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‘The Paradise of the Southern Hemisphere’

The Perception of New Zealand and the Maori in Written Accounts of German-speaking Explorers and Travellers 1839-1889

Oliver J. Harrison

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ABSTRACT:

The aim of this research is to examine the much neglected body of writings on New Zealand and the Maori by German-speaking explorers and travellers during the colonising period of the 1840s to 1880s. To the nineteenth-century breed of visitor from Germany and Austria, 'Old' New Zealand often presented itself as an unexplored field of scientific curiosities, from botany and geology to ornithology and ethnology, at the same time as a paradise for immigrant workers. The investigation begins with an evaluation of the eighteenth-century account of Georg Forster, who accompanied Captain Cook on his second voyage to the South Pacific. Forster's account is entrenched in the early racial stereotypes and theories of the 'savage', and provides the first major primary source for all of German-speaking Europe up to the period under investigation. The second main source to be considered is the dominant 'paradise' image which evolved out of the propaganda of the New Zealand Company and continued right through the colonising era.

The principal figures to be examined include Ernst Dieffenbach, the official Company naturalist, Friedrich August Krull, the first German Consul in New Zealand, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, the resident geologist on the *Novara* expedition, Julius von Haast, the founder and director of the Canterbury Museum, Andreas Reischek, the taxidermist and collector, as well as other notable visitors including Max Buchner, Franz Reuleaux, Otto Finsch, Alexander von Hübner and Robert von Lendenfeld. Thus, it is the goal of this investigation to analyse the perception of New Zealand and the Maori in selected works by German-speaking explorers and travellers who arrived in the colony between 1839 and 1889 through, first of all, confronting the prevailing stereotypes and images inherent in the philosophical attitudes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries towards the 'savage' and those present in the 'paradise' rhetoric of the British campaigners of colonisation, and secondly, examining the origins, patterns and evolution of their respective perceptions, impressions and opinions in order to reveal the true extent of their non-British 'Germanic' viewpoint.

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CONTENTS:

Abbreviations	vi
INTRODUCTION: New Zealand as a Destination for German-speaking Explorers and Travellers in the Nineteenth Century	1
CHAPTER ONE: Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century European Perceptions of the Maori and New Zealand	
- Maori Stereotypes	9
- The Southern British Paradise	15
<u>I. NEW ZEALAND FROM THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY</u>	
CHAPTER TWO: Georg Forster (1754-94) and the Early Perception of New Zealand and the Maori in German-speaking Europe	22
- Forster's <i>Reise um die Welt</i>	22
- Conclusion	54
<u>II. NEW ZEALAND 1839 - 1849</u>	
CHAPTER THREE: Ernst Dieffenbach (1811-55)	
- The New Zealand Company	57
- Ernst Dieffenbach and his <i>Travels in New Zealand</i>	61
- Conclusion	108
<u>III. NEW ZEALAND 1850 - 1869</u>	
CHAPTER FOUR: Friedrich August Krull (1836-1914)	
- German Immigration and the 'New Zealand Wars'	112
- Friedrich Krull and his "Briefe aus Neuseeland"	116
- Conclusion	145
CHAPTER FIVE: Ferdinand von Hochstetter (1829-84) and Julius von Haast (1822-87)	
- A Series of Chance Encounters	147
- Hochstetter's <i>Neu-Seeland</i>	155
- Haast's <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> Articles	204
- Conclusion	217

IV. NEW ZEALAND 1870 - 1889

CHAPTER SIX: Andreas Reischek (1845-1902)

- A Man of Controversy 221
- *Sterbende Welt* and the Two Reischeks 231
- Conclusion 288

CHAPTER SEVEN: Progress versus Arcadia 1870s-80s

- The 'Long Depression' and German Immigration in the 1880s 293
- Max Buchner (1846-1921) and Franz Reuleaux (1829-1905) 298
- Otto Finsch (1839-1917), Alexander von Hübner (1811-92) and Robert von Lendenfeld (1858-1913) 309
- Conclusion 333

CONCLUSION: The Germanic Perspective 338

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. Unpublished Material

- A. Primary Literature 344
- B. Secondary Literature 345

2. Published Material

- A. Primary Literature: Germanic Sources and Translations 346
- B. Primary Literature: British Sources 359
- C. Secondary Literature: Anonymous Periodical/Newspaper Articles 361
- D. Secondary Literature: Dictionary/Encyclopedia Entries, Chapters and Other Periodical/Newspaper Articles 367
- E. Secondary Literature: Books and Monographs 385

ABBREVIATIONS:

AaW	Aus allen Welttheilen
AES	The Auckland Evening Star
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
Ausland	Das Ausland
AZ	Allgemeine Zeitung
CNZ	The Cyclopedia of New Zealand
DNZB	Dictionary of New Zealand Biography
DRfGS	Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik
EEEE	Enzyklopädie der Entdecker und Erforscher der Erde
LT	The Lyttelton Times
MAGW	Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien
MaJPGA	Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann
MKKGG	Mittheilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft
MOVW	Mittheilungen des Ornithologischen Vereines in Wien
NDB	Neue deutsche Biographie
NZer	The New-Zealander
NZH	The New Zealand Herald
NZJ	The New Zealand Journal
NZJS	The New Zealand Journal of Science
ODT	Otago Daily Times
ST	The Southland Times
SW	Sterbende Welt
TPNZI	Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute
VZBGW	Verhandlungen der Zoologisch-Botanischen Gesellschaft in Wien
WIDM	Westermanns Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte
YIM	Yesterdays in Maoriland

INTRODUCTION: New Zealand as a Destination for German-speaking Explorers and Travellers in the Nineteenth Century

As the Austrian explorer, Andreas Reischek, fondly remembered his time in New Zealand in 1892, he gave the colony the title of ‘Paradise of the Southern Hemisphere’. Over the nineteenth century he was not the only German-speaking visitor to harbour these same feelings. For European scientists and explorers in the mid-nineteenth century, New Zealand was a mostly unexplored group of islands on the opposite corner of the globe, whose potential for local resources was largely undiscovered, its mighty peaks in the South not fully conquered, and its recorded natural history still incomplete. For curious travellers without necessarily scientific intentions in mind and immigrants looking to start over, the country also presented itself as a promising British colony that combined the natural wonders of the Hot Lake district with the economic wonders of independency and skilled labour. It was 1773 when the first Germans set foot on New Zealand soil, then accompanying Captain James Cook¹ on his second circumnavigation around the globe. Since then German and Austrian visitors have been among the most influential contributors to New Zealand’s early history of science, and history in general, although this is not always recognised today.² The rapid period of progress which characterises the first fifty years of New Zealand’s colonial history from 1840 was therefore witnessed first hand by not only the dominant British populace at large, but also a distinct group of German-speaking visitors and settlers, the latter of whom formed the second biggest immigrant group behind the British in the nineteenth century. Many of these people were in fact well-educated observers, including prominent scientists and explorers, museum directors and collectors, naturalists and ornithologists, alpinists and biologists, geologists and geographers, ethnologists and philosophers, botanists and zoologists, engineers and medical doctors, diplomats and consuls, merchants and businessmen. Of those who returned with the intention of compiling an account of their achievements or reports of scientific findings and those who simply wanted to send back word of their adventures, many produced narratives which found their way into various German-language journals or were reproduced in book form to the delight of future visitors and scholars.

¹ See, for example, Nicholas Thomas, *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain Cook*. London: Allen Lane, 2003; Anne Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: Captain Cook in the South Seas*. London: Allen Lane, 2003; J. C. Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook*. London: Black, 1974.

² See James Braund, “German-speaking Scientists in New Zealand 1773-1951: Research Past, Present and Future”, in: *New Zealand and Europe: Connections and Comparisons*. Eds. Bernadette Luciano and David G. Mayes. Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2005, 173-88.

This collection of travel writing is not only a record of ‘Old’ New Zealand as they saw it, but, more importantly, an alternative record to the overriding perspective of mainstream British travel literature.

The resulting first-hand observations of New Zealand and its people by German and Austrian visitors³ during some of the most important periods of the country’s history offer something that the ethnocentric British accounts cannot, and that is valuable non-British insights and social commentary which are neither dependent on the endorsing of needless propaganda nor the upholding of abstract British ideals, and therefore in certain situations could also form a counterbalance to the dominant views of New Zealanders themselves. The latter half of the eighteenth century saw the rise of the belief that the German people, with their lack of a vested interest in colonial pursuits, possessed a more objective and disinterested viewpoint, as well as a “sense of moral superiority, a moral highground for judging the performance of others”⁴ due to their being supposedly untainted by colonialism or the ‘excesses’ committed by other European nations. As a result, German scholars assumed the role of the impartial ‘scientific observer’ sorting through, systematising, collating, evaluating and authenticating the material gathered from the various voyages of the seafaring nations, which was made accessible for all levels of the bourgeois public, whilst at the same time critiquing the endeavours of other colonial ventures often through correcting previous misconceptions about indigenous peoples, with whom they generally sided, placing native behaviour within historical rationale, and creating alternative modes of “polite” or “civilized colonial interaction”.⁵ In fact, it was these so-called “colonial fantasies”, Susanne Zantop argues, which served as “*Handlungersatz*, as substitute for the real thing, as imaginary testing ground for colonial action”, in both general travelogues and fictionalised scenarios, allowing them in the process to fashion their own national identities as

³ The only known Swiss explorer to have an account of his New Zealand travels published is Jakob Lauper (1815-91). In his narrative he relates his arduous and dangerous journey through the Southern Alps and the death of his host, John Henry Whitcombe. After his return it was translated for the local newspaper in 1863 (Jakob Lauper, *Over the Whitcombe Pass: The Narrative of Jakob Lauper, reprinted from the Canterbury Gazette, July 1863*. Ed. John Pascoe. Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1960). The original German version is held at the Alexander Turnbull Library [=ATL], Wellington, MS-Papers-0348. Louper Stream and Louper Peak were misnamed after this Swiss mountaineer and guide, but were not officially corrected to Lauper Stream and Lauper Peak until 2003 (Hans-Peter Stoffel, “Ein Giffenser am anderen Ende der Welt: *Ein Freiburger Familienname auf neuseeländischen Landkarten*”, in: *Freiburger Nachrichten (Sens)* 12 Aug 2003; “Wer war der Giffenser Jakob Lauper? *Neuseeland setzte dem Deutschfreiburger ein Denkmal - eine Bergspitze*”, in: *Freiburger Nachrichten (Bezirke)* 18 Aug 2003 <<http://www.freiburger-nachrichten.ch>>), even though the mistake was earlier discovered by John Pascoe in 1960. Louper Bivvy, however, still remains as a backcountry hut.

⁴ Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870*. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1997, 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 35, 38-40.

“better” colonists, and their own ‘Germanic’ national characteristics as distinct from “the perceived racial, sexual, ethnic, or national characteristics of others, Europeans and non-Europeans alike”.⁶ On a more personable level, Michael King, for example, notes the Austrian mentality in particular which led to both their generally favourable treatment of and by local New Zealanders during the nineteenth century:

The difference was due in part to the supra-national character of the Austro-Hungarian Empire itself; and to the fact that social life in Vienna was a stage for many of the world’s living cultures, while the Imperial Museum was a growing repository for exotic or dead ones. These factors had conditioned Austrians to view cultures other than their own with a minimum of prejudice. In addition, Austrian and German visitors to New Zealand had modes of communication that were different from those manifested by Britishers. The former were more gregarious in social relations, more philosophical in reflection, less solemn about the trappings of British authority and less judgmental about Maori life and behaviour. Relations between Maoris and Austrians were especially easy, as the visit of the chiefs to Vienna had demonstrated⁷ – both groups displayed an extravagant and rhetorical manner of speech, a willingness to debate serious questions at length, a mischievous sense of humour, a propensity for bursting into song, a strong sense of hospitality. The Anglo-Saxon British (as distinct from the Celts) were markedly less enthusiastic on all these counts: Hügel had noted as early as 1834 their lack of graciousness and absence of conversation.⁸

While the early image of Australia in German literature was researched a decade and a half ago,⁹ until now, New Zealand has not been the subject of its own study, which is surprising considering the impact of German-speaking colonists and visitors on the nation as a whole. Admittedly, New Zealand has not enjoyed the same profile in early German fiction as Australia has, with the only real offerings appearing somewhat sporadically over the years and spanning

⁶ Ibid., 6f.

⁷ See Chapters Five and Six.

⁸ Michael King, *The Collector: A Biography of Andreas Reischek*. Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981, 29f. The Austrian botanist, Karl Freiherr von Hügel (1795-1870), visited the Bay of Islands in 1834 as guest scientist on board the British warship *Alligator*. Unfortunately, his diaries were never published. His handwritten journals from his eleven months of travel in Australia and New Zealand are, however, held on microfilm in the ATL, as well as a translation by Reuel Lochore (73-034). At present only the Australian section has been published, albeit in English, but the New Zealand section is now in the process of also being published. (See, for example, Baron Charles von Hügel, *New Holland Journal: November 1833 – October 1834*. Translated and edited by Dymphna Clark. Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1994, 1-13; Christian Schicklgruber, “Karl Alexander Anselm Freiherr von Hügel – Soldat, Gartenbauer und Forscher”, in: *Die Entdeckung der Welt – Die Welt der Entdeckungen: Österreichische Forscher, Sammler, Abenteurer*. Ed. Wilfried Seipel. Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2001, 189-201; Dietmar Henze, “Hügel, Karl Freiherr von”, in: *Enzyklopädie der Entdecker und Erforscher der Erde* [=EEEE]. Vol. 2. Graz: Akadem. Druck- u. Verlagsanst, 1983, 647f.; Helmut Dolezal, “Hügel, Karl Alexander, Naturforscher”, in: *Neue deutsche Biographie* [=NDB]. Vol. 9. Ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1972, 731f.; Braund, “German-speaking Scientists”, 176f.; King, *Collector*, 24.)

⁹ Alan Corkhill, *Antipodean Encounters: Australia and the German Literary Imagination 1754-1918*. Bern; Frankfurt a/M; New York; Paris: Lang, 1990.

different genres,¹⁰ but the wealth of notable German-language travel literature is another matter. To date, however, it has only been within the last decade or so that the Germanic connection with New Zealand has significantly come to light,¹¹ yet relatively little research has been produced which focuses on the representation or perception of New Zealand and the Maori in this literature. As a result, nineteenth-century travel writing by German and Austrian scientists, visitors and explorers is a predominantly untapped phenomenon, one reason being the lack of German expertise of many New Zealand scholars, especially in the field of science, whose reliance on English translations limits their scope of research. Another reason is the understandable overlooking of ‘German only’ texts in favour of British travel literature due to the monolingual and Anglocentric approach of local scholars,¹² in conjunction with the misconception that due to the majority of these monographs being written by scientists they do not therefore contain a definitive travel narrative, which is, on the whole, characteristic of a greater trend in post-war New Zealand to forget its many nineteenth-century arrivals from German-speaking Europe. Furthermore, it is often ignored that the German and English versions of the same account do not always share the exact same content, especially concerning official English translations meant for different audiences, not to mention that various additional German-language articles and publications, which were written purely for the German-speaking public, could also include criticisms that might be omitted from English versions.

¹⁰ New Zealand has been used in a variety of ways in German-language fiction. The earliest instance of this fiction is the juvenile adventure novel, including Friedrich Gerstäcker’s novella *Die Schoonerfahrt* from his collection *Aus zwei Welttheilen* (1854), Joseph Spillmann’s *Liebet eure Feinde! Eine Erzählung aus den Maori-Kriegen auf Neuseeland* (1891), Kurt Heyd’s *Flegeljahre im Busch: Christophs Abenteuer in Neu-Seeland* (1938), and more recently Anja Welle’s *Magnus: Fünf Zufälle aus Neuseeland* (1999). Another use of New Zealand has been as a literary symbol for social distance in Bodo Kirchhoff’s *Das Kind oder Die Vernichtung von Neuseeland* (1979) and Adolf Muschg’s short story “Christel” from his collection *Der Turmhahn und andere Liebesgeschichten* (1987). A third way has been the fictional representation of New Zealand deriving from well-known New Zealand authors, such as Maurice Shadbolt, Frank Sargeson and Katherine Mansfield, in Gerhard Köpf’s *Bluff oder das Kreuz des Südens* (1991) and *Der Weg nach Eden* (1994), Erwin Einzinger’s *Kopfschmuck für Mansfield* (1985), Evelyn Schlag’s *Die Kränkung* (1987) and Christa Moog’s *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln* (1988). (See James Braund, “Literary points of contact”, in: *Out of the Shadow of War: The German Connection with New Zealand in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by James N. Bade with the assistance of James Braund. Melbourne; Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998, 80-85.) Finally, the ethnographic novel from the indigenous perspective has also lately been produced in the form of Tancred Flemming’s Marama trilogy – *Marama* (1994), *Kia Ora, Moana* (1996) and *Wahine Toa Maori* (1998).

