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Te Karere o Poneke: Creating an Indigenous Discursive Space?

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Over sixteen months in 1857 and 1858, Walter Buller produced a weekly newspaper for Māori of the Wellington region in their own language. Although he was the son of a Wesleyan missionary and an official interpreter, the *niupepa* was neither a church nor a government publication, although it promoted discourses favoured by both. A number of *niupepa* had preceded Buller's *Te Karere o Poneke,* the first appearing in 1842, but his paper was distinctive in the sizable platform he provided for correspondence. Over half of the items printed comprised letters from Māori, many of them commenting on, and occasionally critiquing the colonial milieu.

The concept of "public sphere" is heavily theorized, often postulated in acultural terms (although suspiciously European in form) and it is debatable if *Te Karere o Poneke*'s readership and their engagement with the textual discourse meet the theory's required criteria of constituting a public sphere. New Zealand was annexed to the British Empire in 1840, meaning that by 1857 colonization was still a relatively new phenomenon, but with substantial immigration and a developing infrastructure, change was both extensive and dynamic. According to the theory, it may be difficult to apply the concept of "public sphere" to Māori anytime during the changing contexts of nineteenth-century colonialism, and indeed other colonised cultures for whom the advent of literacy, Christianity, market economy and colonial administration had been sudden and unexpected. Of course this does not mean that Māori lacked a voice, at times critical. Using *Te Karere o Poneke* as a case study, this essay argues that Wellington Māori of 1857 do not readily fit the Western model of the "public sphere", but they nevertheless utilized the discursive spaces available to them to discuss and evaluate the world they now encountered.

Keywords: Public sphere, Māori, literacy practices, modernity, New Zealand

Introduction

On 13 September 1857, Heremaia from Whareroa wrote to *Te Karere o Poneke*:

> ko nga Nupepa e taia ana ki te reo Māori, e pai ana; ko te pai tenei, ko te whakaatu mai ki a matou i nga ritenga pai a te Pakeha, me nga ritenga e whiwhi ai matou ki te mohiotanga, me te whakaakoranga pai e puta mai ana i roto i nga Pakeha.[1]

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> [The newspapers printed in the Māori language are good; what is good about them is that they show us the good practices of the Pākehā [European], and the practices by which we may gain knowledge, and the good teachings that come from the Pākehā.][2]

It would be difficult to identify the writer further—Heremaia renders as "Jeremiah," a common Māori Christian name of the time; Whareroa, once a small Māori settlement not far from Paekākāriki on the Kapiti coast, has long ceased to exist as a village. Nor was his message distinctive, as a number of Māori, including important chiefs, wrote to *Te Karere o Poneke* ("The Port Nicholson Messenger") in Wellington extolling the virtues of Pākehā ways. More importantly perhaps, how did the *niupepa* (Māori-language newspaper) impact upon the discursive practices of Heremaia and other Māori readers?

This essay uses the Māori correspondence in *Te Karere o Poneke* to test some of the theoretical positioning around the "public sphere," with regard to indigenous communities under colonial conditions. For example, to what extent could Māori form a "public," and did this particular *niupepa* provide a public sphere in which its readers could discuss the issues of the day as social and political members of their society? Of course the brief, although prolific, outpouring of Māori correspondence in *Te Karere o Poneke* was produced in its own unique locality and time period in which Māori society was undergoing significant change. The dynamic nature of the mid-nineteenth century impacted on intellectual output in a way that makes simple dichotomies of coloniser and colonised problematic. Wellington Māori sometimes espoused ideas learned from missionaries or officials that, as they understood the praxis of colonialism more deeply, were subsequently transformed or discarded as appropriate. This case study therefore endeavours to provide a framework in which later Māori engagements with *niupepa* may be assessed,[3] as well as those of other colonised indigenous communities.

The idea of the public sphere has been heavily theorised. In particular, scholars have sought to categorise various social and cultural characteristics as prerequisites for the advent of a public sphere. As discussed below, these features tend to favour modern societies in which its citizens produce and consume political discourses through print, and where traditional hierarchical structures and obligatory loyalties have broken down, allowing a community's members to associate with each other on a voluntary basis and to form a "public." According to this argument, "tribal" societies, largely oral in nature, whose members are supposedly in thrall to customary practices and traditional social orders, are deemed incapable of generating a public sphere in which social and political issues may be debated openly.

This essay posits that the dominant theory around what constitutes a public sphere is both artificial and Eurocentric, and challenges the theoretical assumption that the *niupepa*'s Wellington Māori readership of the late 1850s could not have constituted a public operating within a public sphere. It also argues that the historical context of colonialism, which provided a counterpoint through which indigenous colonised peoples might critique their new realities, is vital when investigating this topic. If the public sphere in the West not only reflected upon but also contributed to ongoing structural change within society, could not different but perhaps even more unsettling adjustments,

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when conditions are right, give rise to analogous scrutiny and critiques of colonialism within an indigenous public sphere?

The essay's first section provides a brief background on *Te Karere o Poneke*, its editor and raison d'être, and the nature of Māori engagement with it. The second section points to scholarly discussion on public spheres, and how it would be difficult to include the Māori who contributed to the *niupepa* as forming a public sphere aligning to the theoretical model. "Traditional" indigenous groups are sometimes seen as static, unchanging, even ahistorical, but the impact of white newcomers on their technologies and institutions could be sudden and profound, leading to a far more rapid and unsettling cultural adjustment than that experienced by the coloniser. Any discussion of a historical indigenous public must be firmly focused on the *context* of the particular society, not just in terms of its culture, demographic change, or local colonial regime, but also, given the dynamic nature of colonialism, the specific point of time within the historical continuum. The third section of the essay thus describes the change over the first half of the nineteenth century in the lives of Wellington Māori who formed the readership of *Te Karere o Poneke*. Using Māori letters sent to *Te Karere o Poneke*, the final section illustrates how the *niupepa* provided a discursive space for its readers, and how the correspondents, although still "pre-modern" in many respects, engaged with both the promises and challenges of colonialism, projecting their public voices out to a wider readership.

Te Karere o Poneke

Looking at the cover of *Te Karere o Poneke* a reader may be mistaken in thinking that the government operated the *niupepa*. Like the government's official *niupepa*, the bilingual *Te Karere Maori* published in Auckland, the Wellington-based *Karere* was small in size (270 by 212 mm) and sported a version of the royal arms in its nameplate. Nineteen-year-old Walter Buller, who established *Te Karere o Poneke* in September 1857, worked as a government interpreter, and as editor he generally followed the official government line, even occasionally cutting and pasting articles from the *Te Karere Maori*.[4]

But despite Buller's connections, the paper was not an official government publication. Advertisements always filled most of the first of its four pages, and Māori subscribers paid "Twenty shillings per annum, payable half-yearly" for the weekly newspaper.[5] Buller's attempts to gain a government subsidy were only partially successful, with the meagre £40 awarded unable to sustain the paper's future.[6] Like all other *niupepa*, the primary purpose of *Te Karere o Poneke* was not to make money but to push social or political agendas. In July 1858, the *niupepa* claimed subscriptions had grown to two hundred.[7] This compares well with the five hundred copies of the government's *niupepa* distributed free across the country.[8] But, as discussed below, Māori use of *niupepa* was often communal;[9] the *niupepa* thus made regular appeals for more subscriptions until its demise in December 1858.[10]

Just as pertinent to Buller's enterprise was his upbringing as the son of a Wesleyan missionary.[11] While the newspaper was not ostensibly religious in nature, a number of clergy, including Buller's father, on occasion wrote letters addressed to the Māori readership and

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THE MAORI MESSENGER.

TE KARERE MAORI.

No. 1.] AUCKLAND, JANUARY 1, 1855.)(AKARANA, HANUERE 1, 1855. [Vol. 1.

