

*Writing the Colony:
Walter Edward Gudgeon in the Cook Islands,
1898 to 1909*

Graeme Whimp

A thesis
submitted to Victoria University of Wellington
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Pacific Studies

Victoria University of Wellington
February 2008

Recent decades have witnessed a number of challenges from a variety of perspectives to long-standing depictions of the processes and relationships of colonisation. In particular, questions have been raised about its supposedly binary nature, the internal coherence of the elements of coloniser and colonised, and the stability of both its institutions and its ideology. Framed as an exercise in an interdisciplinary Pacific Studies, this thesis draws on those perspectives to provide insights into one particular colonial experience and to examine the extent to which they are borne out by the representations appearing in the writings of a New Zealand colonial administrator, Walter Edward Gudgeon, in the Cook Islands.

To that end I have assembled a text comprising his major personal and official documents; provided some background on Gudgeon himself, the intellectual currents of the time, and the Cook Islands; represented as accurately as I could the representations appearing in his writing; read that writing as far as possible in terms of the text itself; and arrived at a number of conclusions from that reading. I have also considered the contribution such a text-based approach may offer to a Pacific Studies which aspires to be interdisciplinary.

I conclude that my reading of the text supports the more recent perspectives on the colonial project by revealing in Gudgeon a number of contradictions, ambiguities, anxieties, uncertainties, and fears that do not appear in existing accounts of the Cook Islands colonial experience and justify a re-examination of that whole experience. Finally, I suggest that the validity of my approach is supported by those results and that such approaches provide one vehicle for the pursuit of an interdisciplinary Pacific Studies.

Acknowledgements

I want to express my appreciation and gratitude to:

Dr Teresia Teaiwa and Professor Lydia Wevers for their light-handed but astute supervision;

the Victoria University of Wellington Pacific Studies Programme and Va'aomanū Pasifika for providing excellent accommodation and resources;

Victoria University of Wellington for the Victoria Masters and J.L. Stewart Scholarships and for a grant to travel to the Australian National University's Asia-Pacific Week in 2007;

the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University for their invitation and travel grant to attend Asia-Pacific Week in 2007;

librarians for their thoughtful and continuous service;

Dr Doug Munro for companionship and his devotion to archive and footnote;

Professor Brigitte Bönisch-Brednich for advice and support;

and fellow Pacific students and dear friends Jo Ah Kuoi, Mishelle Muagututi'a, and Mokalagi Tamapeau for their love, support, and gentle mockery.

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Illustrations

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Reproduced by permission of Pacific Linguistics at the Australian National University	

<i>akateitei</i>	denying the right or mana of an ariki
<i>Ara Metua</i>	the old inner round-island road in Rarotonga
<i>aratiroa</i>	the provision of food and services for distinguished visitors
<i>arevananga</i>	the construction of public and high chiefs' buildings
<i>ariki</i>	head of a <i>vaka</i> , the highest category of chief
<i>atinga</i>	offerings for ceremonial occasions and a form of 'rent'
<i>kiato</i>	title below that of <i>ariki</i> , <i>mataiapo</i> , or <i>rangatira</i>
<i>makatea</i>	raised coral reef
<i>marae</i>	religious and meeting centre
<i>mataiapo</i>	head of a sub-tribe, usually subject to an <i>ariki</i>
<i>mana</i>	legal, moral, religious authority and accompanying powers and rights
<i>ngati</i>	major lineage groups
<i>Papaa</i>	European
<i>piri Moti</i>	supporters of Moss, Gudgeon's predecessor
<i>rangatira</i>	title below that of <i>ariki</i> or <i>mataiapo</i>
<i>tangata rikiriki</i>	'inferior' people
<i>tapere</i>	a <i>ngati</i> 's narrow mountain to reef land subdivision
<i>taunga</i>	priestly titleholder
<i>tohunga</i>	New Zealand Māori for <i>taunga</i>
<i>unga</i>	common people
<i>vaka</i>	canoe, but also 'tribe'

1 Introduction

In 2002, on an undergraduate Pacific Studies course library and archives exercise, I was on the hunt for another colonial villain. I had already discovered Colonel Tate of Samoa on a well trodden path in the Island Territories files in Archives New Zealand and was looking for a companion administrator in the Cook Islands for a comparative essay on the respective fates of the *mana ariki* in the Cooks and of the *fa'amatai* in Samoa, the two forms of chiefly authority. In the Cook Islands pages of the A.3 section of the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* I encountered Resident Commissioner W.E. Gudgeon who, to resort to cliché, leapt off the pages:

The Natives have, moreover, reached that stage of enlightenment that they will no longer put up with the eccentricities of their chiefs... it is not advisable that we should allow the jealousy of a few useless and obstructive chiefs to exclude the more enlightened of the Maori people from all part in the government of their own islands.... It is time that such men were taught that their old system ... must give way before the exigencies of our civilisation.... If this be done the system ... will soon die out.... you should authorise me to deprive any chief ... of his rank or authority in the event of his opposing any Government measure (*AJHR* 1905, A.3: 32).

The remarks made by the Arikis who spoke on that day do not in any way represent their opinions they have gradually established the theory that all of the land belonged to the Arikis This view, I submit, is simply nonsense Personally, I believe that the old Maori authority ought to be preserved, but the Maoris themselves make it very difficult to do so (*AJHR* 1905, A.3: 92).

These comments appeared not in private correspondence or confidential memos to a minister but in public, official documents and it occurred to me that the directness of Gudgeon's expression might offer insights into the colonial experience unavailable from more measured commentators. He fascinated me as much by his energy, violence even, as by his blunt statements of colonial purpose and I returned from time to time to the pages of A.3 and began to read some of his published material on the New Zealand wars and on New Zealand Māori. I became increasingly interested in exploring the circumstances in which he wrote and his representation of the colonial experience. Poet and activist Ron Mason and historian and activist Dick Scott, whose leftist positions and condemnation of the brutality of Gudgeon and the

New Zealand administration seemed more compatible with my own political views, provided background and a certain context but did not seem to capture the full-bloodedness or complexity of the voice in the A.3 pages. The biography by Elsdon Craig, Gudgeon's grandson, sympathetic but also open to some criticism of its subject, only emphasised the difficulty of arriving at a coherent view of Gudgeon's personality and beliefs ([Mason] 1947; Scott 1991; Craig 1985).

In the course of my later inquiries into the field of Pacific Studies and, especially, the nature and possibilities of interdisciplinarity, I would return to Terence Wesley-Smith's 1995 rethink of Pacific Studies and, in particular, his championing there of interdisciplinary approaches (Wesley-Smith 1995). At the centre of his argument was the citation, via James Clifford, of a 1972 passage from Roland Barthes:

Interdisciplinary work, so much discussed these days, is not about confronting already constituted disciplines (none of which, in fact, is willing to let itself go). To do something interdisciplinary it's not enough to choose a "subject" (a theme) and gather around it two or three sciences. Interdisciplinarity consists in creating a new object that belongs to no one (Wesley-Smith 1995, 123; Clifford 1986, 1).

Following this up to its source, I found that the passage was completed by the addition of a further sentence" 'Le Texte est, je crois, l'un de ces objets' (Barthes [1972] 1994, 1420).¹ Here and elsewhere in the early 1970s, Barthes represents the text as a methodological field, neither '*computable*' object nor new divinity, and one whose internal motion is Einsteinian rather than Newtonian (Barthes [1971] 1994, 1212; [1972] 1994, 1421).² Avoiding further explorations of work and Text, reading and pleasure, and choosing here to borrow rather than follow, co-opt rather than pursue, this idea of the Text, it seemed to me to offer a possible location outside the disciplines from which to formulate a project and thus to satisfy my sense of some of the preconditions for both interdisciplinarity and Pacific Studies (Whimp 2008). Assembling a text from Gudgeon's writings, representing and reading that text, and investigating that reading in its own terms appeared to me to offer an experimental

¹ The Text is, I believe, one such object. (My translation).

² 'quand nous disons *le Texte*, ce n'est pas pour le diviniser, en faire la déité d'une nouvelle mystique, c'est pour dénoter une masse, un champ d'une part, le Texte n'est pas un objet *computable*, c'est un champ méthodologique où se poursuivent, selon un mouvement plus «einsteinien» que «newtonien», l'énoncé et l'énonciation ...'. (Barthes [1972] 1994, 1421).

and uncharted path worth pursuing in the spirit of a possible contribution to the developing field of Pacific Studies.

So the text that I propose to read is not an existing entity but one that I have assembled for the purpose. Its principal primary elements are Gudgeon's personal journal, a sixty-eight-page manuscript document, the reports and correspondence reproduced in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR) over some 260 pages, and a five-page magazine article on annexation. The uniting factor among these elements is that they were written, at least initially in the case of the Journal, during Gudgeon's residence in the Cook Islands; they were intended and available for some degree of scrutiny by an audience; and they share a kind of panopticism, a seeing-all (perhaps to a lesser extent in the annexation article), that other of Gudgeon's writings, being focused on specific issues, do not.³ The manuscript of his personal journal is available as a photocopy held by the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, and was deposited there by Gudgeon's grandson and biographer, Elsdon Craig: *A Journal of My Residence in the South Seas and of the Causes that Led to that Residence* (Journal).⁴ Craig indicates that Gudgeon began typing his Journal in 1902 and it seems that he finished writing it in 1910 (Craig 1985, 115).⁵ The Journal appears at least partly to have been composed from diaries and there are also inclusions from correspondence, memoranda, and

³ In the case of the Journal, I am comfortable in assuming that the re-typing of at least some elements from diaries indicates an intention to make it available to some audience. Furthermore, the narrative style of the Journal, and its valedictory 'Here endeth the last lesson' provide evidence that some audience is being addressed and of an intention at least to circulate, if not publish, despite the frequent misspellings, abbreviations, and so on. The other documents to which I refer are in Papers of Walter Edward Gudgeon, PMB91, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau. Microfilm copies are held in Walter Edward Gudgeon, 1842-1920 Papers, 189?-19?? MS Volume 662/A-H, Hocken Library, Dunedin, and in Micro-MS-Coll-08-0091 in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. They comprise two sustained critiques of his predecessor, Moss, three of the London Missionary Society, Cook Islands genealogical tables, an 1898 letter to Governor Ranfurly, and an 1898 message to the Cook Islands Parliament.

⁴ The Journal comprises sixty-eight pages typed on paper headed with the New Zealand coat of arms and the words 'EASTERN PACIFIC, Rarotonga'. Its pages are numbered 1 to 68 and it lies between pages 73 and 172 of the Autobiography in Walter Gudgeon Autobiography and Related Materials, fMS-079, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. It is now identified as appearing within the Autobiography.

⁵ 'I here end my journal more or less containing the service of 45 years in various capacities in the public service' (Journal, 68). He had entered public service in 1865 when he joined the Wanganui Bushrangers (Journal, 5; Craig 1985, 19).

reports. It is not clear when the various sections were originally written or whether they had been revised at a later period.

The bibliography in Craig, prepared posthumously, refers to diaries covering 1 January 1900 to 16 July 1902, 1903, 1908, and some later years but they appear not to have been deposited in the Turnbull with the other Craig papers, as neither I nor a librarian was able to locate them, and I have been unable to make contact with surviving family members (Craig 1985, 146). The diary passages quoted directly by Craig, however, suggest that there is little difference in tenor between them and the Journal (indeed, there is comparatively little difference in tenor between the Journal and the documents in *AJHR*) and little difference in content apart from the presence of more minute details in the diaries (Craig 1985, 97-8, 104-5). Where the Journal does differ from the *AJHR*, however, is in the roughness and inaccuracies of spelling, punctuation, syntax, and grammar of many of its entries. As a rule I will reproduce minor errors verbatim and without comment. I should point out that *AJHR* entries may have been written or dispatched up to a year earlier than suggested by the date of publication of the volume; I shall generally indicate their date of origin.

W.G. Coppel's Cook Islands Bibliography was extremely valuable for tracing a wide variety of sources (Coppel 1971). Dictionaries compiled by Jasper Buse and Stephen Savage were equally valuable for suggesting English approximations to *Maori* terms (Buse 1995; Savage 1962). In accordance with the respective conventions, as well as for convenience, I have distinguished between Māori for New Zealand and *Maori* for the Cook Islands. I shall occasionally employ the term 'Native' for *Maori* to reflect Gudgeon's own usage.

In my detailed representation of Gudgeon's own representation of the colony in chapters 5 and 6, and in the spirit of Nicholas Thomas's privileging of an examination of the kind of discourse that colonialism produces over a distinction between truth and ideological constructs, I am more interested in the writing than in the actual events and personalities of the colony itself or in the relationship between what he wrote and representations of what actually happened (Thomas 1994, 24). That is not to diminish the importance of such representations or the historical events

themselves; I am simply doing something else here in reading those writings and then analysing the results of that reading. Neither is it to neglect the connections between the colony that Gudgeon wrote and other writings that are being made today. As Thomas expresses it, '[a]t some level, the reason for exploring histories and representations is a sense that despite their remoteness in time, they have resonance and bearing upon our continuing arguments with contemporary imperialism and racism' (Thomas 1994, 20).

In my approach to reading and producing a representation of this particular colonial text, I was encouraged by the deceptively simple clarity of the following passage from Gyan Prakash:

To begin with, one cannot simply use colonial documents as repositories of information. One needs to take into account not only the purposes for which they were produced but also how and why they were preserved. Secondly, one must read them for the kind of knowledge they authorize One needs to pay attention to the ruling concepts of the documents, to what they render thinkable as well as to what they imply is unthinkable. If I were to put it in Foucaultian terms, one needs to consider the type of truth regime that the documents establish.

Rather than claiming an all-seeing eye - that allows one to grasp what colonial officials could not - the intent would be to make the documents confront their own contradictions, their own silences. I do not mean the object should be to fill in the silences as a sort of compensatory history, to give the colonized a voice denied them by colonialism. Instead I would make the silences, contradictions, and ambiguities essential elements in the colonial story (Prakash 2000, 296).

Not least of the attractions of this approach is that it accommodates my own interpretation of what is required to try and avoid becoming part of, in Haunani-Kay Trask's words, the '*maha'oi haole*, rude, intrusive white people who go where they do not belong', even if my subject will be seen today as one such. And it offers the possibility of beginning the process of what Linda Tuhiwai Smith refers to as 'making space' for indigenous researchers (Trask 1991, 160; Smith 1999, 177). In creating an accessible representation of Gudgeon's writings I want, initially, to present my selection of his words in as direct a form as possible before reading them as a text, commenting on them myself, and drawing some conclusions. In doing so, I

hope to take up Prakash's challenge 'to make the documents confront their own contradictions, their own silences' (Prakash 2000, 296).

There arises the question of whether this concentration on Gudgeon's text does not serve to re-centre rather than decentre the colonial administrator and colonisation itself. While a focus on the written colony and the relationships and perspectives revealed in its reading does not, of itself, bring on stage other actors, I propose that it does, to some extent, clear the stage to allow for their entry, a project that may be more appropriately carried out by another researcher. This stance does not proceed so much from any great adherence to a distinction between the perceptions of insiders and outsiders, particularly in the case of historical texts, as from my understanding of what might constitute courtesy in the project of re-examining colonisation. In fact, my realisation of how much of an outsider I am to Gudgeon, his concepts, and even his words, has cast further doubt in my mind on the insider/outsider dichotomy as far as ethnic origins are concerned. In making that point, I am not seeking to distance myself from the colonial project of which I am both a product and beneficiary.

The last two decades of writing on the colonial project offer a variety of other suggestions as to how to go about reading Gudgeon's writing, having witnessed a variety of calls for a closer and more complex reading of colonialism and of its texts by, among others, David Cannadine, Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, Nicholas B. Dirks, Thomas Richards, and Thomas. They are united by a general agreement that colonialism was neither monolithic, nor omnipotent, nor unchanging. Cannadine, advancing the case for an 'ornamentalist' British Empire, has characterised it as essentially ramshackle, has pointed to 'ignorance, self-deception and make-believe' in its representation, has also argued that status, infinitely gradated, at least as much as race, was a determinant of relations between the parties of empire (Cannadine 2001, 147, 197-8, 6-9, 131, 126,). Among the 'tensions of empire' explored by Cooper and Stoler is the influence of anxiety among the colonisers stemming in part from differences of class, vision, interests, and gender within the 'overarching tension ... between what colonialism *was* and what colonial regimes *did*' (Cooper and Stoler 1989, 609, 612-3, 616). Dirks has questioned the

extent to which intention or even system can be ascribed to a complex of activities and results ‘that, though related and at times coordinated, were usually diffuse, disorganized, and even contradictory’, a set of circumstances that has led Richards to describe as ‘fictive’ the idea of imperial control (Dirks 1992, 7; Richards 1993, 2). Thomas has drawn attention to colonisers’ haunting anxiety, their terror of ‘the obscurity of the “native mentality”’, and the incompatibility of the intangibility and precariousness of the colony itself and their representations of it and has observed that colonial projects may often be projected more than realised (Thomas 1994, 15-16, 106).

Stoler and Cooper have observed that colonial archival narratives are frequently subject to ‘rumor, gossip, and fantasy’. Furthermore, they have suggested that, if we ask harder questions and avoid any automatic assumption of coherence:

we may see beyond an omniscient colonial apparatus to one shot through with conflicts between plantation entrepreneurs and the state, between local officials and metropolitan policy makers, between colonial state agents who struggled – and often failed – to coordinate their efforts from top to bottom. At the very least such a perspective should allow us to explore how limited colonial authorities may have been in putting their policies into practice, how vulnerable – and decidedly nonhegemonic – their authority was to those who subverted or pushed it aside (Stoler and Cooper 1997, 21-2).

Of particular relevance to Gudgeon’s experience in the Cook Islands is their assertion that, while colonial administrators’ perspectives of their projects may have been formed in the metropolis, that was not necessarily where their outcomes were determined (29).

Acknowledging anthropology’s increasing openness to a range of distinctions among the colonised, Stoler has nonetheless criticised it for what she regards as its unquestioning acceptance of the colonial dichotomy and consequent discussion of colonisers and colonial communities as ‘diverse but unproblematic, viewed as unified in a fashion that would disturb our ethnographic sensibilities if applied to ruling elites of the colonized’ (Stoler 1992, 321). Moreover, she, with Cooper, has observed that ‘[i]t does us no service to reify a colonial moment of binary oppositions so that we can enjoy the postcolonial confidence that our world today is

infinitely more complicated, more fragmented and more blurred' (Stoler and Cooper 1997, 9). And, in a parallel line of argument, Thomas has asked what benefit there is in denying 'complexity and agency to those accused of denying it to others', not least because blanket generalisations can only erode the connections between the colonial experience and the present (Thomas 1990, 147).

There is one final question as to the extent to which an investigation of a colonial project as marginal as that of New Zealand in the Cook Islands might contribute to an overall understanding of empire and colonisation. There is reassurance in Thomas's suggestion that any comprehensive analysis of colonialism as a whole must be derived from examinations of the local, the historically specific, the plural, and the particular. In relation to the Pacific experience he adds that '[i]f these histories must be seen as marginal, in relation to the most important theatres of colonial expansion, rivalry, resistance and colonization, their peculiarity may draw attention to issues that should have been discussed, but have been marginalized elsewhere' (Thomas 1994, ix-x). The final answer to the question, in terms of my project, awaits the discussion that will accompany my reading of Gudgeon's text.

I also believe that that reading will present a version of the colonial experience in the Cook Islands more complex, less straightforward, and more precarious than those appearing in previous accounts. To summarise, the process I will be following is one of providing the necessary background to Gudgeon himself, drawing principally on his own unpublished Autobiography rather than secondary texts (chapter 2); establishing some of the climate in which Gudgeon's administration operated, in particular, ideas about imperialism, New Zealand's sub-imperialism, and 'the Māori' (chapter 3); giving a brief account of the Cook Islands up to the time of Gudgeon's administration (chapter 4); producing as direct and accurate a representation of Gudgeon's written text as I can using a variety of categories derived from that text itself and appearing under chapter headings of actors and the theatres in which they acted as they are represented in that text (chapters 5 and 6); reading and commenting on that representation (chapter 7); and arriving at some conclusions as to Gudgeon's colonial perspective and experience and an assessment of the results and value of my project (chapter 8). In doing so, I must emphasise that I am not pretending to write

history or anthropology or pursue any other of the disciplines that have helped to inform my work. That work and this thesis have been conceived as a specifically Pacific Studies enterprise and it has been carried out as a project in that field of study. I particularly appreciate my supervisors' encouragement to eschew the rigid template of the traditional disciplinary thesis in order to facilitate inquiry and presentation in the spirit of that field of study.

While, as Raymond Williams has observed, the meanings of imperialism are disputed, I am using imperialism and empire in the late-nineteenth-century English sense that he defines as 'primarily a political system in which colonies are governed from an imperial centre, for economic but also for other reasons held to be important' (Williams [1976] 1989, 159). I use colonialism and colonisation to refer to the appearance and activities of that government in those colonies, with whatever combinations of settlement and extraction, and whether ruled directly or indirectly. I am not distinguishing here between the period of British protection up to annexation in 1901 and of New Zealand colonisation thereafter as no such distinction features significantly in Gudgeon's writing as far as this particular reading is concerned.

In this work I am referring to 'New Zealand' rather than 'Aotearoa New Zealand' as I might in other contexts. The first reason is that the latter seems anachronistic in discussing this period (not that it would be the only anachronism in work with a time span from the 1860s to the present). Additionally, I have at the moment some sympathy with such arguments as that of Brendan Hokowhitu to the effect that the use of 'Aotearoa' suggests a united nation living contentedly under a 'long white cloud' (Hokowhitu 2004, 278).

Before moving on to the representation and reading of Gudgeon's text, I shall briefly outline his life up until his move to the Cook Islands, provide some background on the intellectual climate of the period, and give a very brief outline of the Cook Islands and its history.

Before the Colony

2 Walter Edward Gudgeon

By his own account,⁶ Gudgeon was born in London in 1841 to a Roman Catholic family of Border Johnstone and French descent on his mother's side and Irish O'Haras and 'Suffolk people of good social standing in their county' on his father's (Autobiography, 1).⁷ The latter's family name was originally Wayth but, he asserts not altogether plausibly, that, falling upon hard times, his immediate forebears assumed a maternal uncle's name of Gudgeon so as not to be burdened by the Wayths' social standing. Migrating with his family to New Plymouth in 1850, he soon finished his formal schooling, becoming a part-time farm labourer at the age of nine and a bullock driver, bushfeller, and fencer at twelve. His father's precarious farming and cabinet-making enterprises in Taranaki and Wanganui saw him placed with a series of property owners, becoming a well-respected shepherd and drover and, later, manager. One of his supervisors, James Riach of the Wairarapa, was particularly influential, encouraging Gudgeon to take up the study of French language and current affairs in addition to a good deal of applied learning and long hours working on the farm. He claims that he 'saw thro' the Roman Catholic religion' at the age of fifteen, and he became a trenchant critic of church and mission (2).

After being called up in the militia, in 1865 he volunteered as a private in the Wanganui Bushrangers, an elite company of Forest Rangers; he would serve in one branch or other of the military or police for most of the next twenty-five years. Within three months he was a sergeant-major in the Native Contingent and, by the end of the year, had earned a field commission as ensign. He also began the study of Māori language and culture that would remain a life-long preoccupation and stepping stone to higher positions. Within three years, he had saved sufficient

⁶ This section draws principally on Gudgeon's Autobiography and also on Craig 1985, Green 2006, and Obituary 1920. In relation to his period as commissioner of police, it also draws on Hill 1995, 8-14.

⁷ Both Craig and David Green in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* give his birth date as 1841 but neither gives a source for that date. Craig asserts, seemingly incorrectly, that his Scottish Johnstone origins were in the Highlands (Taylor 1890, 54: 'The Johnstones were at one time among the most powerful, as they are one of the most ancient, of the Border septs.') and appears to deny any Irish origin on his father's side, quoting the latter as claiming to be 'purely English' (Craig 1985, 2). I have generally privileged Gudgeon's own account in the absence of specific evidence to the contrary.

money to purchase 450 acres of land and, in another three, already promoted to lieutenant, he had, as a consequence of a firearms accident, returned to the land and the farming of what had by then grown to 700 acres. In late 1868, in response to increasing Māori activity in defence of their land, he rejoined the Native Contingent and was promoted to captain and later made sub-inspector in the Armed Constabulary. That body was in the process of becoming a more civil than military force and, in it, he gained a reputation for physical exertion as well as astute leadership. His military experiences from 1865 to 1870 are set out in his book, *Reminiscences of the War in New Zealand*, published under his father's name in 1879 (TW Gudgeon 1879).⁸

Increasingly attracting political interest, particularly from the Liberals, as a result of his distinguished service and knowledge of Māori, he was transferred in 1874 from a comparative backwater to command of the politically important Poverty Bay Armed Constabulary district. There he purchased a further 130 acres of land at Ormond, where he met up with Elsdon Best, who was already established as a student of Māori culture and whose sister Edith married Gudgeon in 1875. Initially pleasant prospects, however, deteriorated into a period of considerable misfortune commencing with a restructuring of the Armed Constabulary and transfer to Opunake, a site the Gudgeons found deeply uncongenial. Edith Gudgeon soon showed serious signs of the tuberculosis that would kill her within four years and, in search of a better climate, Gudgeon applied for transfer and took up special employment in Gisborne.

