

The New Zealand Government's Niupepa and their Demise



THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT published the last issue of its final niupepa (Māori-language newspaper), *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani*, on 18 September 1877. *Te Waka Maori* bookended 35 years of government niupepa production: its first newspaper, *Te Karere o Nui Tirenī*, appeared on 1 January 1842, less than two years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. However, this was not the first time the government quietly withdrew from niupepa production: its first newspaper expired in a shakeup of native affairs in 1846; and its second sequence ended in 1863 at the height of the Waikato War. The fall of *Te Waka Maori* was decisive, and it was not until the 1950s, with *Te Ao Hou*, that an official periodical was published to entertain and inform Māori readers. This article is the first to survey the trajectory of official involvement in newspaper production through its three phases. It also seeks to answer why, on three occasions (1846, 1863 and 1877), the government withdrew from niupepa production, arguing that immediate political concerns were pertinent to the government's decision-making – a change of policy, war and a major libel case respectively. The article also posits that changes within Māori society, such as the advent of the Native Land Court and village-based Native Schools, made niupepa less essential to the government's plans.

The Niupepa Māori Corpus and Research

The niupepa corpus offers considerable scope for ongoing historical enquiry. With about 30 publications¹ disseminated by government, as well as by religious and Māori political groups or individuals, from the 1840s to the 1960s, niupepa offer invaluable insights on the development of a Māori-language print culture, as well as a wide range of content on Māori society of the time, revealing Māori intellectual frameworks, political networks and changing cultural landscapes. Some scholars have used niupepa to explore aspects of Māori history;² others recognize the value of niupepa and other Māori-language sources;³ but many historians are reluctant to access them, or limit themselves to the bilingual titles. Others may be loath to engage with publications they see as 'tawdry',⁴ implicated in a colonialism that transformed nineteenth-century Māori society from autonomous communal, tribal communities to a small minority in their own land, entangled (often unwillingly) in the political and legal machinery of the state, and exposed to the market economy, Western education and assimilation. While allowing Māori some space to air their own views, and utilizing te reo Māori as a

‘civic language’,⁵ the government’s niupepa were key tools of colonization. But these newspapers, both as colonial agents and sites of occasional Māori critique, nevertheless offer a valuable window on this dynamic time.

Scholarly work to date on the Māori newspapers has been rather thin. This is despite an almost complete corpus of niupepa available online and growing academic interest in the history of New Zealand print culture,⁶ and of historic Māori engagement with texts.⁷ Niupepa, for example, have rated little or no mention in more general newspaper histories,⁸ perhaps partly because few New Zealand historians read Māori. Those scholars researching historical Māori texts are also spoiled for choice, meaning that niupepa are just one slice of a much wider textual culture: *Books in Māori 1815–1900* lists 1565 printed items that are not periodicals, and this is supplemented by thousands of Māori letters and other manuscripts held in public archives and family collections.⁹

Content from niupepa has on occasion been reproduced in collected writings, anthologies and annotated translations, generally with some discussion of the sources.¹⁰ However, to date there has been just one edited collection, *Rere Atu Taku Manu!*,¹¹ devoted to Māori newspapers as a topic of scholarly discussion, a few theses, one of which has been transformed into a monograph,¹² and a relatively small number of journal articles and book chapters on the production or content of the newspapers.¹³ ‘Kimihiā te mea ngaro’, a Marsden-funded project undertaken by a University of Auckland team, also compiled abstracts in English for many of the online niupepa articles, and Jane McRae, one of the project’s leaders, has written an entry on Māori newspapers for *Te Ara*, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage’s online encyclopedia.¹⁴

Just as the term ‘newspaper’ could mean a variety of printed outputs in eighteenth-century Britain,¹⁵ Māori of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries applied the term ‘niupepa’ to a range of printed periodicals in their own language, including what would today be classed magazines. The physical dimensions of these publications were often small: *Te Kopara* (1913–1921), for example, was just 230 x 140mm. The number of pages per issue could be as few as one or as many as 54, with niupepa appearing weekly, fortnightly, monthly and sometimes sporadically. While some publications managed only one or two issues, others appeared over a number of years: *Te Puke ki Hikurangi*, for example, produced fortnightly issues on a fairly regular basis from 1897 to 1913. Like early New Zealand English-language newspapers that were run for ‘political advantage rather than financial profit’, niupepa made no money, seeking instead to promulgate a social, political or religious agenda.¹⁶ For example, Hēnare Tomoana, who founded *Te Wananga*, later

lamented ‘the amount of money he lost over this paper’.¹⁷ Despite settler papers becoming more profit-driven from the 1860s,¹⁸ the niupepa, although sometimes requesting subscriptions, all struggled unless a sponsor, such as the government, a church, political grouping or wealthy donor, was prepared to help pay the bills.

The government was responsible for a number of titles,¹⁹ but was not the only body to publish niupepa. During this period of official state involvement several Pākehā philo-Māori floated four titles, and the Wesleyan Church published *Te Haeata* monthly for three years. Two Māori-run publications also directly opposed the government’s own niupepa: *Te Hokioi e Rere Atu Nā*, a Kīngitanga paper that produced anti-government propaganda and advocated Māori independence until it was terminated by the British army’s invasion of Waikato in 1863; and the Ngāti Kahungunu-based *Te Wananga*, which waged an intellectual battle with the government’s *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* in the 1870s. After the government withdrew from the field in 1877, niupepa continued to appear, produced principally by tribal leaders and pan-Māori organizations seeking autonomy. By 1913 only church periodicals remained: Māori Anglicans published four titles between 1898 and 1932; while the Presbyterians published *Te Waka Karaitiana* from 1934 to 1960.²⁰

Government Niupepa, the Public Sphere and Māori Opinion

The New Zealand government’s first involvement in vernacular newspaper production in 1842 was a logical if unusual step; similar settler colonies such as Canada or Australia do not provide a precedent. A number of key factors contributed to the decision to print. The nature of the Crown–Māori relationship laid a foundation for a government niupepa. The Treaty of Waitangi was intended to introduce a colonization influenced by humanitarian ideals, a gentler form than that applied in North America and Australia.²¹ Although the Māori text of the Treaty (that most Māori signatories endorsed) is less clear about the limits of Crown governance, the English-language version states unequivocally that Māori ceded their sovereignty to Queen Victoria, an assertion sufficient for William Hobson to establish himself as Governor, with a handful of soldiers and officials.²² However, theoretical sovereignty proved inadequate to gain Māori acceptance of British governance and English law, or to cause Māori to sell sufficient land for the incoming rush of settlers. Lacking effective coercive powers, successive early governors relied largely on personal relationships, persuasion and propaganda, including niupepa, for the first two decades of colonial rule in their attempts to ‘amalgamate’ Māori into the nascent state. The first niupepa, *Te Karere o Nui Tirenī*, was also the project of George Clarke, the government-appointed Protector of

Aborigines who had resigned as a missionary in order to take on the new post. His missionary experiences, including a spell as a teacher, would have conditioned him to see the value of a textual outreach to Māori.²³

The nature of Māori society, and its recent historical experience, also gave sense to printing texts for Māori. Not only did Māori speak one language (with mutually understood dialects) but many quickly learnt to read and write. Protestant missionaries had arrived in New Zealand in 1814; biblical translation, printing of texts and the transmission of literacy in order to read those texts were core features of missionary activity.²⁴ Although literacy per se was not the only factor, Māori began to convert in increasing numbers after a workable Māori orthography had been developed in 1820, so that by the 1840s significant numbers had the ability to read and write. The missionary literature was predictably religious in content, but Māori were keen to possess and consume it in order to acquire new knowledge. Indeed, as Anna Johnston suggests, for missionaries and Polynesians alike, 'books came to represent an artefact of modernity and western cultural capital in itself'.²⁵

Certainly, at times, Māori appreciated the value of niupepa. In the 1840s, chiefs travelled to Auckland to get the government's niupepa hot off the press.²⁶ Although as few as 500 copies were sent to the principal chiefs around the country, Māori, living communally in villages, shared these texts and read them aloud at public meetings. Māori also wrote expressing their desire for the government newspapers, but this depended on shifting levels of engagement with the new order. For example, in 1857 the chiefs of Rangiaohia exclaimed to *Te Karere's* editor that 'our hearts greatly rejoice because of the words printed in the newspaper'.²⁷ However, Māori enthusiasm for colonization soon soured, with Rangiaohia and most of Waikato becoming staunch supporters of the Kīngitanga.