¹¹ The standard works for research into the Germanic-New Zealand connection in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are: *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Edited by James N. Bade with the assistance of James Braund. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993); *Out of the Shadow of War* (Ed. Bade et al., 1998); *Eine Welt für sich: Deutschsprachige Siedler und Reisende in Neuseeland im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Edited by James N. Bade with the assistance of Gabriele Borowski and James Braund. Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998); *Im Schatten zweier Kriege: Deutsche und Österreicher in Neuseeland im 20. Jahrhundert* (Ed. Bade et al., 2005).

¹² A case in point is Lydia Wevers’ recent study *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand 1809-1900*. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002).

The methodological approach used in this study can be described, for the most part, as imagological, in which ‘image’ in this instance is used primarily as a synonym for ‘perception’. Imagology, or image studies, is based on the premise that it is not necessary to view national characteristics in terms of their being “correct” or “wrong”, as “an imagological reading is strictly *textual* in that it stays within the (inter-)textual confines of perception and representation.”¹³ In other words, as national stereotyping is founded on an intertextual tradition of source material, i.e. repeats and cites earlier texts, imagologists concern themselves solely with ‘how’ and ‘why’ specific images and stereotypes are formed, rather than the ‘truth’ and ‘correctness’ behind them. Understandably, perception of foreign cultures is not a purely objective experience as early explorers liked to believe, rather a confrontation between the preconceived knowledge, cultural values and subjective experience of the ‘auto-image’, i.e. the ‘self-image’ of the observer or author, and the perceived differences of the ‘hetero-image’, i.e. the ‘other-image’ of the observed. The fundamental approach I have employed here is what Joep Leerssen refers to as the ‘pragmatic-functional’ model.¹⁴ This entails not only examining and observing the genesis, evolution, appearance and effect of common images, stereotypes, clichés and preconceptions within the relevant socio-historical and literary context, and according to the background and attitudes of the author, but it also considers such issues as who the target audience is, and to what extent the text caters to the needs and expectations of this readership, in conjunction with its general reception and impact.

The overall aim of this research is therefore not so much concerned with how different the perceived ‘Germanic’ perspective is from the dominant British-New Zealand viewpoint or how valid these perceptions are, but rather how they have evolved in German and Austrian discourse over a timeframe of more than a century, with specific emphasis on the first fifty years of New Zealand’s colonial history, what forms they take, and what underlying factors have led to this change, if indeed there is a significant development. Although it is strictly speaking outside the scope of imagology, I will investigate the validity of specific images and stereotypes where appropriate, i.e. when a comparison proves valuable or even necessary, in order to better distinguish between this perceived Germanic perspective and the ‘reality’ of general British views of New Zealand and the Maori. The primary selection criteria for this case study is the dual

¹³ Joep Leerssen, “Echoes and Images: Reflections Upon Foreign Space”, in: *Alterity, Identity, Image: Selves and Others in Society and Scholarship*. Eds. Raymond Corbey and Joep Leerssen. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991, 130.

¹⁴ See Joep Leerssen, “The Rhetoric of National Character: A Programmatic Survey”, in: *Poetics Today* 21:2 (2000): 267-92.

necessity of the various published accounts, journals, articles and works to have been written by known German-speaking explorers and travellers who visited or emigrated to New Zealand between the years 1839 and 1889, and for these texts to contain significant contributions on the representation of New Zealand and the Maori. For the purposes of this research, the texts have not been limited to those written wholly on New Zealand, but also include relevant sections within larger works on Australasia or the South Pacific. As a result, the texts have first and foremost been chosen for their relevance to the perception of New Zealand and the Maori ahead of the renown of the authors, which necessarily places respected and influential writers alongside less accomplished individuals, although in most cases it is those with established international reputations who have made the most important contributions, and chapters are weighted according to the relevance and volume of the material. As it is not always possible to gauge the size of the readership or numbers of copies sold, especially in the case of lesser known contributions, I have, for the most part, restricted the scope of public response and the influence of the texts to only recognising facts which are available in secondary literature, and acknowledging when works have had a particular influence in popular thought, in their respective fields, and among the authors themselves under investigation. Furthermore, in an effort to limit the scale of the content and also follow the evolution of similar strands of perceptions, I have structured the chapters according to the two main 'images' of New Zealand, on the one hand, and the Maori, on the other, which form a main emphasis, if not the primary focus, of the analysed accounts.

It is necessary here to also define certain recurring terminology. By 'Germany' and 'Austria', I do not simply refer to the geographical boundaries of today, as the borders in Central Europe constantly fluctuated beyond these confines during the age of expansion and power politics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For much of this period there was no Germany as such, rather a dysfunctional collection of independent states within the loose and fragile construct of the 'Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation' which dated back to medieval times and was under the predominance of the Habsburg dynasty (Austria). This empire on paper, however, belied the presence of unity where there was only intense rivalry, particularly between the Protestant-Germanic Prussia and the Catholic-Austrian monarchy, the latter of which increasingly looked to its eastern territories (more than half fell outside the 'German Nation') and had its own distinct set of political, social and cultural values. This 'empire' lasted until 1806 when it collapsed at the onset of the Napoleonic wars, and was replaced in 1815 by the German

Confederation, which retained the same borders as the former model. Ironically, in both cases those Germans living in the eastern Prussian provinces were excluded from 'Germany', while numerous non-Germans were included. With the defeat of Austria at the hands of Prussia in 1866, the two rivals finalised their separation in 1867 to form, on the one side, the 'North German Confederation', followed by the 'German Empire' in 1871 (which was in many respects more an extension of Prussia than a united Germany), and, on the other side, the dual monarchy of the 'Austro-Hungarian Empire'. Thus, in this context 'Germanic' denotes the common German origins and language of both Germany and Austria, while 'European' is used here in a wider sense to include both continental Europe and Great Britain, in contrast to the German usage of 'europäisch' which at times referred only to 'Central European', and 'Engländer', which was generally used as a synonym for 'British' instead of today's common usage, repeated in this study, as the combined population of the United Kingdom.

Thus, it is my intention to identify and assess the literary representation and perception of New Zealand and the Maori in the selected works of German-speaking arrivals between 1839 and 1889 through initially examining the impact, influences and evolution of contemporaneous European philosophical beliefs and entrenched racial stereotypes, in conjunction with the 'paradise' motif of the early colonial propaganda in New Zealand, in order to analyse the changes in perceptions, impressions and opinions of the country as a whole and its inhabitants, and ultimately determine the extent to which they were able to achieve a credible Germanic perspective in the face of New Zealand's history of dominant British stereotypes and images. Chapter One begins with an evaluation of the prevailing myths and stereotypes of the Maori and New Zealand which existed in the minds and pens of eighteenth and nineteenth-century European travellers, while Chapter Two concludes with a section on the influence of Georg Forster on the perception of New Zealand in Germany during the pre-colonising period in the late eighteenth century. Chapters Three to Seven focus on New Zealand during the colonising era in three main stages of its early European history: 1839 to 1849, 1850 to 1869 and 1870 to 1889. Chapter Three centres on the prominent writings of Ernst Dieffenbach, a German naturalist under the employ of the New Zealand Company at the beginning of the colonising period. Chapter Four introduces the published letters of Friedrich August Krull, the first German Consul in New Zealand in the 1860s, while Chapter Five offers a combined section on the works of two of the most influential German pioneers of New Zealand science, Ferdinand von Hochstetter and Julius von Haast, whose efforts are still felt today. Chapter Six then deals with the duality between the

reconstructed posthumous diary of the Austrian naturalist, Andreas Reischek, and his own published material from the 1880s, which has contributed to the present controversy surrounding his name, followed by Chapter Seven, which concludes the study with an examination of the lesser-known literary contributions of Max Buchner, Franz Reuleaux, Otto Finsch, Alexander von Hübner and Robert von Lendenfeld.

CHAPTER ONE: Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century European Perceptions of the Maori and New Zealand

Maori Stereotypes

Ever since popular belief pointed to a ‘Great Southern Continent’ which must balance the vast landmasses of the north, various seventeenth and eighteenth-century European expeditions have set out into the South Seas in search of ‘Terra Australis Incognita’. The ‘Antipodes’ of Europe were long thought to be a place of unknown riches and wealth ready to be plundered, which, if the tales of seventeenth-century commoners and writers of fiction were to be believed, was, however, inhabited by anthropophagi or cannibalistic ‘opposite-footers’ who walked and lived upside down on the opposite side of the world and assumed grotesquely inhuman characteristics such as dogs’ heads and tails. Little did the educated know that they would be partially right.¹ Drawing on a great wealth of European traditions and beliefs, ranging from the folklore of commoners and the mediaeval notions of witchcraft and demonology to the ambivalent ideas of the civilising process, most scholars would agree that two basic variants of the ‘savage’ were created in advance:

One was the image of the bestial savage, sometimes gigantic and physically monstrous as well as brutally cruel, which derived from mediaeval bestiaries and theories about demons. The other was the ‘savage’ as an innocent, happy child of Nature, free of the corruptions of ‘civilised’ society, the Utopian inheritor of the biblical Garden of Eden.²

¹ Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. Auckland: Viking, 1991, 63, 71f.; David Fausett, *Images of the Antipodes in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Stereotyping*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995, 1-19.

² Salmond, *Two Worlds*, 95. In this case, the positive image of the ‘Noble Savage’ was meant to be a re-creation of the Golden Age based on the notion that man is good by nature but ultimately corrupted by the evil mechanisms of society through technology and progress, which were often viewed as a negative development and the root of all problems in contemporary European society, rather than having anything to do with the non-European Other, which, as the ‘Ignoble Savage’ points out, was firmly entrenched in the negativity of wild imagination and the philosophical standpoint of the eternal warring ‘Hobbesian savage’. However, a recent study by Ter Ellingson has questioned the widespread belief in the ‘Noble Savage’ and labelled it as a great hoax, as far more negative stereotypes in reality persisted throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In popular thought the discourse of the ‘Noble Savage’ has been readily credited to the Franco-Swiss philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau. However, Ellingson traces the concept back further to a French lawyer-ethnographer by the name of Marc Lescarbott in 1609, almost 150 years earlier, as a term in comparative law after comparing the hunting lifestyle of the indigenous Mi’kmaq people in Canada to the exclusively noble pastime in Europe. It was not seen again, he argues, in any significant fashion, apart from a brief reference by the English poet John Dryden in 1672, until 1859 when John Crawford, future President of the Ethnological Society of London, recreated the contemporary view of the Rousseauian ‘Noble Savage’ (whereby Rousseau’s name appeared as the attributed author even though he never referred to savages as noble and did not endorse the ideals of ‘returning to nature’) as an ideological weapon for his racist agenda on racial equality and human rights. Through claiming the preponderance of the erroneous (and retrospectively invented) earlier belief in ‘savage nobility’ in order to justify his racist arguments on the existence of a ‘superior’ white race and ‘inferior’

However, given that preconceptions of ‘savage life’ were probably more complex than such simple bipolar stereotyping might suggest,³ early European explorers’ accounts of the South Pacific were nevertheless centred around notions of good and evil, where instead of a vast continent they found beautiful and exotic tropical island paradises, on which even the crudest of weary sailors could be welcomed by South Sea maidens who freely engaged in sexual exchanges, while other islands were often tainted by the objectionable acts of cannibalism committed by the mostly suspicious and warlike savages who inhabited them.⁴ The question then is how did this mentality affect the depiction of New Zealand and the indigenous Maori in general? Could cannibals really live in paradise?

As these observations were based on the European belief and value systems, they often said more about their own ethnocentric views and preconceptions, than the actual traits of the indigenous peoples they encountered:

The stereotyping distorted ‘Us’ as well as ‘Them’, through racial ‘archotyping’ and ‘antityping’. An archetype positively idealised Us, teaching you what to be; an antitype negatively idealised Them, teaching you what not to be. The worst of non-European societies was compared to the best of European. [...] Such stereotyping varied quite predictably, more according to the needs of the observers than the actual character of the observed. [...] While most stereotypes played up or invented Maori vices, others played up or invented virtues.⁵

darker races, it resulted in a self-perpetuating myth that soon spread beyond anthropologist circles (Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, esp. 21-34, 80-95, 290-302). However, while the assertion of ‘universal savage nobility’ has been put to the test in this study, the views which formed the main characteristics of the ‘Noble Savage’, including viewpoints expressing nobility in certain savage nations, did already exist in some form, especially among the vanguard of the Romantic movement. (See, for example, Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*. 2nd Ed. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985.)

³ See I. C. Campbell, “Savages Noble and Ignoble: Preconceptions of Early European Voyagers in Polynesia”, in: *Pacific Studies* 4:1 (1980): 45-59.

⁴ See, for instance, Christiane Kuchler Williams, *Erotische Paradiese: Zur europäischen Südseerezeption im 18. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004; K. R. Howe, *Nature, Culture, and History: The “Knowing” of Oceania*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000, 6-21; Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815*. Auckland: Viking, 1997; Salmond, *Two Worlds*; Lynne Withey, *Voyages of Discovery: Captain Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific*. London; Melbourne: Hutchinson, 1988; Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*; Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow, *Das Bild und der Spiegel: Europäische Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert*. München; Wien: Hanser, 1984; Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow, *Die erfahrene Welt: Europäische Reiseliteratur im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*. Frankfurt a/M: Insel, 1980; Urs Bitterli, *Die ‘Wilden’ und die ‘Zivilisierten’: Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung*. München: Beck, 1976.

⁵ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. London: Allen Lane; Auckland: Penguin Press, 1996, 20. This stereotyping was not confined to literature, however, but was also present in European art which was shaped according to the various beliefs, values and tastes of the painter and society at large, not to mention the wants of the audience and patron: “European artists formulated multiple, at times seemingly conflicting, views of Maori people, culture, and history. For instance, Maori could be presented as savages existing at a primitive stage of social development. Maori could be presented as romantic beings, as noble, as ignoble, as relics of antiquity, as exotic curiosities, as picturesque, as hostile, as friendly or deferential, as objects of desire or display, as participants in a spectacle, as members of a dying race, as

These Maori stereotypes have been detailed best in the seminal work of New Zealand historian James Belich through his use of seven colour-coded European lenses for viewing the ‘savage’ and Maori in particular. Although not entirely satisfactory, inasmuch as reality does not fit neatly into fixed categories and no one lens was necessarily used exclusively at any one time, Belich’s stereotypes, nevertheless, illustrate the different nineteenth-century attitudes of the day:

The clear lens was not really a stereotype at all, but a relatively unbiased view of Maori. It was never perfectly clear but always smudged by the deeper kinds of ethnocentric measurement, from which it is very hard to detach oneself. But some lenses were clearly clearer than others. [...] The grey lens saw Maori as a shadowy, declining or dying race. Mild eighteenth-century versions attributed decline to corruption by European vice and disease, regretted it and hoped it was reversible. Nineteenth-century versions, including the ideas of fatal impact and Social Darwinism, were much harsher: ‘inferior’ Maori were dying out, and a good thing too. The white lens portrayed Maori as quite European-like, with great potential for conversion, civilisation and Europeanisation – the best of savages, so good that they were potentially almost white. The black lens, harshest of the seven, saw them as unsalvageably savage and bestial. [...] Red Savages were inherently ferocious, chronically warlike among themselves, ruthless in their dealings with nature, and formidable if not admirable. Brown Savages were natural subordinates: potentially faithful, sometimes comic, but almost as unimprovable as the red and the black. The Green Savage, nature’s gentry, at one with their environment, was a comparatively generous stereotype but was invented to highlight, by contrast, perceived weaknesses in European society.⁶

In other words, unless one could view the subject with complete detachment any individual viewpoint would therefore be subjected to a variety of preconceived, if not ill-conceived, images and stereotypes, which interacted and often conflicted with the gathered evidence.

As can be seen, the same basic dichotomies remained throughout both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the one hand, the favourable images of the ‘Green’ and ‘White Savage’, to use Belich’s terminology, managed to positively reinvent Maoridom to suit their own European notions of society, progress and values. On the other hand, the more negative images of the ‘Black’, ‘Red’, ‘Brown’ and ‘Grey Savage’ managed only to continue prejudice and racial disharmony.⁷ In this way, the ‘Green Maori’ can be seen as the idealistic and humanistic (albeit

ethnological specimens, as marketable commodities, as antipodean peasants” (Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840-1914*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1992, 4; see also Leonard Bell, *The Maori in European Art: A Survey of the Representation of the Maori by European Artists from the Time of Captain Cook to the Present Day*. Wellington: Reed, 1980; Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁶ Belich, *Making Peoples*, 20.

