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From Britain of the South Seas to
Maoriland: Tourism, Exhibition, and
Biculturalism at the Turn of the Century

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Leaving Britain of the South Seas, Creating Maoriland

The turn of the century in New Zealand, commonly known as the Liberal Era, was one of the defining periods in the country's history. During this time, New Zealand began to away from a perception of itself as the Britain of the South Seas and carved out a new identity for itself. A vital part of this evolving identity was the development and usage of "Maoriland". Before the creation of this identity Pakeha (white) New Zealanders had pictured their country had no real place for Maori people, but with this new identity the New Zealand government would see benefit from having Maori people for the first time. The central role that Maori people played as guides, attractions, and advertising for the modern tourist industry was a mixture of exploitation and empowerment. The development of this troubled partnership between the Maori people and the Crown would lead to a cultural resurgence despite cultural and economic exploitation.

The purpose of this essay is to map the Fatal Impact theory, the belief that the Maori race was facing extinction; from its rise to its disruption as the new Maoriland identity was created. This paper will focus on the Fatal Impact as a Social Darwinist philosophy and how it, and the policies that followed from this mentality, would be abandoned over the course of the Liberal Era. Regardless of whether a particular historian believes that the relationship between the Crown and the Maori people in the tourist industry was seen as a negative or a positive, the creation of Maoriland has not been placed into conversation with the end of the Fatal Impact.

Instead these two political developments are seen as two separate change that coincidentally happen in New Zealand around the same time and that the end of the Fatal Impact has more to do with the resurgence of the Maori population at the turn of the century and the Second World War (which de-legitimized Social Darwinism). While I agree these are important reasons why the Fatal Impact came to an end I would add that the tourist industry created some of the first voices to argue against the long accepted wisdom.

Section I: Fatal Impact in Theory and Practice

The nineteenth century saw dramatically worsening fates for the Maori people. The introduction of disease like typhus, syphilis, and smallpox as well as firearms and the process of land alienation, all led to a major die off in the Maori population. The population went from roughly 80,000 when New Zealand was annexed by the British Empire in 1840 to slightly over 40,000 at their lowest point in the 1890s¹. At this rate, the Maori were dying off was so rapidly that intellectuals throughout New Zealand began to argue that the Maori race was doomed to extinction. Theorizing about the Fatal Impact was not a fringe idea. It attracted countless intellectuals from within New Zealand and from around the world such as Dr. Isaac Featherston, Reverend Richard Taylor (a man that Charles Darwin himself referred to when writing about the Maori), Alfred Russel Wallace, and Ferdinand Von Hochsetter all viewed this idea with complete faith. It is important to note that this ideology was not genocidal, at least not in the normal way of suggesting that the

¹ Ian Pool and Tahu Kukutai. 'Taupori Māori – Māori population change - Population changes, 1769–1840', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 4-Feb-15 accessed November 17, 2015.

Maori people should be executed en masse. Early New Zealand historian William Pember Reeves capture how the Pakeha saw the Maori, “The average colonist regards a Mongolian with repulsion, a Negro with contempt; and looks on an Australian black as very near to a wild beast; but he likes the Maoris; and is sorry that they are dying out.”² At least in theory, the Pakeha would argue that the Maori were racially superior to other native races, but far inferior to the Anglo-Saxons. Instead the tone that white observers would take when speaking about the Maori die off was fatalistic. As Alfred A. Grace argued, “one thing is undeniable: they [the Maori] brought both their communism and their methods of warfare to a ripe perfection”³ and that “for [the Maori] to be a husbandman is impossible.”⁴ These intellectuals would argue that there was simply nothing that could be done to reverse this demographic shift, because they believed that the Maori people simply could not fit into a British-style state model because they were only suited to fit into their traditional tribal life styles.

With so many powerful people accepting the Fatal Impact at face value it is unsurprising that it inspired legislation that frequently followed its tenets. As New Zealand’s foremost naturalist at the time, Sir Walter Buller, argued at the time as good colonist, the Pakeha had a duty to “smooth the dying pillow”⁵ for the Maori

² William Pember Reeves, “The Long White Cloud: Ao Tea Roa” (London: Horace Marshall & Son) 1898, 57.

³ Alfred Augustus Grace, “Tales of a Dying Race” (London: Chatto & Windus 1901), vi

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ross Galbreath. 'Buller, Walter Lawry', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 5-Jun-2013 December 15, 2015

race.⁶ This paternalistic view that it was the Pakehas' responsibility to protect the Maori or at the very least make them comfortable in their dying days would typify how they shaped their laws to "help" the Maori people.