The Māori engagement with niupepa begs the question: to what extent did these publications contribute to the formation of a public sphere and the production of public opinion within Māori society? Certainly, early English-language newspapers in New Zealand clashed with the state and with each other, with local issues quickly percolating throughout the Pākehā reading public.²⁸ Vernacular newspapers operating in colonial India were also instrumental in the development of an indigenous public sphere.²⁹ But was this the case for Māori? Significantly, in the colonial societies of both Pākehā New Zealand and indigenous India, those who produced the newspapers and those who read them belonged to the same societies. The relative speed of the Māori acquisition of literacy precluded Māori gaining the technological means to produce printed texts, leaving this enterprise largely in the hands of Pākehā. It was not until 1862 that the Kīngitanga acquired a press, from

which they printed *Te Hokioi*; indeed, for Māori, even obtaining writing paper could be difficult at times.³⁰

With the exception of *Te Hokioi* (1862–1863), whose output was relatively meager, Pākehā ran all Māori-language newspapers until *Te Wananga* ushered in an era of genuinely indigenous niupepa production from 1874. J. Habermas defines the public sphere as ‘mediat[ing] between society and state, in which the public organizes itself as the bearer of public opinion’, and ‘although state authority is so to speak the executor of the political public sphere, it is not part of it’.³¹ In nineteenth-century New Zealand the Māori ‘public sphere’ existed on marae around the country. Māori engaged with the government’s newspapers, and the discourses contained in their pages sometimes influenced Māori opinion or actions, but the government (and other Pākehā-run) niupepa were directed at the ‘other’. At no time did Pākehā-run niupepa represent Māori, any more than the English-language newspapers that occasionally contained content by or for Māori.³² As M. Meadows and S. Avison have discussed with relation to more contemporary Canada and Australia, ‘the Aboriginal public sphere . . . should be seen as a discrete formation that develops in a unique context’, alongside but outside of ‘mainstream public sphere processes’.³³ The nineteenth-century Māori public sphere was no different.

***Te Karere o Nui Tirenī* (1842–1846)**

In 1842, the first niupepa, *Te Karere o Nui Tirenī*,³⁴ published by the Protector of Aborigines, asserted that it existed ‘so that the Māori know the customs and practices of the Pākehā, and the Pākehā knows the customs of the Māori ... and living in ignorance of each other will end.’³⁵ Given that this niupepa was written in Māori only, it aimed primarily to mould Māori opinion, rather than that of British settlers. Māori readers would learn ‘first, the role of the Governor, second, the Queen’s laws, the principles of justice and the crimes for which people are judged, and the many customs of Pākehā’.³⁶ It also invited Māori to write to the newspaper about issues troubling them, ‘so that everyone may hear his thoughts’.³⁷ These themes recurred throughout the four-year run of this monthly niupepa, with particular emphasis on peaceful race relations and the rule of law, land sales, advancement in civilization, and cultural practices – good, Pākehā ones that Māori should adopt, and bad, Māori ones they should abandon.

To modern eyes, some of the messages relayed in the niupepa sound patronizing and condescending, even offensive. For example, in extolling the benefits of Pākehā coming to New Zealand, *Te Karere o Nui Tirenī* in 1845 stated: ‘... and we ask have you made progress in the last year, or have you

regressed? So, are you wearing better clothes? Have your houses improved? Have your cultivations increased, so that you and your children might obtain clothes? Have you ceased living idly in town? If the response of some of you to these questions is correct, you would say “we have only made but little progress”.³⁸ However, in the first years of colonization, many Māori were consciously seeking to embrace modernity. Some may not have accepted such criticisms with equanimity, but the niupepa tended not to publish Māori criticisms of its core themes.

Incidents of racial conflict proved problematic for the government niupepa. ‘News’, often out of date even on local issues, generally fitted into the officially promulgated discourses rather than presenting events impartially, but when hostilities broke out the government’s weakness was reflected in its printed message. In June 1843 Ngāti Toa killed 22 from a party of armed Nelson settlers who had confronted them over disputed land at Wairau. It was clear that the settlers had acted rashly, and in August *Te Karere* published an account giving both sides of the conflict. However, with regard to the Māori killing of prisoners, it stated that ‘all the Pākehā are saying that this is a wicked act of violence, if it is true’.³⁹ *Te Karere* sought to calm the tension by printing a ‘translation’ of the Acting Governor’s proclamation instructing settlers to keep off any disputed land until ownership had been settled. However, where the original English stated ‘the Native owners of the soil should have no reason to doubt the good faith of Her Majesty’s solemn assurance that their territorial rights would be recognised and respected’, the Māori text cited the Māori text of the Treaty in which Māori rangatiratanga was guaranteed.⁴⁰

The newspaper also printed a letter from Tumutumu defending the actions of Ngāti Toa on the day, in which he detailed the aggressive stance of the Pākehā force, and exclaimed, ‘the words of the Queen to us, the Māori people, which you have said to us, are a waste of time, that we should not kill, or steal, or do anything. What is this?’⁴¹ This level of criticism was unprecedented, but the niupepa’s conciliatory position reflected that of a government that lacked the military capacity to react against a well-armed tribe, and recognized that Ngāti Toa held the moral high ground of defending their own land.⁴²

Te Karere o Niu Tirenī’s position changed with the Northern War in 1845. With barely five years to cement its legitimacy, the government was far more concerned by this direct challenge to its sovereignty than by a land dispute, such as at Wairau. The niupepa published some details of the fighting,⁴³ but pursued a more concerted and sustained discourse centred on Heke’s intransigence and the senselessness of fighting the Crown. Several articles, for example, criticized Heke’s claim that the Queen’s flag was a land-grabbing flag.⁴⁴

Therefore England thought it would send a governor to New Zealand. Victoria, the Queen said to Captain William Hobson, 'Come, Come to my Māori friends in New Zealand. Get the chiefs of those islands together and tell them, "The mana of their own flag is diminishing. Perhaps soon they will be vanquished by another people stronger than they are. But they should agree to my flag, as a flag for them and for us together, so that the whole world will know that New Zealand is now covered by England's wings, and I, the Queen, have taken all the people of that place into my arms."' ⁴⁵

The appointment of Captain George Grey as the new Governor, announced in *Te Karere o Niu Tirenī* in November 1845, heralded the end of the first experiment in government *niupepa*, and a change in the administration of native affairs. Grey was unhappy with the slow pace of Māori amalgamation, and decided to take a more direct and personal interest in Māori issues.⁴⁶ There was no December issue of *Te Karere o Niu Tirenī*, with the editor apologizing in January the following year that 'we were troubled with many other tasks'.⁴⁷ No more issues appeared, although the paper had not signalled its termination. By the end of the year Grey had abolished the Protectorate Department, establishing a Native Secretary much more firmly under his control.⁴⁸ The death of the newspaper was thus an early casualty of Grey's policy of pursuing a more Governor-to-rangatira relationship with influential Māori leaders.

***Te Karere Maori* (1849–1863)**

After a three-year hiatus a new government newspaper, *Te Karere Maori*, or *Maori Messenger*, appeared. Unlike its predecessor, little indicated that this was indeed an official newspaper.⁴⁹ It was bilingual, its masthead sported no coat of arms and it claimed to be 'published at the offices of the agents Williamson and Wilson, Auckland' to be sold at 3d a copy. It was not revealed until 1854 and then only in the English text, that any public notices printed 'are to be considered as official communications'.⁵⁰ The content also was heavily 'educational' rather than 'official', with considerable material designed to 'elevate' Māori, and encourage them to engage with modernity. Its superior tone was even more apparent than its predecessor's.