⁷ Some of the most noteworthy nineteenth-century British contributions to the image of Maori and their customs are as follows: John Savage, *Some Account of New Zealand: particularly the Bay of Islands, and surrounding country; with a description of the religion and government, language, arts, manufactures, manners, and customs of the natives, &c. &c.* [1807]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Capper Press, 1973; J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand, performed in the years 1814 and 1815 in company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden, Principal Chaplain of New South Wales, or: Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand, including a description of the country, and incidental*

apocryphal) ‘Noble Savage’ living harmoniously and independently in an idyllic state of simplicity and perfection in a veritable Garden of Eden.⁸ The early nineteenth century’s reaction to industrialisation also saw the rise of the belief in the ‘Romantic Savage’, which accompanied the idea of the rebirth of new civilisations arising out of the barbarian populations of the newly discovered Pacific nations, much like those who founded the societies of northern Europe, to replace those ‘organic’ civilisations in decline in the West.⁹ According to the ‘monogenist’ line of thinking, it was believed that all human life originated in the same place and came from the same Adam and Eve before being dispersed to all the distant corners of the globe, where the savage remained in a degenerative state awaiting progress through European means. With their potential for being civilised and converted, despite their need of supervision and direction in order to fully develop, the Maori were then also able to assume the Europeanised form of the ‘White Maori’, which saw them as “relatively enlightened and civilisable ‘better blacks’ whose highest aspiration was to become as white-like as possible as quickly as possible, voluntarily subordinating themselves to the state in the process”.¹⁰ However, in spite of being the most European-like and equal image of all the stereotypes, “in practice, equality was usually a step ahead of even the most eager converts, dangling ever in front of them like the hare in front of a racing greyhound”.¹¹

While the above images of the savage emphasise their similarities with Europeans, or at least reflect upon the same origins, the rest focus on their differences. In this case, these

remarks on the manners, customs and political economy of the natives, together with supplementary observations on the origin of the people, and the soil, climate and productions of the island [1817]. Facsim. Ed. 2 vols. Auckland: Wilson & Horton, 1971; George L. Craik, *The New Zealanders* [1830]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1999; Augustus Earle, *A Narrative of a Nine Months’ Residence in New Zealand in 1827* [1832]. New Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1999; William Yate, *An Account of New Zealand and of the Formation and Progress of the Church Missionary Society’s Mission in the Northern Island* [2nd Ed. 1835]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1998; J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders: with notes corroborative of their habits, usages, etc., and remarks to intending emigrants, with numerous cuts drawn on wood* [1840]. Vol. I & II. New Ed and Index. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 2000; Richard Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui, or, New Zealand and its Inhabitants: Illustrating the origin, manners, customs, mythology, religion, rites, songs, proverbs, fables, and language of the natives; together with the geology, natural history, productions, and climate of the country, its state as regards Christianity, sketches of the principal chiefs, and their present position* [1855]. Wellington: Reed, 1974; Edward Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders: with illustrations of their manners and customs* [1856]. New Ed and Index. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 2001; Arthur S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present – Savage and Civilized* [1859]. 2 vols in 1. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 2000; John White, *Maori Customs and Superstitions: Being the subject of two lectures delivered at the Mechanics’ Institute, in Auckland, during the year 1861* [1861]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 2002; Edward Tregear, *The Aryan Maori* [1885]. Facsim. Ed. Papakura: McMillan, 1984.

⁸ In more recent decades the popular image of the ‘Ecologically Noble Savage’ has also surfaced to create the myth of indigenous peoples as environmentally conscious guardians of nature (Ellingson, *Myth of the Noble Savage*, 342-58).

⁹ Smith, *European Vision*, 317-32.

¹⁰ Belich, *Making Peoples*, 193.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 125.

unenlightened pagans, who were readily associated with such practices as cannibalism, infanticide and idolatry, were viewed to be too primitive to possibly comprehend European ideas and values, and therefore beyond conversion. If the savage could not be converted into a peaceable and European-like form at a time when racial intolerance and evangelical persecution were on the rise, it often resulted in the less subtle use of force:

Few tribal peoples were seen as brighter or whiter than the Maori, but a harsher view of them lurked in the wings, prophesying empire by conquest. This was linked to the irreparably ferocious Red Savage, who had to be spoken to in the only language he understood; to the ultimately unsalvageable Brown Savage, whose limited virtues had to be brought out with a touch of the 'beneficent whip'; and to the indelibly inferior Black Savage, who needed to be swept from the path of progress. Such ideas were in turn linked to 'polygenist' racial theories that stressed the fixity of racial characteristics throughout time, and even argued that the different races were actually different species, descended from separate Adams and Eves. Moderate versions of this thinking were more common in New Zealand than some scholars concede, and they flowered during conflict, causing and being caused by it. The rhetoric of conquest and indelible Maori difference was couched in terms of realism: you could not make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, whatever wishy-washy humanitarians and philanthropists might say. In the end, the savage reflexively resisted progress and civilisation, and would have to be crushed. There could be absolutely no question of the European capacity to crush. It was unEuropean to be beaten by savages.¹²

Thus, the 'Black Maori' was viewed as the lowest of the low on any human scale; in fact, closer to that of an untamed beast than a human being and should consequently be treated like one.¹³ Just as wild and untrustworthy was the 'Red Maori', ranging from the warmongering and bloodthirsty cannibal, either constantly fighting and taking prisoners or happily eating his enemies in a fit of frenzy, to the bold and fearless, albeit hostile and aggressive, warrior who, if not avoided, should be met with force. Less violent and more subordinate, however, was the 'Brown Maori' who was born to serve and could never be more than a subjugated second-class citizen, a simple lowly, albeit relatively loyal, slave to the white man.

Undoubtedly, the most powerful stereotype to exist was the 'Grey Maori', which managed to spread through all European thinking regardless of objectivity and vocation, specifically through the notion of 'fatal impact':¹⁴

Fatal impact was the belief that peoples like the Maori would crumble, collapse and ultimately die out as a result of European contact. The fit with the Grey Savage lens was obviously close, but it

¹² Ibid., 125f.

¹³ See Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea*. 9th Ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970.

¹⁴ This terminology is taken from the title of Alan Moorehead's *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific 1767-1840* (2nd Ed. Hammondsworth, Middlesex; Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin, 1971).

was not perfect: Grey Savage societies could simply die of old age, with or without European contact. Fatal impact was carried by bacilli who were themselves immune to it – European agents of contact, especially ruthless ones. Fatal impact was thought to work through the corrosive effect of European things and thoughts, through moral degradation and loss of confidence in the face of mighty Europe’s vices and virtues, through the greater destructiveness European weapons gave to warfare, and through European disease. But it was usually seen as more than the sum of its parts, a product of ‘more mysterious causes’ – immutable laws of Nature and Providence. Fatal impact led to empire by ploughing the field for it, sweeping away previous inhabitants to clear the field for Europe. In pure versions, it left no natives to rule. In moderate versions, which might be called ‘crippling impact’, it weakened them and either left them vulnerable to evil empire or obliged agents of virtue to step in and save them from the agents of vice by imposing benign empire. As early as the 1820s, well before it was reinforced, from 1859, by Social Darwinism, fatal impact pervaded the thinking of many European visitors to New Zealand. They were predisposed to see an empty Maori village as evidence of it, rather than of the inhabitants having gone to the beach for the summer. Sometimes they were right.¹⁵

In this way, the most fatal characteristic of ‘extinction discourse’ was its emphasis on the certainty of this disappearance:

The sense of doom has often been rendered all the more powerful by the combination of three elements: belief in the progress of at least some (chosen) peoples from savagery to civilization; the faith that progress is either providential or natural – God’s or Nature’s wise plan; and the idea that the white and dark races of the world are separated from each other by biological essences that, translated into Darwinian terms, equal “fitness” versus “unfitness” to survive.¹⁶ In all these ways, extinction discourse forms a powerful nexus of ideas that has been hegemonic for countless European explorers, colonists, writers, artists, officials, missionaries, humanitarians, and anthropologists.¹⁷

Thus, the inescapability and presumed consequences of European contact were readily believed without a second thought thanks largely to their belief in the “fundamental moral and biological weaknesses of islanders”,¹⁸ which saw these small and isolated populations as naturally weak, flawed, degenerate and helpless,¹⁹ often resulting in gross exaggerations as to the extent to which these supposedly dying races were diminishing, whilst their superior European brethren remained immune.

At the forefront of this belief were also the reports of early British missionaries, who “did much to spread the belief that the native peoples of the Pacific in their natural state were depraved

¹⁵ Belich, *Making Peoples*, 126.

¹⁶ The oft-cited phrase ‘survival of the fittest’ was actually coined by the Scottish philosopher Herbert Spencer in 1864 before eventually being adopted by Charles Darwin in the 1869 edition of his *Origin of Species* as a substitute for ‘natural selection’.

¹⁷ Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800-1930*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2003, 190.

¹⁸ Howe, *Nature, Culture, and History*, 43.

¹⁹ See *ibid.*, 43-46, 64-68.

and ignoble”,²⁰ and as a result were “perishing by God’s will, a process begun long before the arrival of Europeans, because these savages had been, ever since the Flood, in Satan’s thrall”.²¹ Through exaggerating the rate of decline and emphasising the sinful nature of their savage customs, i.e. “nomadism, warfare, superstition, infanticide, human sacrifice, cannibalism”,²² as the real reason for their imminent extinction, it leaned towards the discourse of the “self-extminating savage”, in which “no amount of humanitarian sentiment or scientific expertise, even when supported by the correct political will, could come to the rescue”.²³ Furthermore, based on precedents from other encounters with indigenous peoples, the European mentality set about creating a set of rules which were applied wholeheartedly to every native population in the South Pacific. These preconceptions, which arose before witnessing actual decline, only gave rise to a great array of possible causes, most of which had no basis at all and lasted for a fairly long time considering New Zealand’s relatively short European history:

The view that Maori were a dying race persisted to 1930, a generation after census evidence showed conclusively that Maori were on the increase. The notion that Maori were subjected to ‘crippling impact’ – devastated and demoralised, if not destroyed – is still widespread. In the nineteenth century, the suggested causes of Maori demise ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous. Missionaries suggested the will of God, the work of the Devil, the sins of William Yate.²⁴ Secular explanations included the disuse of traditional foods, clothing and customs; the misuse of new foods, clothing and customs; living in cold draughty houses; living in hot airless houses; working too hard, and not working hard enough. While disease predominated, other alleged causes of death and low birth rates included mass suicide, deaths from sulking, colds, excessive excitement, fatness, too much sex, horse riding and the ravening katipo spider.²⁵

As Belich demonstrates, even though Europe had come a long way since the eighteenth century, the early preconceptions still formed the root of their perceptions a century later. But was this also the case with New Zealand as a whole?

The Southern British Paradise

As interest in New Zealand becoming a future British colony grew in the early nineteenth century, the prospects of the new colony had to be moulded and projected back to Britain in a favourable light through brushing aside any foreseeable shortfalls and emphasising all the

²⁰ Smith, *European Vision*, 5. For the New Zealand context, see Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 401-509.

²¹ Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, 142.

²² *Ibid.*, 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁴ See Judith Binney, “Yate, William 1802 – 1877: Missionary, writer”, in: *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* [=DNZB]. Volume One, 1769-1869. Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1990, 611f.

²⁵ Belich, *Making Peoples*, 174.

positives and potentials, both real and imagined.²⁶ The result was a vision centred around the themes of ‘progress’, ‘paradise’ and ‘Britishness’.²⁷ In order for this ‘progressive British paradise’ to be realised, it had to be written in advance by the propagandist literature of Edward Gibbon Wakefield’s New Zealand Company, which was to all intents and purposes the official authority on land sales and colonisation during the late 1830s and 1840s.²⁸ This ‘paradise’ motif can be divided into the two basic images of ‘Utopia’ and ‘Arcadia’:

Utopia emphasised collective action, civilised refinement and the godly city or benign state. In élitist versions, its ideal inhabitants were virtuous community leaders, Platonic Guardians; in more egalitarian versions they were public-spirited good citizens. Arcadia emphasised natural abundance, individual virtue and the rural life. Its ideal inhabitant was the sturdy yeoman, living self-sufficiently and independently with his family on his own farm.²⁹

What New Zealand promised in its literature was a British ‘Arcadia’, an archetypal society based on the idealised vision of rural England, which drew on the inverse of contemporary societal and philosophical issues from the Old World and followed the conventions of the centuries-old imagined representations of the New World and the ‘earthly Pacific paradise’.³⁰ It is this conventional image of Arcadia which formed the basis of the rhetoric for the colonisation of New Zealand in the nineteenth century, as the prevailing image fostered by Wakefield’s scheme of ‘systematic colonisation’ essentially continued as a self-perpetuating phenomenon right through the end of the colonising era in the 1880s³¹ after the influential tenure of the colonial politician Julius Vogel.³²

²⁶ Even letters and pictures sent to loved ones from recent New Zealand immigrants during the pioneering era were often selective in their content and ‘touched up’ respectively to present by and large only positive images of their experiences (Jeanine Graham, “The Pioneers (1840-70)”, in: *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*. 2nd Ed. Ed. Keith Sinclair. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996, 49-74; cf. Judith A. Johnston, “Information and Emigration: The Image Making Process”, in: *New Zealand Geographer* 33:2 Oct (1977): 60-67).

²⁷ Belich, *Making Peoples*, 287.

²⁸ See Patricia Burns, *Fatal Success: A History of the New Zealand Company*. Ed. Henry Richardson. Auckland: Reed, 1989; Philip Temple, *A Sort of Conscience: The Wakefields*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002; Miles Fairburn, “Wakefield, Edward Gibbon 1796 – 1862: Political theorist, colonial promoter, politician”, in: *DNZB* 1, 572-75.

²⁹ Belich, *Making Peoples*, 293.

³⁰ See, for example, Howe, *Nature, Culture, and History*, 6-14; Küchler Williams, *Erotische Paradiese*, 81-89; J. C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing, 1516-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 12-40, esp. 22-26.

³¹ See, for example, Edward Gibbon Wakefield and John Ward, *The British Colonization of New Zealand; being an account of the principles, objects, and plans of the New Zealand Association; together with particulars concerning the position, extent, soil and climate, natural productions, and native inhabitants of New Zealand* [1837]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 2000, 43-51, 75-79, 302-37; John Ward, *Information Relative to New-Zealand, Compiled for the Use of Colonists* [2nd Ed. 1840]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Capper, 1975, 1-60; Edward Jerneingham Wakefield, *The Hand-Book for New Zealand: Consisting of the most recent information, compiled for the use of intending colonists by a late magistrate of the colony, who resided there during four years* [1848]. Facsim. Ed.

The basic idea was to reproduce Britain in either of the two planned forms: ‘Better Britain’ or ‘Greater Britain’:

Better Britain ranked paradise over progress; Arcadia over Utopia; and quality over quantity. Greater Britain inverted these rankings. Better Britain saw New Zealand as permanently subordinate to Old Britain, though the child was to be an evolutionary improvement on the parent. Greater Britain envisaged a bigger, bolder and less subordinate future, and was prepared to take more risks with select stock to obtain it.³³

In other words, this ‘Britain of the South’ in its ‘Better’ form was to be a neo-British melting-pot which was subordinate and smaller, yet of higher quality to the original, whilst in its ‘Greater’ form it was to be greater in both size and quality, more independent and at least on a par with Britain, if not superior. The tension, however, between both visions resulted in the incorporation of “an instant collective identity that was not merely arcadian and rural but also British and progressive”:

Arcadianism, involving natural abundance and steady, natural, farm-led growth powered by virtuous individuals, contested with utopianism: abundance stemming from the British insemination of raw New Zealand nature, and fast, artificial, town-led growth powered by progressive collectivities. In the colonising era, 1840s-80s, it was utopianism that predominated; only to be retrospectively replaced by arcadianism as a new present rewrote history to suit itself. But, characteristically, the crusaders wanted to have their cake and eat it: both Better Britain and Arcadia, and Greater Britain and Utopia. That the latter pair outpaced the former in the colonising era, and that the reverse happened thereafter, was not planned by them.³⁴

Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1998, 27-50; I. R. Cooper, *The New Zealand Settler's Guide: A sketch of the present state of the six provinces, with a digest of the constitution and land regulations, and two maps* [1857]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1997, 3-18, 27f., 150-53; Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, 36-50; Charles Hursthouse, *New Zealand, the "Britain of the South": with a chapter on the Native War, and our future native policy* [1861]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1997, 59-72, 192-94, 255-57, 387f., 407-9; Sir Julius Vogel (ed.), *The Official Handbook of New Zealand: A collection of papers by experienced colonists on the colony as a whole, and on the several provinces* [1875]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1999, 16, 36-40, 70, 112, 127, 134, 160f., 167, 171f., 183f., 208f., 216f., 225f., 243, 258f.; Alfred Simmons, *Old England and New Zealand: The Government, Laws, Churches, Public Institutions and the Resources of New Zealand, popularly and critically compared with those of the Old Country: with an historical sketch of the Maori race (the natives of New Zealand): to which are added extracts from the author's diary of his voyage to New Zealand, in company with 500 emigrants* [1879]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1995, 30f., 42f., 60f., 92-97; Arthur Clayden, *The England of the Pacific, or New Zealand as an English Middle-Class Emigration Field: A lecture, together with a reprint of letters to the Daily News on the English agricultural labourer in New Zealand, notes of a month's trip on horseback through the North Island of New Zealand, and a few plain directions for intending emigrants*. London: Wyman, 1879, 6-21, 25-44, 48-50, 55; John Bathgate, *New Zealand: Its Resources and Prospects* [1880]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1996, 20-30, 50f., 66-68, 99f., 109-11; Edward Wakefield, *New Zealand After Fifty Years* [1889]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 2000, 4f., 20f., 25-55, 120-22, 224.