That employment comprised charge of the Colonial Forces, the resident magistracy of Waiapu and Wairoa (a heavy burden of work with much travel), 'all of the Maori work ... and to make the Queen's writ run in Waiapu which it has not done hitherto' (Autobiography, 9). Both Edith Gudgeon and their young son died during this period, Gudgeon suffered persistent illness and fever while trying to care for two young daughters, and his workload was further increased. Taking refuge from his

⁸ Gudgeon clearly refers to *Reminiscences* as 'my book' (Autobiography, 6) and Craig explains that the elder Gudgeon's actual military service made authorship unlikely and asserts that the book was published under the name of Thomas Wayth Gudgeon to allow the father, as ever down on his luck, to claim the royalties (Craig 1985, 26-7).

misery in hard work, his application of justice as he saw it and comparative even-handedness soon aroused the animosity of those he characterised as the land sharks, the Conservative Party, and the Bank of New Zealand. At the same time, he by now owned nearly a thousand acres of land in Poverty Bay and Taranaki providing an income offering considerable independence. His 1880 dismissal from his post by the new Conservative ministry took the form of advice that his military services were required for the forthcoming confrontation with Parihaka to enforce the survey of the Waimate Plains.

The invasion of that centre of non-violent resistance to land confiscation took place in November 1881, with Gudgeon commanding an elite company of 109 Armed Constabulary men at its head. When the time came to arrest the Parihaka leaders, Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi, Gudgeon later wrote that '[t]he duty devolved on me, and taking a few men of the Company I went forward to the Chiefs who surrendered themselves in a manly and dignified manner, merely objecting to the arresting party touching them' (Autobiography, 63). The invasion and its immediate aftermath, a police action rather than a military one, was followed by a period of construction, road making, and fencing as confiscation and settlement proceeded. During this time he married Bertha Tuke, the daughter of one of his previous commanding officers, fathered two sons, and studied for and passed the General Knowledge Examination for Solicitors. The legal studies clearly expressed his renewed desire to move from military to civil life. With the return of a Liberal ministry, Gudgeon was ordered to Wellington in 1885 to supervise the establishment of coastal batteries constructed in response to the 'Russian scare' of that year. There he received promotion to major in the New Zealand Permanent Artillery.

In short order thereafter he became acting under-secretary for Defence and acting commissioner of police in the absence on sick leave of the permanent head, resumed artillery duties on the return of the latter, and again became acting under-secretary on the occasion of the head's relapse. In 1887, at the government's request, he left that position to return as commissioner of police and to settle in Wellington and establish what seemed likely to be his first permanent household since his youth. It was during these years that he published two further books on Māori and the wars, also in his

father's name. Gudgeon has been described by Richard Hill as 'a thorough and methodical administrator' who sought to professionalise the Force; the scale of its problems, however, and his lively incumbency as commissioner aroused, as he saw it, the ire of the established Roman Catholic and Conservative forces (Hill 1995, 8). In 1890, being offered the choice of a resident magistracy or a judgeship of the Native Land Court, he opted for the latter, a position he held until 1898 and one that permitted and intensified his study of Māori language and culture. In 1892 he chaired the inaugural meeting of the Polynesian Society and, in the following year, published his first contribution to its *Journal*.

A number of themes that appear in the Autobiography recur, in one form or another, during his Cook Islands days. There is in him an underlying assumption of gentry status that extends easily into condescension. His consciousness of his family's former good social standing, in spite of his father's shaky grip on respectability, finds expression in a variety of ways: his social satisfaction with the 'many nice people' of Wanganui; his ability to make friends with 'the right people'; his presumption that he should have been signed up in the Forest Rangers as an ensign rather than a private; and, in response to a perceived slight, his reaction to the culprit: 'had he been a gentleman I should have laughed, but new men are apt to misunderstand laughter' (Autobiography, 1, 3, 5, 31). As to his personal attributes, he characterises himself at various times as 'saddled with a temper that would not permit much bossing', thinking little of the opinions of others, somewhat incautious in word and deed, seeking a grievance and being generally unpleasant, and bossy (6, 8, 21, 30, 66). He emphasises his love of hard physical work (3, 4, 8, 25) and his continuing pursuit of self-education (3-4, 6, 11-12, 65). He frequently sees himself, sometimes with justification, as hard done by (4-5, 21, 25, 30, 66, 71) yet also as a beneficiary of good fortune: his association with Māori giving him 'a position unobtainable by other men' and causing greatness to be thrust upon him (6, 15).

As already suggested, Gudgeon has little time for the church and, in particular, Roman Catholics, by whom he feels persecuted as an apostate (Autobiography, 2, 7, 66, 71; *Journal*, 37). There is a tendency to national stereotyping in his descriptions of acquaintances: the English are given to dissatisfaction; Devon and Cornish

peasants are ‘very high class men, brave, moral and industrious’; Scots, with one notable exception, are generally regarded positively and stick close together; the British are exclusive and haughty; and there is a low class of Irishmen given to political crawling (Autobiography, 2, 3, 31, 33, 66). In a related area, he is firmly on the side of the Colonials against the Imperials, indeed crediting Seddon’s status among the former to his demolition of ‘Ex Imperial’ rule (5, 36-7, 59, 66). Violently hostile to the Conservatives and supportive of and supported by the Liberals during the whole period of the Autobiography (Craig 1985, 32, 63, 133), he is nonetheless, with rare and slight exceptions, scathing about governments, ministers, and even parliaments generally on the grounds of their habitual inconsistency, unpreparedness, incompetence, injudiciousness, self-seeking, and ingrained fear of losing office (Autobiography, 10, 14, 67, 35, 40). Dismissing Seddon’s Ministry as a mob government, he claims that ‘it is the proud privilege of all popular Governments to be weak and ineffective’ (71, 39). Of Seddon himself beyond his attitude to Imperials, Gudgeon finds him able but without honesty or sympathy and accepting of abuse of power by a lands administrator (64, 67, 71).

The one figure, apart from Gudgeon himself, who towers over the Autobiography is the Highlander and run holder, administrator, and politician Sir Donald McLean, particularly in his roles as native secretary in the 1850s and native minister from 1868 to 1876. It is for McLean that Gudgeon, much given in any case to invective, reserves his most vituperative and sarcastic attacks, a tendency that may have been exacerbated by a series of unfortunate land transactions and disappointments between Gudgeon’s father and McLean (Craig 1985, 5-8, 10-12, 25-7) The relationship is captured by Craig in describing Thomas Wayth Gudgeon as being ‘in trouble from the time he had met Donald McLean’ (Craig 1985, 5). McLean, unprotected by his genteel Highland origins, appears regularly throughout the text and is variously characterised as a medicine man, a shamanist, ‘the prince of snobs’, jealous, politic, vindictive, the land sharks’ friend, given to bribery and espionage, of vacillating and contemptible policy, pawky, and fraudulent (Autobiography, 10, 13, 26, 31, 46, 64). On the first page of an extraordinary four and a half pages devoted entirely to McLean there are references to weakness, inconsistency, mediocrity, and procrastination. McLean is ‘a man who posed, an unconscious humbug, of little

ability, but of great patience and tact’, ‘the rule of [whose] life was “taihoa”’, and who was ‘adept in the art of delicate flattery’ (44). In the light of Gudgeon’s later Cook Islands animosities, however, it is possible that the intensity of his language may in part find its origin in his distaste for McLean’s characteristic ‘habit of pandering to the supposed prejudice of the Maoris’ and the question of whether his perceived ‘philo maori proclivities [*sic*] would not at all times make him prefer the Maori to European interests’ (13, 44).

Shorter, sharper, and less intense attacks are scattered throughout the Autobiography. In fact, there is less than a handful of men of whom Gudgeon expresses anything like substantial approval. They include the James Riach referred to previously, Donald Reid, a visiting Minister of Lands in 1877, and Sergeant McGuire of the Armed Constabulary. Even his admiration for John Bryce, the minister of defence who led the invasion of Parihaka on his white horse, is ambivalent: he is ‘a Man at all times’, ‘a real good man tho narrow minded and peculiar’ (Autobiography, 64, 59).

Gudgeon admits to sympathy towards Māori and acknowledges their sentimental feeling towards land (Autobiography, 2, 6, 15). It increasingly appears, however, that such sympathy extends only occasionally to his contemporaries and is largely confined to those such as the ‘very fine specimen of the old Maori’ whom he meets in Opunake (10-12, 16). For the most part, ‘the Māori’ is ‘a natural born rogue’ and ‘a rogue from his birth’ and ‘[t]he Noble Savage is a fraud’ (15, 67, 25). He does, however, acknowledge a role for limited Māori self-government. Observing the establishment of informal district governing committees among one branch of the Ngati Porou, and lamenting their defiance of his magistracy, he proposes their co-option in the following manner:

Had the Govt recognised the Committees, defined their powers by Statute, and appointed a good Native Assessor as Chairman and employed a European Magistrate to sit quarterly as a Court of Control to keep the Committee within bounds, they would have been a most useful institution, and would have removed much of the jealousy felt by the Maoris at our careful retention of all power in the hands of Europeans (22-3).

Gudgeon asserts that, before the land legislation of the 1860s, Māori land tenure was ‘Communism pure and simple’, the greatest chiefs having no more property than any other though exercising mana over the land, an authority that was checked by ‘tribal opinion’ (Autobiography, 17). Disillusioned in particular with the character of Ngati Porou since the era of the mission (under which, in a rare concession, he admits that they were industrious), he expresses his conviction that ‘the Maori will never be a useful settler until he has lost nine tenths of his land and has only enough left to force him to be industrious’ (25). Supporting in general the confiscation of land, and later the invasion of Parihaka, he does draw attention to injustice, incompetence, and bullying within the framework of that confiscation (14, 31, 37-8, 44, 46-7, 57-9, 62-4). He is clear that neither Māori nor Pākehā understood the other’s principles of tenure and expresses understanding of the former’s dislike of the latter and their behaviour (16, 17, 32-3). He is vitriolic about the excesses of what he sees as that previously mentioned complex of land sharks, the Conservative Party, and the Bank of New Zealand (15-21, 27-30, 72-3). He sees the Native Land Court of the 1860s as little better than the land sharks, in spite of its intention to protect Māori, and the 1880s legislation as ‘arbitrary and ruinous to the Natives’ (17, 73):

Those who object to the Native Land Laws, start with the assumption, that these laws were passed in the interest of the Native Owners, and incidentally in the interest of the Public. This is an assumption for which there is no justification.... Since 1888 the N.L.C. Act and N.L. Fraud Prevention acts have done that which they were intended to do. They have deluded the Natives into bringing their lands before the Court, and have then debarred them from reaping any benefit therefrom. (A, 72-3).

Two further concerns that will reappear in the Cook Islands are ‘native’ schooling and ‘half-castes’. In the case of the former, and observing a lukewarm or even hostile reaction to attempts to persuade parents to send children to school, Gudgeon concludes that ‘[t]he moral appears to be that purely Native schools are in the present state of gross ignorance a mistake’ (Autobiography, 26). Of the latter, he excoriates ‘certain Half Castes’ for the contempt that their apparently effective but, in Gudgeon’s view, improper influence has brought to the Native Land Court, ‘the bad part of the business [being] that these Harpies have always been [‘Half Caste’] women’ with no more than a mother’s right to the land. The matter is all the more regrettable ‘[s]ince the great ability of the Half Caste man has often been of service

to his tribe' (72). At least in New Zealand, his opprobrium is confined to 'half-caste' women and, particularly, those who have been effective and influential.

Before going on to the Cook Islands and Gudgeon's appointment there I want to consider some aspects of the intellectual, political, and ethnographic milieu of the late nineteenth century as well as Gudgeon's own contribution to the latter. I include here the comparatively recent concept of imperialism, New Zealand's own colonial sub-imperialism, and contemporary representations of 'the Māori'. These discourses all have a direct bearing on his Cook Islands perspectives and preconceptions and some familiarity with them is essential for an understanding of those perspectives and preconceptions.

Concepts of Imperialism

I am more concerned here with the nature of late-nineteenth-century discourse, and particularly 'progressive' discourse, on imperialism than on an analysis of actual imperialism at that time. While not entirely accurate in claiming that imperialism was a new word to describe a new manifestation, Eric Hobsbawm is correct, and is supported by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, in asserting that the term, in the new sense of an economic phenomenon, the colonial empire, rather than the previous despotism of emperors and empires, emerged in British politics in the 1870s and 'exploded into general use in the 1890s'. In this new sense, the term referred to an economic phenomenon, the colonial empire, rather than the earlier understanding of it as the despotism of emperors and empires (Hobsbawm 1987, 60; *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. 'imperialism'). At the same time, as H. John Field has suggested in proposing a close association of valued character traits with empire, its economic aspects were accompanied, in the formation of 'Imperial Man', by the public school values of Character and Duty as 'the two magnetic values of the Victorian that most represent the imperial need' (Field 1982, xii, 30).

In 1902 there appeared the first major study of imperialism, and particularly British imperialism: the English Liberal J.A. Hobson's *Imperialism: A Study* (Hobson [1902] 1988). Writing almost fifteen years later, V.I. Lenin rated the work extremely highly, praising the social-liberal author for giving 'a very good and comprehensive

description of the principal specific economic and political features of imperialism' (Lenin, 1964 (1917), 187, 195, 269). In later commentary, Field, has described it as opening up the scholarly debate on the question and, while critical of aspects of Hobson's analysis, has acknowledged its richness, complexity, and power (Field 1982, 3-5). I propose to use Hobson's work here, particularly his chapter on the 'lower races', to establish the general conceptual terrain extant in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century on questions of empire and colonisation. That is not to comment on the accuracy of Hobson's analysis nor to suggest for a moment that Gudgeon would necessarily have agreed with every point that Hobson made but to indicate the broad areas of debate and consensus to which the Liberal supporter and student of Māori/Pākehā relations would surely have been exposed.

Hobson begins his discussion of imperialism and the 'lower races' by distinguishing three categories of country: those of 'low-typed unprogressive races', those with people capable of rapid progress, and those of an old and high civilisation that differs from the European. He puts these distinctions aside, however, in order to determine the basis for a generally sound policy (Hobson [1902] 1988, 224-50). Rejecting any absolute law of national autonomy, and accepting the necessity of developing undeveloped land for the good of the world by implanting new wants among native populations (225, 227), he defines the fundamental decision as follows:

The real issue is whether, and under what circumstances, it is justifiable for Western nations to use compulsory government for the control and education in the arts of industrial and political civilization of the inhabitants of tropical countries and other so-called lower races (228).

Denying any inherent right on the part of subject peoples 'to refuse that measure of compulsory education which shall raise it from childhood to manhood in the order of nationalities', he stipulates that the real issue, then, since contact with Europeans is inevitable, is of safeguards, motives, and methods and, in particular, resisting the onslaught of private exploiters motivated solely by greed (Hobson [1902] 1988, 229-31). On this basis, he defines two tentative principles: 'that all interference on the part of civilized white nations with "lower races" is not prima facie illegitimate' and 'that such interference cannot safely be left to private enterprise of individual whites'. From these he extrapolates a further principle, 'that civilized Governments

may undertake the political and economic control of lower races'. In turn he argues that the conditions that legitimate such projects are that they be for the good of the world as a whole and not just that of the individual nation, that they lead to the elevation of the subject people, and that they must be subject to the approval of 'some organized representation of civilized humanity' rather than 'selfish, materialistic, short-sighted, national competition, varied by occasional collusion' (232, 241).

Urging the development of trust among the subject peoples by means of studying their religions, politics, society, habits, psychology, languages, history, and environment rather than the imposition of force (Hobson [1902] 1988, 243), he proposes an exemplary model of imperial structure from Basutoland in the 1880s reminiscent of Gudgeon's proposal for Māori district councils:

Here British imperial government was exercised by a Commissioner, with several British magistrates to deal with grave offences against order, and a small body of native police under British officers. For the rest, the old political and economic institutions are preserved – government by chiefs, under a paramount chief, subject to the informal control or influence of public opinion in a national assembly; ordinary administration, chiefly consisting in allotment of land, and ordinary jurisdiction are left to the chiefs (245).

Quoting a Professor Ireland's *Tropical Colonization*, Hobson then confronts the remaining great question: how to induce tropical peoples 'to undertake steady and continuous work if the local conditions are such that from the mere bounty of nature all the ambitions of the people can be gratified without any considerable amount of labour?' (Hobson [1902] 1988, 235). His answer is neither directly forced labour nor pressure to drive people from their land nor the bribery of chiefs but the imposition of reasonable levels of carefully controlled indirect taxation (257-9, 265-71).

As Cooper and Stoler have encapsulated the position:

The 'new' imperialism of the last quarter of the century was no less coercive and brutal than the old. Yet Europeans were taking pains to reassure each other that their coercion and brutality were not frank attempts at extraction – as in the days of looting, pillaging, and slave raiding – but attempts to build structures capable of reproducing and extending themselves; stable

government replacing the violent, conflictual tyrannies of indigenous polities, orderly commerce and wage labor replacing the chaos of slaving and raiding, a complex structuring of group boundaries, racial identities, and permissible forms of sexual and social interaction replacing the fluidity of relationships of an earlier age (Cooper and Stoler 1989, 618).

What is both important and difficult to keep in mind when filtered through the period of decolonisation and its struggles is that Hobson's arguments represent some of the most progressive viewpoints on the subjects of imperialism and colonisation held by Europeans at home or in the new colonial empires. Differences of opinion about the conduct of imperialism were common among political and economic commentators in the late nineteenth-century and arguments over its nature continued throughout the twentieth. The vital point to keep in mind is that, although the term acquired increasingly pejorative connotations in the course of the decades after the First World War, that was far from the case in the later decades of the Victorian era, particularly for the nationals of European countries who had already settled in the Pacific (Hobsbawm 1987, 60, 70; Fieldhouse 1984, 437). As Field has suggested, '[f]or millions of people in different states an empire had become a matter of faith, and colonial possessions a psychological necessity' (Field 1982, 10).

The Development of New Zealand's Sub-Imperialism

In his 1890 *Nation Making*, J. C. Firth forcefully argued for the connection, from Rome to the British Empire, between nation building and colonisation, particularly English colonisation, and that connection underlay the arguments for New Zealand's sub-imperial possibilities in the late nineteenth century (Firth 1890, 1-4). This section will briefly trace the development of those arguments calling on sources from that period as well as more recent commentary on the phenomenon.

According to Angus Ross, the idea of New Zealand having its own imperial destiny predates 1840 and was expressed at a very early stage by New Zealand Company representatives and editorial writers (Ross 1969, 1).⁹ The social depth of the idea is indicated by an 1861 unemployed workers' petition with 1010 signatures which describes the discovery of gold as a god-given magnet to attract 'streams of the

⁹ This section draws substantially on Ross 1964.

Anglo-Saxon race from the United Kingdom and the adjacent Colonies to people this fine Colony, develop its resources, and found an empire destined to exert healing influences over the remote and numerous isles that spangle the bosom of the South Pacific' (Pyke 1962, 57). The issue re-emerged from time to time in the succeeding decades in an assortment of schemes for federation, control, protection, annexation, or even invasion of, variously, the Cook Islands, Fiji, the Kermadecs, New Caledonia, the then New Hebrides (now Vanuatu), Rapa, Samoa, and Tonga. In 1883, a Confederation and Annexation Bill intended for Samoa and Tonga but applying to the whole independent Pacific was passed by the New Zealand Parliament but refused imperial consent (Dalziel 1999, 591; Ross 1964, 18-19, 106-15, 141-4, 157-60, 173-6, 183-93, 249-50; Gilson 1980, 57-8).

The position by the 1890s is well represented in New Zealand parliamentary discussions in 1894. The June Governor's speech expressed this concern about recent events in Samoa:

The protracted confusion still disturbing Samoa has induced my Advisers to urge upon the Imperial Government that England should utilise this colony [New Zealand] to control and manage the Navigator Islands.... It is so clearly the destiny of New Zealand to play a leading part in Polynesia that my Advisers confidently expect your concurrence in the suggestion made by them (*NZPD* 1894, 83: 7).

Later, in the July debate on the tabling of a paper relating to Samoa and the Pacific Islands, Seddon is reported as declaring:

This colony [New Zealand] was geographically the centre, and must ultimately prove to be the mother colony, of the islands adjacent. It was our duty to look ahead, and provide for what would inevitably occur in years to come.... He felt that what the Americans, the Germans, and the Mother-country had failed to do in regard to Samoa the Colony of New Zealand could accomplish;... They had no desire to do more than this: to have peace with our neighbours, to see that those inhabiting these islands were not hostile, or in any way inimical to the social or physical well-being of the people of New Zealand; and, in respect to the aboriginal races inhabiting those islands, we could do as much for their protection as we had done for the protection of the Native race of New Zealand (*NZPD* 1894, 86: 1132).

The rhetoric of these arguments gives some force to Keith Sinclair's view that, Hobson's and Lenin's 'economic taproot of imperialism' being entirely missing,

‘there was plenty of emotion but there was no rationale of New Zealand imperialism; no mind-searching; no analysis. The same arguments were paraded from 1840 to 1914 with full conviction that they needed no examination’ (Sinclair 1965, 43). D.K. Fieldhouse has argued convincingly that both before and after 1880 the impetus to empire in the South Pacific came not from the metropolitan centres but from Australian and New Zealand colonists, their sub-imperialism the product of a crisis of confidence (Fieldhouse 1984, 224, 238, 437-41, 450-1). Another element for consideration is added by Hobsbawm’s contention that possessing colonies, regardless of their perceived worth, had become a status symbol in itself (Hobsbawm 1987, 67). Bearing in mind the twenty-first-century interventions in Timor L’Este, Fiji, the Solomon Islands, and Tonga, one can understand Sinclair’s heartfelt gratitude that New Zealand, having no power to annex in the nineteenth century, failed because of its own status as a colony, on the whole to accumulate a sub-empire, ‘[o]therwise we should long ago have been bankrupt, fighting Polynesian revolts and subsidising chiefly governments’ (Sinclair 1965, 44).

Among the arguments for New Zealand’s proposed empire were British superiority, fear of the French, jealousy of Australia, protection of missions, and commercial possibilities. Perhaps the most telling and far-reaching argument of all, however, as indicated in Seddon’s speech to the House, was the relationship of New Zealand Māori to all other Polynesians and New Zealand’s ‘success’ in dealing with its own indigenous people in the second half of the nineteenth century (*NZPD* 1900, 114: 392-3; Ross 1959).¹⁰ In a more recent investigation, Tony Ballantyne has emphasised the role of the theory of Aryan origins in converting colonisers into settlers and the intellectual authority of New Zealand’s Polynesian Society in fashioning a colony into an imperial power by creating its own Pacific ‘webs of influence’ (Ballantyne 2002, 7, 16, 56-82, 195). At the centre of both the Polynesian Society’s concerns and the spinning of those webs stood ‘the Māori’.

¹⁰ This view of the affinity of Cook Islands and New Zealand Māori was shared by the *ariki* in their 1900 petition for annexation and at least one New Zealand Māori MP, Hone Heke. (*AJHR* 1900, A.3J, 1; *NZPD* 1900, 421).

Concepts of 'The Māori'

More recent commentators provide the context for an understanding of the important role of 'the Māori', singular and unitary, in those projects but it is also necessary to consider the fabric of the contemporary researches and discussions, including Gudgeon's own. Ballantyne has argued that, while Orientalist learning, particularly from India, generally influenced investigations of the Pacific from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the study of Māori culture was more specifically an imaginative production of European imperialism 'crucial in the definition of settlers' identities and the emergence of a cultural nationalist tradition' (Ballantyne 2002, 56-7). Jane Stafford and Mark Williams have expanded this idea in a discussion of the common nineteenth-century, and still occasionally enduring, description of New Zealand as 'Maoriland':

As the term suggests, the central feature of Maoriland was the use of Maori sources to provide the descendants of the settlers with a history peculiar to themselves. While drawing on the conventions of romanticism, this material is also filtered through colonial ethnology to give it an air of authenticity and of ownership. Maoriland writing is able to be both fantastic and encyclopaedic, to simultaneously invent and record. The habit of appropriation occurs in a period when Maori are conveniently figured as a 'dying race' (Stafford and Williams 2006, 10-11).

