Invading the Waikato:

A POSTCOLONIAL RE-VIEW

Figure 1: Daniel Manders Beere, 'Scene near Whangamarino bridge', 1866.

Source: Daniel Manders Beere, Negatives of New Zealand and Australia, 1/2-096128-G, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), Wellington.

RATHER THAN merely being seen as depictions of place, images can be interpreted as actual sites of colonization, both in their production and as artefacts. The 1866 photograph 'Scene near Whangamarino bridge', for instance, taken by surveyor and photographer Daniel Manders Beere (see figure 1), features a range of powerful colonizing forces and accessories: the 'male' gaze, the gun and agricultural implements, and the photographic representation itself.[1] This apparently peaceful image, I shall argue, is an example of the ways in which visual representations of landscape contributed to the discursive invasion of the Waikato by Europeans in the nineteenth century.[2] The man pictured, the photographer's brother, is seen to survey the landscape with his southward gaze. The fence, right, and the title suggest the location was not completely removed from European 'civilization'. In fact, nearby were a lodge and a flaxmill — these were also photographed by Beere. Yet, in this image, the photographer has chosen to emphasize the wilder, untamed aspect of this landscape. Invading the edge of the image is a single figure, gun sloped across his shoulder in military manner, in his right hand what appears to be a short canoe paddle held like a walking stick. Leaning against the fence are two longer rowing oars, and close at hand is a wheelbarrow with a spade or similar implement. A large tin lies apparently casually discarded in the foreground. The Waikato River divides the image, and its seemingly calm waters reflect a scrub-covered island and far bank which, in turn, are bounded by the low hill country to the west in the background.

Images such as 'Scene near Whangamarino bridge' were important weapons in the British campaign for the control of the meaning of the Waikato.[3] The British military invasion in 1863–64 was a brief, though important, part of the longer-lasting and further-reaching discursive invasion — the colonization of the Waikato did not begin and end with the military action. Europeans claimed the right to define the Waikato well before the first shots of the military campaign were fired in 1863. Gradually, facilitated by the military victory but not completed by it, Europeans were able to control the discursive meaning accorded to the area. Not only was the land brought under European political and economic control, but the dominant cultural conceptions of land, and the ways in which it was valued, owned and used, became European too. The intrusion of European people into Waikato spaces was motivated by ideological, as well as practical, considerations. The Waikato was re-constructed and, in some ways, re-placed in the process.

'Colonization', according to Peter Gibbons, 'is not just an early morning fog that dissipates mid-morning as the bright sun of national identity comes out'.[4] When he wrote that evocative phrase, Gibbons was perhaps sitting in his office at the University of Waikato on a wintry morning. The Waikato region is frequently shrouded in fog in winter months, and often its history is similarly obscured. In this article, I aim to shed some light on the discursive practices associated with the colonization of the Waikato over the course of the nineteenth century, as well as the relationship between this process and the construction and application of identities. It is worth noting that published general histories of New Zealand, if they mention the Waikato at all, tend to imply that colonization was quickly achieved thanks to the 'decisive' military victory of the British Army in 1863–64 and the subsequent raupatu (confiscation) which enabled heroic pioneers to make prosperous dairy farms from the bush and swamp. This is too often subsumed into a story of national development which underplays the diversity of specific local experiences and events. However, by using a postcolonial perspective and drawing on a spatial history approach, I intend to peel away some of the layers of this dominant narrative of linear progress to offer an alternative interpretation of the history of the Waikato.

This re-view of the invasion(s) of the Waikato relies on a re-reading of evidence using methods that remain controversial and that, for some historians, fall far short of offering 'proof' in a conventional sense. While scholars across many disciplines are awake to the possibilities of photographs and maps as rich repositories of attitudes and ideologies that can underpin their pictorial or aesthetic content, there are important limits to the weight that can be placed on the interpretation of individual images. Complicating this still further is the fact that the surviving images form a fragmentary record and the circumstances of their retention within collections or archives generate questions as to their representativeness. All such archives are constructed according to the predilections of collectors, often remote in time and place from the creation of the images, a 'corpus of selective forgettings and collections'.[5] According to Joan Schwartz and Terry Cook, archives are not 'passive storehouses of old stuff' and the decisions about what is retained, and what is ignored or rejected, represent 'enormous power over memory and identity'.[6] As Tony Ballantyne has reminded us too, 'archives of empire' have themselves come

to be seen as important sites in the production of colonial knowledge and the assertion of colonial control.[7]

Focusing on the images themselves, as a collection and individually, I argue that they described the Waikato within a European frame of reference and they acted to justify colonization as well as to record progress towards this goal. Both cartography and photography were seen as scientific practices, and were therefore considered objective and reliable.[8] But, far from being benign and impartial descriptions of the 'truth', these images operate as value-laden constructions and powerful transmitters of ideology. Rather than presenting actual places and events, they represent constructions based on European priorities, values and perceptions. For this reason, rather than merely being seen as depictions of place, these images can be interpreted as actual sites of colonization, both in their production and as artefacts.

