself.

Writing a history often requires the negotiation of language. Terms and words that were common may no longer be so. Choosing then over now, or vice versa, is never straightforward. This is a book about some members of the nineteenth-century middle classes. In the 1840s, the term 'middling' was common parlance but is sufficiently strange to our ears now for me to use the more recognisable 'middle class'. However anachronistic that change in terms might be, in the context of this book it would be unusual to bring gendered language similarly up-to-date. I discuss the protagonists in the book using the terms man, men, him, he and his. This is not because I have yet to engage with gender identity issues, but because there is a "gendered order" in settler colonisation.[2] Men, largely speaking, made momentous decisions. The literature indicates that women were not left out of the decision-making entirely (they often made the journey on their own as single women), but the Company seldom directed its communications towards them. It targeted men, and spoke in all its texts, implicitly or explicitly, of men. Identity is equally difficult across historical distance. I speak in this book of the English, rather than the British. The terms were somewhat interchangeable descriptors at the time, with the Lowland Scots, for example, understood as English, but the Irish, Welsh and Highlanders as British. I use the term British when I am speaking of this wider group or when I am referring to governments and other formal institutions. The New Zealand Company used both.

I have two methods of discussing some terms that I visualise through my use of capital letters or lower case letters. The first term is Indigenous. I do not capitalise the word when I am speaking of indigeneity in general—as in indigenous to the land. I do so when I refer to people—as in Indigenous people. The second is the word Other: similar to indigenous, when speaking of the unspecified targets (an other, or others) of Western or European othering, I do not capitalise. However, when I am speaking of specific people (the Other) who are othered, I elevate the term by capitalising it.

Terms and words are equally difficult in translation. This is also a book about the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, a characterisation of a people who have historically been only 'lumped' together for convenience. While the Company spoke of them as the 'New Zealanders' in the early years of colonisation, 'Māori' quickly replaced the term. As a word, 'Māori' is misleading as it was never a universal descriptor used by *tangata whenua* (the people of the land). 'Māori' literally means ordinary. It could be applied to any earthly human or non-human entities: people,

birds, trees, water, and it differentiates them from entities of the spiritual world. Prior to contact, Māori knew themselves as *māori tangata*—the ordinary folk who lived in a particular place—or by their *iwi* (tribe) or *hapū* (sub-tribe) affiliations. The affiliations remain to this day. In this book, the people are predominantly the various *hapū* of the Te Āti Awa *iwi*. Nomenclature is differently difficult in discussions about the other protagonists in this story: the Wakefields. The settlement at Te Whanganui ā Tara Wellington and subsequent early settlements in other parts of Aotearoa New Zealand was a family affair. The plans that Edward Gibbon Wakefield made in London were carried out by his brothers Captain Arthur Wakefield (who is associated with the settlement at Nelson and so does not appear in this book), Colonel William Wakefield and by his son Edward Jerningham Wakefield. To avoid confusing them in the text, I use Wakefield for Edward Gibbon, Jerningham (except for the endnotes and bibliography, where I use Jerningham Wakefield) for his son, and Colonel Wakefield when speaking of his brother (except for the endnotes and bibliography, where I use William Wakefield).

Something I did not find difficult was the decision to use *te reo Māori,* the Māori language, whenever it became appropriate to do so. While I acknowledge that this book addresses an international readership, I necessarily attempt as much as possible to avoid deploying Western words based on Western concepts to describe Māori concepts as if they were one and the same. So, I use and translate Māori words with an understanding that translation inevitably inserts meanings and characterisations that often do not acknowledge that words cannot be separated from the concepts they articulate. *Te reo* (the language) and its complexities are incomprehensible outside the context of *kaupapa Māori* (an approach to life's activities and practices, including research), and some understanding of *mātauranga Māori* (the evolving body of knowledge that guides the practices). Nevertheless, I offer my imperfect understanding of *te reo*, and the concepts that underpin it, to acknowledge that colonisation was an encounter between two peoples whose worlds, and the ways they represented them, were not the same. To complicate matters, many Māori words have multiple meanings that depend for their understanding on inflection, often expressed in written language by *tohutō*, or macrons. The context within which they are used also helps with meaning. All the words in *te reo* have macrons where prescribed. I only omit them when I reference the original texts that did not use them. I have used the italic font for all the words in *te reo* in this book to indicate visually that Māori and English languages, like the concepts they express, are not the same.