Friends, Maories, perhaps you occasionally reflect on the many things the white man introduced amongst you, and upon their many works by which mankind is elevated. The white man discovered you sitting in darkness,—you ate men,—you were continually fighting, and did everything else that an evil disposition prompted. . . . you were found living on the plants of the earth,—for instance: fern root, tawa berries, the root of the convolvulus [sic], hinau berries, the tree fern, grubs, the root of the raupo, and the various other kinds of weeds that the earth produced—you were like animals....⁵¹

The content was varied. The first issue contained an extended article on the formerly 'dissolute' Hawaiians whose advances in civilization Māori were

expected to emulate.⁵² The following paper provided a report on the history of smallpox, and promoted the availability of free vaccinations.⁵³ Geography, history and religious matters also featured.⁵⁴ In particular, *Te Karere* promoted Māori engagement in the market economy, carrying advertisements for goods and services, as well as 'shipping intelligence' on vessels using the port of Auckland. But this was a government publication, financed out of the Native Secretary's Department.⁵⁵

Te Karere Maori suffered a seven-month gap from May 1854, under the acting governorship of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Wynyard, reappearing in January 1855. The new 'Messenger' was transformed from a four-column, four-page (460 x 300mm) paper, to a publication of two bilingual columns, of smaller dimensions (260 x 180mm) but of at least eight pages, and often many more.⁵⁶ In many respects, the content remained the same, stressing the benefits of land sales, colonization, civilization and commerce. This was clearly a more 'official' publication, featuring the Royal coat of arms in the name-plate, and with more direct discourses of Crown sovereignty, and the need for law and good race relations.⁵⁷

Unfortunately for the new Governor, Sir Thomas Gore Browne, his administration from 1855 to 1861 coincided with a growing Māori dissatisfaction with colonization. The pressure of Crown agents to buy land to satisfy the insatiable Pākehā desire for Māori land fuelled quarrels, even warfare, within and between Māori kin groups. As if oblivious to Māori sensitivities, *Te Karere Maori* published details of lands sold, alongside entreaties for further sales and for Māori to individualize their tribal estates.⁵⁸ Land issues produced the two major challenges to Browne's governorship: the First Taranaki War (1860–1861) against Te Āti Awa over a disputed land sale; and the Kīngitanga, a Māori 'kingdom' designed to curtail land sales, and the resulting inter-tribal bloodshed.

The Kīngitanga, in proclaiming an alternative Māori state, challenged the government's own claims to sovereignty. In September 1857, *Te Karere Maori* attacked this movement, arguing that Māori could lose the benefits of the Treaty and Crown protection by stating, 'there are two paths, that of children [of the Queen], and that of enemies: he who is not a child is an enemy.'⁵⁹ Donald McLean, Browne's Native Secretary, believed that Māori would tire of the Kīngitanga, and advised that 'is not likely to be attended with any important or serious consequences, if the Government abstain from interfering in the matter'.⁶⁰ *Te Karere Maori* subsequently published little in opposition to the Kīngitanga in its first few years. However, it occasionally printed letters from Māori chiefs disavowing any loyalty towards the movement.⁶¹ As Ihakara Tukumaru of Manawatu stated, 'I do not approve of

setting up a Maori King, it will not succeed; it is better now to submit to be guided by the Government, as it was that saved us from many evils.’⁶²

Notwithstanding Browne’s policy of non-interference, the political situation had deteriorated significantly with the Taranaki War in 1860. When Kīngitanga warriors travelled south to assist, the prospect of a much wider conflict seemed possible. In the face of this challenge, *Te Karere Maori* minimized its exhortations on ‘civilization’ and commerce, taking a more ‘political’ stance, to assert the government’s right to rule. Indeed from August to November 1860, it devoted all its pages to publishing the proceedings of a month-long conference of friendly and neutral chiefs at Kohimārama, called together to condemn Te Āti Awa and the Kīngitanga, and to acknowledge Crown sovereignty.⁶³

To present itself to Māori in a new light, the government rebranded its niupepa’s title in 1861.⁶⁴ Literally, ‘a guest from afar’, *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi*’s first issue asked to be welcomed into Māori communities: ‘It is customary among the Maories to welcome the advent of a stranger with cries of *Haere mai! Haere mai!* The welcome is commenced with the approach of the visitor, and is prolonged until he has fairly entered the *kainga*. Now, therefore, the “*Manuhiri Tuarangi*” awaits the welcome of the Maori people.’⁶⁵

The focus was now on asserting colonial power. After a year’s inconclusive fighting, a truce was called in Taranaki. *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi* published the negotiations and the Governor’s conditions to Te Āti Awa, which, despite the essential issues left unresolved, was presented to readers as the tribe’s ‘submission’.⁶⁶ The paper also printed Browne’s ultimatums to Te Āti Awa’s as-yet unreconciled allies,⁶⁷ including the Kīngitanga, in which he threatened further conflict unless they were prepared to submit to Crown sovereignty.⁶⁸ Rather than risk all-out war immediately, the British government reappointed Sir George Grey as Governor in September 1861. As *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi* explained, ‘Now, this is the original Parent, who has returned to us in the midst of confusion; and hence we advise, that all the children, whether Maori or Pakeha, should listen to his voice, to that of the father, that prosperity and quietness may grow up amongst us.’⁶⁹

Grey’s policy was to provide wavering Māori tribes with a degree of self-government, in an attempt to undermine any support for the Kīngitanga. He employed the government’s niupepa (its name restored to *Te Karere Maori*) to promote this policy, extolling those tribes that engaged in the new system.⁷⁰ As in the late 1850s, *Te Karere* expended relatively little space railing against the Kīngitanga, again printing a number of letters from chiefs wanting to distance themselves from the movement.⁷¹ The niupepa’s focus was primarily on the government’s ‘peace’ policies rather than on its enemies.

The ideological battle was waged away from the government's main Auckland-based niupepa. To argue its own case, the Kīngitanga published its niupepa, *Te Hokioi*, on an intermittent basis from 1862, attacking the validity of the Treaty of Waitangi and the government's right to govern Māori, while attempting to substantiate the Kīngitanga's own efforts at establishing a Māori state.⁷² In early 1863 Grey instructed John Gorst, the somewhat beleaguered magistrate appointed to Te Awamutu, deep within Kīngitanga territory, to counter its propaganda by publishing a more local niupepa, *Te Pihoihoi Mokemoke i Runga i te Tuanui*.⁷³ Its first issue provocatively attacked the pretensions of the Māori King, suggesting that he was either unable or unwilling to maintain order within his territory. In just over a month Gorst produced four issues, but in March 1863 a party of Ngāti Maniapoto warriors, angry at his insults, broke into his compound at Te Awamutu and seized the press, type and the undistributed fifth issue, ending the short life of this government newspaper.⁷⁴

War, breaking out again in July 1863, effectively ended this phase of government niupepa production. As tensions rose, and in the initial stages of the conflict, the government employed *Te Karere Maori* to justify its position.⁷⁵ Again, it printed letters from chiefs supporting the government.⁷⁶ But *Te Karere Maori* ceased production on 28 September 1863 without any explanation, while the army was only part way into the Waikato campaign. The niupepa had not been expensive to run; in 1862, for example, its costs amounted to £509/13/3 out of a total £44,026/4/6 spent on 'Native Purposes'.⁷⁷ A more reasonable explanation is that the government had already largely given up trying to culturally 'improve' Māori through its newspaper from 1860, and with warfare having polarized Māori opinion, the government no longer considered that mere persuasion was its best option.

This change in attitude can be seen in a new publication, *Ko te Kahiti o Niu Tirenī*, from 1865. A Māori-language counterpart to its official *Gazette*,⁷⁸ *Ko te Kahiti* communicated the details of sittings of the Native Land Court to Māori and other official business. It contained nothing to 'amuse' or inform Māori, except for official notifications. The war in 1863 showed that the government's efforts to encourage uncooperative or suspicious Māori to voluntarily accept the colonial administration and its laws had largely failed. From now, the central government preferred to rely on the brute force of the British Army, or legislative chicanery, to effect its will.

Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri (1863–1871)

As one niupepa was expiring, another was emerging. Donald McLean had already enjoyed an extensive career within the public service, as a Sub-

protector of Aborigines, Police Chief, Native Secretary and Chief Land Purchase Commissioner. Despite being responsible for massive Māori land loss through his purchasing role, this Highland Scot, fluent in Māori and at ease in the Māori world, was nevertheless popular with many chiefs.⁷⁹ In December 1862, he was elected onto the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council, and when it met in February he assumed the role of Superintendent responsible for the administration of the province.⁸⁰ Four months later, *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri* appeared in Napier, the provincial capital, published by McLean to try to keep war from breaking out in Hawke's Bay. Although the Waikato War had not quite begun, hostilities seemed inevitable, and some influential Ngāti Kahungunu chiefs espoused sympathy for the Kīngitanga. In its initial issue the paper announced that it wished to uplift Māori, and improve race relations, but also stated, 'Before, and up to this time, there have been good, peaceful relations between Māori and Pākehā in this place. Their transgressions have been minor. The winds that cause ripples on the water are light in some places. The great storm that carries along death and evil has not hit the peace of our place, and it never will.'⁸¹

McLean was unsuccessful in this aim. In 1865 and 1866 government militia and loyal Māori groups fought adherents of the Pai Mārire, a syncretic religious group, in Poverty Bay and Hawke's Bay. Warfare again broke out in the area between 1868 and 1872 when a group of Pai Mārire prisoners returned from exile under the charismatic religious leader Te Kooti, and waged a guerilla war across the central North Island.⁸²

Grey had terminated *Te Karere Maori* after war broke out; the *niupepa* had formed part of the soft diplomacy of his 'peace policy', of little use once the battle lines were drawn. In contrast, *Te Waka Maori* initially faced a peaceful, albeit somewhat unsympathetic, Māori audience. When Māori opinion in Hawke's Bay became split over Pai Mārire, McLean retained the *niupepa* for its propaganda value. 'After [the Kīngitanga] came this stupid venture, the Hauhau; its ideas were placed within a religious framework so that people would take note of it. So, all the ignorant people flocked to this new undertaking, low-born people, and [those with] murderous hearts—the clear-headed tribes didn't turn to it, they could see the evil within it.'⁸³

Despite its 'provincial' focus, *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri* was clearly an official publication, with James Grindell, a court official in Napier, taking on the role of editor.⁸⁴ The impression was reinforced from July 1865 when a small block of the Royal Arms was inserted into the nameplate title.

Like a number of the colonial elite, McLean participated in politics both at the provincial and national level, gaining the Napier parliamentary seat in 1866. From its inception in 1856 to 1877 there were 18 separate ministries within

the House of Representatives; beset with parochial provincialism, political egos and no established parties, the longest lasted over five years, but others just a matter of days. Despite the instability, McLean served continuously as Native Minister from 1869 to 1876 in a succession of ministries (except one that lasted a bare month) because each new ministry considered him the best man to overcome Māori disaffection, and to amalgamate Māori within the developing settler state.⁸⁵

Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani (1871–1878)

In 1871, McLean shifted *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri* to the capital and renamed it *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* (The Māori Canoe of New Zealand). The large image of the Royal Arms in the nameplate, reminiscent of the earlier *Te Karere* newspapers, enhanced its 'official' status, but it was clearly a rebranding rather than a rebirth, with the volume numbering following on from the Napier-based niupepa. While the underlying discourses remained the same, there was also more focus on parliamentary politics. In 1867 McLean had ushered a Native Representation Act through Parliament, giving universal suffrage to Māori men to elect four representatives. Although Māori gained a voice within Parliament, proportionately they remained woefully under-represented.⁸⁶ *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirenī* gave much of its space to summaries of parliamentary speeches relating to Māori issues, including those of the new Māori representatives.

In their reports, some Resident Magistrates suggested that the niupepa, 'a means of information and instruction', was popular with Māori in their districts.⁸⁷ Although aimed at a Māori readership, from October 1873 it was published with parallel bilingual columns. The names of subscribers, both Māori and Pākehā, who paid their 10 shillings each year often featured on the front page, but the paper was heavily subsidized by the government. For example, the government received only £124/5/- in subscriptions in the 1875–1876 financial year, yet paid the editor £400.⁸⁸ Not all Māori valued the niupepa. For example, H.K. Taiaroa, the Member for Southern Maori, informed Parliament in 1875, 'The *Waka Maori* was a government newspaper. Many Maori sent statements to the *Waka Maori*, but they were never published in that paper. If papers were sent in against the Government, they were rejected by the *Waka Maori*, which said it would not print them.'⁸⁹

In 1874 *Te Waka Maori* was faced with a rival. In the early 1870s the Ngāti Kahungunu chief Hēnare Matua initiated the 'Repudiation Movement' to invalidate fraudulent land deals in Hawke's Bay, soon supported by most of the tribe's chiefs, including Karaitiana Takamoana, the Member of Parliament for Eastern Maori. Henry Russell, a wealthy station owner and politician, also

allied himself with this movement, although his motives were largely political, primarily designed to embarrass his enemies within both the Hawke's Bay social elite and Parliament, including McLean. The repudiationist efforts forced the appointment of the Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission in 1873, which, despite encountering some irregularities, considered that 'nothing was proved ... which ought, in good conscience, to invalidate any purchases investigated by us.'⁹⁰ Russell then helped bankroll a number of cases to the Supreme Court, with little success, and in 1874 with Hēnare Tomoana established the niupepa *Te Wananga* to promote the repudiationist message, in opposition to the government's *Te Waka Maori*.⁹¹ While, as detailed by Lyn Waymouth, *Te Wananga* raised general political issues around the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori political representation,⁹² it also directly criticized the 'Ring' (or 'Ngatihokohe' [the dodgy-dealing tribe] as they were labelled in the Māori text), the capitalists, including McLean, who had amassed large stations of Māori land through supposedly sharp practice.

It was thus somewhat ironic perhaps that in 1876 *Te Waka Maori* published two letters accusing Henry Russell of intimidation and sharp practice in his land dealings with Māori, and implying he had defrauded Ārihi Te Nahu, a wealthy and powerful young woman of chiefly Ngāti Kahungunu lineage who had entrusted her financial affairs to him.⁹³ Although these letters had been signed by a number of people, Ārihi Te Nahu was clearly the instigator. Russell's self-promotion as a defender of Māori interests added insult to the perceived injuries. The second letter also alluded to Russell's political alignment, that 'he is a persistent opponent of the Government, and wishes us, the Maoris, also to have no regard for the Government.'⁹⁴

The two letters provoked a gleeful response in the repudiationist *Te Wananga*. Accusing 'the "Ring" and their minions' of orchestrating this campaign, it stated that its rival (unaware that Russell was planning legal action against it for the first 'false and calumnious letter') had then 'inserted another letter, purportedly written by Arihi, and others, and of the same libellous nature'.⁹⁵ The controversy led to more Māori letters to *Te Wananga*; the first being a stinging personal attack on Ārihi Te Nahu from one of her neighbours, to which she replied with an equally abusive and offensive letter.⁹⁶ Finally Hēnare Matua, the repudiationist leader, wrote a less personal letter, defending Russell's honour, and suggesting that any allegations of financial impropriety should be taken to court.⁹⁷

The End of Government Niupepa

Although libel and slander cases were not unusual in colonial New Zealand, most involved only Pākehā litigants and English-language publications. In

1878 *Te Wananga* itself was compelled to issue an apology over a letter it published disparaging a government officer, providing a brief moment of pleasure for *Te Waka Maori*.⁹⁸ There were a few other libel cases initiated by Māori against niupepa, all in the early twentieth century and demanding relatively small amounts in damages.⁹⁹ But the '*Waka Maori* libel case' is the most significant involving a niupepa, both in terms of costs and its repercussions.

Henry Russell's lawyer conceded that trying to sue the writers of the two Māori letters was 'practically impossible'. Instead, action was directed, as Russell was entitled to do, against James Grindell, the editor of *Te Waka Maori*, and James Didsbury, the Government Printer, seeking the huge sum of £10,000 in damages.¹⁰⁰ Although Russell was purportedly seeking to salvage his own reputation, it was clear that he was more concerned with damaging those of his political enemies within the Atkinson ministry. (This did not include McLean, who had resigned his Cabinet portfolio in December 1876 and died within a month.) The government took responsibility for the defence, and the case became a significant political and news issue, within both New Zealand's Parliament and the colony's English-language press.

Although the case was to be heard in Wellington, Māori gave evidence in Napier at a special commission. Ārihi Te Nahu was both the first and the principal defence witness, examined over four days. Although coaxed by the defence lawyer, Ārihi was able to provide little hard evidence to substantiate her claims.¹⁰¹ The *Auckland Star* succinctly stated, 'It is generally rumoured that Arihi, the principal witness in the case of Russell v. "Waka Maori," whose evidence occupied the Commission all last week, broke down in her statements, which are said to be of a contradictory nature. This rumour is given credence to, owing to the dejected state of mind of the editor of the "Waka Maori" as he appears when perambulating the streets.'¹⁰² What constituted 'truth' for Ārihi and her people in a Māori setting could not be easily reconstituted in a Pākehā court of law.