Surprisingly, Maori intellectuals did not outright reject the Fatal Impact theory. There was an important difference though as they saw it as something that could be prevented rather than inevitability. Sir Apirana Ngata, the MP for Maori East from 1905-1943 and one of New Zealand's foremost intellectuals, argued that modern Maori had become "degenerate and contaminated"⁷ due to their contact with the Pakeha [Europeans] and would say of the Maori people, "we are traitors to the past."⁸ Despite these claims, Ngata was not a separatist instead he saw the only way for the Maori people to survive the challenges that the Pakeha had brought them was through rigorous self-improvement. Part of the reason why Ngata makes such a strong case study for thoughts coming out of Maori intelligentsia is that that was a very exclusive group. Most of the Maori people that became involved in politics at the turn of the century, including Ngata, were products of Te Aute College. Te Aute sought to teach Maori boys how to be competitive with Pakeha for professional jobs such as being a lawyer or a doctor. Just about every other Maori school in New Zealand followed the paternalistic view that the Maori boys were better off learning how to do lower paying agricultural jobs, or that Maori girls should be learning how to be a proper British-style housewife.

⁶ Edward John March "Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire Into the Decrease of the Native Population with Appendices" (Suva: Government Printer 1896) 63. Web. Accessed November 24, 2015.

⁷ Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, "Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872-1914" (Wellington: Victoria University Press 2006) 260.

⁸ Stafford and Williams, "Maoriland" 261.

In a way, the entrepreneurial tourism industry that defined the mid-nineteenth century could be seen as a response to the Fatal Impact Theory amongst common Maori people. It was after all an industry that was completely controlled by the Maori people and it grew in places such as the Taupo-Rotorua region where, historian Richard Boast argues, the local Maori were more or less running an independent nation. Britain had claimed the region with the rest of New Zealand following the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 but the land was so remote that the Crown had no power there on practical, day-to-day terms⁹. It is not difficult to see why this would have been the case. Attempting to travel from Wellington or Auckland to Rotorua at that time would have been extremely difficult. A traveler would have had to go by boat and then carriage, and the carriage was rugged enough that journalist George Sala Augustus says that travelling through the mountains left him with a sense of “horror, not unmixed with terror.”¹⁰ E.W. Payton said that overland travel to Rotorua took at least two days, meant that the Maori people to engage in self-government in a few pockets of in the North Island.

Travelling through these areas definitely required a guide for both enjoyment and safety. As Alys Lowth, an English traveler, described, “one might easily take a false step unawares”¹¹ into a superheated thermal spring. Even Maori people that had lived in the region their entire lives on occasion could fall into the wrong pools and be boiled alive. The way that Maori people viewed their roles as

⁹ Richard Boast, “Treaties that Nobody Counted On” Victoria University of Wellington, Web, December 15, 2015.

¹⁰ George August Sala, “The Life of George Augustus Sala” (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons 1895) 189.

¹¹ Alys Lowth, “Emerald Hours in New Zealand” (Melbourne: Whitcombe and Tombs), 1906, 6. University of California Libraries. Web, December 15, 2015.

guides was very different from what the modern tourist, or even a tourist in the late 1880's, would expect. As traveler David Rough describes, "in every way they are as independent as American citizens, and take care to show their feelings by the remarks that they make on terms of the most perfect equality."¹² Rough also warned other world travelers that the Maori concept of comfort was far different than what they would have been used to in Ireland, India, or Australia.¹³ The nature of this early experiment in tourism was an exercise in behaving independently just as the Britain of the South Seas had rejected the Maori people, some Maori had found a way to live outside of it.

During this time the Maori of the region began to formalize signs would be erected giving set payments and a Whare Runanga was built in 1857 as a way for the local to Maori to solve their disputes internally after a short lived conflict over Te Tarata. This Whare Runanga was also a way that the Te Arawa and Ngati Tuwharetoa were able to maintain autonomy from the Crown and the Kingitanga, a Maori King who was supposed to represent Maori before the Pakeha Queen (Victoria).

Section II: Maoriland: A Nationality Fit to be Advertised

Broadly it is important to understand the British Empire in part as a web of cultural institutions, the initial purpose of which is to send British culture in the form of settlers and missionaries. New Zealand is part of this system as a destination for colonist as well as a starting point for settlers heading from the

¹² David Rough, "Narrative of a Journey Through Part of the North of New Zealand" (London: The Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge) 1852, pg. 10. University of Auckland. Web. November 17, 2015.

¹³ Ibid.

company townships further inland. At times though the cultural web could send influence the other way, the concept of Maoriland is an example of how the colonized people could change the British national self.