In adopting a spatial history approach, my goal here is to challenge the dominance of chronology as the organizing structure of traditional accounts of the colonization of the Waikato. This approach does not completely reject the importance of change over time but, rather, it seeks to downplay the potentially teleological or deterministic nature of what might be called the orthodox version. The narrative of invasion in the Waikato typically begins with General Cameron's crossing of the Mangatāwhiri Stream on 13 July 1863 and ends with the collapse of the heroic resistance of 'Rewi's Last Stand' at Ōrakau in early April 1864.[9] In fact, the discursive invasion of the Waikato began well before any military operations and continued long after the guns fell silent. Furthermore, the end of the Waikato War and subsequent raupatu did not immediately change the Waikato from a Māori space into a Pākehā one, even though it did accelerate and facilitate this process.

But first, what is spatial history and what does it have to offer historians? Spatial history is essentially the history of intentions. In focusing on the spatial context of decisions and actions of people in the past, a spatial history methodology emphasizes language as the prime mediator of historical experience. It therefore seeks to provide an alternative lens through which to re-view historical action. This re-vision challenges, in particular, traditional narratives of the colonialist enterprise. By picking apart the cause and effect dynamic, it seeks to avoid the conclusion that the consequences of historical decisions and intentions were necessarily inevitable or even foreseen. Spatial history was a term first coined by Australian scholar Paul Carter in 1987. Carter criticized traditional historical practices for focusing on the outcomes of historical action at the expense of a focus on intentions. This imperial history, according to Carter, reduced space to a stage on which historical evidence was then selected and historical action shaped by the historian into a progressive narrative, in order to emphasize the emergence of order from chaos. 'The governor erects a tent here rather than there,' Carter pointed out, 'the soldier blazes a trail in that direction rather than this: but, rather than focus on the *intentional* world of historical individuals, the world of active, spatial choices, empirical history of this kind has as its focus facts which, in a sense, come after the event. The primary object is not to understand or to interpret: it is to legitimate.'[10]

Carter's criticisms of historians are much less valid now than when they were first articulated in the late 1980s, and even then his views were far from universally accepted. Perhaps one of the most extreme reactions to Carter's spatial history approach came from fellow Australian Keith Windschuttle, who accused Carter (and other 'literary critics' and 'social theorists') of 'killing' history.[11] Windschuttle spoke for many when he lamented that an acceptance of the postmodern position which called into question such staples of history as 'objectivity', 'facts', and even 'truth', left no place at all for traditional history. Thankfully, however, the rumours of history's death have been greatly exaggerated and many historians have welcomed the 'greater sophistication in interpreting texts and a heightened awareness of the cultural significance of historical writing' that is encouraged by engagement with social theory.[12] Indeed, it is now common practice for historians to consciously acknowledge their particular subjectivities, or 'angles of vision', and to analyse new kinds of evidence or re-examine existing sources, through a theoretically inflected lens.[13] As Jennifer Tucker has written, 'the status of photographs as keystones of historical explanation, and the paths through which photographs acquire historical meaning and value, have become topics of urgent intellectual and cultural interest around the world'.[14] Far from denying the centrality of evidence to the craft of the historian, these revisionist approaches add to the range of what can be considered trustworthy and reliable historical sources. At the same time, they alert us to the possibilities and pitfalls of all historical sources.

Nonetheless, a potential hazard faced by historians of empire is that, in an attempt to explain the processes of colonization, we may in fact serve (inadvertently) to reinforce and legitimate those same processes. Spatial history, as a potential means of avoiding such pitfalls, is therefore self-consciously postcolonial. An inherent and serious weakness of this approach is that, in spite of the fact that it recognizes that the indigenous voice is absent from the colonialist discourse, or perhaps at best represented as a kind of ghostly 'other', it cannot speak for the colonized or even begin to describe their experiences of colonization. Emerging, as it does, from the same Western intellectual and epistemological tradition as the colonists, there is a danger that it is undermined by the same factors that it seeks to expose and critique. The term 'postcolonial' is also perhaps unhelpful as it is in some ways misleading. Although it appears to refer to a time after colonization has finished, it actually represents and values a perspective that highlights the *ongoing* vestiges, effects and practices of colonization.

While a spatial history postcolonial method could be applied to a range of colonial contexts, it is precisely because Waikato was a complex frontier that it lends itself strongly to such an approach. As James Belich has written, 'New Zealand race relations in the nineteenth century can be understood as the growth, contraction, and interaction of two zones … geographical areas predominantly controlled by one people or the other'.[15] Frontiers were the borders between the zones and became the fault lines of colonization. According to European modes of thinking, frontiers were not merely places but temporary stages in the 'civilization' of 'savage' lands. The dynamics of colonization dictated that the frontier should be continually pushed out, but the emergence of the Kīngitanga threatened to bring to an end the process by which the Māori zone was being slowly but surely eroded.

The possibility emerged that the Waikato frontier would become permanent and that Māori could (and would) control the Waikato indefinitely. This, for Europeans, was intolerable and therefore required the ratcheting up of invasion.

One of the ways in which the frontier could be tamed was by imposing names. According to Carter, 'by the act of place-naming, space is transformed symbolically into a place, that is, a space with history'.[16] Through the act of naming, colonists claimed for themselves the right to describe and define a place in and on their own terms. The importance of these symbolic acts has also been explored in the New Zealand context by Giselle Byrnes.[17] Both Carter and Byrnes focus on the incursions into the interior by early explorers, travellers and surveyors where they 'discovered' new lands, placing them within a European frame of reference for the first time. Deliberately and consciously ignoring the indigenous presence was more difficult in densely populated regions such as the Waikato, and there were therefore serious limits to the colonists' capacity to control the process in this region. As Byrnes wrote, 'the British came to possess New Zealand not only by proclamation, purchase, conflict and confiscation, but also by controlling its interpretation'.[18] In addition, the campaign for control over the interpretation of the Waikato was drawn out, dynamic and contested. In 'naming and claiming' the region, colonists did not have a remotely blank canvas or a clear field.[19] In spite of their best intentions, Waikato did not become a European space at the stroke of a pen, and their claims required remaking and reinforcing in response to Māori resistance and initiatives.

