"Somewhere there’s a corner made specially for us“
The literary representation of early settlers’ life in colonial New Zealand

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Contents

1. Introduction .............................................................................................................................................. 1

2. Historical overview - from the colonial beginnings to the Treaty of Waitangi ......................................................... 6
   2.1. The beginning of the colonial period ................................................................................................. 6
   2.2. A treaty, organising relationships, and the Māori Land Wars ...................................................... 7
   2.3. The influence of associations and family ......................................................................................... 8
   2.4. New Zealand – an exceptional settler colony ................................................................................. 11

3. Colonisation and emigration .......................................................................................................................... 14
   3.1. Justifications for colonisation ........................................................................................................... 14
       3.1.1. Said’s concept of Orientalism ....................................................................................................... 14
       3.1.1.1. The colony as timeless ................................................................................................................ 15
       3.1.1.2. The colony as feminine .............................................................................................................. 17
       3.1.2. Colonising activities ...................................................................................................................... 20
   3.2. The decision to emigrate ....................................................................................................................... 23
       3.2.1. A place called New Zealand ......................................................................................................... 24
       3.2.2. Reasons for emigration ............................................................................................................... 26
       3.2.3. Reaction of friends and family ..................................................................................................... 31
   3.3. Preliminary conclusion ......................................................................................................................... 35

4. The settlers’ difficulties .................................................................................................................................. 38
   4.1. Physical challenges ............................................................................................................................... 38
       4.1.1. Cultivating the wilderness ........................................................................................................... 38
       4.1.2. Impact of settlements on nature .................................................................................................. 48
       4.1.3. Nature as a testing ground ........................................................................................................... 52
       4.1.3.1. Accidents in the bush ............................................................................................................... 52
       4.1.3.2. The importance of a good harvest ............................................................................................ 55
       4.1.3.3. The danger of a bush fire ........................................................................................................ 56
   4.2. Psychological challenges ..................................................................................................................... 59
       4.2.1. Challenges for women: spatial and interpersonal Isolation ..................................................... 59
       4.2.2. Challenges for men: working in the colony .............................................................................. 67
   4.3. Preliminary conclusion ........................................................................................................................ 72
1. Introduction

“Somewhere there’s a corner made specially for us” (Locke 20). This quote from *The Runaway Settlers* in the title of this thesis is indicative of the desire of masses of people in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth century to begin a new life far away from their home. The arrival of Captain James Cook in New Zealand on October 6th, 1769 and the subsequent declaration of the country as a British colony in 1840 opened up new horizons and possibilities, marking the beginning of European immigration (Voigt 124). Once arrived in New Zealand, the first immigrants instantly came into contact with the indigenous people of the two islands, the Māori, but apart from native settlements, the country was covered in native forest and swamp land. Clearing the forests to obtain land, building homes out of nothing and overcoming fear and prejudices directed towards the native population were only a few of the difficulties and obstacles with which the immigrants were confronted.

In the course of my research for this thesis, I have encountered numerous studies about New Zealand’s time as a British colony, each dealing mostly only with one historical aspect: the origins and numbers of migrants, their impact on the native population and nature or their contributions to the evolution of New Zealand’s culture. When consequently studying literary analyses of works about New Zealand in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is on the one hand noticeable that scholars choose to discuss extensively the better known authors such as Katherine Mansfield, while on the other hand, focusing, again, on certain aspects in their works.¹

In contrast to these studies, I will not only offer an analysis of works of lesser known authors in regard to the life and preoccupations of the characters immigrating to colonial New Zealand, but also try to discuss a great variety of aspects, which characterise the early settlers’ life conditions in the British colony. Admittedly, such an analysis of the life of immigrants to New Zealand can never be complete – a discussion will always centre on certain aspects

¹ See for instance the works of Moran, Maxwell or New.
while simultaneously disregarding others. My aim, though, is to discuss as comprehensively as possible the early settlers’ life in the colony, their struggles, but also their achievements as portrayed in the following four novels.

*The Counterfeit Seal – a Tale of Otago’s First Settlers* by Robert Noble Adams, published in 1897 but set in the 1850s, accompanies a Scottish family through their decision-making process concerning emigration to New Zealand as well as through their first years in the new settlement of Dunedin in Otago, New Zealand. The novel is highly relevant for my analysis, as it not only presents the difficulties immigrants encounter in their new home, but also the obstacles with which they are confronted even before their actual departure in the forms of warnings or discouragements by friends and relatives. *The Toll of the Bush* by William Satchell, published in 1905, deals in detail with pioneer life in New Zealand, the domination and cultivation of the land and the impact of immigration on nature. *The Story of a New Zealand River*, written by Jane Mander and published in 1920, takes the reader on a journey to a timber-mill settlement in the north of New Zealand, where the main character, Alice, has difficulties adapting to her new environment in which class hierarchies and social conventions are no longer considered important. Finally, *The Runaway Settlers* by Elsie Locke, published in 1965 but set in the 1860s, presents the life of a family escaping a brutal husband and father and starting a new life in Canterbury, New Zealand. As far as the selection of the texts is concerned, I have deliberately excluded Māori writers, the reason being the focus of this study on the European point of view and perspective.

As can be seen, the novels’ publication dates range from 1897 to 1965, thus covering a span of almost 70 years. I have deliberately chosen older as well as more modern texts in order to be able to create a basis for comparison regarding the representation of certain aspects of the early settlers’ life. Are there, for instance, changing attitudes towards the Māori, for which the time of publication could serve as an explanation? Despite the fact that Elsie Locke claims in the introduction to *The Runaway Settlers* that “[m]y characters speak, and dress, and act as people did at that time” (Locke 9), I will frequently challenge this statement by asking whether the later publication date could have
influenced the representation of certain facets of the early settlers’ life. Additionally, the novels do not only differ in regard to their publication dates, but also according to genre: while all novels obviously deal with immigrants and their lives in colonial New Zealand, it is important for my analysis to keep in mind that *The Runaway Settlers* is a children’s book and therefore presumably more didactic in its treatment of specific issues. This difference in genre forms therefore also a basis on which I will make comparisons between the four texts.

In the analysis of the novels, I will predominantly draw on theoretical concepts derived from postcolonial studies. Colonialism has, of course, taken various forms and has provoked different effects around the world (McLeod 8). It comprises, as Boehmer (2) states, “the settlement of territory, the exploitation or development of resources, and the attempt to govern the indigenous inhabitants of occupied lands.” One colonising practice, according to Gibbons (*Colonization* 9), has been the “use of the written and printed word”, which he describes as a “sharp instrument of colonization”. It is, for him, not only “the kinds of documents [treaties, proclamations or laws] that mark the most notorious aspects of colonization, but books and newspapers and journals and other mechanically reproduced materials with no direct relationship to the more obvious acts of colonization” (9). Hilliard (3) states further that “[a]ppropriating the indigenous; effacing the indigenous; imposing European patterns on existing terrain” are all “aspects of colonization [which] occur in Pakeha writing”, “[…] even texts that do not refer to Maori people can be part of the enterprise of colonization in their treatment of the European presence in Aotearoa as normative or natural.” In so far, fictional texts such as novels can be seen, to phrase it with Gibbons (*Colonization* 14), as sites of “textual colonization”.

To explain now the relevance of postcolonialism for my thesis, I need to quote McLeod (6) for whom postcolonialism refers to “disparate forms of representations, readings practices, attitudes and values”, it “does not refer to something which tangibly is, but rather it denotes something which one does: it can describe a way of thinking.” When consequently regarding the four novels as sites of textual colonisation, then postcolonialist concepts frequently provide a starting point for an analysis. They assist in reading the texts differently, to
examine not only the actual statements uttered by the characters which accompany the colonisation of the country, but at the same time to analyse what they are *doing* and which opinions they transmit through their behaviour.

Following a short overview of migration to New Zealand in order to provide a context, I will begin the analysis with the issues of colonisation and emigration. Edward Said’s *Orientalism* will be used to explain justifications for the colonisation and settlement of New Zealand by Europeans. In this context, the construction of binary oppositions in order to set European culture off against the colony will be analysed, as well as the creation and repetition of stereotypes. I will then move on to a discussion of colonising activities, in which I focus on the introduction of foreign flora and fauna. Utopian dreams of finding a better world have often triggered the wish to leave the country of origin; I will therefore also analyse in this chapter the reasons the characters give to explain their desire to emigrate. The role of associations in the decision-making process will be dealt with, as well as the influence of friends and family already emigrated.

The following chapter investigates the difficulties and problems with which the characters are confronted in their new surroundings. Physical challenges such as cultivating the land and building a home out of nothing will be contrasted with psychological difficulties, for example the issue of isolation. In this chapter, I further attempt to illustrate the impact of European settlement on the native flora and fauna, which in turn creates consequences for the settlers and questions their right to belong, nature being the testing ground.

The subsequent chapter turns to a discussion of home and the building of a community. I will begin with a theoretical introduction into the topic, attempting to answer what the concepts of home and community mean in general by drawing for instance on Benedict Anderson’s concept of imagined communities. I will consequently apply the theory to an analysis of the novels, discussing how the performance of traditions, narratives, rituals and symbols help producing a sense of being part of a community, while simultaneously establishing a link between past and present. I will close this chapter by discussing whether or not
a certain moment can be pinpointed from which onwards the characters regard and accept New Zealand as their new home.

The final chapter emphasises the relationships between the settlers and the Māori. Homi K. Bhabha’s concept of the production of knowledge about the Māori and at the same time their othering will be examined in relation to the novels. I will analyse how such an othering constitutes a perceived need to civilise and save the native population and by which means the characters in the novels attempt to reach this aim. The chapter ends with a discussion of the question whether there are any striking differences in the novels’ representation of the indigenous people of New Zealand – do all four novels represent the Māori in the same manner, are they given a voice throughout the novels or are they silenced and in how far do publication dates and genre influence the portrayal of the native population?
2. Historical overview - from the colonial beginnings to the Treaty of Waitangi

2.1. The beginning of the colonial period

While investigations suggest that New Zealand had first been conquered and settled by Polynesian immigrants at least by the thirteenth century (Stafford 14), the first European to discover New Zealand was Abel Tasman in 1642 (Voigt 124). Due to its distance though, the major European colonial powers, Britain and France, paid little attention to the Pacific area as a whole. It was therefore not until almost 130 years later with the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1769 and his claim of New Zealand as British territory (Edwards 21) that the islands in the Pacific Ocean aroused interest in Europe (Voigt 124). At the end of the eighteenth century the pursuit of material interests was the driving factor that led European merchants to rapidly expand trade activities to overseas destinations. Additionally, European society thought of the newly discovered islands as empty spaces, waiting only to be cultivated, settled and taken advantage of (Voigt 4-5). Several push and pull factors, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter three, acted as further, influential motives sparking European interest in the Pacific islands.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Pacific islands, New Zealand included, nevertheless still “largely remained the realm of solitary traders, shipmasters, beachcombers, and missionaries” (Keown 38) from Europe. Additionally to these Europeans, many settlers arrived from Australia to conduct business for Australian based enterprises, often cooperating with local Māori and offering guns in exchange for food or shelter (Gordon et al. 38-39). However, the contact between the different cultures and their respective world views frequently resulted in misunderstandings and in some cases even violence, particularly when Europeans broke local “tapu”\(^3\), for which the Māori

\(^2\) Trade relations between New Zealand, China and India had existed long before the beginning of European immigration, but remained unnoticed until the beginning interest of Europeans in New Zealand (Gibbons, Search 40-41).

\(^3\) tapu: A person, place or thing is dedicated to an atua and is thus removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred. It is untouchable, no longer to be put to
sought “utu”⁴ (Timeline 1). “Lawlessness by sailors, escaped convicts and adventurers from New South Wales began to increase and there were growing fears of French annexation of New Zealand” (Timeline 1). As a consequence, the missionary William Yates encouraged 13 chiefs of the North Island to ask the British sovereign, William IV, for intervention and protection.

The reaction to this plea was the appointment of James Busby as “a sort of junior consular representative” (Timeline 2) in 1832. However, since New Zealand was neither a British possession nor within British jurisdiction, Busby was “unable to exert much control over British subjects” (Timeline 2). In the course of the 1830s, criticism was voiced over Busby’s inability to control the situation. Additionally, many Europeans expressed concern about the consequences of the culture contact for the Māori, particularly in regard to land rights and imported diseases. Therefore, “the preference was eventually for annexation and direct government” (Timeline 3), at last decided by the British Government in 1839. As a direct consequence of this annexation, settlers began to buy as much land as they could possibly obtain, often “putting pressure on Māori all over the country to enter into the flimsiest of deals” (Timeline 3). Again, missionaries appealed to the British government for intervention, which led to the investiture of Captain William Hobson as Consul – a crucial decision in New Zealand’s colonial history (Timeline 3-4).

2.2. A treaty, organising relationships, and the Māori Land Wars

In accordance with instructions to acquire sovereignty over New Zealand, Hobson immediately introduced restrictions regarding private land acquisition. One of his most essential decisions declared that all purchases were to be examined and either validated or declared as Crown land, never though returned to the previous owners, the Māori (Timeline 6). Additionally, Hobson

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⁴ utu: revenge, cost, price, wage, fee, payment, salary, reciprocity – an important concept concerned with the maintenance of balance and harmony in relationships between individuals and groups and order within Māori society, whether through gift exchange or as a result of hostilities between groups. (Moorfield, “utu”)

common use. Tapu was used as a way to control how people behaved towards each other and the environment, placing restrictions upon society to ensure that society flourished. […] Members of a community would not violate the tapu for fear of sickness or catastrophe as a result of the anger of the atua. (Moorfield, “tapu”)
formulated a treaty which was initially signed by over 40 Māori chiefs in Waitangi in February 1840 and consequently by more than 500 Māori chiefs all over the country in the course of the same year (Timeline 4). By signing the treaty, the Māori chiefs ceded sovereignty of New Zealand to Queen Victoria who guaranteed “continued and undisputed possession of their lands” (Stafford 27) in return.

While the treaty was meant to organise relationships in a peaceful, harmonious manner, it quickly created further, serious problems because of several, essential differences between the Māori and the English version. For instance “tino rangatiratanga” was translated as “full chiefly authority” over the land in the Māori version of the treaty but only as “full exclusive and undisturbed possession” in the English variant. Equally important, “kāwanatanga” was interpreted as “governorship” in the Māori version but as “sovereignty” in the English edition of the treaty, thus effectively misleading the Māori (Keown 56). All these factors – the mistranslations, the conflicts regarding land rights as well as increasing numbers of European settlers demanding more land – revived long-standing disputes which culminated in the Land Wars of the North Islands, continuing throughout the 1860s (Keown 56-57). In the context of my thesis, though, particularly the Treaty of Waitangi deserves special attention. As it was a document, prepared in order to organise the relationships between Pākehā and Māori, it is important to bear the existence of such an agreement in mind when analysing texts which are or claim to be set near the time of its composition. I will refer back to the Treaty of Waitangi and the acknowledgement of equal rights established in this document in the chapter dealing with the Māori and the settlers.

2.3. The influence of associations and family

The above mentioned arbitrary purchases of land, the uncontrolled distribution of settlers and the consequently raging Land Wars quickly led to a new ratio between settlers and native Māori: while the number of Pākehā had amounted to roughly 2,000 people at the time of the signature of the Treaty of Waitangi, compared to more than 100,000 Māori at the same time, the settler population had rapidly increased to about 700,000 by the end of the nineteenth century,
whereas the number of Māori had declined considerably to about 50,000 people during the same period (Voigt 53-54). Particularly the unrestrained immigration of Europeans raised sharp criticism in England, consequently leading to suggestions about systematic immigration to New Zealand and the founding of associations to organise and control colonisation (Voigt 132).

Although associations operated throughout the British Isles, it seems that notable emphasis was put on Scotland, reflected in the high number of 73 agents employed by associations in Scotland in 1873, compared to 34 in England, 8 in Ireland and only one in Wales. Undoubtedly as a result of the greater influence exerted by agents, the population in New Zealand was made up of a relatively high percentage of Scots, “constitut[ing] more than 20% of New Zealand’s nineteenth-century settlers” (Harper 221). A number of push factors made Scots particularly receptive to the opportunities opened up by emigration to the new colony. Obviously, settlers did not originate exclusively from Scotland, but in the context of my thesis this historical information is interesting, as one of the novels which I have chosen for the analysis, The Counterfeit Seal, deals explicitly with Scottish emigrants, highlighting, among other things, the role of associations.

These associations attended for instance to shipping arrangements for the emigrants and provided information about New Zealand on organised lecture tours throughout Scotland (Harper 223-227):

Encouragement to emigrate sometimes involved highlighting the virtues of small nations over the vices of their larger neighbours. While Canada was recommended in preference to the United States because of its Britishness, and the need to defend that status against American aggrandisement, New Zealand’s temperate climate and civilised society were compared favourably with the perils of sun-scorched, convict-blighted Australia. (Harper 223-224)

The strategies of associations to promote the country took various forms: advertisements were published in newspapers, posters were distributed to libraries or post offices, publications, sponsored by the government, were given away and even produce was exhibited to attract the public attention – in other words, considerable effort was put in convincing people to emigrate and settle
Britain’s newest colony (Harper 228). As Grant (169) points out, the “descriptions of new, alluring, distant lands were set off against equally stylized construals of the old country in which the relative independence available to colonial settlers was contrasted with the unfavourable situation many faced in Britain.” He adds further that it was “common to highlight the informality of colonial life and to stress that […] there was no need of complicated, old world social superstructures” (Grant 169).

Although associations were founded in response to the criticism of unrestrained immigration, the scheme of controlled and organised colonisation did by no means signify restrictions on the number of settlers in the nineteenth century, it rather meant controlling who could go – in fact, the New Zealand government encouraged skilled workers to come to the country, “advertising in more than 280 Scottish newspapers” (Finkelstein 96). Throughout the nineteenth century, there was a “ceaseless demand for farmers and domestic servants across the empire” (Harper 229) – the recruitment campaigns therefore aimed mainly at addressing suitable candidates and were “governed by strict occupational, health, family-size and age criteria formulated by colonial legislatures” (Haines ch. 11). While the “steady, thrifty, and industrious” (Grant 171) were required, it was signalled that “the old, infirm, or sickly” (Grant 173) as well as the idle, ignorant, imprudent and “those who had already failed at home” (Grant 173) would not be wanted in New Zealand.⁵

However, not only associations played a significant role in the decision-making process of people interested in emigration. Apart from the work of agents, “[a] consistent influence throughout the whole history of emigration […] has been the lobbying of family and community” (Harper 225). Family members or friends who had already emigrated sent letters and descriptions of their new lives, trying to persuade others to follow their example. As McCarthy (1) states, “personal letters were an even more vital and regular source of knowledge”, often acting as “key factors in shaping expectations and reactions” (Finkelstein 97) and frequently initiating a “process of secondary migration” (Harper 225).

⁵ For further information on the associations’ recruitment procedures and the selection processes see Haines.
Finkelstein (96) refers to this process as “chain migration” whereby “successful settlers provided the necessary connections for other family members to follow in their wake.” These “largely unseen personal influences were reinforced by the more visible recruitment campaigns of battalions of agents” (Harper 225).

As mentioned above, the associations frequently highlighted the virtues of New Zealand in comparison with other colonies such as Australia, thus creating the notion of New Zealand as an exceptional settler colony. As Voigt (127) points out,

   [s]taatliche Formen und Interessen der Kolonialmächte waren schon von Hause aus unterschiedlich, dann aber auch durch die Beschaffenheit der Kolonien bedingt und begrenzt. [...] Und nicht zuletzt waren auch das Verhalten der indigenen Bevölkerung, ihre Reaktionen auf das Erscheinen und die Invasion der Fremden von Einfluss [...].

The following, final part of this historical overview is therefore dedicated to an attempt at explaining the driving factors influencing people’s perception of New Zealand as exceptional and different.

2.4. New Zealand – an exceptional settler colony

Before trying to explain why New Zealand has been referred to as an exceptional settler colony right from the time of early contact, a definition of the term has to be given. Gibbons (Colonization 7) sees a settler colony or settler society as

   […] the establishment of a European society in an already inhabited non-European territory. A distinguishing feature of settler societies is that Europeans appropriate not just the wealth of the country, as for example in India, but also most of the lands of the indigenous peoples […]. These lands are not occupied temporarily, but are ‘settled’ permanently by the invaders.

Clearly, based on this definition, New Zealand does not differ much from other settler colonies such as Australia or India – a European, British society was established in a territory where non-Europeans, the Māori in that case, already lived, the land was annexed and the settlers remained permanently. However,

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6 See also McCarthy for a detailed study on the contents of letters from Irish migrants to their family back home.
several explanations have been offered regarding the question why New Zealand has nevertheless been seen as distinct from other British colonies.

First of all, the status of New Zealand as a free colony has to be taken into account. The seizure of Australia by Britain and its declaration as “terra nullius” ("no man’s land") (Voigt 136) in the late eighteenth century enabled the deportation of criminals and unwanted people from Britain to Australia, consequently turning Australia into a convict colony (Voigt 128-129). This has never been the case in New Zealand – the country has never been regarded as a place where unwanted people could be brought to, but as a colony where free people could choose to settle.

Additionally, the experiences the settlers made in regard to contact with the natives have frequently been named as a distinguishing factor between New Zealand and other settler colonies. While the Aborigines in Australia retreated, which facilitated the settlers’ efforts to ignore and displace them, often by means of cruel violence on the part of the Europeans (Sinclair 40, Voigt 128-132), the settlers in New Zealand made different experiences in their encounters with the Māori, “Die Maori erwiesen sich als hervorragende Führer mit ausgezeichneten Kenntnissen des Landes, die nicht nur von den natürlichen Gegebenheiten wussten, sondern auch die Stätten und Grenzen der verschiedenen Maori Stämme nennen konnten” (Voigt 125). In addition to this, the Māori rapidly gained a reputation as “fierce warriors” (Keown 52), based on early encounters with Europeans which were often marked by misunderstanding, conflict, mutual hostility and bloodshed (Keown 52). In contrast to the retreating Aborigines, the Māori offered resistance to European colonisation (Voigt 136).

The different experiences with the Māori, on the one hand their assistance in the exploration of the land, but on the other hand also their resistance to the settlers, undoubtedly influenced the relationship between settlers and natives. In contrast to Africa, where “the colonial state governed by racism established the distinction between settler and native by demarcating different rights for a

For a detailed study of the perception of the Māori as a people of warriors see Thompson.
minority white settler and majority black ‘native’ population” (Ahluwalia 64) or to Australia, where “the colonisation […] proceeded without any formal treaties being signed” (Byrnes, and Ritter 56) and “racial discriminatory clauses were removed from the constitution” only in 1967 (Ahluwalia 64), the British government relatively quickly organised relationships in the previously mentioned Treaty of Waitangi. Admittedly, breaches of the treaty were common, nevertheless, already in 1868 the first Māori were elected to parliament and, in the same year, given universal suffrage, even 11 years before Pākehā men “who still faced property qualifications” (Timeline 13). By no means do I want to belittle the Land Wars, the breaches of the treaty or the above mentioned cruel encounters between Europeans and Māori, but the relatively early recognition of native rights and the extension of “the rights and privileges of British subjects” (Byrnes, and Ritter 57) to the Māori, show greater respect for the native population and should be mentioned when discussing why New Zealand was perceived by contemporaries to be different from other British colonies.

The purpose of this historical overview was to provide a context for the analysis of the novels in the following chapters. While there are a number of additional factors which contributed to the notion of New Zealand as exceptional such as the fact that the country was seen as “a land of valued labor, short working hours, good weather, and lack of class distinctions” (Finkelstein 98), for the context of my thesis the above mentioned aspects suffice to provide an idea of why New Zealand was perceived as different from other British colonies and why it was considered an attractive choice for European immigrants. In the remaining, major part of this thesis I will now attempt an analysis of the early settlers’ experiences in colonial New Zealand as represented in the four selected novels. I will refer back to this chapter throughout the thesis, discussing whether or not and how the historical context provided above is reflected in the representation of the lives of the immigrants. Starting from the issue of migration and colonisation, I will begin the following chapter with a discussion of justifications for colonisation and reasons for migration.

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8 see also: http://www.elections.org.nz/maori/ntkm-democracy/maori-vote.html
9 For a comprehensive comparison of the history of Australia and New Zealand and, in particular, the contemporary dealings with the native past see Byrnes and Ritter.
3. Colonisation and emigration

3.1. Justifications for colonisation

The preceding chapter has already discussed some aspects which presented New Zealand as a desirable place for settlers in comparison with other British colonies. However, I have not yet raised the issue of the justification of New Zealand’s colonisation. As McLeod (44) points out, “[c]olonialism was often dependent upon the use of military force and physical coercion, but it could not function without the existence of a set of beliefs that are held to justify the (dis)possession and continuing occupation of other people’s lands.” I have already given insight into the political aspect of New Zealand’s colonisation – the claim of the country as British territory and its declaration as a colony. However, I have not yet discussed these sets of beliefs which McLeod regards as important as military force or physical coercion. I will thus begin the analysis part of this thesis by examining how colonisation and occupation of the land are justified and performed by the characters in the text, starting from Edward Said’s concept of Orientalism. Obviously, since Said focuses on representations of Egypt and the Middle East (McLeod 24), his theory does not immediately appear to be useful in a discussion of the life in a country not at all related with the general notion of the Orient. However, the underlying structures of the concept as noted by Said, “the divisive relationship between the coloniser and the colonised” (McLeod 24) and the body of knowledge created and institutionalised by colonialism, are applicable to any colonial situation, thus also to an analysis of colonial New Zealand.

3.1.1. Said’s concept of Orientalism

Basically, the fundamental argument of Said’s work is the binary division between the Orient and the Occident which are believed to exist in opposition to each other. Describing the Orient negatively instantly evokes a positive image of the Occident: “If the West is assumed as the global seat of knowledge and learning, then it will follow that the Orient is a place of ignorance and stupidity” (McLeod 49). Such a dichotomy constantly represents the West as superior and, at the same time, the Orient as “its ‘other’, fixed eternally in a subservient position” (McLeod 49). As Said (3) states, “European culture gained in strength
and identity by setting itself of against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self”. Views of the Orient were constructed in order to justify the propriety of colonisation and the domination of native peoples. Of course, Western representations of the Orient were fabricated based on Western fantasies, dreams or assumptions and not representing the reality of the Orient (McLeod 49-51). This is consequently where McLeod’s argument of a set of beliefs has to be put into focus again – the Orient, and in the context of my thesis Said’s arguments are valid for the colonies as well, was assigned an inferior position through beliefs, assumptions and fantasies which “function to justify the propriety of Western colonial rule in foreign lands” (McLeod 51). Following this brief introduction to Orientalism, I will discuss two of the most important stereotypes which the concept brought forth in relation to the novels and the justification of the colonisation of New Zealand.

3.1.1.1. The colony as timeless
First of all, using the notion of the creation of binary divisions, the Orient was frequently described as “primitive” or “backwards” (McLeod 52): “If the West is considered the place of historical progress and scientific development, then the Orient is deemed remote from the enlightening process of historical change” (McLeod 52) – it was, at the time of colonisation, not regarded as different from centuries before. This representation of the Orient, or the colony in this context, as timeless is noticeable in The Story of a New Zealand River, where the choice of words reflects this notion. At her walk through the forest, Alice “felt around her the stirring beginnings of things. No one could have realized that invaded silence of ages, have seen those violent assaults upon eternal peace” [emphasis added] (Mander 55). Alice’s husband Roland verbalises her feelings when he declares that “[t]hose trees have stood there thousands of years. Might have stood there thousands more” [emphasis added] (Mander 53). The quotes show well the perception of the country as a “changeless and static” (McLeod 52) place, clearly reflected in the choice of words referring to thousands of years and even to eternity.

Additionally, both quotes comment more or less directly on the impact of the settlers on the land, noticeable in the reference to “invaded silence” and “violent assaults.” I will discuss this influence at a later point in this thesis – at this stage,
however, I want to point out that, in my view, also the reference to the “stirring beginnings of things” can undoubtedly be seen as an indirect justification for the colonisation of the land. It reflects the notion that up until the arrival of the Europeans there had been no progress or scientific development; the colony is constructed as backwards and, again, as static, which only the arrival of the settlers seems to change.