In relation to this last point, James Belich has distinguished 'three knots of race-related thought, centred on stereotypes of "Black" (permanently inferior), "White" (convertible), and "Grey" (dying) savages' (Belich 1997, 10).¹¹ And Giselle Byrnes has argued that '[t]he dual image of the Maori as both noble and ignoble savage had, by the end of the nineteenth century, been fused into the single image of the dying savage' (Byrnes 1990, 27). This concept of the dying race was accepted in the late nineteenth century with an almost unquestioning unanimity that Dorothy Shineberg has characterised as that scholarly rarity, a proposal with no natural enemies. Suggesting that it is more a question of ideology than of reason, she identifies, in fact, three underpinning world views: social Darwinism, the idea of the noble savage, and the critique of colonisation. 'En bref, les indigenes étaient trop faible, ou

¹¹ Belich has expanded these categories in his general history but these three serve my discussion here (Belich 1996, 21-2).

trop bons, ou trop abusés pour survivre selon l'idéologie de chacun' (Shineberg 1983, 42).¹²

The idea of the dying race took hard and soft forms, from extermination to pillow-smoothing, and with consequences ranging from confiscation to a 'freeing up' of land for settlement. In either case, and in spite of the view held by a small minority that Māori were dying out before Pākehā arrival, the mainstream belief was that extinction was the outcome of European arrival and settlement and it would persist well into the twentieth century (Stenhouse 1996, 124-5; Belich 1997, 10-12). As to the accuracy of the supposition of decline by the late nineteenth century, both Belich and Shineberg have pointed to a tendency to extrapolate from what might well have been temporary arrangements and internal migrations (Belich 1997, 11; Shineberg 1983, 34). Ian Pool indicates that, after the sharp population decline of the middle third of the nineteenth century, a turnaround occurred in the 1891-96 quinquennium and he cites Sir James Carroll in 1891 to the effect that 'it is a mistaken theory that the Native race will rapidly decrease' (Pool 1991, 60-61, 75).

Byrnes has seen in the concept of the dying race 'a lament for an idealised past' and, in reference to the title of Elsdon Best's book, a preference for the Māori as he was to the Māori as he is (Byrnes 1990, 9, 30, 100). For Stafford and Williams it conveys the idea that living Māori will 'be replaced by a mythical version of their past' and that the ancient Māori stands in need of memorialisation (Stafford and Williams 2006, 111). This certainly gave rise to that 'manifest duty' that resulted in the formation of the Polynesian Society and the establishment of its *Journal* to preserve what remained of Māori and other Pacific cultures before their inevitable extinction (Byrnes 1990, 78; Sorrenson 1992, 24).¹³

By far the greatest preoccupation of S. Percy Smith, Edward Tregear, Elsdon Best, Gudgeon and other members of the Society and contributors to the *Journal* in the

¹² In short, the natives were too weak, too good, or too ill-treated to survive according to each one's ideology. (My translation).

¹³ The sources supporting the summary of the early work of the Polynesian Society and Gudgeon's participation in it include Byrnes 1990; Geiringer 1990, 75-96; Sorrenson 1992, 24-42; Geiringer 1999; and Clayworth 2002, 133-46.

1890s was ‘the whence of the Māori’ and, in particular, the replacement of the earlier theory of Semitic origins by one of Aryan origins argued on grounds ranging from the mythological to the (often dubiously) linguistic and taking the Māori back to India via Rarotonga and Hawaiki (Sorrenson 1979, 17-28; 1992, 34-5). In the passage referred to earlier, Ballantyne argues that:

Aryanism was particularly authoritative in the Pacific where it came to provide not only an important ethnological paradigm, but also a narrative used by some white colonists to emphasize that they belonged to a long history of Aryan migrations into the region, justifying their presence in the Pacific by transmuting colonization into ‘settlement’ (Ballantyne 2002, 7).

If Aryanism provided justification by connection, the accompanying theories of dual settlement and a ‘Great Fleet’ provided equally reassuring evidence of earlier invasion. Dual settlement theories depended on one of two approaches: either on the conversion of oral evidence of supernatural beings into proof of the existence of earlier, weaker occupants (or, more rarely) slaves captured *en route* to New Zealand);¹⁴ or on the conflation of a variety of iwi oral records into evidence of a racially and culturally distinct population that preceded the Great Fleet, itself Pākehā-constructed by combining disparate elements from a variety of waka traditions. (Geiringer 1999, 26-7). Alternatively, dual origins were predicated on the existence of, on the one hand, inferior, Papuan or ‘negroid’ original settlers and, on the other, Māori of Malayan or Indian origin. In either case the theory embodied both esteem and disdain, nobility and ignobility (Geiringer 1999, 18).

Beyond noting the reappearance of his disdain for ‘half-caste Polynesians’ (Gudgeon 1902-3, 4, 174), there is little purpose in closely examining Gudgeon’s own ethnographic inquiries: for the most part they fall within the terrain outlined above. That his scholarship was not highly regarded by at least some of his contemporaries is perhaps indicated by Smith’s many corrective notes to his 1902-03 essay, *The Whence of the Maori* (Gudgeon 1902-3, 180, 181, 186, 187 etc). Modern opinion is represented by Keith Sorrenson’s finding that ‘his work was unstructured and uncritical’ (Sorrenson 1992, 39). He was certainly capable of placing ease above

¹⁴ It is worth noting that Smith dissented strongly from the idea of a prior race (Gudgeon 1902-3, 189).

scruple, as Peter Clayworth and Claudia Geiringer have also pointed out (Clayworth 2001, 145; Geiringer 1990, 90; 1999, 27-8). One glaring example is his confession that '[i]t will, however, suit my purpose to assume that all the ancestors of the Maoris came at one time' having asserted, a decade earlier in terms of publication, that 'we also know that the Maoris did not all come from the same place, nor at one and the same time' (Gudgeon 1890, 517; 1902-3, 2, 248).

There are two passages, however, arising out of his ethnographic inquiries, that are worth quoting at some length. While it is fair to say that Gudgeon did not always display the qualities apparent in the first passage, it does indicate an important element in his character and perspective:

Whenever a man of European descent finds it necessary to speak or write concerning the Maori, his manners, customs, or history, he will do well to approach those subjects untrammelled by any preconceived notions of right or wrong. For by such means only can he obtain an unprejudiced and fairly correct impression of the mental and moral characteristics of a people who differ very greatly from their European neighbours. Holding, as I do, that the Maori cannot be appreciated at his proper value by those who would judge him from our own narrow point of view, I would, with all humility, suggest to my readers that they ought, for the time being, to ignore the time honoured notion that the Christian code of morality is the only correct rule of life, and accept temporarily the theory that much as the manners and customs of the Maoris may differ from ours, they may – so far as that people are concerned – be equally right and salutary.

As a friend of the Maoris I hope to see them judged by this standard, in so far that they are a very peculiar people, and follow a moral code entirely of their own; one that bears very little resemblance to that which we have been taught to revere, but which has at any rate this undoubted merit, that it has been found suitable for the purposes of a very warlike and manly race during the last thousand years of their history (Gudgeon 1904a, 177).¹⁵

The comment on Christianity and the grounds for suspicion that Gudgeon may here be displaying preference for the Māori as he was, rather than is at the time, the 'true' or 'old' Māori, are even more evident in the second passage, as are the essential contradictions of the positions he appears to be able to hold almost simultaneously.

¹⁵ Ngaire Joan Stone also draws attention to this passage and Gudgeon's contrasting attitudes to New Zealand and Cook Islands Māori (Stone 1974, A2-3).

Both will re-emerge strongly in the Cook Islands in his relations with both missionaries and Maori:

I sorrowfully admit that this wholesome state of mind [warrior values] is no longer the rule; the even balance of the Maori mind has been destroyed by a long course of missionary teaching. The average Anglo-Saxon is so firmly impressed with the value of his Bible, that he is never quite happy unless he is thrusting it down the throat of some unhappy Hindu, Chinaman, Negro or Maori, with the hope of destroying the ancient and time honoured faith of these people, and with the actual result of raising up a few spurious Eastern Christians, who, to use the Chinaman's own words, 'Tell lie and dlink lum alle same klistian.' I do not say the missionaries are wrong, but I do say that they destroy all that is interesting in a Native race (Gudgeon 1904b, 239).

Again, in assessing the contributions of the early members of the Polynesian Society, it is necessary to put aside the filters of an at least partly postcolonial viewpoint and, in this case, of the wealth of evidence, methodology, and technology that has become available since the Victorian era. Gudgeon, with whatever faults, is entitled to share with his colleagues in the verdict of Giselle Byrnes to the effect that 'Smith, Best, and Tregear were not self-conscious nationalists, but were, instead, progressives, and, above all, scholars. Their work must be seen in the context of the Liberal era. It was written with a belief in progress and the manifest destiny of the civilised to tame the savage' (Byrnes 1990, 61). Or perhaps, for Gudgeon, to civilise the tamed savage.

4 *The Cook Islands*

The fifteen separate, but to some degree interconnected, pre-colonial entities that, for about a century, have been grouped together as the Cook Islands lie to the north-east of New Zealand with their southern-most point about 1630 nautical miles from Auckland and their northern-most another 737 to the north.¹⁶ The northern group of Pukapuka, Nassau, Suvarrow, Rakahanga, Manihiki, and Tongareva are coral atolls, as are Palmerston, Manuae, and Takutea in the south. Mangaia, Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro are raised atolls, Aitutaki is part-volcanic and part-lagoon, and Rarotonga is a high volcanic island. Except in Pukapuka, the most north-westerly island whose people are closely related to Samoans, settlement is believed to have originated about two thousand years ago in a variety of parts of Tahiti and the eastern Pacific, with Rarotonga itself, according to oral history, serving as a starting point for migration to New Zealand. Since the individual islands mostly differed culturally from each other, it is difficult to generalise about even the major political, social, and economic elements. Richard Gilson, however, developed a model of Rarotonga society that will assist in giving some perspective to later developments and I shall summarise its main relevant points, with some additions from Ron Crocombe (Gilson 1980, 6-19; Crocombe 1964, 16-24).

There was no central island authority but different *vaka* (literally canoe but also translated as ‘tribe’) occupied three self-governing districts which sometimes co-operated ceremonially and had a common *marae* (religious and meeting centre). The heads of these districts and the highest category of chiefs were *ariki*. Within the districts, *tapere* (narrow, mountain-to-reef subdivisions) provided resources for *ngati* (major lineage groups), headed by *mataiapo*. There were no villages but clusters of households were found near family garden lands. Lineages were not strictly patriarchal, being characterised by Gilson as ‘ambilateral local descent groups with a strong patrilineal emphasis’ (Gilson 1980, 7).

¹⁶ In addition to the sources cited, this section also draws on Craig 1993, 39-41, and Lal and Fortune 2000, 562-4.

Chiefly titles were held by men and followed the male line and land rights were inherited from the father, though the mother's line carried an important secondary connection. Chiefly obligations included war and diplomatic preparations and leadership, land allocation, dispute settlement, organisation of feasts and working parties, and representations to the gods. Entitlements included support, food and goods (particularly for ritual purposes), and contributions to public and private projects such as house construction. Sanctions included the effects of chiefly *mana*, limited deprivation of land rights, banishment, exclusion, and physical punishments. As well as *taunga* (priestly title-holders), there were also *rangatira* and *kiato*, executive heads of small *tapere* or subdivisions of them, who bore delegated authority from, and provided a structure of support for, their superiors.

The land rights of *unga* (common people) derived from consanguinity (by adoption as well as birth), marriage, or chiefly consent. Gilson describes the relationship between chief and commoner as neither accidental nor uncontrolled: 'There were no absolute rights to land held by any person apart from the relationship to a group and its titleholder; this relationship was usually determined by kinship, for the continuity of titles and the continuity of local descent groups were inseparable' (Gilson 1980, 17). The accompanying obligations of reciprocity included two important contributions to the chief and the community: '*aratiroa* (the provision of food and services for distinguished visitors) and *arevananga* (the construction of public buildings, including the high chief's house)'. In addition, there were *atinga*, offerings for ceremonial occasions and also payment 'to the head of the appropriate landowning group by persons who planted under conditions of permissive occupation' (Crocombe 1964, 22).

The first *Papaa* (Europeans) to become aware of any of the islands were those on the ships commanded by Álvaro de Mendaña in 1595 and Pedro Fernandez de Quirós in 1606 who visited, respectively, Pukapuka and Rakahanga. In 1765 *HMS Dolphin*, under the command of John Byron, also called at Pukapuka and, from 1773 to 1777 on the second and third voyages, James Cook charted five of the southern islands. Occasional visits followed until continuous contact began with the arrival of the London Missionary Society (LMS) missionaries John Williams and the Raiateans

Papehia and Vahapata at Aitutaki in 1821. Papehia and Vahapata settled and began the process of evangelisation which was reinforced by Williams's return in 1823 with teachers for a number of other islands and culminated in the substantial conversion of the south by 1827 (Gilson 1980, 20-24).

Among the immediate results of the new order was the allocation by chiefs of land near mission stations, the establishment or imposition of villages, and the building of individual dwellings for nuclear-family households. Influence, however, worked in both directions between mission and, particularly, *ariki*. Missionaries, for example, accepted existing land boundaries and most aspects of the authority of *ariki*: 'Even if the missionaries could have changed the relative positions of the social classes, they would not have contemplated doing so; for the success and perhaps the very existence of the mission depended upon the friendship of paramount chiefs' (Gilson 1980, 27).

The acceptance in modified form of an 1827 Raiatean code of laws resulted in significant regulation, mostly of property but also abolishing polygamy and introducing Christian marriage; trial by jury, however, was soon discarded in the face of strong kinship links and deference to chiefly authority. Accompanying sanctions included fines, labour, imprisonment, land confiscation, and, later, the death penalty for murder and expulsion from the congregation. The new police forces, recruited solely from those congregations, enforced the new laws vigorously, impelled in part by opportunities to discredit opponents and the division of any fines among police, judges, and *ariki* (28-9). New offences were progressively added as they came to attention. As well as the prohibition of a variety of 'barbaric revivals', 'a man was fined if he was caught after dark with his arm around a woman's waist, unless he was carrying a torch in the other hand. If a man wailed over the corpse of a dead woman to whom he was not related, it was taken for granted that he had been conducting an illicit affair with her, and he was fined accordingly' (29).

Gilson suggests, however, that existing beliefs during this period were modified rather than replaced, *mana* and genealogy, for example, being retained, and the power relationships of and between missionaries and *ariki* serving to enhance the

status of each (Gilson 1980, 31-4). The status of women in general was also enhanced, if on an entirely European model, by the introduction of marriage and equal participation in the churches and also, on Rarotonga, by the effects of a decrease in the male population (whether by death or migration). Such innovations culminated in the succession of a woman to the Makea *ariki* title in 1845 and of women to four out of five *ariki* positions on Rarotonga by 1882 (36, 50). The introduction of cotton clothing, cash-cropping, the need to sustain a new mission training institute, and, later, the increasing influence of traders produced new commercial relationships (36-7). And concerns about rumours of threats from France to the independence of the islands resulted in an 1865 petition to New Zealand's Governor Grey for British protection, a request that was declined (Ross 1964, 66-7; Gilson 1980, 43).

While travellers' accounts in the 1870s generally emphasised peace and prosperity, a wide variety of changes, powerful particularly in combination, were taking place from the late 1860s to the mid 1880s. The introduction of cash employment and the conflicting interests of the increasingly influential traders and the mission saw a steady decline in the latter's authority, prestige, and support. Makea Takau, 'Queen Makea' to the New Zealanders when she visited their country, was emerging as the most significant Rarotongan, and even group, leader. European settlement, though small, was becoming increasingly entrenched and European models of dress, transport, and food were all the rage among the local population. New commercial imperatives led to conflicts over land and the increasing exercise of power over land and followers by *ariki*. And, partly perhaps as a response to the attractions of European products, partly as a reaction to continuing fears about French designs, talk of British protection was again in the air (Gilson 1980, 42-56).

In 1881, as the result of a petition by fifteen merchants and planters, C.E. Goodman had become an unpaid British consul for the southern Cook Islands, then described as the Hervey Group. He resigned in 1883 leaving his vice-consul, Richard Exham, to carry on in that capacity (Gilson 1980, 46). In 1885, a committee of the New Zealand House of Representatives resolved that all the independent islands between Auckland and what would become the Panama Canal should come under control by

Britain before they fell to French annexation. Premier Robert Stout proposed that New Zealand should meet the cost of appointing a British consul for Rarotonga subject to agreement on nomination by New Zealand and the right to act as its agent there (Gilson 1980, 58; Ross 1964, 235-6). Makea Takau, on a visit to New Zealand, said she was fearful of French and German intentions and wanted to be more closely associated with New Zealand and receive Crown protection (Gilson 1980, 59; Ross 1964, 236-7). She received a written statement to the effect that:

The islands [presumably Rarotonga, Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro] shall come under the protection of the British Crown upon a request of the rulers, expressed to the Government of New Zealand. An alliance shall be formed between New Zealand and the islands on a basis of commercial reciprocity, the islands retaining their local institutions and the right of internal self-government (*AJHR* 1886, A.1: 15; Gilson 1980, 59).

In 1886, thirty European residents requested the elevation of Exham to full consul status but the position between the New Zealand and British Governments remained deadlocked until 1888, when a petition from Makea prompted Britain to agree to Exham declaring a Protectorate over Rarotonga and the other southern islands.¹⁷ In 1889, the earlier proposal for New Zealand nomination and payment of a British consul, and his acting as an agent for the former, was accepted on condition of controls on land sales, labour deportation, and trade in arms, ammunition, and liquor, the recognition of local custom, and the application of island-government laws to foreigners (Gilson 1980, 59-61; Ross 1964, 239-43). In 1890, Frederick Joseph Moss, a former Fijian planter, Pacific traveller, and New Zealand MP, was appointed British resident in preference to Exham, who was said to have committed a number of offences involving liquor, violence, and failure to deliver mail (Gilson 1980, 62-3; Ross 1964, 243-4).

Moss's brief was to recognise and support the *ariki* governments, particularly in the area of law and order, to control liquor, levy customs duties, unify the island and district governments, and vet proposed laws and regulations. He worked with *ariki* and others to establish a Parliament and Executive Council, with Makea at its head

¹⁷ Mistakenly, the wording of the later formal proclamation actually constituted annexation rather than protection, an error later rescinded except for Aitutaki, which remained annexed because of the strategic importance of its harbour (Gilson 1980, 60; Ross 1964, 240-1).

and representation of *ariki* from all islands. A Supreme Court was also established with Tepou o te Rangi, a cousin of Makea and holder of the Vakatini *ariki* title, as its judge and the police began to be professionalised (Hill 1995, 241). The new legislature worked to establish better educational provision, liquor licensing, customs, treasury, schools, and a medical service, with a greater or lesser degree of success. There was no settler representation, a fact that gave rise to hostility on the part of planters and merchants. A Rarotonga Council was established and the existing *au* (district councils) were reorganised to comprise *ariki* and representatives of *mataiapo*, *rangatira*, and *unga*, a model that would be replicated to one degree or another across the islands. In 1894 a bicameral national legislature was introduced with a representative lower house and an upper house of the five Rarotongan *ariki*. Moss's projects for the abolition of compulsory labour and land reform failed; the former because of the unpopularity and difficulty of understanding the taxation system that underpinned it as well as a lack of supervision of its implementation; and the latter because of his inability to persuade the *ariki* and mission of its desirability (Gilson 1984, 64-79; Ross 1964, 254-6; Beaglehole 1957, 110-12).

Moss's undoing was the outcome of two separate grievances on the part of mutually supporting aggrieved parties. The first was antipathy on the part of two Scots doctors, George and William Craig, and their European followers resulting mainly from their exclusion from the new legislatures. The second was a falling out with *ariki* which came to a head over his manner of introduction of a Federal Court Bill which he was instructed to introduce but which was able to be presented as a self-aggrandising initiative on the part of Moss himself (Gilson 1980, 85-8; Ross 1964, 255-6). The ensuing impasse and a number of charges made against Moss resulted in an inquiry conducted by New Zealand Chief Justice Sir James Prendergast. In dealing with Moss's own conduct, Prendergast found that 'in no case is a charge of corrupt, fraudulent, or dishonest conduct made; the most that can be inferred is a charge of erroneous policy, mistake, want of judgment, overbearing conduct, and wilful disregard of the opinions of others' (*AJHR* 1898, A.3: 16). Acknowledging a number of positive initiatives on Moss's part, he concluded:

that there is at present, with the Arikis and chiefs, a fixed feeling of dislike of and distrust in Mr. Moss, and I doubt whether any patience forbearance, or prudent conduct on his part in the future would result in removing or substantially diminishing that feeling; that the feeling has originated partly in mistake; and that it was very much brought about by unfounded or petty attacks made upon Mr. Moss by Europeans, who have private or political grounds of hostility towards Mr. Moss, is tolerably certain' (*AJHR* 1898, A.3: 24).

The British Secretary of State for the Colonies, following Prendergast's cue, advised the New Zealand Governor as follows:

I entirely agree in the opinion of your Ministers that Mr. Moss has rendered very good service and has done his best to promote the well-being of the natives and the prosperity of the residents generally; and I regret, in view of the settled distrust and suspicion with which the natives appear to have come to regard him, no course is open but to discontinue his connection with the group (*AJHR* 1898, A.3: 3).

Moss has generally been regarded as a benevolent, even enlightened, colonial administrator, if lacking in both tact and the power to enforce his reforms. Ian Malcomson, preferring 'paternalist respect' to 'respectful paternalism' to describe Moss's attitude, found him 'one of the more romantic of humanist [*sic*]' (Malcomson 2003, 89). Barrie Macdonald identified as the driving force of his legislative reforms his belief 'that the demoralisation of the indigenous people in the Pacific islands was largely caused by the failure of Europeans to treat islanders as equals' and he suggests that his consequent policies and condemnation of many local settlers led to his downfall (Macdonald 2006). Angus Ross, on the basis of his speeches and writings, discerned idealism in relation to indigenous interests and Crocombe noted that his powers were limited to advice and persuasion (Ross 1964, 243-4; Crocombe 1964, 83-4, 97). Ernest Beaglehole has observed that, in his desire for self-dependence for the Cook Islands, the precipitate nature of his initiatives vitiated 'all his vision, honesty, conscientiousness and impartiality' and resulted in the mutual impatience and resentment of resident and *ariki* (Beaglehole 1957, 112). R.A.K. Mason, a trenchant opponent of colonialism in general and of New Zealand's

sub-imperialism in particular, in a book significantly informed by later Cook Islands Premier Albert Henry, paid this unusual tribute to Moss's administration:¹⁸

The experiment so started represented the most progressive and advanced ideas of the time. It was a really remarkable attempt to establish a Government combining free democratic Parliamentary institutions with native custom, combining the old ideas of the independence of each island with the new idea of national independence ([Mason] 1947, 57).

Gudgeon was nominated to replace Moss as British resident in August 1898 and promoted to lieutenant colonel. He arrived in Rarotonga in September of that year, having read up on the official Cook Islands correspondence (Journal, 2; *AJHR* 1898, A.1: 10). His brief from the New Zealand Government comprised little more than passage through the Cook Islands Parliament of the High (formerly Federal) Court Bill, achievement of annexation to New Zealand, and the expansion of trade between the Cook Islands and New Zealand (Journal, 1, 63-4). Beyond that there was a vague proposal for a Land Court on the New Zealand model, a catalogue of largely illusory mutual benefits set out by Premier Richard Seddon in his 1900 visit to the Cooks and in the consequent parliamentary annexation debate, and a general intention to 'leave the Natives, as far as practicable, to manage their own affairs' ([Tregear] 1900, 425-52; *NZPD* 1900, 114: 387-93; Seddon to Ranfurly 27 December 1898). Within a month of arrival he had secured passage of the High Court Bill, proceeded immediately to dismiss the Moss supporters from their official positions and replace them with his opponents, continued the professionalisation of the police, and set about the introduction of a wide variety of reforms (*AJHR* 1899, A.3: 10, 13-14; Gilson 1980, 91; Hill 1995, 241). In September 1900, he was able to forward a petition from the *ariki* of Rarotonga, Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro requesting annexation by New Zealand to the British Empire on condition of the replacement of the Parliament by a 'Council of Arikis' (with Gudgeon as president and Makea Takau as chief of government) and the preservation of land rights. Gudgeon was able to assure the New Zealand Government of the endorsement of the *mataiapo* and *rangatira*, adding that the 'inferior people have not, of course, been asked their

¹⁸ 'Potter said: "Albert Henry practically lived at our place." He would "tell it to Ron", who would "sit down and write". As a result "it was decided" that Mason "should write a pamphlet ...; then, as so much inaccessible material had been turned up ... to make a book"' (Asclepius [John Caselberg] 2004, 186).

opinion' but that they were most in favour of annexation because of its hoped-for benefits (*AJHR* 1900, A.3J: 1). In that same month, the New Zealand Parliament carried the annexation resolution, it was proclaimed in June 1901, and Gudgeon became resident commissioner (Gilson 1980, 102-4; Wilson 1969, 25).