I argue that, as precursors and allies of the resulting military campaign, cartographic and photographic representations of Waikato landscapes were weapons in the 'literature of invasion'.[20] In this article, I both endorse Gibbons's contention that the 'literature of invasion' may be described as 'the discursive explanation and legitimation of the central act of violence, the insertion of an alien people and polity into an already inhabited land', and I also apply it to the colonization of the Waikato.[21] In short, the textualization of the Waikato was a fundamental part of the larger process by which Europeans re-imagined and constructed the region. Gibbons claims that written texts were 'a sharp instrument of colonization'. He suggests that '[w]riting and printing were crucial technologies in maintaining and extending the power of settler society over the indigenous inhabitants'.[22] It is possible, then, that maps and photographs were even sharper instruments. Both have had a reputation for accuracy and objectivity that has masked their power to persuade and even warp meaning. Uncritical assumptions of scientific authority have potentially made them even more potent than other texts which might be read more cautiously. But neither maps nor photographs are simply benign images of objective reality. The discursive power of both mediums as tools of colonization has been illuminated by scholars such as Eleanor Hight and Gary Sampson, who argued that 'photographs operate as complex discursive objects of colonial power and culture',[23] and J.B. Harley, who claimed that '[a]s much as guns and warships, maps have been the weapons of imperialism'.[24]

Deconstructive interpretations of such images can also shed light on the cultural context of their production, as well as the overt and tacit intentions of their creators. Visual sources do not merely contain views but, more significantly, *viewpoints*. The language of positionality is full of visual metaphors, like 'point of

view', 'perspective' and 'angle', which serve to remind us of the power of images to construct, rather than simply reflect, reality. Europeans' view of the world was filtered through a distinctive cultural lens which enabled them to make meaning of the unfamiliar. This 'way of seeing', or 'gaze', was not only a way of understanding the world, but also a means of claiming and controlling it. According to Geraldine Murphy, recognition of 'the male/colonizing gaze is valuable because it insistently foregrounds the power relations of points of view'.[25] The Europeans' 'colonizing gaze' demanded and justified, in their minds, the appropriation and reconfiguration of indigenous space according to European priorities. The 'scientific gaze' claimed authority through assumptions of objectivity and empirical rigour. The authority of photographs and maps benefited, then, from their association with scientific methods and processes, and they were the products as well as the distributors of the European 'gaze'.

At the same time as these images were bringing Europe to the Waikato, they could also transport the Waikato to Europe. By depicting the region using common imagery, symbolism and idioms, images of exotic locations such as the Waikato could bring these places within an imperial frame of reference.[26] For those who read these images within this same European cultural framework, the implicit and explicit meanings of their creators are likely to have been clear. Photographers and cartographers could translate the exotic for European consumption in terms that they could readily identify with. For Byrnes, these representations 'made the new place … available for European scrutiny and speculation'.[27] They could transcend space to allow 'armchair travellers' to experience a kind of vicarious participation in colonization as they 'transformed the relationship of viewer to place from a physical experience to a mental exercise'.[28] Particular constructions of space thus became normalized and universalized. Consumers of these images — whether actually in the Waikato or elsewhere in the empire — could share a common sense of place and identity. The 'geographic imagination' of people, who may in fact have been physically remote from each other, could therefore be connected.

The four images analysed here have been selected because they demonstrate particular features which are common across a range of related contemporary examples. It is also important to note that this article is derived from a wider project in which a much greater number of images have been examined in order to provide a more comprehensive context in a way that is simply not possible here. For example, the picture above, 'Scene near Whangamarino bridge', is one of more than 140 images (negatives and prints) by Beere held at the Alexander Turnbull Library and available for viewing on the website portal Timeframes.[29] Of these, approximately 40 are of Waikato subjects, over half of them dated between 1863 and 1869.

Although by 1866, when 'Scene near Whangamarino Bridge' was made, the military invasion was complete and the imposition of European political dominance over the region (at least as far south as the Puniu River) had been achieved, the landscape was proving more difficult, from a European point of view, to bring under control. What had already changed — and what this photograph exemplifies — was that it was now Europeans who claimed the right to make the decisions about the future direction and development of the region. Tangata whenua did not

simply abandon the field, but the military victory confirmed in European minds the inevitability of progress in a way they viewed as natural.

Bearing in mind that the technological processes of constructing such pictures involved a time-consuming set up and a slow shutter speed, it is highly likely that such images were not spontaneous and casual, but carefully planned and arranged. The intentions of the photographer are, therefore, almost certainly explicit in the image itself. This was not an accidental or candid shot; it was a carefully and painstakingly composed tableau. By assembling the elements in this way, both the photographer and the subject have located themselves on the frontier of European expansion with an active role to play. Taming both 'nature' and 'natives' was an essential part of the colonizing process that led to the construction of European Waikato. Military and agricultural invasions played their parts in the displacement of indigenous people and landscapes and their replacement with European alternatives.