Finally, this is a book that explores two ways of speaking: the textual and the visual. There is something a little unsatisfactory in using the word 'text' for all forms of utterance—oral, written, gestural, performative and visual. Unfortunately, there is no other that is as simple to use and understand. Generally, I preface 'text' with a descriptor, for example, 'visual text', where confusion could exist.

Notes

[1] Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds, *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham: NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 2 & 3.

[2] Lorenzo Veracini, "Settler Colonialism: Career of a Concept," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41.2 (2013): 314, accessed November 12, 2016, https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2013.768099. I follow precedent here. In his text on the Enlightenment, Roy Porter also acknowledges the contemporaneous gendering of the eighteenth-century coffee house as intrinsically male in its construction and its description. His, and my, subsequent use of 'man' avoids anachronism if nothing else. Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2001).

He Mihi

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the many people who have helped this book come to fruition, whether they knew they were doing it or not. Because it trespasses across a number of disciplinary and ontological boundaries, I am only the narrator, passing on what I have learned about the story. *Ipso facto*, my knowledge of disciplines and practices outside of that is incomplete. I am a print historian, with a special interest in printed ephemera. But, if nothing else, print is the servant of all, and it is with this in mind that I feel only some trepidation in stepping ambitiously into other scholars' fields of expertise. I am certain to get many things wrong. To avoid too many mistakes and misunderstandings, I called upon the many generous examples of erudition in other fields, including those of both historical and critical cartography, geography, art history, and on the various tools of historical research. I am also grateful that many of the historical actors in this narrative have left written evidence of what they thought, which helped me to understand how that informed, or did not, what they did. The thoughts they put into writing and the actions they took to accomplish their goals were often dissonant, even contradictory. The combination of the two, however, allowed me to see beyond the evidence of their utterances to make some sense of the world within which they operated.

I am especially grateful to the many scholars, writers and visual makers whose work has not only informed the story, but enlightened my comprehension of the world of *tangata whenua*, the people of this land that we share.

All that being said, I must again be quick to point out that any errors are my own.

I wish to thank Bronwyn Labrum and Claire Robinson, who guided me through the genesis of this endeavour. The work of those in the various libraries and archives in New Zealand and London who preserve and protect historical documents was invaluable to this book. I specifically wish to thank Louis in the Print and Map Room in Australia for allowing me to use the Brees image of Port Nicholson on page 152. At various points along the

way I received funding from Massey University New Zealand and for that I am grateful.

Thanks go to my colleagues at Massey's College of Creative Arts for the small but insightful conversations we have had over the past few years. Finally, and especially, I thank my partner Michael Lawrance for putting up with all this.

TĪMATANGA KŌRERO

INTRODUCTION

> Underlying social space are territories, land, geographical domains, the actual geographical underpinnings of the imperial, and also the cultural contest. To think about distant places, to colonize them, to populate or depopulate them: all of this occurs on, about, or because of land. The actual geographical possession of land is what empire in the final analysis is all about. *Edward Said 1994*[3]

On September 20, 1839, propelled by a "fresh…north-west breeze" and flying "along under all sail,"[4] the New Zealand Land Company's survey ship, *Tory*, entered a harbour on the south coast of the North Island of New Zealand. Captained by Edward Main Chaffers, the ship carried from England the Company's Principal Agent Colonel William Wakefield, his nephew Edward Jerningham Wakefield, the naturalist Ernst Dieffenbach, the Company draughtsman Charles Heaphy, and 30 other passengers and crew members.[*] Colonel Wakefield's task was to identify the most propitious site on which to establish a colony. Having done so, he was to conduct negotiations with the inhabitants for purchase of the land that the Company could then sell to its settlers. The Company assumed that New Zealand possessed so much fertile land to choose from that fertility was less important than the suitability of a chosen site for trading purposes and its capacity for development as a "commercial metropolis."[5] Further, Colonel Wakefield's instructions from London advised him to choose a site that offered the best "natural facilities of communication and transport."[6] They suggested that what the Company knew as Port Nicholson, and Māori called Te Whanganui ā Tara, might be the most advantageous in this respect. The Company never missed an opportunity to laud this decision. An advertisement in the *New Zealand Journal* of October 2, 1841 for John Bidwill's *Rambles*