Figure 1. Nameplate of the government-run Auckland-based *Te Karere Maori*. Source: Papers Past, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/

may also have contributed to the anonymous editorials. *Te Karere o Poneke* was printed in the offices of the *Wellington Independent*, which had earlier attempted to produce a *niupepa*, *Ko Te Ao Marama*,[12] in 1848. Its Presbyterian Scots proprietors, who positioned themselves politically against Wellington's Anglican establishment[13] (and who had earlier defended Buller and his father against accusations of political bias in their dealings with Māori)[14] may have partially underwritten Buller's venture.

Te Karere o Poneke also differed from *Te Karere Maori* in that it allowed significantly more correspondence from Māori. Not counting advertising, about 481 separate items appeared in the pages of *Te Karere o Poneke* over its sixteen-month lifespan; 283 were inward correspondence, only twenty-two of which appear to have been written by Pākehā, including ministers.[15] In comparison, inward letters in the official and more tightly controlled *Te Karere Maori* (1855–63)[16] comprise a mere 234 out of 1,154 total items (20%), and the Wesleyan *Te Haeata* (1859–62) just 29 out of 260 articles (11%).[17] It is the high proportion of Māori letters (54% of items) that makes *Te Karere o Poneke* interesting in terms of analysing whether the Māori writers and readers constituted a "public" (or even a subpublic, or counterpublic) within a colonial "public sphere."

A Colonial Public Sphere?

Māori readers read *Te Karere o Poneke* (and other *niupepa*) but did they constitute a "public"? Certainly, Pākehā-run *niupepa* sought to create Māori publics, although ones defined within colonising structures. For example, the first such publication, the government's *Te Karere o Nui Tireni* stated in 1842 that it would be promulgating official information and explanations of the state functions, but

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Figure 2. Nameplate of Walter Buller's Wellington-based *Te Karere o Poneke*. source: Papers Past, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/

> if anyone is alarmed at, or dislikes, one of the Governor's policies, he will write his objections or concerns so that it can be printed in this book [publication] so everyone can see it. This is what the Pākehā does; he writes his objections to the newspaper, so everyone will hear his thoughts.[18]

Indeed, in the 1840s such was the novelty of the government newspaper that Māori chiefs came to Auckland on publication day:

> One native of a party is generally selected to read the news aloud: when he takes his seat upon the ground, a circle is then formed, and after the reader has promulgated the contents, the different natives, according to their rank, stand up and argue the different points contained; which being done, they retire home, and answer the different letters by writing to the editor.[19]

While by the 1850s Māori may not have sought out *niupepa* so ostentatiously, the integration of public spoken discourse with information from and letters to newspapers remained a feature of Māori society. Buller, as editor of *Te Karere o Poneke*, emphasised the civilising function of newspapers, but also made it clear that it was a forum for Māori opinion.

> When a person reads his book, a thought comes to him; then he mulls it over until it's clear; then he takes his pen and writes, and sends it off to be printed for his fellows to see, to show what he was thinking of.[20]

Māori writers did not disappoint, often prefacing their letter with a request (or demand) that the newspaper print their thoughts. The Māori mailman, Tame Irihana, even published a letter informing correspondents of the need to pay for the postage "because it is a great bother to Buller and McKenzie to pay for your letters at the Wellington post office."[21] Such was the flow of correspondence that Buller felt compelled to tell correspondents not to despair if their letters were not printed; it was not that they were bad but that some space was needed for news. "Reading the newspaper would perhaps be tiresome if it was only letters."[22] In eight of its issues, a two-page supplement was added to accommodate additional correspondence.

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Theorists have tended to set a number of criteria with which to define the boundaries of what constitutes a "public" or a "public sphere," which can prove problematic when applying them to some situations. In this collection, for example, Christina Soriano offers the example of a public sphere emerging in a semiliterate Venezuela that lacked printing presses. Colonial societies are generally marked by racial divisions, and in many, a dichotomy existed between colonisers and a colonised indigenous population. However, the differing nature and histories of these societies works against conceptualising one-size-fits-all theories that might be applicable to all colonised indigenous peoples. Within the British Empire, a number of factors influenced subsequent colonial histories and how indigenous peoples experienced and reacted to imperial regimes. These include whether the colonised already possessed literacy and a script-based religion; the relative difference in their socioeconomic systems and technology to the imposing foreign power; whether their colonisation occurred prior to, during, or after the peak of humanitarianism; their resistance to epidemic diseases; the attractiveness of their lands and resources; and whether their numbers allowed them to remain the majority population, or be quickly swamped by mass European immigration. For example, the experience of British colonialism in 1850s New Zealand was quite different from the northern India of the late nineteenth century or Kenya of the 1950s discussed by Leigh Denault and Bodil Folke Frederiksen in this volume. The factors that shaped the scale and nature of colonial rule were thus instrumental in determining the nature of any indigenous public sphere that formed, and when it did so.

The question is then, could late 1850s Wellington Māori producing and consuming the discourses in *Te Karere o Poneke* have constituted a public sphere? Michael Warner argues that a public (as opposed to *the* public) "comes into being only in relation to texts and their circulation," a "social space created by the reflexive circulation of discourse."[23] Some New Zealand scholars certainly have cast doubt on the extent of Māori literacy, or whether Māori society to this day is essentially oral in nature.[24] Ian Stuart suggests that *marae-ātea*, the courtyard of the *marae* (communal complex of individual Māori *iwi*, *hapū,* or *whānau*[25]) where issues are debated through formal oratory, continue to constitute the Māori public sphere.[26] However if engagement with texts is critical, for many of *Te Karere o Poneke*'s readers, it was also literal. The newspaper itself—as both material entity and agent of change—became a subject of discussion. Many wrote of their appreciation of this new source of information, such as Rīwai Te Ahu, an Anglican deacon, who listed in the first issue all the sorts of useful information readers might expect.[27]

In the following year however, Te Ahu questioned its cost, asking "Am I the only one annoyed at the small size of the newspaper and the increased price?" His argument that the English-language papers were the same cost but much larger in size prompted an editorial explaining that fewer subscribers bought the Māori *niupepa*, and it was harder work for the Pākehā printers who did not know the language.[28] Notwithstanding this rebuttal, Rauhihi of Manawatū wrote in supporting Te Ahu's argument.[29] This triggered Te Hoa Aroha ("Loving Friend," likely a Pākehā clergyman) to pen a response in which he compared newspapers to gold, silver, and copper; that *Te Karere o Poneke* represented

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the former justified its higher price.[30] Te Ahu responded, objecting at this attempt "to repress the words of my letter," but his letter broadened to attack the Pākehā correspondents, whose moralistic epistles tended to criticise Māori for failing to progress sufficiently. Citing earlier issues, he argued that on quality and intrinsic value the various texts produced by Pākehā writers were actually copper rather than gold.[31]

More problematic perhaps is Warner's assertion of modernity as a key ingredient in the formation of a public, in which voluntary participation holds the members together, rather than more traditional relationships such as kinship or customary status, or other more "ascriptive" forms of belonging. Nineteenth-century Māori society was largely communal in nature, in which the inherited status of chiefs remained important. This suggests that it may be difficult to argue that Māori at this time could form the "modern" form of public suggested by some theorists. But chiefly descent of varying quality permeated through most people's genealogy, and most *ariki* (paramount chiefs), although highly respected, possessed little real power over their lesser kin,[32] a tendency that colonisation exacerbated. Warner largely discusses his ideas in a bubble devoid of context, in which hypothetical societies transitioned from fixed hierarchies into communities of private citizens over a period of time. The transformation of such societies was slow, with long histories of religious change, the spread of literacy, emerging capitalism, and centralising states. Although these could perhaps be England, France, or Germany, the model is presented as both acultural and historical (as opposed to anthropologised "native" experiences) and thus the standard that separates the Western and modern from the rest. However, as Charles Taylor posits, "the belief that modernity comes from one single universally applicable operation imposes a falsely uniform pattern on the multiple encounters of non-Western cultures with the exigencies of science, technology, and industrialization."[33] The European experience contrasts with that of many colonised peoples, especially those like Māori who suddenly encountered Christianity, print, and a market economy in modern form, swiftly followed by a flood of settlers, a colonial administration, albeit initially inchoate, and English law, all over the space of several decades.