Despite the fact that a Māori name has been given to the place represented in the image, it was not used in a way that takes account of its meaning(s) for the indigenous inhabitants of the region. 'Whangamarino' refers to a large area of wetland adjacent to the eastern bank of the Waikato River. The wetland is drained by a river, also called Whangamarino, which drains into the Waikato River near the point where the photograph was taken. Whangamarino can be rendered in English as 'calm expanse of water', but the words in translation provide a merely superficial gloss on the indigenous name.[30] For Māori, Whangamarino was a large and fecund source of food such as eels and birds, and would therefore no doubt have had positive associations. From the European point of view, however, swamps like Whangamarino were impediments to progressive development. A contemporary commentator gave this rueful description of the Whangamarino 'creek': 'Were it not for the great number of stakes driven across it at intervals of about 300 yards by the natives, for the purpose of extending fishing nets, it would be a first-rate navigable river for such steamers as the "Avon".'[31] Re-imagined in this way, 'Whangamarino' was co-opted by the colonizers and shorn of its indigenous history and meaning. The place was not renamed so much as the name was re-placed. This act of appropriation allowed the newcomers to construct a local history which enabled them to identify as locals. Furthermore, this Waikato location also entered the lexicon of European imperialism. The Europeans controlled, or at least claimed jurisdiction over, the physical as well as discursive spaces, and photographs like this one proclaimed their successful incursion.

The second photograph considered here, 'Deviation on the road to Waikato, made by the Royal Artillery, through Williamson's clearing' (ca. 1863), is one of many such images that are directly associated with the British military invasion of the Waikato in the 1860s, quite literally placing it within the oeuvre of the 'literature of invasion'.[32] This image captures a stage in the construction of the Great South Road from Drury to Pokeno at some point during 1862 or 1863 and was taken by William Temple, an Assistant Surgeon in the Royal Artillery Regiment of the British Army who took a number of photographs associated with the preparation for, and execution of, the military invasion. Williamson's Clearing, now the site of Bombay township, was the location of one of five redoubts on the road built to protect the

line of supply to the rear of Cameron's troops as they prepared to advance south across the Mangatāwhiri Stream. The widening of the road and the clearing of bush from its edges was made necessary by the success of Kingite raiding parties which harassed and disrupted the British supply and reinforcement columns.[33]

Figure 2: William Temple, 'Deviation on the road to Waikato, made by the Royal Artillery, through Williamson's clearing', ca 1863.

Source: Urquhart Album, PA1-q-250-48, ATL.

A number of other Temple images similarly record the progress of the road's construction and improvement. Others depict encampments and related infrastructure, while others are of small groups, including some of Māori subjects. 'Action photography' was, after all, still a genre for the future and photographers of Temple's generation had to make the most of static scenes.[34] Technical limitations imposed slow shutter speeds and therefore movement was blurred, to the point where human and other moving subjects were sometimes rendered completely invisible. The subjects of photographs, like these road-builders, were required to stop work in order to complete a successful photographic representation of their efforts. The bustle and strain of their activities have, of necessity, become static and far less dynamic than the reality of their situation. The location of the photographs, in well-lit clearings and open fields rather than within the closed and dark bush, may also have been mainly due to practical as opposed to aesthetic considerations.

Yet the location depicted here was on the margins of territory controlled by Europeans, and the clearings, roads and bridges had a symbolic importance for the colonists. The creation of farms from a primeval wilderness was driven by ideological as well as economic imperatives, and the construction of roads and bridges served a military purpose while also representing progress in a more general sense. The inscription below the image pointed out the 'new bridge' and the 'dead rimu (red pine tree)' so as to highlight the march of 'civilization' and the conquest of 'savage' nature. The location has been 'captured' and re-configured for European audiences by its framing and composition to claim control over and justify the appropriation of what, to them, was still 'alien' space. This image, and others like it, 'confirmed the progress of Western civilization and proclaimed cultural, technological, industrial and military superiority'.[35]

The intention of the photographer, with the co-operation of the subjects of the image, was clearly to record the activities of the soldier road-builders, as well as the progress of the object of their work. As such, it exemplifies a number of emerging discourses of photographic representation. The military photograph became an important genre of early photographic practice. Regiments like the Royal Engineers and the Royal Artillery, Temple's unit, were early adopters of the new technology.[36] This was not yet 'war photography' as it was to become, owing to the fact that the technology was not suited to the dynamic action of the battlefield. Nevertheless, images of the Crimean War and the American Civil War, for example, became very well known during the period. Neatly arranged rows of British tents differed little whether in Sebastopol or Drury — yet in each of these locations, static army encampments were deemed worthy of photographic representation.[37]

In the case of this image (and Temple's photography more generally) the non-battlefield activities of soldiers were recorded and used to demonstrate a positive side of military action. The horrors of war were absent from direct representation in these images. Viewers could vicariously take part in the victory in a way that was 'safe, culturally sanitized and physically insulated',[38] without being subjected to actual (by being there) or even imaginary (by viewing a more graphic image) discomfort. The positive and progressive intent of the campaign, and more generally colonization itself, was in this way re-presented and re-communicated.

Despite the positive intentions of the photographer and the possibility that these may have been plainly conveyed to a like-minded colonial and imperial audience, it is clear that the successful completion of the project depicted was still some way in the future. Some viewers may have focused their attention on the obstacles shown and the work as yet uncompleted. But, imperfect as it is, Temple's image is a European construct privileging European endeavour in a way that made it clear to viewers that events were moving in the right direction. The title indicates that, although the physical location depicted in the image does not lie within any 'official' modern boundaries of Waikato, the Waikato is a subject of the photograph. 'Road to Waikato' indicated not only the destination of the troops but also the direction of colonial intention more generally.