[*] Also on board were a number of passengers picked up from the top of the South Island on the other side of Cook Strait. Among them was Richard (Dicky) Barrett who was to participate in the negotiations for the purchase of land at Te Whanganui ā Tara (Port Nicholson).

noted the book's value for "the account given therein of the superiority of Port Nicholson as a field for colonisation, as to all other parts of the island."[7] This account consists of little more than a page near the end of the book. Nevertheless, Port Nicholson did possess a commodious harbour that "offered good facilities for a general trading depot."[8] It was also the closest potential port to the Australian colonies, and thus to England. However, while fertile land was to be a secondary consideration, it remained necessary for a self-sustaining colony that a "useful and valuable"[9] extent of it be close by.

Port Nicholson offered little prospect of this. Heaphy noted its beauty and nobility in his *Narrative*, but it afforded only small parcels of flat land.[10] These were surrounded by steep cliffs rising from the harbour's edge. The cliffs quickly gave way to a succession of what a disgruntled settler John Wood identified in 1843 as "frowning mountains."[11] Nevertheless, Colonel Wakefield decided on Port Nicholson and proceeded to treat with Māori for its purchase. The news of the arrival of the *Tory* and the establishment of the settlement at Port Nicholson reached England "after a month of most anxious expectation"[12] on March 4, 1840. Prior to this, the Company had only a *theory* of systematic colonisation, a colony-yet-to-be in an unconfirmed location in New Zealand, and a belief in its mission to possess and people this farthest wasteland. A "small nation on the move"[13] with expectations of a better life in the Antipodes, and a number of land speculators with no interest in moving but some expectation of profit, formed the economic basis of the colonisation scheme. Once this small nation had made its home in Port Nicholson, the Company was then in a position to advertise it as an *actual*, named, orderly, and apparently successful settlement. It utilised a number of platforms to promote its new colony. It understood the value of advertising and the power of the visual in a society that had learned to see the world in commercial and visual terms. It developed a strategic campaign that included image-based ephemeral material to increase the small nation by persuading others to become part of it.

I became part of it when it was a somewhat larger nation. My family joined the many thousands of immigrants who travelled from elsewhere to make this city on the edge of the harbour home. The city's narrative—visual and experiential—has changed a great deal between my arrival in 1962 and now, in 2019. The town that became the city of Wellington was, I imagined then, a very English city: quiet, restrained, well-behaved and, on Sundays, quite empty. One could walk from one end of the city to the other and not encounter another living being. The exception was the man who worked at the Kiwi Milk Bar in Manners Street. My family seemed to be his only customers. Now, Wellington feels more like a cosmopolitan playground with cafés, theatres, restaurants that offer good food—local, foreign and

fusion; great wine—from vineyards located almost anywhere in the world, including just over the frowning mountain in the Wairarapa; and beer—national, international and craft; street musicians, lights and rowdy bars. It is vibrant and noisy, day or night. It is a place that displays the visual narratives of many cultures, the most prominent of which are European and Māori: English and Indigenous. This was not always the case. It once was, as I imagined it to be in 1962, a very English city. Cole Harris explains how it came to be that one group of people were able to acquire land that belonged to another group and transform it into, in the case this book investigates, the very English city of Wellington, New Zealand. His conclusions include:

> …the initial ability to dispossess rested primarily on physical power and the supporting infrastructure of the state; the momentum to dispossess derived from the interest of capital in profit and of settlers in forging new livelihoods; the legitimization of and moral justification for dispossession lay in a cultural discourse that located civilization and savagery and identified the land uses associated with each; and the management of dispossession rested with a set of disciplinary technologies of which maps, numbers, law, and the geography of resettlement itself were the most important.[14]

Each of these conditions is relevant to the colonisation of Te Whanganui ā Tara and the settling of Wellington. To them I add the technologies of the visual. In this book, I examine how the Company fashioned a cohesive visual narrative about place through a strategy of communications and market devices that included naming it and displaying its name, surveying and displaying its boundaries, and producing views of it as an English city. These included a series of printed posters, plans and pictorial views, material that was designed primarily to implant a British "way of seeing" the settlement that quickly came to be called Wellington into the mind of a prospective settler.[15] I use a limited number of images to represent the Company's narrative and its visual rhetorical strategies. I am not so much interested in how the messages were received as this is impossible at this historical remove. Rather, I examine them for evidence of how the Company framed the material to meet its specific objective to make its settlement marketable through making it known and making it English. While the posters are overtly advertising material, I consider the plans and the views to be equally promotional. Their collective purpose was to sell.