The government lost its case and on 7 September 1877 the jury awarded Russell £500, which he donated promptly to charity. However, the government's costs were horrendous: Parliament voted to allow £6000 to cover all associated expenses of the trial, an enormous sum when the New Zealand government's ordinary annual expenditure at this time was about £3 million.¹⁰³ When John Sheehan, an opposition Member of Parliament who had also acted as a lawyer in the repudiationist cases, also served papers on *Te Waka Maori*, the government rather prudently agreed to read out an apology to him in Parliament and to provide him £100 to give to charity. The agreement was duly reported by *Te Wananga* to its Māori readers.¹⁰⁴

As New Zealand's English-language press made clear, Russell's legal action against *Te Waka Maori*'s editor and printer was largely politically motivated.¹⁰⁵ It also allowed his parliamentary allies considerable room to attack the government as the case proceeded, accusing it of using taxpayers' money to produce a partisan publication, indeed one that included libellous statements about the government's opponents. In October 1876, pressure from the opposition had led to the £400 subsidy for *Te Waka Maori* being struck off the government's budget.

On 17 October, the *niupepa* alerted its readers to this development, and the following month announced its own demise.¹⁰⁶ However, it appeared again in December, printing letters from influential Māori around the country imploring that the *niupepa* might live on. It declared that it would now survive on subscriptions, and 'many European gentlemen' had already subscribed, some getting as many as 10 copies each.¹⁰⁷ The resurrected *Te Waka Maori* again attacked the political stance of *Te Wananga*,¹⁰⁸ which responded in kind the following month. As it noted, 'On looking at the imprint, however, we find that it [*Te Waka Maori*] is printed and published "under the authority of the New Zealand Government," by the Government printer. This is in direct and flagrant violation of the vote of the House last session.'¹⁰⁹

In August 1877, as the libel case was underway, the opposition pounced, criticizing the government for expending public money 'for the purpose of defending an action brought by one citizen against another for an alleged libel', and the 'highly reprehensible' action of continuing *Te Waka Maori* as an official publication.¹¹⁰ Once the court case was over, the government accepted as a motion of no confidence the opposition charge of 'continuing to publish the *Waka Maori* newspaper at the public expense, in defiance of the vote of the House, and in allowing its columns to be used for the publication of libellous matter'.¹¹¹ Debate dragged on over a number of days. The government argued that it had needed to keep a channel of communication open with Māori, and with support from both Māori and Pākehā subscribers *Te Waka Maori* was now self-supporting.¹¹² The government just survived the vote, but the issue had become somewhat academic, as the *niupepa* ceased operating before the debate was over. The government, already weakened, fell less than a month later on an official motion of no confidence, and the treasury benches fell to Russell's allies. Thus, rather ignobly, the government's involvement in Māori-language newspapers came to an end.¹¹³

Niupepa always struggled if they attempted to rely on subscriptions or advertising without some other form of patronage. Russell, financially embarrassed from his political efforts, withdrew support from *Te Wananga*, which ceased publication at the end of 1878. James Grindell, the editor of *Te*

Waka Maori o Niu Tirani, resurrected the niupepa in 1878. Although directly linked to the preceding publication, this was now a purely private venture, printed in the small provincial town of Gisborne. Lasting just over a year, it produced 42 issues.¹¹⁴ Two years later Ihaia Tainui, the Member for Southern Maori, asked the House to support another niupepa but gained no support from the government.¹¹⁵

The government may have felt niupepa had had their day. They were designed as a tool to assimilate Māori adults into the new colonial order, but the state now found itself in a position in which it could dictate more to Māori. *Ko te Kahiti*, for example, notified Māori of Native Land Court sittings they were compelled to attend to determine ownership of their lands. The government also established a more effective strategy of assimilation through the education of Māori children. Teaching English was always a priority; as Henry Taylor, a school inspector, asserted in 1862, the Māori language was 'another obstacle in the way of civilisation'.¹¹⁶ However, the government came to the conclusion that the church-run schools, the sole education provider for the first two decades of colonization, had failed, especially with regard to teaching English.¹¹⁷ As a result, Parliament passed the Natives Schools Act 1867, giving the government responsibility for establishing a village-based primary school system.¹¹⁸ These schools, initially few in number, were slow to have an impact, but as Māori children increasingly imbibed the English language, the perceived need for Māori-language newspapers decreased.

Conclusion

For the first three and a half decades of colonial rule, the government dominated the production of Māori-language newspapers. While there was some space for Māori to express their views in this new media, the primary purpose of the government niupepa was to procure Māori acceptance of, and amalgamation into, the new colonial order: the state and its laws; the adoption of European customs; and good relations with incoming Pākehā immigrants. On two occasions, with *Te Hokioi* and *Te Wananga*, Māori produced counter-narratives to the dominant government standpoint. Although these Māori publications may have created a sort of 'public sphere' through which Māori could meaningfully debate and critique the government's actions, the government niupepa sought to align Māori opinion to its own discourses.

The run of the government's Māori-language newspapers can be divided into three primary sets, with each run of papers experiencing a death of sorts due to various political and social causes. The first newspaper, *Te Karere o Nui Tirenī*, produced by the Protector of Aborigines, ended when the new Governor, George Grey, abolished the Protectorate and took direct control

of native affairs in 1846. The second run of titles appeared from 1849 to 1863. From 1860 these became more political in nature, in response to the Kīngitanga and the first Taranaki War. The government used its principal newspaper, *Te Karere Maori*, as part of its soft diplomacy, and terminated it after resorting to warfare in an effort to impose its sovereignty upon the Kīngitanga.

The final phase began as its predecessor was ending, with *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri* appearing as a local niupepa in the east of the North Island, an area not yet at war. It was the former Native Secretary, Donald McLean, now Superintendent of Hawke's Bay, who established this newspaper in an attempt to inhibit war from reaching his province. McLean, however, saw the propaganda value of his niupepa even after hostilities began, and did not cease production. This phase of niupepa production also coincided with the settlers taking full responsibility for Māori and defense. After his appointment as Native Minister, McLean transferred the niupepa to Wellington, the colony's new capital, and rebranded it as a national Māori newspaper.

New Zealand's parliamentary politics were fractious. Opposition politicians accused *Te Waka Maori* of being too partisan in its political stance, and were able to get its government subsidy removed. However, it was the libel case, when Henry Russell sued the editor for defaming his character, that effectively killed off this newspaper. The government fell soon after, and the new ministry felt under no compulsion to publish newspapers for its own purposes, especially as it was able to circulate necessary official information through *Ko te Kahiti*. The cost may have been a factor, but continuing a Māori-language newspaper ran counter to the prevailing attitude of expecting Māori to engage more with the English language, something best achieved through schooling. The government's withdrawal from the field, however, did not mean the end of niupepa Māori: a succession of periodicals continued well into the twentieth century, most controlled and run by Māori themselves.

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NOTES

1 Scholars have sometimes classified the niupepa differently. Most of these publications are available online at the website *Niupepa Maori*, part of Waikato University's *The New Zealand Digital Library*, <http://www.nzdl.org/cgi-bin/library.cgi> (accessed 10 August 2014), and progressively being added to *Papers Past*, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast> (accessed 5 January 2016). With the government newspapers, *Papers Past* includes all the Auckland-based niupepa (1842–1863) as a single entry, whereas *Niupepa Maori* lists the same content as five separate titles. Neither site contains some niupepa, such as several early publications of which no copies now exist, or the Presbyterian Church's *Te Waka Karaitiana* (1934–1960). The government's post-war magazine, *Te Ao Hou: The New World* (1952–1975), which contained some Māori-language material, is available online at National Library of New Zealand, *Te Ao Hou: The New World*, <http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/index.html> (accessed 22 December 2015).