It is, however, not only the country as such, which is depicted as primitive and backwards, the timeless notion is further extended to the people encountered, as is clearly noticeable in a statement in *The Counterfeit Seal*:

[… ] we should, I think, remember that we are now speaking of one who has but yesterday risen from the grossness of barbarism. She is in the very early dawn of civilisation, and has only learned to imitate some of the more conspicuous habits of those from whom she is learning. Taste in colours, like peculiarities in language, take a long time to acquire. (Adams 95)

The Māori woman talked about is presented as having only recently begun to develop from a static condition, barbarism in this case. Again, the arrival and influence of Europeans are seen as the cause of this change as references to “learning” and “imitating” clearly imply. The woman is seen as absent from progress, be it historic or scientific, and only at the beginning of learning what the settlers perceive of as civilisation. Further, the quote shows the creation of a binary division: a negative image of the colony as a place of barbarism and as being only in the early dawn of civilisation is constructed. To phrase this again with McLeod’s words, through this representation and by contrast, an image of the West as a superior place of civilisation and culture is conjured up. The colony and the native people are fixed in an inferior position and are expected to learn from and imitate the coloniser.

Of course, these Western assumptions are constructed. In fact, at the time of the arrival of European settlers, the Māori lived in a society with highly organised and structured tribal hierarchies, focusing strongly on their culture and traditions (Stafford 28-32). Clearly, though, perceiving the native people as inferior and assigning them a subservient position helped to justify Western colonisation and domination.
3.1.1.2. The colony as feminine

Another important point which involves the creation of binary oppositions is the representation of the Orient, or the colonies in this context, as feminine:

In Orientalism, the East as a whole is ‘feminised’, deemed passive, submissive, exotic, luxurious, sexually mysterious and tempting; while the West is thought of in terms of the ‘masculine’ – that is, active, dominant, heroic, rational, self-controlled and ascetic. This gendering is evidenced by a specifically sexual vocabulary used by many Westerners when describing the Orient: the Orient is ‘penetrated’ by the traveller whose ‘passions’ it rouses, it is ‘possessed’, ‘ravished’, ‘embraced’ – and ultimately ‘domesticated’ by the muscular coloniser. (McLeod 54)

As McLeod (55) points out, the representations of the land as feminine originate from Western fantasies “concerning supposed moral degeneracy, confused and rampant sexualities” which consequently “stimulate the domination and colonisation.”

Three novels under analysis, the exception being *The Runaway Settlers*, feminise the land by using specifically sexual vocabulary in more or less obvious ways. Repeatedly, nature is described as being a “virgin” (Satchell 18, 44, Mander 9, Adams 115), once even adding the classification “untouched” (Satchell 119). Often, the feminisation is done explicitly through the use of the personal pronoun “she”, particularly when references to nature are made: “[h]ere [in New Zealand] nature hated the very beginnings of monotony. So she scattered a little of everything about those wonderful hills” [emphasis added] (Mander 14) and “Suddenly there was a suggestion of quiver. The sky line wavered. ‘She’s coming,’ said Roland” [emphasis added] (Mander 59). It is interesting to note that “she” in the second example refers to a kauri tree which has previously been described as possessing a “magnificent head of spreading branches” (Mander 58) and a “massive trunk” (Mander 59), thus in fact inspiring admiration and awe on the part of the settlers. Identical words are used in *The Counterfeit Seal* (116) to refer to exactly the same situation: “‘Remove your saw and stand back, she is coming!’” [emphasis added]. I see the last two scenes as a metaphor where nature, in that case the trees, stands in fact for the colony. It is feminised through explicit, gendered vocabulary and portrayed as passive, which in turn justifies its domination and colonisation by the masculine, the
A comment in *The Counterfeit Seal* concerning the fall of the tree makes this gendering even clearer:

There is always something fascinating in the appearance of an object tall and strong falling from its grand position into prostrate humiliation. *Man* has ever found delight in conquering the mighty and in humbling the proud; and a similar feeling is present with the *woodman* when *he* sees, as the result of his labour and skill, a strong and lofty tree part from its stump and come crashing to the earth in the spot *he* designed for it. [emphasis added] (Adams 116-117)

Interestingly, as is noticeable in both scenes, in the description of the trees adjectives are used which conjure up a connotation of the tree as a male symbol: the trunk is described as massive, the tree as tall and strong, occupying a grand position. Further, in both scenes, admiration for the magnificence of the tree is acknowledged. I argue that the feminisation of the trees consequently plays an important role in these contexts – through feminising what is actually described in male terms it becomes easier for the settlers to subjugate and demonstrate their power, leaving nature, or the colony, without even a remote chance of resistance as is noticeable in the following quote: “[t]he whole tree gave one gigantic shiver […], and then, realizing as it were, the remorselessness of fate, it plunged forward” (Mander 59).

I want to include a further quote which illustrates well the vocabulary employed to feminise and consequently colonise and dominate the land. During the first sermon held in New Zealand, the newly arrived settlers in *The Counterfeit Seal* are reminded by their pastor that they have before them “a virgin country, on the soil of which they were to plant the seed of a young nation” (Adams 91). The vocabulary used in this particular context produces explicit sexual connotations. First of all, the country is, again, referred to as a virgin. Of course, the preacher does not exclusively address the male immigrants in his sermon. However, the choice of words – “plant seeds” – immediately produces the notion that he is in fact only talking to the male part of the congregation. The connection of “virgin country” with “planting seeds” in the same sentence conjures up for a twenty-first century reader images of involuntary penetration, rape and forced pregnancy. Again, the colony is feminised and dominated by the West, represented in this case by the male seed.
Clearly, it has to be mentioned briefly at this point that nature seems to offer resistance at various points – several times, the land, and particularly the forest, are referred to as “impenetrable” (Satchell 17, Mander 53). Nevertheless, all these instances are still embedded in the context of domination. In the case of Satchell, the impenetrable forest is limited and qualified by the reference to a nearby township as an evidence of domestication in the same sentence. In the case of Mander, the coloniser’s dominance over the impenetrable forest is demonstrated through the cutting down of the kauri tree only a few pages later.

Obviously, Said’s concept of Orientalism includes more than two notions of how assumptions about the land were constructed which legitimated the seizure of New Zealand as a British colony and justified colonial rule. In addition to the justifications which involved the representation of the colony as timeless and feminine, observations of the landscape were made which described the country as remarkably empty and therefore available for colonisation, domination and settlement. Such observations made about the country are particularly noticeable in The Counterfeit Seal. Eric’s father, for instance, states that the “country will be open for anyone to select from and occupy” (Adams 11) and Eric himself refers to New Zealand as “a new free land of the south” (Adams 24). Repeatedly throughout the novels, the country is represented as free, unsettled and unclaimed. It is particularly important, though, to bear in mind that Western European settlers did not come to an empty land but one already settled by people. Clearly, when the representation of the country as empty is proven wrong through the existence of native people, further justifications have to be provided to explain the colonisation of the land as well as the domination and subjugation of the native people. Both will be dealt with in greater detail in the chapter about the settlers and the Māori. After having discussed the justifications for colonisation encountered in the novels, I will now turn in the following chapter to another important aspect of colonialism - the different ways in which the implementation of colonial practices and structures in New Zealand is portrayed in the books.
3.1.2. Colonising activities

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, it is not only explicit documents such as treaties or laws which, for instance, declare a country as a colony and thus initiate the process of colonisation. Frequently, strategies of colonisation can also be found in books or journals in which knowledge about a country is produced and distributed.

Writing in and about New Zealand was henceforth involved in the processes of colonization, in the implementation of European power, in the description and justification of the European presence as normative, and in the simultaneous implicit or explicit production of the indigenous peoples as alien or marginal. (Gibbons, Non-fiction 28)

One important strategy to do this was “to domesticate the incorrigible wilderness” through photographs or drawings which represented the country as “beautiful” and “unspoiled” (Gibbons, Colonization 10). Knowing the country, as Gibbons (Colonization 10-11) argues, means possessing it. Of course, coming from this perspective, all four novels under analysis must be classified as instruments of colonialism – they write about New Zealand, they produce and distribute knowledge and quite often, they position the native peoples as alien and marginal. I deliberately do not exclude The Runaway Settlers from this classification despite its later time of publication. This decision is primarily based on Elsie Locke’s previously referred to claim to attempt to recreate an authentic nineteenth century story – writing about colonising practices seems to constitute part of this effort as numerous examples of such activities in her novel testify. These references provide, in my view, sufficient reason to not treat the novel differently in this context from the three books written earlier.

Obviously then, taking possession did not only occur through the production of knowledge in documents, laws, newspapers or, as in this case, books, but, additionally, through the very tangible aspect of domesticating the wilderness through the importation of European fauna and flora and the consequent displacement and extinction of native animals and vegetation. To phrase this with Gibbons’ words:

The new world they [the migrants] enter is profoundly and disturbingly alien, and the colonists set out to make this world normal, from their perspective through the destruction of what they encounter (which they
often called ‘wilderness’), and the substitution of congenial European practices, forms, and phenomena. [...] [M]igrants seek to transform the new world they are entering into a simulacrum of the old world they have come from [...] The colonists plant deciduous oak trees, gorse hedges, orchards, flower gardens, vegetable gardens. They sprinkle imported names on the land to replace unknown or unpronounceable indigenous names. They grow crops of wheat and barley. They stock the streams with trout and salmon, the farms with cattle, and hope that the rabbits introduced a short time ago will survive and multiply. (Gibbons, Colonization 7-8)

In all four novels, at least one passage illustrates this attempt to transform the newly encountered world into something known to and “normal” for the immigrants. John Cracroft Wilson in The Runaway Settlers, for instance, imports donkeys, “for the breeding of mules”, and 55 horses (Locke 28). Additionally, it is mentioned that “[o]n his first ship, the Akbar, he had brought a real menagerie of animals, including antelopes, peacocks and partridges, for he looked forward to hunting as well as farming” (Locke 36). It is interesting to draw attention to the fact that Cracroft Wilson not only imports animals from Europe, the peacocks and partridges, but also animals native to Africa, the antelopes. He introduces animals from an area earlier incorporated into the British Empire than New Zealand and thereby creates, as stated in the quote itself, a menagerie of animals which represents parts of the British Empire. From this other colony, he imports with what he is familiar in order to recreate a feeling of familiarity also in New Zealand and to construct a world similar to the one he already knows, in which hunting is one of his pastimes. References to imported animals can also be encountered in The Toll of the Bush, where the forests are full of “that sturdy foreigner the thrush” and “the European sparrow” (Satchell 80).

Also, the representation of the landscape as wilderness is frequently noticeable: upon facing “the wilderness they had come sixteen thousand miles to transform into a garden of fertility and a centre of commerce” [emphasis added] (Adams 102), the settlers in The Counterfeit Seal repeatedly ask themselves whether there was “ever a place so wild as this transformed into a well-built city” [emphasis added] (Adams 100). Additionally, the plants encountered are referred to as “useless” and “noxious”, thus providing sufficient justification for their destruction and substitution. The desire to transform the new world and
make it “normal”, to substitute the wilderness for a replica of the old world, is clearly noticeable.

Further instances of colonisation via flora or fauna can be encountered in *The Story of a New Zealand River* and *The Counterfeit Seal*. On her way to her new home, Alice observes “[h]undreds of curlew, just arrived from Siberia” and “a solid pack of Scotch firs, horizon high” (Mander 21). The addition of “horizon high” implies that the firs, native to “northern Europe and Asia” (OED, “Scotch pine”), must have been planted many years before Alice’s arrival in the days of the early colonists in order for the trees to be able to reach such a height. This conclusion can be proven right when considering that it is mentioned in *The Counterfeit Seal* that “[c]are had been taken by those thoughtful men who had charge of the arrangements to see that many varieties of seeds suitable for a young colony, and also a large number of fruit trees and plants, were sent with each ship, and as much care was displayed in their wise distribution and prudent planting” (Adams 176).

As mentioned in the quote by Gibbon given above, one strategy to colonise the country and recreate home involves the layout of flower and vegetable gardens. One particularly representative example of such a garden is described thoroughly in *The Story of a New Zealand River*:

Trees from England, trees from the semi-tropical islands, and trees from the native forest grew there side by side. There were creamy magnolias, pink and salmon lasiandras, sweet laburnum, banana palms, white trailing clematis, the scarlet kowhai and bowers of tree ferns. Azaleas and jasmine and lilac and mock orange bushes were dotted about at random on the lawns. There were beds and beds of stocks and geraniums, and roses and sweet-williams, and snap-dragons and larkspurs, and lupins and lilies, and late narcissi and anemones, and early gladioli. There were jonquils in the grass, and violets and primroses filling up odd spaces everywhere. (Mander 42-43)

It is interesting to note in this passage that emphasis is put on the fact that native as well as imported flora seem to be co-existing peacefully without disturbing each other. The introduction of foreign plants and animals is represented as leading to no consequences for the native flora and fauna. However, Mander, in a later point in her novel (426), nevertheless refers to the
already mentioned displacement and extinction of native plants and animals which I will discuss in greater detail in chapter four.

While I have put the focus in this chapter on the colonisation via the importation of foreign flora and fauna and the attempt to recreate a known world in unknown, alien territory, I want to mention briefly one further, albeit very different aspect of how colonisation is carried out. When the Scottish settlers in *The Counterfeit Seal* arrive on the coast of New Zealand, they are greeted by native cheers. In the context of colonising practices it is, however, the European response and its representation in the novel which must be given special attention:

> There is no other shout of any nation that can be sent from the lungs and lips with such a violent percussion and sustained volume as that which is common to the British, and as it was repeated from the deck of the receding ship the Maoris listened in surprise at the wild roll of the Pakeha’s voice, as it recoiled from hill and rock and died away in the fading sounds of echo. [emphasis added] (Adams 83)

Clearly, colonisation in this case is neither exercised through flora or fauna, nor through a garden, but, as I argue, through voice – the shouts of the Europeans from the ship reach the country even before they physically appear on it. As I see it, it seems as if their calls were touching the landscape and recoiling from it, thereby reinforcing and intensifying the effect. Although no laws are written and no flags are hoisted, I nevertheless argue that the passage above is an important aspect, albeit less tangible in comparison to an introduced, foreign bird, of how a land can be colonised and declared as settlers’ property – through the use of voice.

### 3.2. The decision to emigrate

After having discussed the justifications for the colonisation of New Zealand as well as colonising activities, I will now examine first of all how the idea of emigration became known to and worthy of consideration for the characters and secondly, which factors influenced their decision to emigrate by relating the historical information presented in chapter two with an analysis of the novels. In doing so, I will try to find out whether aspects, which I have discussed
previously, such as the influence of associations or friends emigrated beforehand, can be re-encountered in the books.

3.2.1. A place called New Zealand…

As explained in the historical overview, associations played a significant role in making the possibility of emigration known to the characters. Lecture tours, for instance, were organised throughout Britain to introduce the people to the opportunities which emigration to the colonies would open up for them. Additionally, advertisements promoting the countries were published in newspapers and distributed to provide further, powerful incentives for the people. The efforts which associations put into calling attention to the colonies are particularly noticeable, as mentioned in chapter two, in *The Counterfeit Seal*. It is during such an organised lecture that Eric first hears of New Zealand and of the possibility of emigration to the country:

[H]e told how on the previous Monday night, [...] they were invited into the hall, where the Rev. Thomas Burns [...] was telling them all about a place called New Zealand. It was away on the other side of the world; but a good ship could sail to it in about four months, and that was very little more than it took them to reach the East Indies. Mr Burns said he was forming a band of emigrants to go and take possession of a most fertile country, and advised any able-bodied young man who wanted to improve his position in life, and was not afraid of hard work, to join his band and become one of the founders of a new nation. (Adams 7-8)

The passage illustrates well the Free Church Lay Association’s (Adams 9) efforts to represent the country as a desirable place to live in and to awaken peoples’ interests through such organised lecture tours. This essential aim is clearly achieved when Eric states in a conversation with his father that ever since “I heard Mr. Burns speak at the hall, I felt that if I could manage it without being ungenerous and unkind, I would be one of his band to start for New Zealand” (Adams 15). As a result of having heard an association’s lecturer talk about the colony, Eric immediately expresses his interest to accompany Mr. Burns to New Zealand.

It is not only Eric, though, who is attracted by the possibilities opening up. His father, having secretly dreamt of leaving Scotland for a long time (Adams 14), instantly joins in Eric’s considerations concerning an emigration. In order to
receive further information about the scheme, Mr. Thomson decides to visit Mr. McGlashan, the Edinburgh secretary of the Association (Adams 9, 15). At the office, next to the secretary’s attempts to persuade Mr. Thomson in their conversation of the advantages of an emigration to New Zealand by providing him with “useful information specially selected to convince him that he had now the flood tide of prosperity before him” (Adams 27), another important aspect of the work done by associations is noticeable – the distribution of promotional work. “On leaving the office he was loaded with papers and pamphlets bearing on Otago” (Adams 27), papers which aim at representing the colony in the most favourable and positive light possible:

The first article he read was descriptive of Otago Harbour, commencing with its entrance [sic] from the ocean; of the safety of its anchorage, the beautiful natural features of the scenery from the Heads to the site chosen for the town. He [Eric] was greatly interested and became, metaphorically, lost in the paper. (Adams 30)

However, as I have stated previously, it is not only the representation and promotion of the associations; a persistent and considerable influence in the decision-making process is exercised by friends and family emigrated beforehand. Geoffrey in The Toll of the Bush, for instance, decides to leave for New Zealand after having received a letter from his brother Robert: “It was at this juncture that a letter came to hand from Robert descriptive of his life at Major Milward’s, and full of hopes and projects for the future. To Geoffrey it seemed like the opening of a direct path through a maze and his resolve was quickly taken” (Satchell 28). The letter from Robert obviously directly influences Geoffrey to consider emigration to New Zealand as well. Also the newly arrived Scottish settlers in The Counterfeit Seal send letters home:

There was great quiet among the whares of the settlers that night. Letters by the score were being written to friends in the Old Land. There were very few who were not sitting with pen in hand, committing to paper his version of the voyage, the arrival, and the place. […] Eric wrote four letters – one to old Archie Rabb, one to David Moir, and one each to Mr. Knox and Kirsty […]. In the one to Kirsty he enclosed a rough pencil sketch of the site of the future city […]. (Adams 130-131)

Most of the characters not only send letters or sketches home, they also include little objects such as “pieces of greenstone […], small tree leaves, specimens of native art and industry and of Nature’s products” (Adams 131). By doing so, they not only aim at staying in contact with friends and family and giving those
left behind an impression of the new country; often, as mentioned previously, they thereby also initiate a process of secondary migration and provide important connections for friends and family to consider emigration as well. David Moir, for instance, who frequently refers to the emigration as “self-banishment” (Adams 35, 36) or to the country as a “land of darkness and joyless mystery” (Adams 36) or a “heathenish place” (Adams 164), greatly surprises the settlers when he also arrives in New Zealand. Evidently, letters and stories of success are convincing enough for characters like David Moir, who are initially opposed to the idea of emigration, to follow their friends, family or acquaintances to their new home.

As I have tried to show in this chapter, there are obviously several ways in which New Zealand and emigration to this colony can come to be known to the people. In the following section, I will now analyse the reasons the characters give concerning their desire to emigrate. Obviously, the associations’ efforts in promoting the country as a desirable place to live as well as letters and descriptions from people already emigrated are important, influential factors in awakening interest. However, I argue that for most characters there are deeper, underlying reasons which initiate the consideration of emigration as a personal opportunity and without which the associations’ works or letters from family members would not be that influential.

3.2.2. Reasons for emigration

To begin with, it has to be stated that the reasons which underlie the characters’ decision to emigrate to New Zealand are fundamentally different in all four novels. What they have in common, though, is the fact that they all originate from and are influenced by internal or external factors. Usually within migration theory, the terms “push” and “pull” factors (Voigt 49, Bueltmann, Correspondence 243-244) are used to discuss causes for emigration such as growing population in the countries of emigration or the discovery of mineral resources in the destinations (Voigt 49). In the context of this literary analysis, however, these two terms are not relevant as I do not focus on the greater social, industrial or political changes, but on the individual reasons for the characters. I therefore employ the terms internal and external factors to refer,
on the one hand, to a desire to emigrate which seems to derive from inner motivations and, on the other hand, to relate to outward conditions in a character’s life which make emigration a preferable alternative or even a necessity. Of course, an exclusive distinction between internal and external reasons and also push and pull factors cannot be made. Obviously, influential factors are interplaying and thereby, jointly, forming the basis for a character’s decision to emigrate. However, as I attempt to demonstrate, in most cases a primary reason is noticeable, for instance an internal desire may be leading a character to consider emigration and external conditions then serve as the final trigger to actually complete the necessary arrangements.

Particularly when talking about internal factors, the decision to emigrate is often linked to utopian dreams of finding a better world, compared to the point of origin. As Dominic Alessio (22) points out, “[a] number of commentators have identified a correlation between aspects of utopianism and New Zealand’s past.” He refers for instance to Miles Fairburn, who has established a connection between nineteenth century New Zealand and an arcadian myth, or James Belich, who has named the second volume of his history of New Zealand *Paradise Reforged* (Alessio 22). All three designations, utopia, arcadia and paradise, convey connotations of a state of perfection: “utopia” meaning “an ideal community or state” (Quinn 433) or an “ideal or superior […] human society” (Baldick 269), “arcadia” referring to “an ideal world of rural simplicity and tranquillity” (Baldick 18) and “paradise” describing “a place or region of surpassing beauty or delight, or of supreme bliss” (OED, “paradise”).

I have already referred to the perception and representation of New Zealand as an exceptional settler society right from the beginning of the colonial period. In relation to this, Lyman Tower Sargent’s study of utopian works about New Zealand needs to be mentioned. He identifies 106 “New Zealand-related utopian works which were published between 1778 and 1930” (Sargent qtd. in Alessio 23, 38), which created, reinforced and distributed notions and ideas of the country as a paradise-like place:

They included the country’s island status, distance from Old World Europe, rich and varied beautiful topography, late settlement *vis á vis* other settler societies, healthy climate, impression as a destination where
social and economic advancement was possible, reputation for radical political experimentation, presumed ‘racial’ superiority (of both Europeans and Maori), and supposed better history of contact between colonized and colonizer. (Alessio 22-23)

In the subsequent analysis of the novels, several of these notions can now be found to reinforce and influence the external conditions or internal desires leading a character to emigrate.

As stated before, in most cases a primary reason influencing a character’s decision to emigrate is noticeable, although influential factors are clearly frequently interplaying. Some of the most striking examples of external reasons will help to illustrate this point. On the one hand, the Small family in The Runaway Settlers has to be mentioned. As the title already explains, the family are runaways, escaping from a brutal husband and father. The man’s frequent, violent attacks against his family lead Mrs. Small to think of ways to save her children and emigration to another country seems to her the only possibility: “A week’s grace we have, to be away to a place where he’ll never find us. Never again!” (Locke 14). The mother is well aware that remaining in the same city as the father is too dangerous for them, he “would surely find us in the end” (Locke 21). On the other hand, there is Alice in The Story of a New Zealand River, who makes the decision to emigrate on the basis of an unwanted, and for her family intolerable, pregnancy:

[…] and when I was eighteen I met the man. He was older than I – he was thirty – and he was the handsomest man who was ever seen in our town. […] He said we were engaged, and he promised to marry me – and so it happened. […] And then – then I found I was going to have a child. […] I nearly died of horror. I don’t know now how I went through it. I couldn’t commit suicide – I was religious. I felt I had to think of the child – that saved me. I took what money I had, and came out to Australia. (Mander 336-337)

Since Alice’s secret is quickly guessed in Australia, she acts on an advice given to her to wear widow’s clothes and go to New Zealand. In both cases, an external factor – the abusive husband and the unwanted pregnancy – serves as primary reason for emigration to New Zealand. Of course, an inner desire to get away from the past, to create a distance between the old home and New Zealand and start a new life are influential factors too, but I argue that without
the outer circumstances, neither Mrs. Small nor Alice would have considered emigration in the first place.

Also Robert's and Geoffrey's parents in The Toll of the Bush base their decision to emigrate on an outward condition: “[The family physician] diagnosed lung trouble of a serious nature, and put before his patient the alternative of a short life in London, or restored health and a prospect of longevity in a kindlier climate” (Satchell 25). Mr. Hernshaw initially opposes the idea of emigration, “expressing his own preference for the present order of things at whatever cost” (Satchell 25), thereby showing clearly that he is not driven by an irresistible urge to start a new life. However, the circumstances – the father’s declining health – ultimately trigger the hope of finding a better climate and with it a longer life in New Zealand in comparison with Britain. Both factors lead the family to consider emigration and consequently outweigh the father’s disapproval: “And so it came about that husband and wife sailed for New Zealand” (Satchell 25).

Geoffrey himself is one of the characters for whom inner desires as well as outward conditions seem to be equally influencing the decision. Having been left behind as a child by his parents and put in the care of a wealthy uncle (Satchell 25), he is suddenly told of his uncle’s financial difficulties:

> Of late I have had losses; they have been long continued and severe, and though I believe I have weathered the worst and am now beginning to make headway again, yet, as a fact, I am a poorer man than I was fifteen or twenty years ago. [...] Now things are different, and though the means of subsistence are secured to you all, there is not, I am afraid, at this moment very much more. (Satchell 28)

As a consequence of this conversation, Geoffrey decides to leave Britain and begin a new life in New Zealand. Looking only at this passage, it seems clear that it is an outward condition which triggers his decision – his uncle has financial difficulties and thus Geoffrey decides to emigrate. However, important inner motivations are joining in: a strong incentive for him is “prov[ing] his ability to support himself by his own effort” (Satchell 67) and “reliev[ing] his uncle of the cost of his support” (Satchell 28). Additionally, Geoffrey states that he wants to go to New Zealand for his “own personal gratification” (Satchell 29), thus giving the impression that inner and outer factors are balanced and equally important in this particular decision-making process.
In contrast to Geoffrey, the characters in *The Counterfeit Seal* seem to be making their decision based primarily on an inner wish to encounter better prospects in a new country. Already in the opening pages of the novel, this is repeatedly verbalised when Eric explains his desire to leave his old home and go to New Zealand: he wants “to start in life and reach comfort before old age” (Satchell 8), making his love Kirsty Knox the “mistress of a fine house, with comfort and prosperity” (Satchell 34). Eric further states that “the new land would be a ‘better land,’ and in that better land we would find a happier home than we could get together here” (Satchell 8). Eric’s father shares his son’s opinion and determination to emigrate when he suggests that the whole family should accompany Eric on his journey to New Zealand and likewise, begin a new life away from Scotland. He argues that “[…] I would like to see you all with some better prospects in life than I can think lies before you if we stay here” (Satchell 14).

As Eric Richard (qtd. in Finkelstein 98) derives from a reading of historical correspondence of Scottish emigrants, “the very act of emigration produced a heightened consciousness of social status, and an aspiration towards independence.” It is clearly noticeable in the passages above that for both Eric and his father, utopian dreams of social and economic advancement and independence in comparison to their life in Scotland are the most influential factors in making their decision. Alessio (25) points out that much of the promotional literature that circulated at that time, “praised the colony” and represented it as “the poor man’s paradise” (The Immigrants Prospects in New Zealand Handbook, qtd. in Alessio 25). Eric knows that his employer Archie is right when the latter states that Eric could “make a fine living by just continuing the business” (Adams 22), but he dreams of more for Kirsty’s sake:

[...] when I have tried to look into the future, and picture you [Kirsty] and me as happy in each other’s love as two turtle doves, I have at the same time seen a dark side to the picture, and that has made my heart sore. I am only a working cobbler, but as my name is Eric Thomson I am resolved to be something else for your sake, Kirsty. I couldn’a’ make you a poor cobbler’s wife, but I will make a home worthy of you […].

(Satchell 7)
It is clearly noticeable that in this particular novel, the primary reason to emigrate originates from within the characters and their dream of finding a better life and improved prospects.

To conclude, I want to refer back to the introductory passage of this chapter. As I have tried to illustrate, the reasons for emigration which can be encountered in the novels are diverse and often, inner and outer push and pull factors seem to be joining together and influencing the characters in their decisions. Often a primary reason can be encountered, for instance for the Small family, Alice and the Hernshaws inner desires are less noticeable and decisions are based on outward conditions, while for the characters in *The Counterfeit Seal* utopian dreams of finding a better world trigger the thought of emigration to New Zealand. Whatever the reasons for emigration, though, all of the characters leave their family and friends behind and begin a new life in a faraway country. The last part of this chapter about colonisation and emigration is therefore dedicated to the reactions of family and friends once the settlers make their decision to emigrate known publicly.