Western-derived models of modernity-induced change do not necessarily sit well on non-Western cultures. As I have argued previously with regard to Benedict Anderson's model of "imaginary communities," newspapers and print combined with colonisation (rather than with modernity and capitalism fully in place) can induce a nascent sense of national consciousness in an indigenous society. It was not modernity's atomisation of individuals that induced a form of Māori nationalism in the late 1850s and 1860s, but the confrontation of new ideas, and new imaginations of belonging, that may appear retrograde when compared to Anderson's model.[34] For example Anderson saw Christianity and monarchy as relics of traditional society acting as a brake on nationalism,[35] but these were innovative and "modern" concepts in Māori culture that allowed Māori to look beyond supposedly ascriptive "tribal" affiliations. While the Māori nationalism engendered by the Kīngitanga (Māori King Movement) was effectively crushed militarily in the mid-1860s, in Hawai'i the combination of print, Christianity, and indigenous monarchy facilitated a flourishing nationalism through the nineteenth century.[36]

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As Partha Chatterjee asks with regard to the postcolonial world, if the non-Western forms of nationalism are forced to align to Western archetypes, "what do they have left to imagine?"[37] If we accept that Māori had not yet fully transitioned from the pre-modern to modern in the first two decades of colonialism yet still developed a form of nationalism, relatively modern yet definitely indigenous, then it is not unreasonable to suggest they also operated within a similar variant of public sphere.

It might be possible to define Māori engagement through print in terms of forming a subpublic or counterpublic, but even these terms are problematic for indigenous groups within colonial times. Counterposed against a singular (bourgeois white male) public, Nancy Fraser suggests that "members of subordinated social groups—women, workers, peoples of colour, and gays and lesbians—have repeatedly found it advantageous to constitute alternative publics . . . where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter discourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs."[38] The concept of counterpublic is apposite for groups that exist *within* a society, such as women, the working class, and sometimes subordinate ethnic groups in the modern urban milieu. But the extent to which mid-nineteenth-century Māori formed "part" of a wider New Zealand society is debatable. While Māori were (nominally) under the same imperial/colonial regime, subject (for the most part) to the same laws, and (in theory) possessing the same civil rights as Pākehā, their worlds were mediated by different languages, customs, and worldviews. These worlds also sat socially separate from each other, even when physically close, with most Māori living in their own villages while most settlers inhabited towns or farms within Pākehā zones expanding out from initial settlements.[39] It was at particular interactions around commerce, land, religion, politics, and war that these two worlds and their respective discourses intersected, with most day-to-day activities and concerns existing in relative isolation from each other. The colonial project that sought to "amalgamate" Māori into the Pākehā world, in its infancy in the 1850s, never quite succeeded in its aims.[40]

Another condition of the theoretical public sphere asserts that the discourses that emerge represent an organic intellectual voice standing against the power of the government. As Jürgen Habermas suggests, "although state authority is so to speak the executor of the political public sphere, it is not part of it."[41] By implication, we can assume that those producing the public's discourse also have some control over its means of production: that a "public" produced the newspapers, consumed the texts, and reproduced the arguments. This was certainly possible in colonial locations where settler populations might create their own public spheres in opposition to an appointed governor or elected elites; or where, such as in India, colonised peoples possessed a tradition of indigenous literacy and access to an economy and technology with which they could readily produce newspapers and books.[42] In 1850s New Zealand, newly literate Māori still largely lived in communal villages where often even obtaining writing paper was difficult.[43] The first Māori-run press printed the Kīngitanga's anti-government and nationalist *Te Hokioi* from 1861 but was effectively lost when the British Army invaded the Waikato several years later.[44] The much more prolific *Te Wananga*, under the control of Ngāti Kahungunu chief Hēnare Tomoana, did not appear until 1874, but it was partially funded, and sometimes edited, by Pākehā.[45] Buller's ethnicity

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should thus preclude *Te Karere o Poneke* from providing any kind of Māori public sphere. As a Pākehā of missionary background and in official government employment, actively encouraging colonising discourses, he was effectively an outsider to the readership who consumed the discussions he encouraged and printed.

A Time of Dynamic Change

Polynesians reached New Zealand some time between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries,[46] subsequently developing the Māori culture in relative isolation. Tradition alludes to Māori originally migrating from Hawaiki, but according to Margaret Orbell, Hawaiki became a "religious" concept, and "Māori had assumed they were the only men, and that their islands, and Hawaiki, were the only lands."[47] Māori had no need for any notion of ethnicity, with social and political divisions based around kin relationships. The term *māori* means "normal" or "human," and only became a significant point of similarity for Māori after encountering the strange newcomers from afar. Although Māori culture was not static, precontact change was relatively slow and evolved from within their own culture.

When looking at Māori engagement with texts and their interactions with the state, one must be mindful of the rapid sociopolitical adjustment through the nineteenth century. The arrival of explorers in New Zealand, such as James Cook and Jean François Marie de Surville in 1769, marked the beginning of the end of New Zealand's centuries-long isolation from the rest of the world.[48] In the 1790s sealers appeared, followed by whalers, traders, and missionaries. Early Pākehā who arrived needed to be alert to local customs and politics to survive. Although this was still a Māori-dominated world, Pākehā contact nevertheless brought a period of dynamic change for Māori living in the Wellington area. Due to the pressure of communal warfare, exacerbated by the introduction of muskets, Māori *iwi* from the Waikato and Taranaki migrated south in the early 1820s to the Cook Strait region, in turn displacing *iwi* resident there. The principal instigator of this migration, Te Rauparaha, not only sought safer territories for his own people, but also better opportunities to trade with Pākehā, while continuing military operations against his enemies.[49]

However, more Pākehā were soon to arrive. In 1839 the London-based New Zealand Company, endeavouring to establish model Wakefieldian colonies, exchanged goods with Māori, including in the Cook Strait region, in the belief that it was purchasing vast areas of land. Nine hundred colonists left England without knowing if the first party had reached New Zealand, let alone purchased any land, sailing into the Wellington Harbour in January 1840, just one month before the first Māori chiefs in the north of the North Island signed the Treaty of Waitangi that absorbed New Zealand (nominally at first) within the British Empire.[50]

Tensions between Māori and settlers over land soon led to conflict, especially due to doubts over the validity of the early sales. A skirmish with Te Rauparaha's warriors in 1843 at Wairau, Cloudy Bay, resulted in the deaths of twenty-two Nelson colonists, but Governor Fitzroy, lacking effective military power, exonerated the chief, much to the settlers' anger. George Grey, Fitzroy's replacement, was less scrupulous. When

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Māori occupied the Hutt Valley north of Wellington in 1846, Grey kidnapped Te Rauparaha then used British troops to push the occupiers north away from Pākehā settlements. Māori attitudes were also changing. Pākehā settlement had introduced a new order, including trade and other opportunities, leading a number of the local Māori to aid the British militarily against their own relatives.[51]

The period was also a time of intense and rapid cultural change. Christianity came to New Zealand in 1814 when Church Missionary Society (Anglican) missionaries settled in the north, in the Bay of Islands. The missionaries sought not just spiritual conversion, but for Māori to also adopt European customs, such as clothing, education and a Protestant work ethic, while discarding "objectionable" Māori practices, such as polygamy, warfare, and cannibalism. They struggled to win souls initially, but by the 1830s they had found more success, especially once an effective orthography for *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) had been developed in 1820 and a flood of scriptural texts facilitated a relatively straightforward acquisition of literacy alongside relatively rapid conversion.[52]