³² See Raewyn Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*. Auckland: Auckland University Press; Oxford University Press, 1986; Raewyn Dalziel, “Vogel, Julius 1835 – 1899: Journalist, politician, premier, writer”, in: *DNZB* 1, 563-66.

³³ Belich, *Making Peoples*, 302.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 309.

When it came to British propaganda, on the other hand, New Zealand was fully entrenched in the ideals of rural Arcadia, in spite of varying inconsistencies.

This Arcadian vision has been studied at length in Miles Fairburn's 1989 study *The Ideal Society and its Enemies*.³⁵ In this notable work the author identifies three 'paradise' models attributable to New Zealand which clearly rely on classical Arcadian principles: 'natural abundance', the 'labourer's paradise' and the 'middle-class paradise'. Although the former is consistent with the traditional notions of Arcadia, the passive relationship, in this case, has been replaced by a dynamic one, which sees man converting and improving this natural abundance by hand due to the Victorian conception of material progress, namely "the belief that material betterment stimulates moral growth which in its turn produces more material growth and so on in an everlasting upward spiral".³⁶ The three steps in this process can be labelled as 'natural advantages', 'bush cornucopia' and material growth. While the first emphasises the potential for industry that the bountiful nature of New Zealand is providentially blessed with, such as "a 'salubrious' climate; a naturally productive soil; plenty of land; proximity to the major trading routes; a long coastline and naturally good harbours; luxuriant forest cover; ample fauna though not in variety; and a wide range and an ample store of minerals",³⁷ not to mention the easy introduction of European animals, vegetables and plants which flourish in large numbers due to the "genial climate, ample food, [and] absence of predators",³⁸ the latter two steps transform this "potential for fruitfulness" into real progress, in which the end result is that "people have greater influence over nature, and the plenty is correspondingly more refined, varied, and copious".³⁹

The second Arcadian image is the 'labourer's paradise' which stems from the first, in that "natural abundance creates marvellous opportunities for working men to become materially independent, to gain what contemporaries called a 'competency' or an 'independency', equivalent to the ownership of productive capital, usually landed property".⁴⁰ In theory, the self-made man could better himself on his own freehold farm regardless of class and capital, albeit after working as a rural labourer for several years while saving enough money to buy a small parcel of land on which to settle and become his own boss, a popular theme for those dissatisfied with the status

³⁵ Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900*. Reprinted. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1990; cf. Claudia Bell, *Inventing New Zealand: Everyday Myths of Pakeha Identity*. Auckland: Penguin, 1996, 3-6.

³⁶ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 33.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

quo of the landless and ‘dependent wage labourer’ in the ‘Old Country’,⁴¹ and those simply caught up in the urban turmoil of a highly industrial nation who longed for the simple country life. Although the traditional values of ‘innate moderation’ have, in this case, been replaced by the work ethic and individual progress, an implied ‘moral sensibility’ results from this virtuous labour.⁴² What is more, the “country is praised because its strong labour market maintains security of employment and high wages; food in the colony is cheap and plentiful (especially meat); here even labouring men can hunt game and ride horses; New Zealand is a wonderful place to work in as hours are comparatively short and the employer treats you as an equal”.⁴³ In other words, this paradise was “predicated upon an imagined endless stock of natural riches”, and therefore also an endless number of available opportunities, where the “deprived and the oppressed [could] [...] achieve the economic independence necessary for their social independence and individual self-reliance”.⁴⁴

The third Arcadian image is the ‘middle-class paradise’ which “appealed to the propertied, to those who arrived in the colony with capital and to those who arrived without capital but subsequently won competencies”, whereby it was believed “New Zealand’s natural abundance and minimal social organisation prevented social conflict (notably class-driven conflict) and status anxiety”.⁴⁵ This image was, first of all, borne out of the belief that the working class were happily content with their better and harmonious lifestyle, which lacked the coercive paternalism of the law, police and masters and provided higher wages, which in turn “eliminated their radical and anti-social tendencies” because they obtained more from legal means than illegal, and hence had no need to steal. This was followed by better prospects at property ownership, resulting in a better character and greater sense of law and order, and, most importantly, no economic conflict “since the bountiful natural resources of New Zealand permitted each individual to increase his supply of economic satisfactions without reducing the supply to anyone else”,⁴⁶ all of which helped create the idealised image of a safe and orderly “crimeless society”.⁴⁷ Thus, two important Arcadian facets existed in this “tranquil society”. The first was the “sense of bliss felt by the middle classes in response to the safety of their lives and property” and the “security from

⁴¹ See Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s*. Wellington: Victoria University Press; Price Milburn, 1981, 18-35.

⁴² Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 59.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 45; cf. Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land*, 242-49, 252-54, 256-60.

⁴⁴ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 58.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 61-67.

working-class crime and protest [which] is described as if it were based on a minimal social organisation".⁴⁸ The second was based on the fact that, because New Zealand was viewed as an open society that did not discriminate against any one class, no competition for status existed, and therefore neither did the need to keep up traditional Victorian appearances appropriate to one's specific class, nor any sense of stigma against economic failure or manual labour; in fact, here, physical labour was encouraged, as "industry, thrift, and perseverance" were the only "objects of respect and prestige" due to the only way to earn a living being hard work which, in contrast to Britain, resulted in more profit, as well as respectable and decent moral virtues.⁴⁹

Over time New Zealand further offered "specialist paradises" to cater to various different walks of life, including "brides, governesses, carpenters, gentry, invalids and investors":⁵⁰

The Pakeha paradise complex offered a bewildering array of heavens on earth: a racial paradise where Anglo-Saxon virtue flowered; an investors' paradise, where Old Britons could safely entrust their money to New Britons; a workers' paradise full of well-paid jobs; a brides' paradise full of well-paid husbands; and a genteel paradise where a little money and status went a lot further than at home, and where gentility and the work ethic could be more readily reconciled.⁵¹

The various immigration schemes to New Zealand appealed particularly to the poor and unemployed lower and middle classes, as well as capitalist investors and speculators alike, through promoting potential wealth, employment and land ownership, in contrast to the unfavourable conditions at home.⁵² When combined with the myth of 'natural abundance' (in reality it was quite limited in size and location, and in most places required much progress to improve its untamed primitiveness), its uniquely exotic and beautiful character which at the same time offered a sense of familiarity and safety to the European settler, the rejuvenating and temperate climate which was highly favourable to the 'better' British stock, and the fact that this latest outpost of the British Empire was a colony not founded on slavery or convicts, it is easy to see why many felt the long and potentially dangerous voyage to New Zealand was justified. Thus, it is to these images that we turn when interpreting the written accounts of German-speaking explorers and travellers during the colonising period of the 1840s to 1880s, whether eventual

⁴⁸ Ibid., 63.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 66-73.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 306.

⁵¹ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders: From the 1880s to the Year 2000*. Auckland: Allen Lane/Penguin Press, 2001, 22.

⁵² See, for example, Burns, *Fatal Success*, 191; Judith Bassett, "A Paradise for Working Men 1870-1880", in: Binney et al., *The People and the Land: Te Tangata me Te Whenua: An Illustrated History of New Zealand, 1820-1920*. Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1990, 165-81; Duncan Mackay, *Frontier New Zealand: The Search for Eldorado (1800-1920)*. Auckland: HarperCollins NZ, 1992.

settlers or temporary visitors, as they form not only the basis for many of the popular preconceptions which influence their narratives, but, more importantly, the overall reception of New Zealand according to how close fact and fiction merge.

CHAPTER TWO: Georg Forster (1754-94) and the Early Perception of New Zealand and the Maori in German-speaking Europe

Forster's *Reise um die Welt*

The individual most responsible for spreading the South Pacific imagination into German-speaking Europe during the eighteenth century is Georg Forster, whose account of Captain Cook's second voyage to the South Pacific in 1772-75 received many accolades and much interest by his fellow countrymen. Born Johann George Adam Forster¹ on 27 November 1754 in the Prussian-Polish town of Nassenhuben, near Danzig, in what is now Mokry Dwór, this youthful and intelligent seventeen-year-old accompanied his father, Johann Reinhold Forster (1729-98),² on Cook's *Resolution* after the latter was appointed as official naturalist for the journey following the withdraw of Joseph Banks when his proposed extensions for the ship to house his entourage and collections were proved impractical. Prior to the voyage, Johann Reinhold was briefly an assistant pastor in Danzig before carrying out a scientific report, while accompanied by Georg, on the new German colonies along the Volga River in Russia in 1765-66, which, however, ended in disappointment and no pay, and resulted in their move to England. As he had a considerable interest in the natural world and the antiquaries, he became a teacher of natural history and philology at the Dissenters' Academy at Warrington in 1767, and consequently became involved with the influential Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries and the Society of Arts, all of which naturally culminated in his later scientific appointment for the expedition. However, due to contractual issues and a wrangle as to who would write the official account of the voyage, Johann Reinhold was refused permission to be the author of any such narrative.³ In spite of this, it did not prevent Georg from publishing an account under his own

¹ Although referred to as Georg Forster by German scholars, he was presumably christened George to commemorate his Yorkshire grandfather George Reinhold Forster who was of Scottish descent.

² Johann Reinhold Forster was born on 22 October 1729 in Dirschau (Weichsel) and died on 9 December 1798 in Halle, Germany. (See Michael E. Hoare, *The Tactless Philosopher: Johann Reinhold Forster (1729-98)*. Melbourne: Hawthorn, 1976; Michael E. Hoare, "The Legacy of J.R. Forster to European Science and Letters Before Cook's Second Voyage", in: *Captain James Cook: Image and Impact: South Sea Discoveries and the World of Letters. Vol. II: The Pacific Syndrome: Conditions and Consequences*. Edited and Introduced by Walter Veit. Melbourne: Hawthorn, 1979, 64-75; Johann Reinhold Forster, *The Resolution Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster 1772-1775*. Ed. Michael E. Hoare. London: Hakluyt Society, 1982, vol. 1, 1-54.)

³ Johann Reinhold did, however, manage to publish his own philosophical treatise in 1778 under the title *Observations Made during a Voyage Round the World, on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy*. A German version then followed in 1783, entitled *Johann Reinhold Forster's... Bemerkungen über Gegenstände der physischen Erdbeschreibung, Naturgeschichte und sittlichen Philosophie auf seine Reise um die Welt gesammelt*, after being translated and further annotated by his son.

name based on his father's diaries and his own experiences without his father. *A Voyage Round the World* (1777)⁴ came out six weeks before Cook's official account,⁵ but was not an immediate financial success as hoped. However, upon visiting Germany following the publication of the first volume of the German version *Reise um die Welt* in 1778⁶ (the second volume came out in 1780, and then both volumes were republished together in 1784), he received much critical acclaim and recognition to offset the fairly disappointing sales of the English version, which, for one, lacked the prints of Cook's more attractive account.⁷ Although at the time German-speaking regions had to wait for the German translations of the varying accounts of prominent seafaring nations, travel literature was already popular in these areas by the end of the eighteenth century, initially in the form of anthologies and later direct translations from Cook's voyages before peaking with Forster's account.⁸ In fact, the number of travelogues increased fivefold between 1770 and 1800

⁴ George Forster, *A Voyage Round the World* [1777]. 2 vols. Edited by Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Berghof and assisted by Jennifer Newell. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

⁵ James Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole, and Round the World, performed in His Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Adventure*. 2 vols. London: Strahan and Cadell, 1777.

⁶ The first edition was published by Haude and Spener as *Johann Reinhold Forster's... Reise um die Welt während den Jahren 1772 bis 1775... Beschreiben und herausgegeben von dessen Sohn und Reisegefährten George Forster... Vom Verfasser selbst aus dem Englischen übersetzt, mit dem Wesentlichsten aus des Captain Cooks Tagebüchern und anderen Zusätzen für den deutschen Leser vermehrt und durch Kupfer erläutert*. Both volumes were also published as part of a series in 1778-80 entitled: *Geschichte der See-Reisen und Entdeckungen im Süd- Meer welche auf Befehl Sr. Großbritannischen Majestät George des Dritten unternommen worden sind. Aus den Tagebüchern der Schiffs-Befehlshaber und den Handschriften der Gelehrten Herren J. Banks Esq., Dr. Solander, Dr J. R. Forster und Herrn G. Forster. Mit Zusätzen für den deutschen Leser vermehrt und durch Kupfer erläutert*.

⁷ Added to its problems were the vehement criticisms of William Wales, the *Resolution* astronomer, who not only took issue with the original conditions for the elder Forster's appointment and their rights to write the official narrative in the first place, but also the nature of the publication, including the authorship and the presence of alleged inaccuracies and misrepresentations. For Georg's correspondence with William Wales and his letter to the Earl of Sandwich over this whole affair, see Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, vol. 2, 698-806.

⁸ The first anthology to appear in German was the twenty-volume *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande; oder Sammlung aller Reisebeschreibungen, welche bis itzo in verschiedenen Sprachen von allen Völkern herausgegeben worden, und einem vollständigen Begriff von der neuen Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte machen* between 1747 and 1774. The second was the Charles de Brosses edited *Vollständige Geschichte der Schiffahrten nach den noch grösten theils unbekanntten Südländern*, which was translated from the French in 1767. In addition to the German versions of several anonymous and unauthorised accounts of the first and second voyages prior to Forster's *Reise um die Welt*, the 1774 translation of Hawkesworth's official account would have been the most familiar at the time: *Geschichte der See-Reisen und Entdeckungen im Süd- Meer welche auf Befehl Sr. Großbritannischen Majestät unternommen, und von Commodore Byron, Capitain Wallis, Capitain Carteret und Capitain Cook [sic] im Dolphin, der Swallow, und dem Endeavour nach einander ausgeführt worden sind; aus den Tagebüchern der verschiedenen Befehlshaber und den Handschriften Joseph Banks Esq.* This was alternatively published the following year as *Ausführliche und glaubwürdige Geschichte der neuesten Reisen um die Welt, welche auf Befehl und Kosten des jetztregierenden Königs von England in den Jahren 1764 bis 1772 von erfahrenen Seeleuten und anderen berühmten gelehrten, unternommen worden sind, um die äußere Gestalt unserer bewohnten Erdkugel näher kennen zu lernen, und vornehmlich um in dem großen bishero noch ziemlich unerforschtem Süd- Meere neue Länder zu entdecken; aus den Tagebüchern derer Schiffs-Capitains, und anderer Gelehrten, welche zu diesen Expeditionen gebraucht worden, namentlich: des Commodore Byron, Capitain Wallis, Capitain Carteret, Capitain Cook und der einsichtsvollen Naturforscher Herren Banks und D. Solander.* (See Monika Klauk, *Die*

to the point where it became the main medium for overseas information, and by 1784 Germans had also become the biggest consumers of travel literature in Europe. This was helped largely by the fact that very few managed to actually travel outside of Europe, let alone take part in foreign expeditions to the Americas or the Pacific.⁹

The German-speaking public seemed to relish the first real German example of ‘travel writing’, with its genuine local and reliable version of events through unique first-hand experience, which resulted in Georg Forster being regarded as the German authority on the South Pacific and responsible for a new genre of writing in this part of Europe through exciting the imagination of its people with accounts of newly discovered lands and inhabitants. With his newfound reputation during the height of his fame, in which he translated and wrote a number of articles and book reviews of the latest publications regarding South Sea discoveries, he became, as one scholar labels him, the “Pacific expert”¹⁰ of the latter period of the eighteenth century in Germany, which raised the bar on German travel writing to take it from a fairly standard work of dry scientific facts into something which encompassed not only the natural sciences and philosophy, but was also written in a very readable and colourful language. Before his controversial involvement in the founding and running of the revolutionary ‘Society of the Jacobins, Friends of Liberty and Equality’ in Mainz in 1793, which both tarnished his name in Germany throughout the nineteenth and even twentieth century and forced him to live in exile in Paris until his untimely death on 10 January 1794, Georg managed to meet and, in many cases, influence such prominent German intellectuals, poets, writers, philosophers and naturalists as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottfried Herder and Alexander von Humboldt, leading to his later epithet as a ‘classic of German prose’.¹¹

Reiseliteratur über Australien und Neuseeland 1750-1810. St. Ingbert: Röhrig, 1992, 1-3, 17-33; cf. Corkhill, *Antipodean Encounters*, 9-17.)