The term 'Maoriland' has always been a difficult term to describe. Historian Margaret Werry describes it as an identity that "was not so much imagined but imagineered."¹⁴ It was a concept of nationality that was from the beginning created not for the places and people that it would be applied to but to a wealthy foreign audience that it could be sold to with "Maori warriors in heroic attitudes and Maori maidens in seductive ones adorned romantic portraits and tourist postcards"¹⁵. Despite its disingenuous beginnings Maoriland represents a separation from an earlier era and identity. In previous decades New Zealand had tried to promote itself as a Britain of the South Seas, Reverend Richard Taylor argued that "Australbritain" or "Australalbion" would be far more appropriate names to describe the character of the country than "New Zealand" ever could be.¹⁶ Of course the problem with the dream that New Zealand would become a series of idyllic small farms like the British countryside was that there was no real space Maori people. In fact the New Zealand that had been advertised to early generations of colonists had notably omitted any reference to an indigenous people.

However, this view of a modern New Zealand was not what the Department of Tourist and Health Spas had initially been interested in promoting. Initially the

¹⁴ Margaret Werry, "The Tourist State: Performing Leisure, Liberalism, and Race in New Zealand" (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2011) x. Proquest ebury. Web. November 17, 2015.

¹⁵ Lowth, "Emerald Hours" 18.

¹⁶ Richard Taylor, "Te Ika a Maui ..." (London: Wertheim & Macintosh 1855) ix. Victoria University of Wellington. Web. December 15, 2015.

government-run tourist industry was centered on a state-of-the-art health spa and bathing experience. Dr. Arthur Wohlmann, the Department's official balneologist, believed that the body was a kind of independently functioning machine and that all medical problems were the result of blockages in this system.¹⁷ He believed that the "bile laden blood, overstocked liver, gorged and sluggish veins, overworked nervous and digestive systems"¹⁸ and "underworked cardiovascular system"¹⁹ were all symptoms of "the Juggernaut, complex modern civilisation."²⁰ These pseudoscientific principles were widely advertised. Mark Twain wrote that "the government's official physician... seems to have no reserves"²¹ when he talks about the effectiveness that the spas have at combating alcoholism. If the health issues that ailed the modern man were a direct result of being a member of modern civilization, it made sense that the solution would be to travel to the uncivilized country. While some Maori legends do speak to the curative powers Wai-ora-a-Tane (living water of Tane)²² Dr. Wohlmann's ideas should not be seen as trying to perpetuate Maori culture. His views about what the baths should be and how to using the healing powers of taking the waters was through modern machinery. Using, among other things, alternating light levels and electrical currents²³ that were based off of ideas that the British Spa Federation had developed. The original ideas

¹⁷ Werry, "The Tourist State," 71.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Mark Twain, "Following the Equator: A Journey Around the World" (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers) 308.

²² A.W. Reed, "Legends of Rotorua and the Hot Lakes" (Wellington: Literary Productions Ltd 1958) 21.

²³ Werry, "The Tourist State," 70.

of the tourist industry fit cleanly into the perception of Britain of the South Seas, if New Zealand was to be a second Britain on a large scale then Rotorua was going to be its Bath.

Maori sightseeing was a far less important, secondary goal for the Department. However, abandoning the baths project in favor of Maori-centered tourism was essentially inevitable. As Thomas Donne, superintendent of the Department, explained, New Zealand “lies at the wrong end of the world.”²⁴ Even with the advent of the steamship, it was still estimated to take twenty-seven days to travel from Britain to New Zealand.²⁵ It would have been much easier for a sickly traveler from Great Britain or America to reach the baths in Iceland or Switzerland. These problems were made worse by the corrosive damage that the waters in the thermal pools could do to the spa houses, meaning that all Rotorua hotels were saddled with the unexpected costs of replastering walls, repainting furniture, and refitting plumbing.

Thomas Donne’s interest in incorporating Maori people into his tourism experiment was both personal, as a long time collector of Maori art²⁶, and professional. He said, “the lament of many a visitor has been that there is not enough of the Maori element in the landscape.”²⁷ Maori people had proven more willing to involve themselves in the tourist industry. After all the tourism industry had been running for decades before government takeover following the 1881

²⁴ Margaret McClure, “The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism” (Auckland: Auckland University Press) 27.

²⁵ “Beautiful Maoriland” (Wellington: New Zealand Mail) 1905, pg. 64 Google Books. Web. November 4, 2015.

²⁶ McClure, “The Wonder Country” pg. 41.

²⁷ McClure, “The Wonder Country,” 41.

Thermal Lands Act. However, the issue of what the presented Maori lifestyle would look like quickly became divisive. Europeans that had traveled all the way to New Zealand were hoping to see a people that were wonderfully exotic and primitive. As Alys Lowth, an English woman that visited New Zealand in 1906 explained, what she was hoping to see, “I had imagined soldiery-looking men and graceful, houri-eyed women”²⁸ and was disappointed to find that many Maori people were relatively mundane. Looking at postcards like the New Zealand Beauties series, which had photographs of attractive young Maori women that the Department of Tourism sold to interested audiences in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, and Australia²⁹, it is easy to see where Lowth, and other tourists like her, would have developed these ideas about what Maori people should be.