The outcome of the next eight years of Gudgeon's administration has been summarised by S.D. Wilson in this passage:

By the time of Gudgeon's retirement in 1909, it was apparent, however, that, despite what the *arikis* thought and wished, the Cook Islands were not in fact a fully self-governing community. District government, including the *Ariki* Courts, had been abolished, the islanders no longer controlled finance and the public service, and the Land Court was conducted under the presidency of the Resident Commissioner, who was also executive head of government and chief judge of the High Court. The only authority left to the Cook Island *ariki* was that of passing local ordinances, which were subject to the Resident Commissioner's approval (Wilson 1969, 29).

Richard Gilson also concurs in these judgements in his own summing up of the Gudgeon years (Gilson 1980, 123-4).

In spite of this, Gudgeon's own land legislation was almost completely unsuccessful in opening up land ownership to the 'true owners', the common people, with the great majority of Land Court decisions leaving ownership wholly or partially in the names of the chiefs (Ross 1969, 15; Crocombe 1964, 111). Ngaire Joan Stone, in a lengthy appraisal of the Gudgeon decade, agreed with that judgment and proposed that one of his major accomplishments was to 'deprive the Cook Islanders of control over their own affairs'. His settlement scheme a slow failure, his 'political castration' of the *ariki* of little or no benefit to the cultivators and their levels of production, and the *ariki* retaining much of their prestige, she nonetheless concludes that he was 'in many ways ... a superlative operator.... a self-assured, colourful and persuasive orator' and, in some respects 'he was farsighted and, as a colonial administrator, raised questions that are being re-examined today' (Stone 1974, 145-61).

Other commentators have reached equally favourable conclusions. Annabel Caird, consistently with her generally rosy view of Gudgeon, found him 'creditable' on account of his reduction of 'the political, social, and economic chaos, that he had

found on his arrival, into some semblance of order and justice' (Caird 1967, 42). W.P. Morrell ascribed to him a combination of energy and tact and Ross has acknowledged his familiarity with *Maori* etiquette and knowledge of the language and his success, though handicapped by the quality of his staff, in building up 'his own *mana* while at the same time introducing helpful innovations' (Morrell 1960, 294; Ross 1959, 228). Beaglehole, presumably including Gudgeon in his comments, characterised the New Zealand administration as paternal, kindly, 'and effectively enough governing them from above' (Beaglehole 1957, 117). And the anonymous author of a pamphlet attacking his successor referred to his 'good nature, comprehension of the Polynesian customs and language, combined with his "bonhomie"' and his popularity with both *Papaa* and *Maori* (*Pooh-Bah of the Pacific* 1911, 1).

Having briefly outlined the previous history of the Cook Islands and some assessments of Gudgeon's administration, I now want to turn to his own words as they appear in my constructed text. At this stage I do not intend to 'read' those words but to present them as effectively as I can in as close to their raw state as is compatible with accessibility. That presentation will be followed by a reduction and reading of the raw material that will permit me to reach some conclusions about the colony that Gudgeon wrote. I reiterate that, in the following two chapters, I am not presenting his words as a representation of the actual colony but as a text that would allow exploration of the 'silences, contradictions, and ambiguities' suggested by Prakash as well determining any presence of the tensions, contradictions, anxieties, and terrors suggested by others (Prakash 2000, 296; Cooper and Stoler 1989, 609, 612-3, 616; Dirks 1992, 7; Thomas 1994, 15-16).

Writing the Colony

5 *Gudgeon's Actors*

The colony I am reproducing here is that written by Gudgeon in his Journal, in the correspondence and reports reproduced in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, and in a 1901 magazine article on annexation. That reading will be divided between actors as they are represented in the text, including the writer himself, and his representations of the theatres in which they acted. The choice of theatres is not confined to the physical terrain but also extends to discursive theatres such as the annexation process and the fields of education, health, and government as they, as much as the land, provide milieux for engagement, contestation, resistance, and disengagement. My first concern here is to ensure that Gudgeon's own account appears as directly and as comprehensively as is compatible with my word limitation in this thesis with as little intervention as possible, at this stage, by the reader, myself. I must emphasize that, while this approach extends considerable authority to that text, I record it as neither the reality of the situation, nor as anything in which I concur, but purely as Gudgeon's representation of actors and theatres. The simple and necessary fact of selection, of course, suggests selectivity and the possibility of bias; I can only rely on comprehensive referencing and the availability of the original text to permit assessment of the accuracy of my selection. This first concern, however, leads on to another and, in some sense, greater one: the language, beliefs, and conceptions of both the period and, all the more so on many occasions, of Gudgeon himself are, bluntly, offensive and racist, at least to most modern readers. The very point of my reading, however, is to make such things clear and, in addition, I want neither to intervene with constant apology, to pass judgement from the perspective of the present, nor, above all, to assume a position of ahistorical superiority. I can only ask my own reader for forbearance in the face of some ugly but essential disclosure.

The Maori

In a Journal entry of 18 July 1902, Gudgeon deals at length with the character of the Cook Islands *Maori*, an essentially unitary entity but one represented variously as Native, *Maori*, Cook Islander, or Polynesian (Journal 39-41). It begins, '[i]t is not

easy to decide what policy ought to be pursued in this group, for the Natives are peculiar, and the difficulty is to find [sic] out what policy they will accept and approve'. It goes on to refer to 'Polynesian neglect' and the production problems that result when 'nature is unsupported by either labour or intelligence'. This current lack of production would not be a problem were the inhabitants Anglo-Saxon or German, for they would increase production on their own initiative, but here it is a matter of 'the Polynesian who is at times described by his friends, as lazy, sensual and thievish'. It is very difficult to convince Europeans that 'a Maori may on any subject, arrive at a logical but very different conclusion' from a civilised European and, consequently, while that European may object to coercion, the *Maori* is more reasonable and would probably wait to see the results of that coercion (39).

Because, according to Gudgeon, the *Maori* tends not to produce when the price is not right but does not understand supply and demand, 'the necessity for mild coercion is clear'. His lack of energy and prudence is ascribed to insecurity of land title, racial indolence, and the depressing nature of the Native government. He is not lazy when a clear need is present, and is physically strong, but has a different point of view and 'does not perceive the necessity for daily and continuous labour, and does not yearn after the utmost limit of production': 'the Natives hold their own views on political economy and ... those views differ from ours'. A *Maori* will respect a person put in authority, however severe, as long as that person is fair from the former's point of view: '[i]f a Maori wants justice, and I do not assert that he does It [sic] is his idea of justice and not ours that he wants' (Journal 39-41).

A number of these characteristics also appear in the 1901 *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* article by Gudgeon. There, the native inhabitants feel 'that the Maoris themselves required a strong hand over them in order that they might be forced to exert themselves in their own interests'. One of the benefits Cook Islanders expect to gain from annexation is that, 'by the transference of the governing power into the hands of Europeans, for it is a peculiarity of the Polynesian that he will perform no useful act until he is compelled so to do ... it will be necessary that the very sensible course adopted by the German authorities at Samoa, should be followed closely here,

and landholders compelled to plant a given number of cocoa palms' (Gudgeon 1901, 419).

Gudgeon's *AJHR* entries also have a good deal to say about the character and capacity of the *Maori*, the Cook Islander, and the Polynesian in his eyes. Their minds are not receptive and 'require feeding gently with new ideas'; with rare exceptions they are 'mere overgrown babies, who sulk if they cannot get things their own way; and it would be well that they should be punished like babies'. The state of mind that induces them to keep unproductive land in their own hands is the natural result of greed and envy (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 8, 67, 70). They are too easy-going to take account of the consequences of their actions, responding better to punishment than remonstrations; their 'natural careless indolence' can be overcome by stern authority, though they are unlikely to develop 'the care and foresight of ordinary Europeans' (1900, A.3: 23; 1902, A.3: 10, 55; 1906, A.3: 78). Being 'mere children', their only prospect of progression is in response to force (1905, A.3: 25).

Gudgeon identifies a well known peculiarity in their being industrious enough away from 'loafing relatives' but not on their own islands (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 68). 'Slothful but interesting', they are urged to pursue progress in their own interests and in those of future generations:

The Natives themselves may be unwilling to exert themselves, but they none the less will expect the Resident Commissioner to urge them on to the full extent of his power and authority, and they will revile his administration if he does not do so. They are quite alive to their own shortcomings, and many of them anxiously await the day when death will relieve them of the incubus of their hereditary chiefs (1905, A.3: 48-9).

Though, on the one hand, the 'Maori does not want education', on the other they are 'apt to take a very practical view of education, and only value it for the advantages that may thereby accrue to the scholar': 'the principles of education and evolution have not yet begun to work among the Polynesians; their only idea on the subject of education is that they may thereby acquire wealth and avoid work. As for the moral effect of education, they naturally do not believe in that, inasmuch as it is the best-

educated among them who are the greatest rogues' (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 4, 71; 1906, A.3: 102).

In matters of health, though their environment suggests that they should be the healthiest people on earth, they suffer from three major impediments: 'that condition of mental depression which is the normal condition of the sick Polynesian'; being, 'without exception, the most cruel and callous people towards their sick relatives'; and being 'both obstinate and superstitious, and cling to their own methods and *tohungas*'.¹⁹ As was the case with New Zealand Māori, it will be difficult to suppress 'a rascally lot of *tohunga*' because 'the Maori has more faith in the *tohunga* than in the doctor' and *tohunga* are supported by the chiefs. One problem is '[t]hat there are certain aspects of the Maori mind most difficult to deal with' in matters medical (*AJHR* 1909, A.3: 3; 1907, A.3: 5; 1908, A.3: 12). Another is:

That which the Maori really requires we are unable to give him – namely, a European constitution, tried and hardened by familiarity with many diseases during the past five hundred years, and by which we have acquired something like immunity. We are the survival of the fittest; the Maori has not reached that position (1908, A.3: 12).

As a result, and because 'the Maori has no constitution that will resist any form of fever', the population will soon die out or be so reduced that they must be induced to become industrious or 'it will be necessary to replace them with a foreign population' (1904, A.3: 74; 1906, A.3: 78; 1902, A.3: 55).

As to other aspects of the *Maori* character, Gudgeon finds them suspicious, jealous of their land, extravagant and dishonest, with rare exception 'hopelessly corrupt and cannot be trusted with money', would never submit to a decision made by their own, and 'can have no respect for a man who has no power' (*AJHR* 1899, A.3: 12, 23; 1902, A.3: 11, 53; 1905, A.3: 2; 1907, A.3: 19). A 1906 anecdote of 'an affair that is too suggestive of the Polynesian to be lost' records the refusal of a ship's crew to go to the rescue of two drowning men (Journal, 56).

¹⁹ Gudgeon is using the New Zealand 'tohunga' for the Cook Islands 'taunga'.

A summary analysis and something of a conclusion as to the character of the *Maori* appears in the 1908 annual report:

I have never known nor heard of a people more wanting in moral stamina than these islanders. They do not understand the necessity for self-denial or self-restraint, and therefore to educate such men above the resources of the islands would be little short of criminal. The boys are not wanting in ability, but from our point of view they are both dishonest and untruthful. When they have by race-contact obtained a stiffening of European blood they may be capable of using the education given to them; but the pure and unadulterated Native of the South Seas is a self-indulgent animal, and after an experience of nine years I have neither respect for his character nor hope for his future (*AJHR* 1908, A.3: 14).

For all the force of this ahistorical and essentialising characterisation of a singular and unitary Maori, Gudgeon was also able to distinguish, almost in parallel, a variety of identities by island and by status. Those identities in turn, however, are, for the most part, equally singular and unitary, though often marked by variation over time.

Islanders

Gudgeon makes early mention of the people of Aitutaki as displaying unusual energy because they own their own land and are not beholden to chiefs, though they ‘have always been the most dissipated and troublesome men of the group’ (Journal, 41; *AJHR* 1900, A.3: 24). The principal early descriptions of the indigenous inhabitants of the individual islands appear in the 1902 annual report and are often closely tied to the descriptions of the islands themselves (1902, A.3: 48-52). There, the Rarotongans ‘are not naturally industrious, nor have they had any reason for becoming so’ though they could be motivated by the desire for European goods. The Mangaian, deserving of favourable report for household coconut planting, are ‘among the most industrious of the Polynesians’ due to the infertility of their island and the consequent need for intensive cultivation (1902, A.3: 48-9).

Gudgeon later acknowledges, however, that the Aitutakians are much more complex than the earlier description might indicate for they:

are naturally a hardy race, and industrious when away from their own homes; but their chief employment when on their native soil would seem to be

chronic disputes over the succession of intestate estates and the appropriation of coconuts and other produce from the more energetic portion of the population, who, in order to better their condition, have attempted to cultivate the land. The natives of Aitutaki are superior to the ordinary Polynesian by reason of their greater physical energy. None the less they are a most attractive people, well formed, kindly natured, and independent of character, so that, unlike the people of the other islands, they will tell you plainly what they think, even though it be unpleasant to their audience. The tribes of Aitutaki are worth looking after, though exceedingly turbulent, and hence it was that shortly after my arrival in the South Seas I managed to obtain the appointment of a European Magistrate to the island in the person of Mr. Large, whose long experience among the Maoris of New Zealand had fitted him for the work (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 49).

Two years later, there is a summary of the progress of the Aitutakians from originally being unsatisfactory and turbulent to comparing favourably with those of any other island as a result of the firm measures, initially unappreciated, of their European magistrate (1904, 72).

Also in the 1902 report, Gudgeon finds the poverty-stricken Atiuans 'less civilised or amenable to reason than any people in the Eastern Pacific, and will require to be governed with a strong hand'. The native officials of Mauke are corrupt and unfit for office and its other inhabitants 'are of the same turbulent character as those of Atiu'. On Mitiaro, 'the fatal apathy of Polynesia prevails, and the people are contented with the usual hand-to-mouth existence'. The only comment on the current inhabitants of Manuae and Te-au-o-tu is to the effect that their title to the land is indisputable by virtue of their almost total extermination of the original people. The Tongarevans 'exhibit no anxiety to do more work than will supply them with food and clothing' and the community of Palmerston is interesting because all its members are descended from one William Masters (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 49-52).²⁰

In the same report, he observes that the primitive people of Manihiki and Rakahanga very much require laws that are 'few in number but peculiar in character', particularly to curb their habit of bringing thousands of coconuts to wedding feasts to the detriment of the island's copra production (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 51). A 1904 voyage finds a 'very great improvement' in the tone of the Manihikians but evidence of bad

²⁰ Later spelt 'Marsters'.

feeling at Rakahanga because of the severity with which the law is being enforced. The people of the latter are also inclined to defy instructions ‘whenever my back is turned’ and remain turbulent (1905, A.3: 2-3, 68). Elsewhere, however, in 1905, the Manihiki and Rakahanga people ‘literally spend the whole day in the church on the Sabbath, and at all other times are the most cruel, dishonest, untruthful, and licentious people to be found in the whole world’ (Journal, 52). Their defects are later attributed to the people’s primitive habits and faulty social condition stemming from the fact that they had ‘*faiga aitu* (heathen priests)’ rather than ‘hereditary chiefs with the natural inherited authority usual among Polynesians, by which alone it was possible to obtain peace and order’ (*AJHR* 1909, A.3: 6; Journal, 54).

A voyage to Pukapuka in 1903 finds ‘a very singular population ... whose language is not intelligible to the Maori of the Pacific’ and who are ‘such a very primitive people that I considered it advisable for the present to leave them under their own ancient form of government, inasmuch as they are seldom visited by Europeans and produce only a little copra’ (*AJHR* 1903, A.3: 5). The Mangaian have fallen from favour in that year’s report to become ‘a very narrow-minded and conservative people, who are wedded to their own way of doing things, and are but servants of the so-called *aronga mana* (leading men of the island)’. They require resident agents to protect the small people and encourage industry (1903, A.3: 23). Later, their ‘rascality’ is attributed to mission teaching (Journal, 53). The following year, their actions are ‘more the result of ignorance and excessive vanity than of opposition to constituted authority’. They alone in the group are attempting ‘to stop the march of civilisation’ and are ‘destroying the native mana of Mangaia’ (*AJHR* 1905, A.3: 18).

In the 1905 annual report, Gudgeon records that the people of Rarotonga are ‘both prosperous and contented’, anxious only about getting ‘a sound and legal title to their lands’. ‘Aitutaki is a wealthy and law-abiding island, and Atiu and Mitiaro, though less progressive, are well disposed and peaceful’. Mauke is divided by sectarian bitterness originating in earlier conquests and emerging in adherence to the Roman Catholic church and remains so through to at least 1908 (*AJHR* 1905, A.3: 78; 1908, A.3: 4, 34). The displaced rulers of Mangaia ‘are naturally dissatisfied at the fact that they have lost their power for evil’ and the northern islands of Manihiki,

Rakahanga, and Tongareva now 'give little if any trouble' though there will be friction until disputes are settled by the Land Court (1905, A.3: 78).

As Gudgeon had predicted, by the time of the 1906 annual report the Rarotongans have markedly altered and, as a result of the decisions of the Land Court, 'it will shortly be admitted by all that he is anything but a lazy man, and that he merely requires the ordinary incentive of knowing that some benefit will accrue to him for work done' (*AJHR* 1906, A.3: 81). At the same time, the people of Mauke 'are the least satisfactory of Polynesians', lacking industry and notorious bush-beer drinkers and those of Atiu 'are still savage, but of a very good type'. The following year, the Maukeans social position is superior to that of the Rarotongans (1907, A.3: 34; 1908, A.3: 6). By 1908, the Mangaian are, once again, 'the most industrious of all the South Sea communities' but the people of Atiu are still savages, childish, sulky, and closed to instruction, suffering, 'from the fact that they have not made any progress towards civilisation during the last forty years'. As to Aitutaki, 'but little need be said; it is satisfactory in every sense. The people are free, bold, and democratic in their bearing, and the Arikis have long since lost all power' (1908, A.3: 6, 10-11). The only further development in the last annual report of 1909 is that Atiu, being the least civilised island in the group and therefore left to observe the benefits of civilisation in the other islands, is now ready to 'be placed under the tutelage of a Resident Agent, and taught how to take its true position in the Group' (1909, A.3: 5).

Within the individual islands and across the whole group, Gudgeon makes further distinctions between chiefs and 'small people' and devotes considerable space to their roles and character. Additionally, women, *ariki* and *unga*, are the subject of a number of observations.

Chiefs

As previously outlined, there was a hierarchy of chiefs including *ariki*, *mataiapo*, *rangatira*, and *kiato*; it is with the former, however, that Gudgeon is most preoccupied. In his opinion they have become feudal, despotic, greedy, and oppressive and, supported by the mission, have assumed 'powers to which they are

not entitled' over the land, to the extent that they will expel those who disagree with them (*AJHR* 1905, A.3: 67; *Journal*, 5, 41, 49, 56-7, 62). It is time, therefore, to curtail or destroy their powers and for the Crown to take over from them to protect the small people: 'it will be good for the place when the present lot of Arikis die out' or are abolished and their lands divided up among their families (*Journal*, 5, 19, 41, 42; *AJHR* 1905, A.3: 32). *Ariki* were once regarded, and indeed acted, as custodians of the land in the interests of their people; now, however, using force and genealogical confusion and ignorance, they commit a variety of abuses against the people, including removal from ancestral lands, forced labour, and restriction of movement. *Ariki* have learnt to regard themselves as kings 'by divine right' and are determined to hold on to their new powers (1899, A.3: 23; 1902, A.3: 48; 1906, A.3: 81; 1908, A.3: 5-6; *Journal*, 56-7, 62):

During the last fifty years it has been the aim of the Arikis – but not of the Tutaras [paramount chiefs] generally to lessen the power of the members of their own family and put others in their place, in order that the powers of the Ariki might be upheld by men whose position depended on the support of the Ariki.

Of old it was held that those who held land under the Ariki could not be dispossessed of the land so held except for the offence of *akateitei* (denying the right or mana of the Ariki), a very salutary rule that finds expression in our laws – viz., that the tenant may not dispute the right of his landlord (*AJHR* 1906, A.3: 22).

Elsewhere, Gudgeon defines the contemporary practice of *akateitei* as meaning 'that no man must question the right of his chief to rob him or deprive him of his land' (*Journal*, 41). The *mana* of *ariki* will be respected because that is New Zealand Government policy, but 'the mana and the government of these Islands is in the hands of our King, and ... we ... must obey his laws if we would retain our chieftainship' (*AJHR* 1905, A.3: 60).

On the other hand, he asserts that *ariki*, 'who have for hundreds of years been the natural leaders of the Maori people, would seem to be their proper representatives on the Federal Council [under the presidency of the resident commissioner], for they alone show the smallest solicitude for the welfare of their people' (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 73). *Ariki* can also make a positive contribution to administration as, for example, in

the case of two *ariki* of Mauke and Mitiaro who are ‘fair-minded and moderate’ enough to be appointed resident agents, although it’s also the case that Europeans cannot be afforded in the small islands (1905, A.3: 31). For the most part, it is the *ariki* of Rarotonga Gudgeon finds the most troublesome and obstructive; Pa Ariki, however, receives by way of obituary an endorsement to the effect that, despite being ‘a half-caste and not of high rank ... he was a man of sterling character and ability, a man anxious to see his people progress’ (1906, A.3: 53). Makea Takau ‘is not a Makea at all, she is a mere Mission fake’ who has supplanted the ‘rightful heirs’ with the interested support of the mission (Journal, 42). A number of other present holders of *ariki* titles, in one case only ‘half a Rarotongan’, are identified as usurpers who have, one way or another, driven out the true or real titleholders (1908, A.3: 5).

The Rarotonga issues are canvassed at length by Gudgeon in the minutes of a 22 April 1905 meeting between himself and the Rarotongan *ariki* to discuss land claims against the latter, the meeting referred to in the second quotation at the beginning of my introductory chapter (*AJHR* 1905, A.3: 92-5). While he has previously expressed a concern that the *mana* of the *ariki* not be eroded by Land Court proceedings, he declares at the beginning of proceedings that the *ariki* ‘are not the law, but from your position as Arikis you are expected to uphold the law, and if you do not, then Arikis will not be required’ (Journal, 49; *AJHR* 1905, A.3: 67, 93). This may be the reason for his earlier request in 1904 for authority to ‘deprive any chief ... of his rank or authority in the event of his opposing any Government measure’ (1905, A.3: 32). In the following year, rules proposed for the election of chiefs provide that every election take place in the presence of the resident commissioner’s appointee, who is to certify the propriety of the procedure; there are strict conditions governing the degree of relationship of candidates; and the resident commissioner shall have the final decision on the right of the deceased chief to the office and fitness of the successful candidate to hold it (1905, A.3: 91).

Details of the arguments at the April 1905 meeting are not important for this discussion as they deal at length with the minutiae of disputes, but one interchange may indicate the perspectives that the parties brought to the meeting:

Makea Daniela Vakatini: ... When the decision of the Court was given I was told that I had no claim to the title of Vakatini.

The Resident Commissioner: You have no descent from the first Vakatini which would give you a right to the title.

Makea Daniela Vakatini: I did not think it would have been put in that light. I will explain my descent. Tapaeru Ariki married Vakatini. One of their daughters was Ngatariau, who married Makea Takoa. Their child was Takau, who married Makea Puri, and their children are the ancestors of the Makeas, Tinomanas, and myself. They were all real Vakatinis, and that is why I am a Ngati Vakatini.

The Resident Commissioner: The most important thing to consider is what is to be done to preserve the rights of the Arikis over land in which the people have rights (*AJHR* 1905, A.3: 94).

In the end, the rights of *ariki* in relation to land are largely maintained, with those living on the land becoming ‘owners under Makea’ and the Land Court holding the power to reduce the *ariki*’s rights to a money value whenever it appears expedient. Gudgeon goes on to observe: ‘Now, I regard the Government of New Zealand as the natural successor to the present Arikis, and therefore I have conserved the right of the Arikis whenever their rights were clearly shown’ (*AJHR* 1906, A.3: 10).

Similarly, there is a case to be made for the government leasing lands because the government, being the lessee, would be in possession when the lessors inevitably die out (Journal, 45). Also, when that has happened, the services *ariki* currently receive as *atinga* may be converted by the Land Court into cash payments which would then become payable to their heir, the local government (1906, A.3: 80). And, when the existing *ariki* die, ‘no successors should be allowed until the candidates understand and sign a paper to the effect that they understand that the old powers of the Ariki have gone forever, except where conserved and recognised by law’ (1908, A.3: 6).

Small People

In spite of the alleged depredations of the *ariki*, the *unga* or common people are, at least, ambivalent towards them and seemingly unwilling to pursue their new access to land. Gudgeon reports that ‘[t]he inferior people have not, of course,’ been consulted on the annexation petition but they favour it more than any others because of the benefits for which they hope from it (*AJHR* 1900, A.3J: 1). As tenants of the chiefs they compare unfavourably with the cash-paying European because their rent

takes the form of ‘the pig that is so seldom forthcoming ... even when demanded’ (1903, A.3: 24). By 1904, they have become sufficiently enlightened no longer to tolerate their chiefs’ eccentricities, preferring the British rule of law and freedom to the judicial authority of their *ariki* and delighting in the Court’s limits to the excesses of chiefly power (1905, A.3: 32, 67, 78).