### 3.2.3. Reaction of friends and family

In the section about Orientalism I have already referred to the construction of binary oppositions between the Old World and the colonies. “Each is assumed to exist in opposition to the other, with the Orient [or the colonies] always coming off the worse from any comparison” (McLeod 49). By describing the Orient, or the colonies, negatively, instantly a positive image of the West is created (McLeod 49) and, as a consequence, European culture gains in strength and self-awareness (Said 3). Despite the associations’ promotional work to represent the country as a desirable place to live, stereotypes based on binary oppositions were incessantly constructed and repeated which, on the one hand, justified colonisation and on the other hand help to explain negative reactions of friends and family members.

Most notably such rejecting reactions can be found in *The Counterfeit Seal*. Already when Eric mentions for the first time to Kirsty’s family that he is considering emigration, this construction of stereotypes is noticeable:
'It'll not be with my free will she'll ever go so far from home; to a country where white folk are killed and eaten by blackamores,' said her mother, evidently becoming excited over the idea of her daughter being served up at a savage gathering of wild cannibals as a savoury dish. (Adams 12)

I will discuss the production of knowledge about the Māori in more detail in the chapter about the natives and the settlers, for the moment I only mention that within colonialist discourses “the colonised subject is always in motion, sliding ambivalently between the polarities of similarity and difference, rationality and fantasy” (McLeod 64). The construction of stereotypes then serves as “an attempt to arrest this motion and fix the colonised once and for all” (McLeod 65). As the passage given above illustrates, often the stereotypes evolve around “savagery, cannibalism, lust, and anarchy” (Bhabha 96). By talking about the Māori as a wild savage who is eating and killing settlers, the native is assigned a certain identity by Kirsty’s mother and fixed exactly through such stereotypes of cannibalism, savagery and anarchy.

In order then to hold the colonised in his/her place, these stereotypes are consequently frequently repeated (McLeod 65). As mentioned previously, the country is often referred to as a “land of darkness and joyless mystery” (Adams 36), a “heathenish place” (Adams 164), or by David Moir in a conversation with Kirsty, as a “land overrun with savage cannibals” (Adams 52), thereby focusing on the stereotypes of savagery, cannibalism and anarchy. At this point, it is worth mentioning the source of David Moir’s “knowledge”. Just like associations were promoting the country and highlighting its advantages in contrast with other colonies, newspapers, in an attempt to offer sensational journalism, published contrasting representations. Moir states that

[…] I have read in a recent copy of the Scotsman of some terrible doings by New Zealand natives. Their treachery is there described as of the lowest and most cunning nature. While they pretend to be friends of the missionaries and of whalers who have gone to live among them, they do so merely from policy, and when it suits themselves they fall on them in cold blood in the most ferocious manner, and massacre men, women, and children, and then eat their bodies after roasting them in a great oven dug out of the earth. (Adams 52)

Although Kirsty is in principle aware that the comments about the natives of New Zealand might be wrong (“But they were told that […] all the natives were
now Christian people. If that is true they cannot be cannibals” (Adams 52)), hoping that Moir has been “reading some made-up story” (Adams 53), she is clearly influenced by Moir’s and her father’s constant reproduction of the stereotypes, which can be observed in her stating towards the end of the novel:

‘New Zealand!’ at last she said, raising herself with a very bitter expression for her, ‘New Zealand! as father says, a wild island in the ocean, inhabited by wilder men, whose greatest pleasure is in murder and cannibalism! What a place for me to think of going to! How absurd ever to have dreamed of it! (Adams 159)

The fact that stereotypes are persistent and cannot easily be challenged, not even through different, personal experiences, is made obvious when the settlers are invited to join in a Māori feast. Despite having lived several weeks near the natives and having had contact with them on several occasions, the conviction that the Māori is savage and wild is still prevalent:

While she [a Māori woman] was in the whare, the men and women of the settlement kept gathering in numbers and squatted in a wide circle round the visitors, still increasing their surprise and wonder. At last they were surrounded by between two and three hundred natives, who spoke with one another, in a lively fashion, a language which the pakeha knew nothing about. This situation was anything but pleasant to some of the women, who still retained fears that the cannibal nature of their captors might not have been overcome, or even if it had there might still remain the old hatred of intruders, and this was merely the prelude to some terrible outbreak, and perhaps a massacre. (Adams 136)

Additionally to the creation and repetition of stereotypes which characterise the reactions to the idea of emigration to New Zealand, it is most notably disapproval and incomprehension with which the settlers are repeatedly confronted. Kirsty’s father, for instance, wonders in a conversation with Mr. Thomson why the latter should now “rush away from the midst of friends, among whom neither you nor yours, will ever want, to make a new start in life, in a strange world; where all around you will be strangers, who can have no care for you more than for men of another nation” (Adams 19). Mr. Knox expresses his disapproval openly when he states during the Thomsons’ last evening in Scotland: “[…] I think [they] should never leave. […] I think [they are] making a great mistake to quit the country of [their] birth, the land of a glorious past, and destined to have a yet more glorious future” (Adams 45). Also Archie cannot understand his employee Eric’s desire to emigrate: “Surely, in the name of common sense, you don’t mean to say you have made up your mind to go
from Bonnie Scotland, the land of your ancestors and all their glorious deeds of heroism, to live in a land inhabited by savages”’ (Adams 23). It is noticeable that neither Mr. Knox nor Archie Rabb can comprehend their friends’ desire to emigrate. For them, the emigration to New Zealand is equated with loneliness due to the absence of friends and the exchange of a land, full of history, for a land full of savages.

Particularly Archie Rabb’s statement above is worth examining in more detail as it, again, involves the repetition of stereotypes and the creation of a binary opposition. It contrasts “Bonnie Scotland, the land of your ancestors and all their glorious deeds of heroism” with New Zealand, “a land inhabited by savages.” The same is true for David Moir: “The dullness of a life cut off from city amusements and from social rank were enough to make him shudder at the thought of self-banishment among a few fanatics. He enjoyed society and all the diversification of social interchange […]” (Adams 35). Scotland, in both cases, is represented positively – a place full of history, civilisation, city life and amusement, while the colony is simultaneously constructed as its opposite – a dull place, cut off from social rank and thus anarchic, savage and uncivilised.

Although The Counterfeit Seal is the only novel in which the reaction of family members or friends is repeatedly put into the centre of attention, one passage in The Toll of the Bush also deals with the response of family members to the idea of emigration. When Geoffrey resolves to leave his home and travel to New Zealand, his family’s reaction is clearly negative:

The girls promised him a Maori wife, and to arouse his aversion to such a lot appeared before him in petticoats, their hair dishevelled […]. The boys characterised the proceeding strongly as ‘rotten,’ and suggested all manner of harrowing and degrading occupations, which they feigned to believe were preferable to the abandonment of the land of his birth. (Satchell 28)

Again, New Zealand and Britain are contrasted, even though less explicitly than in the passages above. I argue that the girls’ appearance in their petticoats with their hair dishevelled signals on the one hand the reconstruction of the savage, uncivilised stereotype and on the other hand, constructs European culture as superior by showing what Māori culture is (or rather, what it is thought to be) – uncivilised and uncultured – and what Western culture is therefore not.
3.3. Preliminary conclusion

As indicated in the introduction, I will now, in order to conclude, offer an attempt to summarise and compare the most striking differences between the novels concerning emigration and colonisation. In the previous pages I have tried to show that notions of Said’s Orientalism, such as the creation of binary oppositions which assign the colonies an inferior position while at the same time positioning the coloniser as superior in order to justify New Zealand’s colonisation and occupation, can be encountered in an analysis of the novels. By choosing quotes from The Story of a New Zealand River and The Counterfeit Seal I have illustrated how the country is portrayed as changeless and static and how New Zealand is perceived in these two novels as well as in The Toll of the Bush in gendered terms. Additionally, nature or the colony as such are described using specifically sexual vocabulary which feminises the country and represents it as passive and submissive, which in turn justifies the domination and possession by the coloniser, the masculine. The most distinctive difference between the four novels is the fact that in The Runaway Settlers such justifications as those presented above cannot be found. In this particular novel, the country is never feminised through sexual connotations, nor is the land ever represented as backwards or primitive – notions from Said’s concept of Orientalism are therefore not applicable in an analysis of The Runaway Settlers. I argue that the explanation of the absence of Orientalist representations lies less in the publication date of The Runaway Settlers, but more in its classification as a children’s book in which rather sexual connotations such as the representation of the country as an untouched virgin are not appropriate.

Following this application of Orientalism to the colony, I have continued with an analysis of colonising activities through examining aspects such as the introduction of foreign flora and fauna. Additionally, I have touched upon the perception of the landscape as wilderness and the consequent transformation of the land into something known to and normal for the characters. Regarding this aspect of colonising activities, it can be stated that a difference between the
novels cannot be found – in all four books, references, for instance, to imported plants or animals and the subsequent transformation of the land are noticeable.

In summary, the focus in the first part of chapter three was predominantly on the landscape and its perception and representation in the novels. In the second part of the chapter I have consequently turned to the immigrants, discussing how the idea of emigration to New Zealand became known to the characters and which reasons and motivations influenced their emigration. Clearly, differences regarding these reasons can be encountered in all four novels, but they are, as I argue, the result of the different plots and not consequences of a publication date or genre. Finally, I have discussed reactions of friends and family to the characters’ decision to emigrate, showing that stereotypes, mostly related to savagery, anarchy and cannibalism, permeate attitudes and develop into facts which not even different personal experiences can remove.

In order to conclude, I want to consider briefly the following question in light of the previous discussion of colonisation and emigration: In how far do the settlers perceive of themselves as colonisers? Are they aware of their status as colonists? One possible answer to this question can be found when looking back again at Alice’s comment on the “invaded silence” and “violent assaults” (Mander 55). I argue that her choice of words reflects that she does not see herself or other settlers simply as immigrants to a new country, but as penetrators into a different world, which they feel they have to change and cultivate according to their own standards, noticeable for instance in the cutting down of trees.

Related to this argument, I argue that the importation of flora and fauna and the conscious replacement of native plants and animals represent further evidence of the awareness on the part of the settlers of being colonisers – they do not accept the country as they find it, but attempt to change and transform it into a replica of the old world. Beyond that, Eric’s comment on a Māori woman reinforces this impression – he talks about the need of the native people to start imitating the settlers, thereby justifying colonisation, as McLeod (24) puts it, “in benign or moral terms, as a way of spreading the benefits of Western civilisation
and saving native peoples from their own perceived barbarism.” In my opinion, the most significant scene, however, is the pastor’s speech in *The Counterfeit Seal* in which he states: “Go ye in and possess the land” (Adams 91) – a statement which makes unmistakably clear the settlers’ perception of themselves as colonisers.

What these four examples now have in common is their reference to change and transformation, more explicit in the pastor’s and less direct, but still noticeable in Alice’s words. As I see it, this is the moment where Said’s concept of Orientalism, the colonisation and its justification overlap and relate with the emigration of the people. They perceive of the colony in particular ways – be it primitive, backwards or in gendered terms – and through their desire and attempt to change the conditions encountered, to import, to serve as a model for the natives and transform them too, and particularly through their own awareness of these processes, they become not visitors or tolerated immigrants, but colonisers.
4. The settlers’ difficulties

After having previously discussed the reasons and motivations involved in the decision-making process, I will now examine the difficulties and problems the settlers encounter once arrived in the new country. Basically, I make a distinction between physical challenges, such as the cultivation of the land, and psychological difficulties, for instance the isolation, both geographical and social, which many characters experience in the new world. Obviously, physical and psychological difficulties cannot be fully separated when it comes to the influence they exert on the lives of the characters – many early settlers will undoubtedly have suffered from isolation while simultaneously being confronted with the task of taming what they perceived to be wilderness. In the context of my thesis, though, I am going to discuss each aspect separately, categorising challenges either as physical or as psychological.

4.1. Physical challenges

4.1.1. Cultivating the wilderness

In the section about colonising activities, I have already touched upon the fact that many characters in the novel perceive their new home as a wilderness which they feel they have to tame and transform into a replica of the old world. Coleman (227) states that a “disproportionate amount of mental and physical energy […] was consumed in the task of converting the wilderness into productive farming land, a task which, despite its immensity, was accomplished in barely more than two generations, from 1840 to 1914.” Particularly Coleman’s reference to the conversion of the wilderness within two generations is worth closer attention in the context of my thesis, since his time frame coincides almost exactly with the publication dates of three of the novels under analysis. Of course, it could be argued that The Runaway Settlers must receive special attention due to its publication date in 1965. Since Elsie Locke, however, states in a historical note at the beginning of her novel that her characters behave, that is “speak, and dress, and act” (9), as people did in the 1860s, I will not treat this particular novel differently but rather attempt a comparison with The Counterfeit Seal, the novel with the earliest publication date, in order to see whether Locke can keep her promise of an authentic representation. In the following discussion
I will deal with each book individually, beginning with the novel with the earliest publication date and chronologically trace the development from wilderness to civilisation, in order to probe the veracity of Coleman’s statement in the context of the novels.

Starting from Coleman’s specification of time, the first novel under analysis is *The Counterfeit Seal*, set in the late 1840s. The perception of the country as wilderness is articulated early on in the novel when Eric sees the country for the first time: “My expectation was certainly not to see a place like this. It is wild and confusing” [emphasis added] (Adams 85). The way to the site chosen for the construction of the city of Dunedin leads the characters

[...] through the bush into gullies, over creeks, up ridges, down glens, scrambling through thickets of dense undergrowth, clambering over fallen trees, occasionally being able to look up and see the sky between the branches of the trees that towered high above them. (Adams 97)

It is clearly noticeable that the settlers, being amongst the first Europeans to arrive in the 1840s, have come to a country where they are confronted with what they perceive to be untamed wilderness. In order to convert this wilderness into “a well-built city, with good straight streets and comfortable footpaths” (Adams 100), they immediately begin with “removing the fern, tussock, or brushwood” (Adams 102), fully aware of the hard work lying ahead of them:

‘However, we are in Dunedin,’ interjected Peter. ‘This is the place we have to turn into a town. That will take a long time to accomplish.’
‘Rome was not built in a day,’ said James Carmichael, ‘and even one stitch at a time gets to the end of a long seam.’ (Adams 100)

Also the following metaphor illustrates well, on the one hand, the wilderness with which the characters feel they are confronted and, on the other hand, the self-imposed task to cultivate, change and convert this wilderness:

‘When I was last in Princes Street, Edinburgh,’ said James, ‘I was looking at a marble statue; so beautiful and smooth, and excellently polished, was every part of that great piece of stone, that it was a delight to look at it; yet before the artist commenced to work on it, it was a coarse, irregular, unpleasing block.’ [...] ‘The roughest block of marble, in the hands of a skilful artist, may give forth the finest specimen of statuary. So, possibly, in the hands of a capable engineer, this rough site may develop into a picturesque city,’ [...] (Adams 101)
It is interesting to note further that in the novel wilderness seems to be equated with nothingness: “Before them lay the teeming face of nature, producing *nothing* but a growth of *useless* and noxious plants” [emphasis added] (Adams 102). The characters clearly acknowledge the existence of native flora, unavoidable when having to fight a way through the forest, but they perceive of what they encounter as worthless and consequently as “nothing”.

Of course, the most important and pressing need for the newly arrived immigrants after their arrival was the immediate construction of sheltered accommodations: “The first thing they had now to consider was the erection of some kind of temporary shelter for themselves, while they constructed accommodation for their families” (Adams 102). Frequently, the settlers’ busyness and activity is reflected: “the place was even so soon assuming an appearance of life and energy” (Adams 130), with “[a]xes, picks, spades, shovels, and grubhoes (sic) […] being used in all directions” (Adams 145). It is interesting that exactly during these labour activities the settlers need to begin using what they have until then regarded as worthless: “the rudest materials were employed in the construction of the houses” (Adams 145). Plants which had been previously regarded as noxious and of no value, suddenly gain importance in the lives of the settlers upon their realisation of the possibility to use them, which consequently leads to an adaptation of the work processes:

> The wiser had, while the sun shone early in the day, been watching for anything that might turn up suitable for any of their wants. These had cut and laid aside, that they might be well dried, bundles of tussock grass or dried ferns (bracken), and at night as soon as the sun had set behind the western hills they had put it inside, and when the time came they were able to spread out excellent mattresses between themselves and the damp earth. (Adams 108)

As the quote illustrates, relatively early on in the construction of accommodations, several settlers recognise and acknowledge the utility of the plants. Interestingly, in the same passage, the contrasting of the choices of the “wiser” settlers with that of others indicates that a further transition from regarding the plants as useful to actually evaluating them as important occurs: “Others who had just done things as they reached the stage for doing them had not the same *comforts* or *security* against the risks of damp” [emphasis added] (Adams 108). What is brought forth by the land is no longer seen as worthless,
but rather perceived as a means to create comfort and a feeling of security – an important change in the perception of the new territory on the part of the settlers.

To summarise, the characters in *The Counterfeit Seal* are confronted with a, in a European sense, not yet cultivated wilderness from the moment of their arrival in New Zealand. They have to fight their way through the dense forest and they have to start constructing accommodations, using whatever material they can find. In other words, they are the pioneers levelling the ground for the arrival of later immigrants. Following the attempt to trace the development from wilderness to cultivation chronologically, the next novel to examine is *The Runaway Settlers*, set in the 1860s. Referring back to Coleman (227) who does not see the conversion of the wilderness to be completed before approximately 1914, I assume that only a slight difference concerning the immigrants’ experiences in New Zealand will be noticeable after a period of roughly twenty years between the arrival of the settlers in *The Counterfeit Seal* and the Small family in *The Runaway Settlers*.

In fact, the first description the family hears of the country resembles very much Eric’s first impression of the place as a wilderness as it is represented as “tipped on end with rocks all over the place” (Locke 28), thus implying that most of the country is not yet cultivated according to European standards. This notion seems to be confirmed during the family’s walk to Cashmere, Cracroft Wilson’s sheep station:

> The family rested at the top of the Bridle Path while the donkeys nosed about among the tussock. Below, for mile after mile the plains stretched out towards the foot of the snowy ranges. They looked bare and dull. The new town of Christchurch in the distance showed only a few buildings dotted among the flax and cabbage trees and patches of swamp. (Locke 38)

The difference to the novel analysed before is clearly that the Small family is not among the very first people to arrive in New Zealand and does therefore not encounter an altogether empty landscape, as the reference to buildings in the distance proves. Also the first impression of Lyttelton demonstrates the work done previously by other settlers, as the town is described as a “little port, rather like a tiny copy of Sydney with its houses scattered over the hillsides, a few
hotels and stores” (Locke 37). Nevertheless, the view across the interior of the country is still desolate – only a few buildings are identifiable among a great area of forest and swamp, or, in other words, an area which creates the impression of nothingness. Like in The Counterfeit Seal, also the characters in The Runaway Settlers are therefore needed to join in the cultivation of the wilderness: “They were cutting the tough, stiff blades of the flax. The fertile sunny valleys were heavy swamp where the flax grew tall enough to hide a horse and his rider. Before they could be drained, ploughed and sown with grass, the leaves must be cut by hand […]” (Locke 41).

An important difference between the two novels, as I have just mentioned, is the fact that Mrs. Small and her children are not among the first pioneers and can therefore, instead of having to build their accommodation, move into an already existing hut, thus benefiting to some extent on work done previously. It is, however, exactly in this context of accommodation that another corresponding aspect can be observed – the Small family also has to make use of material they can find in their surroundings:

Small though it was, the hut was completely sound. The rat-holes along the earthen floor had to be stopped up with stones. As for the roof, a few patches of thatch needed renewing, and this had to be done with tussock which was not handy to find; so Jack and Bill, who had thought they were free of flax-cutting, were sent again to the nearby gully to fetch flax and toetoe for temporary repairs. Archie and Mrs Phipps took out the axe and cut a pile of strong, supple branches to mend the bunks. There was no sacking to be found, but in the gully there was a mass of vine – pohuehue – with dry, springy stalks, which was as good as a wire mattress. (Locke 58-60)

In this context of employing what is available, the phenomenon of syncretism has to be put into the centre of attention. Initially, the term was applied to explain “different religious phenomena” (Levinskaya 117), with many Old Testament scholars using it “to describe the process by which ancient Israel assimilated elements from surrounding cultures” (Schineller 50). In the course of time, the term acquired other kinds of meanings, though. The Oxford English Dictionary, for instance, does no longer focus exclusively on religious phenomena but defines the term as “the merging of two or more inflectional categories” (OED, “syncretism”) and “the process of fusing diverse ideas or
sensations into a general (inexact) impression.” Clifford (qtd. in Schäfer 81) describes syncretism as “a form of cultural contact, a conscious process, an intellectual effort to incorporate foreign elements into one’s own culture, re-interpreting and appropriating them”. Ultimately, the definition of syncretism by postcolonial scholars Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffins (229) as the “fusion of two distinct traditions to produce a new and distinctive whole”, together with the words of Canadian playwright Tomson Highway who speaks of “[...] taking the best of both worlds, combining them and coming up with something new [...]” (Interview with Highway in Wilson 354, qtd. in Schäfer 83) is helpful to understand in what manner the term is used in the context of my thesis.

Applying the definitions to an analysis of the novels, it is particularly in The Runaway Settlers that an incorporation of a foreign element into one’s own culture and the creation of something new can be observed. Immediately after their arrival in New Zealand, the family has limited means and can only afford “the simplest of meals” (Locke 66). However, a discovery leads to more variety: “But one day, while bringing water from the spring, Archie nibbled at a thick green leaf and liked the taste. Mrs. Phipps cooked some of the leaves and they did very well instead of spinach” [emphasis added] (Locke 66). This passage is not only significant because the family employs what is available in their new home, but also because of the adjunct “instead of spinach” – the “thick green leaf”, a foreign element, is re-interpreted, it is combined with the family’s culture and consciously incorporated into the family’s diet instead of an ingredient from the old world, not available in their new home.

Summing up, I argue that Elsie Locke manages to give a very authentic impression of what settlers encountered during their first weeks in New Zealand. The differences to The Counterfeit Seal are clearly the more or less already existing township of Lyttelton, signs of cultivation which can be expected after twenty years of organised settlement. However, like the Scottish immigrants, also the settlers in Locke’s book have to put physical energy in the task of cultivating and living with the wilderness – be it through fighting their way through flax and fern or through using the material they can find for repairing and extending their new home.
The last two books to look at in this examination of the cultivation of the land are *The Toll of the Bush*, published in 1905 and *The Story of a New Zealand River*, published in 1920. Referring back again to Coleman, the assumption can be made that by their respective times of publication, the cultivation and conversion of New Zealand’s wilderness must have been nearly completed.

*The Toll of the Bush*, however, presents a different view: already the opening lines illustrate that New Zealand is still perceived of as a predominantly uncultivated place:

> At that point, and for the next fifty miles, the Great North Road was a sea of mud, but the travellers paid small attention to the fact, and it was only when their horses' legs sank suddenly through a broken culvert that they made remarks uncomplimentary to the County Council and the Government. [...] Behind them, on a neck of land jutting out into the broad tidal river, lay the township – a handful of white wooden buildings – shut in, save where cut by the roadway, by an impenetrable sea of scrub. [...] Here and there were clearings, dwarfed into insignificance by the immensity of the virgin landscape from which they had been hewn. (Satchell 17-18)

As can be seen from this passage, the road is not finished yet, only a few buildings bear witness to the presence of people and the township is enclosed by bush. Also, the reference to clearings is immediately contrasted with the size of the landscape not yet cultivated. Simultaneously with the perception of the country as wilderness, an impression of nothingness and emptiness is created. For instance, it is stated that a track leading to the Gird family ends at their doorstep (Satchell 80) and beyond this boundary, there is nothing but “a hundred miles of native bush land” (Satchell 110).

Like in the novels analysed before, references to the perceived “need” to convert this wilderness “into a garden where men could live contentedly” (Satchell 19) can be observed. But in order to create such a garden, the settlers are likewise expected to put in a great amount of physical effort:

> For three months Andersen had been employed on the new road which was being cut through fifty miles of dense primeval bush to the gum-fields on the Kaipara river. Winding through dark valleys and around hills, a wall of living green in front, a sinuous track of desolation behind, the pioneers of civilisation forced their way ever farther and farther from the settlements into the gloom of the forest. The obtaining of stores, at first the work of a few hours, gradually increased into the arduous labour of
days, and news of the outer world leaked through more sparingly and at longer intervals. (Satchell 164)

The quote illustrates well the hard work with which the settlers are confronted. As in the 1840s and 1860s, the men have to cut their way through the bush, further, the reference to the infrequent contact to the world outside the bush shows again the immensity of the not yet cultivated landscape. While Andersen is employed to help building the road through the bush, a conversation between Geoffrey and his neighbour Sandy shows that much work needs to be done also on private properties:

‘And how long will it all take?’ asked Sandy.
‘About a month, I suppose.’
‘And after that?’
‘Well, there’s a good deal of fencing to be done, and then there’s the hoeing – I don’t know. It seems to go on.’ Geoffrey looked absently out across the landscape. [...] ‘You can’t prevent it. How can you? Every stroke of work on a place like this accumulates further work at compound interest. (Satchell 35)

Both quotes leave the impression that the characters are expected to work hard and incessantly on the transformation of the wilderness into civilisation. In so far, The Toll of the Bush does not appear different from The Counterfeit Seal and The Runaway Settlers – the settlers are confronted with a wilderness, which they feel they have to convert, the process of cultivating the country seems, in contrast to Coleman’s argument, not at all completed.

However, an interesting observation casts a new light on this tentative conclusion – the references to earlier arrived settlers. Robert, for instance, tells his brother Geoffrey about a neighbour’s place which “must have looked like this [clay and scrub] twenty years ago” but which is “green enough now” (Satchell 18). He relates further Major Milward’s life who

[...] built his first whare on the sand-bank where he lives now. [...] He didn’t have a great deal of money – just a few hundreds. He got hold of things slowly – kauri bushes and that, and every now and then he put in a few trees, and branded a few calves, and added a room or two to the house. He kept on growing, and it didn’t take as long as I said – not by a generation; he’s been a rich man longer’n we’ve been alive. (Satchell 23-24)
Major Milward, having arrived fifty years earlier than Geoffrey (Satchell 24) and thus one of the first settlers to come to New Zealand, makes experiences similar to those of the characters in Locke’s and Adam’s novels – after his arrival, he has to construct his accommodation, slowly working his way up from a poor immigrant to a rich man, turning into a model of a successful settler whom later settlers can strive to imitate. Individually, the newly arriving settlers still face hard work and need to participate in the cultivation of the wilderness, thereby in a way contradicting Coleman’s argument of the transformation being completed by the turn of the century. However, the reference to Major Milward, and particularly the mentioning of his fortune qualifies this impression. I argue that through referring to the accumulation of wealth in the quote above, noticeable also later in the fact that he can provide his daughter with a “ball dress of cream silk” (Satchell 152) as well as diamonds for the Christmas dance, it is indicated that the situation for the now arriving settlers is different. A considerable amount of work regarding the cultivation of the land has already been done by the pioneer settlers, consequently, the newly arriving immigrants can, to some extent, enjoy and benefit from the results of the earlier settlers’ efforts. The cultivation of the wilderness still constitutes an important aspect of the later immigrants’ lives, but it is no longer their primary occupation; instead, they have time to participate, for instance, in the earlier settlers’ social events (Satchell 149-158).