In a similar way, maps were also used as tools of invasion in both a literal and metaphorical sense. The Waikato became a place of military action after it was invaded by the British Army in 1863, and maps were used to directly promote this

process. But even prior to this event, the Waikato was already a contested location. Some years earlier, Europeans had begun to visualize the region in terms of its economic potential, as seen from their own cultural perspective. The control over the physical resources of the Waikato required the conquest of its spaces, and these were both imagined and predicted before physical and political authority was achieved. Maps provided powerful justification for the invasions, both military and cultural, of the Waikato.

Figure 3: 'A map of the North Island of New Zealand shewing native and European territory', 1861.

Auckland City Libraries, NZ Map Number 2562.

Charles Heaphy, chief surveyor (and later Victoria Cross awardee for his action at Waiari during the Waikato War), produced the map shown in figure 3 in March 1861, just as the first Taranaki War was ending in stalemate with a truce signed at Te Arei on 19 March. The information recorded on this map, and its interpretation by Heaphy, served to provide a justification for the subsequent military invasion of the Waikato. This map clearly demarcated 'Native and European territory' in the North Island, quoting reference to 'Official Maps of the Native Land Purchase Department and elsewhere'. Native territory is not coloured; European lands are shaded red. The red areas were predominantly located around and to the north of Auckland, Southern Hawke's Bay and Wellington. A third category marked in green indicated 'Districts that have fed the war'. Another important feature was the inclusion of figures indicating the 'numbers of the Maoris [sic] in each locality'.[39]

Ignoring the actual differences in the involvement of Waikato tribes in the fighting in Taranaki, the whole region south of Ngāruawāhia was implicated by its green shading. The inference was that the green areas were preventing the extension of the regions marked in red. It is surely no coincidence that Heaphy chose the British Empire red to designate European lands.

Heaphy used this map to illustrate an 1864 memorandum justifying the British invasion. He refuted the assertion that the wars had been caused by 'apprehension on the part of the Natives of the white people dispossessing them of their lands, and by the existence of an actual pressure arising out of the spread of colonization'.[40] He concluded that, as no (or very little) land had been alienated within the 'rebel' territory, Māori in those districts could not have been 'apprehensive'. Heaphy's assertion reflected his view that Māori were the aggressors in the 'Land Wars', a perspective reinforced by government documents referring to the war as 'Native insurrection' or 'rebellion'.[41] Grey justified the military invasion of the Waikato on the pretext that he was pre-empting a planned Māori attack on Auckland. However, it is generally accepted now that Waikato Māori were fighting a defensive war in 1863–64 and that the British Army's advance and attack had little to do with quelling a Māori uprising.[42]

Heaphy's map actually provides good support for Belich's contention that the military invasion of the Waikato was designed to crush the Kīngitanga because it had become too prominent a symbol of ongoing Māori independence.[43] As a result of the Treaty of Waitangi and subsequent gubernatorial declarations, all of New Zealand had become, in British eyes, part of the British Empire and subject to the sovereign authority of Britain. That this sovereignty was not able to be exercised in a substantive sense over Māori districts was a source of constant frustration for the early settler governments and the governors alike. Belich has suggested that this unwelcome state of affairs was tolerated in the 1840s and 1850s for two reasons. Firstly, events like the Wairau incident and the Northern War showed the British that they lacked the military capability to impose their authority on Māori.[44] The second factor encouraging British patience was the fact that the situation was gradually changing through land alienation. Land owned and occupied by Pākehā was effectively British territory, whereas Māori areas were, in practical terms, independent. While land sales were happening, the British 'zone' was expanding at the expense of the Māori 'zone'. The Māori recognition of these implications was a key factor in the decision to create the Kīngitanga, as land placed under the mana of the King could be protected from alienation. To the British, this innovation made Māori independence look rather too prominent and permanent and therefore intolerable.[45]

Heaphy's position as chief surveyor and his reference to 'Official Maps' give authority to the map. The precisely bordered areas shaded red (European lands) reinforce the reputation for scientific accuracy ascribed to cartographic measurement and representation. The fact that the European lands are so precisely defined and represented adds to the assertion of the advance of civilization. Native lands, including the 'Districts that have fed the war', are yet to be demarcated in this careful and explicit way. The border of the green area is hazy and indistinct, while the unshaded areas are represented as empty and undefined. Indigenous boundaries and ways of organizing and valuing land have been ignored or dismissed, further

emphasizing the difference between 'civilized' European territory and Native 'savage' lands. By contrasting these features, Heaphy has created a map which can be read as a sinister threat to Māori cultural and political independence.

While the border of the green shaded area is not a hard line, it may have been assumed by contemporary map readers that the area within it had been equally objectively classified. This is clearly not the case. The green districts were not united in their attitude to the fighting in Taranaki when the map was dated — that is, July 1861. For example, while both Ngāti Haua and Ngāti Maniapoto had sent contingents to support Wīremu Kīngi at Waitara, to paint their respective leaders, Wīremu Tamihana and Rewi Maniapoto, the same shade is to trivialize the complex rivalry between these pillars of the Kīngitanga. Furthermore, Heaphy includes the King's headquarters at Ngāruawāhia (not named but located at the confluence of the Waikato and Waipā rivers, at the northernmost point of the green shaded area) but not the King's tribal lands to the north. To have done so would have brought the red of the settlement of Auckland and the green of the 'rebels' into much closer proximity. This would have undermined his assertion that the rebellious Māori had little cause to fear the direct encroachment of colonization and the resulting loss of land and independence.