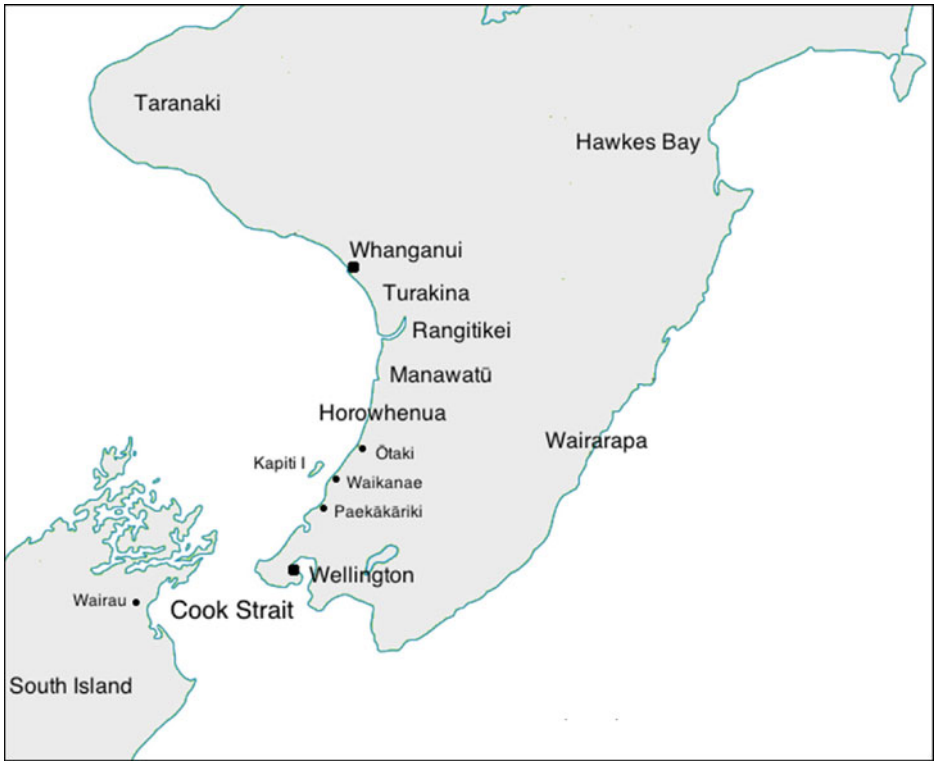
Other *iwi* sought this new knowledge and in 1839 Tamihana Te Rauparaha, the son of the great warrior, and his cousin Mātene Te Whiwhi sailed to the Bay of Islands, bringing back to Ōtaki their own Anglican missionary, Octavius Hadfield, who soon garnered a good harvest of souls.[53] For Māori in the Wellington region, the new religious order coincided with further political and cultural change. The Treaty of Waitangi, signed by many Māori chiefs around the country in 1840, ushered in a fledgling colonial government headed by a London-appointed governor. From the start, this government promoted the message of European civilisation while also seeking to persuade Māori to accept its authority, the rule of law, and the market economy, and to sell land to the government to enable further Pākehā settlement.[54]

As Pākehā immigrants began to swamp the indigenous population, the British parliament passed the New Zealand Constitution Act in 1852, establishing Houses of Parliament as well as six provincial administrations. Although the first meeting only occurred in 1854, parliament gained full representative government (except for Native Affairs and defence) two years later. The franchise applied to Māori men who had gained the rights of Englishmen under the Treaty of Waitangi but most, who owned their land communally under native title, were effectively excluded by the property qualification.[55]

In effect, Māori were assaulted by modernity in the first half of the nineteenth century, but this did not mean that they crumpled from "fatal impact." In a matter of a few decades autonomous *hapū* and *iwi* whose primary political and military activity focused on each other, who might eat, enslave, or be chivalrous to those whom they defeated, and whose social hierarchies were based on genealogical standing and mana, were confronted with new peoples, new diseases, new technologies, new economies, and new knowledge and belief systems. Māori engaged with literacy, muskets, and new crops; many traded with Pākehā and worked alongside shore whalers; and by the 1840s many were professing Christians. While these changes could still be easily assimilated within the Māori world, many also saw potential opportunities in the new colonial system.

However, as colonisation progressed, misapprehensions developed. Pākehā were streaming into the country, with the two populations reaching numerical parity by the

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Map 1. Lower North Island (Created by author.)

mid-1850s. Māori were also concerned about the diminution of their estates held in common, the decline of chiefly authority, and especially the inter- and intra-*iwi* conflicts triggered by the government's pressure on *iwi* and *hapū* to sell land. Although kin-group differences and loyalties remained, many Māori began to align more strongly with their indigenous identity, partly in response to these tensions, and to the colonial discourse of racial difference.[56] But no warfare broke out between Māori and Pākehā in the 1850s. Whatever the fears, many Māori were still keen to engage with the new order that offered hope of sharing the prosperity and modernity that the Pākehā brought. It is in this context of rapid change and uncertainty that the *Te Karere o Poneke* emerged in September 1857.

Māori Correspondence

Te Karere o Poneke published 261 letters from Māori. Some of the correspondence does not indicate a locality. Much correspondence came from its "natural" constituency, the environs of Wellington Harbour stretching northwards on the western coast up to Kapiti and Ōtaki. But at least 105 derived from farther afield, indicating that the newspaper's reach was more than purely local. Many of these were sent from localities on the western side of the island, areas either conquered by Te Rauparaha and his allies

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or with genealogical links to Māori *iwi* who had migrated to the Wellington region: Horowhenua, Rangitikei, and Manawatū (46); Turakina and Whanganui (23); Taranaki (15). Three letters were even sent from the distant Chatham Islands, conquered in 1835 by several Taranaki *iwi* that had migrated south first to the Cooks Strait region before moving almost eight hundred kilometres offshore.[57] In contrast the eastern seaboard, without the same *iwi* connections, attracted less correspondence, with only twelve letters from the Wairarapa and Hawkes Bay. Generally, only one name was appended to each letter, one of which, at least, was from a woman. Only nine were written by two people, and seven by larger groupings, three of which indicated their letter was on behalf of a *rūnanga* (*iwi* council). By comparison twelve of the thirty-one Māori letters in the government's *Te Karere Maori* in a similar period (1857–58) were multiauthored. Although a chief may well have written on behalf of or in consultation with his people, the preponderance of sole-authored letters in *Te Karere o Poneke* (94%) suggests a less corporate *iwi* standpoint and more personal opinions.

By coding the correspondence, we can see the various concerns that prompted Māori to write, or themes they referenced, as opposed to other items, such as articles and letters written by Pākehā. As discussed below, many of the coding categories are themselves linked, and correspondents might touch on a number of issues in a single letter. By far the largest subject category is *ngā tikanga pai o te Pākehā*, literally "the good customs of the Pākehā." This term however was also used to define the wider concept of "civilisation," a concept unknown to precontact Māori who lacked other peoples to compare themselves with. Civilisation was also sometimes translated in terms such as *rangatiratanga* (chieftainship, nobility), *kakenga* (ascension), or *māramatanga* (clarity/understanding), but at this time *tikanga pai* or *ritenga pai* (good customs, practices) was the usual terminology.[58]

Because Western civilisation inherently exists within or is a consequence of civil society, which in turn is subject to or emerges from good governance and the rule of law, assertions of a willingness to embrace *ngā tikanga pai* related to more than mere social and cultural change but were, in essence, political statements. Christianity, literacy, and textual culture, engagement in the market economy, sending children to missionary schools, European clothing, table manners, and housing were all bundled together into *ngā tikanga pai o te Pākehā,* together with eschewing undesirable Māori customs, such as feuding and feasting. But most significantly perhaps, the mix also aligned with colonial imperatives, such as the sale of land to encourage Pākehā settlement, and acceptance of Pākehā government and English law.[59]

Buller portrayed European-style civilisation in *Te Karere o Poneke* as a package deal that would provide access to modernity, prosperity, and law as the means of material advancement.[60] His newspaper perhaps gave the most space to this modular yet interconnected concept, but was in step with other Pākehā *niupepa* of the time, such as the Wesleyan *Te Haeata* and the government's *Te Karere Maori*.[61] This, of course, did not preclude either the *niupepa* or Māori engaging in more focused discussion of individual *ritenga* (practices), or aligning them with more specific themes, such as religion or commerce. For example, in 1858 *Te Haeata* criticised large-scale Māori feasting not just for debts incurred, but for wasting what God had provided.[62] Hoani Te Ōkoro and Pātara

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Table 1. Referenced Topics in Māori Letters, and Other Articles and Letters

	Māori letters	Other items
Pākehā customs and practices	89	31
religion and church activity	52	43
land issues	36	13
law, legal procedure, and authority	35	34
newspapers and their value	33	40
personal details (e.g., marriages and deaths)	30	19
commerce, enterprise, and trade	26	16*
Māori-Pākehā race relations	24	14
inter-*iwi* conflict and fighting	22	16
Queen Victoria	22	16
Māori customs and practices	19	28
Kīngitanga (Māori King Movement)	16	8
education and schooling	15	8
government and administration	15	24
"class" issues	12	2
health (including discussions on alcohol)	11	7

*This figure does not include paid advertisements, or tables of market prices.