This impression is confirmed by the situation in The Story of a New Zealand River, where the conversion of the wilderness is finally nearly completed. Alice travels to her new home relatively comfortably on a punt (Mander 11) instead of having to force her way through dense forest. Although her new home is not what she had expected, she can move into an already built house instead of having to build or wait for an accommodation to be constructed (Mander 22). Only once is there a reference to a perceived nothingness in the novel when Asia’s friend Ross observes a “wide area of what looked like nothingness in comparison with the view elsewhere” (Mander 312). Particular emphasis, though, has to be put on the words “in comparison”. I argue that this adjunct qualifies Ross’ observation and generate the feeling that it is only because of the contrast with what Ross has seen in the country previously that he now
perceives of the forest as an area of nothingness. In fact, frequent references to progress concerning the cultivation confirm my argument: Tom Roland, for instance, states that the “[t]ramway’s begun. Soon you’ll see the logs coming like greased lightning down that slope to the bay” (Mander 51). In the nearby village Kaiwaka, “six houses, a church and a store” (Mander 54) are already built and prospects for the bay include the construction of a school (Mander 54). The busyness in the area is particularly illustrated in the description of the mill, which Roland builds in the course of the novel:

By day the whole bay vibrated with the whistle and screech of the circular saw, the tear of the breakdowns, the rasp of the drags, the rattling of chains on the skids, the hum of the belting, the scream and clank of the donkey engines as they loaded flitches into the voracious holds of the ships, and, as a running accompaniment to all these, the triumphant roar of the great engines that drove every wheel and chain and belt. (Mander 217-218)

Clearly, the characters still work at the transformation of their surroundings, but it is a different kind of transformation, as the construction of the mill or the following statement shows: “[t]he bay was now a township. It had its own post office, its little public school, its town hall, its football field. The store had grown till it was now a warehouse […]” (Mander 273). The task for the characters in this particular novel lies no longer in the domination and cultivation of the wilderness, but in the further development of the country.

In order to conclude this analysis, I argue that a chronological development from wilderness to cultivation is clearly noticeable in the four novels, which consequently confirms Coleman’s argument of the wilderness being transformed into productive land between 1840 and 1914. The characters in *The Counterfeit Seal* and *The Runaway settlers*, arriving in the 1840s and 1860s, come to an untamed wilderness, they have to fight their way through dense forest and, in the case of the Scottish settlers, have to construct accommodations. The situation is already different for the settlers in *The Toll of the Bush*, coming at the turn of the century – the need to cultivate and dominate the wilderness is still obvious, but the presentation of Major Milward and his success illustrates that the characters are not the first to arrive, but can already to some extent benefit from work done previously. The novel with the latest publication date, *The Story of a New Zealand River*, confirms this argument –
the characters in this novel still find patches of wilderness, but it is in comparison with cultivated landscape that these places receive attention.

Of course, the arrival of the Europeans in New Zealand, the beginning of organised settlement and their efforts to cultivate the wilderness did not occur without consequences for the country. Having analysed the difficulties for the settlers in regard to the cultivation of the perceived wilderness of New Zealand, I will now therefore change the perspective and analyse the impact of the immigrants and their settlements on nature.

4.1.2. Impact of settlements on nature

To begin with, Star states that “[t]he changes to the natural environment which followed when humans and other mammals eventually reached New Zealand have been dramatic and specific” (59). Coleman explains further that “[s]o long as the forest was abundant, the best and most accessible trees were milled for lumber while the rest were burned to make way for sheep. In this way, millions of acres were converted to pasture […]” (227). During the 1860s, the first Europeans to come to New Zealand, were, as Star (60) puts it, “prepared to introduce almost anything”, as can be noticed in previously discussed introduction of foreign flora and fauna. However, already in the late 1860s, the Chairman of the Otago Acclimatisation Society, William Dick Murison, noted

[…] rapid changes now taking place in the flora and fauna […] of New Zealand: as, for instance, the disappearance of the fern from certain valleys near Dunedin […], and the growth of clover, grasses, and weeds of Europe in their stead; the disappearance of wild pigeon, kaka, and quail, before the spread of European settlement, and the increase of imported birds, animals, and fishes. (Otago Witness 10 July 1869, qtd. in Star 60-61)

In 1915, Murison’s warnings were confirmed in a study conducted by George Malcolm Thomson:

[…] the vegetation of the town belt and its neighbourhood in March, 1848 […] included about 310 species of flowering plants and 73 species of ferns and lycopods (club mosses). I estimate that 11 species of flowering plants and 61 species of fern, etc. have disappeared, and are no longer to be found here, but they have been replaced by 115 species of introduced flowering plants. […] [T]he fauna has changed even more profoundly. […] [T]here were over 30 species of [native] birds to be met
with in and about Dunedin in these early days. Now only five occur at all commonly [...]. (Thomson, qtd. in Star 61)

The characters in *The Counterfeit Seal* are now seemingly more occupied with the *introduction* of European animals and plants – there is never a reference to the possible danger of the displacement of native species. However, the concern for and awareness of disappearing fauna is obvious in *The Story of a New Zealand River* and *The Toll of the Bush*. In Mander’s novel, for instance, it is noted that “[…] rarely could one hear the song of a solitary bird calling for its mate. Not a tui had been heard about the bay for years, and even the enterprising wekas had been driven further into the forests” (Mander 426). Also Eve and Geoffrey in Satchell’s book comment on the absence of native fauna:

> Faint, yet clear, came the silvery peal like the ringing of a bell in fairyland. They reined in their horses and remained motionless till the sound ceased.
> ‘They are very rare,’ Eve said. ‘I have not heard one for years. Yet father remembers when the bushes were thronging with them. Then the tuis are not so plentiful as they were. Soon the forests will be as silent as a graveyard.’
> ‘Soon they themselves will be gone.’ (Satchell 95-96)

In this last passage, several aspects are worth pointing out. First of all, Eve’s statement refers unknowingly to what Thomson’s study later confirmed – the disappearance of native birds, the bell-bird and the tui in this case. Additionally, though, she relates that her father, one of the earliest settlers to come to New Zealand, can still remember their presence in the bush. This, too, conforms to Thomson’s inventory compiled in 1915 and his comparison with the mid-nineteenth century. Lastly, Geoffrey’s remark concerning the decline of the forests refers back exactly to Coleman’s (227) argument that “so long as the forest was abundant, the best and most accessible trees were milled”; figuratively speaking, the deforestation is happening as Geoffrey talks.

A comment on the impact of settlements on native flora is also implied in the following conversation between Major Milward and Geoffrey:

> ‘Anything fresh?’ the Major asked musingly, as he glanced through the first letter.
> ‘There is one note from a man called Wadham, who has a kauri bush for sale.’
‘Ah!’ said the Major eagerly; ‘what’s he say?’ [...] “Sorry to have to let go ... kauri getting scarcer ... twice the money two or three years’ time,” read the Major in snatches. (Satchell 65-66)

This quote gains importance when contrasting it with a statement of Tom Roland: “Those trees make houses for the poor. [...] Somebody has to cut ‘em down. Look at the people who can own their own houses in New Zealand. Why? Cheap land, cheap timber” (Mander 54). The fact that timber is cheaper than bricks and thus needed for constructing purposes leads to deforestation, noticeable in the letter to Major Milward: kauri is getting scarcer and as a direct consequence, those people still owning forests are in a position to demand exorbitant prices.

However, the disappearance of native flora and fauna is not only noticed by the characters, but frequently, expressions of criticism of the behaviour of the settlers can be found. When Eve, for instance, thinks of the forest as turning into a graveyard, I argue that this is already a form of implied criticism reflected in the choice of the word “graveyard”. Also Alice, reflecting on Tom Roland’s plans for the future, his ideas of “tramways, of engines and trucks racing along the slopes, of dams and waterways, of mills and ships”, thinks of it as “violent assaults upon eternal peace” (Mander 55). Although she later acknowledges to be impressed by the changes brought about by European settlers, also her choice of words – “violent assaults” – convey criticism. Mander even allows one of her characters, Mrs. Brayton, to articulate her concern quite openly in a conversation with Tom Roland about the forests: “And you know I think you are a vile Vandal for cutting them down” (Mander 52).

Interestingly, as I have stated before, such criticism is neither expressed in The Counterfeit Seal, nor can it be encountered in The Runaway Settlers. Of course, any attempt to find an explanation for this can only remain speculative. Bearing in mind the publication dates of the novels, I suggest that Adams did not consciously exclude the impact of settlements on nature, but that their effects were simply not yet that serious in 1897. This assumption can be proven right when taking into consideration that Eric talks of a “laughing bird that was common in the forests of New Zealand” [emphasis added] (Adams 114).
Additionally, Adams describes at length the abundance of other birds in the forest:

The pigeons with their beautiful white breasts […] would fly close to them and look quietly from their perches until they could have knocked them over with a stick. The ka ka would scream his harsh note and tear the bark off the stem of a tree […]. The tui would flit from bough to bough, whistling his musical note […]. Mokis, tomtits, fantails, robins, would all visit them at close quarters, and, according to their habits, perform their part in the day’s entertainment, and occasionally a woodhen could be seen darting across their path, to be lost in a thicker screen of brushwood than that from which it emerged. (Adams 97)

According to Star (62), the laughing bird was last sighted in 1903 and “became extinct about 20 years later.” So at the time of Adam’s writing, and particularly at the time in which the novel is set, it is probable that a variety of different birds was indeed commonly found in the forests of New Zealand. However, such an explanatory argument does not apply to Elise Locke, who, as I see it, must have been well and sufficiently educated about the consequences of European immigration on New Zealand’s flora and fauna at the time of writing in the 1960s. In her defence, though, I refer back to her claim of trying to be authentic: setting her novel in the 1860s, a time at which the consequences of the introduction of foreign flora and fauna were not yet considered, and at the same time discussing the effects of European settlers on New Zealand nature would, as I see it, clearly not achieve this aim. Rather, through letting her characters import European flora and fauna, she is in accordance with Star’s quote given above regarding the first settlers’ attempts to introduce almost anything.

To come to a conclusion, the arrival of Europeans on New Zealand’s soil did not remain without consequences as illustrated in the last two chapters. The immigrants immediately turned to the conversion and cultivation of the perceived wilderness, which caused the disappearance of much of New Zealand’s native flora and fauna. However, apart from the initial taming of the wilderness, the settlers are confronted with further, very different challenges of which some convey the impression that nature in a way reacts to the penetration of settlers into its realm. Obviously, several of these challenges are provoked by the settlers themselves, as I will discuss in the following chapter. Therefore, nature cannot simply be seen as arbitrarily punishing the intruders.
However, nature is in fact personified in one novel as a mighty power, which designedly demands its compensation from the settlers as is already indicated in the title of the book: *The Toll of the Bush*. No matter, though, whether nature reacts or whether challenges arise from mistakes or ignorance on the part of the settlers, in the following analysis I see the “New Zealand landscape, and the forest in particular” as an “area for testing (and proving) the Pakeha individual’s right to belong” (Steer 121). I will thus turn back again to the perspective of the immigrants in order to examine the different ways in which the immigrants are challenged and expected to defend their right to stay.

### 4.1.3. Nature as a testing ground

I have already previously quoted Gibbons (*Colonization* 7-8) who states that the “new world they [the migrants] enter is profoundly and disturbingly alien.” Steer (123) develops this further when he argues that “[t]he terrain is a waking nightmare […], the corollary to this problematic is that those who successfully adapt to the terrain have unquestionably affirmed their right to be here.” Following from this, the newly arrived immigrants do not only have to cultivate and transform the alien wilderness, but also have to handle challenges arising from their new surroundings. As Smithyman explains in the foreword to *The Toll of the Bush*, “[b]ush work was tricky and dangerous, disaster for the pioneer could come by way of something as small scale as a failed potato crop or as large as a forest fire or a flash flood” (9). The testing and assertion of the right to belong thus centre predominately on the question of how settlers respond to such disasters: are they perceived as major setbacks, tempting the immigrants to leave New Zealand or can the characters cope with each individual situation, thereby proving their successful adaptation.

#### 4.1.3.1. Accidents in the bush

Starting from Smithyman’s enumeration of possible challenges, I will first of all look at the relation between dangerous bush work and the settlers’ right to belong. In all novels, except *The Runaway Settlers*, references to accidents are frequently found. Soon after her arrival, Alice in *The Story of a New Zealand River*, witnesses how a blackguard unintentionally cuts himself badly: “The man named Shiny had suddenly dropped his axe, and doubled up with a violent
volley of oaths. ‘Oh, he’s hurt,’ cried Alice […]. She saw blood gushing from his thick boot” (Mander 56-57). In The Counterfeit Seal, the same kind of accident happens to one of the settlers: “Andrew was cutting the stick in an insecure position, when his foot slipped and his hatchet missed and cut a deep wound in his leg, from which the blood came freely” (Adams 104). In the first case, the accident results clearly from a lack of attention – Roland states that it is “[a]lways the way when you’re in a hurry” (Mander 58) – while in the second example, lack of knowledge causes the mishap since “none had any special training” (Adams 111). In The Toll of the Bush the situation is slightly different: the narration of Mark Gird’s accident in the bush in the opening chapters of the novel states that the character is not wounded by his own hands but that he is “struck by a flying branch” (Satchell 44). It is also already at this early stage in the novel that the personification of the bush is noticeable for the first time:

Every bushman knows the toll of blood demanded by the virgin forest. It is fixed and inexorable, and though skill in bushcraft will carry a man far in the avoidance of accidents, it counts for nothing when the time comes for the bush to demand its price. (Satchell 44)

No matter, though, whether self-inflicted or not, I see all three accidents in the bush as an examination of the settlers’ right to belong. The aspect worth looking at is thus consequently the way in which the settlers cope with the challenges. In Mander’s novel, the worker reacts in a relatively composed manner:

The wounded man, who had sat up throughout, reached for the [bag of salt], and dived his dirty hand into it.
‘Lord! man,’ exclaimed Bruce.
‘Best thing to stop bleeding’, answered Shiny defiantly. […] Shiny rammed the handful of clean salt into his gaping, squirting wound. They saw him clench his hands, but he never made a sound. (Mander 57)

Also his workmates do not appear to be excessively worried – they help as much as they can but then resume their work. Tom Roland seems to be summarising the common thought when he states that, although it is a “[n]asty cut” (Mander 58), the man will be able to work again in “a week or two” (Mander 58). Also in The Counterfeit Seal, the injured settler handles the situation well: he claims to not “feel the pain much now”; for him, the cut appears “more nasty than serious” (Adams 106). I argue that both workers assert their right to belong through their handling of the situation. As MacKay (150) points out, it was important for men employed in the bush to “tolerat[e] physical pain”, a serious
injury was expected to be borne stoically. Neither of the two men complains or seems to surrender to the challenge, they simply accept the accident as part of their new life and thus, as I see it, prove their entitlement to be in New Zealand.

The situation for Mark Gird is slightly different. He also survives the accident, but remains paraplegic and dependent on his wife. Of course, one could therefore argue that Gird has not passed the test of whether or not he has any right to be in New Zealand. However, as I see it, the way his character is described by others shows that also he is not defeated by the bush: “He made a splendid wreck, this husband of hers, as he sat there day after day, dead up to the eyes, but alive from that point upwards. She had been told that when the light dimmed in his eyes then he would die […]” [emphasis added] (Satchell 43). Gird is severely handicapped but he does not surrender facing his disability and dependency on his wife. Rather, the reference to the light in his eyes, representing for me his will to be alive, shows clearly an adequate adaptation to the challenging situation which asserts, in my opinion, his entitlement to remain.

For the sake of completeness, I briefly include the role of Mark Gird’s wife in this context. The bush was basically an area where women could not be present: “[t]he few women who lived in kauri bush camps were invariably married, and lived in separate quarters with their husbands. The only work available to women was cooking, and even this was traditionally seen as a man’s job in the nineteenth-century bush camps” (MacKay 154). Women could therefore not assert their right to belong in the same way as men, for instance through managing life in the bush. However, I argue that the survival of Mark Gird can be interpreted as a metaphor for nature and the bush testing his wife. Through his disability, caused by bush work, Gird figuratively transports the forest into the female realm, the home, where the woman is expected to handle the new circumstances. Her “devoted” (Satchell 44) caring for her husband is, as I see it, a metaphor for dealing with the tricky and dangerous bush work, adjusted to female possibilities. Mrs. Gird, too, tolerates the pain which is, of course, not physical in her case but emotional, seeing her formerly strong husband “incapable either of speech or motion” (Satchell 43). Her husband’s accident does not leave her petrified and helpless, but rather, she successfully adapts to
the changed conditions, noticeable, for instance, in the fact that she begins, without complaining, to undertake work usually done by men (Satchell 44-45), thereby asserting her right to belong.

4.1.3.2. The importance of a good harvest

Referring back again to Smithyman, disaster and thus testing could also arise from a bad potato crop as can be noticed in The Runaway Settlers, where the family investigates the garden immediately after their arrival:

Beneath its covering of weeds, the dug ground should be full of potatoes. But what were the bare patches where the ground had been torn up? Had someone been here to rob [...]? She turned over the patches carefully. Yes, her guess was right: there were no potatoes here. Only where the weeds were undisturbed did she find them, and they were no great crop, even there. There would certainly not be enough to feed them through the winter. (Locke 61)

The settlers in The Toll of the Bush are confronted with the same problem: although the young crop appears promising – “they presented a picture of which Robert as its author was justly proud” (Satchell 70) – a fatal mistake of Robert involving the closing of a fence (Satchell 130) does not remain without consequences:

One Sunday afternoon Mr. Flotter betook himself as usual to the Hernshaws’ section. He passed the slip-rail, and seeing no one about ascended the hill. As he did so his eyes grew large and round, and he gazed about him like a man in a dream, for the potatoes had disappeared. Then he saw that the vegetable garden was a heart-breaking wreck, and that the devastation had extended even to the kumaras. [...] ‘Damn them bullocks!’ he said. ‘Damn – them – bullocks!’ (Satchell 159)

In the case of Robert, it is clearly human failure that causes the destruction of the potato harvest while the Small family cannot be blamed for the absence of a good crop. The words of Lena upon seeing Robert’s potato field, however, make clear the significance of the situation for both families:

Let it be remembered that Lena was a settler’s daughter. She knew to the full what was meant by the scene before her. She knew the care and sweat that went to the turning out of a satisfactory crop from rough and not too rich land. She knew also the hopes and devotion that had attended the cultivation [...]. (Satchell 163)

Again, I turn to the responses of the characters to the failed potato crop. Just as the settlers who are suffering from injuries as a result of accidents in the bush
discussed above, also Robert and Mrs. Small do not surrender in light of the challenge of a bad harvest. Although Mrs. Small initially feels “disappointed and baffled” (Locke 61), she immediately composes herself and starts examining the rest of the garden, where she encounters “small fruit trees and berry bushes [...] Cherries, plums, peaches, gooseberries [...]” (Locke 61). The disappearance of the crops obviously poses a problem for the family, as noticeable in Mrs. Small’s fear of the upcoming winter; however, she adopts a positive attitude and resumes her work (Locke 61-62). Robert also tries to be enthusiastic about the potatoes which the bullocks have not destroyed: “They’re small mostly, but there’s a rare lot of them – a rare lot” (Satchell 163). As I see it, both Robert and Mrs. Small are tested through the confrontation with a challenge arising from nature, a bad crop in this case, but both of them prove that they are able to cope with the difficulties. Neither of them considers capitulation, instead, as I see it, they prove their successful adaptation through their still hopeful mindset and their handling of the situation, thus confirming their right to belong.

4.1.3.3. The danger of a bush fire
While Smithyman categorises a failed potato crop as something relatively small scale, disaster, as he argues, and thus testing, could also develop from something as dangerous as a bush fire, a theme encountered frequently in the novels in which the outbreak and fight against the flames always turn into life-threatening challenges for the settlers. As I have stated at the beginning of this chapter, several challenges are clearly provoked by man. This is the case for instance in The Runaway Settlers where a neighbour of the family, “[i]mpatient with the endless work of clearing the fern” (Locke 95) starts a bush fire which he fails to control. Also in The Toll of the Bush, the fire is set by a settler, Andersen, as a result of jealousy and drunkenness (Satchell 176). Only in The Story of a New Zealand River, the fire seems to originate without human intervention “after the unusually hot summer, remembered afterwards as one of the worst for fires that the north had ever known” (Mander 367).

Regardless of the origin of the fire, the behaviour of the characters facing the flames forms, again, the basis for the examination of their right to belong. Obviously, in contrast to an accident in the bush or a failed potato crop, the
characters cannot simply adopt a positive attitude and resume their work in order to prove that they have successfully adapted to the terrain. The way they deal with the fire, however, gives evidence to an aspect which I have not considered until now and which seems to be decisive in the testing of the right to stay – the importance of community life. I will not discuss the building of a community at this stage as I will be concerned with this issue in relation to the novels in chapter five. What I do want to point out, though, is the fact that in all three instances of bush fires, the settlers combat the fire side by side as is noticeable, for instance, in *The Runaway Settlers*:

> [T]he settlers did not need to be roused and were out already when Mr Dyer appeared. There was no hope of stopping it in the fern; and so it was decided to cut back the tutu and scrub in a deep line above the houses. This meant working in the thick of the smoke, where each man could see only the next in the line […]. Soon the women were in action too. Billies of cool water and hot tea, baskets of bread and scones were carried the length of the line. When sparks blew across the unfinished firebreak, the wives took up sacks to beat them out. (Locke 96)

Also in *The Toll of the Bush* it is the joint effort which finally extinguishes the flames: “A hundred times it seemed that the fires of their own making must break away from them and become their masters in place of their servants; but, scorched and suffocating, with labouring breasts and aching arms, the band stood heroically to its work, and in the end the victory was theirs” (Satchell 215). The same unity of settlers can be found in *The Story of a New Zealand River*, where “bands of fighters” (Mander 367) are ready to control the fire.

On the basis of these examples, I argue that it is ultimately the creation of a community which is crucial in the examination of the settlers’ right to belong. All of the immigrants can individually assert their right to remain in New Zealand when confronted with accidents or bad crops; however, serious challenges such as a bush fire suggest that only mutual help and, as Fraser and Dwyer stress, “tangible support to one another” (191), in particular during critical moments of danger, finally show the successful adaptation and thus unquestionably confirm the right to be there.

The last example which I want to discuss briefly, further illustrates the importance of community. During the bush fire in *The Toll of the Bush*, Eve and Geoffrey get lost in the forest, unable to find their way out (Satchell 218-231).
Since their absence does not remain unnoticed, a group of four settlers immediately begins looking for them (Satchell 207) and after a few days of systematic search, Eve and Geoffrey are finally discovered (Satchell 239). In so far, the passage does not yet differ from the one discussed above – the unity of the settlers is crucial in overcoming difficult and challenging situations. However, one aspect of this scene is worth pointing out, which creates a different perspective. Part of the search group are several Māori, amongst them Pine, who in fact discovers the trail of the two lost characters and is consequently acknowledged as primary guide (233). I argue that this facet is particularly significant because it not only makes clear the importance of mutual help among the settlers, but also the necessity to rely on and accept help from native people. As I see it, adaptation to the terrain means ultimately forming a community which consists not only of immigrants but also includes the Māori. The settlers need to acknowledge the skills of the indigenous people, reading trails in this case, and rely on their help in situations which depict the immigrants’ deficiencies. Arguing from this, nature can be seen as a testing ground not only examining the settler’s right to belong, but also their willingness to accept this need and grant the Māori equal rights. While this scene seems to show that the settlers pass this test – they recognise the Māoris’ skills and rely on their help, thereby suggesting equality and a harmonious living together – countless instances in the novels are evidence of a different kind of behaviour. I will refer back to this argument as well as to this particular example in the chapter on the contact between settlers and the Māori.

As I have tried to illustrate in this subchapter, nature frequently acts as a testing ground for the settlers. Numerous further examples can be found, such as the Small family’s attempt to drive a herd of cattle over the mountains to the gold fields (Locke 145ff), a fatal storm in The Story of a New Zealand (167-183) or the theft of Eric’s keepsake by a bird in The Counterfeit Seal and the immigrant’s subsequent efforts to regain it (124ff). Only through the way the settlers deal and cope with these situations, can they prove that they have successfully adapted to the unknown terrain and therefore have a right to be in New Zealand. Apart from the physical tasks, which I have discussed in the previous pages, such as the cultivation of the forest or the fight against a bush
fire, all of the characters additionally have to deal with further, very different problems, involving psychological challenges which will be discussed in the following chapter.

4.2. Psychological challenges

Before beginning an analysis of these psychological challenges, I want to state the rather obvious fact that clearly all characters are confronted with psychological challenges following their emigration and adaptation to a new country. The Small family in *The Runaway Settlers*, for instance, faces the constant fear of their father following them to New Zealand (Locke 120), while Eric in *The Counterfeit Seal* has to deal with his grief over the separation from Kirsty (Adams 49). In the following discussion, however, I limit myself for reasons of conciseness to the most striking examples of problems found in *The Story of a New Zealand River* and *The Toll of the Bush*, thereby analysing first of all how challenges are constituted for the characters and secondly, in what way they respond to it. When discussing these two books in regard to the question of psychological challenges, a striking difference between male and female characters and their respective handling of the trying situations can instantly be encountered, which is why I make a distinction between challenges for women and challenges for men.

4.2.1. Challenges for women: spatial and interpersonal Isolation

An obvious result of emigration and leaving behind friends and often also family members is the feeling of isolation, spatial as well as interpersonal. Starting with an analysis of the challenges female characters face, the first woman to discuss in this context is Alice, who, as I argue, is the one struggling the most of all characters with her new life in the colony. In her case, it seems first of all that loneliness is caused by the distance to urban areas and society as well as through the confrontation with nature and its conditions. Already during her journey to her new home, Alice notices the “terribly lonely silence, but rarely broken by the note of a singing bird”; the river and the adjoining hills signify for her a “gateway to the land of the lost” and every mile travelled further on the river means “a mile farther from even such limited civilization as she had just left
behind” (Mander 15). Upon seeing a “solitary house” (Mander 16) ashore, she is told that she will not be seeing her own house for several hours and in fact, the distance between this neighbour’s and her home amounts to about five miles, as she later calculates (Mander 21) – a rather considerable distance for Alice who cannot ride (Mander 37).

Although the women in The Story of a New Zealand River adapt much better to the new circumstances, they still express sympathy towards Alice. Her daughter Asia, for instance, remarks: “You see, we feel so lonely – at least Mother does. I like it here, but Mother hasn’t been used to a place like this” (Mander 30) and also Mrs. Brayton seems to understand Alice: “You’ve been here one week, and you think it’s the end of everything, and that you’ll die, and that there’s no God. I know. I felt that way. But I’ve been here nearly fifteen years, and I have grown to love it. I wouldn’t live anywhere else now. You’ll feel the same by and by” [emphasis added] (Mander 33).

Secondly, though, the isolation Alice feels is not only caused by physical distances, additionally, her upbringing and way of thinking seclude her from other settlers, since her behaviour towards others is influenced by rigid, internalised class structures. For instance, when meeting David Bruce for the first time, “[s]he saw only the dirty clothes, the unshaven face, the blood-shot eyes, the shrinking manner, all that she had been taught to connect with the name of pariah; and, forgetting for the moment that she was to be dependent on him on an unknown river journey, she barely acknowledged his presence” (Mander 11). Even though Bruce saves Asia from drowning, Alice is unable to alter her attitude towards him; rather, she “unconsciously minimised the value of his action because he was her husband’s servant” (Mander 19). Bruce himself aptly manages to summarise her way of thinking when he states after a few weeks of having made her acquaintance: “Three weeks ago I was a piece of machinery. To-day I am at least a human being” (Mander 64). In contrast to Mrs. Brayton, whom Alice immediately respects due to her appearance and English ancestry (Mander 32-33), Alice only begins to accept Bruce in her presence after learning from Mrs. Brayton that he is a qualified doctor (Mander 58). Other settlers in her surroundings, though, remain excluded from her
attention: she explains to Asia that “[t]hese people are not like us, and they have no business to know anything about us, or to talk about us” (Mander 135), she rejects sending Asia to school out of fear that “the country children” would not be “good enough for her child to associate with” (Mander 149), she repeatedly worries about “how she was going to live in such a place with such people” (Mander 138) and believes that, for the “preservation of her own personality” she “should wall herself off from those who had not her own sense of taste” (Mander 138). To summarise her behaviour with Kirstine Moffat’s words, Alice is “[…] judgemental. She is inhibited. […] She fears change and worships respectability. She attempts to control those she loves” (90).