Because the material cannot be seen in any other way, this book also reveals something of an early example of a sustained, sophisticated and multi-modal, advertising campaign. The visual was one among various

modes of campaign discourse employed by the Company. I discuss the role that it was intended to play in the Company's quest to attract settler and investor capital.† The book explores how the images, produced by Heaphy and many others who were employed by the Company, led a group of English people like Wood to see emigration to New Zealand as a viable proposition for their future good. The images tell us much of what the Company did to overcome the obstacles it faced, both in England and in New Zealand, in consolidating its English colony in Indigenous territory. They confirmed a deeply-held conviction of the right to possess and dispossess, to occupy land known to be inhabited by other people.[16] I do not attempt to point out the absurdity of these convictions; that has been done admirably by many others since the early 1980s. Rather than re-rehearse the texts that address the good, the bad and the ugly of colonisation, I analyse the visual material through the lenses of the conventions and contexts within which they were produced to explain, in part, *how* it happened and why it was not seen as absurd at the time. I am using data that Shari Daya speaks of in the context of materialism as "always-already meaningful" as a way of "thinking through"[17] historical social and cultural systems, in this case, the systems of colonisation.

Colonisation old and new

A habit of colonisation

> The departure of the first colony took place in the course of the autumn of 1839; and it is no exaggeration to assert, that it comprised a body of settlers who, for intelligence and energy of mind, as well as for rank and character in society, have not been equalled since the days of the early colonization of North America. *John Ward 1840*[18]

Seventeenth-century North America notwithstanding, the English officially colonised 24 percent of the Earth's surface at the height of its empire-building activities. The English themselves were colonised by a series of

† I use the word 'quest' because the Company's success in recruiting emigrants to New Zealand was patchy at best. From start to finish it facilitated the emigration of less than 40,000 people from Britain, but it succeeded in establishing six cities that remain to this day. However, since this is not a study of its success, but its methods, the numbers are immaterial. Figures from Jock Phillips, "British and Irish Immigration: Further Information," New Zealand History Ngā Kōrero a Ipurangi o Aotearoa, accessed October 21, 2015, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/home-away-from-home/sources.

European peoples, beginning with the Romans in the first century CE. Far from being unusual, people have continually migrated into spaces—empty or occupied. Migration is historically and inherently human in nature.[19] Almost everyone from almost anywhere came, at some time in their history, from somewhere else. Historically, as early as the fifth century BCE, the Greek philosopher-mathematician Pythagoras presumed the presence of a land mass at the Earth's southern parts that balanced the continental north. This gave rise to various tales of a Great South Land (or Southland in some stories, Australis Incognita, or more generally, terra incognito) that had occasioned countless imaginary and exploratory voyages, and of course, to thoughts of colonisation.[20] Walter Mignolo points to the Eurocentric nature of such 'southness'.[21] Inarguably, if the reference point was southern Africa, the Great South Land would have been a Great East Land. I digress, but it does indicate a particular orientation that ignores other orientations, not to mention the assumption that these lands were unknown simply because they were not known to Europeans. Nevertheless, fictional travel literature and progressive 'discoveries' kept the tales alive into the nineteenth century.[22] These lands, including the Great South Land, were imagined variously as Utopian, Arcadian, a perfected version of Europe, an earthly paradise or Biblical promised land.[23] Their long history within a northern imagination helped to make the idea of actual Antipodean colonisation conceivable.