The difference between what the tourist and the Crown wanted the Maori people to be and what the Maori were aspiring to be would come to a head in 1900. In 1900, the world was in the grips of the worst Bubonic Plague pandemic in modern history. In truth, New Zealand was not hit particularly hard by the Bubonic Plague. Between its arrival in New Zealand in 1900 and its eradication in 1911 only twenty-one cases were officially reported.³⁰ However, it was enough to reignite the debate about public health and the Crown hurriedly passed the Maori Councils Act of 1900 to improve public sanitation.

The first initiative that the Maori Councils created to respond to growing health concerns undertook to improve public health was building new housing. The

²⁸ Lowth, “Emerald Hours” pg. 18.

²⁹ McClure, “The Wonder Country” 57.

³⁰ Plague - Ministry of Health. New Zealand Ministry of Health. Web. December 15, 2015.

raupo and flax built whares (Maori style houses) were ordered to be demolished in favor of new cottages that would largely conform to architectural ideas from Britain and Pakeha New Zealand. This style of housing was immediately unpopular with tourists. Who complained that the new houses were ugly and in no way fit into the idealized image of the primitive Maori that was being touted to the rest of the world. These complaints were quickly dismissed by Native Health Officer Dr. Maui Pomare who said, "I would rather have my Maoris live, than that they should satisfy the curiosity of the passer-by and die."³¹ However, Donne was far more worried about tourist complaints yet he also knew that the new homes truly were more sanitary than the traditional ones had been³². This problem eventually led him to build his own traditional village that tourist could see while still allowing the Maori in the area to actually live in modern homes.

In his efforts to create his own Maori village that would fulfill tourists' appetite for the exotic and the primitive, Donne hired Anglo-Maori guide Alf Warbrick to lead the construction of a new Pa (Fort). Choosing Warbrick to be the head of this effort was simultaneously an unsurprising choice and a terrible one, Warbrick had always had closer ties with the Crown than he had had with the Maori, due to him being raised in a largely white environment. His efforts to build a new Pa that would be properly exotic began inauspiciously when he destroyed an actual Maori Pa to make room for his model. This project would be frequently criticized Gilbert Mair, a veteran of the New Zealand Wars and a proponent for Maori rights, claimed that Warbrick was "entirely ignorant of what a real Maori Pa should be

³¹ McClure, "The Wonder Country," 43.

³² McClure, "The Wonder Country," 44.

like,”³³ and that he was “disgusted and disappointed by this miserable sham.”³⁴

Despite such complaints, the Pa opened in 1910, although the government’s hopes that it would become the center of the Maori community in Whakarewarewa would never be realized.³⁵ The Model Pa would attract periodic complaints as it continued to be used for the next few decades.³⁶

This effort to build an idyllic Maori identity with the Model Pa that could be advertised, packaged, and sold to tourists really displayed how dramatically the Department of Tourist and Health Spas had split with the traditional behavior of the New Zealand government. When Donne explained his plans for the Maori community, that he wanted, “a shed to be built near the schoolhouse, in which the young Native boys should be taught carving and the girls mat-making.”³⁷ Early in the history of New Zealand’s schooling program the Crown had created policies that were designed to have the Maori people fit into British life-styles, but now Thomas Donne wanted to ensure that Maori knowledge got passed down to the younger generations, if only in a way that could be directly applied to tourism. When ideas could not be applied to tourism they were treated far less compassionately, for example the Tohunga Suppression Act. Tohunga were traditional Maori healers that

³³ Cybele Locke, “Guiding and Thermal Wonderlands” Presentation for History 227: Maori and Pakeha Worlds in Nineteenth Century New Zealand. Victoria University of Wellington

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Roger Neich, “Carved Histories: Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving” (Auckland: Auckland University Press) 2001, pg. 226. Google Books. Web. November 17, 2015

³⁶ Paul Diamond, “Te tapoi Maori – Maori tourism – 20th-century Maori tourism”, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 16 March 2015. Accessed: November 6, 2015

³⁷ Cybele Locke, “Maori and Tourism (Taupo- Rotorua), 1840-1970” (Palmerston North: Crown Forest Rental Trust) 101.

the Crown sought to suppress in the face of major outbreaks. The sort of language used to describe these people clearly shows how the government thought of Maori people at the time. They felt that it was their job to uplift the Maori who were “not capable of putting down this serious evil”³⁸ of tohunga by themselves, according to a report by New Zealand’s House of Representatives. In newspapers the same ideas were perpetuated. Tohunga were accused of attempting to mislead the Maori people, which was particularly frowned upon given the effects that the Bubonic plague scare had had on New Zealand, and were labeled with such monikers as charlatans and terrorists.