Piopio wrote in favour of using government services to facilitate land subdivision and prosperity, without mentioning the wider discourse.

For some Māori, the change inherent in *ngā tikanga pai* impacted on domestic culture. Kiharo of Ōtaki urged the readers, "Let us now look at the Pākehā's customs. Friends, what a knowledgeable people these Pākehā are. This is the failing of the Māori, the poor housing, the poor food, sleeping on the ground, and wearing blankets during the day."[63] Surprisingly, neither the editor of *Te Karere o Poneke* nor its Māori correspondents discussed gender issues in any meaningful way. Within the government's *niupepa* and the Wesleyan *Te Haeata*, discussion on women at this time tended to focus on health, in particular the effects of overwork, poor food, hygiene, and fornication on a decreasing Māori population.[64] The fact that an article also encouraged *iwi* to forbid women from their council meetings suggests that the lack of female visibility does not preclude women's involvement in decision-making.[65] Gender issues tended to impact on the internal domain; these do not appear to have concerned the predominantly male correspondents to *Te Karere o Poneke*, whose discourses on modernity more often focused on more external concerns.

Māori also retained existing *tikanga* when they deemed it appropriate without completely forsaking notions of modernity. For example, one chief's determination to sell land in Hawkes Bay against the wishes of other chiefs led to intra-*iwi* warfare in 1857.[66] The Ngāti Kahungunu chiefs opposed to the sales wrote a letter to the *Hawkes Bay Herald* (which was subsequently reprinted in *Te Karere Maori* and *Te Karere o Poneke*) seeking to reassure Pākehā that their conflict with another grouping within the *iwi* should not concern them:

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> Our fight is just between ourselves. You, the Pākehā, may live peacefully among us. We do not want to turn and murder the people who imparted good customs to our villages . . . so that we all work together on the activities that enrich men, such as flour mills, cultivation, raising sheep, and such like."[67]

However, many Māori spoke of *ngā tikanga pai* in the same way as Pākehā presented them, as a single conceptual package.[68] This blending of the various aspects of modernity can be seen in the letter of Rapihana Te Otaota of Waikanae.

> This is my opinion. I eagerly seek the good practices of the Pākehā. We, the Māori people, should not say that it was through our efforts that we gained good customs. No, it was from the Pākehā. And the mana of the Queen that came here. The Pākehā gave us religion, and the fruits of religion can be seen, that is, harmony and peace. And so we saw the great work of the Pākehā. The college, where each man and child gains his knowledge. You also showed us [flour] mills, that we, the Māori people, gained wealth. The [cultivated] foods by which we make money come from the Pākehā alone.[69]

Many correspondents also considered *ngā tikanga Pākehā* in terms of law and government. But "law" and "government" were not yet fixed entities. Ihakara Tukumaru, for example, may have approvingly suggested that "the yoke has been put on the necks of the Māori people of New Zealand, that is, the Pākehā ideas that are a means to pacify and improve us,"[70] but in 1858 Māori could engage in Christianity, education, and the market economy and pay lip-service to the Crown's authority while still retaining effective autonomy. Mīhaka Te Maurara's words below are clear in his desire for the rule of law, but he was most likely less certain as to what "law" might develop into.

> The Law is the head of [all] activity. Explain it so that we understand the good practices, whatever ones they are. But explain it, because we are children. Law, let the blind see, punish the children so they obey their fathers, so they live kindly disposed to each other—so that Governor Browne knows that we have repented, and he will then show his love.[71]

As Lyndsay Head states, "Maori thinking about citizenship was characterised by a nervy consciousness."[72] Given the conflation of *ngā tikanga pai* as a single concept, any debate on the topic meant, at least implicitly, approving or contesting colonisation, the form of political governance being instituted.

Critiquing Colonialism

Although Wellington Māori generally saw some benefit in the new colonial order, about a quarter of *Te Karere o Poneke*'s Māori letters contained a complaint or expressed some dissatisfaction or critique. Public argument and discussion was nothing new to Māori, although in the past this was restricted to speeches on the *marae-ātea*, or in the *whare rūnanga* (meeting house). Indeed, the Māori need to discuss the impacts of colonisation encouraged larger pan-*iwi* meetings, and even larger *whare rūnanga* were built.[73] The newspaper, rather than replace oral discourses, acted as an extension rather than a replacement to this debate.

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As with the arguments on the relative value of the *niupepa* discussed above, dissenting discourse in *Te Karere o Poneke* would sometimes stimulate a further argument from the editor or other readers. Given that many Māori were cultivating crops for sale, such as wheat and potatoes, they felt aggrieved when they believed that Pākehā merchants and traders were attempting to swindle them, especially when the prices offered were under those published in the *niupepa*'s list of market prices.

Te Karere o Poneke published seven such letters.[74] Such actions were not seen just as disputes between individuals, but as affecting race relations as a whole. As Te Naera Te Angiangi of Waikawa recounted:

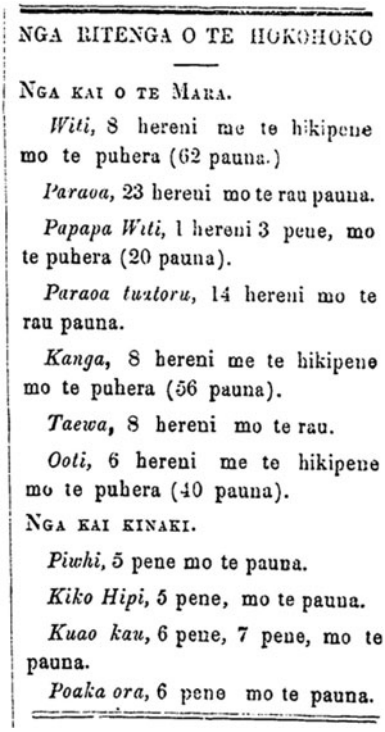
> [The Pākehā] said that it was 2½d. I said that it was 4d according to the newspapers. He said that that was of no account, so we argued over that. And so I say that this is a fraudulent act on us, the Māori, so we won't feel aggrieved. And so, my friends, I say, stop this duplicity. How can it be said that the Māori and Pākehā can come together as one?[75]

Some Māori would have believed such information to have possessed a veracity and authority lacking in mere verbal assertion; just as the Bible represented spiritual truth, printed information was expected to be correct and stable. Not all correspondents were so negative. Taimona Pita Te Ahuru of Wellington wrote to encourage Māori to follow his example and engage in Pākehā work. "I started work on 16 December 1856. I think that this work is the best. My Pākehā is very good—his kindness to me, and mine to him."[76]