When James Cook, whose instructions were to chart the Transit of Venus and then journey on to find the eastern edge of the Great South Land, came upon New Zealand, Antipodean colonisation then became possible.‡ Henry Chapman, a friend of the Company's founder and arch publicist Edward Gibbon Wakefield attempted to employ American jurisprudence to argue for pre-existing principles of discovery. He argued that Cook had declared New Zealand a British dependency on behalf of King George III in 1769, and therefore, it was one.[24] Wakefield maintained that this automatically made Britain the only country with a right to colonise it.[25] The Company was prepared to accept, and at least appear to adapt to, the "recent change of opinion in this country"[26] on matters of the appropriation of Indigenous territories. But it was working against powerful official reservations about even the idea of a colony in New Zealand.§ Sir James

‡ Antipodean: same geographical orientation problem; antipodal translates as feet opposite (opposite to what?).

§ A Parliamentary Select Committee report, for example, was unequivocal on this matter of the treatment of Indigenous peoples. "This, then," its author demanded, "appears to be the moment for the nation to declare, that with all its desire to give encouragement to emigration, and to find a soil to which our surplus population may retreat, it will tolerate no scheme which implies violence or fraud in taking

Stephen, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, whom the Company excoriated for "inconsistency, ignorance and incapacity,"[27] refused to contemplate discovery rights, arguing that American principles were not applicable to New Zealand. Lord John Russell pointed to the time lapse between Cook's claim and the current events of the late 1830s. Indeed, there were numerous occasions on which the Government formally repudiated the Crown's sovereignty over New Zealand. It recognised New Zealand as a "substantive and independent State."[28] Russell felt that the Government had signalled its divestment of any claim to the country when it expressed little interest in adding yet another colony to its large and increasingly disorderly empire.[29] The Company, planning an orderly colony, returned to past principles. It assured prospective settlers that they would be honouring His Majesty George the Third's instructions to Cook. It railed against the Government's "abandonment of British sovereignty" in the face of what it saw as the very real danger of France taking advantage of "*seizing a British territory*, for such New Zealand is."[30] A colony therefore was necessary to forestall the French and to alleviate the social and economic woes of English people. The Company's right to found one was "*as clear as the sun at noon-day*,"[31] and so New Zealand entered into the colonisation discourse, and Te Whanganui ā Tara was brought into the textual and visual world of English intelligibility.

A brief history of New Zealand Company colonisation

> Among those many projects and principles for remedying all that is socially wrong, with which the ear of the public is ever filled, there is none so confidently asserted, and none so seldom denied or disputed, as an extensive systematic removal of our population to new lands and fresh sources of enterprise. *John Hill Burton 1851* [32]

The colonisation of New Zealand was driven by a perfect storm of ideas and circumstances: a need to address social and economic dis-ease among the labouring and middle-classes in Britain; the presence in the world of a location that had yet to be colonised; the will of some people to take themselves, their muscle and their small capital off to another part of the world to improve their future prospects; and the interests of a different group of people who were able to put their energies into the project. Patricia Burns

---

possession of such a territory; that it will no longer subject itself to the guilt of conniving at oppression, and that it will take upon itself the task of defending those who are too weak and too ignorant to defend themselves." House of Commons, *Report*, 105.

comments that Wakefield's consummate ability as a publicist was one of the elements lacking in an earlier, unsuccessful New Zealand colonisation scheme.[33] A contemporaneous system of marketing that was ideal for advertising colonisation and emigration was critical for operationalising all the drivers of the project. The images the Company produced as part of that system were solution-based, providing evidence of a remedy to alleviate dis-ease.

John Hill Burton's advocacy for emigration as the remedy for the contemporaneous social and economic vicissitudes of Victorian England reflected a change in attitude towards emigration. A cause for shame in the eighteenth century, emigration signified industrious enterprise in the nineteenth-century conditions of unemployment, overpopulation, and depleted capital. The colonisation of New Zealand in 1839 was based on a systematic scheme designed to address humanitarian issues for both the labouring and middle classes. It also had a commercial purpose. The existence and influence of English settlements would glean raw material for Britain's industrial productions, create markets for its products, and foster and protect existing commercial interests in the South Pacific. The unsuccessful endeavour to colonise New Zealand in 1825 was reignited in 1837 bu a group of publicly-minded men—each with varying degrees of humanitarian impulses and commercial interests. These men formed the New Zealand Association with an aim to lobby the British Government "to undertake the responsible and not very easy task, of carrying the measure into execution," to effect colonisation "in its ancient and systematic form."[34] When this attaempt also failed, a number of its members formed the more commercially-focused joint-stock company, the New Zealand Land Company. Ostensibly, it was guided by the colonising philosophies of Wakefield, though he leaned heavily on the directors of the Company to put the scheme into operation while he was busy with colonising work in Canada. His ideas also substantially drew on the colonisation theories of Robert Wilmot-Horton, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in the 1820s. The Company name was changed to the New Zealand Company later in the year, which removed some of the overtly commercial inflection of the scheme.[**] Notwithstanding this change, it remained commercial in its