Alice clearly tries to keep up nineteenth century European ideas of class in her home and surroundings and excludes others due to what she perceives to be inferiority. However, the difficulty, and consequently her isolation, lie in the fact that Mander provides a setting in which class structures seem to be completely absent. This is frequently commented upon, for instance by Mrs. Brayton who states rather firmly that “[…] there are no class distinctions here, and you must take down your barricades” (Mander 36). The following quote then illustrates and summarises best the conditions which Alice encounters in New Zealand:

Some forty men, in all stages of crude cleaning up, stood about outside […]. There were old men and young men; men of finished and unassuming blackguardism, and crude youngsters swaggering with first knowledge. There were men who had decency still healthy, but not obtruded upon an unsympathetic world; men who remembered their mothers. There were men who did not know what decency was, and who, to use the current phrase, would have robbed their mother’s coffins. There were strange social inequalities in that gang. English university men bunked next to the colonial born sons of pioneer traders. The men who still got literary reviews and scented letters read side by side with those who revelled in Deadwood Dicks and got no letters at all.
(Mander 76)

In regard to the veracity of such a representation, numerous studies debate the issue of whether or not and to what degree class was a decisive factor in colonial New Zealand. As mentioned in the historical overview, New Zealand had frequently been represented as a country lacking class distinctions: “New Zealand society has been marked by such constant mobility and such limited industrialisation and capital accumulation” that internalised categories “require
considerable modification before they become applicable here" (Oliver, qtd. in McAloon 4). Due to the absence of a feudal aristocracy, an entrepreneurial middle class and at the same time because of the amount of accessible land and the consequently relatively easy acquisition of property, class structures became rather irrelevant in New Zealand (Oliver, qtd. in McAloon 4-5). Oliver’s argument seems true for The Story of a New Zealand River – Alice struggles due to the fact that her internalised class structures are of no relevance in her new surroundings.

However, as Toynbee suggests and as a close analysis of The Toll of the Bush illustrates, class might have been a much more important aspect of colonial New Zealand life than generally assumed. She makes a distinction between “upper class which owned significant property, a middle class based either on education or on ownership of smaller family-owned, self-employing property, and a lower class having only its labour power to sell” (Toynbee, qtd. in McAloon 6). Indeed, when considering the social stratification in Satchell’s novel, easily all three kinds of classes can be encountered: there is Major Milward who “owns half the county, and what he doesn’t own he’s got a mortgage on” (Satchell 57), there are Geoffrey and Robert Hernshaw owning a small part of land on which they cultivate potatoes (Satchell 30-35) and finally, there is the Andersen family where the father is away working in the bush or employed on the road (Satchell 164).

In regard to isolation as a challenge for the female characters, it is consequently not spatial distance which separates Mrs. Andersen from other settlers, but class differences and poverty, reflected for instance in the family’s clothes, made of flour bags: “Geoffrey noticed that the family patronised two brands of flour, ‘Champion’ and ‘Snowdrift,’ and there was also among the younger branches an attempt to advertise a special make of oatmeal from Tokomairiro” (Satchell 42). Further, their dependence on others is illustrated already in the opening chapters of the novel in which Lena, in the name of her mother, has to ask Robert for support:

The girl was dressed in a flour-bag, from which the brand had not entirely faded, and this, so far as could be judged, was the whole of her costume. ‘Well, Lena,’ said Robert, ‘what’s the trouble?’
‘Please, Robert, mother says can you spare her some tea till father goes to the store?’
The request was not an isolated one, and the implied promise of return Robert knew to be problematical of fulfilment, but he said ‘Yes’ cheerfully and went for the tea.
‘And mother says,’ Lena went on quickly, ‘if you could spare her some soap she would do her washing to-day while it’s fine; but if not, it doesn’t matter till father goes up the river.’ (Satchell 30)

However, not only Robert and his brother repeatedly help Mrs. Andersen, also Mrs. Gird supports her through the provision of money and clothes (Satchell 72). Even though this suggests that she is not altogether isolated, her real seclusion from the other settlers can be inferred from a highly important scene occurring after monetary gifts from Mr. Wickener and the subsequent improvement of the family’s financial situation in the course of the story: “The male settlers, who had been in the habit of nodding hurriedly and passing by on the other side, now drew closer and lifted their hats. The women showed a tendency to place her name on their Sunday afternoon visiting lists […]” (Satchell 125). In contrast to Mander’s novel, it seems that in Satchell’s book, class structures and related financial wealth or absence thereof play significant roles in the inclusion or exclusion from the community and constitute isolation.

A reason for the Andersen family’s financial difficulties and presumably partly also for their isolation in the community can consequently be found in the fact that Sven Andersen is addicted to alcohol. Most of the wages he earns are spent on drinking instead of supporting his family (Satchell 72) and the little money his wife receives from him has to be used “to pay his fine” (Satchell 43). I will discuss the problem of alcohol abuse in more detail when talking about the male characters’ reaction to trying circumstances; at this stage, I only want to point out that her husband’s drinking seems to add a further element to Mrs. Andersen’s perceived or real isolation, in this context the distance from her husband and interpersonal isolation in her marriage.

After this outlining of the situation for Alice and Mrs. Andersen, I am consequently, as in the previous chapter about physical challenges, predominantly interested in the question of how the female immigrants deal with the feeling of loneliness and isolation. Starting with Alice in The Story of a New
Zealand River and her reaction to the isolation of her new home in spatial terms, it appears that she relatively quickly accepts the new conditions with which she is confronted as is illustrated in the following scene:

She sank to her feet beside a bush at the top of the rise, and burst into drenching tears. How long she had cried she did not know when something in the night arrested her. She dried her eyes, and, sobbing at intervals, looked around her. [...] Something she had never suspected in herself rose up to respond to it all. She had nothing of the gipsy in her, but she loved beauty, more especially the beauty that was created – as she would have put it – by the hand of God. And it was the hand of God that she saw in that night, in that mountain, that bush and that river. For the moment she forgot the world that lay so far away, the familiar ways of living, the things she knew and wanted, the kinds of people who mattered to her. She looked up at the stars, and she felt that God was there, and that his protecting arm was about her. (Mander 26-27)

Coming from a thoroughly religious family, her father having been a Presbyterian minister and one brother a missionary (Mander 104), Alice seems to find peace in admiring the beauty of what for her is God’s creation. In fact, after this initial weeping, there are no more references in the novel to desperation on her part due to spatial isolation. On the contrary, Alice adapts well to the new conditions and even begins to find enjoyment in her new surroundings: she shows interest in her husband’s work and begins visiting him in the bush (Mander 53), she takes her children on walks, determined that “because it was going to be good for them, it had to be good for her” (Mander 55) and starts planting a garden, working “out of doors whenever the days were fine” (Mander 131).

Much of her change must clearly be attributed to encouragement of the two most important adults surrounding her, David Bruce and Mrs. Brayton. Particularly the latter plays a significant role in influencing Alice in the first weeks after her arrival. She states for instance, “I know the first week is paralyzing, but you have got over it now, and soon you will begin to realize the bush, and that mountain and the river. And they will mean more to you than you think” (Mander 34) – a prophecy which proves to be true towards the end of the novel:

As she looked at the low hills that lay like a band of indigo on the western horizon, she remembered the times she had cried out to them, seeing in them the guardians of the water highway that was to her the way out, the
road to a vague land of promise about which she had sometimes allowed herself to dream. She had looked at them as a prisoner in a valley dungeon might look through bars at a neighbouring mountain, pass, wondering if he would ever go that way to life and freedom. Now that she knew she could go any day she chose, she wondered why the keen edge of her desire had gone from her. (Mander 418-419)

In contrast to her changed attitude towards the new surroundings, accepting the people around her as well as the new, and to her unknown, social conventions, remains a constant struggle for Alice throughout the story – a “great deal of time in the novel”, as Long Hoeveler states, she is speechless, “usually with rage or embarrassment or depression” (II). Only towards the end of the novel, after frequent discussions with Bruce and as a result of his permanent influence and encouragement (Mander 150, 158-163, 331-332) does she understand that “[...] the loneliness that has crippled so much of her life has stemmed from her own nature, and not from geographical […] isolation” (Sandys). She realises that

[...] the scheme of respectability that she had preserved in the face of cruel odds was all wrong, that she had laboured for twenty years to build something that had been no real use to anybody, except, perhaps, as a comforting delusion to herself, that it had been merely a pleasant fiction to her. (Mander 348)

It is only after this acknowledgement that the maintenance of social conventions was of no use to her in her new home in New Zealand, that Alice can state that “I shall never worry about anybody again. [...] I [...] see things differently” (Mander 394-395), thereby showing her active adaptation to and acceptance of her new life.

Turning back again to Mrs. Andersen, her case is clearly different from Alice’s as her isolation does neither stem from the distance to other settlers in spatial terms nor from her attitude towards them, but rather, as illustrated above, from poverty and her constantly drunken husband. Of course, the Andersen family receives support from the Hernshaw brothers and Mrs. Gird; nevertheless it is obvious that they are rejected by the majority of the remaining characters when calling back to mind the settlers’ changed attitude towards the family after the improvement of their finances. Bearing in mind that Mrs. Andersen cannot, like Alice, change her attitude – she is not the one excluding others – the question concerning her possibilities to alter her isolated life, both in regard to society
and her marriage, arises. Her increasing desperation is frequently noticeable, for instance in her appearance: “[h]er face showed traces of good looks, prematurely faded; her eyes were tired and sullen. Through her imperfectly fastened bodice Geoffrey caught a glimpse of a black bruise staining her white skin” (Satchel 42), but also in her straightforward manner in which she declares: “I haven’t seen him [her husband] for the best part of a month […]. I shouldn’t care if I never saw him again” (Satchell 42). As a consequence, Mrs. Andersen sees no other possibility than the radical step of leaving her husband for another man (Satchell 78, 79). It is interesting to note that, in making this decision, Mrs. Andersen undoubtedly improves the financial situation for her children and herself (“It means clothes for you and the children, and comfort and peace for us all” (Satchell 78)), but at the same time she faces the likelihood of further isolation from society, as can be inferred from her daughter Lena’s repeated fear of finding themselves the subject of peoples’ gossip (Satchell 79, 91). However, Mrs. Andersen’s disregard of this possible consequence, noticeable, for instance, in her statement that she would take “any road to happiness now” (Satchell 79), shows her utter desperation and her desire for change.

Summing up, the challenges in regard to isolation which Alice and Mrs. Andersen face are of course crucially different; however, I perceive the two women’s reactions to be strikingly similar. Both make a considerable and, most importantly, a conscious effort to adapt actively to the challenging circumstances and alter their life. Admittedly, Alice requires a great amount of assistance from other characters, nevertheless, this does not, in my opinion, lessen the outcome of her struggles – growing esteem for and beginning enjoyment of the landscape and acceptance of the people around her. For Mrs. Andersen, the isolation, in her marriage and in society due to lack of money, seems to change with the deliberate decision to leave her husband. While it is never referred to in the novel whether or not Lena’s fears of further exclusion from society become true after her mother’s separation, decisive changes are noticeable in Mrs. Andersen appearance:

She was neatly and comfortably dressed, a touch of lace and ribbon at her bosom and throat spoke of a returned care for her personal appearance. Her face, fuller and more youthful-looking than of old, was
bright with health and contentment. If she ever entertained fears or regrets, there was no sign of such in her countenance now [...] (Satchell 170)

Following from the examples of challenges quoted and the respective reactions of Alice and Mrs. Andersen, it is therefore in both cases ultimately an active decision to no longer accept isolation, be it spatial or interpersonal, but to change consciously ones circumstances. Having dealt with the female characters' challenges, I will consequently turn to some of the male settlers in the subsequent chapter in order to examine their reaction to psychological challenges.

4.2.2. Challenges for men: working in the colony

As stated in the introductory part of this chapter, obviously all characters in the novels face different kinds of problems in their new surroundings. The most striking examples of challenges men have to overcome, however, are experienced by the partners of the women analysed in the previous part. Comparable with the similar reactions of Alice and Mrs. Andersen encountered in the analysis of female challenges, a common response is also noticeable among the men – their consumption of alcohol.

Regarding this aspect, Ryan points out that New Zealand at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century was seen as “a colonial society that was marred by widespread drunkenness” (35). He supports this argument by referring to scholars such as Miles Fairburn, who regards drinking as “an entirely normal reaction to a harsh and challenging colonial setting” (Ryan 37) or Anthony R. Grigg, who claims that for the settlers, “alcohol offered an escape from squalor, loneliness, isolation and poverty.” For many immigrants, alcohol seemed to be the only way to, on the one hand, temporarily deal with the physical exhaustion which the cultivation of the wilderness signified, and, on the other hand, to overcome psychological challenges such as feelings of homesickness or social isolation (Ryan 37-38).

Regarding social isolation, the work of Duncan MacKay about the world of the kauri bushmen has to be mentioned, where, as he states, mateship was highly
important: “The kauri bushmen were drawn together by the cooperative nature of their work and the dangers of it. Living together for months in remote bush camps, the men formed social groups that were close-knit, well-ordered and highly conformist” (147). However, as he explains further, due to the relatively fast cultivated coastal forests, the workers soon had to retreat into remoter parts of the country, thereby constructing bush camps at great distances from the settlements and their families: “The bushmen lived for weeks or months in bush camps, and had insufficient time at the weekend to travel out of the bush” (MacKay 148). Obviously, living in such crowded conditions encouraged local solidarity and community rather than isolation, but outside these bush camps, lacking close links with other people, the men were left on their own (MacKay 148, 155-156), “inclined to disorder when they left the bush at the end of a job, or for a holiday” (MacKay 155). An observation of a contemporary in 1861 illustrates this problem:

[S]o far as I have seen, people here are temperate, but there is a curious custom among many of the station hands; for many months they stick to work, never showing any craving for drink; then comes their annual holiday; they draw a considerable amount for wages, and travelling to some shanty of a public house, or to Christchurch, proceed to ‘knock down their cheque’, giving it to the landlord, and bidding him to treat all comers as long as it lasts. Needless to say that all they get for their hard-earned money is a sore head and empty pocket. (Henry W. Harper, qtd. in Ryan 45)

Applying this background information now to an analysis of the novels, it is immediately noticeable that there is one character who is more affected by this reality than others – Sven Andersen in *The Toll of the Bush*. Most of the observations made by Harper in 1861 can be noticed when examining Andersen’s experiences in colonial New Zealand. For the most part, Andersen is away from his family in order to earn money; it is stated that “[t]he Swede was a hard and skilful workman, who never caused trouble” (Satchell 165). Exactly this sentence, however, also refers to his addiction to alcohol, as it is qualified by “so long as he was sober” (Satchell 165). Although drink is available in the bush camp where he is employed, “the Swede stood aloof; an occasional bottle of painkiller was the only concession he made to the frightful craving that came over him at the smell of spirits in another man’s mouth” (Satchell 164). However, upon his return to the settlement, he spends most of his wages to get
drunk and terrify his family instead of offering financial support, thus making his “presence worse than his absence” (Carrera-Suarez). This craving for alcohol is admitted and explained by Andersen himself, when he even accepts Worcester sauce instead of an alcoholic drink, which he is denied by the storekeeper: “It is the hollow,’ Andersen explained; ‘the crave to fill him. When a man has warred mooch in bush and wet and rheumatism, then Vooster’s horse very goot’” (Satchell 101).

Both aspects, the family’s horror upon his return as well as his inability to maintain them are illustrated in a conversation between Lena and Robert:

‘When did he come?’ Robert asked.
‘Last night; and he was awful. He chased mother with a knife round the house, and we put all the things against the door of our room; and at last I got the children out of the window, and we stopped together in the bush all night. He wanted to kill us all [...]’
‘Does he stop long as a rule?’
‘No. When he wakes up he begins to cry and carry on, but mother takes no notice of him. Then after a bit he says he will reform and never touch drink again, and then he goes away to look for a job; and that’s the last of him – till the next time.’
‘Does he never give you anything at all?’
‘Almost never’ (Satchell 71-72)

Of course, the question concerning the origin of his addiction arises – why is Andersen feeling the need to turn to alcohol in the first place? A possible explanation can be encountered in the following quote:

Andersen rose, and coming out on to the road stood for awhile irresolute. He was an alien in a strange land; an outcast, of whom none thought, for whom none cared. No place called him. He was homeless, for to call that wretched, deserted dwelling – now lost in the merciful oblivion of darkness – home was surely to commit sacrilege. Where, then, should he go? (Satchell 170)

The answer to the question Andersen asks in this quote seems to be for him the Beach Public House, where he yields again to the temptation of alcohol in order to numb this feeling of loneliness and isolation he experiences. In this location it quickly becomes obvious that he is not the only man struggling: “a few topers congregated round the bar” (Satchell 172), one of them “a sottish-looking fellow” (Satchell 172) and all of them immediately accept Andersen’s invitation to drink at his expense (Satchell 172-173).
In summary, Andersen’s case offers a good illustration of the arguments found in Grigg and MacKay: the settler, isolated from his family due to the remoteness of the bush camps, manages to stay away from alcohol until he leaves his workplace. Outside, he experiences the full reality of colonial life, characterised by loneliness and feelings of homesickness, which make him turn to alcohol. Spending all his money on drinking, he is not able to improve his family’s impoverished life conditions, but instead accumulates further debts (Satchell 42), which lead him back to the bush and an isolated life in order to earn more money, thereby initiating a vicious circle.

Moving on to the men in *The Story of a New Zealand River*, for Alice’s husband Tom Roland and her friend and later lover David Bruce, the initial situation is very different. Neither Tom nor Bruce is an ordinary worker like Andersen - their respective status as admired boss and respected doctor sets them apart from the bush men (Mander 77) – but both frequently turn to alcohol as a response to psychological challenges.

When calling back to mind Alice’s initial attitude towards and rejection of Bruce as a result of her internalised belief in rigid class structures, as well as her constant and total reliance upon him throughout the novel in her own times of crisis, one can already suspect that helping her deal with her problems will after some time develop into a challenge for Bruce as well. And indeed,

> [a]t times he felt badly about her attitude towards him. She attracted him, and he could see no reason why he should appear disagreeable to her. He could not believe that pride alone was responsible for her continued aloofness. He did not ask that she should treat him as an intimate friend. He knew that sort of thing was not to be had for the asking. But he felt that he had a right to demand that she should get off the defensive with him, that she at least should treat him as if he were the decent man he knew himself to be. And this last he was determined to make her do. (Mander 73)

While it is not explicitly stated that Bruce turns to alcohol because of Alice’s behaviour, I nevertheless argue that the context in which the quote appears in the novel, his immediately following recollection of “his one lapse” in Hakaru, “the place that boasted the best public house for miles around, where he had whiskied himself dead to the world for a week” (Mander 73), provides an obvious relation.
However, as is already indicated in the passage above, in the course of the novel, mutual attraction, and later love, arise between the characters (Mander 148, 162, 171-172) – a development putting a different kind of strain on both, as Alice “believe[s] in the inviolability of the marriage bond” (Mander 109) and Bruce is resolved to “not deceive Tom Roland” (Mander 198). Defending this conviction and attempting to manage the situation, however, repeatedly induces him to drink:

Twice in the last eighteen months he had gone under, after struggling to a point where something broke in him. He had ridden off, to return in a few days with the ghastly sensitiveness of the man who feels that lack of control is the unpardonable sin. He had kept away from Alice, who, he knew, condemned such lapses. [...] Though he knew it to be disease, it did not alter the fact that it was the tragedy of his life. And now, as he tossed in bed, he saw it coming again. [...] (Mander 180)

He was amazed afresh at his own vitality, at the heat of the liquid that flowed through his veins. He did not try to argue about the good or the bad of it, but set himself to fight it. But, as before, his mind grew frenzied in the hopeless struggle against his body. [...] As if pursued, he strode to the place where his horse always stood tethered. He saddled it, mounted, and galloped off into the night. He only meant to ride and ride, and let his horse take him anywhere it would. But in less than half an hour it had landed him at the Point Curtis public house. (Mander 185-186)

Again, it is worth pointing back to Grigg’s explanation that alcohol offers an escape from squalor, loneliness, isolation or poverty. In Bruce’s case it is clearly neither poverty nor squalor, but the feeling of loneliness, stemming from unfulfilled and unattainable love, which drives him to drinking.

Finally, by looking briefly at the case of Tom Roland, I argue that it is possible to establish a connection between the three men and draw a conclusion on how the men in the novels respond to psychological challenges. In contrast to Andersen and Bruce, Roland is not a constant drinker at all; in fact, there is only one scene in which he resorts to alcohol,

‘The boss has been whiskying himself blind at Point Curtis all day.’
‘What!’ Bruce fell back a pace, as if he had suddenly run into a wall [...]
‘What struck him?’ exclaimed Bruce, looking for a reason. It was a well-known fact that Roland was almost a teetotaller. ‘Anything happened? I was in the bush last night.’
‘Yes. Some of the new machinery has been wrecked on the Three Kings. (Mander 187)
What Roland does have in common with the two other characters, though, is the fact that, confronted with trying and difficult circumstances – the loss of important machinery in this case – he chooses alcohol in order to escape them, or, in other words, he drinks to deal with psychological challenges. Thereby, all three examples express a clear contrast regarding the response to psychological challenges: while the female characters actively attempt to change a difficult situation, the men respond to trying circumstances by means of alcohol. In the following preliminary conclusion, I will attempt to answer what the different reaction of the women means in the context of asserting their right to belong.

4.3. Preliminary conclusion

The aim of the previous chapter was to present the difficulties and challenges the settlers encountered in New Zealand after having reached the decision to leave their home and travel to the colony. I have made a distinction between physical challenges, thereby focusing on the cultivation of the wilderness, and psychological challenges, such as the perceived or real isolation of some characters.

In order to conclude this chapter, I need to relate back to the chapter about nature as a testing ground, examining the settlers’ right to belong. As illustrated then, the men in the novels prove their entitlement to be in the country through the domination and cutting down of the bush, in other words, through the management of physical tasks. At the same time, though, women cannot actively partake in the cultivation of the wilderness; of course, they can prove their adaptation, like Mrs. Small, through a positive reaction to a failed potato crop, but in general, they remain excluded from the transformation processes and have fewer opportunities to demonstrate such an adaptation. However, an analysis of the aspect of psychological difficulties, shows that the female characters in the novels are seemingly better in handling psychological difficulties – they accept their new surroundings or actively attempt to change situations which for them are trying. In contrast, though, the male characters mostly do not face their own personal challenges, but retreat and seek refuge in alcohol. In summary, I therefore interpret both variants of challenges, physical
as well as psychological ones, as testing grounds for the settlers’ right to belong in New Zealand. As I see it, the handling of psychological challenges can be seen as the female version of the testing of the right to belong – the women prove their entitlement to remain in New Zealand through their successful dealing with psychological challenges and their active attempt at coming to terms with their new surroundings.

Finally, as I have already indicated in the chapter about nature as a testing ground and as can also be observed in the discussion of psychological challenges, it is ultimately the mutual help and assistance, the feeling of togetherness and the building of a community, noticeable for instance in encouraging words or fighting together against a bush fire, which are decisive in the handling of difficulties and challenges, no matter whether physical or psychological. In the subsequent part of this thesis I will thus look at how such a feeling of community and cohesion is constructed in the novels.
5. Creating Home and Community

In the following chapter, I attempt an analysis of the novels in regard to home and the creation of a community in New Zealand. Basically, the discussion will centre on several questions: first of all, what constitutes the concept of home in general? Is it possible to assign the term diaspora to the context of migration to colonial New Zealand? Secondly, what constitutes a community, on what basis do individuals come to perceive themselves as members of a community and how can feelings of membership be secured? To answer particularly these questions related to community, I will primarily draw on Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*, consequently attempting to apply his concept on the novels. Finally, having established the definitions of home and community, I will discuss whether or not a specific moment can be pinpointed in the novels, from which onwards New Zealand is perceived of and accepted by the characters as their new home.

5.1. The concept of home

To begin with, the notion of home and feelings of being at home are crucially important concepts in the lives of people. They act, to quote McLeod (242), as “[…] valuable means of orientation by giving us a fixed, reliable sense of our place in the world. [They are] meant to tell us where we originated from and apparently where we legitimately belong. As an idea [home] stands for shelter, stability, security and comfort […].” Obviously, resulting from these statements, the following questions arise in the context of my thesis – what happens to these notions of shelter, stability and security connected with home, when people decide to leave this place and travel to a distant part of the world, leaving behind what they perceive as their place in the world and their origin? Are migrants, or settlers in this context, facing the fact that a return journey might not be possible, able to reconstruct such notions at all and can they develop and secure a feeling of being at home also in their new environments? I will return to these questions when discussing the creation of a community and the importance of the performance of traditions and symbols.
I have stated in the introduction to this thesis that I attempt to analyse the novels using postcolonial concepts. An important term which is now commonly used in postcolonial studies when discussing notions of home in relation to migration is the concept of diaspora. For a long time, the term has exclusively been used to refer to the dispersal of Jewish people throughout the world; however, as Bonnici (84) states, since the seventeenth century its meaning has extended to describe the “uprooting and geographical dispersions of other peoples”, within postcolonialism, “‘diaspora’ has come to signify generally the movement and relocation of groups of different kinds of peoples throughout the world” (McLeod 236).

Following from these definitions, Rosalind McClean now offers an interesting discussion concerning the applicability of the term diaspora in relation to colonial New Zealand. She argues that “migrations that brought new peoples to Aotearoa/New Zealand during the last two hundred years were not […] ever described as diaspora or diasporas until late in the twentieth century” (135) – a moment in time clearly later than the publication dates of all the novels under analysis. Although McClean admits that the term diaspora has in recent years been used very loosely, taking on the more general meaning of “migration over a wide geographical area” (135), she nevertheless states that the associations of the word with notions of exile, reluctant scattering, dispossession, dislocation and loss of homeland still persist to some extent (McClean135-138). In the context of the settlement of colonial New Zealand, she argues, it is therefore not possible to speak of the emigration of people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as diasporic “in the traditional sense, associated with Jewish […] narratives” (McClean 144) and connotations of dispossession or reluctant scattering. Rather, migration from Britain “was voluntary rather than coerced” (McClean 136), emigration had a positive connotation for the settlers – it signified chance and opportunity instead of exile (McClean 144-145) and, as McClean states, involved “[…] the deliberate choice to find ‘home’ in a new location” (145).

Based on McClean’s arguments, I agree that it seems hardly possible to speak of colonial New Zealand as a diasporic environment when applying the term in
its initial, historic definition – settlers were not relocated or dispossessed, but made a conscious decision to leave their home and travel to the British colony. Also Stephen Constantine supports this thesis in his article about British emigration to the empire by focusing primarily on the initial definition of the term and claiming that “[…] from roughly the 1880s to the 1940s, British migration was primarily, though not entirely, an overseas settlement and not a diaspora. Migrants from the British Isles to the British Empire […] experienced little sense of exile or of alienation […]” (19). He explains further that migrants settled in “[…] self-proclaimed British communities, bent upon reproducing most of the cultural products of what immigrants still thought of as home” (23). Both McClean’s as well as Constantine’s arguments are, as I see it, of great importance when talking about the applicability of the term diaspora in its initial definition to colonial New Zealand.

However, Robin Cohen’s definition of the term in Global Diasporas allows a slightly different interpretation in this context. For him, a common characteristic of diasporic communities is that they all “[…] acknowledge that ‘the old country’ – a notion often buried deep in language, religion, custom or folklore – always has some claim on their loyalty and emotions” (ix). Obviously, as becomes clear when looking at the definition, Cohen does not focus on notions of exile and dispossession, but on the relations between communities of people and the old country.

Regardless of these different designations of migration and the presence of people in a foreign country, calling it diaspora or overseas settlement respectively, an agreement between Constantine’s and Cohen’s definitions becomes immediately noticeable when looking once more at the two quotes – the references to community and home (or “old country” for Cohen) and the links between the two. For both scholars, diaspora seems to ultimately mean a community in a foreign place and its relation to the old home. As I see it, a focus on community and home, disregarding notions associated with the Jewish exile, dispossession or enforced relocation, clearly allows the application of the term diaspora in the context of colonial New Zealand. In the following chapters, I will therefore be concerned primarily with these aspects which combine Cohen’s
and Constantine’s definitions, attempting to discuss the following questions: what is a community at all? What role does the “old country” play in the creation of a community and how important is a reproduction of cultural products which connect individuals with their homes?

5.2. Constructing a community – theoretical considerations

Prior to a discussion of the novels in regard to community, several theoretical concepts and considerations need to be addressed, or, to quote John McLeod, “we need to think about the nation in more general, abstract terms” (81). Although a nation, in its broadest definition, refers to a “defined and recognized geographical place” (Byrnes 123), the term can also be used, according to Gellner (qtd. in Byrnes 123-124), “either by extension or metaphor, to describe any group promoting some common interest or identity.” Based on this statement, I will regard the terms nation and community as interchangeable in the context of my thesis.