⁹ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 32f.

¹⁰ Leslie Bodi, “Georg Forster: The ‘Pacific Expert’ of Eighteenth-Century Germany”, in: *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand* 8:32 (1959): 345-63.

¹¹ Friedrich von Schlegel, “Georg Forster: Fragment einer Charakteristik der deutschen Klassiker [1797]”, in: *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe: Bd. 2: Charakteristiken und Kritiken*. Herausgegeben von Ernst Behler, unter Mitwirkung von Jean-Jacques Anstett und Hans Eichner. Paderborn; München: Schöningh, 1967, 78-99. For general biographies, see, for example, Ludwig Uhlig, *Georg Forster: Lebensabenteuer eines gelehrten Weltbürgers (1754-1794)*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004; Gerhard Steiner, *Georg Forster*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977; Ulrich Enzensberger, *Georg Forster: Ein Leben in Scherben*. Frankfurt a/M: Eichborn, 1996; Klaus Harpprecht, *Georg Forster oder Die Liebe zur Welt: Eine Biographie*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1990; Thomas P. Saine, *Georg Forster*. New York: Twayne, 1972; Kurt Kersten, *Der Weltumsegler: Johann Georg Adam Forster 1754-1794*. Bern: Francke, 1957. For the New Zealand/Pacific connection see also James Braund, “The Pacific Legacy of Georg Forster”, in: *Europe’s Pasts and Presents: Proceedings of the Fourteenth Biennial Conference of the Australasian Association for European History (Brisbane, Australia, July 2003)*. Eds. Stephan Atzert and Andrew G. Bonnell.

Having lived in England since October 1766 and with his father's connections to the Royal Society and Society of Antiquaries, Georg was naturally also able to walk among the same circles as the likes of Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, the resident scientists on Cook's first expedition in 1768-71, and other like-minded and influential people, and learnt much of his knowledge from his father. His understanding of the South Seas was complemented further by his undoubted translating of Louis Antoine de Bougainville's *Voyage autour du monde* (1771) under the guidance of his father (even though the published version was credited to the latter)¹² and his reading of standard British compilations of the previous, albeit unreliable, European accounts of the South Pacific, including the popular but sometimes inaccurate and embellished collection by John Hawkesworth, which gives, among others, an account of Cook's first voyage.¹³ So when it came to his second voyage in 1772-75 the Forsters would have been well acquainted with the earlier accounts and stories of New Zealand and the Maori in particular.¹⁴ Following the discovery of the west coast of New Zealand by the Dutch explorer Abel Janszoon Tasman in December 1642 the indigenous Maori were given the reputation of a treacherous and warlike race after murdering three members of his crew and mortally wounding a fourth at Taitapu, which he soon afterwards named 'Murderers' Bay' (now known as 'Golden Bay').¹⁵ As a consequence, this image remained unchanged for over a century until the first British voyage of Captain Cook

Unley: Australian Humanities Press, 2004, 245-60; Michael E. Hoare, "Die beiden Forster und die pazifische Wissenschaft", in: *Georg Forster in interdisziplinärer Perspektive Beiträge des Internationalen Georg Forster-Symposiums in Kassel, 1. bis 4. April 1993*. Herausgegeben im Auftrag der Georg Forster-Gesellschaft e.V. von Claus-Volker Klenke im Zusammenarbeit mit Jörn Garber und Dieter Heintze. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994, 29-41; Michael E. Hoare, *Three Men in a Boat: The Forsters and New Zealand Science*. Melbourne: Hawthorn, 1975; Michael E. Hoare, "The Forsters and Cook's Second Voyage 1772-1775", in: *Captain James Cook: Image and Impact: South Sea Discoveries and the World of Letters*. Vol. 1. Edited and Introduced by Walter Veit. Melbourne: Hawthorn, 1972, 107-116; J. R. Forster, *Journal*, vol. 1, 55-122; John A. Asher, "Georg Forster", in: *Welt für sich*, 171-80; John A. Asher, "George Forster, German Literature and the South Seas", in: *Enlightenment and New Zealand, 1773-1774: Essays commemorating the visit of Johann Reinhold Forster and George Forster with James Cook to Queen Charlotte and Dusky Sounds*. Ed. Michael E. Hoare. Wellington: National Art Gallery, 1979, 5-8; Sascha Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists and the Avifauna of New Zealand: The Lives and Ornithological Work of Johann Reinhold Forster, Georg Forster, Ernst Dieffenbach, Julius von Haast, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, Andreas Reischek and Otto Finsch*. MA Thesis. University of Auckland, 2002, 6-14.

¹² Louis Antoine de Bougainville, *A Voyage Round the World. Performed by Order of His Most Christian Majesty, in the Years 1766, 1767, 1768, and 1769...* [1771]. Translated from the French by John Reinhold Forster. London: Printed for Nourse and Davies, 1772.

¹³ John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and Successively Performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret and Captain Cook, in the Dolphin, the Swallow and the Endeavour*. 3 vols. London: Strahan and Cadell, 1773.

¹⁴ See, for example, Georg Forster, "Sendschreiben eines Freundes in London an den Übersetzer [Zu: Nachricht von den neuesten Entdeckungen der Engländer in der Süd-See, 1772]", in: *Georg Forsters Werke. Sämtliche Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe. Bd. 5: Kleine Schriften zur Völker- und Länderkunde*. Bearbeitet von Horst Fiedler, Klaus-Georg Popp, Annerose Schneider, Christian Suckow. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1985, 13-26.

¹⁵ See Salmond, *Two Worlds*, 63-84; *Between Worlds*, 22-24.

who, whilst circumnavigating the globe, explored and charted the inner coastal regions of New Zealand between October 1769 and April 1770, including the Bay of Islands, the Bay of Plenty and Queen Charlotte Sound. Despite the often fleeting and violent nature of many of the *Endeavour*'s initial encounters with different Maori tribes and the act of cannibalism becoming a sticking point for many European observers, there was a clear ambivalence between the traditional negative values of what Belich refers to as the 'Red Maori' stereotype and the more admirable attributes of fearlessness and openness, resulting in the dual image of Maori being welcoming and kind to their friends but, by the same token, savage and cruel toward their enemies.¹⁶

This same viewpoint reappears in the accounts of Cook's second voyage to New Zealand,¹⁷ in which Georg Forster is also no exception. In the preface of his *Reise um die Welt*, he assures his readers of his objective standpoint which, although not infallible, will provide his narrative with no unnecessary prejudices or biases towards any given nation or race of people, such as the questionable arguments of contemporary racial philosophy,¹⁸ through viewing all savages "aufs allgemeine Beste"¹⁹ in terms of their 'perfectibility' and potential to be raised to an 'improved' and 'enlightened' state.²⁰ In this way, he attempts to view the natives of the South Seas through a clear lens: "Zuweilen folgte ich dem Herzen und ließ meine Empfindungen reden; denn da ich von menschlichen Schwachheiten nicht frey bin, so mußten meine Leser doch wissen, wie das Glas gefärbt ist, durch welches ich gesehen habe. Wenigstens bin ich mir bewußt, daß es nicht finster und trübe vor meinen Augen gewesen ist" (I:13). Thus, he does not simply measure these peoples alongside his own civilisation as being naturally inferior and with lesser values; rather he tries to view them as developing along the same historical processes as Europe, albeit at an earlier and more primitive stage, with their own set of characteristics.²¹ In other words,

¹⁶ See Hawkesworth, *Voyages* II:281-410, III:7-76; cf. Salmond, *Two Worlds*, 87-296; *Between Worlds*, 25-27; *Cannibal Dog*, 113-151.

¹⁷ See Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 36-117, 141-60; *Cannibal Dog*, 180-190, 220-31, 282-86, 290.

¹⁸ See, for example, Wolfdietrich Schmied-Korwarzik, "Der Streit um die Einheit des Menschengeschlechts. Gedanken zu Forster, Herder und Kant", in: *Georg Forster in interdisziplinärer Perspektive*, 115-32.

¹⁹ Georg Forster, *Dr. Johann Reinhold Forster's und seines Sohnes Georg Forster's Reise um die Welt, auf Kosten der Grosbrittanischen Regierung, zu Erweiterung der Naturkenntniß unternommen und während den Jahren 1772 bis 1775 in dem von Capitain J. Cook commandirten Schiffe the Resolution aufgeführt* [1778-80]. In: *Georg Forsters Werke. Sämtliche Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe*. Bearbeitet von Gerhard Steiner. Bd. 2 & 3. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1965, I:14. (All further references to this work will be given in parentheses in the text.)

²⁰ Erhard Lange, "Georg Forsters Theorie der Vervollkommnungsfähigkeit der Menschen und Völker", in: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena* 13:1 (1964): 57-63.

²¹ See, for example, Tanja van Hoorn, *Dem Leibe abgelesen: Georg Forster im Kontext der physischen Anthropologie des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004; Eberhard Berg, *Zwischen den Welten: Über die Anthropologie der Aufklärung und ihr Verhältnis zu Entdeckungs-Reise und Welt-Erfahrung mit besonderem Blick*

Forster's work is characterised by an ambivalence towards European imperialism and cultural authority, which is contrasted by relativism and a re-evaluation of the 'civilising' process,²² and therefore also by what Pratt labels as the rhetoric of the 'anti-conquest' discourse.²³ This leads Forster to be at times critical towards his own arrogant culture for readily assuming superiority over all savages through the belief that Europeans have the right to judge others with their incomplete and often biased knowledge; whereas, in some cases, their supposedly 'higher' values are in reality no more civilised than those of the former. Nevertheless, there is a clear ambivalence in his view of the Maori during specific encounters which influence his thoughts, as is the case with his impressions of New Zealand as a whole.

As the crew of the *Resolution* first approach New Zealand on 26 March 1773 after 122 days at sea,²⁴ consisting of a substantial sojourn into the extremely cold Antarctic waters, in which they were faced with inhospitable storms, days of wind, rain and fog, bouts of seasickness and scurvy, the shrinking supply of rations, the threat of sinking and the temporary loss of their companion ship the *Adventure*, the sighting of Dusky Bay (Tamatea)²⁵ on the eastern coast of the southern tip of New Zealand brings a sense of relief at the end of many hardships:

Das Wetter war indeßen schön und in Verhältniß zu demjenigen, das wir bisher hatten empfinden müßen recht erquickend warm. Sanft wehende Winde führten uns nach und nach bey vielen felsichten Inseln vorbei, die alle mit Bäumen und Buschwerk überwachsen waren, deren

auf das Werk Georg Forsters. Berlin: Reimer, 1982; Martin Braun, "Nichts Menschliches soll mir fremd sein" – *Georg Forster und die frühe deutsche Völkerkunde vor dem Hintergrund der klassischen Kulturwissenschaften*. Bonn: Holo, 1991; Astrid Schwarz, *Georg Forster (1754-1794) – Zur Dialektik von Naturwissenschaft, Anthropologie, Philosophie und Politik in der deutschen Spätaufklärung. Kontinuität und Radikalisierung seiner Weltanschauung vor dem Hintergrund einer ganzheitlichen Werkinterpretation*. Aachen: Mainz, 1998; John Gärber, "'So sind also die Hauptbestimmungen des Menschen [...]'". Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis von Geographie und Menschheitsgeschichte bei Georg Forster", in: *Wahrnehmung – Konstruktion – Text: Bilder des Wirklichen im Werk Georg Forsters*. Ed. John Garber. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000, 193-230.

²² See Joerg Esleben, *Enlightenment Canvas: Cultures of Travel, Ethnographic Aesthetics, and Imperialist Discourse in Georg Forster's Writings*. PhD Dissertation. University of Rochester, 1999.

²³ This rhetoric of "anti-conquest" is defined by that "which I refer to [as] the strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony. The term 'anti-conquest' was chosen because, as I argue, in travel and exploration writings these strategies of innocence are constituted in relation to older imperial rhetorics of conquest associated with the absolutist era. The main protagonist of the anti-conquest is a figure I sometimes call the 'seeing-man,' an admittedly unfriendly label for the European male subject of European landscape discourse – he whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess" (Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London; New York: Routledge, 1992, 7).

²⁴ By comparison, from start to finish (13 July 1772 – 30 July 1775) the crew of the *Resolution* spent a total of 147 days in New Zealand (26 March – 11 May 1773 at Dusky Sound, and 18 May – 7 June 1773, 3 November – 25 December 1773 and 16 October – 10 November 1774 at Queen Charlotte Sound), the longest stay in any one nation by far.

²⁵ See Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 45-48; A. Charles Begg and Neil. C. Begg, *Dusky Bay: In the Steps of Captain Cook*. 3rd Ed. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1975.

mannigfaltiges, dunkleres Immergrün, (*evergreen*) mit dem Grün des übrigen Laubes, welches die Herbstzeit verschiedentlich schattirt hatte, malerisch vermischt war und sehr angenehm von einander abstach. Ganze Schaaren von Waßervögeln belebten die felsigten Küsten und das Land ertönte überall vom wilden Gesang der gefiederten Waldbewohner. Je länger wir uns nach Land und frischen Gewächsen geseht hatten, desto mehr entzückte uns nun dieser Prospect, und die Regungen der innigsten Zufriedenheit, welche der Anblick dieser neuen Scene durchgängig veranlaßte, waren in eines jeglichen Augen deutlich zu lesen. (I:122)

The pleasant and warm atmosphere surrounding the bay gives the crew reason to feel joy at their close proximity to land and salvation. However, as with all long and arduous journeys, fanciful notions of idyllic landscapes can arise out of even the most wild and chaotic of terrain when subjective feelings are involved, giving even the most savage of ports a reassuring quality:

Zum Nachtsich ergötzte sich das Auge an der vor uns liegenden, wildnißartigen Landschaft, die *Salvator Rosa* nicht schöner hätte mahlen können. Sie war ganz im Geschmack dieses Künstlers und bestand aus Felsen, mit Wäldern gekrönt, deren Alter in die Zeiten vor der Sündfluth hinauf zu reichen schien, und zwischen welche sich aller Orten Wasserbäche mit schäumenden Ungestüm herabstürzten. Zwar hätte es bey weiten nicht so vieler Schönheiten bedurft um uns zu entzücken, denn nach einer langen Entfernung vom Lande ist es warlich sehr leicht, selbst die ödeste Küste für das herrlichste Land in der Schöpfung anzusehen. Und aus diesem Gesichtspuncte muß man auch die feurigen Beschreibungen der wilden Klippen von *Juan Fernandez* und der undurchdringlichen Wälder von *Tinian* betrachten. (I:123)

Throughout Forster's narrative there is this same interplay between idyllic scenes of nature and the wild and Romantic, which combine to recreate this newly discovered exotic world in the pre-formed ideal image of the 'locus amoenus' from classical antiquity.²⁶

The primordial nature of this seemingly untouched natural landscape gives Forster the impression that the southernmost point of New Zealand is uninhabited. This point is seemingly reaffirmed as the Europeans encounter much difficulty in clearing the ground of creepers, briars and various shrubs and ferns, which prevent access into the interior of the country:

Und in der That ist es nicht nur historisch wahrscheinlich, daß ich in diesem südlichen Theile von Neu-Seeland die Wälder noch unangetastet, in ihrem ursprünglich wilden, ersten Stande der Natur geblieben sind, sondern der Augenschein beweiset solches beynahe unleugbar. Wir fanden es z. E. nicht nur des obgedachten überhand genommenen Unkrauts wegen, fast unmöglich darin fortzukommen, sondern es lag auch überall eine Menge von verfaulten Bäumen im Wege, die entweder vom Winde umgeworfen oder vor Alter umgefallen, und durch die Länge der Zeit zu einer fetten Holzerde geworden waren, aus welcher bereits neue Generationen von jungen Bäumen, parasitischen Pflanzen, Farn-Kräutern und Moosen reichlich aufsproßen. Oft bedeckte eine täuschende Rinde, das innere verfaulte Holz eines solchen umgefallnen Stammes und wer es wagte darauf zu treten, fiel gemeiniglich bis mitten an den Leib hinein. Das Thierreich lieferte seiner Seits auch einen Beweis, daß dieser Theil des Landes, bis jetzt wohl noch keine Veränderung

²⁶ Walter Veit, "Captain Cook and Comparative Literature", in: *Captain James Cook*, vol. 1, 8f.; Smith, *European Vision*, 65-67; cf. *Reise*, I:119f., I:381, II:341.

von Menschen erlitten haben könne, und ließ uns bey dem ersten Anblick vermuthen, daß *Dusky-Bay* gänzlich unbewohnt seyn müße; denn eine Menge kleiner Vögel schienen noch nie eine menschliche Gestalt gesehen zu haben, so unbesorgt blieben sie auf den nächsten Zweigen sitzen, oder hüpfen wohl gar auf dem äußersten Ende unsrer Vogelflinten herum, und betrachteten uns als fremde Gegenstände mit einer Neugierde, die der unsrigen einigermaßen gleich kam. (I:125)

As they explore the various coves of Dusky Sound²⁷ they are met with beautiful and delightful scenes of a waterfall and numerous cascades, which radiate a peaceful tranquillity that can only be matched by the fine brush strokes of a painter. Here, Forster even goes so far as to envisage the possible construction of a harbour within the picturesque setting of one of the numerous bays, as there is both the area and materials for such a task:

Sie ist geräumig, daß eine ganze Flotte darinn vor Anker liegen kann, und hat an der Südwest-Seite einige hohe Berge, die beynahe von dem Gipfel an bis ganz an das Ufer herab mit Holz bewachsen sind. Die verschiednen Landspitzen, die in die See hinaus laufen, und die Inseln in der Bay, bieten von hier aus einen schönen, mahlerischen Anblick dar. Die Spiegelfläche des Wassers, welche bey dem Untergang der Sonne herrlich erleuchtet ward, die Mannigfaltigkeit des Grüns und der Gesang der Vögel, welche sich an diesem stillen Abende um die ganze Bay herum hören ließen, milderten die rauhen und wilden Umrisse dieser Landschaft auf eine sehr angenehm contrastirende Weise. (I:130f.)