[**] The inclusion of 'Land' prior to the early months of 1839 suggests a commercial bias, rather than the humanitarian impetus that Wakefield stressed in many of his writings. Douglas Pike astutely argues that, in founding South Australia and New Zealand, Wakefield was more interested in alleviating the dis-ease of people like himself: the 'uneasy' middle classes, those afraid of losing status and those who aspired to it. Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829–1857* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957).

intentions, its processes, and its addresses to prospective settlers and investors alike.

Wakefield's scheme was based on a capital to labour ratio: a sufficient price for land dictated that only capitalists—big and small, investors or settlers—could purchase it. This left those needed to build the colony's infrastructure initially unable to purchase land, thus avoiding what Wakefield saw as the "hurtful dispersion"[35] of labour that had occured in other British colonies. Money raised by the sale of land paid for the passage of these labourers. It was, at best, an ideological exercise, an experiment in social engineering that was simplistic in its design and unrealistic in its ambitions.[36] The lack of sufficient fertile land at Port Nicholson was only one of the obstacles the Company was obliged to overcome. In the 1830s, the British Government was not the only entity to view such an enterprise with displeasure. The Company's detractors, including the powerful Church Missionary Society, found land appropriation, and the dangers of exposing Māori to European culture unpalatable. Undaunted by opposition, the Company resolved to form a colony of English settlers in New Zealand, and set about advertising what could, in the early months of 1839, be no more than a speculative abstraction. It necessarily used non-specific descriptions of a country about which it knew little. Nevertheless, it managed to persuade a body of prospective settlers to embark upon a journey of time, distance and unknown dangers to depart England before they knew precisely where they were going.

In the wake of the *Tory* and a further survey ship, *Cuba,* the first emigrant ship, *Aurora*, arrived on January 22, 1840. Over the course of the next two weeks, the *Oriental*, the *Duke of Roxburgh*, the *Bengal Merchant*, and the *Adelaide* arrived. Faced with a *de facto* colonisation, the Government acted. On February 6, two weeks after the arrival of the ships, a group of 43 Māori chiefs and representatives of the British Government signed *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* The Treaty of Waitangi at Waitangi, a location in the north of the North Island. It represented "an agreement in which Māori gave the Crown rights to govern and to develop English settlements, while the Crown guaranteed Māori full protection of their interests and status, and full citizenship rights."[37] In 1841, the Crown granted the Company a royal charter, allowing it to continue establishing colonies in the country. By 1850, amid squabbles with the Colonial Office in London and difficulties with land titles in New Zealand, the Company's ambitions, and its inability to realise them, led to the surrender of its charter and, eventually, into bankruptcy.[38] But, the intervening years were busy ones.

As the months of 1840 and 1841 progressed, the Company was able to begin promoting the settlement as an emigration destination of which it had

at least some knowledge, however scant. In a quest to secure for the new town "an additional guarantee of success"[39] by building a market for its early and steady growth, it set about framing the colony as an English settlement that retained all the familiar structures, laws, and "habits and institutions of Englishmen."[40] Guided by Wakefield, the Company and its supporters produced hundreds of publicity items throughout the early 1840s: books, pamphlets, posters, maps, lithographs and engravings; proceedings of proposals to government bodies; evidence of the support of trusted public men who spoke in favour of the enterprise; multiple insertions of advertisements in provincial and metropolitan newspapers; and lectures and events in rural and metropolitan areas. It bestowed upon the town a culturally resonant name that it displayed on advertising posters, mapped its physical boundaries and conceptual foundations, and produced pictorial views of a colony no longer on the move, but on the ground. Fairly typical of the thoroughness with which Wakefield controlled public knowledge of the settlement, the Company "collated from every source"[41] favourable messages that it then distributed far and wide. Each item outlined the reasons, merits, duties and rights related to removing a quantity of selected English (or English-like) people from Britain and planting them in New Zealand, in spite of the obstacles.