However difficult the land issues, they can be handled in such a way to be of benefit to the ‘*tangata rikiriki* (inferior people)’. Registered ownership, the people’s ‘only anxiety’, will lead to advances because the people will take a renewed interest in their lands, and fair division and secure tenure of land, both consequences of annexation, will provide ‘immunity from that curse of the Pacific, *mana Ariki*’ (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 48; 1905, A.3: 67, 78; 1906, A.3: 11; 1908, A.3: 6). On the other hand, in 1904 and early 1905, the Atiu and Mitiaro people are living contentedly under their chiefs, ‘satisfied with their lot’, and in Rarotonga, ‘the people are both prosperous and contented’, concerned only for their land titles (1904, A.3: 88; 1905, A.3: 78).

At the same time, from the earliest days, however, Gudgeon regrets that the people cannot see the necessity of land coming ‘under the protection of some just tribunal, or that the time was at hand when the irresponsible powers of the Ariki must be curtailed or perhaps destroyed in the interests of the people’ (Journal, 5). Three years on, in regard to the old system of ‘misgovernment’ in Rarotonga, it is clear ‘that a large majority of the present generation prefer that system with all of its oppressions, to european [*sic*] rule’. Therefore, since these are the same people the resident commissioner is obliged to protect, it is advisable that Rarotonga should be surveyed with the least possible delay because ‘the Cook islanders are a dying race and the Govt their natural heirs’ (Journal, 40-1, 45). Even two years later, Gudgeon finds it almost impossible to get the people to include their names on the list of owners of a piece of land because their respect for the custom of regarding *mataiapo* as custodians is so great (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 70-1).

Gudgeon sees the interests of the small people and the administration as closely linked. In land tenure, for example, it is in the interests of both that *mataiapo* should

be granted only a life interest by the Court. And the best way to ensure a sound footing for the pearl-shell industry and equal rights in it for the people is to declare the lagoons the property of the King of England, with the resident agent as *ex officio* custodian, regulating them in association with the island councils (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 71-2). After Land Court resolution of a dispute in which the owners are said to have been ejected by their *mataiapo*, the former 'are now restored to their ancestral lands, and I have told them I shall expect them to repay me by improving their lands' (1906, A.3: 70). In spite of this community of interest, the people are not fit to participate in government because, living under the *ariki*, they 'have never had to think of, or for, others, and are not likely to acquire the habit in this generation' (1904, A.3: 73). The small people, it appears to Gudgeon, are not only unwilling democrats but are equally undeserving of that status.

Women

While Gudgeon makes little and passing note of European women, even those of his own family, he pays some substantial attention to the lives and status of *Maori* women in the Journal. The former appear in the *AJHR* only in a reported request from intending settlers for information on the manner of accommodation that would be available for their wives and families (*AJHR* 1906, A.3: 15). In the Journal there appear the school teacher and administrator, the 'wonderful' Miss Large; a disobedient wife; and a school teacher of dubious repute who, with a wife and family in Auckland, also marries a Cook Islands woman (Journal, 3, 14). A colonial officer's wife is a member of the 'Woman's Liberal Association', two women are summonsed for boarding a steamer 'with their husbands but without a pass', and a Mrs Young on board a ship recounts to Gudgeon an anecdote against a missionary (Journal, 43, 58). 'Bertha and family' are mentioned in passing at a very early stage, a first grandchild, a girl, is born to a family member, and, in early 1902, 'Hilda [Gudgeon's daughter] leaves tomorrow for N.Z. to marry George Craig' (Journal, 4, 38). Moss behaves 'like an Hysterical old woman', the supporters of the Cook Islanders' mission to Papua New Guinea comprise 'old women of both sexes'; and a

judges' entourage comprises (thanks to W.S. Gilbert) 'their sisters, cousins and aunts' (Journal, 7, 60, 23).²¹

Gudgeon treats women *ariki* in substantially the same way as he does their male equivalents in both *AJHR* and *Journal* (*AJHR* 1906, A.3: 56; 1908, A.3: 6; *Journal*, 22, 35, 56, 66). Otherwise, in the *AJHR*, the Ngati Karika object to a woman candidate for their *ariki* title on the grounds 'that there has never been a woman Karika' and, in Rarotonga, 'the Native women have to bathe and wash all clothing in the public view' (1905, A3: 67; 1906, A.3: 85). Women as well as men engage in agricultural work and women and children join men in illegal Sabbath bush-beer drinking (1906, A.3: 78, 82). The London Missionary Society 'know[s] the benefit of a woman Arika to the church', but that benefit is not spelt out; Makea Takau's mother's role in securing her access to the title is set out; two women feature in a court case over a stolen *pareu*; and a 'very violent woman' makes a row in the Court (*Journal*, 42, 24, 60).

In the *Journal*, he is more expansive on the general subject of Cook Islands women:

The women of these islands are the most unsatisfactory feature of the Group, and they are what the ridiculous teaching of the Mission has made them. The lot of the female Polynesian was at all times a fairly happy one, for even as savages they were well treated; but the Mission put into their heads the modern idea of, The [*sic*] woman in the House and the man in the Field. Forgetting that this is the idea and necessity of Civilisation, since our Houses and wants have so grown that a woman at the present day can barely keep a cottage in order. Now the Maori house requires no work, and they seldom eat cooked food more than once a day, therefore the Mission teaching has had the sole effect of turning out the most lazy, immoral and extravagant lot of drabs known to modern days. Women who if thwarted by their husbands do not hesitate to tell them that they will consort with other men (*Journal*, 46-7).

In times past, with at least the connivance of the mission, women were tortured for refusing 'to live with men forced upon them by their relatives' until they consented (*Journal*, 53). The church is also responsible for the practice of forcing marriage on young people who 'take a fancy to one another':

²¹ HMS Pinafore.

If left alone the children would tire of one another in a month, but they have to marry and the tiring process takes place after the ceremony. Then comes adultery, and they leave each other never to come together again, and are a nuisance to the Community until they meet someone they like when a divorce is applied for, and for the first time in the whole filthy business the Mission is shocked and turns up its holy nose. all [*sic*] this is humbug pure and simple If the young people were left alone until they had reached years of discretion, they would be all right after a divorce or two the woman settles down and becomes a fairly good wife, even tho' she be surrounded by disreputable hypocrites of Deacons and Ekalesia (Journal, 60-1).

Beyond his expected inveighing against the mission, a subject to which I am about to turn, Gudgeon here displays a certain nostalgia for the old ways and, in the second passage, some sympathy for the preoccupations of the young, both men and women, and a rare acceptance of human frailty.

Mission

Mission and *ariki* are frequently in collusion. According to Gudgeon, exactions of food and land by chiefs were unknown before the arrival of the mission and *ariki*, in their accompanying roles as deacons, supported each other by using their church authority to enforce their *mana ariki* (*AJHR* 1906, A.3: 81; 1908, A.3: 6). The *Makea ariki*, from the introduction of Christianity, were able to extend their powers because the presence of the mission obviated the need for support from their own people against attack from outside (1905, A.3: 92): 'Even [*sic*] since the London Mission have established themselves on this island [Rarotonga] the Arikis of Avarua and Arorangi have striven to aggrandise themselves at the expense of their people, and the system whereby they had well nigh succeeded was exceedingly well constituted and astute'. And it was presumably the LMS that had taught *ariki* to regard themselves 'as king by divine right' (1908, A.3: 5).

Gudgeon records the positive role of one LMS minister in formulating the new 1900 Marriage and Divorce Act and another helps to prevent the Aitutakians from legalising the sale of liquor (*AJHR* 1900, A.3: 6, 24). The worst of the 'old missionary offences' are removed from the statutes even though 'very dear to the Polynesian heart'; a 1906 ordinance, however, passed by an island council 'is

inquisitorial and tyrannical' like the old mission laws (1900, A.3: 3; 1905, A.3: 71; 1906, A.3: 59). He expresses regret that 'the early missionaries did not enforce upon this people the fact that industry and godliness go hand-in-hand' and that the mission does not take steps to shut down Sunday bush-beer drinking on the part of a large proportion of the population 'by calling on their deacons and church members to act as police as they did in the old days' (1906, A.3: 78, 82). In the time of the mission, the Native population of Rarotonga has 'dwindled down from six thousand to less than fifteen hundred' (1906, A.3: 82).

In 1903, Gudgeon acknowledges that the LMS has contributed much to education in the Cook Islands and is deserving of state support because 'in the present state of the Maori mind no other school would be supported'. The *Maori*, however, does not want education and it is only because of his respect for the church that children are sent to school (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 4). In the following year, while European missionaries meet the requirements of the islands; elsewhere, 'the present system of education is not satisfactory, for the so-called teachers of the L.M.S. in the outlying islands are not themselves educated'; another year on and the mission should in no circumstances 'be allowed to interfere in the education of the children, inasmuch as sectarian bitterness would immediately result' (1904, A.3: 71, 4; 1906, A.3: 36). Later again, the *Maori's* education 'is not a bad one for his condition of life: he learns to read his Bible in Maori, and to sing hymns, and I do not think that the Mission ever intended he should learn more than this the people must reach a much higher plane than they now occupy before the system need be changed' (1908, A.3: 14).

In the Journal, as early as 1899, Gudgeon declares that it is certain that 'sooner or later I should have to put the Mission down ... but that time had not come' (Journal, 18). It picks up and expands on some of the themes established in earlier sections, cataloguing a variety of abuses. A missionary in Mangaia gives the father of a seventeen-year-old girl found guilty of behaving badly a big stick with which to thrash her (Journal, 4). Native judges' decisions reflect 'a combination of Polynesian injustice and London Mission cruelty' (Journal, 24). There are numerous cases of embezzlement, land appropriation, adultery, intolerance, tyranny, and hypocrisy on

the part of missionaries, deacons, and church members: '[t]he L.M.S. Polynesian is a born criminal' and the people have learnt all their 'rascality' from the mission (Journal, 38-9, 42, 44, 47, 50, 51-4). The LMS sends Cook Island missionaries to Papua New Guinea with almost no success in evangelisation and the result that the Cook Islanders 'die like flies', exacerbating, together with the diseases carried by the mission ship *John Williams*, the existing depopulation (Journal 43, 58-9).

Europeans are said to regard the missionaries 'with distrust and dislike as Little Englanders' because the 'wretched mission have never had a good word to say for anyone and have consistently opposed every european [*sic*], and the influence of the British Govt where they could safely do so' (Journal, 45). The mission comprises men 'who for the most part were from the lowest class of the old Country'; an Aitutaki missionary is 'one of the converted shoemaker type of L.M.S.' (Journal, 48, 61). The missionary Hutchin is shifty and slippery, 'going round among the Maoris trying to make mischief', and wanting the *Ara Metua* (the old inner round-island road in Rarotonga) included in his land grant (Journal, 25, 37, 46). In relation to this, Makea Takau is quoted as saying that, 'In old times the Missionaries thought themselves gods and would not allow anyone but Makea to pass along the Ara Metua and until Chalmers came no one was allowed on the Mission Verandah' (Journal, 46).

The early work of the mission is characterised as a process whereby '[t]he superstitious feelings of the Natives were worked upon, and the very life of a happy laughter loving people ground out of them, by these gloomy fanatics' (Journal, 48). The mission has failed 'to see that these people might have been educated without adopting our unsuitable civilisation. They tried to make a Maori into a third class Britisher and a pretty mess they have made of it' (Journal, 47). Moreover, 'the Mission is at the bottom of and responsible for all of the Maori troubles':

So long as each family lived on its own land, a certain amount of chastity was possible, but when the Mission collected them into one large village on the plea of religious instruction, the result was unlimited fornication, disease, slavish idolatry, and hunger.... The decadence of the race began with their evangelisation (Journal, 51).

For Gudgeon, however, the depravity of the mission takes second place to that of the previous resident, Moss, and his administration.

Moss

The previous administration, though, makes scant appearance in official documents; the Journal, however, is much more expansive, devoting the majority of its sixty-eight pages to Moss and the *Piri Moti* (literally, ‘stick to Moss’), the Moss supporters. In the *AJHR*, a week after arrival, Gudgeon refers to one of the final disputes between Moss and the *ariki* with the comment that ‘the Resident was at the time on bad terms with the chiefs of the tribes and with certain of the influential Europeans’, there being ‘profound irritation ... between the majority of the inhabitants of the Cook Islands (European and Maori) and Mr. Moss’s party’ (*AJHR* 1899, A.3: 9). There follows, a fortnight later, the dismissal of two members of the Moss administration, J. H. Garnier and Makea Daniela Vakatini, or James te Pou, on the grounds of *Maori* objections to their incompetence or even dishonesty. Te Pou is unfit for any office, Garnier is ‘a gentleman and an honourable man’ but unsuitable for his position, and another participant, Scard, whatever his past, has behaved well and is ‘simply the victim of a dangerous system of Government book-keeping’ (1899, A.3: 12-13). In commenting on the absence of census data, the first annual report is unable to explain why Moss put the registration of births, deaths, and marriages in the *ariki*’s hands when the LMS had previously kept almost perfect records (1900, A.3: 25). Makea Daniela is tried on charges of fraud and is found guilty by the resident commissioner acting as chief judge of the High Court; Moss is implicated in the defalcations (1904, A.3B: 1-3). The latter is reported as saying, on the arrival of his successor, ‘that the people were oppressed, and their rights ought to be regarded, but that it would be difficult to do so’ (1905, A.3: 93).

Turning to the Journal, Gudgeon criticises the manner and fact of Moss’s introduction of island councils for self-government, his failure to secure passage of the Federal (later High) Court Bill, and the lack of increased revenue and the material fabric of colonial government (Journal, 22; 5, 63, 62). There is little more by way of reference to the policies of the administration. Administratively, Moss has

committed a variety of fraudulent activities, benefiting to the point of illegality one particular commercial company, employing and favouring ‘Jimmy te Pou’, as well as committing a number of minor peccadilloes (Journal, 3, 24, 26-7; 5-6, 10, 12-14; 26, 28; 26-33; 9, 25, 30) . Moss is lacking in ‘temper, tact, and common sense’, vindictive, swollen-headed, a fool, ‘a liberal of the carpet bagger type’, unwise and ‘an Hysterical old woman’, arrogant, inebriated, dishonest, ‘an infabulous liar’, insane and idiotic, an absolute despot, absurd, crooked, rabid, ‘a mere crawler behind Sir George Grey’, ‘God in the Car’,²² secretive, obstinate, and a good deal more (Journal, 1; 2, 7; 2; 3, 17; 6, 62; 6; 6, 10, 18; 8, 11, 28, 31; 9; 11; 16; 21-2; 22; 26; 27, 62; 28; 62).

Furthermore, according to Gudgeon, Moss is ‘in full possession of the vindictiveness of his race’, is a ‘half bred jew’ whose arrogance is incredible, and, in supporting Makea Daniela over another man, ‘followed the precedent laid down by his compatriots 1900 years ago and chose Barrabas’ (Journal, 7, 18, 29). Moss was unfortunate:

when he chose the two Doctors [Craig] to experiment on inasmuch as there are very few instances on record, of any member of the family of Fagan, Shylock and Co, having told a Highland gentleman that he had no use for him. half [*sic*] a century ago we should have settled matters by drawing the Residents teeth until he disgorged all his ill gotten dollars, and annexed the island to Scotland. Civilisation was however too much for them and they simply intimated to him that they did not even recognise him as a factor in their continued existence (Journal, 16).

Makea Daniela Vakatani, mostly referred to as Jimmy te Pou, appears throughout the Journal. Eight minutely detailed pages spell out his defalcations, misdemeanours, crimes, and perjuries (Journal, 25-33). Moss’s former associates, the *Piri Moti* or Law and Order League, also emerge over a number of pages: ‘In Appearance and manner the friends of Mr Moss were of a lower type than his Enemies. the [*sic*] former I find to be men of shady antecedents and many of them foreigners’ (Journal, 2). Among that ‘gang of thieves’, the Collector of Customs is imbecile and must be replaced; Sherman is ‘Mischievous ... Conceited, Religious, and Vindictive’; Henry

²² A reference to the juggernaut character of Cecil Rhodes as portrayed fictionally in Anthony Hope [pseudonym of Sir Anthony Hope Hawkins]. 1895. *The God in the Car*. London: Methuen.

Nicholas, along with Jimmy te Pou, is an unblushing robber ‘as crooked in mind as he was in body’, a sly-grogger, murderer, and, with Chas W. Banks alias Scard, an embezzler; Gelling is a disreputable young hanger on; Garnier is incapable and faces prosecution. Henry Ellis is loathsome, an embezzler who ‘fled to Rarotonga to avoid arrest’, Caldwell ‘a fanatic but not a fool’, and Richard Exham a forger and thief (Journal 14, 3, 4, 5, 6, 12-13, 14-15). Thos Sherman has the appearance ‘of a Houndsditch Jew’, an impediment to his relationship ‘with the better class people’; and the major trading company of Donald and Edenborough is a corrupt and fraudulent manipulator of Moss and the entire administration (Journal, 16, 12-14). The assault on Moss and his associates persists into the final pages of the Journal where they are supplemented by the reproduction of a confidential 1899 letter in which Gudgeon minutely itemises Moss’s alleged defalcations and again condemns his supporters (Journal, 66-7).

Officials

In December 1899, Customs Officer Whitty must be dismissed ‘for irregularities that cannot be allowed’ (Journal, 25). In 1901, the Post Office and Customhouse accounts ‘are in a hopeless state of confusion’. Treasurer Goodwin accidentally kills himself firing a rocket to welcome Dr George Craig’s return to Rarotonga and is found, in association with Gudgeon’s nephew, Ralph Gosset, to have embezzled large amounts of money. It is likely that Goodwin would have made up his deficiencies; as for Gosset, he is sentenced to two years hard labour and Gudgeon expresses regret ‘that both [Whitty and Gosset] were not killed by the same rocket’ (*AJHR* 1902, A3: 20-22; Journal 37-38). The printer, Mr Savage, is appointed, as an economy measure, secretary to the British resident but ‘[h]e is, of course, useless for any important purpose’ (1902, A.3: 23).²³ The New Zealand Government sends Mr Miller as Collector of Customs, ‘the most incompetent fool’, a ‘malicious lunatic’, who reports to the government behind the resident commissioner’s back (Journal, 38, 42, 43). The police, ‘being purely Native’, cannot be trusted to deal with criminals, not least because they ‘have to live among the people of this island, and therefore

²³ This is the Stephen Savage whose dictionary I acknowledge in my introduction.

refrain from exasperating those members of the tribe who would surely retaliate by destroying the property of a too zealous policeman' (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 42; 1905, A.3: 35; 1906, A.3: 53, 82).

For the most part, however, office-holders, 'European' and Native, appear in a favourable light in the *AJHR* and the Journal concludes that the officials, mostly from New Zealand, are capable and honest (Journal, 66). The Craig brothers, 'two young and clever doctors' are 'able men and up to date in their profession', though a later medical officer's manner is so disliked that *Maori* will not call him in for treatment until it is too late (*AJHR* 1899, A.3: 14; 1900, A.3: 25; 1908, A.3: 13). Mr (sometimes Captain) Martin Nagle is well received as resident agent on Penryhn (Tongareva) and proves to be 'a kindly humane man' who, for instance, can be trusted to take care of lepers 'for he knows my opinion on the subject' (1902, A.3: 42, 51; 1904, A.3: 88). And Mr J.C. Cameron, on Aitutaki:

is one of the best appointments that has been made here, for not only has he had extensive knowledge of the New Zealand Maoris, but he is a linguist and a good business man. He has, moreover, the tact that enables a man to enter into the feelings of foreign races, and govern them in accordance with their ideas, while teaching them European methods' (1904, A.3: 24).

Mr Henry Williams becomes resident agent on Manihiki as 'the only man on the island fitted for the position' and greatly improves the tone of the island on account of his 'kindness and tact'; he later becomes resident agent for Rakahanga as well and 'is entitled to be considered a European' (1904, A.3: 93; 1906, A.3: 2, 5). Resident Agent and Magistrate Tou on Mitiaro 'does his work in a most satisfactory manner' (1906, A.3: 5). Panapa Vairuarangi, the LMS teacher, is appointed resident agent at Rakahanga 'to protect the small people'; he is influential, to 'be relied upon to adopt any measure that will tend to the advantage of the island and its people', and 'of very great ability and discretion'. After his death, however, he is found to have embezzled 600 dollars of public money, though 'he was the best man I have met in the North' (Journal 38; *AJHR* 1903, A.3: 23; 1905, A.3: 68; Journal, 51).

Variations do appear between the *AJHR* and the Journal on the subject of the conduct of administration officials. In the former, Mr Large, an early appointment as European magistrate of Aitutaki, is also suitable for the position by virtue of his 'long experience among the Maoris of New Zealand'. He has repressed and punished crime, settled civil disputes, collected revenue, and shares in the credit for the island's increased production. Gudgeon moves him to Mangaia as resident agent and president of the island council, a move he expects to bring a similar production increase. His work, despite many difficulties, is 'appreciated by all' (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 49; 1904, A.3: 3, 72).

In the Journal, however, from 1901 to 1907, Gudgeon accuses Large of bringing trumped-up cases and has to admonish him severely for vindictiveness. He summonses two European women boarding ship with husbands but without passes 'knowing full well that this law of his was only passed to prevent women running away from their families, his own wife especially'; behaves 'in his usual exciteable and absurd manner', and rushes 'out of his house like a lunatic and [strikes] his wife with a small stick because that bad tempered woman threw stones on the iron roof to annoy him', thus displaying 'the Vanity and exciteability that brings him into contempt'. Sitting with a revolver by his side, he is 'shrieking out to me to come and punish [young Glover who] has been chucking rocks through his window' (Journal 38, 43, 50, 60). Large provides the occasion of an observation that '[s]ome of the men with whom I have to work are beneath contempt' and is finally included in a company of 'blaguards' working up trouble (Journal, 50, 61).

While 'European' officials from New Zealand, after the problems of the early years of Gudgeon's administration, do generally appear in a favourable light in the official documents, the contrasting accounts of Large's character and actions give grounds for suspicion of some disparity between the reported and the real. A similar disparity exists between the supposed worth of 'European' settlement in general and problems experienced with the actual settlers.

Europeans and Foreigners

According to Gudgeon, 'Europeans' are able to work in the sun without injury from May to November, are necessary to increase agricultural production, and provide an example for *Maori* to emulate (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 55; 1904, A.3: 69, 70; 1906, A.3: 81; 1908, A.3: 6). There is, however, a class of them 'who would otherwise never be sober' were it not for the Import Duties Act, while there are other trustworthy ones who may be allowed to purchase a case of whisky at a time for home consumption (1900, A.3: 3; 1904, A.3: 53). The increase in population on Palmerston, where the entire population is descended from the European William Masters, 'is instructive by reason of it showing the potency of an admixture of European blood' and 'race-contact' will give the Natives 'a stiffening of European blood' (1907, A.3: 5; 1908, A.3: 14). However, it was 'further lunacy' on Moss's part to have 'declared that all half castes were Europeans for the purposes of the [Hospital Board] election' (Journal, 9).

He expresses regret at the 'very indifferent class of foreign settlers' in Rarotonga, particularly those who come thinking they can teach the *Maori* agriculture but fail to learn from the methods of the *Maori* themselves (*AJHR* 1900, A.3: 23-4). As to the European and foreign community in general, a large proportion of it comprises 'beachcombers, escaped criminals, and the religious fanatics' and, as has already been indicated, they appear among the supporters of Moss, especially the Americans with their 'precedents of corruption' (Journal, 2, 17). However, the worst of 'the foreign element' are:

the dissipated adventurers and fugitives from other countries. These men are not only of no benefit to the Federation, but they are also a source of anxiety and expense.... In this climate a man cannot drink with impunity. I need hardly say that the presence of such men as I have described is not calculated to raise the European in the eyes of the *Maori*. I must, however, exclude the Germans from this class, for they, as a rule, are industrious, sober men, who attend to their own affairs and give no trouble to the Government under whom they live (*AJHR* 1900, A.3: 24).

The attitude of the worst of the foreigners is, however, improving, as they are 'slowly but surely leaving these islands' as they commit offences coming under High Court jurisdiction (1900, A.3: 12).

'Chinamen' are of particular concern for clandestinely supplying alcoholic liquor to the Natives (*AJHR* 1903, A.3: 18, 25; 1904, A.3: 16). The Asiatics Restriction Act is passed 'to prevent an influx of Chinese from Tahiti, where they are very numerous'. A problem with the Licensing Act is that it appears 'that Chinamen and other Asiatics are now placed on the same footing as the most educated and reliable of British colonists' and that it gives rise to *ariki* and other chiefs' complaints 'that they have by this measure been reduced below the level of Chinamen' (1901, A.3: 10; 1905, A.3: 49; 1906, A.3: 82). In the islands to the north of the Cook group, imported Polynesian labour is preferred to the introduction of Chinese or Japanese workers on the grounds that the latter 'would soon cut out the Maori' (1902, A.3: 53).