In other words, the primary image attributed to New Zealand in this case is its natural abundance of flora and fauna, especially water-fowl, fish and timber, in the numerous bays and coves, which will make good harbours in the future.²⁸

However, this temperate paradise is spoiled by the unfavourable seasons it is visited in, providing the moist and raw climate, which cannot be said to be healthy for its inhabitants, bar the English who are “von seinem Vaterlande her einer mehrentheils feuchten Luft gewohnt” (I:169), with an array of heavy rain and sometimes violent storms, in which only seven days of good weather in a row could break the fairly consistent torrential rain, to accompany the thick and intricate forests which grow everywhere, the craggy and barren shores, the extremely steep and therefore non-cultivable inland mountains, the lack of antiscorbutics compared with other areas of New Zealand, and the sand-flies whose poisonous bite “wirklich blatternähnliche Geschwüre verursachen” (I:170). In other words, in the mostly deserted environment of Dusky Sound, nature is in its element: dominant and at times overwhelming, melancholic and threatening, while also giving rise to feelings of loneliness and insignificance:

²⁷ Lake Forster and Mount Forster in Dusky Sound were later named after the elder Forster by Captain Cook.

²⁸ Cf. Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, III:31-41.

Wie betäubt standen wir da und das Herz erbebte uns bey dem Gedanken, daß dieser Sturm oder der Blitz das Schiff vernichtet haben könne und daß wir dann in diesem öden Theil der Welt würden zurückbleiben und umkommen müssen. Unter dergleichen ängstlichen Vermuthungen brachten wir den Rest der Nacht hin, die uns die längste unsers Lebens zu seyn dünkte. (I:168)

This frank assessment of the natural landscape of Dusky Sound tends to influence his judgment of the country at various times throughout his stay in New Zealand, and although the remainder of their time in Queen Charlotte Sound (Totara-nui) on the north-eastern point of the South Island is noticeable for its predominantly milder and better seasonal weather, as well as its less steep and rugged terrain, the presence of the same impenetrable forests and the gradual decline of heavenly views lead him to comment upon reaching the warm and happy shores of Tahiti:

Zwar waren uns ehemals, nachdem wir lange Zeit vorher nichts als See, Eis und Luft vor uns gesehen hatten, auch die öden Felsen von Neu-Seeland so vorteilhaft ins Gesicht gefallen, daß wir anfänglich ebenfalls sehr günstige Urtheile darüber fällten: Allein diese ersten Eindrücke waren auch bald wieder verschwunden, und wir hatten in der Folge täglich mehr Gelegenheit gefunden, uns zu überzeugen, daß sich dieses Land allerdings noch in einem wilden chaotischen Zustande befände. (I:261)

Although idyllic moments do resurface from time to time upon their return, the overall image remains ambivalent throughout, yet Dusky Sound still earns itself as a destination best suited to those weary seamen who “blos auf eine kurze Zeit hier vor Anker gehen wollen um sich zu erfrischen”:

[F]ür *solche* Reisende wird *Dusky-Bay*, aller dieser Unannehmlichkeiten ohnerachtet, immer einer der besten Zufluchts-Örter seyn, zumal wenn sie, gleich uns, lange Zeit, ohne Land zu sehen, in ofner See und unter beständigen Mühseligkeiten zugebracht haben sollten. Die Einfahrt ist sicher und nirgends Gefahr dabey die man nicht überm Wasser sehen könnte, auch giebt's aller Orten so viel Haven und Buchten, daß man ohnmöglich wegen eines Anker-Platzes in Verlegenheit seyn kann, wo sich nicht Holz, Wasser, Fische und Feder-Wildpret in hinreichender Menge finden sollte. (I:170)

Once it is discovered that Dusky Sound is not as uninhabited as first thought, initial contact is far from immediate as the somewhat mysterious Maori who dwell there appear rather reluctant to engage the Europeans. These nomads seemingly live in scattered ‘familial’ groups of Kati or Ngati Mamoe origin, of which there are no more than three, and are not accustomed to the frequency of contact as in other parts of New Zealand. Several days after spotting some Maori in the distance and visiting their deserted settlement at Indian Cove, the expedition party hear the

call of an old Maori man²⁹ on a rocky ledge holding a 'taiaha' (club) in his hand, whilst two women with long spears stand behind him on the outskirts of the woods. After the man gives a long speech or 'karakia' (ritual incantation) he trembles in front of Captain Cook, who offers him various acts of friendship which are used for welcoming all South Sea natives, until he is given the customary 'hongi' (nose rubbing) greeting, whereby the man's fear is replaced by understanding and friendship, and he calls to the two women to come nearer:

Der Mann hatte ein ehrliches gefälliges Ansehen, und die eine von den beyden Frauenspersonen, die wir für seine Tochter hielten, sahe gar nicht so unangenehm aus als man in Neu-Seeland wohl hätte vermuthen sollen, die andre hingegen war ausnehmend häßlich und hatte an der Ober-Lippe ein ungeheures garstiges Gewächs. Sie waren alle dunkelbraun oder Olivenfarbicht, hatten schwarzes und lockichtes Haar, das mit Öhl und Rothstein eingeschmiert, bey dem Mann oben auf dem Wirbel in einen Schopf zusammen gebunden, bey den Weibern aber kurz abgeschnitten war. Den Obertheil des Cörpers fanden wir wohl gebildet; die Beine hingegen außerordentlich dünne, übel gestaltet und krumm. Ihre Kleidung bestand aus Matten von Neu-Seeländischen Flachs und war mit Federn durchwebt. In den Ohren trugen sie kleine Stücke von Albatros-Haut, mit Röthel oder Ocher gefärbt. Wir boten ihnen einige Fische und Endten an, sie warfen solche aber zurück und gaben uns zu verstehen, daß sie keinen Mangel an Lebensmitteln hätten. (I:133f.)

Notably, he does not expect the women to have a pleasing countenance, as if the fairly harsh climate would not permit one, and their apparent indifference to the victuals they are offered, which is presumed to be due to the profusion of supplies in the area, continues the whole idea of natural abundance that frequents the narrative. Furthermore:

Der Mann sahe uns bey der Abfahrt in ernsthafter Stille und mit einer Aufmerksamkeit nach, die tiefes Nachdenken anzuzeigen schien; die jüngste Frauensperson hingegen, die während unsrer Anwesenheit in einem fort und mit so geläufiger Zunge geplaudert hatte, als sich keiner von uns je gehört zu haben erinnern konnte, fieng nunmehr an zu tanzen, und fuhr fort eben so laut zu seyn als vorher. Unsre Seeleute erlaubten sich dieses Umstandes halber einige grobe Einfälle auf Kosten des weiblichen Geschlechts, wir aber fanden durch dieses Betragen die Bermerkung bestätigt, daß die Natur dem Manne nicht nur eine Gespielinn gegeben, seine Sorgen und Mühseligkeiten zu erleichtern, sondern daß sie dieser auch, durchgehends, die Begierde eingepflanzt habe, vermittelst eines höhern Grads von Lebhaftigkeit und Gesprächigkeit zu gefallen. (I:134)

When the previous image of the young woman holding a spear is combined with the above impression of her rather brash and rowdy talkative behaviour, the 'natural' role of the woman can almost be seen as a fairly dominant one. Regardless of whether or not Georg saw these spears as

²⁹ Through the use of Maori oral traditions, Begg makes the supposition that the old man is in fact Maru, a Kati Kuri chief who hunted the remnants of the Kati Mamoe in Dusky Sound (Begg, *Dusky Bay*, 56-58, 62f., 113-27).

purely for hunting wood-pigeons³⁰ or ceremony, as is presumably the case when the man and girl board the ship for the first time (I:150), instead of conventional weapons, the reader is no doubt left with the image of a female warrior who shares in the spoils of the traditional male domain and is not simply an oppressed sex. However, closer European examination reveals a somewhat different role.

Soon the Europeans are acquainted with the whole ‘family’, albeit a projected self-image of one:

Sie bestand aus zwo Frauenspersonen, die wir für seine Weiber hielten; dem obgedachten jungen Mädchen; einem Knaben von ohngefähr funfzehnen Jahren und drei kleinen Kindern, wovon das jüngste noch an der Brust war. Man konnte es sehr deutlich merken, daß der Mann die Frau mit dem Gewächs an der Oberlippe gar nicht achtete, welches vermuthlich wegen ihrer unangenehmen Gestalt geschah. (I:135)

Here, he assumes two of the females are the man’s wives when no such assumption needs to be made, especially when one could easily be a sister or an unrelated woman, which could therefore explain the apparent neglect of the one with the unsightly appearance. Moreover, this idea of an isolated Maori family further complicates Forster’s interpretation of a quarrel which arises between this group of people:

Der Mann schlug die beyden Frauenspersonen, die wir für seine Weiber hielten; das Mädchen hingegen schlug ihn und fieng darauf zu heulen. Wir konnten die Ursach ihres Gezänks nicht ausmachen; wenn aber das Mädchen des Mannes Tochter war, welches wir eben so wenig ausfündig zu machen im Stande gewesen sind, so muß man in Neu-Seeland sehr verworrene Begriffe von den Pflichten der Kinder haben; oder vielmehr, welches vielleicht der Wahrheit am nächsten kommt, diese einsam lebende Familie handelte gar nicht nach Grundsätzen und überlegter Ordnung, die gemeiniglich nur das Werk gesitteter Gesellschaften sind; sondern sie folgte in allen Stücken gerade zu der Stimme der Natur, die sich gegen jede Art von Unterdrückung empört. (I:149)

Given that this scene makes it difficult to determine the real relationships and societal order of the group, by labelling the three females in the above specified roles it creates the combined image of a husband who freely beats his wives and a daughter who freely beats her father, which naturally reflects the deplorable oppression of women and the liberal attitude of the children. However, Forster gives the impression that the young woman may in fact be one of the man’s wives, as she is the one who retaliates, yet in the following comment she is presumed to be his daughter, which

³⁰ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 54f.; Nicholas Thomas, “Liberty and Licence: The Forsters’ Accounts of New Zealand Sociality”, in: *Voyages and Beaches: Pacific Encounters, 1769-1840*. Eds. Alex Calder, Jonathan Lamb, and Bridget Orr. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999, 148.

is afterwards discovered to be incorrect but not acknowledged in the text,³¹ and in turn implies doubt over the role of the same girl as either the young wife or daughter, instead of actually being a third female, which is the case here.³² Moreover, the grouping of the two women in the opening encounter, in which the supposed daughter is the youngest, further adds to the ambiguity of the two women he identifies as wives in this scene. The uncertainty and contradictions are so great that he comes to the conclusion that in their isolated state this supposed family does not conform to the conventional dictates of New Zealand society, whatever they may be.³³

This is not the only time he makes this point, as further conflicting characteristics of these people soon surface:

Die Gewohnheit, Geschenke zu machen, ist sonst, in andern Gegenden von Neu-Seeland, nicht so gemein als in den kleinern Inseln zwischen den Wende-Zirkeln; es schien aber diese Familie sich überhaupt weniger nach den allgemeinen Gebräuchen ihrer Nation zu richten, als vielmehr sich in jedem einzelnen Fall so zu betragen, wie ihre ehrliche Gemüthsart und die Klugheit es ihnen, ihre Lage nach anriethen, in Betracht welcher sie sich in unsrer Gewalt befanden. (I:151)

This assumption is no doubt also due to the seeming lack of interest in trading goods, which, however, results in a somewhat prejudiced denouncing of the man's intellect:

Der Mann bewieß bey dieser Gelegenheit ungleich mehr Verstand und Beurtheilungskraft als man bisher unter seinen übrigen Landsleuten und unter den mehresten Einwohnern in den Süd-See-Inseln angetroffen hatte, denn er begrif nicht nur, gleich bey dem ersten Anblick, den vorzüglichen Werth und Gebrauch der Beile und großen Nägel, sondern er sahe auch überhaupt alles mit Gleichgültigkeit an, was ihm keinen wahren Nutzen zu haben schien. (I:134f.)

In this way, it is incomprehensible that this 'family' would show a fair degree of 'uncivilised' indifference to European curiosities, yet also give presents in a noble manner without expecting anything in return, which seems to be at odds with the customary norm of New Zealand. On the other hand, it cannot be said that this European encounter was insignificant for the 'family' as the trading emphasis might imply, due to the time they spend dressing themselves up in their best clothes (I:136). Forster is even surprised at their leaving without returning as they were not empty handed, so much so that he states the man would be "der reichste in ganz Neu-Seeland", as he had more hatchets than were given out on the previous voyage in the northern regions of the country.

³¹ James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery. II. The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure, 1772-1775*. Part 1. Reprint. Ed. J. C. Beaglehole. Millwood, New York: Kraus, 1988, 122n2.

³² Cf. J. R. Forster, *Journal*, vol. 2, 258.

³³ Thomas, "Liberty and Licence", 135-40. However, it should be noted that beating children was not accepted in Maori society as it was believed to injure their 'wairua' (spirit), while beating a wife, at the same time, encouraged retaliation from relatives, unless she was an unprotected slave wife who had been captured in war (Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 93).

However, he concludes that as the Sound is thinly populated they must lead “ein unstätes herumwanderndes Leben” (I:158) and move around a lot according to the season and need of resources, which explains their abrupt departure, rather than being an example of gross ingratitude.