Heaphy tellingly equated land ownership and territory, implicitly identifying the mechanism by which Māori were losing their independence, a situation that resulted in the formation of the Kīngitanga in the first place. His appeal to 'official' sources and the 'scientific' nature of cartographic representation lent weight to his identification of the impediment to legitimate, in his eyes, extension of British control over the Waikato. He simultaneously conflated and underestimated the extent of opposition to these aims. But in so doing he mapped an enemy and provided a context for invasion.
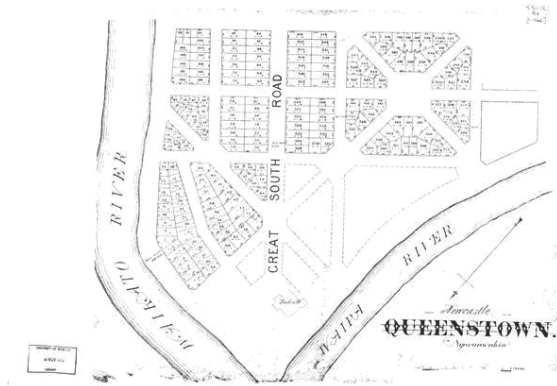

Figure 4: 'Newcastle ~~QUEENSTOWN~~ (Ngaruawahia)', 1864.

Source: Waikato University Map Library. Call Number: 530.1221 BH 1964, Description: Print Size 61 x 43 cm [24 x 17 inches]

In July 1864, not long after the defeat of Bay of Plenty Kingite supporters at Te Ranga, the King's capital, Ngāruawāhia, was offered for sale by the government.

Not only was this a hasty attempt to recoup some war expenses, it was also a blatant assertion of the British victory on the ground. The map, 'Newcastle ~~QUEENSTOWN~~ (Ngaruawahia)', labelled here as figure 4, is evidence that it was necessary to extend the discursive invasion of the Waikato even after the military victory was officially complete. The map depicts the survey of Ngāruawāhia (renamed Queenstown) and its division into 401 lots with a sale price of £100 per acre.[46] Potential buyers may have been tempted by the advantages of the new town's location, nestled in the fork of the two major river arteries of the region. In addition, the Great South Road (150 feet wide) suggested a connection to the north to the capital, Auckland. This would have been a significant advantage for prospective settlers for both economic and security reasons at a time when the war was not yet concluded. The redoubt featured would have been reassuring for the same reason.

The name initially given to the new settlement, 'Queenstown', can hardly have been more pointed in its message that the Māori King had been displaced by the British Queen. The question of the name provoked excited debate in the columns of the *Daily Southern Cross* in July and August 1864, in the course of which it was clear that one correspondent understood clearly that applying the name Queenstown asserted 'the Queen ha[d] now possession of what was formerly the Maori King's town'.[47] The same writer also bemoaned the use of the name Cambridge: 'Is it on the river Cam? or is it a seat of learning? or is it more euphonious than Pukerimu? No! decidedly not! to all three questions.'[48] This was countered by another correspondent who, referencing Greek, Roman Gothic, Celtic, Saxon and Norman precedents, claimed that '[a]s, then, Maori savage courage has had to succumb to British civilized valour, so let Ngaruawahia give place to Queenstown'.[49] While each writer had markedly different views on the appropriate system for applying names within the newly conquered territory, neither considered the power to impose names to be in question. Even the 'Lover of Maori Names' did not invoke Maori perspectives on the background and meaning of Ngāruawāhia (or Pukerimu), even though he acknowledged that the replacement of Maori names by those of European origin would lead to, for Maori, a suspicion that 'we wish to obliterate every evidence of the country having ever belonged to them or their fathers'. For others, this was precisely the point.

The seeming haste with which the colonial government moved to promote the sale of land in the conquered territory was expedient for political as well as economic reasons. The speedy confiscation, survey and auction of lands such as those represented on this map, were justified by the imperative of recouping the considerable cost of waging war. Māori who had resisted the imposition of British control were obliged to relinquish the very resource which had hitherto enabled them to exercise political and economic independence. Land which was taken was then sold to Pākehā settlers with the effect — similar to the Irish experience some hundreds of years earlier — of promoting the occupation, pacification and civilization of the region. The Kīngitanga was deprived of its political and economic strength and government expenses were defrayed at the same time. This was not the first, or indeed the last, time that a system of 'loser pays' was used with considerable effect.

Ngāruawāhia had the dual advantages of its location at the confluence of the Waikato and Waipā rivers, and of being the former capital of the Māori King, now exiled to the 'King Country'. The British victory over Kingite forces in the Waikato paved the way for the extension of roads and, in time, the railway into the region. In 1864, however, and for some considerable time after, the region's rivers remained the principal transport routes, especially towards Auckland in the north. The Waipā was then equally as important as the larger Waikato. The port of Te Rore on the Waipā was the loading point for much of the produce destined for Auckland and beyond from the agricultural centre at Rangiaowhia during the 1850s. The bar at the mouth of the river at Waikato Heads made access to the river by large vessels difficult, but having surmounted this obstacle, the river system was navigable as far south as Pukerimu (Cambridge) on the Waikato and Te Rore, for most of the year, on the Waipā.