Gudgeon

Gudgeon's imagination is fired by the offer of the British residency in the Cook Islands and the duties he is asked to undertake: 'I replied that I had never yet failed the Govt of N.Z. or interfered with my manifest destiny and I would notwithstanding the loss of pay accept the appointment' (Journal, 1). Landing 'officially in full war paint ... all of which is supposed to have impressed the Natives', he dismisses Moss's concern at his decision to accept Makea Takau's offer of accommodation with her, laughing at him and saying, 'I did not mind so long as I achieved whatever end I had in view' (Journal, 2). On arrival, he does not expect 'any difficulty in dealing with the people or the group' and finds that he can communicate in Cook Islands Maori without an interpreter (*AJHR* 1899, A.3: 9).

He does not want to become chief justice of the new High Court in addition to his other duties but accepts the position, one he detests, unpaid, at the request of Governor Ranfurly and the Federal Parliament and for the benefit of the island people (*AJHR* 1899, A.3: 10; 1904, A.3B: 1; Journal, 17). The Federal Council responds to his wishes, to some degree, as a result of trust in him and inducement (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 92; 1906, A.3: 82). He knows the Natives sufficiently well to be able to 'administer an unpopular Act without offending their susceptibilities' and is

on friendly terms with all, *Maori* and European, and is 'not aware that anyone has a grievance' against him (1905, A.3: 49).

Ethnographic observations are occasional and fragmentary in the Journal, perhaps partly because, as Gudgeon notes, 'for the most part the people have forgotten their old arts and industries' (Journal, 3, 4, 24, 35, 58; *AJHR* 1907, A.3: 35). He does devote a page and a half of an annual report to an outline of 'the Ancient System of Government and Land Tenure in Rarotonga', and observes that his decision in a land dispute 'followed closely the old laws of this island' (1906, A.3: 80-1, 22).

On receiving an Order in Council defining his powers as resident commissioner he responds:

I regret that it should have seemed necessary to restrict the powers of the Resident Commissioner, inasmuch as the Native of Polynesia can have no respect for a man who has no power. So far as I am personally concerned, neither laws nor regulations can affect my position here, but they can and will affect the position of those who will follow me.

The position now is that I cannot appoint even a policeman (Native) without referring the matter to you; and I submit that this is a waste of time and paper (*AJHR* 1907, A.3: 19).²⁴

He records an *ariki* referring to him as a 'Man of Mana' who must be brought back safely from a perilous voyage; flies the blue ensign rather than the local flags over the administration headquarters; hopes to catch opponents out by appearing to have given a publicly funded dinner for *ariki* when he has actually paid himself; and records that he has 'never found good results from severe fines or punishments' (Journal, 21; *AJHR* 1906, A.3: 57, 59; Journal, 55). He is 'ordered to Auckland by the next boat and [has] to dine with Royalty' during which visit he is invested with the CMG, the only non-minister to receive an honour; notes the publication of his first ethnographic article on the Māori people in the Journal of the Polynesian Society; and is recommended for the Imperial Service Order at the end of his commission (Journal, 37, 46, 67-8). He is persecuted in the New Zealand Parliament by 'the irreconcilable Romanists who never forgive me for leaving them' and, upon

²⁴ The minister promptly responds to Gudgeon's complaint by conceding that he may make minor appointments himself and later submit the details (*AJHR* 1907, A.3: 20).

receiving advice of being superannuated out of his position as resident commissioner, bets 'that the priests have had a lot to do with my removal' (Journal, 37, 62).

Returning to Rarotonga after a visit to New Zealand, Gudgeon finds 'that the Maoris had persuaded themselves that I was not coming back the Polynesian is unreliable but afraid of me when I am here' (Journal, 58). Reflecting back and coming to the conclusion that 'this was not a pleasant community to be connected with, but fate had placed me here whether for good, or evil' (Journal, 63), he reminisces:

I did intend to create a new order of living for the people, into which the element of hope should enter, and I hoped to see the old animosities stamped out. Perhaps in my heart I desired to leave as good a record behind me as I could, and see some regret in the faces of the people when I left the Islands (Journal, 64).

Upon departure, Gudgeon is given a 'great jamboree' and a dance and presented with 'a very nice farewell address [*sic*]', 'a valuable silver cup a silver salver worth £50' by the Europeans, and 'a Tiwaewae [patchwork quilt] of the exact colour and Pattern as the cloth that covered the Child Matoro on the Mountain' (Journal, 67).

6 *Gudgeon's Theatres*

Having surveyed the actors as they are represented in Gudgeon's official documents, Journal, and magazine article, I now turn to his own delineation of the theatres in which they acted. I use theatres in a broad sense covering the event of annexation and activities such as education and settlement as well as physical theatres. On the whole, I shall not repeat here relevant quotations that have already appeared in the previous chapter.

Islands

Gudgeon's earliest observations are from a May 1899 voyage from Rarotonga to the south-eastern islands. Mangaia, fertile but with a poor central ridge, is of solid coral thirty to forty feet above high tide meeting a sixty-foot-high cliff, with a central basin, the whole 'honeycombed with caves'. Mauke is 'a very pretty fertile island' and Atiu, the largest in the group, is 'one of the best but the exports are very small' (Journal, 19-20). On a late-1899 trip to the 'outlying islands', those beyond Rarotonga, concern is expressed 'that at least two-thirds of the area of the group was practically unproductive, by reason of the fact that the owners of the soil had neglected to plant the coral formation with cocoanuts, and had done comparatively little to improve even the most fertile lands'. The owners, however, have now begun to plant great quantities of coconuts and bananas (*AJHR* 1900, A.3: 23). On a later visit to Suwarrow, the real value of that atoll is its lagoon by virtue of its annual production of almost fifty tons of pearl shell (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 40).

The first annual 'Report on the Trade and Social Condition of the Eastern Pacific' in February 1902 includes a description of most of the islands in the group (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 48-52). These descriptions appear to be based, at least to a considerable extent, on personal observation rather than being carried over from previous reports. They are significantly different from those in Moss's 1891 report to the New Zealand Governor and there are no such descriptions in his entry in the 1895 *New Zealand Official Yearbook* (*AJHR* 1891, A.3: 16-21; Moss 1895, 456-65). It is also significant that Gudgeon comments that he is unable to report on Pukapuka and

Nassau as he has ‘not yet been able to visit them, and am therefore unable to speak as to their value and capabilities’ (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 53).

Rarotonga is ‘beyond all doubt the most fertile and valuable ... but ... one of the least planted’, though some intensive planting is beginning. In the Journal, at about the same time, there is more than just economic value to the island: the mountain forests, under *ariki* custodianship, must be conserved ‘for if destroyed by fire or mans [*sic*] handiwork much of the beauty and fertility of this island would be lost’ (*AJHR* 1902, A3: 48; Journal, 41). Mangaia is one of the largest islands but the least fertile, with poor soil and a basalt-rock desert. Christianity has established coastal villages but taro production still takes place in central swamps. There is little breadfruit, plantain or coconut, though household planting of the latter has begun to take place. Coffee production, however, is the best in the group and the *makatea* (raised coral reef) would be suitable for citrus fruit. Since ancient times the land has been minutely sub-divided and ‘every man, woman, and child owns land on defined boundaries sufficient for his or her support’. Aitutaki is a large volcanic island with barrier-reef islets which ‘seem to have been small peaks on the lip of an extinct volcano now submerged’ and which produce most of the group’s copra. It is similarly minutely sub-divided and produces high-quality oranges, pineapples, and lime juice (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 48-9).

Despite appearances, every inch of Atiu is worthy of cultivation, especially its apparently bare central ridge with red soil and low-growing ferns where coconuts, bananas, oranges, coffee, and kumara flourish, as does the coconut on the *makatea*. Unaccountably, though, the islanders neglect to plant it and are, consequently, poverty-stricken. Mauke is small but marvellously fertile though, again, the *makatea* has not been planted. Its warm, damp climate means that its area, about four and a half square miles, ‘may fairly be regarded as equal to forty square miles of the best land in New Zealand’. Mitiaro is ‘an elevated coral reef thinly coated with sand and gravel’. Being no more than six feet above high water, it is inundated in the rare event of a hurricane. Copra is the only regular export crop but a small central fertile area grows some oranges and bananas. Takutea, uninhabited except for a few weeks of the year, is a moderately fertile coral island that ‘in European hands might well

produce 100 tons [of copra] per annum', more than six times the islanders' production (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 49-51).

There is no description of the landscape of Manuae and Te-au-o-tu except that thirty thousand young coconut palms have been planted by the European lease-holders. The value of Tongareva, referred to by its other name, Penrhyn, is limited to the pearl-shell beds in its one hundred square mile lagoon. Otherwise, only a little copra is exported because the long strip of coral sand between lagoon and ocean, though extensively planted, is apparently unsuitable for growing coconuts. Manihiki and Rakahanga, twenty-five miles apart, are over-planted with coconuts which should be drastically thinned. The lagoon has been closed because the shell beds have been over-fished. Suwarrow's only value is its European-leased pearl-shell lagoon with its oyster-bearing sea grass. Palmerston's islets are planted with coconut but its large lagoon does not bear pearl shell (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 51-2).

There are few additions to these descriptions in annual reports and other official correspondence beyond references to surveying, planting, and pests. Some details appear from an inspection of Rarotonga: it is divided into three areas: ten chains of coral sand or littoral suitable only for coconuts and kumara, eight to ten chains of highly productive taro-swamp land, and twenty chains of mountain foot slopes 'valuable for any purpose of tropical agriculture' (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 69). And there is a brief note that indicates that Aitutaki, despite its minute sub-division, is unfenced (1906, A.3: 17).

While these descriptions may be based on direct observation, in many cases they appear consistent with pre-annexation over-estimations of the probable economic benefits of many of the islands. It was the prospect of consequent commercial possibilities that gave an economic edge to New Zealand's general desire for its own empire and, in particular, its first act of annexation.

Annexation

Gudgeon is quite clear in the Journal that his task was to bring about annexation of the islands of the Cook group. In his initial discussion with Governor Ranfurly on taking up the Residency, 'it was hoped that I would be able to induce the Natives to ask for annexation to the Empire' (Journal, 1). The circumstances in which that would occur are set out:

I have been sent here to induce the people to hand over their Mana and land to the care of Great Britain, but I find that Moss and his followers have used the threat of annexation as an impending evil or Punishment for contumacy. The result of this foolery is that i [*sic*] must acquire the Confidence of the Natives by standing up for everything they have done as against the Moss gang irrespective of right or wrong (Journal, 3).

The difficulties of this approach are emphasised in a later summary of the circumstances:

Had it not been disclosed to me already that my chief aim must be to obtain from the Ariki a request for annexation to the British Empire, my course would have been simple, for I should have declared that I could not listen to troubles that had commenced before my arrival, in fact I should have ignored everything that had passed, and taken up a clean sheet. This line however would not have aided me in my annexation scheme, in fact it would have alienated the Arikis, who would have called me an unsympathetic man. A term altogether fatal to any man who would influence Maori opinion. Subject therefore to certain reservations as to restricting the powers of all Arikis, in matters pertaining to land, I decided to adopt the cause of the Arikis as my own (Journal, 63-4).

The process of inducement and its final achievement are also recorded:

On the 6th Sept 1900 I had my first meeting with the Arikis on this subject [annexation] and Karika Makea Pa and Ngamaru strongly agreed that subject to my stipulations a letter should be written to Lord Ranfurly asking for annexation. Tinomana alone shuffled over it and said she must consult her people but she signed. On the 8th the Mataiapos endorsed the signing to my great delight. I would never have taken the place but for this chance (Journal, 35).

There is a significantly different picture, however, in the article Gudgeon published in the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* of March 1901. There, in order to clear up a 'misapprehension on one important point' of the recent annexation:

It has always appeared to me that my questioners were possessed with the idea that New Zealand had annexed the Cook Group, and had entered on a career of Imperialism that might lead to all sorts of dangerous complications. As I am not a politician I cannot say what danger may lurk in the fact; but I am in a position to say that with the actual annexation New Zealand had nothing to do. The chiefs and people of the Group, being in all probability weary of playing at Parliamentary Government, sought the permission of the Imperial authorities to be allowed to become part of the British Empire....

The future administration of the Islands did not – so far as the native inhabitants are concerned – enter into the question of annexation, though they were well aware that the boundaries of New Zealand would probably be extended in order to include their small islands... What they wanted was annexation to the British Empire, and having obtained that important point, they were prepared to accept the mana of New Zealand in the person of the Right Hon. R.J. Seddon (Gudgeon 1901, 415).

The Journal certainly suggests that it was Gudgeon's intention initially to conceal the desire for annexation from the *ariki* but it is less clear why that concealment should continue post-annexation in an article addressed to the public of New Zealand (Journal, 3).

As to the results of annexation, 'it has been a real blessing to nine-tenths of the people of Rarotonga, inasmuch as it has given them a feeling of security and peace that they had certainly not felt for the last seventy years'. Despite the often valid belief 'that annexation by a civilised power is no gain to a savage people.... the people have gained that which is the breath of life to any village community – namely, a fair division of the land among the various families' (*AJHR* 1908, A.3: 6). The question of land and its division proved to be Gudgeon's central preoccupation from the achievement of annexation until his eventual departure.

Land

The Maori being 'very jealous of his land' and the Polynesian mind needing to be fed 'gently with new ideas, particularly on the subject of land', Gudgeon declared that 'there is nothing more dangerous to touch than Native lands' (*AJHR* 1899, A.3: 23; 1904, A.3: 8; 1907, A.3: 21). It is essential for increased production, however, that the land be surveyed and tenure established, waste land be taxed as an incentive to bring it into use, and unused land be leased to Europeans for the benefit of both

their production and example (Journal, 41-2, 45; *AJHR* 1901, A.3: 6; 1902, A.3: 55; 1904, A.3: 70, 73; 1906, A.3: 50). In particular, ‘titles must be defined and ownership ascertained before any steps can be taken in the direction of colonisation’ and ‘as a mere matter of justice’, chiefs must make land available to their own landless people before leasing to Europeans (1902, A.3: 55; 1899, A.3: 23). The land tenure of Aitutaki provides a salutary contrast to that of Rarotonga: where insecurity of title in the latter greatly inhibits production, individual and family ownership independent of chiefs in the former results in greatly increased production (Journal, 41-2).

Gudgeon is to urge Seddon to permit the establishment of a Land Court that will allow block surveying as opposed to New Zealand’s piecemeal approach. Beyond dealing specifically with land ownership and disputes, that Court is intended ‘to break the mischievous power of the Ariki and other overlords, and to do this so carefully that those interested with [*sic*] should not realise their incapacity for evil, and loss of power until my aim had been accomplished’ (Journal, 42, 64). Surveys and Land Court hearings and decisions are reported throughout the *AJHR* and, by 1909, ‘every inch of the land in Rarotonga and Mauke, and a large portion of Aitutaki and Rakahanga, had been surveyed and had passed thro’ the Court’ (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 39; 1904, A.3: 69, 70, 73, 88; 1905, A.3: 47; 1906, A.3: 34, 70, 79, 82; 1907, A.3: 5-6; 1908, A.3: 4-5, 27, 34; Journal, 65).

It is unclear whether fee simple or freehold should be awarded to anyone as ‘such a title is unknown to the Maoris. the [*sic*] land belongs to the tribe, which at the present time is the Govt’ (Journal, 42; *AJHR* 1904, A.3: 70). Furthermore, *ariki* should be awarded life interests only and prevented from bestowing land on those outside their natural or adopted family members: ‘by the old custom, in default of natural heirs, such land reverted to the overlord, whose privilege it was to give the land into the hands of distant relatives of the deceased, or retain it in his own hands. The Government have therefore the right of reversion as the natural heirs of all families who may die out’ (1906, A.3: 80).

The problem of waste or unimproved land stems from the decline in population: the remaining people can live without work on the natural produce of the islands; the solution is to force landholders to secure Court title and to introduce a tax on unimproved land (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 70; 1905, A.3: 25; 1906, A.3: 50, 82). While the tax is eventually introduced by the Federal Council, a further proposal authorising the local government to lease any waste lands and re-lease to intending settlers is withdrawn by Gudgeon in the face of opposition (1906, A.3: 50). He revives this proposal in 1908, when much land is still at waste, with the comment that, if his suggestion had originally found favour, ‘we should now have been on the high road to prosperity’ (1908, A.3: 7).

In 1903, ‘the Maori mind now turns in the direction of leasing the waste lands to suitable men for terms not exceeding sixty years’ (*AJHR* 1903, A.3: 23); a year later, he has a proposal for fifty-year leases, in the first instance to the government since *Maori* are jealous of European lessees, and then on to ‘private individuals of sufficient Capital and good character’. It is important that lessees be of good character rather than ‘indigent loafers’, because *Maori* will follow the European example. In this proposal, ‘a 50 year lease would be virtually a freehold’ and, once again, ‘the Cook islanders are a dying race and the Govt their natural heirs’ (Journal, 45). In that same year, however, ‘the Native owners would seem to have taken some objection to leases and prefer to keep the land in their own hands, even though it be absolutely unproductive and they derive no benefit therefrom. This state of mind is not unnatural in a Maori, for he is by nature both greedy and envious’ (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 70). It appears that the ambitious programme of survey, taxation, title definition, distribution, reversion to the colonial government, and consequent settlement has had very limited success, as the following section will confirm.

Settlement

It is clear that settlement, much more than any desire to redistribute land to commoners, underlies the programme of reform and settlement and population decline are closely interlinked:

at no very distant date the present native population will either die out or become so much reduced in numbers that it will be necessary to replace them with a foreign population. From my own experience I can see no reason why these foreigners should not be men and women of British descent, for though the climate is tropical there is no malaria, and it may fairly be said that the islands are as healthy as any part of New Zealand (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 55).

In Rarotonga, for example, the survey will probably reveal ‘two or three thousand acres ... available for European settlement’ and it is probable that one of its districts, Titikaveka, ‘one of the best in this island, will be settled by Europeans only’ (1902, A.3: 42; 1903, A.3: 24).

In 1905, Gudgeon receives a number of letters from would-be settlers inquiring as to prospects (*AJHR* 1906, A.3: 1, 10, 15). He provides a cautious response because, though the industrious will eventually be successful, ‘I feared that men from the Old Country might probably have taken their ideas of these islands from books, and would probably be disappointed when they realised that for eight years they must practice the virtues of industry, self-denial, and perseverance, in order to attain a competence’ (1906, A.3: 1). The other main impediment to settlement, apart from the absence of suitable accommodation, is the lack of land, caused in part by ‘banana-planting mania [being] so general that people have an exaggerated view of the value of their lands, and, even though they might consent to lease, would probably ask prohibitive prices’ (1906, A.3: 15, 1). Mangaia and Aitutaki are unsuitable because of their existing minute subdivision (‘and the Mangaiaans do not love Europeans’), so Atiu and Mauke are the best prospects and will be surveyed forthwith. As late as 1909, Land Court tenure decisions and settlement are still only a prospect there (1906, A.3: 10, 81; 1909, A.3: 5). Even survey and title, however, may not completely overcome the problem of land:

Any person visiting this Group must come here and lose both time and money in looking for land from the Native owners. He may not be able to obtain the 50 acres which is the minimum quantity of land for a man with some capital, and owing to some fault of manner, or even personal appearance, a man who would become a valuable settler may not be able to obtain any land on lease (1906, A.3: 22).

By 1908, the total settlement of Rarotonga comprises seventeen foreigners leasing 1463 acres, of which 500 is mountainous, and thousands of acres remain in the hands

of *Maori* (*AJHR* 1907, A.3: 6; 1908, A.3: 7). While settlement, and particularly British settlement, is the answer to population decline, its progress is inhibited by both the deficiencies of prospective settlers and the intransigence of the Natives. Furthermore, the pre-colonial subdivision of land itself presents impediments to settlement. The areas of education and health also provide examples of conflicting policies and interests.

Education

In education, Gudgeon's commentary involves the purpose, extent, and language of instruction. By 1902, the LMS is teaching 1,575 children to read and write Maori and giving 250 an elementary English education, with a further forty boarders being educated to the fifth standard at Tereora in Rarotonga. The Catholic sisters, also at Rarotonga, have about fifty more pupils 'drawn from all denominations and nationalities to be found in the South Seas'. They are later joined by a Seventh Day Adventist lady teacher who 'has many pupils by reason of the fact that she makes the teaching of English the leading feature of her school'. Where previously the leading *Maori* parents had not seen the advantages of education, by 1904 this has changed as a result of 'the sudden demand for reliable and educated boys who can speak both English and Maori'. Gudgeon finds a proposed increase in payment to Tereora worthwhile because it is from there 'that the English language will spread over the whole Group' (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 54; 1904, A.3: 71).

Gudgeon rejects a proposal to extend educational opportunities to New Zealand on the grounds that the cost of passage, clothing, board, and tuition would be beyond the means of the Cook Islanders:

I assume that the only purpose of education is to fit people to their environment, and not to unfit them for the same, and, if this be so, then more harm than good might be done by sending boys to New Zealand, for it could have no other effect than to make them dissatisfied with their present circumstances (*AJHR* 1905, A.3: 10).

Unlike New Zealand, where Māori resisted Anglicisation for the first twenty-five years, in the Cook Islands all children want to learn English to the extent that the

LMS has been forced to offer it and, as a result, ‘if it were necessary or expedient all of the rising generation might speak English within ten years’. It is, however, ‘not expedient that English should be taught in all the islands’:

The people of the coral islands, if educated, will leave their homes in search of something better, and a knowledge of English will enable them to do this.... In such communities education can only create a desire for things unattainable. At best only one in twenty of the boys will obtain employment as clerks or storemen, and the rest will be spoiled for the work for which they are best fitted – viz., the cultivation of the soil (*AJHR* 1906, A.3: 102).

On the same grounds, there is no role for the New Zealand Government in the provision of education for Native children, the offerings of the local government and denominations sufficing for their needs: ‘It may well be asked, For what possible purpose are we educating these boys? In their own islands they are invaluable, but there is little, if any, opening for educated boys’ (1908, A.3: 13-4). While the teaching of English is appropriate for the southern islands where there is some demand, the same does not apply to the northern atolls. In either case, it seems, the ultimate purpose of education is satisfaction with the present circumstances.

Health

Major health issues include depopulation resulting from sending Cook Islanders as missionaries to New Guinea, diseases arriving with the arrival of the mission ship *John Williams*, leprosy in the northern islands, and *tohunga*. The uselessness of the sacrifice of missionaries in New Guinea, ‘where they die like flies’, is illustrated by a returned missionary’s report that he had only three converts in nineteen years. While many of the causes of depopulation cannot be arrested, this is one that can. In the same context, ‘emigration of men in search of work or excitement to places outside British jurisdiction’, including four hundred in Tahiti, is also identified as a public health issue (Journal, 43, 49; *AJHR* 1906, A.3: 83). Illness always accompanies the arrival of the *John Williams*, ‘[n]ot because she is a Mission boat but because she comes from Sydney the general depot of the East’ and carries fever from New Guinea (Journal 49, 58-9; *AJHR* 1906, A.3: 83). The greatest problem with leprosy is that, despite the ‘doubtful charity’ of relatives, ‘it is not easy to make a Maori

understand the necessity for isolation in such cases' and they 'connive at sly visits made by relatives to afflicted men' (1903, A.3: 24; 1908, A.3: 12; 1909, A.3: 20).

Tohunga operate on superstition and the widespread belief in evil spirits and their methods lead surely to death: 'I have not yet heard of any patient who has recovered from the treatment of a *tohunga*' (*AJHR* 1906, A.3: 83; 1907, A.3: 5). Suppression of *tohunga*, however, will be as difficult in the Cook Islands as it has been in New Zealand 'for the simple reason that the Maori has more faith in the *tohunga* than in the doctor. There are certain aspects of the Maori mind most difficult to deal with' (1908, A.3: 12). While a sympathetic doctor can often achieve results with a typically depressed sick Polynesian and the idea of dying at will may be an exaggeration, 'this much may be said: that if he believes that his time has come he will take neither food nor medicine; and in such case only a great *tohunga* can revive in him the desire of life' (1909, A.3: 3). In this extreme vulnerability, the Polynesian is unique, having:

of all men ... the least possible hold on life, and his capacity for dying under the smallest provocation has been noted by the missionaries as a race-characteristic from the earliest times. Other races of men have perhaps decreased in a similar manner, but in those cases definite and understandable causes may be assigned for the decrease, such as repeated epidemics of small-pox or other dangerous disease; but for the decrease of the Polynesian no such reasons can be assigned, for the worst that he has had to meet has been an epidemic of measles (1908, A.3: 11).