With the growth of Maori sightseeing, a few famous faces followed. While Alfred Warbrick and Sophia Hinerangi were known in New Zealand, no Maori and arguably no New Zealander was as well known as Makereti Papakura. Makereti Papakura, often known as Guide Maggie, was the daughter of a British father William Arthur Thom and a Maori mother Pia Ngarotu Te Rihi, through her mother’s side she would claim whakapapa (ancestry) with Hinemoa³⁹, a semimythical figure that dramatically chose to flee her father to be with the man that she loved.

Hinemoa’s story was one of her favorites to tell, and was included in her first book, Maggie’s Guide to the Hot Lakes and as part of her performance at the Festival of the Empire. Although she was raised Maori for the first years of her life, until her father placed her in a British-style school, she showed aptitude for English, a skill that

³⁸ Pauline Norris and Rosemary Beresford. 'Medicines and remedies - Plant extracts to modern drugs, 1900 to 1930s', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 15-Nov-12 December 15, 2015.

³⁹ Maggie Papakura, “Maggie’s Guide to the Hot Lakes District and Some Maori Legends” (Auckland: The Brett Printing and Publishing Company, 1905) 69-71. Digitized by the State Library of Victoria, 2015 Accessed October 23, 2015.

would be invaluable for her career as a tour guide. Ultimately, as McClure suggests, it was, “not so much what she did; rather, it was how she did it”⁴⁰ that would lead to her popularity. However she would really come to prominence after her encounter with the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, the future King George V. From her account it was a thoroughly enjoyable event that in turn would end up dramatically increasing her clout both at large and with high-ranking New Zealand officials, such as Thomas Donne and Prime Minister Richard Seddon.

After she led the Duke of York on tour, she became well known among an international audience, from 1901 to her withdrawal from public life in 1912 it was possible for fan mail to reach her just by addressing it ‘Maggie, New Zealand’. Before she leaves for London with the Te Arawa performing troupe she was essentially a tourist attraction in her own right. Her image was heavily commercialized throughout the British Empire in 1910. The postcard company Wildman and Avery began to offer painted plaques of Makereti and Bella Papakura and Guide Sofia Hinerangi as Christmas gifts. This unique position that Makereti found herself in typifies where Maori people found themselves within Maoriland. Certainly commodifying Maori people as individuals and as a group was exploitative, yet Maori would as a result of this have more recognition as being part of New Zealand culture than they had ever been before.

The most important way that New Zealand advertised itself to the world at the turn of the century was through World’s Fairs and Imperial Exhibitions. World Fair’s were displays of cultural and technological achievement from nations across

⁴⁰ McClure, “The Wonder Country,” 51.

the world C.L. Harris, a New Zealand journalist described seeing, “a congress of nations whose speech is a babel of tongues,”⁴¹ as he walked through the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. Imperial Exhibitions were similar but only had exhibits from the British Empire.

At both the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition and the Festival of the Empire (and indeed all of these festivals), portrayals of non-white cultures created displays of the exotic and the savage of these societies to amuse the white audience. Despite this, at the time, they were known for being educational. Historian and lawyer Frederic Harrison wrote that the Crystal Palace, a building in London designed for these exhibitions, was “a sort of university of art, history, science, music and horticulture”⁴² to “us middle Victorians.”⁴³

The New Zealand government’s interests in these events were a chance to build interest in the tourism and settlement in New Zealand. Indeed, New Zealand had been involved in World’s Fairs and Imperial Exhibitions for decades by the turn of the century. The first time that New Zealand had ever attended an Imperial Exhibition was at the Great Exhibition of London in 1851. The first time that New Zealand hosted the World’s Fair was at the New Zealand Exhibition of Dunedin.

In fact the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts sent some of its most senior figures to these exhibitions. Superintendent of the Department Thomas E.

⁴¹ C.L. Harris, “Impressions of the World’s Fair,” *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, November 1, 1904, 83. Published online by Papers Past: 2015 Accessed: October 30, 2015.

⁴² J. R. Piggot, “Quoted in *Palace of the People: The Crystal Palace at Sydneyham 1854-1936*” (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press) 106.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Donne attended the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904 and celebrity tour guide Makereti Papakura attended the Festival of the Empire in 1911.

However, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and the Festival of the Empire showed two very different images of what Maori culture was as it related to the rest of New Zealand, the role that the Maori people had in the future of New Zealand was starting to change. Reporting from the Louisiana Purchase Exposition C.L. Harris described, "New Zealand has an exhibit of pictures, Maori carvings, kauri gum and greenstone; a few mounted reindeer heads, stuffed birds and stuffed trout."⁴⁴ While Maori presentation is there, it is in the form of artifacts, not as a living culture. Photographs of the New Zealand Exhibit what looks like the lavishly decorated sitting room or study of someone with an impressive collection of framed images and mounted deer with the Maori artifacts a minor part of his many pieces.⁴⁵ This exhibit led the uninitiated onlookers to come to the wrong conclusions. For example, a compilation of people's thoughts about the New Zealand exhibit led an American editor, Mark Bennit, to think that the Maori people are the, "most interesting and progressive of all the dark-skinned races,"⁴⁶ and that it speaks to the success of the British colonial effort that they were able to raise the Maori from cannibal savages to being doctors and lawyers. (It should be noted that Bennit is incorrect in his assertion that Maori people were becoming lawyers or doctors.

Most native schools for Maori boys would teach them to be farmers and Maori girls

⁴⁴ Mark Bennit and Frank Parker Stockbridge, *History of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition: Comprising the History of the Louisiana Territory...*(Louisiana: Universal Exposition Publishing Company, 1905) 315. Accessed online: October 28, 2015.

⁴⁵ Bennit and Stockbridge, *History of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition*, 314.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

would have been taught 'feminine arts' that would push them towards become the British/Pakeha ideal of a woman.) The exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition supports a view that the future of the Maori people was, "total biological and cultural assimilation, whereby Maori would survive only as a 'slight golden tinge' on the skins – and in the cultural symbols – of the Pakeha,"⁴⁷ and that the Maori people were going to or had already become brown skinned Englishmen.

The display of Maori artworks as artifacts of a past culture rather than creations of a living one changed very suddenly at the 1911 Festival of the Empire. Celebrity guide Makereti Papakura accompanied by a troupe of twenty men and eighteen women and children first arrived in Britain on April 29th, 1911⁴⁸ and would be present throughout the Festival. Other Maori groups had tried to perform at World's Fairs in the past. Most notably a troupe had failed to attend the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. The reason why the group in 1893 had failed and Matereki Papakura had succeeded was due to her own clout. She had connections not only with the new King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess that she had toured in New Zealand 1901, this was the second time that a member of the royal family had toured New Zealand but as a sign of how the position that Maori people had changed as the previous tour had Prince Albert only seen the Pakeha part of New Zealand while in the Duke and Duchess's tour seeing the Thermal Springs had been a major part. Also, Thomas Donne had left his position as the

⁴⁷ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996) 248.

⁴⁸ "A Maori Village In London", *The Times* (London, England), Wednesday, Apr 26, 1911, 8.

Superintendent to be the High Council to London (essentially New Zealand's ambassador) was put in charge of New Zealand's showing.

Te Arawa troupe's plans were truly ambitious, and as it turned out overly ambitious. An advertisement for their program in September of 1911 told spectators that they could expect to see a, "Tableau of Maori Life," that would include a "Whaikorero", "Maori Love Ditties", "Poi Dances", "Titi Torero", "Hakas and Posture Dances", a performance of "The Legend of Hinenioa" by Maggie Papakura, depictions of waka building and the story of their journey from Hawaiki to Aotearoa, "Scenes From the Past", "War Cries, and a "Waiata Poi" that would be performed twice a day.⁴⁹ Additionally, Matereki Papakura had been planning to take her performance not only to Australia and Great Britain, as she did end up doing, but also to South Africa, the United States, Russia and China, but unfortunately ran out of funds to do so. Maori people would also be represented as one of the stops on the All Red Route, a train that traveled through the fairground, showed passengers a Maori village along with scenes from across the Empire.⁵⁰ These examples of Maori presentation and performance marked a definitive change in the way that Maori people were relating to their culture. Showing themselves as self-funded and self-managed participants capable of action, rather than a dead or dying race that was stuck living in an imagined pre-contact past, by celebrating their heritage in this way

⁴⁹ Advertisement and Programme for Maggie Papakura, the Arawa Warriors, and the Maori Maidens at the Crystal Palace Theatre, September 1911. Electronic publication by: Crystal Palace Theatre. Maggie Papakura, the Arawa warriors and Maori maidens. Programme [1911]. Ref: Eph-D-MAORI-CONCERTS-1911-01. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.
<http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22789626>

⁵⁰ Piggot, "Palace of the People," 175.

they showed that, “they too were now modern,”⁵¹ and that their culture had the strength to overcome the colonization process.