Several readers also objected to the condescending and disparaging articles penned by "Hutana" (the Anglican Rev. Thomas Hutton) that critiqued Māori custom and behaviour with Aesop's fables, sometimes with New Zealand native animals substituted as the characters. Hutton also linked these fables to the need for Māori to embrace *ngā tikanga pai*.[77] For example, the "ass in the lion's skin" fable was applied to Māori who wrote letters to the newspaper just to see their name in print. In a few cases Māori writers, one a mission teacher, agreed,[78] but several writers took exception to these stories. The chief, Hēnere Te Puni of Pītone, objected to Hutton using the fable of the "dog and his reflection" to critique Māori who departed for the gold diggings. "My friend, Hutton, you say that the men who use their money crossing on the steamer [to the diggings] are dogs. Which is better—to be lazy and not go and look for sustenance for themselves?" He then addressed the readership, not just his Te Āti Awa kin, but all *iwi*. "Friends, Māori people, this is what I say to you—let the Pākehā denigrate our ignorance; it is not good for us to put ourselves down."[79] Wātene Te Kaharunga of Aratangata was incensed at Hutton's use of the "bird in borrowed feathers" fable to belittle Māori use of European clothing and critique the superficiality of Māori progress. He wrote, "I say that the disparagement of the faults of our past, of our Māoriness, should be stopped." Neither did Wātene think that Māori needed to take on all the trappings of *ngā tikanga pai*: "We have taken on shoes, shawls, and other things we see—but we will never take on Pākehā customs. We will never take on the language of the Pākehā."[80]

One custom that Ahitara Tangatangata of Manawatū was happy to partake in was drinking rum. Despite the Treaty of Waitangi supposedly granting equal rights between

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NGA RITENGA O TE HOKOHOKO

NGA KAI O TE MARA.

Witi, 8 hereni me te hikipene mo te puhera (62 pauna.)

Paraoa, 23 hereni mo te rau pauna.

Papapa Witi, 1 hereni 3 pene, mo te puhera (20 pauna).

Paraoa tuatoru, 14 hereni mo te rau pauna.

Kanga, 8 hereni me te hikipene mo te puhera (56 pauna).

Taewa, 8 hereni mo te rau.

Ooti, 6 hereni me te hikipene mo te puhera (40 pauna).

NGA KAI KINAKI.

Piwhi, 5 pene mo te pauna.

Kiko Hipi, 5 pene, mo te pauna.

Kuao kau, 6 pene, 7 pene, mo te pauna.

Poaka ora, 6 pene mo te pauna.

Figure 3. An example of prices for potatoes, flour, grains and meats. *Te Karere o Poneke*, 1 November 1858.

the races, the government attempted to protect Māori from drunkenness with the Sale of Spirits to Natives Ordinance of 1847, that banned or limited the sale of alcohol to Māori. This was followed by further regulations that created "dry" zones in Māori areas.[81] Tangatangata critiqued these restrictions:

> Friends, I have been thinking about the person who drinks rum. I think it's fine, because he's paying for it with his own money. Do not prosecute that person. The reason I think this way about drinking rum, is because the *mana* of the Queen is over the Māori; [we have] become relatives [of the Pākehā], younger and older brothers, parents and children. So, I say therefore, do not put down the person who spends his money on rum. But if a Māori is drunk, treat him like the Pākehā, so that our law of the Queen's *mana* is the same [for both].[82]

By using the government's own discourse, that Māori and Pākehā were now brethren and should adhere to the same law and authority, he questioned why Māori were prohibited from an activity open to Pākehā. Buller appended his own opinion to the letter, suggesting that the governor was acting as a father to his Māori children.[83] An exchange with the editor's father, Rev. James Buller, ensued, in which Tangatangata asserted that he would continue to drink rum while it was still available for sale.[84]

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Critiquing Chiefly Rule

The difficulty of applying the concept of a public sphere to colonised indigenous peoples can be that their resistance to imposed foreign rule fits neatly into a coloniser–colonised dichotomy, whereas accounting for dissatisfaction with internal indigenous hierarchies, such as class, is more problematic. While individuals could enhance their *mana* (power, authority, and status) in Māori society through their actions, genealogical descent from significant ancestors, especially through first-born male lines from eponymous *iwi* founders, was still of primary importance. *Rangatira* (chiefs) thus comprised a broad class, from *ariki* (high chiefs) to individuals of much lesser status. People of no account (especially those tainted with descent from war captives and slaves) were termed *tūtūā*. The influence of chiefs often proved useful for missionaries or government officials, but as the inherent logic of colonisation was to consolidate and validate government authority, the position of *rangatira* was inevitably at risk. For *tūtūā* who wished to improve their lowly position, *ngā tikanga pai*, like Christianity available to all, offered opportunities unknown prior to European contact. It is perhaps unsurprising that they saw *Te Karere o Poneke* not just as a source of new knowledge, but also as a vehicle to critique their superiors and assert themselves.

Heremaia of Whareroa noted that the newspaper wanted Māori to abandon what was seen as excessive feasting and funereal customs, activities he saw as being practised by chiefs. "If these customs were ours, of the *tūtūā*, the *rangatira* would be emphatically telling us that they were very bad customs; the reason they don't want to give them up is because they are customs the chiefs practice."[85] Some correspondents merely wished that all people should be treated equally, and that they be judged on their knowledge rather than their breeding.[86] As Wiremu Te Haeana Tākiri of Turakina wrote, "both the *tūtūā* and the *rangatira* is born of man. So I say, allow the thoughts of the *tūtūā* and print them in the newspaper. Let the Pākehā decide whether they are right or wrong."[87]

For others, the criticism was more focused. The government often used *rangatira* as assessors, a form of judge who sometimes worked alongside a Pākehā judge or on their own. Pehira Karatau of Whanganui complained about the process.

> Friends, this is what I have to say, to let your judgement be sound in the disputes of the *tūtūā* and the *rangatira*. This is what I know, if the *tūtūā* and the *rangatira* have a dispute, they are judged according to the law. Although what the *tūtūā* says is true, and what the *rangatira* says is wrong, the *tūtūā*'s word is discounted, and the *rangatira*'s is deemed correct.[88]

This he saw as a clear breach of Christian justice and how the law should work. "And so I say, the Pākehā's custom is not like this, but they operate in accordance with the sound and honest principles of the most powerful God."[89]

For other *tūtūā*, the issue was land rights. In a letter concerning an intra-*iwi* war over land in Wairarapa, Īhaka Whatarau of Papawai blamed the government for pursuing sales and for listening only to the *rangatira*, but also the chiefs for not sharing the money with "the little man." Māori of this time were not to know that subdivision of *hapū* and *iwi* estates would hasten land alienation in later decades, and Whatarau suggests that "in my opinion, let the little man dispose of his own piece, and hold on to the payment

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for it."[90] Ahitara Tangatangata, discussing a meeting over a possible land sale, noted that his "*tūtūā* heart" remembered the chiefs' unwise sales in the past. He too considered "each person should survey their own land, so the acreages are known, and any consideration of the price is clear."[91]

Although tensions obviously existed between the social groups, cultural practices, including chiefly authority, were still strong. In later years, when the impact of colonisation was clearer, with land loss through war, land courts, and confiscation, such class divisions within *iwi* groups are much less apparent. Certainly some Māori wanted unity in the 1850s. As Aperahama Te Haupatu Te Rangiwhakaruhi of Ōhara wrote, "This is what I think, let the visiting party be called on, whether they are a group of *tūtūā* or a group of *rangatira*. Let them call for their village to be as one."[92]

Debate on Land Sales

Hapū and *iwi* groups held land in common under customary title, and prior to the establishment of the Native Land Court in 1862, sales of land to the Crown's agents were not supposed to proceed without general and public accord. While initially many groups were keen to sell in order to gain Pākehā to trade with, by the mid-1850s enthusiasm had waned. Sales money was soon spent, and Pākehā neighbours, who did not consider themselves subject to *iwi* authority, often brought tensions or summoned unwanted government attention. As readily-available land dried up, land purchasers sometimes resorted to secrecy and underhand tricks to effect a deal. Arguments over whether to *tuku* (release for sale) or *pupuri* (hold back) land disrupted *iwi* unity, sometimes leading to murders and fighting. Māori thus extensively discussed land issues in *Te Karere o Poneke*.