Prior to and after colonisation, two important actors, Wakefield and his son Jerningham wrote extensively first, on the intentions of the endeavour and second, on its results. Two of their texts provide a backdrop of words to the images I discuss in subsequent chapters. The genesis of the many hundreds of pieces dedicated to promoting the positive benefits of New Zealand colonisation that emerged in the 1830s and 1840s is clear in these texts. Individually these pieces say little that is original because they come, at times verbatim, directly from Company texts. Since textual work is not the focus of this book, but part of an intertextual discourse, I concentrate here, only and sparingly, on the mother-ship, as it were, and the satellite she sent out to report back on progress: Wakefield's *British Colonization*, and his son Jerningham's *Adventure in New Zealand*.[42]

The British Colonization of New Zealand

> It is not to be doubted, that the country has been invested with wealth and power, with arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands, and the mastery of the restless waters, for some great and important purpose in the government of the world. Can we suppose otherwise, than that it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and, above all, the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth? *William Whewell 1837*[43]

So wrote the Reverend William Whewell in a preface to *The British Colonization of New Zealand*. Wakefield was among the many contemporaneous writers to have co-opted Whewell's words; it lent their own a moral authority that justified the establishment of English settlements abroad.[44] Wakefield published *British Colonization* in 1837 under the names of his son Jerningham and the secretary of the Company, John Ward.[††] It was based upon theory and ideology, and employed throughout the twin tropes of the duties and rights of Englishmen. The title assumes a colony had been, or at least was about to be, established in New Zealand. Wakefield pointed out that it was competition in the difficult economic and social conditions in England that led "*naturally* to colonization abroad."[45] At the same time, the English also viewed their country as "signally blessed by Providence" with "eminence…strength…wealth…prosperity, [and] intellectual…moral, and…religious advantages."[46] Thus, such a singularly blest England was morally obligated by God to exert her influence on the less fortunate parts of the earth, and to introduce its occupants to her own economic, cultural, intellectual, governmental and social structures. Although a rather simplistic explanation of prevailing thought, these two circumstances, along with the apparently numerous advantages of New Zealand for agriculture, fisheries and trade, begin to address the reasons why the colonisation of New Zealand was thought by some to be not simply desirable, but imperative. In addition, the reiteration in written, visual and oral texts of these aims to appropriate other people's lands and structures, was rooted, in part, in a desire to have claims and rights recognised and legitimised by other European countries through situating them comfortably within a framework of moral obligation. From there, it is not difficult for such divinely-prescribed moral obligations to elide into rights. And, having taken civilisation to almost every other part of the world, where better to exercise those rights than in the last and furthest Antipodean wasteland?

British Colonization worked to legitimise the enterprise by re-awakening an "old English spirit of colonizing" that was now "nearly expired."[47] Historical migratory impulses, English or otherwise, were well understood by the nineteenth-century English colonisers. They compared themselves to the colonisers of ancient Greece.[48] Wakefield later identified the English as heirs of "the energetic Anglo-Saxon race, an admixture of the Germanic tribes who had colonised England itself."[49] *British Colonization* recalled the "heroic work" of those men of the "first station in point of property, birth or personal qualities"[50] who founded the American colonies

[††] The most likely reason for the book to be published under other names was the censure accorded to Wakefield following his abduction of an heiress, and his subsequent incarceration in Newgate Prison in 1827.