When Forster reflects on the nature of these people he cannot speak more highly of their courage at making the first move, without which the Europeans would have remained convinced of the uninhabited nature of this area:

Der Muth dieses Volks ist von sonderbarer Art. Ihrer Schwäche und geringen Anzahl ohnerachtet schienen sie den Gedanken nicht ertragen zu können, ‘daß sie sich verkriechen müßten’; wenigstens verstecken sie sich nicht ohne versucht zu haben, ob sie mit den Fremden in Verbindung kommen und erfahren können, wie sie gesinnet sind. (I:157)

Moreover, they possess “eine offenherzige Dreistigkeit und Ehrlichkeit [...], die ihrem Character zur Empfehlung gereicht”, as even if they had “die mindeste Beymischung von verrätherischen heimtückischen Wesen, so würden sie gesucht haben uns unversehens zu überfallen” (I:158), given the number of opportunities they had to ambush or separate the Europeans. However, his emphasis on the boldness of these uncivilised people is soon replaced by their innate warlike tendencies upon learning that the man intends to use one of the hatchets he procured from the party to kill men:

Hat man ihn recht verstanden, so war damit unsre angenehme Hoffnung, den Ackerbau und andre nützliche Arbeiten, durch Austheilung von brauchbaren Werkzeugen gewissermaßen zu befördern und zu erleichtern, auf einmahl vernichtet. Gleichwohl wäre es sehr seltsam, ja beynahe unbegreiflich, daß eine einzelne Familie, die von der ganzen Welt getrennt, in einer geräumigen Bay wohnte, in welcher es ihr, theils ihrer geringen Anzahl, theils wegen ihrer wenigen Bedürfnisse, weder an Lebensmitteln noch an den übrigen Nothwendigkeiten jemals fehlen, und die folglich in ihrer Einsamkeit friedlich und glücklich leben konnte, - daß die dennoch auf Krieg mit ihren Nebenmenschen, auf Mord und Todtschlag bedacht seyn sollte. Indessen ist vielleicht die tiefe Barbarey, in welcher sich die Neu-Seeländer befinden, und die immer nur das Gesetz des Stärkern erkennt, schuld daran, daß sie mehr als jedes andre Volk der Erden geneigt sind, ihren Mitmenschen bey der ersten Gelegenheit umzubringen, so bald Rachtsucht oder Beleidigung sie dazu auffordert, und ihr angebohrner wilder Muth macht, daß sie es an der würclichen Ausführung eines so grausamen Vorhabens wohl selten fehlen lassen. [...] Diese kriegerische Neigung und das jähzornige Temperament des ganzen Volks, das nicht die mindeste Beleidigung ertragen kann, scheint diese einzelne Familie und die wenigen übrigen, die wir an den Ufern jenes langen See-Arms antrafen, zur Trennung von ihren Landsleuten gezwungen zu haben. Wenn wilde Völker einander bekriegen, so ruhet die eine Parthey gemeiniglich nicht eher, als bis die andre gänzlich vertilgt ist, es sey denn, daß diese sich noch zu rechter Zeit mit der Flucht rettet. Auch dies kann der Fall bey den Einwohnern in *Dusky-Bay* seyn, und wenn er es würclich ist, so hat ihr Abmarsch und ihr Entschluß offenbar nichts anders als Rache an ihren Feinden und Unterdrückern zum Gegenstande. (I:159f.)

Thus, through interpreting the signals of the man in this way, he draws conclusions from the partial knowledge available to him, which see these Maori as little more than wild barbarians at heart who cannot leave thoughts of revenge behind, which astounds his sense of reason, as such an isolated nomadic family should never have need to fear any neighbour, let alone have reason to exact revenge upon one. It is also apparent that a certain degree of disgust creeps in as it dawns on him how the simple act of giving the man a hatchet for self-improvement could be distorted to fulfil such a heinous act of barbarism and, in doing so, shift partial blame onto his own people.

Before the *Resolution* leaves the Sound, Forster takes one last moment to briefly ponder over these barbaric people as he observes the superior sight of European ‘improvements’, which is pleasing to artists, philosophers and scientists alike:

Die Vorzüge eines civilisirten über den rohen Zustand des Menschen, fielen durch nichts deutlicher in die Augen, als durch die Veränderungen und Verbesserungen die auf dieser Stelle vorgenommen worden waren. [...] Kurz überall, wo wir nur hin blickten, sahe man die Künste auf blühen [sic], und die Wissenschaften tagten in einem Lande, das bis jetzt noch eine lange Nacht von Unwissenheit und Barbarey bedeckt hatte! (I:161-63)

Here, the Maori are seen to be so ‘close to nature’ that they are completely removed to the chaotic background while he shifts the focus onto the ordered scene before him. These ‘improvements’, “welche[.] funfzig Neu-Seeländer, mit ihren steinernen Werkzeugen, in drey Monathen nicht würden zu Stande gebracht haben” (I:162), create a place worthy of Romantic brush strokes and European progress from the crew making meals, felling timber and filling casks with water to the site of the astronomical observatory and the caulkers and riggers making repairs and readying the ship for its eventual departure. Fittingly, it is ‘improved’ nature in all its glory which characterises his stay in Dusky Sound, more so than its meagre and seemingly invisible inhabitants. However, in spite of sustained progress ultimately resulting in the civilising of this barbarous nation within a few years, this “schöne Bild der erhöhten Menschheit und Natur”, which is already disappearing with the removal of European equipment and instruments, will return once more back into its “ursprünglichen, chaosgleichen Zustände” (I:163).

The Maori at Queen Charlotte Sound, by comparison, are more trusting in nature and less indifferent to their guests due to a greater familiarity with Europeans, as well as a higher degree of intelligence than their Dusky Sound brethren, at least when it comes to their attire, which is more suited to the variable climate in the colder and wetter months, albeit still relatively old and dirty-looking (I:188). This is not surprising when one considers that the Sound functioned as a

“natural gateway”, both arrival and departure point for frequent canoe-borne communication, migration, warfare and trade between the southern parts of the North Island (extending as far north as the Wairarapa and including the Raukawamoana or Cook Strait tribal area) and the northern parts of the South Island (as far south as Nelson). As a result, this region was made up of a number of different semi-nomadic tribes from various areas of New Zealand, consisting of both visitors and locals who settled there for only relatively short periods of time considering the potential for conflict over resources if peaceful relations were not maintained.³⁴ In this way, Queen Charlotte Sound provides Forster with the general model for Maori customs and behaviour. Overall, they appear to be a short-tempered yet friendly people who are fairly accustomed to Europeans and fortunately prefer water to alcohol.³⁵ Naturally, two main activities are emphasised which seem to take up much of their time throughout the year, namely trade and war. His first impression sees the local Maori as eager traders, albeit sometimes bordering on impudent, who covet everything they see and, unlike those in Dusky Sound, appreciate the usefulness and value of European goods. In fact, despite their indifference to such items as beads and ribbons, much interest in iron, nails and hatchets is shown, in contrast to Cook’s first arrival, leading to their effectively determining what items are of value and their worth. Although Forster notes varying behaviour towards Maori possessing European ‘curiosities’, from isolated cases of perceived stealing to not expecting anything in return,³⁶ in general, they are contented with what they get or in some instances hope for the best price possible but still accept whatever the result (I:193).³⁷ Secondly, out of the overestimated 100,000 Maori in Queen Charlotte Sound, there are “verschiedne unabhängige Partheyen [...], die untereinander oft Krieg führen” (I:177) and alternate between inhabiting a ‘kainga’ (unfortified village) and a fortified “hippa” (‘pa’) “auf so

³⁴ See David R. Simmons, “The Forster Collection of Artifacts from New Zealand”, in: *Enlightenment and New Zealand*, 22-30; D. R. Simmons, “Plus Ça Change: the Totaranui People and Their Culture”, in: *Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand: The Traditional and European Records, 1820*. Edited and Introduced by Glynn Barratt. Ottawa, Canada: Carleton University Press, 1987, 37-73; Stephen O’Regan, “Queen Charlotte Sound: Aspects of Maori Traditional History”, in: *ibid.*, 139-58; D. R. Simmons, “Artefacts and People: Inter-Island Trade Through Queen Charlotte Sound”, in: *ibid.*, 159-86; Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 65-67.

³⁵ Following the intoxicated behaviour of the teenage Maori boy “Taywaherua” (Te Weherua), who stamps his feet, threatens, grumbles and sulks in child-like fashion when an item of clothing is refused him, Forster states: “Die empfindliche, leicht zu beleidigende Gemüthsart dieses Volks zeigte sich nirgends deutlicher als in dieses Knaben Betragen; und wir sahen bey dieser Gelegenheit, welch ein Glück es für sie ist, daß sie von berausenden Getränken nichts wissen, denn dergleichen würde sie ohnfehlbar noch wilder und unbändiger machen” (I:185).

³⁶ See II:363f.

³⁷ For a history of exchange relations in the South Pacific, see Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 1991.

lange nemlich, als sie etwa wegen Annäherung eines Feindes in Gefahr seyn mögen” (I:179).³⁸ In this martial way of life the Maori are even warlike in their speeches and dances, which are full of violent gestures and often threatening in appearance.³⁹ In spite of this, Forster is sufficiently convinced in the honesty of his guides to later go unarmed (I:401). Furthermore, these natural warlike tendencies are contrasted with their commendable artistic abilities and superior musical skills to that of the majority of South Sea islanders, the latter of which in his opinion proves the sensitivity of their hearts: “Ich läugne nicht, daß sie in ihren Leidenschaften sehr heftig sind; allein, wer will oder kann behaupten, daß heftige Leidenschaften immer nur zu schädlichen, oder gar unmenschlichen Ausschweifungen führen?” (II:366).

However, there is also a degree of European stereotyping present in his portrayal of the Maori, especially regarding their warlike disposition and reaction to the introduction of livestock, which seems to prove or disprove their intelligence. For instance, after an earlier incident where he learns that one of the chiefs had slaughtered and eaten the two goats the Europeans had left behind, he witnesses yet another example of the limited intellect or thoughtlessness that these “unwissenden Neu-Seeländer” (I:194) seem to possess when they separate the two livestock and lose the chance of propagating the species:

Durch solche Trennung der Thiere, die sie als Beute unter einander theilen, hindern diese rohen Leute das Fortkommen derselben. Immer nur darauf bedacht für den gegenwärtigen Augenblick zu sorgen, nur das dringendste Bedürfnis zu befriedigen, vernachlässigen sie die Mittel, durch welche man ihnen einen beständigen Unterhalt zu verschaffen und sie glücklicher zu machen wünscht! (I:392)

Not only do they prevent the introduction of four-legged animals into New Zealand, but also a means to give up their custom of cannibalism through only living in the moment and doing what they know, as if they are almost too busy waging wars to worry about their own future survival.⁴⁰ At one point he even refers to them as a people “ohne Überlegung und Billigkeit, [wer] immer nur nach Instinkt und Eigensinn zu Werke gehen” (I:195), which contradicts much of his positive

³⁸ See Barry Brailsford, “Maori Life in Queen Charlotte Sound (Totaranui): The Forster Perspective”, in: *Enlightenment and New Zealand*, 17-21.

³⁹ The best example of this is the ‘haka’: “Zum Abschied gaben unsre Gäste uns einen *Hiwa*- oder Krieger-Tanz zum besten, der aus Stampfen mit den Füßen, drohender Schwenkung der Keulen und Speere, schrecklichen Verzerrungen des Gesichts, Ausstreckung der Zunge und wildem heulenden Geschrey bestand, wobey aber durchgehends ein gewisser Tact beobachtet ward” (I:384; see also I:189, 193, 195f.).

⁴⁰ Another example is when Forster meets the “elenden Wilden” of Terawhiti and comments: “Ihre Gedankenlosigkeit läßt vielmehr befürchten, daß, so bald es ihnen einmal an Lebensmitteln fehlen sollte, unsre armen Hühner wohl ohne Bedenken werden her halten müssen. In irgend einer von den nördlichsten Bayen würde das zahme Vieh vielleicht noch ehe in Acht genommen werden, denn dort sind die Einwohner gesitteter, wenigstens schon an die Landwirtschaft gewöhnt, indem sie verschiedene esbare Wurzeln bauen” (I:388).

comments on their nature. Ultimately, the gap between ‘savage’ and ‘civilised’ is clearly visible and no better illustrated than in Forster’s reaction to the behaviour of “Piteré” (Matahoua but nicknamed ‘Pedro’ by the sailors)⁴¹ upon being dressed up in European attire and taken aboard to have a meal:

Für einen rohen Wilden betrug er sich bey Tische ungemein sittsam und manierlich. Ich glaube auch, daß er die Überlegenheit unserer Kenntnisse, Künste, Manufacturen und Lebensart zum Theil wirklich fühlen mochte; denn er war in unserer Gesellschaft sehr gern, und immer sehr vergnügt. Dem ohnerachtet lies er sich nicht ein einziges mal merken, daß er mit uns ziehen wolle, sondern lehnte es vielmehr ab, wenn wir’s ihm antrugen. Freylich kann es seltsam scheinen, daß ihm, auch bey der vollkommensten Vorstellung von unsern Vorzügen, die elende unstäte Lebensart seiner Landsleute habe lieber seyn können, als alle die Vortheile, welche er bey uns, theils wirklich schon genoß, theils in der Folge noch zu gewarten hatte. (II:363f.)

Thus, this force of habit, which, he argues, is common among all savages and not completely gone from all ‘polished’ nations either, provides a barrier between cultures that is hard to cross, especially when combined with the prevalent attitude of the perceived superiority of the European race which was naturally hard to disassociate from at the time.

One of the noticeable differences he observes between the Maori at Dusky Sound and those at Queen Charlotte Sound is the perceived foundation of a social structure that contrasts the elevation of senior males and male chiefs (‘ariki’ or ‘rangatira’) with the relegation of married and unmarried women, which is consequently taken to be the norm in Maori society. In the case of the former, Forster denotes the notions of respect and social ranking which seem to derive from the amount of facial tattooing or punctures on the face:

Einige waren im Gesicht auf eine sonderbare Weise mit tief eingeritzten Schnecken-Linien gezeichnet; uns insbesondere waren diese Merkmale bey einem langen, starken Mann von mittleren [sic] Alter, nach einer ganz regulären Zeichnung an der Stirne, der Nase und dem Kinn so tief in die Haut eingepägt, daß sein Bart, der sonst sehr dick und stark gewesen seyn müßte, nur aus einzelnen zerstreuten Haaren bestand. Er heiß *Tringho-Waya* [Te Rangihouhia]⁴² und schien über die andern ein gewisses Ansehn zu haben, dergleichen wir unter den kleinen Haufen, die bisher zu uns gekommen waren, noch nicht bemerkt hatten. (I:192f.)

This is also the case with the small, yet lively, old man named “Tringho-Buhi” (Te Ringapuhi)⁴³ whose “Gesicht war durchgehends in Schneckenlinien punctirt, und in diesem Stück von allen übrigen hier versammelten Indianern auszeichnet, als welche von solchen Zierrathen viel weniger aufzuzeigen hatten” (II:360). However, he views female tattooing as more of an example of art,

⁴¹ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 122.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 79.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 79.

rather than representing any sense of status: “[D]ie Lippen [...] sahen, vom Puncktiren oder Tättowiren, welches hier zu Lande sehr Mode ist, ganz schwärzlich blau aus” (I:186).⁴⁴

Although Forster does not give a rigid definition of social classification, he does attempt to convey this hierarchy whilst reflecting on Europe’s own despotic ruling system of royal absolutism, views which led to his strong sympathies for the French Revolution in 1789 and constitutional reform in France and Central Europe, through the presence of the visiting northern chief “Teiratu” (Te Ratu)⁴⁵ who appears to be held in great regard by his people.⁴⁶

Der Capitain und seine Gesellschaft bemerkten, daß *Teiratu* [sic] der Befehlshaber aller dieser Leute seyn müsse, denn sie bezeigten ihm durchgehends viel Ehrfurcht. Was es aber mit dieser Art von Oberherrschaft eigentlich für Bewandniß habe, konnte man nicht ausfündig machen. Leute von Jahren pflegen sie durchgehends in Ehren zu halten, wahrscheinlicher Weise ihrer langen Erfahrung wegen; allein dies konnte hier der Fall nicht seyn, denn solche Anführer dergleichen uns *Teiratu* [sic] einer zu seyn dünkte, sind starke, muntre Leute in der Blüthe der Jahre. Vielleicht wissen aber die Neu-Seeländer, so gut als die Nord-Amerikanischen Wilden, daß bey Entstehung eines Krieges ein großer Haufe von Menschen einen Anführer haben muß, auf dessen größere Geschicklichkeit und Talente die andern ihr Vertrauen und Hoffnung setzen können, und zu einem *solchen* Posten taugen dann freylich keine andre als dergleichen junge Leute die noch Feuer haben. Je mehr wir die kriegerische Neigung dieser Nation und die vielen kleinen Partheyen erwägen, worin sie getheilt sind, desto nothwendiger scheint uns diese Art von Regierungsform zu seyn. Sie müssen ohne Zweifel erfahren oder eingesehen haben, daß die Fähigkeiten eines Anführers nicht erblich sind, und folglich vom Vater nicht allemal auf den Sohn gebracht werden; vielleicht haben sie auch Beweise unter sich erlebt, daß erbliches Regiment natürlicher Weise zum Despotismus führt. (I:200)

This is the closest Forster comes to the concept of ‘mana’ among chiefs and the elderly. ‘Mana’ was of spiritual significance to the Maori, and appeared in the form of status, respect and authority, which connected them to the power of their ancestors. It was also a concept which could be both inherited and gained or lost by not only individual Maori but also whole tribes.⁴⁷

What he saw as the role of the chief and his authority tends towards the warlike image of a brave

⁴⁴ For a discussion on the importance of tattooing in politics, warfare and religion in early Polynesian communities, see Alfred Gell, *Wrapping in Images: Tattooing in Polynesia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, esp. 1-39, 237-68. For European aesthetic appraisal, see Esleben, *Enlightenment Canvas*, 77-82; Harriet Guest, “Curiously Marked: Tattooing, Masculinity, and Nationality in Eighteenth-Century British Perceptions of the South Pacific”, in: *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art 1700-1850*. Ed. John Barrell. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, 101-34.