Some *rangatira*, such as the Mātene te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha at Ōtaki, encouraged *iwi* to subdivide their lands so each person could sell their piece if they wished.[93] Ihakara Tukumaru of Manawatū agreed, arguing that modernity and prosperity would come along with Pākehā settlers.[94] More prevalent, however, were letters opposing the sale of land. Heremaia Te Tuere of Ōtaki, referencing an inter-*hapū* war in Taranaki over land, and a murder of a prominent chief there, queried where the fault lay.

> Therefore I say that what the land sellers are doing is causing much trouble. I ask, is the Māori or the Pākehā at fault? This is what is wrong in what they do: there are two people in the deal, one Māori and one Pākehā. It is not right for two [Māori] people, or ten, agreeing on the land to be sold to the Pākehā. But the whole *iwi* should agree on what lands they want to sell, and then it is alright.[95]

One assembly of young men discussed Ihakara Tukumaru's letter, then wrote to the *niupepa*:

> We have seen the words of our Māori friends, and our council of young chiefs of Ngāti Pikiahu have looked at them. We objected to what Ihakara said, that the land should be sold so that people get rich. No, a person will never get rich by doing that. But let him work the land himself, for potatoes, wheat, corn, oats, and sell them to buy cows and sheep. When he has a lot of cows and sheep and other things, he can sell them to the Pākehā. But if he sells the land, it's the same as something that is sold as food—gone forever.[96]

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Terepata Te Roihe accused those who had sold land of drifting into poverty, reduced to selling firewood to the Pākehā. "Friends, I think that the people of Wellington and Heretaunga are not living well. They do not cultivate food for themselves. Perhaps soon it will be high tide (what I mean by that, is the multitude of Pākehā) and we, the Māori, will be like the seagull cracking shellfish on the beach."[97]

The desire for *iwi* to hold on to their land, the source of their autonomy, led some in the central North Island to unite and appoint the aged Tainui *ariki*, Pōtatau te Wherowhero, as the first Māori king. The government realised that the Kīngitanga was a threat to its own claims of sovereignty but chose largely to ignore this alternative political entity in the hope that it would come to nothing. In 1857 emissaries of the new movement, Te Heuheu and Taonui, came south to Ōtaki to try to gain support. Tamihana Te Rauparaha, son of the warrior chief, wrote to *Te Karere o Poneke* on how the local Māori rejected the message of the visiting chiefs, preferring instead to pursue *ngā tikanga pai o te Pākehā*, and remain loyal to Queen Victoria.[98]

Conclusion

If the acquisition of a modern civil society is a prerequisite to the formation of a public sphere, then the Māori society of Wellington and neighbouring districts no doubt fails to qualify in 1857–58. About four decades earlier, the Ngāti Toa *iwi*, under Te Rauparaha, had violently seized the region with the help of newly introduced muskets, populated the land with related and allied *iwi*, then engaged in commerce with rough-and-ready whalers and traders. Less than two decades before, they had welcomed their first missionary, witnessed the first organised wave of Pākehā settlers, and were incorporated into the British Empire. Their world was in flux, politically, economically, and culturally, and they sat at the edge of the European "civil society" rather than as part of it. Māori at this time, still living according to *hapū* and *iwi* imperatives and loyalties, newly and often fervently religious, and relatively lacking in Western education, were insufficiently liberal, modern, and bourgeois to have constituted a Habermasian public sphere. Although largely literate in their own language, they possessed just a few of the materials associated with reading and writing: paper, pens, and limited printed literature, but no printing press of their own. *Te Karere o Poneke*, run by a young Pākehā government official of missionary parents who wished to amalgamate Māori into his own cultural and religious world, hardly appears to be the vehicle on which a genuine emerging public sphere might develop.

Despite not satisfying the theorists' preconditions, Wellington Māori engaged in a form of public sphere through the pages of *Te Karere o Poneke*. According to the theory, modern conditions produce a break from old thinking that allows a public to form that critiques existing power structures. It is the impact of colonialism, sudden and intense but not fatal, including the rapid introduction of literacy and print, that provided opportunities for Māori to debate the practices of their own communities as well as those of the Pākehā settlers and the new regime attempting to assert itself.

It was Buller's own liberalism that provided a platform where Māori voices might be heard, for the new and changing society they encountered to be discussed and critiqued.

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Of the various *niupepa* available to Māori in the first two decades of colonisation, *Te Karere o Poneke* was most generous in the space it allowed for Māori correspondents, as well as the range of views it recorded, including those that ran against the editor's own principles. New Zealand's colonisation was supposed to be based on humanitarian ideals, with Māori possessing the same civil rights as the British colonists streaming into the country. As Māori still retained much *mana* through their land and *iwi* autonomy, a new order in which both races might flourish at least seemed possible.

The key to this new ideal was *ngā tikanga pai o te Pākehā*, an amalgam of the many practices, customs and institutions of Western society. Elements, such as Māori acceptance of law, government authority, and unencumbered Pākehā settlement, were vital to successful colonisation of New Zealand. Early *niupepa* portrayed these as necessary prerequisites that Māori must accept to share in the benefits of Pākehā knowledge, prosperity, modernity, and the rule of law. The very newness of what they were confronting heightened their awareness of their changing lives, and the prospect of participating on an equal footing in their rapidly transforming world explains why so many Māori published letters extolling the virtues of the new Pākehā customs. But the correspondents were no mere sycophants. They commented keenly on their situation, and were prepared to critique those aspects of colonisation they did not agree with. For a brief time in 1857–58, Māori of the lower North Island were able to express their hopes and concerns to others through *Te Karere o Poneke*. If we cannot define this experience as that of an emerging public sphere, then doubt must be cast on whether the theory can apply to colonised indigenous peoples, at least those, like the Māori, who were demographically swamped by European settlement. Ultimately it is the colonial context that is important. The *niupepa*'s readers analysed and debated their situation, effectively utilising a colonial tool for their discourses in order to project their public voice.

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Notes

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He Reo Wāhine: Māori Women's Voices from the Nineteenth Century (Auckland University Press, 2017) co-authored with Angela Wanhalla, and Indigenous Textual Cultures: Reading and Writing in the Age of Global Empire (Duke University Press, forthcoming 2020) co-edited with Tony Ballantyne and Angela Wanhalla.

1 *Te Karere o Poneke* [TKoP], 22 September 1857: 2–3. *Niupepa* is currently used as the loan word for "newspaper." However, the spelling of loans was inconsistent in nineteenth-century Māori-language texts; in the quoted excerpts, "newspaper" may be rendered as *nupepa*, *niupepa*, or *nuipepa*.

2 The term "Pākehā" is used in its nineteenth-century sense of a white settler. All translations by L. Paterson, unless otherwise indicated. The original Māori texts can be accessed online at Waikato University, Niupepa: Māori Niupepa, http://www.nzdl.org/cgi-bin/library?a=p&p=about&c=niupepa; or National Library, Papers past, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

3 The first *niupepa*, *Te Karere o Nui Tireni*, appeared in January 1842, less than two years after the Treaty of Waitangi, which incorporated New Zealand within the British Empire. For the first four decades, *niupepa* production was dominated initially by the government. *Te Hokioi*, the first Māori-run *niupepa*, appeared in 1862, but Māori-owned periodicals for political purposes proved significant into the twentieth century. Although several religious *niupepa* appeared earlier, these predominate in the twentieth century until the 1960s. For more information, see Curnow, "A Brief History of Māori-Language Newspapers."

4 For example, TKoP, 17 September 1857, 4; 29 September 1857, 4; 22 February 1858, 3–4; 7 June 1858, 4.

5 TKoP, 24 September 1857, 1.

6 Galbreath, *Walter Buller,* 34–7.

7 TKoP, 12 July 1858, 2.

8 *British Parliamentary Papers*, vol. 10: 558, 577.

9 See also TKM, 15 March 1860, 9; 31 May 1860, 11; 1 May 1862, 11–12; TMT 15 April 1861, 12.

10 TKoP, 31 December 1857, 2; 29 March 1858, 2–3; 17 May 1858, 2; 12 July 1858, 2.

11 Sir Walter Buller is best known for for his ornithological publications, and as a prominent colonial barrister. See Galbreath, *Walter Buller*; Galbreath. "Buller, Walter Lawry."