2 Examples include Keith Sinclair, 'Maori Nationalism and the European Economy, 1850–60', *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*, 5, 18 (1952), pp.119, 120, 121, 123, 128, 129, 130, 133; R.P. Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-nineteenth Century', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* (JPS), 68, 2 (1959), pp.62, 65; R.P. Hargreaves, 'Maori Flour Mills of the Auckland Province, 1846–1860', JPS, 70, 2 (1961), p.230; Angela Ballara, 'Wahine Rangatira: Maori Women of Rank and their Role in the Women's Kotahitanga Movement of the 1890s', *New Zealand Journal of History* (NZJH), 27, 2 (1993), pp.128–9, 130, 132, 136, 138–9; Shef Rogers, 'Cusoe Among the Maori: Translation and Colonial Acculturation in Victorian New Zealand', *Book History*, 1 (1998), pp.184–5; Phil Parkinson, "'Strangers in the House": The Maori Language in Government and the Maori Language in Parliament 1865–1900', in *The Māori Language and Its Expression in New Zealand Law: Two Essays on the Use of Te Reo Māori in Government and in Parliament*, VUW Law Review Monograph, Wellington, 2001, pp.5, 26, 27, 50; Tony Ballantyne, 'Teaching Māori about Asia: Print Culture and Community Identity in Nineteenth-century New Zealand', in Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney, eds, *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2006, pp.20–33; Hazel Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry: Maori Tribal Enterprise in Early Colonial New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2006, pp.107–10, 124, 126, 128, 129, 168–9, 246, 257–9; Vincent O'Malley, 'English Law and the Māori Response: A Case Study from the Runanga System in Northland, 1861–65', JPS, 116, 1 (2007), pp.8–9, 14, 30; John C. Moorfield and Tania M. Ka'ai, 'Ngā Kupu Arotau – Eweri Tāima: Loanwords in Māori 1842–1952', *Te Kaharoa*, 2, 1 (2009), <http://www.tekaharoa.com/index.php/tekaharoa/article/view/48> (accessed 7 January 2016); Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report, Volume 1: The People and the Land* (Wai 863), Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2010, pp.150, 207, 242; Hazel Petrie, 'Decoding the Colours of Rank in Māori Society: What Might They Tell Us about Perceptions of War Captives?', JPS, 120, 3 (2011), p.231; Lachy Paterson, 'Government, Church and Māori Responses to Mākutū (Sorcery) in New Zealand in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Cultural and Social History*, 8, 2 (2011), pp.175–94; Richard Benton, Alex Frame and Paul Meredith, *Te Matapunenga: A Compendium of References to the Concepts and Institutions of Māori Customary Law*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2013, p.26; Kenton Storey, *Settler Anxiety at the Outposts of Empire: Colonial Relations, Humanitarian Discourses, and the Imperial Press*, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 2016, pp.87–101.

3 Angela Ballara, Review of *Rere Atu, Taku Manu!: Discovering History, Language & Politics in the Maori-Language Newspapers*, NZJH, 37, 2 (2003), pp.217–8; Judith Binney, 'Introduction', in Judith Binney, ed., *The Shaping of History: Essays from The New Zealand Journal of History*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2001, p.xii.

4 Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1995, p.92.

5 For more discussion on this topic, see Mamari Stephens and Phoebe Monk, 'A Language for Buying Biscuits? Māori as a Civic Language in the Modern New Zealand Parliament', *Victoria University of Wellington Legal Research Papers*, No. 14 (2012), pp.3–5; Tai Ahu, 'Te Reo Māori as a Language of New Zealand Law: The Attainment of Civic Status', LLM dissertation, Victoria University of Wellington, 2012.

6 For example, Penny Griffiths, Ross Harvey and Keith Maslen, eds, *Book & Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1997; Penny Griffiths, Peter Hughes and Alan Loney, *A Book in the Hand: Essays on the History of the Book in New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2000; Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', *NZJH*, 36, 1 (2002), pp.5–17; J.E. Traue, *Committed to Print: Selected Essays in Praise of the Common Culture of the Book*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1991; Christopher Hilliard, *The Bookmen's Dominion: Cultural Life in New Zealand, 1920–1950*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2006; Lydia Wevers, *Reading on the Farm: Victorian Fiction and the Colonial World*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2010.

7 For example, Jane McRae, 'From Māori Oral Traditions to Print', in Griffiths, Harvey and Maslen, eds, *Book & Print in New Zealand*, pp.17–40; Phil Parkinson, *The Māori Language and its Expression in New Zealand Law*; Tony Ballantyne, 'Paper, Pen, and Print: The Transformation of the Kai Tahu Knowledge Order', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 53, 2 (2011), pp.232–60; Bradford Haami, *Pūtea Whakairo: Māori and the Written Word*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2004; Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins, *Words Between Us: He Kōrero: First Māori–Pakehā Conversations on Paper*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2011.

8 For example, G.M. Meiklejohn, *Early Conflicts of Press and Government: A Story of the First New Zealand Herald and of the Foundation of Auckland*, Wilson & Horton, Auckland, 1953, pp.7, 27–30; Patrick Day, *The Making of the New Zealand Press: A Study of the Organizational and Political Concerns of New Zealand Newspaper Controllers, 1840–1880*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1990; David Hastings, *Extra! Extra!: How the People Made the News*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2013, pp.53, 56, 67; Margaret Rees-Jones, *Printer's Progress: A New Zealand Newspaper Story, 1840–2014*, Oratia Media, Auckland, 2015, pp.39–40, 98–99.

9 Phil Parkinson and Penny Griffiths, *Books in Māori 1815–1900: Ngā Tānga Reo Māori: An Annotated Bibliography: Ngā Kohikohinga me ngā Whakamārama*, Reed Publishing, Auckland, 2004. Extensive manuscript material is held by Archives New Zealand, the Alexander Turnbull Library, the Hocken Library and Auckland Museum.

10 For example, Wiremu Kaa and Te Ohore Kaa, eds, *Apirana Turupa Ngata, Kt., M.A., LL.B., D. LIT., M.P.: Āna Tuhinga i Roto i te Reo Māori*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1996; Helen Hogan, *Hikurangi to Homburg: Hikurangi ki Homburg*, Clerestory Press, Christchurch, 1997; Margaret Orbell, transl., *He Reta ki te Maunga: Letters to the Mountain: Māori Letters to the Editor, 1898–1905*, Reed Publishing, Auckland, 2002; Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa and Jane McRae, eds, *He Pitopito Kōrero nō te Perehi Māori: Readings from the Māori-Language Press*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2006.

11 Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa and Jane McRae, eds, *Rere Atu, Taku Manu!: Discovering History, Language & Politics in the Maori-Language Newspapers*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2002.

12 Lachlan Paterson, 'Ngā Tangi a te Pīpī', DipArts diss., University of Otago, 1999; Yvonne Sutherland, 'Te Reo O Te Perehi: Messages to Māori in the Wesleyan Newspaper *Te Haeata* 1859–1862', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1999; Lachlan Paterson, 'Ngā Reo o ngā Niupepa, 1855–1863', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2004; Lachy Paterson, *Colonial Discourses: Niupepa Maori 1855–1863*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 2006; Frith Driver-

Burgess, 'Kōrero Pukapuka, Talking Books: Reading in Reo Māori in the Long Nineteenth Century', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2015.

13 For example, Ross Harvey, 'David Burn and *The Maori Messenger*', *Script & Print*, 37, 2 (2013), pp.69–87; Lachy Paterson, 'Identity and Discourse: *Te Pipiwharauroa* and the South African War, 1899–1902', *South African Historical Journal*, 65, 3 (2013), pp.444–62; Lachy Paterson, 'Print Culture and the Collective Māori Consciousness', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 28, 2 (2010), pp.103–29; Lachy Paterson, 'Visual Identity in *Niuepepa Māori*: Nameplates and Title-pages, from Traditional to Aspirational', *Script & Print*, 38, 2 (2014), pp.67–79; Lachy Paterson, '*Te Hokioi* and the Legitimization of the Māori Nation', in Brendan Hokowhitu and Vijay Devadas, eds, *The Fourth Eye: Māori Media in Aotearoa New Zealand*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2013, pp.124–42.

14 Jenifer Curnow and Jane McRae, 'Kimihiā te Mea Ngāro: The Maori Language Newspapers Project', *History Now*, 7, 2 (2001), pp.19–22; Jane McRae, 'Māori newspapers and magazines – ngā niuepepa me ngā moheni', *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/maori-newspapers-and-magazines-nga-niuepepa-me-nga-moheni> (accessed 1 September 2015).

15 Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society 1695–1855*, Longman, Harlow, 2000, p.1.

16 Ross Harvey, 'Newspapers', in Griffiths, Harvey and Maslen, eds, *Book & Print in New Zealand*, p.129.

17 *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (NZPD), 1880, 36, p.57.