Despite Makereti Papakura’s close relationship with the government, and the opportunities that that afforded her, it would be wrong to say that she was a tool of the Crown. She was notable for being vocal and politically active not only on tourist policies, such as convincing the Tourist Department to lower their taxes on guides, but also in national politics as both a prominent supporter for Sir Apriana Ngata and a member of the temperance movement. In her later life she would also write an anthropological thesis on the Maori people, which dramatically reframed the conversation on the Maori and their future. Previous anthropological works, such as Reverend Richard Taylor’s, had taken an outsider’s view on the Maori and largely assumed that the Fatal Impact theory was true, and that it was up to them to either save the Maori or record them before they went extinct. Taking an insider perspective on the Maori culture, in fact she was the first member of any ‘native’ race to write a Western-style anthropological work on his or her own race. While she never directly questioned another anthropologist, she would broadly target the field with remarks such as, “Much nonsense has been said about the so-called starving Maori.”⁵² In the past it had been a common stereotype that Maori people irresponsibly wasted their food on festivals, and that in turn spoke poorly about them in a number of different ways.

⁵¹ Conal McCarthy, “Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures on Display” (Oxford: Oxford International Publishers Ltd. 2007) 60.

⁵² 28. Makereti, “The Old-Time Maori” (London: Victor Gollancz) 1938. Victoria University of Wellington. Web.

What Matereki Papakura chose not to say in *The Old Time Maori* was just as important as what she did choose to say. Typically when other ethnographers, such as Reverend Richard Taylor or Alfred Grace, published studies on the Maori race they focused on the Maori war like nature. For example Taylor played on Maori stereotypes by saying that marriages were informal affairs that could only be recognized by their, “great violence”⁵³ that ended with contesting parties grabbing the woman by the head, hair, and limbs in a brutal tug-of-war over her that were just as likely to kill the woman as they were to give her a husband. Matereki on the other hand, describes the marriage festival as a celebratory ceremony complete with family gatherings, speeches, and none of the violent conflict that Taylor describes. Traditional conflict on the other hand only gets a brief mention in *Old-Time Maori*, while in Grace’s *The Dying Race*, the ‘warfare and communism’ rhetoric runs throughout. The other issue that chooses not to tackle is attempting to guess where Hawiki, the Maori homeland, was. Even today no one can say exactly where this island was, or even if it was just one island. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century this question of where the Maori people came from was a way of asking where they fit on the racial hierarchy that Europeans at the time defined the world by. Various ethnologist would place the Maori people as members of the Aryan, Israelite, Haida, Chinese, Greek and many other besides.⁵⁴ By ignoring this concept of the Maori racial hierarchy, and even how the Maori people

⁵³ Taylor, “Te Ika a Maui,” 163.

⁵⁴ K. R. Howe. 'Ideas of Māori origins - 1840s–1930s,' Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 16-Nov-12 December 15, 2015.

related to the Pakeha, Makereti could focus on discussing the Maori culture without attempting to find similarities between it and other cultures.

Section III: Maori Economies and Protest

Another way that the British Empire should be understood is as a financial pump that moves value from the colonies to the metropole. Unfortunately, Pakeha New Zealand's practical colonization of the interior follows this precedent as well.

While the partnership between the Te Arawa iwi and the Crown did lead to a new and better place for the Maori people within New Zealand, by no means did it put an end to the economic exploitation that had been the norm for decades. Under the Fenton Agreement of 1880 the Te Arawa iwi offered the Crown land within their territory to build the Rotorua Township. The creation of this township was seemingly advantageous to both parties. From the Crown's perspective it was an opportunity to extend de facto control of New Zealand to one of the few places left in the country where they had in theory had control for four decades. From the Te Arawa iwi's perspective the township came with promises of a railway that would facilitate trade between the people of the region and the rest of New Zealand. The Thermal Springs District Act of 1881 was a bald-faced power grab in the region that cut prevented competition from Maori and Pakeha entrepreneurs. With this Act the Crown was able to effectively prevent competition from either Maori or other Pakeha as they built the tourist industry. Within two weeks of passing the Act the Crown had complete ownership of over 6,000 acres of the region and between 1886 and 1900 the government would own almost all of the hot springs in the area. This

new economic competition would eventually drive many of the one-time tour guides back into subsistence farming and ultimately bankruptcy.

In truth Ohinemutu had never been a truly prosperous township. They were far enough away from Pakeha New Zealand that goods coming from there were sold at “exorbitant prices”⁵⁵ according to E.W. Payton. Despite this the people of Ohinemutu were the most, “frolicsome, light hearted, happy set of people”⁵⁶ that he had ever met and that most of their wealth was communally held. As government control was established this economy began to collapse. Most of the most popular baths were held as Crown property following the Thermal Springs District Act of 1881. Worse yet leases that the local Maori had offered to interested settlers were frequently went unpaid, with only about 34% of them were paid on a regular basis⁵⁷, and the Crown was not interested in attempting to enforce those lease payments. What really caused the economy to collapse however was the Tarawera Eruption in 1886. In a single day two villages were destroyed, 153 people were killed, and the most popular tourist attraction, the Pink and White Terraces were destroyed.