for Elizabeth I. Wakefield also used *British Colonization* to rehearse the idea that these earlier colonisations had, due to increased trade between Britain and her colonies, lifted the population of Britain up from "rude hospitality" and "rough plenty."[51] The more unfortunate result of this prosperity was an increase in population to such a degree that further colonies, in this case in New Zealand, became necessary to address the superabundance. *British Colonization* advanced the advantages of and countered the objections to the colonisation of New Zealand. Its arguments were underpinned by the explicit support of willing gentleman "determined to establish themselves in the proposed colony,"[52] and "eminent public men"[53] eager to lend their influence to the enterprise through representations to power. The book, and the arguments, encouraged "the best *sort* of colonization to proceed at the greatest possible *rate*,"[54] a circumstance that would lead, again naturally, to the success of the colony for both the settlers and Māori. As to the latter, the Church Missionary Society feared that Māori would become, like the Aborigines around the settlement of Sydney, "merely the shadow of what were once numerous tribes."[55] The Society's secretary Dandeson Coates in a long, anguished letter to the British Government, begged it to "let New Zealand be spared from Colonization."[56] He asked that the "Native Tribes" remain solely under the beneficent influence of the Society for a further 50 years so as to reap its "inseparable fruits—civilization and social well-being,"[57] free from the evils that threaten them.

To counter that argument, Wakefield laid out in *British Colonization* a "deliberate and systematic plan for preserving and civilizing" Māori through "intercourse with a superior race."[58] This would serve the aim of "reclaiming and cultivating [the] moral wilderness"[59] that existed in the uncivilised and unChristian wasteland that was an uncolonised New Zealand. A somewhat twisted logic led Wakefield to assure his readers that encouraging Māori to "embrace the religion, language, laws, and social habits of an advanced country," would "preserve [them] from extermination."[60] In these ways *British Colonization* formed the conceptual framework for the colonisation of New Zealand, and offered only positive results. As the settler Wood commented, such publications were wont to "colour high the advantages of their respective fields of colonization, but observe a discreet silence on their demerits."[61] *British Colonization* also had the advantage over many of the others because it promoted a colony that did not yet exist, and therefore could not be empirically gainsaid. It lived only in the minds of its promoters, in the hearts of its prospective settlers, and the hopeful speculations of its investors. Jerningham's publication had different issues to address and real obstacles to overcome.

Adventure in New Zealand

> In 1837, a society was formed in London…to colonize [the islands of New Zealand] according to a plan deliberately prepared with a view of rendering colonization beneficial to the native inhabitants as well as to the settlers. *Edward Jerningham Wakefield 1845*[62]

Writing in 1845, Jerningham reminded his readers how the colony-building 'adventure' had begun. His account was penned to be read by prospective land purchasers and settlers. Parts of it are copied verbatim from the journal entries that his uncle Colonel Wakefield sent back to London to report on progress.[63] No longer having to theorise about conditions on the ground, Jerningham was able to communicate his thoughts and deeds based on experience. Once established, the survival of the colony depended on the continued subscription to the heroic work undertaken by the first group of settlers. Does the original conceptual framework change to fit new knowledge? Yes and no. As deeply rooted as the venture was in the ideologies of the time, the accounts by uncle and nephew simply confirmed the theory in the eyes of its theorists, adjusted to newly-acquired knowledge, and left the framework largely intact.

The aims remained. Jerningham reiterated a number of the tenets of the original plan: one was the requirement for a "positive sanction on the part of the natives"[64] to purchase land, which was gained satisfactorily by "thorough approval of a very large majority."[65] This included land equalling one tenth of the purchase that was to be set aside for the benefit and use of the chiefs. He understood from his father that Māori were "anxious to make cessions of territory" for which they would be paid in "money or goods," and for which they would also gain "all the rights,"[66] protection against enemies (including other, less lawful British people), and "social equality"[67] as British subjects. Jerningham recorded that the process had already begun. Māori had early acquired knowledge of Whewell's true God, through attendance at "our Church service."[68] He noted, too, that two chiefs, Te Wharepouri and Te Puni, having been to Sydney, "were exceedingly desirous of becoming like an English gentleman [sic]."[69] Was this the welcoming embrace prospective settlers might expect? According to Jerningham, it was. Te Puni and his *hapū* (kinship group), expressed their "satisfaction"[70] at the arrival of the English on their shores. Te Wharepouri told the members of his *hapū* that Colonel Wakefield was to "give them white people to befriend them."[71] "An old sage named Matangi," still influential in spite of his debility, "almost wept for joy when he dwelt on the prospect of white people coming to protect his grandchildren against their enemies."[72] And they had enemies. Their right of occupation at Te