18 Harvey, 'Newspapers', p.129.

19 *Te Karere o Niu Tirenī* [TKNT] (1842–1846), *Te Karere Maori* [TKM] (1849–1854, 1855–1860), *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi* [TMT] (1861) and *Te Karere Maori* (1861–1863) were all published in Auckland; *Te Pihoihi Mokemoke* (1863) in Te Awamutu; *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri* [TWMA] (1863–1871) in Napier; and *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* [TWMNT] (1871–1877) in Wellington. Although *Te Karere o Poneke* (1857–1858) was produced by a Wellington-based Native Office official and attracted a small government subsidy, it was nevertheless a non-official periodical.

20 See Jenifer Curnow, 'A Brief History of the Maori-Language Newspapers', in Curnow, Hopa and McRae, eds, *Rere Atu, Taku Manu!*.

21 Ward, pp.33–34.

22 Ward, p.39.

23 Ray Grover, 'Clarke, George', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c18/clarke-george> (accessed 28 March 2016).

24 Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800–1860*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, p.123; Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, Apollos, Leicester, 1990, pp.63, 157.

25 Johnston, p.123.

26 Walter Brodie, *Remarks on the Past and Present State of New Zealand: Its Government, Capabilities and Prospects*, Whittaker, London, 1845, p.110.

27 TKM, 15 September 1867, pp.4–5.

28 See Meiklejohn; Hastings.

29 U. Kalpagam, 'Colonial Governmentality and the Public Sphere in India', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 15, 1 (2002), pp.35–58.

30 Ballantyne, 'Paper, Pen, and Print', p.244.

31 Jürgen Habermas, 'The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)', Sarah Lennox and Frank Lennox (trans), *New German Critique*, 3 (1974), pp.49, 50.

32 Settler newspapers occasionally printed Māori letters. For example, see *New Zealand*

Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser, 27 June 1843, p.3. A few newspapers, such as the *Anglo-Maori Warder* (1848) and the *Hawke's Bay Times* (1874), inserted a Māori-language column in their pages.

33 M. Meadows and S. Avison, 'Speaking and Hearing: Aboriginal Newspapers and the Public Sphere in Canada and Australia', *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 25, 3, (2000). <http://search.proquest.com/docview/219576417?accountid=14700> (accessed 28 March 2016).

34 In the English-language press this was sometimes referred to as 'The Maori Gazette'. This should not be confused with the *New Zealand Government Gazette* published from 1841, or *Ko te Kahiti o Niu Tirenī*, the Māori-language counterpart published from 1865.

35 TKNT, 1 January 1842, p.1. '... kia mohio ai te tangata maori ki nga tikanga me nga ritenga o te Pakeha kia mohio ai ano hoki te Pakeha ki nga ritenga o te tangata maori.... ka mutu hoki te noho kuare a tetahi ki tetahi.'

36 TKNT, 1 January 1842, p.1. 'Ko nga tikanga a Te Kawana —ka tahi—Ko nga ture a te Kuini—ka rua,—ko nga tikanga wakawa, me nga hara e wakawakia ai te tangata,—me te tini noa atu o nga tikanga Pakeha.'

37 TKNT, 1 January 1842, p.1. '...kia rongo ai nga tangata katoa ki ona wakaaro.'

38 TKNT, 1 January 1845, p.1. '...a ka mea atu matou i kake haere ranei koutou i te tau kua pahure nei, i heke haere ranei. Tena, kua pai haere ranei o koutou kakahu? kua pai haere ranei o koutou whare? kua nui haere ranei o koutou mahinga kai, kia whiwhi ai koutou me o koutou tamariki i te kakahu? kua mutu ranei te noho mangere i te taone? Mehemea e tika ana te korero o etahi o koutou ki enei patai, e mea koutou "nōhi nōhi ake nei ano te wahi i kake ake ai matou["]'.

39 TKNT, 1 August 1843, p.1. '...e mea ana nga pakeha katoa, he riri kino tenei, me he pono.'

40 TKNT, 1 August 1843, p.30; *New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser*, 28 July 1843, p.2.

41 TKNT, 1 August 1843, pp.32–33. '...maumau nga korero a te Kuini, i korerotia nei e koutou kia matou, ki nga tangata maori nga korero nei, kaua e patu, kaua e tahae kaua e aha, kaua e aha, he aha tenei?'

42 James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1986, p.21. Patricia Burns, *Te Rauaparaha: A New Perspective*, Penguin, Auckland, 1983, pp.234, 239–42.

43 For example, TKNT, 15 July 1845, pp.25–26.

44 TKNT, 2 June 1845, p.24; 15 July 1845, pp.26–28.

45 TKNT, 15 July 1845, p.28. 'No konei ka whakaaro te Ingarangi kia tonoa mai te Kawana ki Nūitireni, Ka mea atu a Wikitoria te Kuini ki a Kapene Wiremu Hopihona. "Haere mai Haere ki oku hoa maori ki Nui Tirenī; huihuia nga rangatira o aua motu; meinga atu ki a ratou; 'e iti rawa ana te mana e te ratou kara; meake pea ratou ngaro i nga iwi kaha ake i a ratou erangi; me whakaare ratou ka taku karu, hei kara ma ratou; ma matou tahi; kia matauria ai e te ao; kua oti a Nui Tirenī te hipoki ki nga pakau o Ingarangi; a kua taiapohina nga tangata katoa o reira a hau, e te Kuini.'"

46 Ward, p.73.

47 TKNT, 15 January 1846, p.1. 'e raruraru ana matou i te tini o nga mahi ke.'

48 G.V. Butterfield and H.R. Young, *Maori Affairs: Nga Take Maori*, Iwi Transition Agency and GP Books, Wellington, 1990, p.12.

49 For example, see *New Zealander*, 8 December 1849, p.8.

50 TKM, 12 January 1854, p.1.

51 TKM, 4 January 1849, p.3.

52 TKM, 4 January 1849, pp.1–3.

53 TKM, 19 January 1849, pp.2–4.

54 For example, TKM, 16 June 1853, p.4; 25 August 1853, p.3; 17 November 1853, 3.

55 'Ordinary Revenue: Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives', *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1854, p.18.

56 See *Books in Māori* (S3 and S5) for bibliographic details. The largest issue, of 3 August 1860, contained 79 pages.

57 For further discussion on the content of the niupepa of this period, see Paterson, *Colonial Discourses*, pp.89–136.

58 For example, TKM, 1 February 1855, p.30; 1 March 1855, pp.37–38; 31 October 1856, pp.12–13; 30 June 1857, pp.1–4; 15 October 1857, pp.4–6.

59 TKM, 30 September 1857, pp.4–5. This is a literal translation by the author. The original texts are 'Erua tonu nga tikanga, ko to te tamariki, ko to te hoariri; ehara i te tamariki, he hoa riri ia.'; 'They must either be her subjects or her enemies.'

60 'Report of the Waikato Committee', AJHR, 1860, F-3, p.1.

61 For example, TKM, 30 November 1857, pp.12–13.

62 TKM, 31 July 1858, p.4. 'Kei te whakahe ahau ki te Kingi Maori ka tu nei, ekore hoki e tika, engari, tukua ki te Kawanatanga te ritenga mo tatou inaianei, no te mea nana tatou i whakaora mai i roto i nga mate kikino o tenei ao.'

63 Lachy Paterson, 'The Kohimārama Conference of 1860: A Contextual Reading', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, NS12 (2011), pp.29–46.

64 The English name for this bilingual newspaper was *The Maori Intelligencer*, but the term 'manuhiri tūārangi' literally means 'guest from afar', someone requiring hospitality.

65 TMT, 1 January 1861, p.1. 'Ki to te Maori ritenga, ka puta mai he manuhiri ka pa te karanga, *Haere Mai! Haere mai!* Tona kitenga tonutanga atu, kua timata te karanga, a karanga tonu, kia tomo mai ano ki te kainga a tahi ano ka mutumutu. Waihoki ko tenei e whanga ana "Te Manuhiri Tuarangi" kia rangona atu te karanga a nga Iwi Maori.'