12 At least three issues were printed, although no copies are known to still exist. See *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 17 November 1849, 146; Parkinson and Griffith, *Books in Māori,* 748–9.

13 Coleridge, "Newspaper Advertising in a Pioneer Colony," 27.

14 See *Colonist*, 20 November 1857, 3; *Wellington Independent*, 21 November 1857, 3.

15 Non-Māori letters came from Reverends Woon (6), Hutton (3), and Buller (3); "Te Hoa Aroha" (Loving Friend) (5) and "Te Tuakana Aroha" (Loving Brother) (1). 55 out a total 58 issues of *Te Karere o Poneke* exist today.

16 This *niupepa* followed two earlier iterations, *Te Karere o Nui Tireni* (1842–46) and *Te Karere Maori* (1849–54). *Te Karere Maori* (1855–63) was temporarily called *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi* [TMT] in 1861.

17 These figures have been extracted from the New Zealand Digital Library's *Niupepa Māori* online respository.

18 *Te Karere o Nui Tireni*, 1 January 1842, 1.

19 Brodie, *Remarks on the Past and Present State of New Zealand,* 110.

20 TKoP, 31 May 1858, 2.

21 TKoP, 19 November 1857, 3.

22 TKoP, 15 February 1858, 2–3.

23 Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics," 50.

24 McKenzie, *Oral Culture and Literacy*; James Belich, *Making Peoples*, 136, 167; Keenan, "Separating Them from That Common Influence," 137.

25 Māori identity is most often defined through communities connected through kin relationships. *Whānau* best equates

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with an extended family grouping. *Hapū* and *iwi* (in the past, translated as "sub-tribe" and "tribe") consist of a number of *whānau* and *hapū* respectively. Each grouping has its own name, usually deriving from an eponymous ancestor. See Mead, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*, 209–30.

26 Stuart, "The Maori Public Sphere," 19. See also Schorch and Hakiwai, "Mana Taonga," 201.
27 TKoP, 17 September 1857, 2–3.
28 TKoP, 12 July 1858, 2.
29 TKoP, 9 August 1858, 2.
30 TKoP, 13 September 1858, 2–3.
31 TKoP, 29 November 1858, 2–3.
32 Best, *The Maori As He Was*, 87–91.
33 Taylor, *Modernity and the Rise of the Public Sphere*, 214.
34 Paterson, "Print Culture," 105–29; Paterson, "Te Hokioi."
35 Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 12–22.
36 Paterson, "Indigenous Language Print Culture"; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 84–6, 88.
37 Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 5.
38 Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 122–3.
39 Grey, *Aotearoa and New Zealand*, 161; Belich, *Making Peoples*, 250.
40 These government policies were later known as "assimilation," then "integration." Ward, *Racial "Amalgamation" in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*; Harris, "Concurrent Narratives of Māori Integration," 139–55; Belich, "Myth, Race and Identity," 9–22.
41 Habermas, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)," 50.
42 Kalpagam, "Colonial Governmentality," 35–58.
43 Ballantyne, "Paper, Pen, and Print," 244.
44 This press had arrived as a gift from the Austro-Hungarian court after an extended visit of two Māori chiefs to Vienna. Anon., "The Hokioi Press," 21–6; Morrell, *Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe and Te Hemara Rerehau Paraone*; Hogan, *Bravo, Neu Zeeland.*
45 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 9 April 1878, 2; Reilly, "White, John"; Ballara, "Tomoana, Hēnare"; Boyd, "Russell, Henry Robert."
46 Anderson, "Speaking of Migration," 54.
47 Orbell, *Hawaiki*, 19.
48 The Dutch explorer Abel Tasman encountered Māori when he came to New Zealand in 1640, although he did not make landfall. This visit was not passed on through Māori oral tradition. King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, 95.
49 Burns, *Te Rauparaha*, 81–116.
50 Gardner, "A Colonial Economy," 60; Dalziel, "The Politics of Settlement," 87.
51 Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, 73–4; Wright, *Two Peoples, One Land*, 65–76; Prickett, *Landscapes of Conflict*, 46–53.
52 Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa,* 9–11; Sorrenson, "Maori and Pakeha," 144; Binney, *The Legacy of Guilt*, 72, 175–81; Parkinson and Griffith, *Books in Māori*, 58–61.
53 Purchas, *History of the English Church in New Zealand*, 73–5.
54 Paterson, "The New Zealand Government *Niupepa* and Their Demise," 48–53.
55 Dalziel, "The Politics of Settlement," 92–3; Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou,* 111; Butterworth and Young, *Maori Affairs,* 27.
56 Paterson, "Kiri Mā, Kiri Mangu," 81–3.
57 For an account of this migration see King, *Moriori,* 53–75.
58 Paterson, "Kiri Mā, Kiri Mangu," 84–5; Paterson, "Te Whakamahi i te Kupu Rangatiratanga," 19–20.
59 Paterson, "Indigenous Language Print Culture," 101–35; Paterson, "Māori 'Conversion,'" 216–33.
60 For example, TKoP, 19 April 1858, 2; 6 September 1858, 2.
61 For example TKM, 15 February 1860, 1–4; 13 December 1860, 1–3; TMT, 15 November 1861, 8–12. See also Sutherland, "Te Reo o te Perehi."
62 TKoP, 27 December 1858, 2–3.
63 TKoP, 12 November 1867, 2.
64 For example, see *Te Haeata*, 1 April 1859, 3; 1 August 1859, 1–2; TKM, 15 July 1859, 3–5; 15 August 1859, 2–3; 15 November 1859, 2–4.
65 TMT, 1 August 1861, 10.

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66 See Angela Ballara, "Te Hapuku" and "Te Moananui, Kurupo."
67 TKM, 15 October 1857, 11; TKoP, 24 December 1857, 3.
68 For example, TKoP, 17 September 1857, 3; 24 September 1857, 2, 3; 15 October 1857, 2; 22 October 1857, 2, 3; 29 October 1857, 3; 19 November 1857, 2, 3.
69 TKoP, 29 October 1857, 3.
70 TKoP, 17 December 1857, 3.
71 TKoP, 10 December 1857, 2.
72 Head, "The Pursuit of Modernity," 113.
73 Walker, *Nga Tau Tohetohe,* 144.
74 TKoP, 15 October 1857, 3, 4; 10 December 1857, 3–4; 31 May 1858, 3; 16 August 1858, 4; 15 November 1858, 2–3.
75 TKoP, 15 November 1858, 2.
76 TKoP, 1 November 1858, 3.
77 TKoP, 15 February 1858, 4; 22 February 1858, 4; 12 April 1858, 3–4; 19 April 1858, 3–4.
78 TKoP, 19 April 1858, 4; 10 May 1858, 3.
79 TKoP, 29 March 1858, 4.
80 TKoP, 31 May 1858, 3.
81 McDowell, "Taua Nākahi Nui," 104.
82 TKoP, 15 February 1858, 3.
83 TKoP, 15 February 1858, 3.
84 TKoP, 31 May 1858, 3; 14 June 1858, 2; 30 August 1858 Supplement, 1; 6 September 1858, 3.
85 TKoP, 26 November 1857, 2.
86 TKoP, 3 May 1858, 3; 16 August 1858, 3; 13 September 1858, 3–4.
87 TKoP, 5 July 1858, 2.
88 TKoP, 10 May 1858, 2.
89 TKoP, 10 May 1858, 2.
90 TKoP, 22 February 1858, 3.
91 TKoP, 19 April 1858, 3.
92 TKoP, 3 May 1858, 4.
93 TKoP, 17 September 1857, 3; 15 October 1857, 3–4.
94 TKoP, 17 December 1857, 2–3.
95 TKoP, 15 October 1857, 3.
96 TKoP, 29 March 1858, 3.
97 TKoP, 5 November 1857, 3.
98 TKoP, 12 November 1857, 2–4.

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