In general, nations and communities do not naturally occur, they are, as Ernest Gellner argues in Nations and Nationalism, “not inscribed into the nature of things” (qtd. in McLeod 81), but constructed by people based on certain ideas and conceptions (McLeod 81). One of the most influential works regarding this creation of nations and communities is undoubtedly Benedict Anderson’s Imagined Communities in which he declares the nation to be primarily “an imagined political community” [emphasis added] (6) – imagined, because not even members of the smallest nation “will [ever] know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (6). In other words, a great variety of people gathers in nations or also communities, but chances are little that individuals will ever meet every other person in their surroundings.

What is then consequently the basis upon which such a community is imagined and created? For Anderson, it is the collective, shared thought that individuals share a “deep, horizontal comradeship” (7) – it is not the fact of living in a particular territory which makes an individual perceive him- or herself as part of a nation or community, rather it is a construction, “a mutual sense of community
that a group of individuals imagines it shares” (McLeod 82). Of course, Anderson’s argument needs to be slightly qualified in the context of my thesis. Due to the fact that, at the beginning of European immigration, settlements were much smaller in size in comparison with contemporary European cities and their population, chances that individuals did know most other settlers in their surroundings were of course undoubtedly higher, and in fact, this is the case in all novels under analysis. Andersen himself speculates that his argument might not be valid for “communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact” [emphasis added] (6); nevertheless, when focusing on the aspect of his theory which is concerned with the shared belief in a comradeship constituting a community, I regard his concept as very useful and applicable to the issue of community building in the novels.

Following from these first reflections, the question arises consequently of how such a feeling of community and comradeship is secured in place. According to McLeod, “a sense of mutual belonging is manufactured by the performance of various traditions, narratives, rituals and symbols which stimulate an individual’s sense of being a member of a particular national collective” (82). Eric Hobsbawm (7) notes in this context of rituals and symbols that, since the eighteenth century, “entirely new symbols and devices came into existence as part of national movements and states, such as the national anthem […], the national flag […], or the personification of ‘the nation’ in symbol or image” – symbols and signs which “assert [the nation’s] distinctiveness from other nations” (Byrnes 124). In particular, though, it is not just the invention of symbols, rituals or traditions, but rather their reiteration and repeated performance, which takes on an “emotive and semi-sacred character for the people” (McLeod 83) – by repeatedly performing certain customs or practices, by re-telling the same tales and stories, an individual’s sense of being part of a group is heightened.

Referring back to the previous chapter where I posed the question of how individuals can reconstruct and secure in place notions of shelter, stability and security connected with home after leaving it, it can be stated now that through the repetition of traditions and rituals, a highly significant impression of a
connection between past and present is created – the knowledge that a particular ritual has been performed already by countless ancestors manifests the feeling of belonging: “The performance of national traditions helps secure in place an important sense of continuity between the nation’s present and its past, and assists in concocting the unique yet ultimately fabricated sense of a shared history and common origins of its people” (McLeod 82). In other words, “[…] the sinking of ethnic anchors” in the form of cultural identifiers and icons “[…] allowed settlers to integrate memories […] into an unfamiliar environment” (Harper 234). Further, an awareness of a “common historical narrative” highlights the shared past and assists individuals in finding “a collective identity in the present” (McLeod 83-84).

In relation to the construction of a collective identity an important aspect needs to be mentioned briefly. As McLeod (89) states, “[e]very definition of identity is always made in relation to something else, a perceived other.” I will address the issue of othering in greater detail in chapter six when analysing the contact between the settlers and the Māori. However, it is nevertheless important to state already at this stage, in regard to the question of how the feeling of belonging to a community is secured in place that, among other things, borders are erected which “separate the people ‘within’ from other peoples outside” (McLeod 89). As Moloughney and Stenhouse state, “[c]reating a cohesive, egalitarian community of like-minded citizens required excluding” (44), or to phrase it with Byrnes (124), people put “emphasis on a singular identity […] on homogeneity rather than difference” – through constructions of otherness, then, ultimately a sense of a shared identity with a certain group of people is created. To summarise, a nation is basically a construct, built upon ideas and notions of people, who stress their simultaneity with and difference from others. The collective identity these people create is based on rituals, symbols and narratives, all of which are continually repeated and thereby maintain the individual’s sense of belonging to a particular group.

In the context of my thesis, the aspects of repetition and performance assume particular importance. The characters in the novels decide to leave their home, settling in a far away country to which they cannot bring the whole extent of
narratives, rituals, symbols or traditions available in their respective homes. In order to maintain a feeling of shared history and origin, the settlers are consequently all the more dependent on the repetition and performance of customs or symbols, which, according to Buehlmann, not only “evolve the past” but also serve “strategically in the new environment as a tool of adjustment” (Colonists 170). In the following chapter I will thus specifically discuss instances in the novels where such repetitions and performances are most noticeable, indicating an attempt on the part of the settlers to create a community and maintain a sense of a common past.\textsuperscript{10}

I need to state at this stage that, obviously, links to such a common past are frequently encountered in the novels in various forms. There are, for instance, material objects, brought and cherished by the settlers such as a piano, chairs or pictures in The Story of a New Zealand River (13, 31, 46), a box of books in The Toll of the Bush (24), a wooden chest “with the name LONDON still showing” (Locke 15), or a brooch and locket in The Runaway Settlers (15) – all these objects are clearly and unquestionably of great importance to each individual settler – “feelings of love, childhood, and home” (Korte 110) are attached to objects which represent for a settler a personal link to relatives and old home, in other words, “a support for memory” (Korte 110). Also the importation of foreign plants and animals can be mentioned again, since flora and fauna, “had sentimental appeal to colonists” (Star 63), representing for them a maintenance of connections to home. Additionally, links to the past are obviously maintained by the settlers through correspondence with relatives (Adams 130) or the reading of English newspapers (Satchell 67).\textsuperscript{11} However, as I focus in this chapter on the establishment of a community and the significance of the performance of rituals, traditions and symbols in relation to it, I do not pay closer attention to these personal links. In other words, I base my analysis on the less tangible connections to the old home which assist the individuals, on the one hand, in the establishment of a community in their new home, and, on the other hand, in maintaining their sense of belonging to such a group.

\textsuperscript{10} For an historical account of how the maintenance of athletic and cultural traditions such as games of cricket or bagpipe concerts in colonial New Zealand helped to secure in place a connection between past and present see Crawford, Recreation and Crawford, Sporting Image.

\textsuperscript{11} For more information on the importance of letters for Scottish emigrants in keeping links and adjusting to New Zealand see Buehlmann, Correspondence.
5.3. Constructing a community – the concept in practice

5.3.1. The belief in a comradeship

In the following analysis, I will be looking at instances in the novels which confirm or contradict Benedict Anderson’s statement concerning a shared belief in comradeship as the starting point for the creation of a community. The first novel to examine in this context is *The Story of a New Zealand River*. Early on in the story, the creation of a community based on exactly such a belief in comradeship, or in other words, on common origin and ancestry, can be observed. Mrs. Brayton, upon noticing Alice’s discouragement during her first days in her new home, states the following:

‘[…] When we English people find ourselves away in places like this we can’t afford to snub each other because of a difference in the work we do. […] We must do all we can for each other. […] Remember when you are inclined to feel blue that, whatever happens, you will have an Englishwoman, and’ – with a nod at Bruce – ‘an Englishman to see you through.’ [emphasis added] (Mander 36-40)

Although Mrs. Brayton has only met Alice, the fact of the latter being English is enough reason for the older woman to incorporate the newcomer into an already existing group, noticeable through the use of the inclusive pronoun “we”. Referring back to McLeod’s argument of a community being created through the othering of another, the “we” gains special importance when Mrs. Brayton declares shortly afterwards that “[t]hese awful colonials get on my nerves. They think and act as if England didn’t exist. It will be delightful to have an Englishwoman to talk to again” (Mander 33). The contrast with “these awful colonials” who disregard their ancestry further highlights the belief in a community created upon the fact of being English. This shared ancestry is consequently, as can be seen in the quote, sufficient motivation for Mrs. Brayton to instantly offer her help; additionally, she assumes that assistance will also be provided by Bruce. In this particular case, the community is built upon a belief in deep comradeship resulting from common origin and ancestry.

In *The Counterfeit Seal*, the confidence and faith in the creation of a community based on a shared history is frequently expressed even *before* the actual
departure of the settlers to New Zealand (Adams 11, 24). In particular, the following quote by Mr. Thomson is worth closer attention and analysis:

‘My preference for Otago,’ said his father, ‘lies in the fact that the church and nationality of those who go will keep them still ‘one people.’ In America things are just as mixed as they can be, for there men of all creeds and from all countries are found, with no common ancestry, no union of interest in the past. History to them is a source of division rather than of cohesion, and so far as churches and schools are concerned, they are at variance. On the other hand, in Otago all will hail from Scotland; Scotland’s history will be theirs, Scotland’s heroes their heroes. Whatever has been Scotland’s will be theirs; even Scotland’s Free Church will be the church of Otago’s sons, and all the liberty won by those whose blood has dyed the heather of Scottish hills in the long and bitter struggle for freedom, will be the heritage of those who go from this nation […]’ (Adams 15)

The passage is in so far significant as most concepts mentioned in the theoretical introduction at the beginning of this chapter reappear in Mr. Thomson’s statement. First of all, it shows clearly that the community, to which the character refers by saying “one people”, does not occur naturally but is constructed by the people on the basis of nationality and religion. In this particular case, Anderson’s argument of people not knowing all other members of a community is unquestionably true – Mr. Thomson cannot possibly personally know all other Scots, but he perceives himself to be part of this collective identity, the defining and important characteristics being common ancestry and history. His stress on Scotland’s history, on its heroes and battles, and in particular his claim that all which has been important in Scotland will be of equal importance in New Zealand exemplifies well McLeod’s previously mentioned argument of securing a “sense of continuity between the nation’s present and its past” (82) through the re-telling of national narratives. Lastly, when relating back again to McLeod’s claim that a community is always made in relation to something else (89), Mr. Thomson’s mentioning of America is worth closer attention. Through the comparison and contrast with America, it is illustrated what constitutes the Scottish community, thereby ultimately securing in place the Scottish identity. Mr. Thomson’s quote thus not only expresses well how a community is created based on common ancestry and history, but it shows further the connection between past and present by illustrating the hope of transporting this belief in comradeship into the new world, thereby constructing a collective identity in the present. I will return to a discussion of
whether or not Mr. Thomson’s expectation of keeping the settlers “one people” is in fact realised after his arrival in New Zealand.

The last example to mention in this context concerns the Small family and the manner in which they are welcomed immediately after their arrival at their new home. After their first night, they are visited by their neighbour, Mr. Dyer, who brings important work tools and “a billy of beautiful fresh milk” (Locke 57). Handing it over, he states:

> You must come to me if you’re short of anything you need [...] or to the other cottage – I’ll show the lad where to find it. [...] About the next cottage: that’s where Mrs Parsons lives. She’s my sister. And Charles Parsons shares the farm with me. I don’t doubt we’ll all be good neighbours. [emphasis added] (Locke 57-58).

Although Mr. Dyer knows nothing of the family’s history and origin, there is no reservation or restraint noticeable in his behaviour. He has only just met the family, but he expresses no doubt concerning their inclusion into the community; in fact he not only offers his help, but is also confident about the willingness of his sister and her husband to extend the same kind of assistance to the newly arrived settlers. Clearly, this last example differs from the two previous ones as community building is not performed on the basis of common ancestry or history. Yet I argue that it is nevertheless important as it illustrates that a collective identity can also be created based on a common coexistence of being settlers and neighbours in a new and different environment.

Summing up, all examples discussed above illustrate instances which confirm Benedict Anderson’s theory of a community being created based on a belief in comradeship. In the case of Mr. Thomson and the settlers in The Story of a New Zealand River, the foundation upon which the community is built is clearly a shared and common origin – the fact of being Scottish in the one case, English ancestry in the other. However, inclusion into a community, or in other words gestures of welcome or an offer of assistance, can also occur and be extended to people, not due to a shared history, but because of a joint existence in the present – the common ground of being settlers and immigrants. In the theoretical part at the beginning of this chapter, I have already raised the question of how the feeling of community and comradeship is consequently
secured in place. In the remainder of this analysis, I will thus specifically examine passages in which the characters perform and repeat traditions, narratives, rituals, or symbols which manifest the immigrants' feeling of belonging and assist them in maintaining their perception of themselves as a member of a national collective.

5.3.2. Performance and repetition

As I have stated previously, the characters in all four novels decide to leave their home and settle in a distant part of the world, unable to bring with them all narratives, traditions, symbols, or rituals available to them as part of their identity in the old home. However, starting with an analysis of *The Toll of the Bush*, an attempt at repeating selected traditions and rituals in order to maintain this identity can be encountered immediately. Early on in the novel, a conversation between Lena and Robert illustrates the two characters’ shared interest in English history:

‘I suppose you’ve read Green’s *Short*? he asked tentatively. [...] ‘No,’ said Lena, puzzled. ‘Oh, it’s history!’ exclaimed Lena, curling her lip disdainfully. ‘Of course I’ve learned that, but it wasn’t Green’s. I know all the kings and queens by heart and all the dates.’ [...] ‘It’s good reading of an evening,’ he said lightly. ‘That Henry VIII. was a fair terror,’ he added. ‘He was Defender of the Faith,’ said Lena. (Satchell 31)

This scene is undoubtedly significant as it clearly illustrates a repetition of national narratives. For the two settlers, having a profound knowledge of English kings and queens, dates and battles, despite living far away from England, and *talking* about it seems to be nothing unusual. Rather, it is presented as a matter-of-fact, constituting part of their identity. The passage gains further importance later in the novel, when Lena and Robert begin to read history together:

Then in that alien country the Old World scenes, as depicted by the genius of the historian, took fresh being, and they saw the wild English and Saxon hordes, the men who were not to be denied, swoop down on the sacred land, where was yet the dying clasp of the Roman. (Satchell 83)
In the course of their united reading, Robert and Lena figuratively evoke the past. They repeat and re-tell the historical narratives of the old world and transport the stories to their new surroundings, thereby establishing a connection between the old and the new home and stimulating the feeling of belonging. In relation to McLeod’s argument that the repetition of such narratives takes on an “emotive and semi-sacred character for the people” (83), particularly Robert’s pride concerning English history needs to be mentioned: for him, no matter whether “peace or war, they [the English] were the better men” (Satchell 84).

Of course, performance aiming at the maintenance of a sense of belonging cannot only be encountered in the scene discussed above which illustrates the repetition of narratives, but also in the preservation of social customs, noticeable for instance in the Milward family’s invitation to a Christmas dance. In a conversation between Eve and Geoffrey the latter keeps up the convention of asking to be put on the girl’s dance card: “The first waltz and the last, and how many in between?” upon which Eve, in her role as hostess, answers “I shall have to dance with every one so far as I am able; and I have other duties to perform” (Satchell 145). This performance and repetition of a social tradition undoubtedly assists Eve in finding an identity in the present – an aspect which is of crucial importance for the settlers. Additionally, it serves, as stated previously, “as a tool of adjustment” (Bueltmann, Colonists 170) in the new environment – Eve, who belongs to the upper class due to her father’s wealth, asserts her identity in these new surroundings through the repetition and performance of norms known from and common in the old world.

Numerous instances of performance and repetition can also be encountered in The Story of a New Zealand River, one of the most striking examples being the drinking of tea, unquestionably a popular English custom. As I have illustrated in the previous subchapter, a possible basis for the creation of a community can be the fact of a common origin and ancestry. The repetition of a familiar and specific tradition consequently helps in establishing a connection between past and present and a sense of continuity between old and new home. During Mrs. Brayton’s first visit, for instance, it becomes obvious that even Asia, despite
being only a child, is able to prepare tea for the visitor: “I can make tea quite well. I know how – I often make it for Mother” (Mander 30). Although Asia has never been to England (Mander 48), she is acquainted with old customs which she must have learned from, or in other words, seen performed and repeated by her mother. The maintenance of this tradition is even better illustrated in the following scene, in which Alice and Asia visit Mrs. Brayton at home:

[…] Mrs. Brayton rang a little bell, and there appeared in the doorway a prim and aged maid in a black dress, with a spotless cap and apron.
‘Tea, please, Mary. And will you help me to carry out these flowers and put them into water.’
‘Yes, ma’am.’ (Mander 45-46)

In this, for this context, highly significant scene it is not only the repetition of a tradition which deserves attention; additionally, symbols, such as the maid’s black dress, her cap and apron, and further, the ritual of answering in a specific manner need to be noted. All these symbols and customs heighten the impression of a connection between the life in England and the life in New Zealand. Comparable to the scene analysed above in which Robert and Lena evoke the past through their collective reading of history, also in this passage the repetition and performance of a tradition calls to mind for Alice the times gone by. Summing up, it is through the repetition and performance of a tradition, intensified through the appearance of symbols and rituals related with it, that a feeling of a shared history and origin, a sense of belonging to a community is stimulated, maintained and secured in place.

Apart from the drinking of tea, several more illustrations of the maintenance of traditions and rituals can be encountered in this particular novel. All of these following examples have, as will be noticeable, a religious symbolism. While Alice, for instance, cares for the newborns in the settlement by sewing christening dresses from “muslin and lace” (Mander 301), making them each time “more ostentatious” (Mander 347), Asia attends to the sick and dying diggers in the gum fields, washing them, reading to them from the Bible and spending their last hours with them (Mander 313, 320). A third example shows rituals performed around the death of a person, Tom Roland in this case. After his fatal accident, countless people, including “a party of fifty children […] awed and sobbing” (Mander 411), come to pay their last respects, “all carrying
wreaths and crosses of wild flowers” (Mander 411), his funeral is attended by “[t]he entire population for a radius of twenty miles” (Mander 416) who follow his “coffin, loaded with flowers, and followed by three buggy loads of wreaths and crosses” (Mander 416).

On the one hand, all three instances now express clearly, as I argue, the creation of a community as a consequence of the confrontation with the various stages of life: Alice in her function as “the Lady Bountiful of the village” (Mander 347) distributes gifts to new parents, the entire population assembles at Tom Roland’s funeral – in other words, individuals are not left alone facing decisive life events. Rather, a sense of mutual belonging is created from which nobody, be it a parent or a dying digger, is excluded. On the other hand, the scenes illustrate the performance and repetition of rituals and customs originating from a religious life cycle, which stimulate the individuals’ impression of being a member of the community. All these customs and symbols are important components of the Christian religious life cycle in which each plays a significant role – the christening dress, for instance, marks the individual’s inclusion into a community, the crosses and wreaths signify the community’s last respects for a member. As I see it, Alice and the other settlers, upon leaving their home and the Christian sphere of influence, could make a conscious decision to leave behind these traditions. However, they continue to perform the rituals and symbols related to the Christian belief, they repeat and follow these customs and traditions and thereby establish a connection between past and present as well as a collective identity in their new home.

Also in The Counterfeit Seal, a noticeable focus on the performance of religious traditions and customs can be encountered. As I have already discussed in the previous chapter, Mr. Thomson bases his hope concerning the creation of a community in New Zealand on a belief in a shared history and religion, he states that “[…] the church and nationality of those who go will keep them still ‘one people’” and “Scotland’s Free Church will be the church of Otago’s sons” (Adams 15). And indeed, several scenes in the novel confirm the fulfilment of Thomson’s hope. For instance, immediately after their arrival in New Zealand, the settlers begin to perform rituals and traditions associated with church life:
The first united act of the passengers by the two ships now safely at anchor, after all the perils of the long voyage were behind them, was to meet on the deck of the ‘John Wickliffe’ at 11 o’clock on Sabbath morning [...], and there mingle their voices in the return of praise and thanks giving to Him who had so signally watched over them, and by His powerful hand delivered them from all the dangers of the deep. [...] For the first time the voice of sacred song, raised by a large and devout congregation of Europeans within the Otago Harbour. [...] The spacious deck was thronged with men, women, and children, having brought out their Bibles with the psalms in metre [...]. (Adams 91)

The settlers unite, as the quote illustrates, they maintain a feeling of shared history, origin and belief through the repetition and performance of well known customs and symbols – the singing of songs, the bringing of Bibles to the service and the common praying. It is further during a second service that

[…] the same old psalm and tune, so often sung in their Scottish churches, the same old chapters from the grand old Bible, and the same sentiments of devotion, all combined to drive away the thoughts of distance from friends on the other side of the globe. [...] The God of Scotland’s heroes was also the God of Otago’s Pioneers [...]. [emphasis added] (Adams 91-92)

Particularly the stress on the “same” psalm, tune and chapters from the Bible is significant in this quote – the performance of the same rituals bridge the distance between old and new home and evoke a sense of continuity between past and present, even further illustrated in the statement confirming Thomson’s prophecy of Scotland’s God turning into Otago’s God. Later on in the novel, a further scene shows the importance of the maintenance of religious traditions – the minister, after his visit to the Thomson family’s newly built accommodation, prays for blessings on the family and their home, “following the good old custom of his native land” (Adams 149). Again, a tradition of the old home is repeated and, as in all the previous examples, the connection between past and present serves as an important tool of adjustment in the settlers’ new home, providing them with a sense of common and shared identity.

Several further instances illustrate the repetition and performance of customs and symbols by the settlers in this particular novel. Referring back to Hobsbawm (7) who states that a flag can be an important symbol for a community, the excitement and curiosity of the settlers upon seeing the Union Jack, signalling the arrival of a British ship, needs to be mentioned (Adams
Additionally and comparable to the Milward family’s invitation to a Christmas dance, social conventions are also maintained in The Counterfeit Seal – the McKechnies “issu[e] invitations to a large number of friends to join them in a good Scotch ‘house warming’” (Adams 189). And finally, a symbol is referred to in the novel of which the relation with Scotland and thus the settlers’ history cannot be questioned, “the well-known Balmoral Bonnet which invariably covered the dignified head of the community” [emphasis added] (Adams 156).

In summary, all of the symbols and traditions encountered in this particular novel – the flag and the Balmoral Bonnet, carrying a specific meaning for the settlers, as well as the invitation following a familiar tradition – together with the examples of the maintenance of customs and narratives analysed previously in this chapter, illustrate performance, which establishes a connection between old and new life. Referring back to Benedict Anderson’s concept of imagined communities, I argue that although the Scottish emigrants are all settlers in a foreign country “in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (6), they promote their “common interest or identity” (Gellner, qtd. in Byrnes 123-124) and identify with Scotland through the performance of familiar traditions, customs or symbols which are repeated and regarded as important also in the new home and which help them to adjust and adapt to the new environment as well as to find their collective identity. It is, as I have stated previously, not the fact of living in a particular territory which makes an individual imagine him- or herself as part of a group, but the sense of community and continuity between past and present.

Having now discussed what creates a community, how the performance of rituals and traditions helps to maintain a sense of continuity between past and present while simultaneously assisting in creating a feeling of stability and security connected with home, I will now turn in the last subchapter to the perception of New Zealand as the new home. The questions I attempt to answer are the following: is there a specific moment from which onwards a settler comes to regard and accept his new surroundings as his or her home? Is it only the performance of rituals and traditions which connects a character with home or do changes of attitude and family also play a role in this context?
5.4. New Zealand – the new home?

Basically, as I will illustrate in the following pages, a close analysis of the novels reveals that it is hardly possible to establish specific moments from which onwards the individual characters accept New Zealand as their new home. Clearly, some settlers utter explicit statements which undoubtedly express their connection with the new place, thereby creating the impression that precisely from this sentence onwards, the character regards New Zealand as home. However, for most immigrants, the acceptance of the country cannot be seen as completed at a specific moment; rather, it is a constant and continuous process, it can be pursued throughout the novel and is often completed only towards the end of the story. In the subsequent analysis, I will discuss both the obvious moments as well as the more implicit, gradual transitions, focusing for reasons of conciseness primarily on the main characters and their recognition of New Zealand as home.

The first character to examine in this context is Alice in The Story of a New Zealand River. Alice is one of those settlers, for whom it is hardly possible to determine a certain point in time at which she decidedly refers to New Zealand as her home; rather, as I see it, it is her personal transformation which brings her closer to the country. Since I have already discussed this change in personality in the chapter about psychological challenges, I only briefly refer back to the quotes given then in order to relate them with the acceptance of the place as home. Her shifting perception of the landscape and environment around her – seeing it as God’s creation (Mander 26-27) instead of regarding it as a confining prison (Mander 418-419), as well as her changing attitude towards other people (Mander 348) help Alice to accept her environment as her new home and connect her closer with it.

At one point early in the novel, however, Alice makes a remark which is highly important in the context of perceiving New Zealand as home. She states: “She had Mrs. Brayton and her children; she had her music and her books. She had a home, such as it was” (Mander 69). Admittedly, throughout the story, Alice struggles repeatedly against desperation and frustration triggered by numerous
and diverse events which consequently qualify this early recognition of the place as home and show that the perception of New Zealand as home cannot be linked to a specific moment but is rather a continuous process. However, despite the fact that this process is only completed for her after several years – only towards the end of the novel does she realise that the desire to move away from the place has gradually left her in the course of time (Mander 418-419), thereby finally expressing her definite acceptance of the place as home – I nevertheless consider the passage to be of great significance as it suggests that ultimately the acceptance of a new environment as home depends not only on the repetition of rituals or symbols which provide a link to the past (music and books in this case), but at the same time on the presence of beloved people, representing stability and security and turning a place into home.

In order to prove this hypothesis, I consequently examine the situation for the characters in The Counterfeit Seal for whom I have already discussed in greater detail the importance of repetition and performance of symbols and rituals in securing a place in their new surroundings. Also in this novel, though, the presence of family and friends seems to be a decisive factor in the recognition of the country as home. Eric’s brother for instance states resolutely “[…] I like to be where mother is. It’s home then” (Adams 144). This quote is important due to two interacting aspects. First of all, it expresses, again, the importance of the presence of family – without family, the mother in this case, the place cannot be recognised as home. Secondly, it is an explicit statement marking a moment from which onwards a character acknowledges a place as home – for Eric’s brother, the arrival of their mother signifies the transition of the place from a mere accommodation to a home.

In contrast to his brother, but similar to Alice, the process leading to a final recognition of New Zealand as home is slower and less explicit for Eric, but also connected with the presence of family and friends. In a conversation with the captain, he expresses that the absence of his fiancée Kirsty prevents him from regarding New Zealand as home: “‘Oh, yes, all our family are here,’ said Eric; but his voice told that there was someone else who held a large share of the young man’s affections who was still left behind, and whose presence was
necessary before he would be able to call this place ‘home’” (Adams 133). Although Eric frequently joins in the repetition of rituals and symbols (Adams 90-91, 200-203) and turns into a respected and valued member of the community (Adams 155, 175), he keeps referring to Scotland as home (Adams 132, 218), thereby confirming that, apart from the performance of rituals and traditions and the inclusion into a community, other factors, in this case the presence of loved ones, contribute to making a place home. And indeed, only Kirsty’s arrival in New Zealand changes Eric’s perception of the country – he greets his bride and the other newly arrived settlers, declaring to be “[…] pleased to welcome you to our new home” [emphasis added] (Adams 218).

Turning now to *The Toll of the Bush*, the situation for the immigrant in this novel, Geoffrey, initially appears to be strikingly dissimilar from the circumstances of Alice and Eric. Geoffrey does not struggle with social conventions like Alice, but is respected by the people around him and, like Eric, a member of the colonial community, noticeable for instance in a generous job offer made by Major Milward (Satchell 37), in the fact that people turn to him for advice (Satchell 96-97, 114-116) or in his popularity at the Christmas dance (Satchell 153-154). Unlike Eric, though, he is not longing for the presence of a particular person left behind, but is surrounded by family, his brother Robert in this case (Satchell 22). Following from this, it seems possible to conclude that, based on the aspects discussed until now which contribute in establishing a feeling of home (inclusion in a community, presence of loved ones), Geoffrey has no reason to not perceive of New Zealand as home. Indeed, frequently scenes can be encountered which illustrate his acceptance of the place as home. There is, for instance, his comparison of a New Zealand garden with one from England, in which he judges the flowers of England incomparable to the beauty of those found in the colony (Satchell 94) – a comparison, which is, as I see it, in fact a metaphorical contrasting between New Zealand and England, in which Geoffrey clearly expresses his high esteem for the first. Additionally, it is worth noting that he, unlike most other characters, no longer calls England home but “the old country” (Satchell 98).
Although these examples suggest that Geoffrey indeed regards New Zealand as home, it becomes clear in the course of the novel that such an acceptance has been a development of the recent past. At the beginning of the novel, his handling of a box of books brought with him from England illustrates this claim:

Some stout oiled paper covered the top, and beneath were the books carefully packed away, as though by a hand that loved them. He remembered that it was almost exactly a year since he had placed the last volume in position, and the thought of the life that closed with the closing lid lay heavy on his heart as he gazed. [emphasis added] (Satchell 24)

The books, as I see it, are clearly representative of a time in which there was time to read, to learn and to try out different professions (Satchell 26-28). By putting the books in a box and closing the lid, Geoffrey also figuratively ends the life for which they stand – not without pain, though, as the emphasised phrase illustrates. Additionally, Geoffrey’s thoughts after a conversation with Major Milward show that the acknowledgement of New Zealand as home has only occurred recently: “There had been a time when, had he yielded to the intense desire that possessed him, he would have taken the first boat available: when the very name of England filled his heart with a rapture […]” (Satchell 67). It is important to note that Geoffrey uses the past tense to refer to feelings of homesickness to England, thereby suggesting that his feelings have changed, while simultaneously leading to an inquiry concerning the reason and motivation for his altered perception and attitude.