66 TMT, 15 May 1861, pp.2–5; 15 June 1861, pp.7–13.

67 TMT, 15 May 1861, pp.5–6.

68 TMT, 15 June 1861, pp.2–4. 'Kua whakaturia he mana hou, ekore rawa nei e ahei te tu tahi raua ko te piri ki a te Kuini, e tapahi nei hoki i runga i te Kawenata o Waitangi. . . . kua whakahaua mai hoki ia e Te Kuini kia pehia e ia nga hono e tika ke ana i te Ture, kia tino whakauria hoki e ia to Te Kuini mana ki Niu Tireni. . . . Ko ia tangata ko ia tangata kia rongo marire ki ta te Ture e whakatakoto ana.'

69 TMT, 1 October 1861, p.4. 'Na, ko te *Matua-tupu* tenei kua hoki mai nei i runga i ta tatou raruraru : koia matou ka mea ai kia rongo katoa nga tamariki, ahakoa Maori, ahakoa Pakeha, ki tana reo, ki ta te matua, kia tupu ai te pai, me te rangimarire i roto i a tatou.'

70 For example, TKM, 16 December 1861, pp.5–8; 15 January 1862, pp.1–3; 25 February 1862, pp.6–7; 13 March 1862, pp.1–3. See also 'Further Papers relative to Governor Sir George Grey's Plan of Native Government. Report of Officers. Section 1. Bay of Islands', AJHR, 1862, E-9, pp.15, 21, 40.

71 For example, TKM, 1 May 1862, pp.10–18.

72 See Paterson, '*Te Hokioi* and the Legitimization of the Māori Nation'.

73 The title derives from Psalm 102, 7, 'a sparrow alone upon the house top', reflecting Gorst's isolated position within a hostile environment.

74 See Lachy Paterson, 'A Sparrow Alone Upon the House Top: The *Te Pihoihoi* Press', in Annabel Cooper, Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla, eds, *The Lives of Colonial Objects*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2015, pp.117–21.

75 TKM, 1 June 1863, pp.1–4; 28 September 1863, pp.11–14.

76 TKM, 28 September 1863, pp.1–11.

77 'Return of the Expenditure for Native Purposes, under "Native Purposes Appropriation Act, 1862"', AJHR, 1863, E-8, p.1.

78 *Ko te Kahiti o Niu Tireni* ran from 1865 to 1931. See Parkinson & Griffith, *Books in Māori*, S17.

79 Ward, pp.93–94, 262; James Cowan, *Sir Donald McLean: The Story of a New Zealand Statesman*, A.H and A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1940, pp.vii–viii, 138–41.

80 Guy H. Scholefield, *New Zealand Parliamentary Record 1840–1949*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1950, pp.198, 201.

81 TWMA, 13 June 1863, p.1. 'I mua ai, taea noatia mai tenei takiwa, pai tonu te rongo o te Pakeha raua ko te Maori i tenei kainga. He mea noa ia o raua he. Mama noa ake nga hau i ngarungaru ai a runga o te wai i etahi wahi. Tena ko te tino marangai e hapai haere ana i te mate, i te he ko tena i kore e tapahi noa i te Rangimarietanga o ta tatou noho—a, ekore tonu ano hoki ia—ake atu nei.'

82 Belich, pp.203–4, 258–88.

83 TWMA, 7 September 1865, p.33. 'Muri iho ka puta tenei mahi porewarewa te Hau Hau; ka whakanohioa ona ritenga ki runga ki te papa atua kia arongia ai e te tangata. Na, ko nga tangata kuare katoa i rere ki runga ki tenei mahi, ko nga tangata ware, ko nga ngakau kohuru—ko nga iwi whakaaro totika ki hai i tahuri, kua kitea hoki te kino o roto.'

84 'Nominal Return of all Officers in the Employ of the Government: Their Duties, Salaries, Location and Dates of Employment', AJHR, 1866, D-3, p.18.

85 Scholefield, pp.34–36.

86 See M.P.K. Sorrenson, 'A History of Maori Representation in Parliament', (Appendix B) in *Report of the Royal Commission on the Electoral System: 'Towards a Better Democracy'*, New Zealand (December 1986). In the 1871 election, about 50,000 Māori had four representatives, but about 250,000 Pākehā had 74.

87 AJHR, 1872, F-3a, p.32; 1873, G-1, pp.4, 18; 1874, G-2a, p.3; 1876, G-1, pp.29, 34.

88 'Public Accounts of the Government of New Zealand, for the Year 1875–76', AJHR, 1877, B-1, p.13. An estimate was presented to Parliament for the niupepa's costs between 19 December 1876 and 17 July 1877. In those seven months, it was calculated that costs for salaries, paper composition, printing and folding came to £294/2/1, during which time 16 issues were published. See 'Cost of the Publication of "Waka Maori" (Return Showing the)', AJHR, 1877, G-10, p.1.

89 NZPD, 1875, 19, p.156.

90 'Hawkes Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission (Report of)', AJHR, 1873, G-7, p.6.

91 Matthew Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1994, pp.99–102.

92 Lyn Waymouth, 'Parliamentary Representation for Maori: Debate and Ideology in *Te Wananga* and *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* 1974–8' in Curnow, Hopa and McRae, eds, *Rere Atu, Taku Manu!*, pp.153–73.

93 TWMNT, 11 July 1876, p.168; 8 August 1876, p.192.

94 TWMNT, 8 August 1876, p.192. 'Taku kupu ki nga apiha a te Kawanatanga, kauaka koutou e haere i runga i te tono a taua Pakeha, na te mea ko tana mahi he tautohe ki te Kawanatanga kia kore matou, nga Maori, e pirangi atu.'

95 *Te Wananga* [TW], 26 August 1876, pp.314–5. '...na Ngatihokohe ma...'

96 TW, 26 August 1876, pp.319–20; 21 October 1876, p.387.

97 TW, 23 September 1876, pp.350–2.

98 TW, 6 July 1878, pp.341–2; 12 October 1897, p.502; TWMNT, 30 October 1878, p.93.

99 *Taranaki Herald*, 26 March 1903, p.5; *Colonist*, 7 October 1912, p.8.

100 *Evening Post* [EP], 27 August 1877, p.2.

101 'Evidence Taken in Napier before Commissioner George Edward Sainsbury, Esquire, Commissioner Appointed by the Supreme Court for the Purpose', *Russell v. Grindell & Dinsbury Libel Case*, pp.1–9, MA24 1/3, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

102 *Auckland Star*, 24 July 1877, p.3.

103 AJHR, 1880, H-12; 1895, H-35, p.1.

104 TW, 22 September 1877, p.374. See also EP, 18 September 1877, p.2; Mary Boyd, 'Russell, Henry Robert', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/mi/biographies/2r32/russell-henry-robert> (accessed 7 March 2014).

105 For example, EP, 28 October 1876, p.2.

106 TWMNT, 7 November 1876, p.271. 'Kia tupato rawa ki te hunga ako he ia a koutou; kia rongo hoki ki nga ture o te motu.'

107 TWMNT, 19 December 1876, p.295.

108 TWMNT, 19 December 1876, pp.295–7.

109 TW, 13 January 1877, pp.14–15. 'Otia, e mau ana ano nga kupu nei i taua "Waka" hou – "He mea ta, a na te mana o te Kawanatanga o Nui Tireni i mahia ai." A he mea ta e te kai ta Nupepa a te Kawanatanga. A he tino whakahe taua mahi i nga kupu i kiia e te Paremata.'

110 EP, 3 August 1877, p.2.

111 EP, 26 September 1877, p.2.

112 EP, 29 September 1877, p.2.

113 It was not until 1952 that the government again published material for entertainment and edification of Māori in the form of the Department of Maori Affairs monthly *Te Ao Hou: The New World*. See National Library of New Zealand, *Te Ao Hou*. <http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/index.html>.

114 TWMNT was revived once more in 1884 in Gisborne, under the name *Te Waka Maori o Aotearoa*. It was the Ngāti Porou chief Paratene Ngata who initiated this venture, which ran fortnightly or monthly for just 17 issues. See 'Kupu Whakataki: *Te Waka Māori o Aotearoa* 1884', *Niupepa: Māori newspapers*. <http://www.nzdl.org/>

115 NZPD, 1880, 36, p.57.

116 'Native Schools, Reports of Inspectors', AJHR, 1862, E-4, p.35.

117 'Papers Relative to Native Schools', AJHR, 1867, A-3, p.2.

118 For discussion on the Native Schools system, see Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilizing Mission?: Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native Schools System*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2001.