The original attempt to rename Ngāruawāhia was short-lived. 'Queenstown' was in turn displaced by 'Newcastle' in 1878. Newcastle was an emblematic name for two reasons. Firstly, it was the 5th Duke of Newcastle who, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, acquiesced to the original confiscation legislation. The other factor was the presence nearby of coal and the association of Newcastle in the United Kingdom with the coal industry. A common simile which suggests a pointless or unnecessary act is 'like taking coals to Newcastle'. Perhaps those who proposed the name Newcastle for Ngāruawāhia were, as in Australia, responsible for turning this maxim on its head and bringing Newcastle to the coals.

The imposition of the new name 'Newcastle' and its labelling on the map marked the beginning of the assertion of European control over the physical place and the discursive space of Ngāruawāhia. The survey on the ground and its representation on the map delineated this location according to European practice. A number of the shapes created by the interplay of roads and sections are reminiscent of the British Union Flag superimposed on the ground which reinforces a sense of the assertion of British sovereignty. The lots defined and displayed for sale laid claim not only to the ownership of the land but to the right to control how that land was imagined, valued and used. Indigenous perceptions of and associations with this whenua had been supplanted. In this regard, the spoils of war did not merely include the acquisition of Waikato soil, economic resources and communication links. Nor did the fruits of this invasion cease at the wresting of political control and the subsequent imposition of British law and government on a previously independent polity. On top of those extremely important consequences of the British invasion of the Waikato came the seizure of control of the cultural associations and practices, which allowed the Waikato to be defined in a European framework. One of the key functions of maps, such as that of 'Newcastle Q̶u̶e̶e̶n̶s̶t̶o̶w̶n̶ (Ngaruawahia)' above, was to assert this annexation of the concept of place.

Typical of cadastral maps in the European tradition, this map organized plots into geometric shapes. Ideally these were rectangles, although the regularity was broken by a sometimes uncooperative terrain. The geometrizing of the land went further than to deny Māori values of land use and organization. It also deliberately ignored topography and other geographical features like swamps, to render all

plots flat and equally accessible. The landscape itself was 'civilized' in this way. Inconvenient natural features were overcome by making them invisible. This practice had the disadvantage, though, of making such maps less accurate. Neat lines on the map did not necessarily equate to well-defined boundaries and other similar features on the ground; the orderliness of the representation contrasted with first-hand experience of the actual location. When first drawn, maps like this one were not depictions of what was really there, but were projections into the future. The intentions of the surveyors, cartographers and colonists were not always realized in straightforward and predictable ways, and sometimes they were not realized at all.

Re-viewing the history of the invasion and colonization of the Waikato through a spatial history lens allows some light to be shed on the ways colonial power was expressed through means other than the well-known military invasion. A focus on war, conquest and confiscation has, to a large extent, obscured the importance of the discursive invasion which both preceded and outlived the military campaign. Waikato 'space' became transformed into 'place' in a European vernacular through a combination of discursive and ideological practices — including the use of photography and cartography to re-present local landscapes within a European conceptual framework. Not only was the land itself claimed for European ownership and control, but the power to define space, as well as to determine the value, use and the organization of land was appropriated by the invaders. The colonizing gaze of Europeans was supported, enacted and affirmed by photographic and cartographic technologies and practices as the Waikato was textualized using familiar tropes and strategies, while at the same time indigenous presence was ignored or even effaced altogether. As a result, widely dispersed people could share a common sense of place and identity as the Waikato was translated for colonial and imperial audiences. This identity was not 'national' in that it transcended any sense of New Zealand as a nation by connecting the Waikato directly with the British imperial world. The Waikato is not unique in this respect and the approach and method used here to investigate the colonization of the Waikato could as well be applied to other colonial contexts. Irrespective of whether, like the Waikato, these locations were prone to fog, the resulting re-view might be just as illuminating.

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NOTES

1 The version reproduced here is a digital copy of the original glass negative (4.5 x 7.25 inches) held at the Alexander Turnbull Library. Note the darkened upper corners. This is a common feature of the wet collodion process where a tacky, viscous solution was poured over the glass in order to create a light-sensitive plate. The photographer was obliged to hold the plate by its corners, which allowed for the even spread of the fluid across the surface of the glass, but prevented those areas covered by the photographer's grip from being sensitized. These areas are rendered completely black in any subsequent positive print.

2 The 'Waikato' can refer to a river, a region and/or a people. Each is difficult to define and the distinctions between them are, at times, arbitrary. In referring to 'the Waikato', I have generally emphasized the land and landscape. The river is referred to as 'the Waikato River'.

3 The term 'weapon' is used here metaphorically. While I am arguing that the 'discursive invasion' was, in the long term, as important as the military invasion, I am not suggesting that the effects of maps and photographs were as directly harmful to individuals as guns and bullets.

4 Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), p.15.

5 Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial archives and the arts of governance', *Archival Science, Vol 2*, No 1–2 (2002), p.8.

6 Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, 'Archives, records, and power: The making of modern memory', *Archival Science*, Vol 2, No 1–2 (2002), p.1.

7 Tony Ballantyne, 'Archives, Empires and Histories of Colonialism', *Archifacts*, April 2004, pp.21–22.

8 See, for example, James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*, Chicago, 1997, p.17 and Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics*, London, 1997, p.9.