It is clear then, in Gudgeon's view, that the causes of any depopulation lie largely at the door of the *Maori* themselves, whether resulting from inherent and ingrained characteristics or the misguided pursuit of work, excitement, native healing, or conversion. Similarly, he appears equally convinced that they are inherently incapable of self-government.

Native Government

Gudgeon seeks to illustrate this incapacity with a number of examples of abuses under the system existing at his arrival and that resulting from his reforms. Early on he makes reference to the expressed desire of the New Zealand governor and premier

that the Natives should be allowed to continue to govern and manage themselves; it is apparent that he finds this improbable in view of their lack of energy and prudence as a result of '[t]he depressing nature of the Government under which they have lived for the last 70 years, partly feudal and in in [sic] part religious' (Journal, 4, 17-18, 40). His early intention is to abolish the existing Federal Parliament and replace it with a Federal Council of *ariki* 'so that the source of any future factious opposition might be seen and dealt with at once'. When he later reports on the proposed constitution of that Council, he suggests that the election of its members, rather than the appointment to it of *ariki*, 'would result in a fiasco, for neither the Arikis nor leading men would submit to election, but would follow the system they adopted with the old parliament and nominate a lot of dummies to carry out their views, while they remained in the background avoiding responsibility, but pulling the strings as they pleased' (Journal, 64; *AJHR* 1904, A.3: 73).

As to the more undefined group referred to as the *aronga mana* (authorities, group of leaders), a proclamation of 1906 declares that they are irresponsible and self-appointed and have, along with *ariki*, had their powers limited by annexation (Journal, 57). It must be understood that:

whatever there may be of Mana in these islands is now in the hands of the Federal, or Island, Councils, of which the Arikis are life members, and so far their mana is upheld. As for the aronga mana, if they are members of any Council they have mana, for they alone have the power to Make [sic] laws. which [sic] when confirmed by His Excellency the Governor, must be obeyed. Let it however be understood that there is no Aronga mana outside of the Councils (Journal, 57).

Legislatively, at least, the old forms and fashions of government have been replaced by the new ascendancy. In reality, however, he still finds the island councils or *au* suffering from self-appointment and having a tendency to interfere in the free market for trade by the use of *rahui* (prohibitions); 'the time has now arrived when it is expedient that the rights of *rahui* should be taken away from the Au of any island, and should only be exercised by the Arika of the islands sitting in council under the presidency of the British Resident' (*AJHR* 1899, A.3: 23; 1902, A.3: 9, 39; 1903,

A.3: 23).²⁵ One island council, ‘being without the aid and direction of a Resident Agent is a dangerous farce’ and, in general, while ‘the New Zealand Parliament has afforded the Natives of these Islands a very large measure of local government’, the law should be that ‘in every instance the Resident Agent shall be, *ex officio*, the President of the Island Council’ (1904, A.3: 3, 73).

He finds the *Ariki* Courts a corrupt and dishonest ‘survival from the old times’, where ‘laws are interpreted as the Judge thinks fit’. They are ripe for abolition: however, ‘[i]n Aitutaki I succeeded in abolishing that Court by the Statute of Aitutaki in 1899, but the other islands I could not touch’ (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 37, 53, 55). The place of the courts is to be taken by a ‘resident European agent’ or by ‘making each Resident Agent *ex officio* Magistrate of the island with powers similar to those held by the S.M.s of New Zealand, for until this is done there can be no protection for the small people of any island. It is, in my opinion, of the utmost importance that the administration of the law should be in the hands of Europeans’ (1904, A.3: 72, 37). Even in a ‘purely Native island’ the courts are unsatisfactory, but it is simply absurd that a court should remain in Rarotonga (1908, A.3: 15):

The only Court of this description is now that of Makea, and for some time past the administration of the Court has been most unsatisfactory. In every valley of her district there is Sabbath drunkenness, and I cannot find that the offenders are punished – certainly but few fines or fees are paid into the Treasury.

In Arorangi every offender is brought before my Court, and is punished. This is unfair to the people of that village if those of Avarua are allowed to go unpunished. I have therefore the honour to request that Makea be told that the *Arikis*’ Courts be abolished (1908, A.3: 41).

In the 1909 annual report he mentions in passing that ‘as *Arikis*’ Courts have now ceased to be held in Rarotonga, the work of the High Court has consequently increased’ (1909, A.3: 9). With this, it appears that the legislative, executive, and judicial bodies of the old governmental structure has been abolished or subsumed under the new colonial regime.

²⁵ There is some cross-over in the use of *au*, island council, and district or local council. *Rahui*, at least in Rarotongan Maori, is properly, and elsewhere, *raui*, the former being the New Zealand Māori form, *rāhui*.

Colonial Governing

Looking back to the time of his arrival, Gudgeon recollects that the tasks he originally set himself, apart from achieving annexation, were to revise the estimates, establish a reserve fund, erect concrete public buildings, build permanent bridges, bring a water supply from the mountains, set up a Land Titles Court, abolish Parliament, and dismiss dishonest public servants (Journal, 64). In hindsight, his approach to the work was formed by his experience that ‘a very long acquaintance with the Maori people had taught me, that consistency is power, therefore whatsoever line I intended to take must be decided and acted on from the beginning of my career in the islands’ (Journal, 63).

The overarching difficulties are expressed in the passage cited above to the effect that ‘[i]t is not easy to decide what policy ought to be pursued in this group, for the Natives are peculiar, and the difficulty is to fing [*sic*] out what policy they will accept and approve’ (Journal, 39). At the local level, there is the need to avoid dispute with the trouble-maker Miringatangi, the certainty that a *raui* will be re-imposed ‘whenever my back is turned’, the difficulty of getting ordinances passed, and the need for strategic withholdings and withdrawals (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 55; 1905, A.3: 3, 2; 1906, A.3: 11, 50). The ‘Atiu people must be governed or they will give trouble’; reliable European officials are needed on each of the larger islands; resident agents, preferably *ex officio* justices of the peace, are required for the smaller islands to watch out for partiality in the courts, report on judicial eccentricities (‘their mere presence will tend to keep affairs in order’), keep the Native magistrate ‘in check’, and civilise the people (1902, A.3: 39; 1904, A.3: 8; 1902, A.3: 12, 57, 52, 53, 54; 1906, A.3: 2; 1904, A.3: 8). On Mauke, where there is a Native judge but no European resident, ‘I must superintend personally anything that has to be done’ (1906, A.3: 4).

Day-to-day operations are represented in the Journal entry for 3 June 1908:

landed at Rakahanga and find all of these most troublesome people in a state of ferment because xhe [*sic*] price of Copra has fallen so they have decided not only not to take less than three half pence per pound but also to fine everyone who takes less. All of this is absurd for a penny is more than it is worth right now. Tokarahi has struck Williams in open court because the

latter fined him for having terrorised thos [*sic*] who sold nuts to the Traders in order to buy biscuits. I gave Toka 12 months for striking Williams, when I gave this decision there was a regular row in the Court led by a very violent woman, and I then told them I would enforce the decisions of the court at all risks (Journal, 60).

While the formal structure of the new colony may be in place, it is by no means uncontested or unchallenged on the ground.

The achievement of a little over a decade of administration is that ‘the position of affairs had not only altered for the better, but had changed beyond all recognition’:²⁶

The revenue was administered most strictly
There was a surplus in the Treasury of £6561
The revenue had risen from about £1400 in 1898 to £7146 in 1909.
The Imports [*sic*] and Exports of 1898 were each about £12000, whereas in 1909 the amounts were respectively. £55022, and £60652.
In the matter of Public works. No less than £12929 had been spen[t] in the eleven years, in the purchase of land, Concrete buildings Concrete Bridges, Reef passages at Mangaia and Mauke, and above all in a first class water supply for the 1200 people living in the village of Avarua.
During the same period every inch of the land in Rarotonga and Mauke, and a large portion of Aitutaki and Rakahanga, had been surveyed and had passed thro’ the Court in blocks of from two to seventy acres. Registered in the names of the true owners who are thus rendered independent of those Arikis who had so long held them as mere tenants at will.
The Govt officers from the most part from New Zealand are for the most part most capable men whose honesty no man would doubt (Journal, 65-6).

That summary concludes with the following passage:

That Makea should feel sore over her loss of power is only natural, and she must in her heart blame me, but none the less we have never had the smallest difference of opinion or contention between us during my eleven years of office, and we parted as friends. The only man with whom I can have no friendship is that greedy, selfish Dishonest man Jimmy te Pou, who has consistently defrauded his own Brothers, his famil [*sic*] and tribe of their lands (Journal, 66).

Gudgeon’s original tasks are, seemingly, achieved in the building of physical infrastructure and transformation of the political; and yet ‘Jimmy te Pou’ is still not subdued, remains the subject of attack until the very end. Many of the impulses appearing throughout the Journal are captured openly or implicitly in this paragraph:

²⁶ The format of this passage is reproduced from that of the Journal.

the defeat of the *ariki*, the suspicion of resentment, the knowledge of *Maori*, the desire for appreciation, and the execration of those perceived as enemies.

Having set out as accurately as I can what I take to be the principal elements of the colony written by Gudgeon, the tasks remain to produce a reading of that text that will, in turn, assist in further developing some conclusions about his perceptions and representations. That will be the work of the next two chapters.

The Written Colony

7 *Reading the Colony*

In 1903, almost half way through his eleven-year tenure in the Cook Islands, Gudgeon wrote to an old military comrade as follows:

I am here the absolute Governor of some 17 Islands, Chief Judge of the High Court, do Land Court, Surveyor General, Treasurer, & Civil Engineer to the Group. Encouraging the natives to plant when they think they ought to be sleeping, slanging the lazy, repressing those with swelled heads (a dangerous disease in the Islands) & flattering the vanity of those who are a little better than their fellows. Such is my life, rather lonely but full of interest for those who like myself love the Maori with all his faults (Gudgeon 1903).

If there is some trace of irony in the claim to be absolute governor it is far from unalloyed. In the next two chapters I shall test the accuracy of that assertion, examine Gudgeon's claim of love for the *Maori*, and consider other aspects of the colony written by him. Having set that colony out in some detail, I shall now read across the categories that emerged in that process in order to reduce the sheer bulk of that text and condense it under headings of land, people, and colony to permit a more focused discussion. In a final chapter I shall draw conclusions about Gudgeon's perception and experience of the enterprise in which he was engaged and consider its consequences as well as reflecting on the sources and approaches that have guided me in my reading.

The Land

At the very centre of Gudgeon's concerns is the question of land or, rather, a complex of questions relating to land. After all, his primary reason for being sent to the Cook Islands was 'to induce the people to hand over their Mana and **land** [my emphasis] to the care of Great Britain' (Journal, 3). And the establishment of a Land Court was one of his initial personal objectives (64). And, as opposed to his expressions of unwillingness to take on the 'detested' chief judgeship of the High Court, there is no such reluctance about the presidency of the Land Court (*AJHR* 1899, A.3: 10; 1904, 3.B: 1). His difficulty, however, is that he believes that Polynesians must be gently fed new ideas on land because of the difficulties and dangers attached to interfering with it (1904, A.3: 8; 1902, A.3: 48; 1907, A.3: 21).

In Gudgeon's initial personal surveys of most of the individual islands, his concentration is almost entirely on fertility and productivity or their lack. Apart from slight passing reference to breadfruit, kumara, plantain, and taro, his emphasis is on the prospects for production of bananas, coconuts for copra, coffee, kumara, oranges and other citrus, and pearl shell, all with an eye to the export trade (Journal, 19-20; *AJHR* 1900, A.3: 23; 1902, A.3: 40, 48-52). That the focus of such production is not on local consumption is borne out by Gudgeon's assumption of a need for laws to prevent the people of Manihiki and Rakahanga bringing thousands of coconuts to wedding feasts to the detriment of copra production (1902, A.3: 51). Furthermore, the productivity of the land is not an unmixed blessing in Gudgeon's view as it, exacerbated by population decline, inhibits industry by allowing the remaining local inhabitants to survive without hard work except on those islands with poor soil or minute subdivision, where industriousness prevails (1904, A.3: 70; 1902, A.3: 48-50; 1900, A.3: 24; Journal, 39). Again, he claims, were the inhabitants Anglo-Saxon or German they would spontaneously become productive but, unfortunately, they are Polynesian (39).

In the face of this claimed unwillingness of *Maori*, except for occasional bursts of enthusiasm in response to a prospect of higher prices, to increase production, Gudgeon's answer, and his prerequisite to steps in the direction of colonisation, is to survey the land, establish tenure, tax waste land, and lease unused land on to European settlers for both production and example (Journal, 39-40; *AJHR* 1901, A.3: 6; 1902, A.3: 55; 1904, A.3: 73; 1905, A.3: 25; 1906, A.3: 1, 82). He sees the survey of Rarotonga as a matter of urgency, on the one hand for the protection of the small people but, on the other, because, when the survey is complete, two to three thousand acres will be available for European settlement (Journal, 41-2). The achievement of tenure for the small people, particularly those of Rarotonga who, Gudgeon claims, are particularly anxious for it, is represented as vital because its absence is responsible for their lack of energy and prudence and its introduction would produce renewed interest and advances on their part (*AJHR* 1905, A.3: 67, 78; Journal 40). Lest they remain recalcitrant despite being granted tenure, Gudgeon persuades the

Federal Council to legislate for a tax on waste land to encourage planting but fails to persuade it to introduce compulsory leasing (*AJHR* 1906, A.3: 50, 82).

Tenure is no simple matter, however, because Gudgeon realises that he must preserve the rights and *mana* of the *ariki*, if only because they, along with the rest of the people, are dying out and the colonial government is their heir; at the same time, the advantage of their impending demise or, at least, disempowerment, is that their land can be fairly divided among the families, who will, nonetheless, hold it under the *ariki*: in fact, land remains substantially in the hands of chiefs (*Journal*, 49; *AJHR* 1904, A.3: 71-2; 1905, A.3: 94; 1906, A.3: 10; *Journal*, 42; *AJHR* 1906, A.3: 10). And there is a further problem: despite their supposed anxiety for title, the *unga*, the small people, at least until as late as 1904, can't see the need for the Land Court and the curtailment or destruction of the powers of the *ariki* and *mataiapo* and resist registering their own names as owners (*Journal*, 5; *AJHR* 1900, A.3J: 1; 1904, A.3: 70-1). In one case where lands are 'restored' to the small people, however, Gudgeon expects repayment in the form of land improvement and, presumably, increased production (1906, A.3: 70).

Attitudes to the leasing of land prove particularly unpredictable and vexatious to Gudgeon. In general, and particularly early on in his administration, he finds *Maori* jealous of their land and inclined to retain it, even when unproductive (*AJHR* 1899, A.3: 23; 1904, A.3: 70). Survey and tenure achieved, at least on Rarotonga, urgency falls on the introduction of leases, initially to the government because *Maori* are jealous of European lessees and in order that the government will inherit when the lessors inevitably die out. Leases achieved, the government itself would be able directly to develop some of the land and the balance could be leased to Europeans to increase production and trade although, at least in the early days, Gudgeon believed that chiefs should settle their own landless people before leasing to Europeans (*Journal*, 45; *AJHR* 1899, A.3: 23). While in 1903 it appears to him that the minds of the *Maori* are turning to sixty-year leases of waste land, a year later he laments that they have now taken some objection to leasing and prefer to retain land, even when unproductive and of no benefit, because of natural greed and envy (1903, A.3: 23; 1904, A.3: 70). In 1908, he congratulates the *Maori* on progress in leasing but

reports that much land is still waste, while prosperity would be imminent if compulsory leasing had been accepted in 1906 (1908, A.3: 7; 1906, A.3: 50).

Gudgeon acknowledges that settlement, and preferably British settlement, however necessary to replace the declining population, is also beset by difficulties (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 55). As well as having an unrealistic idea of the value of their land, he claims that *Maori* may simply refuse to lease land to a settler because they don't like the look of him (1906, A.3: 1, 22). Furthermore, Gudgeon sees the minute subdivision of land on islands such as Aitutaki and Mangaia, however desirable in stimulating local industry, as inhibiting settlement and Atiu and Mauke, the best prospects beyond Rarotonga, remain in customary ownership, unleased and unsettled at the time of Gudgeon's departure (1906, A.3: 10; 1909, A.3: 5).

Of the land itself, fertility is paramount for Gudgeon. But fertility is not an unmixed blessing for him, for it, ironically, inhibits production by providing for people's needs without excessive effort.²⁷ So, in his view, productivity must be stimulated by surveying and subdividing the land to give people, especially small people, an incentive to produce. He is forced to recognise, however, several problems with this strategy: first, *ariki* control must be maintained at least to some degree in order that the colonial administration may inherit their lands upon inevitable extinction; second, the small people, or at least some of them, despite Gudgeon's assertions to the contrary, do not seem to want to put aside their chiefs and claim individual title; and third, subdivision and ownership do not, in any case, appear to provide an incentive to production after all.

To these difficulties Gudgeon has two responses. The first, in accordance with the model of enlightened imperialism proposed by Hobson and described in the first section of chapter 3, is to tax unimproved land so as to encourage its development and/or provide a monetary incentive for production (Hobson [1902] 1088, 265-71). The second is to encourage leasing, by way of the colonial administration, so that settlers will produce in a way that natives will not and, additionally, will provide an

²⁷ I hasten to say that this is Gudgeon's view and not an endorsement of the idea of subsistence affluence, let alone that of Pacific paradises.

example and an encouragement to the Natives. The Natives, however, are, he claims, unwilling to lease land to settlers in any great quantity because of sheer obstinacy, jealousy, greed, and envy, an inflated sense of the value of their land, existing minute subdivision, and the fact that there is no compulsion so to do and Gudgeon is unable to persuade the Federal Council to introduce compulsory leasing. And, in any case, there is no evidence of a significant body of potential settlers.

What, then, is the purpose of this unsought but apparently vital production? It surely cannot be simply to provide New Zealand with a supply of bananas, citrus fruit, and coffee. Any idea that it is to meet the expenses of colonial administration would be curiously circular in that it would mean that production is needed to maintain an administration whose principal purpose appears to be the stimulation of production. Perhaps production serves as a mechanism that encourages the Cook Islanders to become entangled in Ballantyne's webs of empire (Ballantyne 2002, 14-17). Or simply to encourage and promote that industriousness that is essential to the formation of the *Maori*, like their New Zealand counterparts no longer able to be warlike or interesting, as modern British subjects (Gudgeon 1904b, 239). Certainly Gudgeon's approach here to the promotion of industriousness through title and taxation is very different from his New Zealand solution of naked dispossession and reflects, at least in part, the different settlement patterns of the two colonial entities and the model of colonisation proposed by Hobson at the turn of the twentieth century. Industry and productivity, however, remain as important in Gudgeon's discussion of the people of the Cook Islands as it was in his consideration of New Zealand Māori.

The answer to the previous paragraph's question lies to some extent in that model outlined by Hobson. The imperative to productivity, and its concomitant virtue of industriousness, is the economic centre and purpose of imperialism, justified as long as it is for the good of the world and the elevation of the subject people. But the Cook Islands experience fails to live up to Hobson's model for two reasons: first, the lack of any serious rationale and the absence of any real 'economic taproot of imperialism' observed by Sinclair in New Zealand's sub-imperialism (Sinclair 1965, 43); and second, the apparent desire of the Cook Islanders, as far as possible in the

face of colonisation, to continue to live their lives in their own interests, an impulse that will become even clearer in the next section.

The People

While Gudgeon pays some attention to the characteristics of the inhabitants of the various islands and individuals who appear from time to time in discussion of the indigenous population, it is the singular and unitary but hydra-headed figure that appears as the Native (sometimes of the South Seas), the Cook Islander, the *Maori*, or the Polynesian that features most prominently in his writing. I cannot discern any consistent distinction among these categories in the text, though it is entirely possible that ‘*Maori*’, at least sometimes, may comprehend both Cook Islanders and New Zealanders, ‘Polynesians’ may span that uneasy entity, and ‘Natives’ may refer occasionally to the generalised populations of Hobson’s ‘lower races’ (Hobson (1902) 1988, 223-84).

The individual island populations are, for the most part, represented as being as unitary as the universal Cook Islands category and closely gradated against each other, but Gudgeon’s description of their singular character can vary greatly over time, sometimes quite short periods of time. To give one example from the numerous characterisations set out previously, he finds that the people of Mangaia are industrious in 1902, narrow-minded and conservative in 1903, ignorant and vain in 1905, and most industrious again in 1908 (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 48-9; 1903, A.3: 23; 1905, A.3: 18; 1908, A.3: 10). Similarly, the gradation of the islanders is exemplified by another brief example over the period from 1902 to 1909: Mauke is said to be as turbulent as Atiu, and Atiu and Mitiaro are less progressive than Rarotonga, to which Mauke has a superior social position, but Atiu is the least civilised (1902, A.3: 50; 1902, A.3: 78; 1908, A.3: 6; 1909, A.3: 5). The people of the individual islands are constantly assessed, principally in relation to productivity, and constantly subject to reassessment. It seems safe to assume that it is in Gudgeon’s judgement that the variations occur.

The broadest imperial gradations of the time are the racial ones set out by Hobson in the discussion referred to in the previous section: low-typed and unprogressive; capable of rapid progress; and high but different civilisations. For Gudgeon, Cook Islanders appear to oscillate between the first and second categories and, within them appear some of the infinity of gradations identified by Cannadine and outlined in my introduction, including some lingering traces of the respect that would previously have been paid to chiefs of high status (Cannadine 2001, 131). So the interesting thing about Gudgeon's perception is not the existence of gradations but their essential instability.

To return to the generalised Cook Islands figure, though at first sight the most prominent aspect, its least interesting is the catalogue of epithets and descriptions that are much more abusive than documentary: for instance, he describes them as peculiar, neglectful, lacking labour and intelligence, lazy, sensual, thievish, lacking energy and prudence, racially indolent (Journal, 39-40); unreceptive, overgrown babies, greedy, envious, careless, indolent, mere children, slothful but interesting, suspicious, jealous, extravagant, dishonest, wanting in moral stamina, and self-indulgent (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 8, 67, 70; 1902, A.3: 55; 1905, A.3: 25; 1899, A.3: 12, 23; 1902, A.3: 11; 1908, A.3: 14). Behind the surface of this abuse, however, it is surely possible to glimpse something more revealing than its obvious ethnocentricity and racism and pretext for the civilising mission. All the more so since Gudgeon frequently acknowledges a certain validity in the *Maori* maintenance of their own, different logic, point of view, and sense of justice and political economy; often claims (but does not provide evidence for) *Maori* acceptance of coercion; and, from time to time, refers to a need for punishment rather than remonstrance while elsewhere doubting the efficacy of punishment (Journal, 39, 40, 41; Gudgeon 1901, 419; *AJHR* 1905, A.3: 25, 49; 1902, A.3: 10; 1906, A.3: 59).

This clearly does not amount to a perception of a compliant populace but of one that appears to be continuing to go about its own business, concerns, and chosen way of life, in short, a population with strong agency. This view is indirectly confirmed in Gudgeon's penultimate-year verdict that 'the pure and unadulterated Native of the South Seas is a self-indulgent animal, and after an experience of nine years I have

neither respect for his character nor hope for his future' (*AJHR* 1908, A.3: 14). And here and elsewhere surely appear traces of evidence of the haunting anxiety and fear of the obscurity of the 'native mentality' from my introduction that Thomas puts at the centre of the colonial experience (Thomas 1994, 15-16).

In order to examine more closely the logic of those assertions, it will be necessary to return to some of the material detailed in earlier chapters on the subject of industry and production and, in particular, the *Maori* sense of political economy. In spite of his references to sloth, indolence, and laziness, Gudgeon concedes that the *Maori* is physically strong and not lazy when there is a clear need for effort. The problem is said to be that he does not recognise the need for 'daily and continuous labour, and does not yearn for the utmost limit of production', instead, not illogically according to Gudgeon, settling for a comfortable living on three months' work in a year (Journal 40). The claim that *Maori* do not understand supply and demand is vitiated by the accompanying complaint that they will produce only when the price is right, surely an indication of resistance to an imposed trading relationship rather than economic ignorance (39-40). Further support for the existence of at least disengagement from the colonial imperatives of industry and productivity and the pursuit of independent interests appears in Gudgeon's declaration that *Maori* are quite aware of their own shortcomings (but, presumably, persist in them), are unlikely ever to develop European care and foresight, and only value education for the advantages it provides in acquiring wealth and avoiding work. In this last regard, the precariousness of the civilising mission and the pursuit of other interests are evident behind Gudgeon's assertion that the best-educated are the greatest rogues and his fear that education would lead only to dissatisfaction and equip the educated to pursue their own ends (*AJHR* 1905, A.3: 49; 1906, A.3: 78; 1904, A.3: 71; 1906, A.3: 102; 1905, A.3: 10). Even the observation that the Polynesian will work hard when away from 'loafing relatives' but not on his own island suggests an awareness of the maintenance of long-standing social relationships occasionally enlivened by the pursuit of other personal or community goals (1904, A.3: 68).