An answer for this question can be found in precisely the context in which the passage is embedded. Geoffrey’s preoccupation with his desire to return to England has obviously been replaced with another, different one: “That instinct of return, which man shares with all migratory creatures, and which years of restraint can deaden but never kill, lay for the time wholly hidden from feeling by the one passion powerful enough to subdue it” [emphasis added] (Satchell 67). When he calls back to mind Major Milward’s request to be informed “[w]hen you feel the craving return upon you and you are convinced that there is no place like England and no happiness away from it” (Satchell 67), he has to admit that “[h]ad the word ‘Wairangi’ been substituted for ‘England,’ the answer must have been ‘now’; for the place where love dwells is the only spot more desirable than that where we were born and bred” [emphasis added] (Satchell 68). His growing
love for Eve Milward, a development “of the past two months” (Satchell 68) obviously help him in accepting New Zealand as his home – he no longer struggles against the desire to return to England and his familiar life style, but instead, the feeling of being at home develops in connection with the feeling of love.

Contrary to my initial statement that Geoffrey’s situation seems very dissimilar from Alice’s and Eric’s circumstances, I argue now that, in fact, the experiences the individual characters make are strikingly alike. For all three of them, the presence of beloved people is a decisive factor which contributes to making a place home. In this context, as I see it, it is less important whether loved ones are already present or left behind in the old country and following at a later point in time, home seems to be dependent on a close proximity to dear people.

Finally, the last characters to examine in this context of perceiving New Zealand as home are the members of the Small family in The Runaway Settlers, for whom, in contrast to the three other settlers analysed previously, the acceptance of the new place as their new home is not related to the presence of beloved people. However, as I argue, also the Small family undergoes a transition until they perceive of the country as home, although their change is neither marked through explicitly ceasing to refer to the old country as home, nor through a vanished desire to return; rather, it is noticeable in a much more subtle aspect – the family’s usage and handling of songs. Frequently throughout the novel, the Smalls turns to songs in order to endure trying and difficult circumstances, for instance after leaving the abusive husband and father

Tears welled up in Mary Ann’s eyes. She was weary and frightened […]. Oh, they must hurry and be sure to reach Berrima in time for the coach! At this thought she began to stride out so strongly that Archie protested – he couldn’t keep up! So Mrs. Small began to sing in her clear, strong voice:

   ‘In Dublin’s fair city, where the girls are so pretty,
    I first set my eyes on sweet Molly Malone,’

and they all joined in:

   ‘She wheeled her wheelbarrow, through the streets
    broad and narrow,
    Crying cockles, and mussels, alive, alive-O.’ (Locke 18)
Upon seeing her children suffering and in order to comfort them, Mrs. Small begins singing a song, obviously familiar to the rest of her family. Also at the beginning of their journey to their new accommodation in New Zealand, the family can be heard singing:

‘Turn again Whittington, 
Lord Mayor of London – don – don, 
Ding dong ding dong.’ (Locke 45)

As I see it, both these quotes are significant as they conjure up an image of the old home and, at the same time, express a persisting attachment to Britain – I argue that the family’s choice to sing songs dealing explicitly with Dublin and London, instead of songs devoid of references to specific places, reveal this still present and important link.

However, the passages only gain outstanding importance in the context of New Zealand as the new home, when the family starts adapting them to the new circumstances:

‘We must make new words,’ said Mrs Phipps. ‘How will this be? […]
Go ahead Whittington, 
Halfway to Lyttelton, 
Find you a home – 
Ding dong ding dong …’ (Locke 45-47)

As I see it, the change of the song to suit the new environment is indicative of the family’s complete closure of the past, while simultaneously pointing to the intention of finding a new home in the present surroundings. To elaborate on this argument further, I need to refer back to the concept of syncretism. I have stated then, that syncretism can be described as “a form of cultural contact, a conscious process, an intellectual effort to incorporate foreign elements into one’s own culture, re-interpreting and appropriating them” (Clifford qtd. in Schäfer 81) or as “the fusion of two distinct traditions to produce a new and distinctive whole” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffins 229).

Based on these definitions, I argue that it is precisely such a fusion of elements which occurs in the changing of the song: the family consciously takes an aspect of their old culture (a familiar song) and re-interprets it, adding a new

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12 The family changes their surname from Small to Phipps after their decision to travel to New Zealand in order to obliterate any traces which the father, from whom they are escaping, could follow.
and foreign element (the place name Lyttelton), thereby producing a new song which matches the new circumstances. As I see it, this production of something new by adapting something familiar consequently assists the family in finding their place and initiates the process of accepting New Zealand as their new home.

To conclude, an explicit statement finally marks the family’s efforts to leave behind the past and find a new home in New Zealand. Mrs Small, ignoring the fact that the hut, which they are supposed to inhabit, has been neglected for a long time, states, “I’ll make a home of it, so long as it’s mine to try” (Locke 54). Indeed, the family’s hope to find a home, expressed in the above mentioned song and their success in doing so becomes obvious when, after the first night in the hut and some necessary cleaning, “the house became a home” (Locke 60). As I see it, in the case of the Small family, the ultimate acknowledgement of the place as home is expressed in a clear and pronounced declaration, however, as I have tried to illustrate, it is, comparable to the situation of Alice, Geoffrey and Eric, the result of a process involving a conscious adaptation and change.

5.5. Preliminary conclusion

The aim of this previous chapter was to discuss the novels in regard to notions of home and the creation of a community. I have basically attempted to analyse the books by considering the following questions – how is a community created in colonial New Zealand, how can settlers secure their place in such a community and is there a specific moment from which onwards the country is regarded as the new home by the individual characters.

To answer these questions, I have first of all offered a theoretical introduction, based on which I have consequently tried to illustrate how the belief in comradeship, in a shared past or culture is fundamental in the construction of a community in the new country. I have then moved on to show the importance of performance and repetition in this context by discussing several scenes such as the joint reading of history books, the invitation of other settlers for having a cup of tea together or the meeting for a common prayer. I have stated in this part that for the characters, symbols and traditions which provide a link to the past
seem crucially important in securing their place in the present. The repetition of customs, narratives or familiar symbols helps them to find their identity as part of a community, while simultaneously assisting them in their adjustment to the new environment. In the penultimate subchapter I have finally discussed whether or not specific moments can be encountered marking a character’s definite acceptance of the country as his or her home, concluding that it is basically a process which the settlers undergo which leads to such a final recognition, rather than a concrete moment. In this section, I have established that for some characters, it is the presence of beloved people which hinders or triggers the ultimate acknowledgement of the place as home.

In order to conclude, I argue that it is basically the combination of all the factors analysed, the notions of shelter, stability and security connected with home, the creation of and inclusion into a community, the performance of rituals, customs and symbols as well as the presence of family and loved ones, which lead an individual to perceive a place as home. The acceptance by the local community and the performance of rituals are important, as the case of Eric shows, but ultimately it is the arrival of Kirsty which turns New Zealand into his new home. The same is true for Alice – the repetition of familiar rituals heightens her sense of continuity between past and present and assists her in adjusting, but in the end, it is the presence of her children and her neighbour, representing stability and security, which initiates the process of seeing the place as home. All these elements combined contribute, as I see it, to create a feeling of belonging and a sense of having finally arrived.

Following this analysis of community building and home based on the experiences and the perspective of the immigrants, I will now turn in the final chapter of my thesis to an aspect which is also of crucial importance in the context of early settlers’ life in colonial New Zealand – the contact situation between the native people of New Zealand, the Māori, and the Europeans.
6. The settlers and the Māori

As noticeable in the previous chapters, the presence of native people in the British colony has not played a significant role for the arriving immigrants until this stage: the Māori are neither involved in the process of cultivating the wilderness, nor is there ever any concern raised about possible consequences of the introduction of foreign native and flora on their traditional way of life; additionally, the building of communities obviously occurs without an integration of the native population.

Referring back to chapter three where I have discussed Said’s Orientalism in regard to the colonisation of New Zealand, stating that the perception of the country as timeless, feminine and empty was considered to be sufficient justification for its occupation and domination, the encounter with a considerable number of Māori rectified the perception of the colony as empty and qualified what the Europeans perceived to be their right – the seizure of an unclaimed country. Through the production of knowledge about these native people, through declaring them to be different and the Other, further justifications for the colonisation and the takeover of the land were consequently provided.

In the following pages, I will first of all examine how the native population in the novels is made the Other, which strategies are applied to establish differences, and then turn to the justification of the occupation of New Zealand by Europeans and an examination of the relationships between settlers and Māori in, what Pratt (34) called, the “contact zone” – “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism.” Since the four novels differ considerably in their respective dealings with the native population, I organise the following analysis accordingly, analysing those books together, in which similar observations can be made.
6.1. Culture contact in *The Toll of the Bush* and *The Counterfeit Seal*

6.1.1. Othering the native population

To begin with, the most important work in this context is Bhabha’s *The Location of Culture*. He states that the colonised people are construed as “a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin”. In other words, a series of fundamental assumptions which “construct colonised peoples in various derogatory ways” (McLeod 62-63) or stereotypical “knowledges of colonizer and colonized” (Bhabha 70) are made which assign the native population a certain position, frequently through the construction of binary oppositions.

Before turning to an illustration of this argument by drawing on examples from the novels, though, it is important to highlight the connection between the production of such knowledge, the creation and repetition of stereotypes about native people and identity. A sense of identity is, as I have stated in chapter five in regard to the construction of a community, always created in relation to something else, “a perceived other” (McLeod 89). In the previous chapter, I have used this statement to explain how Mr. Thomson’s contrasting of America and Scotland helps him to secure in place a sense of belonging – he states his knowledge about America, fixes the country as the Other, and thereby asserts his identity. It is, however, of course not only a comparison between countries which is of assistance for the settlers in constructing their collective identity, but rather, in this context, the othering of the native population of New Zealand. Referring back to Said, this othering centres on an important stereotype made about the Orient, or the colonies in this context – the assumption of its peculiarity: “The Orient is not just different; it is oddly different – unusual, fantastic, bizarre” (McLeod 53). Such a declaration creates consequently again a binary opposition – the West is considered the seat of enlightenment and reason while the colony and the people encountered there are perceived as irrational and primitive, or, in other words, are othered through their difference.
In chapter three I have stated that the creation of a considerable number of assumptions about colonised people can in fact be observed already before the actual arrival of immigrants in New Zealand. For instance, in *The Counterfeit Seal*, family members resort to stereotypes evolving around “savagery, cannibalism, lust and anarchy” (Bhabha 96) in order to discourage the settlers from pursuing their plans of migration. By referring to the Māori as “cannibals” or “savages” (Adams 12, 52, 23), the native population is already in advance assigned an inferior position in contrast to the Europeans. An analysis of the novels illustrates now that assumptions of the West as superior in contrast to a savage, inferior people are not only prevalent before and immediately after the settlers’ arrival in New Zealand. Quite to the contrary, knowledge is continuously produced and the perceived otherness of the native population manifested even after some time of close contact.

In *The Toll of the Bush*, for instance, the production of knowledge and othering centres basically upon the representation of the native as idle and the simultaneous depiction of the European settlers as hard-working and industrious. Looking at a Māori settlement, Geoffrey observes the following:

> Large tracts of the green sward were unfenced, and over these strayed the cattle and horses of the native community. Along the sides of the road, and back in fenced paddocks, stood a number of unpainted weatherboard huts and rakish-looking whares, the edges of their palm-thatched roofs torn into fibres by the wind. [...] The only signs of cultivation were the bleached maize stems of the previous season. Old fruit-trees – chiefly peach, quince, and fig – grouped themselves at various points. Cattle, horses, pigs, dogs, fowls, ducks roamed everywhere through the broken fences at their own sweet will. (Satchell 19)

For Geoffrey, the idleness of the native population is manifested in their neglect of the country – the cattle is unattended, the huts are uncared-for, farming seems to be left predominantly to natural distribution as the reference to the trees “at various points” indicates; according to him, “the country is at a standstill” (Satchell 19). The depiction of the Māori as idle becomes even more obvious when Geoffrey approaches one of the huts in the settlements:

> ‘Pine in?’ Geoffrey asked.
> The girl turned and called to some one in the interior in a shrill voice. There was a rustling inside, and presently, a native appeared, yawning and rubbing his eyes. He was an intensely ugly, good-humoured-looking
man of some thirty years. His clothing consisted of a pair of tattered trousers and a faded and dirty singlet, which had long since parted company with its buttons. He looked at his visitors, said ‘Hullo’ in a sleepy voice, and leaned against the doorpost. (Satchell 20)

Both scenes illustrate well the production of knowledge about the Māori – the native is not only represented in the novel as not caring about the country and his village, but at the same time he is portrayed as lazy and unconcerned about his personal appearance. In the context of othering the quotes gain further significance through the contrasting description of Robert, the European settler. Repeatedly, references to his industriousness are noticeable (Satchell 71, 72, 88), on “a blazing summer afternoon, when to the idle man the mere thought of labour is a horror”, he can be observed “busily hoeing at the crops” (Satchell 105), in fact, he is even described by others as “hard-working, sensible, straightforward, a good sample of the colonial-born youth at his best” [emphasis added] (Satchell 111). In both examples, knowledge is produced – the Māori is represented as idle and as not caring about the country, while the European is portrayed as hard-working and incessantly busy with the cultivation of the land. Through the contrast, then, both the “alien ‘other’” as well as the identity of the “respectable citizen” (Moloughney and Stenhouse 47) are defined and secured in place.

In *The Counterfeit Seal*, othering is generally done based on assumptions of barbarism and savagery. I need to call back to mind what I stated in chapter three – the actual contact with the Māori does not change what the settlers believe to know about the nature of the native population. Eric, for instance, states, despite having lived close to Māori for several months, that “[…] they are benighted, ignorant, and perhaps dirty” (Adams 218). Additionally, he keeps referring to them as “[t]he uncivilised in New Zealand” (Adams 217) – an implicit manifestation, as I argue, of the Europeans’ perception of themselves as civilised. In both novels, the native population is constructed in “various derogatory ways” (McLeod 63) in contrast to positive representations of the Europeans; through the production of assumptions about the native population, the Māori are positioned as “the other” of the colonisers, and, as McLeod states, “essentially beyond Western comprehension, outside Western culture and civilisation” (63).
An important aspect to note in this context is now a contradiction which develops from this othering. As Bhabha (70-71) states, “colonial discourse produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an ‘other’ and yet entirely knowable and visible” – the Māori is both the radically different Other, outside of Western comprehension, and at the same time inside and “capable of being understood” (McLeod 64). Such a contradictory split and the perceived ability of the settlers to understand the native population is noticeable, for instance, when Eric claims to know why the Māori gather around the Europeans during their first visit ashore: “[…] nothing but a spirit of kindliness has prompted these people […]”, it is “[j]ust their way of showing us honour” (Adams 136-137). Although Eric is right in his declaration, the scene nevertheless illustrates his conviction of knowing the native people; for him, they are the Other due to their perceived wilderness and absent civilisation, at the same time, though, he regards himself as capable of understanding the Māori and explaining their behaviour.

As Bhabha states, the production of knowledge about the native people, the othering of colonised peoples and the establishment of difference to the colonisers consequently plays an important role in the justification of the “conquest and [the establishment] of systems of administration and instruction” (70) – it provided a further justification of the presence of Europeans in the country and declared its colonisation and occupation as legitimate. Although the Māori were seen, as stated in chapter two, as an exceptional native people – they quickly gained a reputation as competent guides in the exploration of the land and fame for their warrior skills which they exhibited in resistance to European colonising practices, resulting ultimately in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi which extended the rights and privileges of British subjects to the Māori – the general representation of the Māori as the Other and as in need of saving and being civilised remained unquestioned.

Three main statements were consequently generally offered in order to explain this need: first, the Māoris’ perceived heathenism and absence of religion; second, their classification as barbaric and uncivilised and third, the commonly held belief that the Māori were dying out. Of course, these justifications were,
again, assumptions and what people perceived to be knowledge, produced about the native population, which established difference and othered the Māori. In contrast to this previous chapter, though, where I examined how the settlers in *The Counterfeit Seal* and *The Toll of the Bush* produce and repeat knowledge about the Māori to position the native population as the Other, I will examine in the following pages those scenes which illustrate the Europeans’ attempts to civilise and save the Māori.

### 6.1.2. Civilising and saving the native population

Before beginning an analysis of the novels in regard to the examples of intended civilisation, the three statements regarding the need to civilise are worthy of closer attention. As stated above, the first settlers perceived of the Māori as heathens. In fact, though, “[a] multitude of deities were individually responsible for every activity and concern of Māori society” (Stafford 58), the Māori lived according to “[a] social system built up over the centuries” (Stafford 59). However, numerous settlers arrived in New Zealand, “dedicated to preaching Christianity” (Arvidson 12), offering “Western education” (Grimshaw 15) and believing that the only way for the Māori to be saved was to “suppress much of their culture” and disregard their “profound spiritual ties” (Norton 752) to the land. The Bible, as McLeod states, was thereby “one of the chief resources that Christian missions used to condemn indigenous […] religious practices,” frequently, it was “cited to legitimate the presence of the British […] spreading Christian enlightenment in ‘heathen’ lands” (115). Effects of these attempts quickly became noticeable – according to Grimshaw, already from the 1830s “increasing numbers of Māori […] throughout the island adopted aspects of Protestant and Catholic religious and cultural forms” (13). Stafford also notes that “[c]onverts were persuaded to give up warfare […]. Chiefs renounced age-old claims for revenge”, the “traditional religion which had for centuries provided a form of law and unity” (59) collapsed.

Apart from the perception of the native population as heathens, the devaluation of their own religious practices and the focus of settlers on religious conversion, also the perceived barbarism of the Māori represented a starting point for European civilisation. As Moloney argues, in the 1830s and 1840s, a set of
ideas formed in Britain concerned with the categorisation of non-European peoples:

Humanity was understood to be a single family, composed of numerous peoples or nations at different stages of development. Under the influence of various factors, societies were to be found at every gradation between savagery and civilization. Some were progressing, others static, yet others degenerating. It was a conjectural history of the world whose apogee was Europe. Those nations most advanced in civilization and whose commerce brought them in touch with virtually the entire globe had a responsibility to help raise higher up the ladder of civility those savage nations displaying progressive tendencies. [emphasis added] (Moloney 153)

Of course, such a categorisation in civilised and savage nations involved, again, the production of knowledge. Relating back to the previous chapter where I have illustrated the Māori Pine’s representation as idle and unconcerned about the country, it is interesting to note now that within this discourse, laziness was considered to be one of the defining characteristics of so-called savage nations: “savages made no effort to ameliorate their miserable existence – the natural world was left relatively untouched – they were considered lazy and lacking in industry” (Moloney 156). Obviously, the Māori were only considered idle from this European point of view. In fact, as Pearson (211) states, “the Maori were an industrious people, […] their main energies went to producing food and clothing and shelter” – an indication of productivity which obviously did not cause Europeans to alter their perception of the native population as lazy.

In summary, although the Māori were generally perceived, within this categorisation, as having reached the “farthest point of civilization which they possibly could without the aid of other nations” (Dieffenbach, qtd. in Moloney 157, see also Sinclair 40) and celebrated as “better blacks” (Alessio 33), it was obvious for contemporaries that “their cannibalism; their apparent practice of infanticide; the rudeness of their agriculture; the practice of utu which was interpreted as a primitive right of retaliation; slavery; the low status of women” (Moloney 163) called for an intervention of European settlers in order to civilise and ultimately save them from themselves (Worger 172). In order to reach this goal, the settlers did not only perceive it as their task to clear away indigenous flora and fauna and familiarise native people with European agricultural practices, the civilisation of the Māori was intended to be done “through the
abandonment of existing tastes, needs and customs and their replacement with the refined needs, appetites and work-ethic of commercial societies” (Moloney 170).

The third justification of civilisation was concerned with the perceived disappearance of the Māori. Frequently, people in the nineteenth and beginning twentieth century pointed to the dying out of the native population (Worger 173, Pearson 213, Stenhouse 124). Often with questionable concern, contemporaries called for total assimilation with Europeans (L. Bell 142), so that “the best and noblest characteristics of what was once the noblest race of savages ever encountered by the British race” (Herries, qtd. in Worger 175) would not become extinct but survive in the settlers’ descendants. In 1906 it was generally believed that “[t]here is no hope for the Maori but in ultimate absorption by the Pakeha” (Pomare, qtd. in Pearson 213). Now, with the benefit of hindsight, it can be stated that this particular concern was unsubstantiated, rather than dying out, the Māori population had steadily risen, except for a slight decrease immediately after the initial contact with Europeans (Sinclair 43). However, in the nineteenth century, the “assimilationist rhetorics of the ‘civilizing mission’ […] permeated” (A. Bell 256) and were considered as one further justification for the need to colonise the country in order to save and civilise the native population.

In summary, three important explanations were offered by the settlers in the nineteenth century in order to justify their presence and begin civilisation – the heathenish ways of living, the Māoris’ neglect of the country and their perceived barbarism as well as their declining numbers. Turning back now to The Toll of the Bush and The Counterfeit Seal, a close analysis reveals that, while references to the Māori as a dying race cannot be encountered in any of them, there is a noticeable focus on the perceived need for religious conversion, the introduction of European customs and the assimilation of the native people.

Missionary work, for instance, is referred to already early in The Toll of the Bush when the reverend Mr. Fletcher notes that

[our efforts are bearing fruit […]. Among the natives our ministrations have been more particularly blessed. […] In the Waiomo valley more
especially [...] ; Heaven, in its goodness, has seen fit to bless our efforts in the conversion of every man, woman, and child. (Satchell 50)

Confronted with the question of what he means by conversion, he replies “[...] a turning from ways of darkness to those of light” (Satchell 50). The quotes already express Fletcher’s belief in the importance of the conversion of the native people – the culture of the Māori is regarded as worthless and equated with darkness. In the following sermon, his intention to reach the aim of saving the native population through conversion becomes even clearer. As he sees it, there is “more joy in heaven over one sinner who repented than over a hundred of the righteous who needed no repentance” (Satchell 52), but while it had obviously been enough for his predecessors to “guide and guard their flock, [...] for him that was not enough. There should be unceasing joy in heaven. The sinner should come daily into the fold [...]” [emphasis added] (Satchell 52). The results of his efforts are not only noticeable in the above quoted pride he takes in the conversion of “every man, woman, and child” (Satchell 50), but also in the apparent acceptance of the native population of the Christian belief and the simultaneous abandonment of their own religious customs, perceptible during Pine’s conversion: “Wass me – and I s’all be wha-iter than snow! Wass me – and I s’all be wha-iter than snow!” (Satchell 52). Fletcher obviously represents the perception that the European settlers’ presence in the colony is justified through their preaching of the Christian belief – spreading enlightenment among and converting the sinners ultimately means, for Fletcher, saving them.

Frequently, also the settlers’ efforts to civilise the native population and substitute their culture and customs for European traditions is noticeable. I have already in chapter three quoted Eric’s statement in The Counterfeit Seal about a Māori woman having only “yesterday risen from the grossness of barbarism. She [...] has only learned to imitate some of the more conspicuous habits of those from whom she is learning” (Adams 95). While I have previously focused on the creation of a binary opposition in this quote, it is important now in this context of saving the native population to call back to mind the above referred to organisation of peoples according to their state of development and the perceived need of higher civilised peoples to help those further down the ladder of civilisation (Moloney 153). Eric’s quote is therefore interesting to examine
again since it points precisely to this perceived need – for Eric, the woman has to abandon her existing tastes and customs, which he equates with barbarism and begin imitating the Europeans and their, for him, more civilised culture. Her own way of living is denied any cultural value, as can be observed when Eric states that “[t]aste in colours, like peculiarities in language, take a long time to acquire” (Adams 95). Instead of acknowledging the Māoris’ culture, the woman is expected to learn from the colonisers and adopt their culture as her own.

This aspect of disregarding the cultural values of the colonised people is worth examining in more detail. McLeod (21) states that

under colonialism, a colonised people are made subservient to ways of regarding the world which reflect and support colonialist values. A particular value system is taught as the best, truest world-view. The cultural values of the colonised peoples are deemed as lacking in value, or even as being ‘uncivilised’.

In The Counterfeit Seal, such disrespect for native customs is immediately noticeable in the first contact between settlers and Māori, when the chief Taiaroa appears on deck of the immigrants’ ship, to “give his personal welcome to the new arrivals” (Adams 86):

He was introduced by Dick Driver, the Pilot, to Mr Burns, to whom he gave a most cordial greeting, and after the European fashion shook hands, but felt much inclined to present his beautifully-marked nose that the reverend gentleman and he might confirm their friendship after the manner most significant to the Native mind, but as his new acquaintance seemed to make no advance in that direction, the old chief, a little disappointed, accepted the new manner of greeting as one of the improvements of the coming civilisation. (Adams 86)

Several aspects from this quote need to be discussed consequently. First of all, there is a clear contrasting between the European and the Māori way of greeting – while the shaking of hands is obviously acceptable to Mr. Burns, he ignores the chief’s attempt to hongi – to be greeted in the traditional Māori manner by pressing noses together (Moorfield, “hongi”). This traditional value, represented as “most significant to the Native mind”, is replaced by a European custom, the shaking of hands, which the Māori is expected to perform and, like the Māori woman in the quote discussed above, integrate into his way of living. Secondly, then, the acceptance of Taiaroa of the greeting “as one of the improvements of the coming civilisation” is highly important. It can be seen, as I
argue, as a comment of Adams on the culture of the native population. Several aspects in the quote indicate important aspects and values of the Māori culture – the intention to hongi as well as the “beautifully-marked nose”, a significant component of the moko, the facial tattoos of high-ranking chiefs (Stafford 55). However, Adams, as I see it, disregards all these cultural values, he perceives of the Māori as uncivilised and in need of education, although he veils his opinion and represents his comment as Taiaroa’s wish. This technique of the author is interesting, as it represents, as I argue, the Māori chief, standing for the totality of the native population, as agreeing with the Europeans regarding the lack of value of traditional customs, as accepting his own state of barbarism and even as welcoming the change to civilisation.

A last example from The Toll of the Bush further illustrates the introduction of European customs and the expectation of the settlers concerning the assimilation of the Māori. Pine, employed by the Hernshaw brothers and ploughing their fields, is invited to join them for breakfast:

Pine did as he was bidden, and having discovered by watching the brothers that porridge was eaten with a spoon – this was after a momentary aberration with a knife and fork – he fell to, first helping himself liberally to sugar, pepper, and salt, the latter condiments being added to show a perfect acquaintance with European customs. (Satchell 32)

I consider this passage to be of great importance in the context of civilisation and assimilation. First of all, the brothers obviously assume that Pine wants European food, porridge in this case. Pine is not asked about his tastes, but, as I see it, is given what the European settlers have for breakfast. Secondly, then, like the Māori woman in The Counterfeit Seal, he is expected to learn through imitating and watching the brothers in their usage of cutlery, consequently adapting his own behaviour. I argue now that this scene can be considered as a metaphor, providing a basis for a concluding statement of how the settlers in The Counterfeit Seal and The Toll of the Bush handle the contact with the native population of New Zealand. In this particular case, it is Pine who is not asked whether or not he wants to eat porridge, but, as I have tried to illustrate in the previous examples, the Māori in general are not consulted whether or not they want to abandon their existing religion, tastes or customs; rather the
Christian belief and European traditions are imposed upon them. The scene illustrates also the Europeans’ perceived superiority in their knowledge of how to handle cutlery as opposed to the Māori’s attempt to adapt. As I see it, this stands figuratively for the general European belief to occupy a higher place at the ladder of civilisation and their consequent expectation concerning the Māoris’ need to assimilate, imitate and adopt European customs and values, while simultaneously suppressing their own culture and traditions.