9 There have been many accounts of the battles of the Waikato War. Among the best known are: James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Volume I: 1845–1864*, Wellington, 1955, and James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland, 1986. Both place the Waikato War within the context of the wider New Zealand Wars.

10 Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History*, London, 1987, p.xvi.

11 Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History: How Literary Critics and Social Theorists are Murdering Our Past*, New York, 1997.

12 John Tosh and Sean Lang, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods, and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, 4th ed., New York, 2006, p.202.

13 Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney, eds, *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts*, Dunedin, 2006, p.9.

14 Jennifer Tucker, 'Entwined Practices: Engagements with Photography in Historical Enquiry', *History and Theory*, 48, 4 (2009), p.2.

15 Belich, p.302.

16 Carter, p.xxiv.

17 Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*, Wellington, 2001.

18 ibid., p.4.

19 For an excellent account of the complexity of this process see Lawrence D. Berg and Robin A. Kearns, 'Naming as Norming: "Race", Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14, 1 (1996), pp.99–122.

20 The term is derived from Peter Gibbons's chapter 'Non-Fiction,' in Terry Sturm, ed., *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, Auckland, 1998. The larger project on which this article is based uses Gibbons's breakdown of the phases of colonization – Exploration / Invasion / Occupation – as an overarching organizational schema.

21 Gibbons, 'Non-Fiction', p.38.

22 Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization', p.9.

23 Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson, eds, *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, London and New York, 2002, p.1.

24 J.B. Harley, 'Maps, Knowledge, and Power', in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds, *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past*

Environments, Cambridge, 1988, p.282.

25 Geraldine Murphy, 'Olaudah Equiano, Accidental Tourist', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 27, 4 (1994), p.558.

26 Among the many such conventions were the 'picturesque', a style of representing landscape incorporated into photography from landscape painting, and the 'cadastre', a system for describing land ownership represented on maps as a grid. A 'cadastral map' depicting a Waikato location was organized and presented in such a way as to create within an imperial audience an illusion of familiarity.

27 Byrnes, p.47.

28 Joan M. Schwartz, 'The Geography Lesson: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 22, 1 (1996), p.34.

29 http://www.natlib.govt.nz/collections/digital-collections/timeframes (accessed 24 January 2011).

30 Whanga: bay, cove, bight, estuary (also the span between thumb and little finger); marino: calm, still (usually of the sea). Source: *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary*, http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/ (accessed 24 January 2011).

31 'Camp, Whangamarino (From our own correspondent)', *Daily Southern Cross,* 7 May 1864, p.5.

32 The photograph reproduced here is a digital scan of an albumen print from the Urquhart Album at the Alexander Turnbull Library. The album is a collection of images compiled by Lieutenant C. J. Urquhart of the 65th Regiment. It includes scenes associated with the Taranaki and Waikato campaigns by a number of photographers, including John Nicol Crombie and John Kinder. Seventeen of the photographs are attributed to William Temple. The photographic print has been trimmed of its top corners, a relatively common practice, possibly to remove areas of non-image owing to the intrusion of the photographer's fingers onto the plate during the application of collodion solution (see note 1 above). The text beneath the image identifies some of the soldiers depicted, from left: Lt Hunter, R.E. Officer in charge; Capt. Watson R.A.; and Lt. Magnis R.A., as well as pointing out the 'New bridge' and, at right, a 'Dead Rimu (red pine tree)'. Another three people are unnamed.

33 For an extensive account of the construction of the Great South Road during this period, see Maurice Lennard, *The Road to War: The 1863 Redoubts of South Auckland: A Narrative of the Making of the Great South Road to the Waikato River and the Establishment of the Redoubts and Military Strong Points Protecting It, and of the Conflicts Between Pakeha and Maori Culminating at the End of the Road in the Battle of Rangiriri*, [Whakatane] 1986. This book includes another version of the featured photograph, although it is entitled 'Baird's Hill, Road and Bridge Construction by Royal Engineers', and dated 1862.

34 Pat Hodgson, *Early War Photographs*, Reading, 1974, p.12.

35 Schwartz, p.31.

36 Hodgson, p.21.

37 ibid., p.45.

38 Schwartz, p.34.

39 Auckland City Libraries, NZ Map Number 2562.

40 'Memorandum by Charles Heaphy C.E. on the Native Question', *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1864, E-9, [p.1].

41 ibid.

42 Belich, p.124.

43 ibid., p.78.

44 At Wairau in the Marlborough region of the northern South Island, the attempted arrest of two formidable Ngāti Toa chiefs (Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata) by a posse of settlers from Nelson ended in an ignominious tragedy for the latter. In Northland, the British Army were not able to inflict a decisive defeat on Ngāpuhi chiefs Heke and Kawiti despite mustering an impressive array of manpower and weaponry, at least in part due to the tactical genius of Kawiti who is usually credited with inventing the 'modern pa', a defensive system of trenches and bunkers which blunted the effectiveness of the key British advantage: their artillery.

45 Belich, pp.78–79.

46 Sections ranged in size from 1 rood 24 perches (0.1619 hectares or 0.4 acres) which could be purchased for £40, down to 19 perches (0.0481 hectares or 0.1188 acres) available for £11/17/6.

47 'A Lover of Native Names', *Daily Southern Cross,* 2 August 1864, p.5.

48 ibid.

49 W. O'N., *Daily Southern Cross,* 3 August 1864, p.4.