Intimately connected with productivity and industry is the question of the dying race, the capacity for unprovoked dying out being, in Gudgeon's view, an inherent

characteristic of the Polynesian; that is, an inevitability that, happily, precludes any need for evidence, as suggested by Shineberg (*AJHR* 1908, A.3: 11; Shineberg 1983, 42). The connection is captured in his argument that imminent extinction or decline demands that any remnant population must be induced to become industrious (1906, A.3: 78). Once again, the logic of this urge to industry is not apparent, particularly in view of the earlier observation that it is precisely population decline, along with abundant fertility, that inhibits industry by allowing survival without effort (1904, A.3: 70). And, if the purpose of increased production were to enable Cook Islanders to pursue goals and acquisitions of their own, whence the need for inducement? Here, it seems, the notion of the dying race has shed any sentimental or nostalgic overtones simply to support the need for land acquisition and settlement, the colonial administration being its natural heir and a foreign, British, population its intended successor (*Journal*, 45; *AJHR* 1902, 55).

That absence of sentimentality may well be a product of Gudgeon's perception of the degeneracy of the existing population since he finds *Maori* in general are not just lacking in moral stamina but are born criminals and rascals who have lost life, happiness, laughter, and even their traditional arts (*AJHR* 1908, A.3: 14; *Journal*, 50, 53, 48; *AJHR* 1907, A.3: 35). For him, the villains of the piece are the 'gloomy fanatics' of the mission, who have aided and abetted the *ariki* in becoming feudal despots, made a mess of turning the people into third-rate Britons, and promoted immorality, disease, idolatry, and hunger by gathering them into villages: '[t]he decadence of the race began with their evangelisation' (*Journal* 48, 49, 56-7, 62; *AJHR* 1899, A.3: 23; 1902, A.3: 48; 1905, A.3: 67; 1906, A.3: 81; 1908, A.3: 5-6; *Journal*, 47, 51). Furthermore, he accuses them of turning women, once happy and well-treated, into lazy, immoral, extravagant drabs and Makea Takau is just a 'mission fake' (*Journal*, 46-7, 42). His proposed solution, 'a stiffening of European blood', would seem a dismal prospect given Gudgeon's disparagement of 'half-castes' in both the Cook Islands and, at least in the case of women, New Zealand (*Journal*, 9; *AJHR* 1906, A.3: 53; 1908, A.3: 5; *Autobiography*, 72; Gudgeon 1902-3 4, 174). In fact, his earlier-quoted comment on the deterioration of New Zealand Māori in the face of missionisation may apply *a fortiori* to the Cook Islanders: 'they [the mission] destroy all that is interesting in a Native race' (Gudgeon 1904b, 239).

Suspended between an extinct authenticity and a still to be realised and dubious Europeanisation, they can only be contemporary Cook Islanders, a category Gudgeon can neither respect nor accept, nor in which he can take any real interest.

And then there is his predecessor Moss, absent, except for a few days, but ever-present in the Journal, reviled and despised personally, accused but exonerated of all but character deficiencies by the Prendergast inquiry, and found guilty by Gudgeon, in terms of policy, only of introducing self-governing island councils (an initiative that indicates a 'philo Maori' tendency he shares with New Zealand's McLean), and failing to achieve passage of the Federal (later High) Court Bill, increased revenue, and the fabric of colonisation (*AJHR* 1898, A.3: 16; Journal, 22, Autobiography, 44, Journal, 5, 63, 62). Picking through the mass of personal abuse, a few epithets and allusions stand out: a carpet-bagger liberal, a crawler after Sir George Grey, and, in irony, God in the Car, references which will be pursued in the next chapter, as will what appears to have been Moss's ultimate offence in Gudgeon's eyes: being no gentleman but a 'half bred jew' (Journal, 6, 26, 27, 62, 7, 16, 18, 29). Clearly a man incapable of exhibiting Field's traits of Character and Duty so vital to the imperial project (Field 1982, xii, 30).

As to the actual non-*Maori* population, Gudgeon's conclusion is 'that this was not a pleasant community to be connected with' (Journal 63). While the two residents of whom he unreservedly approves, the Craig brothers, are Highlanders and gentlemen, the balance of the population is, in his view, at best a mixed bunch (*AJHR* 1899, A.3: 14; 1900, A.3: 25; Journal, 16). He finds the officials and supporters of Moss a much lower type, shady and, in many cases, 'foreigners', much given to embezzlement, theft, forgery, and many other vices and crimes (2-6, 12-13, 14-15). At least in the early days the settlers fare little better in his eyes, some of them drunkards and most of 'a very indifferent class', including beachcombers, criminals, adventurers, and fugitives, the exception being Germans, who are generally 'industrious, sober men' (*AJHR* 1900, A.3: 3, 23-4). 'Chinamen' are said to create problems by trading unscrupulously, particularly in liquor, being numerous elsewhere, and needing to be carefully graded below both colonists and *ariki* (1903, A.3: 18, 25; 1904, A.3: 16; 1901, A.3: 10; 1905, A.3: 49; 1906, A.3: 82). Gudgeon acknowledges an occasional

redeeming feature among the missionaries but also has them engaged in deviousness, mischief-making, embezzlement, land appropriation, adultery, intolerance, tyranny, and hypocrisy, (Journal, 25, 37, 38-9, 44, 47). Worse, he claims that they are distrusted as anti-empire ('Little Englanders') and anti-British, and come from the lowest class of Englishmen, an example of Cannadine's status differential on the colonising side (45, 48, 61). While Gudgeon expresses satisfaction with his own officials from time to time, they also frequently appear in a different light as, variously, incompetent, dishonest, useless, malicious, lunatic, excitable, absurd, vain, and beneath contempt (66; *AJHR* 1902, A.3: 20-22, 23; Journal 37-8, 51, 43, 60, 61). Not a pleasant community, indeed, at least from Gudgeon's point of view; but neither, it would seem, is the colony as absolutely governed as the letter to his old comrade, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, would suggest.

The Colony

Beyond the personal deficiencies of officials to the subject of their role in the colonising project, a brief catalogue of his ideal qualities appears in Gudgeon's summary of the virtues of Cameron, his 1903 appointment to Aitutaki: extensive knowledge of the New Zealand Māori, linguistic and business ability, tact, empathy with the foreign race, accommodation to the ideas of the colonised, and skill in communicating European ways (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 24). Here are many of the virtues necessary to pursue Hobson's previously outlined strategy of co-option by ethnological study rather than by force (Hobson [1902] 1988, 243). No more is seen of Cameron, which may indicate that he was a success; but quite a bit is seen of Large, similarly recommended and qualified and, like Cameron and Gudgeon himself, experienced with New Zealand Māori and with a career perhaps offering another perspective. Officially, in the pages of the *AJHR*, Large is represented as a model magistrate and agent, much appreciated, but through much of the Journal there appears a very different Large, one who inspires many of the epithets from the previous paragraph as well as exhibiting petty vindictiveness, constantly demanding support, and finally appearing as a trouble-making blackguard (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 49; 1904, A.3: 3, 72; Journal, 38, 43, 50, 60, 61). Questions arise, then as to the real efficacy of the experience of New Zealand Māori and of the gap that appears, at least

in this case, between the projection in the *AJHR* and the actual project as it appears in the Journal.

The origin of that gap and the central tension of the whole project are hinted at in the description of Cameron's virtues and confirmed in Gudgeon's 1902 complaint, one worth repeating in full in this context, that '[i]t is not easy to decide what policy ought to be pursued in this group, for the Natives are peculiar, and the difficulty is to find [*sic*] out what policy they will accept and approve' (Journal, 39). As earlier suggested, the need for and acceptance of coercion emerges to the extent that Gudgeon asserts that he would be reviled by the Natives if he did not exercise it, but deception and manipulation also appear as instruments of colonial government (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 39; 1905, A.3: 49; Journal, 58). So Gudgeon sceptically adopts 'full war paint' to impress the Natives on arrival, must gain the confidence of the Natives by siding with them against Moss, annexation is an exercise in deception both in the colony and in New Zealand, and pretence of support for the *ariki* cause is adopted to promote it (2, 3, 63-4; Gudgeon 1901, 415). He insists that land reform must be implemented before the *ariki* realise it will destroy their power, the troublemaker Miringatangi must be accommodated, skilful manipulation is essential in administering an unpopular act, and strategic retreats are occasionally necessary (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 55; 1905, A.3: 49; 1906, A.3: 11, 50). It is clear to Gudgeon that any suggestion of limitations to his powers would jeopardise the respect in which future office-holders would be held and the limitations are promptly relaxed (1907, A.3: 19, 20). Here, surely is further evidence in support of Thomas's claim of anxiety and fear of the inaccessibility of the logic of the colonised. The obvious contradictions in Gudgeon's writing clearly mirror just this anxiety and the resulting aggression masks an underlying uneasiness (Thomas 1994, 15-16).

Gudgeon appears conscious of resistance, active and passive, to his administration, in both cases, of course, a perception that may simply reflect people going about, or attempting to go about, their lives without reference to colonisation. He asserts that Atiu must be **governed** (my emphasis) or it will give trouble, the Native police force cannot be trusted because it is subject to community pressure and punishment, an island council without a European resident agent is said to be a 'dangerous farce',

ariki courts must be replaced by European resident agents, and the administration of justice must be kept firmly in European hands (*AJHR* 1902, A.3: 39, 42; 1905, A.3: 35; 1906, A.3: 53, 82; 1904, A.3: 3, 72, 73). *Rau* are re-imposed as soon as his back is turned, authority is sought to deprive chiefs of their status for opposing government measures, and the election of chiefs must be supervised to ensure the right result (1905, A.3: 3, 32, 91). He declares that the Federal Parliament must be replaced by a Federal Council of *ariki* so that dissidents can be identified and dealt with, and that resident agents must supervise the smallest details of island life and be supervised by Gudgeon in their turn (Journal 64; *AJHR* 1902, A.3: 12, 52, 53, 54; 1904, A.3: 8; 1906, A.3: 2, 4; Journal 38, 43, 50, 60). And ‘Jimmy te Pou’ remains in the pages of the Journal an enemy to the very end (66). Indeed, the realities of daily life in the colony may be most effectively, if briefly, captured in the 3 June 1908 Journal entry from Rakahanga with its ‘troublesome people in a state of ferment’, ban on the selling of copra, imposition of fines by an island council, terrorisation, and violence in the colonial courtroom (60).

Furthermore, Gudgeon finds the people of Pukapuka so primitive that they must be left undisturbed, the people resist registering their court-determined land interests because of respect for their chiefs, and, to avoid a farce, *ariki* must be appointed to the Federal Council as popular election would allow them to manipulate the result and the Council itself (*AJHR* 1903, A.3: 5; 1904, A.3: 71, 73). *Tohunga* cannot be suppressed because of popular and chiefly support, it takes until 1909 before Atiu (see above) is ready to be governed, and, four years into his term, Gudgeon is clear that a majority of contemporary Rarotongans prefer their old ways to European rule (1908, A.3: 12; 1909, A.3: 5; Journal, 40). Tellingly, in 1907 upon return from a visit to New Zealand, he finds a resumption the old chiefly ways because the people had decided that he would not be coming back, an indication that ‘the Polynesian is unreliable but afraid of me when I am here’ (Journal, 58). There is ample evidence in these three paragraphs to support the existence of the tension, anxiety, precariousness, and tenuousness in the colonial project that is proposed by the students of empire I discussed in my introduction.

As to the civilising mission, it would appear to have limited prospect of success, however important its place in the colonising project. In Gudgeon's view, the people are unfitted for governing by virtue of their self-centredness and are likely to remain so for at least a generation; indeed, he finds them incapable of self-government because of the alleged lack of energy and prudence produced by the depressing nature of the previous religio-feudal regime (*AJHR* 1904, A.3: 73; *Journal*, 40). And education seemingly offers no solution, its role being to fit people for their existing environment, with New Zealand Government provision either there or in the Cook Islands itself likely to do more harm than good and promote dissatisfaction (1905, A.3: 10; 1908, A.3: 14). Hence Gudgeon's uneasiness about even the model of indirect rule through chiefly structures proposed by Hobson and which he himself had advocated in the New Zealand context (Hobson [1902] 1988, 245; *Autobiography*, 22-3).

Finally, there are the tasks and results of the project as defined and reported by Gudgeon. In the early pages of the *Journal*, the only tasks to which he directly or indirectly refers are annexation, passage of the High Court Bill, and a determination eventually 'to put the Mission down', perhaps some indication of the looseness and lack of specificity of his overall brief, itself an indication of the lack of focus and absence of any real economic driver on the part of the New Zealand Government (*Journal*, 3, 18). It is only much later, and probably writing after his return to New Zealand, that he catalogues the tasks he considered urgent after a short acquaintance with the Cook Islands: revision of the estimates, establishment of a reserve fund, erection of concrete public buildings and permanent bridges, supply of water, introduction of a Land Titles Court, abolition of the Federal Parliament, and dismissal of dishonest public servants (64). And when he comes, a page later, to report on the results of his administration, apart from a passing reference to the loss of *ariki* power, his successes relate only to revenue and surplus, imports and exports, land purchase, concrete buildings, bridges, and reef passages, water supply, survey and registration, and honest officials (66, 65-6).

And yet, a page earlier, there is the expression of another and other sort of aspiration and one on which there is no report, only a possibly wistful silence. The passage is worth quoting again in full:

I did intend to create a new order of living for the people, into which the element of hope should enter, and I hoped to see the old animosities stamped out. Perhaps in my heart I desired to leave as good a record behind me as I could, and see some regret in the faces of the people when I left the Islands (Journal, 64).

What he actually got were a jamboree and dance, a silver cup and salver, and a patchwork quilt (Journal, 67).

That completes my reading of Gudgeon's representation of his colony and prepares the way for discussion of some conclusions that can be drawn from it, particularly in regard to the absoluteness of his governing, his claim to love *Maori*, the nature of his experience in the Cook Islands and his writing of that colony, and the process of reading itself.

In developing an interdisciplinary project in the field of Pacific Studies, my intention was, in the spirit of the Roland Barthes quote from my introduction, rather than simply choosing a subject and gathering some disciplines around it, to create a new object, a text (Barthes [1972] 1994, 1420). My project, then, was to prepare that text by representing Gudgeon's representations of his colony and to attempt to read it as far as possible in its own terms, as outlined by Prakash in my introduction (Prakash 2000, 296). The true test of the validity of that approach and its possible contribution to the understanding of colonialism and to the approaches of Pacific Studies is the value of the picture and conclusions that can be drawn from that reading. I would argue that this reading and its conclusions add significantly to the understanding of at least this early period in New Zealand's colonial experiment and the origins of New Zealand's actual engagement with Pacific islands, thereby validating the approach that I have taken.

As I explained in my introduction, my first and naïve encounter with Gudgeon was in pursuit of a colonial villain; what I would eventually find, however, was something much more complex and interesting: a vivid snapshot of a moment in the history of New Zealand's sub-imperialism. The disparities and contradictions of that moment appear even in the paragraph from the letter to an old military comrade, for what sort of absolute governor spends his days encouraging, slanging, repressing, and flattering? And there is a further and ample evidence of a situation much more conditional, limited, and unforeseen than absolute and encapsulated by Allen Curnow in this way:

Vogel and Seddon howling empire from an empty coast
A vast ocean laughter
Echoed unheard, and after
All it was different, something
Nobody counted on (Curnow [1941], 20-1).

And yet there is a sense in which Gudgeon was absolute, or almost so, and that was in relation to the New Zealand Government. Its lack of any real material incentive to empire, its failure to enforce the guarantees of the annexation agreement, the brevity

and limited nature of its initial instructions, its limited and flexible attempts to exercise control over Gudgeon, and his formulation of his own objectives and tasks all point to a degree of autonomy or even invisibility that may have been almost inevitable in these circumstances at the turn of the twentieth century.

In his representation of events on the ground, however, there appears a very different story, one that has not really been told, and one which is suggested to me by the sheer level of invective that appears in this text. For this is not the language of Hobson's development of trust, and thereby world-benefiting industriousness and production, by means of the study of religion, politics, society, habits, psychology, languages, history, and environment. And yet Gudgeon clearly values such an approach as is seen in his endorsement of Aitutaki's resident agent Cameron. So the question is, why is the language of so much of the text so at odds with the imperial model, why does Gudgeon's personal expression, embedded as it is in the colonial discourse of the time, reach so far beyond that discourse and the progressive liberal framework with which he otherwise seems so much in tune?

At least part of the answer to that question lies, I believe, in the absence of almost any trace of the fabric of everyday life in the text and its somewhat chaotic nature when it does appear, as in the case of the uproarious day in Rakahanga or the continuing misadventures of Large. Of course it may be argued that the missing fabric is missing just because it is humdrum and conventional but, again, I turn to Gudgeon's invective against mission, merchants, Moss, officials, settlers, and, above all, the Cook Islands *Maori* themselves: it does not seem to me that such a torrent of abuse can be produced in a humdrum and conventional context.

First there is Gudgeon's assessment of the quality of the non-*Maori* population, a poor lot comprising, for the most part, incompetents, criminals, low-lives, and, above all in the case of his bitterest enemies, the lower class. Their inadequacies and villainies are neatly encapsulated by him in the constant presence in the Journal of the hate figure Moss, the 'jew', the non-gentleman, the essence of the lack of Character and the absence of a proper sense of Duty. And I suspect that there is another element in Gudgeon's condemnation of Moss and one hinted at in his

condemnation of McLean in the New Zealand context: not least of McLean's sins in Gudgeon's eyes were his philo-Māori proclivities and Moss stands accused of the same, at least until his final difficulties over the Federal Court Bill and his confrontation with the 'Highland gentlemen'. It seems to me that, for Gudgeon, Moss went too far in his sympathy with *Maori*, just as Mclean did, and, until his final days, exemplified Hobson's colonial ideal in the days of British protection in a way that Gudgeon could not in those of New Zealand annexation. Hence the latter's characterisation of Moss as a liberal crawler and the scathing and sarcastic reference to him as a 'God in the Car', a would-be Cecil Rhodes.

To turn then to *Maori*, I believe that Gudgeon gives ample evidence in the text of his awareness of some resistance but also recalcitrance, avoidance, or even abstention at all levels of society. Beyond that, Gudgeon cannot tolerate, let alone admire, the mission-assisted entrepreneurialism of the *ariki*, men and women, a quality he surely should have been able to value. This is because he sees it occurring within what his liberal sensibility can only see as feudalism rather than a system, admittedly somewhat attenuated, of reciprocal rights and relationships. And, moreover, what he sees as their accompanying greed and oppression disqualifies them in his eyes for the role in indirect rule that would otherwise have been theirs as traditional leaders of high status.

Gudgeon's contradictions and ambiguities, however, go much further than this: despite his protestation of love for the *Maori* (with all his faults), it seems to me that he cannot love **these** *Maori*, debased as they are by the mission and corrupted by the worst of the European and Chinese elements. Gudgeon's love, as it appears in this text and as also indicated by his New Zealand writings, is precisely for the Māori or *Maori* 'as he was'; and he looks forward, not entirely convincingly I would suggest, to the results of a future stiffening of European blood; but what his invective indicates to me is that he cannot accept these *Maori* as they **are** in his time, the only beings they are able to be. For, while he could celebrate some possibly romanticised examples of what he represented as the old-time, noble, warrior Māori in New Zealand, as demonstrated by his approval of his picture of patrician conduct on the part of the arrested chiefs at Parihaka, there is scarcely a trace of such approval

towards the figures that he represents in his Cook Islands writings as mostly degenerate.

Hence Gudgeon's adherence to belief in the dying of the *Maori*, a conclusion beyond evidence because of its importance to the colonial project but, above all, because it encapsulates his attitude to the actually existing *Maori* and preserves, in his mind, the nobility of their predecessors, whose origins, settlement, customs, and language have long been important to him. And hence his ambivalence about the values and logic of the *Maori*: an acceptance, appreciation even, of it on one level but anxiety and even trepidation about the 'native mentality' of those with whom he actually has to deal; a reaction conveyed in his uncertainty about what the 'peculiar' Natives will accept or the assertion that 'Atiu must be governed or it will give trouble'.

Furthermore, this gives grounds to ask whether the assumed value of his and others' purported knowledge of old-time New Zealand Māori language, society, and belief in dealing with the Cook Islanders is not as hollow as was New Zealand's purported fitness for colonial governing on the grounds of its 'success', as celebrated in Seddon's parliamentary speech, with its own Natives (*NZPD* 1894, 86: 1132). I would go as far as to suggest that this somewhat idealised body of knowledge was, if anything, an impediment to Gudgeon in dealing with the real complexity of *Maori* as they had become.

In concluding his Journal he directly sets out what he saw as his tasks and sees as his achievements, a catalogue mostly confined to revenue, imports and exports, and fabric. Elsewhere, however, it is clear that he is aware of the results, almost by-products, of his mission to sub-divide the land, whether for distribution to the *unga*, inheritance by the colonial administration, or lease to prospective settlers: the dismantling of the earlier forms of self-government and the diminution of *ariki* power, if not prestige. And yet he does not list them among the results of his administration and, apparently, cannot take credit for them as achievements.

And then, towards the end of the Journal, he articulates other aspirations: to bring a new and peaceful order, to leave as good a record as he could, and to 'see some regret in the faces of the people' upon departure (*Journal*, 64). Aspirations whose

realisation is surely denied in his reflection, a few pages earlier, that a brief absence had resulted in the belief that he would never return, the people being ‘unreliable but afraid of me when I am here’ (58). These brief and, to me, wistful observations persuade me almost as much as the body of evidence set out above, that Gudgeon was, at heart, as liberal and progressive as was Hobson in and for their day but that he was unable to maintain adherence to those principles and values in the actual circumstances of New Zealand’s sub-imperial project.

Here, I believe, is the answer to my question about the disparity between Gudgeon’s personal expression and the contemporary colonial discourse out of which that expression emerges: on the ground, the nature of New Zealand’s sub-imperial project was such that Gudgeon was acutely aware that he was unable, practically, to realise its comparatively liberal intentions or to implement the comparatively progressive model described by Hobson; it is the frustration of those ends, admittedly exacerbated by his personal characteristics, that is vividly and clearly expressed in the language of Gudgeon’s text.

So, finally, what appears in a careful reading of that text, Gudgeon’s representation of his colony, is a picture of this colonial administrator and administration significantly more clearly delineated than those referred to in my introduction and chapter 4: Mason’s and Scott’s ruthlessly efficient martinet, Wilson’s and Gilson’s dictator, Crocombe’s failed land reformer, Stone’s far-sighted and superlative operator, Caird’s reformer of chaos, Morrell’s energetic and tactful administrator, Ross’s self-promoting but helpful innovator, or Beaglehole’s paternal and kindly governor from above. Elements of some of these judgements may appear in Gudgeon’s representation of his colony and himself but what my reading also brings forward is the uncertainty, ambiguity, anxiety, and precariousness inherent in his text, its contradictory impulses and beliefs, the day-to-day disorder not so much represented in as suggested by it, and its impression of marginality to the immediate interests and pursuits of the Cook Islanders.

These insights, I believe, both justify my concentration on the textual representations of one colonial administrator and indicate that at least this administrator and

administration were far less central and dominant than other representations of the time and place have suggested. And, in turn, they both open up the possibility and provide some foundation for a re-examination and much more balanced and comprehensive depiction of this period in the Cook Islands and, perhaps, of the whole of New Zealand's sub-imperial excursion as well as its present-day activities in the Pacific. Furthermore, they offer considerable validation of the perspectives on the study of colonial texts and experiences suggested by the commentators on whom I drew in my introduction and, in particular, the value of Prakash's injunction to 'make the silences, contradictions, and ambiguities essential elements in the colonial story' (Prakash 2000, 296).

Finally, there is the question of the approach I have employed and its possible contribution to the field of Pacific Studies. As I have said, the test of that approach is the value and validity of the conclusions that can be drawn from a reading of the text. Of course there are perils in such an approach, particularly with the kind of text I have chosen for this exercise and with the authority that I have bestowed upon that text in the process of representing it as accurately and directly as possible in the first instance. Not least of them are the dangers of confusing the text and the reality, of allowing one's own reader to confuse the text with the reality or the writer's view of the circumstances being discussed, or of failing to negotiate the distinction between the text and such references to its context as are necessary to the reading of that text. As an experiment in deriving and examining a vehicle, a new object, for a different kind of investigation from those provided by the disciplines or other fields of study, I believe that the results of my project have demonstrated the validity of such an approach in developing further interdisciplinary projects in the field of Pacific Studies and in supplementing and augmenting the material produced by the disciplines. And, of course, the choice of text need not be limited to writing but may extend to oral sources, pictorial representations, or performances.

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