I need to state at this stage that in both novels the settlers do at some point express respect and praise for skills of the native population. In *The Counterfeit Seal*, for instance, it is noted that “[t]he Maoris handled their oars with able dexterity, and their master guided his boat by the long steer oar with a precision that could not be excelled” (Adams 77), at one point their swimming skills are even contrasted positively with those of the Europeans: “[t]he Maoris were like fish in the water, swimming gracefully with an unconcerned grace that made the efforts of the pakeha ‘paddlers’ seem grotesque to the extreme” (Adams 138). However, in both examples, the context immediately qualifies this acknowledgement of skills. Immediately after the Europeans admire the native peoples’ handling of their boats, their chief is denied the traditional greeting; directly after the Māori demonstrate their swimming skills, they are referred to as doing so “with all the apparent innocence of children playing with their friends” (Adams 138). As I see it, the recognition of native skills does not remain unchallenged by the settlers: their demonstration of abilities, skills or cultural values is qualified by an immediate reference to what Europeans expect them to do – suppress their culture and accept the European way of greeting – or to be – innocent children in need of being civilised and educated.

A similar situation can be encountered in *The Toll of the Bush* in the already previously referred to scene in which Pine contributes significantly to Geoffrey and Eve’s rescue from the bush fire in finding the relevant track (Satchell 231). I have stated already that the settlers acknowledge Pine’s skills, reading trails in this case, and denote him as primary guide (233). During the whole search, Pine is of inestimable value to the Europeans:

[…] [T]he trail was picked up. The first announcement was to the effect that the unfortunates had descended to the bottom of the ravine for water
and had returned by the same track. Then came the discovery of a fragment of lace clinging to a thorn bush [...] Then all day long, with only brief interruptions, the natives led them slowly but confidently ever deeper on and on into the silent forest. [...] Step by step, every step in the right direction, they led the army of rescuers like a huge snake through the forest. (Satchell 235)

Whenever the trail is lost, Pine and the other Māori are able to recover it, proving their reputation as “hervorragende Führer” (Voigt 125) and guiding the group until late at night when darkness prevents further search. Steer (128) argues that “[t]he forest recurs as a Maori realm of impenetrability that threatens the Pakeha confidence”, as an area which belongs to the native population, where they demonstrate their abilities and skills and which reveals the settlers’ weaknesses. Although the recognition of the Māoris’ skills is not as explicitly expressed as in the two scenes from The Counterfeit Seal discussed above, the context makes clear that the rescue operation would presumably be of no avail without the help of the Māori.

However, also in this particular scene, an immediate qualification of the acknowledgement of abilities is noticeable. Waiting for the night to pass, Pine “[...] sat at the feet of the white men, following their conversation with the simple admiration of a child” (Satchell 236). Again, the demonstration of skills and abilities is qualified through the description and presentation as child-like; the native population is not accepted on equal terms but rather made to occupy an inferior position, “at the feet of the white men.” As I see it, this argument is supported by the fact that Pine follows the conversation of the Europeans instead of participating in it – from an inferior position the native man admires and possibly strives to imitate the superior colonisers. To phrase this with Steer’s words, “[...] Pakeha have learnt to respect Maori, but nevertheless ultimately remain superior to them” (124).

In order to conclude this subchapter, the contact between settlers and native population in The Counterfeit Seal and The Toll of the Bush is characterised predominantly, as I have tried to illustrate, by othering through the production of knowledge and the repetition of stereotypes of savagery, barbarism and idleness. Referring back to the Treaty of Waitangi which extended equal rights
to the Māori, the native population is nevertheless represented in both novels as in need of being civilised and saved. Their culture is disregarded and substituted by European customs, they are expected to imitate and assimilate, which illustrates the settlers’ obvious disrespect for their declaration in the treaty to honour the native peoples’ values and way of living; the few and infrequent acknowledgements of abilities and skills are immediately put in relation and qualified through scenes which position and hold the Māori in an inferior position. In order to prove my claim that the novels differ considerably in their representation of the contact between Māori and settlers, I will now turn in the following chapter to an analysis of The Runaway Settlers.

6.2. Culture contact in The Runaway Settlers

To begin with, several of the aspects which I have discussed in regard to The Counterfeit Seal and The Toll of the Bush can also be encountered in The Runaway Settlers. There is for instance a reference to an adaptation of the native population to the European way of living:

They were Christians and tried to live like Europeans, but they only half succeeded. Their houses were not Maori style but built after the fashion of whaler’s huts. Reeds and rushes were woven over a supplejack frame, plastered with clay and roofed with thatch, with a chimney at one end and square holes for windows. […] [T]here were two modern buildings of which the whole village was very proud: the church and the school. Most of the older people and all of the young ones could read and write […]. It did not matter to them if their European clothes were worn in odd ways […]. (Locke 76)

Examining this passage, the novel does not yet seem to differ from the two books discussed above – contact with and influence exerted by Europeans is evident: the Māori are converted Christians with a church in their settlement, the native people construct their accommodations imitating European huts and dress themselves with European clothes. Also the fact that most of the native people can read and write alludes, as I see it, to an education by European settlers at some previous point.

Also an illustration of the othering of the native population by the settlers can be observed when Bill and Jack, the elder sons of Mrs. Small, have to pass through a Māori settlement on their way to the market in Lyttelton.
The boys walked silently down the hill. They felt nervous but neither would admit it. After all, they'd lived alongside the aborigines! But the blackfellows were slender and timid compared with these burly, tattooed men who shouted ‘Hu! Hu!’ in deep voices [...]. An old man with white hair was squatting against a sunny wall, with his head on his knees and his blanket spread like a tent. He did not look up until the boys were near. Then with a sudden shout he sprang to his feet; and people appeared from everywhere: women with babies tied in a pikau on their backs, toddlers, boys and girls, young men, old men.

‘What shall we do if they grab us?’ whispered Jack. [...] Bill and Jack marched on. The road was too narrow to avoid the waiting group, and a two-year-old boy leaned from a woman’s arm to catch at Jack’s sandy-coloured hair. The hot air from the pipe she was smoking blew across Jack’s face and her eyes looked strange under her hat [...] Hands were everywhere; the sack of cabbages was slipping from his shoulders [...]. ‘Grab a stick, Jack, we’ll stand and fight,’ said Bill. (Locke 76-78)

As I see it, the atmosphere in this scene and the manner in which the boys comment on their encounter with the native population, illustrates well how the Māori are perceived as the Other. In this context, it is particularly the contrast between the Aborigines of Australia and the Māori of New Zealand which is worth attention. During their time in Australia, the Small family has lived in close proximity with Aborigines and although they obviously do not accept the native population of Australia on equal terms, referring to them as “blackfellows” and thereby othering them, they nevertheless represent them as capable of being understood, depicting them as “timid”. It is, again, a case of a contradictory split in which the colonised is both the Other and at the same time entirely knowable (Bhabha 70-71). I argue that the feeling of nervousness upon the upcoming meeting with Māori consequently arises from the boys’ knowledge of not being able to understand and explain the native people of New Zealand – they are unfamiliar with the facial tattoos of the Māori, their appearance and shouts. The Māoris are outside of Western comprehension, they are “unusual, fantastic, bizarre” (McLeod 53) and consequently made the Other.

As these two examples show, the novel does not initially differ very much from the two previously analysed; instances of Western influence and othering are noticeable also in this book. However, as I am going to illustrate presently, several scenes demonstrate a handling of the contact with the Māori which differs notably from the behaviour of the boys in this scene and the general
conduct of the settlers in *The Counterfeit Seal* and *The Toll of the Bush*. Remaining with the encounter between the boys and the Māori, my argument becomes clearer when examining the occurrences in the story immediately after this meeting. Having returned from the market in a boat instead of passing through the settlement, the boys spend the evening with their family when a Māori appears at their door:

‘I come to speak of the tamariki,’ said the stranger.
‘Tamariki?’ repeated Mrs Phipps. […]
‘Tamariki – children. The tall children. Boys.’ […] ‘I speak of the boys from this house. They come by Rapaki in the morning and they do not return. We watch, and we grow afraid, for you.’ […] I come only to that, if they are lost, we may find them for you; for the land is an open book to us.’
‘Thank you,’ said Mrs Phipps with a grave courtesy that matched her visitor’s. ‘I’m very much obliged […]’. (Locke 84-85)

I consider this scene to be highly important because it points, as I argue, to the acceptance of the native population on equal terms. Mrs. Small’s answer in “grave courtesy” shows her respect towards the native populations; in contrast to Geoffrey and Robert Hernshaw, who expect Pine to work for them, she does not take the offer of help for granted nor does she respond from a superior position, rather, she seems to adjust herself in “matching” her visitor’s way of talking.

This adaptation of the Europeans becomes even more noticeable in Mrs. Small’s subsequent scolding of her boys: “‘They chased you!’ she said. ‘They took your sack and you made them give it back! Ah! it was only curiosity – and if you’d had your share of it, you wouldn’t have made such fools of yourselves!’” (Locke 85). As I see it, the boys and their reactions figuratively stand for the behaviour of a great number of settlers: they avoid contact and, like the characters in *The Counterfeit Seal* and *The Toll of the Bush*, other the native population. Mrs. Small, however, offers a different way of looking at the contact situation with a strong didactic element: she obviously disapproves of such behaviour; rather, she wants her children to be curious about the native populations’ culture, to get into contact instead of running away. The statement, as I argue, clearly involves the teaching of a moral lesson – those who are not
curious but scared, lacking interest in other peoples’ culture, are declared to be fools.

As frequently noticeable throughout the novel, the family does not avoid contact with the Māori, but remains faithful to Mrs. Small’s request to show interest. During a violent storm, for instance, two Māori women with two infants, one of them very ill, seek shelter in the Small family’s hut. Mrs. Small and her daughter immediately provide blankets, prepare tea and attempt to save the little boy’s life (Locke 103-107). Although the storm “continued for three more days” in which “[f]lour ran low and no stores could be brought in” (Locke 107), the Smalls do not mind the Māoris’ presence in their hut until the storm is over and the baby better. What is now most interesting in this contact situation is the respect for and interest in the native peoples’ culture: during the storm, “[…] they sat on the floor in a circle while Miria sang, and taught them how to clap the sticks together and toss them from one to another in all sorts of ways” (Locke 107). The stick game, an important component of traditional Māori culture known as Ti rakau (Stafford 37), is not seen as lacking in value, it is not suppressed or replaced with a European game, but rather, the settlers are interested in being taught and mastering the game.

One further example regarding the contact between Māori and settlers is, as I will demonstrate, initially very similar to Pine’s assistance in the search for Geoffrey and Eve. In order to obtain the best price for their cattle, Mrs. Small and her son Archie decide to drive the herd over the mountains to the goldfields (Locke 138). Like the settlers in The Toll of the Bush, also Mrs. Small turns to Māori for help and advice concerning the best route: “They were going through those mountains before gold was ever heard of, or bullocks, or boots for that matter. They do say that whenever a Pakeha will take the Maori advice, he comes to no harm in the ranges” (Locke 144). Indeed, relying on the Māoris’ information, Mrs. Small and Archie manage to traverse the dangerous river Hurunui without losses (Locke 147). Reaching the river Teremakau, though, which is “too deep and wide to be forded” (Locke 160), the Māori’s advice on how to cross rivers is no longer of help. As in The Toll of the Bush, where Pine leads the group to the lost characters, also in The Runaway Settlers two Māori
ultimately assist the settlers: “Tamati and Ruia would take them down-river in the canoe, in careful stages. The cattle must sometimes be driven and sometimes be made to swim” (Locke 162). Although Mrs. Small and Archie are confronted with disapproving comments from other settlers hearing of this plan, they are not prevented from pursuing it, and, “[t]hey were right to be confident. The Maoris knew every movement of the river” (Locke 162).

Again, a different attitude in comparison with that of the settlers in The Toll of the Bush can be encountered in Mrs. Small’s reaction and behaviour. While Pine, after discovering the track and therefore being of tremendous importance for the settlers, remains in his inferior position at the feet of the white men, Mrs. Small, once more, does not take the help for granted, but insists on paying Tamati and Ruia for their assistance. Pine demonstrates his abilities, but ultimately remains inferior, while Tamati and Ruia earn respect and are treated as equals. Additionally, I argue that this scene is again very didactic – Mrs. Small, despite discouraging comments, shows that trusting and relying on the help of the native population eventually proves to be the only right decision and that recognition of skills and adequate retribution are crucial aspects in acknowledging equality.

As I have tried to illustrate in this chapter, the novel differs, despite some instances of othering or previous civilising work, considerably from the two books discussed above. Bearing in mind the publication date of The Runaway Settlers, I argue, though, that such examples of European influence need to be mentioned in order to create an authentic illustration of the settlers’ life in the nineteenth century: missionary work or overcoming prejudices towards the native population were real challenges for the early settlers¹³, ignoring them and publishing a novel which focuses solely on a harmonious contact situation would, as I see it, contradict Locke’s claim of having written an authentic story. The striking difference between The Runaway Settlers and the two other novels lies therefore more in the settlers’ response to contact situations: the Smalls do not exclude the native population from their surroundings, rather after the three days spent together during the storm, frequent visits and gift exchanges take

¹³ see Arvidson, Thompson
place (Locke 109, 139) between the European settlers and their “Maori neighbours” (Locke 124). Unlike the characters in The Counterfeit Seal, the settlers in The Runaway Settlers do neither attempt to change the Māori, nor do they expect them to suppress their culture and adopt the European way of living. Rather, they accept them in their own rights, try to understand their culture, turn to them for help and advice and appropriately acknowledge the native populations’ assistance.

6.3. Preliminary conclusion

Before concluding, I need to state why I have excluded The Story of a New Zealand River from the previous analysis. The reason for this lies in the fact that there is virtually no contact between Māori and settlers in the course of the story. From the boat by which Alice travels to her new home, she notices a Māori settlement on land, “[c]anoes were drawn up on the sand, and the sun shone on fields of young corn and freshly ploughed land” (Mander 17), but Alice does not come into contact with the native people. Bruce goes ashore to “get something to eat” (Mander 17), but during his absence, the reader remains with Alice and her children and, therefore, does not find out how the contact between Bruce and the Māori occurs. Rarely, references to a past Māori presence can be encountered, mostly in the form of cultural artefacts: Asia, for instance, finds “a cave, and Maori shells and bones, and this beautiful bit of greenstone” (Mander 117), and towards the end of the novel, another man discovers a further cave with “some valuable greenstone in it” (Mander 398). Traces of their existence are obviously noticeable, but the native population never appears as real people with whom the settlers get into contact.

As I see it, there are basically two possible explanations to account for Mander’s decision to exclude the Māori from her novel. First of all, as stated previously, novels can be sites of “textual colonization” (Gibbons, Colonization 14). In the context of colonialism, not only the most obvious colonising practices need to be examined; rather, the absence of a particular aspect, the absent native population in this case, which calls for attention in a comparison with other novels, must be noted. As I argue, depopulating the landscape and emptying it of its native population can be seen as a further, textual strategy of
the author to provide another justification for the country’s colonisation and occupation, or, to refer back to Hilliard mentioned in the introduction “[...] effacing the indigenous” can be an aspect of colonisation, “[...] even texts that do not refer to Maori people can be part of the enterprise of colonisation in their treatment of the European presence in Aotearoa as normative or natural” (3). A second explanation, though, can be encountered in Moffat’s claim that pre-1930 New Zealand novelists focused in their works predominantly on criticising “aspects of New Zealand society which they term ‘puritan’” (86). Frequently in The Story of a New Zealand River, Puritanism is criticised explicitly: “‘Pride and Puritanism, those monumental bulwarks of the British character,’ growled Bruce” (Mander 103) or “Puritanism is an awful disease” (Mander 38-39), but also implicitly, for instance when Bruce insists that girls need to be educated in schools, instead of teaching them only “traditional notions about religion and love” (Mander 150). In the centre of attention of Mander’s story is thus the transformation of a character, Alice, away from Puritanism to a more liberal life – a focus which, as I see it, constitutes a possible explanation for the exclusion of the native population. Mander might have decided to concentrate on showing the weaknesses of a Puritan society and demonstrate that change is possible instead of touching upon another, potentially controversial topic.

I argue that several possible, but interacting explanations can also be offered for the different handling of the contact situations in the other three novels in which Māori occur more prominently. First of all, Locke’s novel is a children’s book – it is thus much more didactic, it stresses the need to harmoniously live together and benefit from each other’s culture. Othering and suppressing the native culture which might harm a child’s perception of another people, is often criticised by Mrs. Small; rather, as she frequently makes clear, it is important to be interested in culture contact, to learn from those who are initially perceived to be the others, to include them into the community and ultimately rely on an advice given.

Secondly, the publication dates of the respective novels play a role in the different presentation of the contact situations. Satchell and Adams published their novels during New Zealand’s colonial period, a time at which attitudes of
the Māori as the Other, the less civilised race in need of education by the superior Europeans, prevailed, justified colonisation, and were resumed in novels. As Steer states, around the beginning of the twentieth century, authors place the emphasis “upon celebrating the uniqueness of the colony and endors[e] the settlers’ right to possess it. […] At the same time, the Darwinistic assertion of settler moral and cultural superiority requires Māori to assimilate into settler culture or become extinct” (128). In both The Toll of the Bush and The Counterfeit Seal, there is an obvious focus on the othering of the native population; additionally, assumptions are made which assign the Māori an inferior position in comparison to the European settlers. Based on such perceived knowledge – the Māori as savage, the Māori as in need of being civilised and educated – colonisation and occupation of the country is justified. In actual contact situations in the novels, the Māori are never treated as equals; their help is needed, but not rewarded. Locke, though, wrote her book in 1965 when New Zealand was no longer a British colony. Similar strategies as in the older novels such as othering are initially noticeable but a changed awareness concerning Māori-settler relations can be encountered in frequent criticism of these aspects. A temporal distance allowed her, as I see it, to address topics which other authors excluded or did not yet consider to be of any effect – references to the Māori Land Wars or diseases introduced by Europeans, for instance, which earlier novelists were “able to ignore” (Martin et al. XXV) but which Locke refers to (106) – and to be critical of what earlier writers perceived to be contemporary general knowledge – the othering of native peoples and their inferior positions in contrast to Europeans.
7. Conclusion

My aim in this present thesis was to attempt an analysis of the literary representation of early settlers’ life in colonial New Zealand as illustrated in four novels. Of course, some aspects constituting these early settlers’ lives appear more prominently in one text while being left out in another. However, I have attempted to discuss as comprehensively as possible on the one hand the general context, providing the setting for European immigrants, and on the other hand the variety of aspects constituting these characters’ experiences in their new home. I have chosen four novels which not only differ in their genre but also according to their publication dates, in order to provide a basis for comparison – how are certain aspects represented at the end of the nineteenth century? Is the same aspect dealt with differently in a novel from the mid-twentieth century and what role does the genre play in such representations?

In order to reach my aim of presenting a thorough analysis of the life of immigrants to colonial New Zealand, I have attempted to create a relation between the individual aspects, beginning with a discussion of colonisation and emigration in which I have drawn predominantly on Edward Said’s *Orientalism*. Applying his concepts on the novels dealing with New Zealand, I have tried to explain how colonisation and occupation of the country was justified. Basically, all novels except *The Runaway Settlers* illustrate the country as changeless or describe the landscape in gendered terms; the country is feminised and represented as passive which in turn justifies the domination and submission by the colonisers. As I have declared in this chapter, the difference between the four novels lies, in this particular context, less in the different publication dates, but rather in *The Runaway Settler’s* classification as a children’s book. The books are strikingly similar, though, as all four include references to colonising activities, for instance the introduction of flora and fauna, or the attempt to change the landscape, which points to an awareness on the part of the settlers of being colonisers. They perceive of the colony in particular ways, as primitive or backwards, in gendered terms or as in need of change which seemingly only Europeans can bring about.
In the subsequent chapter I have consequently dealt with the attempts of the settlers to change their surroundings by perceiving of their efforts as challenges which they must overcome. I have investigated on the one hand the physical difficulties for the characters, such as cultivating the wilderness and building a home out of nothing; on the other hand I have examined psychological challenges such as isolation. Looking at nature as a testing ground, I argued that only the successful management of situations arising from the contact with nature such as bush fires or accidents in the forest asserts the settlers’ right to belong and remain in New Zealand. I have then turned to analyse psychological challenges, thereby discovering that the female characters adapt much better to trying circumstances than the male characters who seek refuge in alcohol. Based on this, I have argued that the handling of psychological challenges can be seen as the female version of the testing of the right to belong, since women could not, like men, prove this right through dealing with physical difficulties. In general, though, the common ground of all four novels is that ultimately, it is the creation of a community and mutual assistance which is of crucial importance in overcoming difficulties, be they physical or psychological.

I have therefore in the following chapter turned to the discussion of home and the building of a community in the new surroundings. I have attempted to illustrate how performance of rituals and traditions helps secure in place a sense of continuity between past and present and assists in constructing a new, collective identity. In all four novels, instances of performance or the attempt to maintain links to the past are noticeable; however, for none of the four books under analysis could I pinpoint an exact moment from which onwards the settlers refer to New Zealand as their new home. Regardless of publication dates or genre, it seems to be an ongoing process, frequently dependent on the presence of loved people, which finally turns the new country into home.

The most striking differences between the four novels could be encountered in the final chapter dealing with the contact situation between the settlers and the native people of New Zealand, the Māori. One of the four books, *The Story of a New Zealand River*, totally excludes the Māori which can be seen, as I have tried to explain, either as a colonising strategy or the deliberate focus of the
author on a critique of Puritanism. The remaining three books which do deal with the Māori offer very contrasting views, which I argued to be originating from the different publication dates and genres. *The Counterfeit Seal* and *The Toll of the Bush* paint a picture which suppresses the native culture, presenting the Māori as uncivilised and as in need of being educated. Cultural traditions are seen as lacking in value and even though in one scene, the help of the native people proves to be invaluable, their assistance is not rewarded, but they remain inferior to the colonisers. *The Runaway Settlers*, though, the novel with the latest publication date, presents a different perspective – throughout the book, the need to be interested in culture contact, to allow the native people to teach and share their experiences and ultimately, to include them into the community is frequently highlighted.

In order to conclude, all four novels represent the life of early settlers in colonial New Zealand and, despite different publication dates or genre, do not differ notably regarding the aspects analysed in chapters three to six. Colonising practices can be encountered in all four books, as can be physical or psychological challenges. Also the importance of the creation of a community in order to deal with difficult situations as well as the characters’ ultimate acknowledgement of New Zealand as home are themes noticeable in all four texts. Variations concerning these aspects are rather the result of different plots than publication dates or genre. In so far, Elsie Locke’s statement mentioned in the introduction of writing a book in which the characters “speak, and dress, and act as people did at that time” (9) cannot be challenged. Striking differences between the books occur only in the context of culture contact, in which the later publication date and genre of *The Runaway Settlers* have undoubtedly influenced the representation of the native population. In contrast to the other novels where the contact between settlers and Māori is characterised by imbalance and inequality, a strong didactic element is noticeable in Locke’s book which disapproves of prejudices and othering but focuses on equality and acceptance, thereby pointing into the direction of how relationships between the Pākeha and the native people of New Zealand are to be understood.
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## Index

### A
- adaptation · 40, 52, 54, 56-59, 65, 72, 96, 111, 113
- anarchy · 32, 36, 100
- Anderson, Benedict · 4, 74, 77, 78, 81-83, 89
- arcadia · see Utopia
- assimilation · 105, 108, 109, 111, 118

### B
- barbarism · 16, 37, 101, 103, 15-108, 110
- binary division · 4, 14-17, 31, 34, 35, 99, 106

### C
- cannibalism · 32, 33, 36, 100, 104
- chain migration · 11
- Christianity · 87, 103, 106, 109, 111
- civilisation · 16, 36, 39, 44, 45, 101-109
- class · 2, 13, 60-63, 70, 85
- collective identity · see identity
- colonisation through gardens · 21-23, 44
  - through voice · 23
  - through flora or fauna · 4, 20-23, 35, 36, 48-51, 80, 104, 119
- colonising activities · 3, 20, 23, 38, 102-104, 116, 119-121
- community building · 4, 57, 58, 63, 68, 73, 74, 76-85, 88, 89, 92, 96-98, 117, 120, 121
- comradeship · 77, 78, 81-83, 96
- contact zone · 98
- contradictory split · 102, 112
- convict colony · 12
- cultivation · 38, 39, 41-48, 51, 52, 58, 67, 72, 101
- cultural values · 107-109, 111, 114, 121
- customs · see performance

### D
- diaspora · 74-76
- dichotomy · 14
- displacement of native flora and fauna · 20, 23, 49
- domestication · 17, 19, 20
- domination · 2, 15, 17-19, 35, 47, 52, 72, 98, 119

### F
- feminisation · 17-19, 35, 119

### H
- home · (concept) · 4, 74-76, 78-81, 84-97, 119-121
- Homi K. Bhabha · 5, 32, 99, 100, 102, 112

### I
- identity · 15, 32, 77, 79, 82-85, 87-89, 97, 99, 101, 120
- imagined communities · 4, 74, 77, 89
- imitation · 16, 36, 106-111
- impact of settlements on nature · 1, 2, 15, 48-50
- isolation · 4, 38, 59, 60-69, 71, 72, 120
  - interpersonal · 59, 63, 67
  - spatial · 59, 62, 64, 65, 67
justifications for colonisation · 4, 13-16, 19-21, 23, 35-37, 98, 102, 105, 106, 117, 118

knowledge production · 5, 14, 18, 20, 32, 98-104, 109, 110, 112, 118

Land Wars · 7, 8, 13, 118
lust · 32, 100

missionary work · 105, 115

nation · see community building
nothingness · 40, 42, 44, 46, 47

Orientalism · 4, 14, 15, 19, 31, 35, 37, 98, 119
othering · 5, 79, 81, 100-102, 110-112, 115, 117, 118, 121
otherness · 79, 101

paradise · see Utopia
performance · 4, 74, 78-80, 84-89, 91, 92, 96, 97, 120
physical challenges · 4, 38, 53, 58, 63, 67, 72, 73, 120, 121
postcolonialism · 3, 75
promotional work · 9, 24, 25, 30, 31
psychological challenges · 4, 38, 59, 67, 70-73, 90, 120, 121

repetition · 4, 33, 34, 78-80, 84-88, 91, 92, 96, 97, 99, 110
rituals · see performance

Said, Edward · 4, 14, 15, 19, 31, 35, 37, 98, 99, 119
savagery · 32-34, 36, 100, 101, 104, 105, 110, 118
secondary migration · 10, 26
settler colony · 11
social conventions · 2, 65, 85, 89, 92
social stratification · see class
stereotypes · 4, 15, 31-34, 36, 99, 100, 110
strategies of colonisation · see colonising activites
subjugation · see domination
symbols · see performance
syncretism · 42, 43, 95

timeless · 15, 16, 19, 98
transformation · 35, 36, 45-47, 72
Treaty of Waitangi · 6-8, 13, 102, 110, 111

Utopia · 4, 27, 30, 31

wilderness · 20, 21, 35, 38-48, 51, 52, 67, 72, 120
German Abstract


In dieser Arbeit wird, anhand von vier Romanen, eine Analyse des Lebens der frühen Siedler in Neuseeland durchgeführt. Die vier Bücher wurden absichtlich aus unterschiedlichen Genres und Veröffentlichungszeiträumen ausgewählt, um eine Grundlage für einen Vergleich zu schaffen: werden Aspekte des täglichen Lebens in einem Kinderbuch anders dargestellt und spielt der Zeitpunkt der Publikation eine Rolle in der Darstellung bestimmter Sichtweisen?

Kapitel in der Folge auf die Motivationen einzelner Charaktere bezüglich ihrer eigenen Auswanderung ein.


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