The problems that plagued the Maori of the Taupo-Rotorua Region were never quite as bad as those from other regions. For example they were largely able to avoid the economic exploitation of the Native Land Court that had lead so many other Maori

⁵⁵ E.W. Payton, “Round About New Zealand: Being Notes from a Journal of Three Years Wanderings in the Antipodes” (London: Richard Clay & Sons 1888) 101. New York Public Library. Web. December 15, 2015.

⁵⁶ E.W. Payton, “Round About New Zealand,” 105.

⁵⁷ Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, “The Sociocultural Impact of Tourism on the Te Arawa People of Rotorua, New Zealand” (Hamilton: University of Waikato 1981) University of Waikato. Web. November 17, 2015

people and groups into bankruptcy. At the same time they clearly did not have the same kind of wealth that Pakeha New Zealand had, at a time when the Crown built Rotorua was receiving a sewage system, electric lights, and reliable water, Ohinemutu did not have the same luxuries. The negative economic effects that had already been caused by the Thermal Springs District Act of 1881 were worsened under the Scenery Preservation Act of 1903. Similar to the Thermal Springs District Act, it is possible that the Scenery Preservation Act had a benign argument; Premier Seddon said that the Crown had a duty to, “do something to protect the thermal springs, which are of so great value to the country, from being destroyed.”⁵⁸ However it only ended up continuing the cycle of land alienation that had been happening in the Taupo-Rotorua region since the 1880’s was reinvigorated. The act essentially ensured that all of the landmarks that a tourist would realistically want to see could be put under Crown ownership. A Maori petition that circulated Rotorua in response to the Scenic Preservation Act read, “the Maoris who are the owners of the said lands will be left to die; sufficient as to that. If any Maori or Maoris desire to work the timber on his or their lands as a means of earning money, or to clear the bush for a food cultivation, he will be fined £100.”⁵⁹ In short, the policies of the Crown and the Native Land Court had failed in the Taupo-Rotorua Region, just as it had failed in places throughout New Zealand since the beginnings of colonization but the growth of the Maori cultural consciousness that had

⁵⁸ Tony Nightingale and Paul Dingwall, “Our Picturesque Heritage: 100 Years of Scenery Preservation in New Zealand”, (Wellington: Department of Conservation 2003) pg. 5. Department of Conservation. Web. November 17, 2015.

⁵⁹ Cybele Locke, “Maori and Tourism,” 95.

happened throughout this process is a clear sign that this traditional relationship was beginning to change.

Probably the best opportunity that Maori people had to respond to this newest bout of land alienation was through the Stout-Ngata Commission. Sir Robert Stout and Sir Apriana Ngata both had had a history of encouraging Maori people to continue to hold their lands, even as it was standard policy for Native Land Court investigations to end with suggestions of more land purchases. Since the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori people found themselves in a cycle of land alienation and worsening economic power that had made the Maori decline of the nineteenth century almost self-perpetuating. The Stout-Ngata Commission provided a counter to this, suggesting that Maori people had suffered from seemingly endless Native Land Court hearings and that this process needed to be reversed not continued. Admittedly the suggestions made in the Stout-Ngata Commission would not actually be acted upon until the 1930s but the fact that the accepted wisdom that these land dealings should always benefit the Pakeha over the Maori shows that this cultural resurgence was establishing a groundwork for the Maori to push for more rights in other fields as well.

Conclusion

New Zealand has always had the identity of the progressive colony, “a fairer Britain of the South Seas.” The problem with this interpretation of what New Zealand was, should be, and was going to be was that it did not have a space for the Maori people. The Fatal Impact became popular in part because it offered a solution to this crisis of identity, inevitably the Maori population was going to be entirely

extinct or at least become a Golden Tinge on what would otherwise be a very British culture.

Maori tourism in its early form was a way for Maori people to act outside of this ideological framework. Distance and numbers meant that the Te Arawa iwi, as well as a few others were largely free to govern themselves and build their own economies. However, the functional independence of the nineteenth century was never going to last into the twentieth. Steamships, trains, and telegraphs all caused New Zealand and the world to shrink rapidly.

The initial agreement between the Crown, Te Arawa and the other iwi of the Taupo-Rotorua Region fit well into the traditional model of exclusion that was already common in much of the North Island and virtually all of the South Island. Similar to functional independence the problems with making Rotorua into the Bath of the South Seas were too many for this project to have ever been a success.

In the place of both models a new ideological framework for New Zealandness had to be negotiated. The resulting Maoriland should not be considered a system of racial equality. There were clear signs of racialize economic and cultural exploitation that were some of the most blatant in New Zealand's history but this new system also offered a new position for Maori people. With this position there was an opportunity for a Maori intellectual response to the Fatal Impact theory as well as a general response to the place that Maori people found themselves in at the turn of the century.

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