⁴⁵ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 81.

⁴⁶ This is in contrast to the native people of Totaranui, for instance, who, whilst less richly adorned and tattooed, were essentially a “border people in terms of status and of genealogical descent within the total society” (Simmons, “Artefacts and People”, 184).

⁴⁷ Salmond, *Two Worlds*, 43f., *Between Worlds*, 33; Ross Bowden, “*Tapu* and *Mana*: Ritual Authority and Political Power in Traditional Maori Society”, in: *Journal of Pacific Studies* 14:1 (1979): 50-61; Bradd Shore, “*Mana* and *Tapu*”, in: *Developments in Polynesian Ethnology*. Eds. Alan Howard and Robert Borofsky. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989, 137-43, 164f.

and respected warrior who achieved more through leading by example and rallying his men than simply giving out orders for his warriors to follow in battle. While he also acknowledges the importance of seniority with regard to respect, he brushes over the significance of warrior status or even priestly status, and is unaware of the very real genealogical influences which took place when it came to choosing chiefs to replace others, such as the significance of especially the first-born descendents of the first-born sons along the male line extending right back to their ancestors.⁴⁸

However, the role of Maori women in this society has been greatly altered by European interaction, so much so that the new object and means of trade is sex. With the first sight of 'accessible' females after a long duration of forced abstinence, the cravings of the seamen degrade the women into simple prostitutes:

Unsre Matrosen hatten seit der Abreise vom Cap mit keinen Frauenspersonen Umgang gehabt; sie waren also sehr eifrig hinter diesen her, und aus der Art wie ihre Anträge aufgenommen wurden, sahe man wohl, daß es hier zu Lande mit der Keuschheit so genau nicht genommen würde, und daß die Eroberungen eben nicht schwer seyn müßten. Doch hiengen die Gunstbeziehungen dieser Schönen nicht blos von ihrer Neigung ab, sondern die Männer mußten, als unumschränkte Herren, zuerst darum befragt werden. War deren Einwilligung durch einen großen Nagel, ein Hemd oder etwas dergleichen erkauf; so hatten die Frauenspersonen Freiheit mit ihren Liebhabern vorzunehmen was sie wollten, und konnten alsdann zusehen noch ein Geschenk für sich selbst zu erbitten. Ich muß indessen gestehen, daß einige derselben sich nicht anders als mit dem äußersten Widerwillen zu einem so schändlichen Gewerbe gebrauchen ließen, und die Männer mußten oft ihre ganze Authorität ja sogar Drohungen anwenden, ehe sie zu bewegen waren, sich den Begierden von Kerlen preis zu geben, die ohne Empfindung ihre Thränen sehen und ihr Wehklagen hören konnten. (I:186)

Thus, not only do the European sailors encourage this sexual barter, but it seems the Maori males, more importantly, also make use of their women, by force if necessary, to gratify the desire of these men in order to acquire further curiosities, which appears to result in a sharing of responsibility:

Ob unsre Leute, die zu einem gesitteten Volk gehören wollten und doch so viehisch seyn konnten, oder jene Barbaren, die ihre eignen Weibsleuthe zu solcher Schande zwungen, den größten Abscheu verdienen? ist eine Frage, die ich nicht beantworten mag. Da die Neu-Seeländer fanden, daß sie nicht wohlfeiler und leichter zu eisernem Geräthe kommen konnten, als vermitteltst dieses niederträchtigen Gewerbes; so liefen sie bald genug im ganzen Schiffe herum und bothen ihre Töchter und Schwestern ohne Unterschied feil. Den *verheiratheten* Weibern aber, verstatteten sie, so viel wir sehen konnten, nie die Erlaubniß, sich auf ähnliche Weise mit unsern Matrosen abzugeben. Ihre Begriffe von weiblicher Keuschheit sind in diesem Betracht so sehr von den unsrigen verschieden, daß ein unverheirathetes Mädchen viele Liebhaber begünstigen kann, ohne

⁴⁸ A. P. Vayda, *Maori Warfare*. 2nd Ed. Wellington; Auckland, Sydney; Melbourne: Reed, 1970, 24-29.

dadurch im mindesten an ihrer Ehre zu leiden. So bald sie aber heirathen, wird die unverbrüchlichste Beobachtung der ehelichen Treue von ihnen verlangt. Da sie sich solchergestalt, aus der Enthaltbarkeit unverheyratheter Frauenspersonen nichts machen; so wird man vielleicht denken, daß die Bekanntschaft mit ausschweifenden Europäern den moralischen Character dieses Volks eben nicht verschlimmert haben könne: Allein wir haben alle Ursach zu vermuthen, daß sich die Neu-Seeländer zu einem dergleichen schändlichen Mädchen-Handel nur seitdem erste erniedrigt hatten, seitdem vermittelst des Eisengeräthes neue Bedürfnisse unter ihnen waren veranlaßt worden. Nun diese einmal statt fanden, nunmehr erst verfielen sie, zu Befriedigung derselben, auf Handlungen an die sie zuvor nie gedacht haben mochten und die nach unsern Begriffen auch nicht einmal mit einem Schatten von Ehre und Empfindbarkeit bestehen können. (I:186f.)

As a result, he naturally derides the immorality of the seamen who succumb to their innermost desires, yet in the end he can only think of the corruption of the morals of these innocent indigenous people who receive nothing which can make up for this irretrievable loss.

Earlier Forster gives a fairly favourable portrayal of the Queen Charlotte Sound women when compared with those of Dusky Sound:

Übrigens waren sie von ziemlich heller Farbe, die ohngefähr zwischen Oliven- und Mahoganybraun das Mittel halten mochte; dabey hatten sie pechschwarzes Haar, runde Gesichter, und vielmehr dicke, als platte Nasen und Lippen. Auch hatten sie schwarze Augen, die oft lebhaft und nicht ohne Ausdruck, so wie der ganze Obertheil des Körpers wohl gebildet und ihre Gestalt überhaupt gar nicht wiederig war. (I:186)

However, his views on the repugnant nature of this prostitution and the apparent lack of chastity seem to soon spread to the depiction of the women who, in his eyes, now become vile, dirty creatures whose presence can be smelt from some distance.⁴⁹ For example, when the sailors are allowed to go ashore one afternoon to trade curiosities with the Maori women for sexual favours “ohne sich an die ekelhafte Unreinlichkeit derselben in geringsten zu kehren”, he comments:

Hätten sie indessen nicht gleichsam aller Empfindung entsagt gehabt; so würde die widrige Mode dieser Frauenspersonen, sich mit Oker und Öl die Backen zu beschmieren, sich schon allein von dergleichen vertrauten Verbindungen abgehalten haben. Außerdem stanken die Neu-Seeländerinnen auch dermaßen, daß man sie gemeiniglich schon von weitem riechen konnte und saßen überdem so voll Ungeziefer, daß sie es oft von den Kleidern absuchten und nach Gelegenheit zwischen den Zähnen knackten. Es ist zum Erstaunen, daß sich Leute fanden, die auf eine viehische Art mit solchen ekelhaften Creaturen sich abzugeben im Stande waren, und daß weder ihr eignes Gefühl noch die Neigung zur Reinlichkeit, die dem Engländer doch von Jugend auf beygebracht wird, ihnen einen Abscheu vor diesen Menschen erregte! (I:189f.)

⁴⁹ Cf. Eva Waniek, “Verortung und Überschreitung. Die ‘Inselgruppen’ des Weiblichen in Georg Forsters ‘Reise um die Welt’”, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Wissenschaft und Kunst* 48:1-2 (1993): 53-60.

These at times brave, yet often rough and brutish, sex-craved sailors,⁵⁰ who are not immune to stealing themselves, and who have no qualms about messing about in utter filth to grovel for sex, seem to reach an all-time low in Forster's eyes when they accost these prostituted women in their poor and dirty hovels:

In jeder Hütte war ein Feuer angezündet, welches, natürlicher Weise, die ganze Wohnung mit Rauch und Dampf anfüllte. Die Leute mochten die Unbehaglichkeit einer solchen Atmosphäre freylich nicht ganz empfinden, weil sie gemeiniglich platt auf der Erde lagen; *mir* aber kam der Aufenthalt in diesen Hütten ganz unerträglich vor, wenn gleich andere Europäer kein Bedenken trugen, um der Liebkosungen einiger scheuslichen Weibsbilder wegen, hinein zu gehen. Vielleicht wird man glauben, daß nur der rohe Matrose diesem thierischen Instinkt nicht habe widerstehen können; allein, das tyrannische Element, worauf Officier und Matrose in gleichem Maaße herumgeschleudert werden, scheint in diesem Betracht auch allen Unterschied zwischen beyden aufzuheben, und wenn man es einmal so weit kommen läßt, daß jede aufsteigende, noch so wilde, Begierde freyen Lauf nehmen darf, so wird freylich am Ende ein Sinn auf Kosten aller übrigen befriedigt seyn wollen. Die Nationen, die wir unmittelbar zuvor auf den *Neuen-Hebridischen Inseln* und auf *Neu-Caledonien* besucht, hatten sich sehr klüglich für allen unanständigen Vertraulichkeiten gehütet; eben deshalb wandten sich die Herren nun mit desto größerer Zudringlichkeit an die ekelhaften Schönen in den unreinlichen, räuchrigen Hütten auf *Neu-Seeland!* (II:358f.)

Although he concludes as a consequence of these encounters that the venereal diseases which inhabit New Zealand are native to the country and have not been transported by Europeans, he laments the possibility that the reverse is true, which in the end will poison the minds as much as the bodies of this “unglückliche[n] Volk” who must pay the price for the shame of the supposedly “*gesittetern* Europäischen Nationen”:

Ein Volk, das seiner rohen Wildheit, hitzigen Temperaments und grausamen Gewohnheiten ohnerachtet, tapfer, edelmüthig, gastfrey und keiner Arglist fähig ist, verdient doppelt Mitleid, wenn unter ihnen selbst die Liebe, der süßesten und glücklichsten Empfindungen Quelle, zur Veranlassung der schrecklichsten Geißel des Lebens werden – und ohne ihr Verschulden werden muß. - (I:207f.)⁵¹

However, not all Maori females are contaminated by the act of prostitution. Yet even the most favourable depiction of a faithful Maori wife with ‘tolerable’ and ‘agreeable’ features is spoiled by the comment that she is infested by vermin. “Toghiri” (Tokiri),⁵² for example, who is noticeably “erträgliche und [hatte] etwas sanfte Gesichtszüge” and was offered by her family to

⁵⁰ Interestingly, he later describes these sailors in such a way that they could almost be mistaken for Maori: “Ohnerachtet sie Mitglieder gesitteter Nationen sind, so machen sie doch gleichsam eine besondere Classe von Menschen aus, die ohne Gefühl, voll Leidenschaft, rachsüchtig, zugleich aber auch tapfer, aufrichtig und treu gegen einander sind” (I:420f.).

⁵¹ See Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 141-43; Morehead, *Fatal Impact*, 1, 35f., 40, 56, 77, 88, 210f.; Küchler Williams, *Erotische Paradiese*, 154-64.

⁵² Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 91.

marry a European who devoted much of his time to them, proves to be as faithful to him as if he were Maori through repeatedly refusing the offers of many unscrupulous seamen, but in spite of this she is never taken aboard due to the “zahlreiche[n] Gesellschaft die auf ihren Kleidern und in den Haaren haufenweise herumkroch” (I:397). This negative image, however, is redressed when Forster observes the women and girls sitting in front of their huts on another cove, some of whom had previously visited the Europeans on their ship:

Sie schienen weit besser mit allen Nothwendigkeiten versorgt zu seyn, als die wenigen einzelnen Familien, die sich in der Nachbarschaft unsers Schiffs aufhielten; wenigstens waren ihre Kleider neu und rein, und manche dünkten uns so gar von angenehmen Gesichtszügen, als wir sonst bey dieser Nation wahrgenommen hatten. Vielleicht rührte aber dieser Unterschied größtentheils daher, daß sie jetzt von Schminke, Ruß oder anderer Schmiererey, ziemlich rein waren. (II:360)

That is not to say that the dirtiness of the males always escapes his notice, as a passage on the inhabitants of a dreary and barren bay in Terawhiti makes clear:

Die Leute giengen sehr dürftig in alte lumpichte Mäntel oder sogenannte *Boghi-Boghi's* ['pakepake'] gekleidet. Der Rauch, dem sie in ihren niedrigen kleinen Hütten beständig ausgesetzt sind, und der Schmutz, der sich vermuthlich von ihrer Jugend an, ungestört auf der Haut angehäuft hatte, machte, daß sie über und über hässlich gelbbraun aussahen, und daß man von ihrer wahren Farbe nicht urtheilen konnte. Den Winter hindurch, der eben zu Ende gieng, mochten sie sich vielleicht oft mit halb verfaulten Fischen haben behelfen müssen; diese ekelhafte Nahrung aber und das ranzige Öl, womit sie sich das Haar einschmieren, hatte ihren Ausdünstungen einen so unerträglichen Gestank mitgeteilt, daß man sie schon von weitem wittern konnte. (I:388)

Even the general impression of Te Ratu and his retinue, who are more elegantly dressed than those of Queen Charlotte Sound, is tainted by the fact that they are “denselben doch in der Unreinlichkeit vollkommen ähnlich, dergestalt, daß das Ungeziefer haufenweise auf ihren Kleidern herum kroch” (I:198). After all, bodily cleanliness influences Forster's judgment, as it not only equates to better health and happiness but also social interaction: “[U]ncivilisirte Nationen, die nicht viel aufs Baden halten, gemeiniglich so unreinlich zu seyn pflegen, daß, schon deswegen ihrer nicht viel beysammen wohnen und, des Gestanks wegen, auch kein Fremder lange bey ihnen ausdauern kann” (I:280).

The victimisation of Maori females, on the other hand, is most explicitly illustrated in the second and third-hand accounts of their barbaric treatment, which Georg's father and companions witness, not only at the hands of the husbands, but also their children:

Ein Junge von ohngefähr sechs bis sieben Jahren, verlangte von seiner Mutter ein Stück von einem gebranten Pinguin, welches sie in Händen hatte, und da sie ihm nicht gleich zu Gefallen war, ergrif er einen großen Stein und warf nach ihr. Sie lief auf ihn zu, um diese Ungezogenheit zu

ahnden, kaum aber hatte sie ihm einen Schlag gegeben, als der Mann hervorsprang, sie zu Boden warf und unbarmherzig prügelte. Unsre am Wasserplatz campirenden Leute erzählten meinem Vater, sie wären von dergleichen Grausamkeiten vielfältig Zeugen gewesen und hätten mehr denn einmal gesehen, daß auch die Kinder sogar Hand an ihre unglücklichen Mütter legten und solche in Gegenwart des Vaters schlugen, der gleichsam nur Acht gäbe, ob sich jene etwa wehren oder widersetzen würde. Zwar pflegen fast alle wilde Völker, in so fern sie bloß das Recht des Stärkern unter sich gelten lassen, ihre Weiber durchgehends als Sclavinnen anzusehn, die den Männern Kleider machen, Hütten bauen, Speisen kochen und zutragen, und bey aller ihrer Dienstbarkeit doch noch mit der härtesten Begegnung vorlieb nehmen müssen: Allein in Neu-Seeland scheint diese Tyranney viel weiter getrieben zu seyn, denn irgend sonst wo. Die Mannspersonen werden daselbst von Kindheit auf ordentlich dazu angehalten, daß sie ihre Mütter gegen alle Grundsätze der Sittlichkeit verachten müssen. (I:401f.)

Much like the Dusky Sound encounter, this interpretation relies on the preconceived notion of familial relations. However, it is possible that this is not the man's wife, but his child or even a sister, if not a member of another family trying to discipline a child that is not their own, or simply a slave wife taken in battle after slaying her partner. What is more, he makes the assumption that all Maori wives are made to do all the daily tasks by their slave master husbands, despite not actually witnessing them doing everything specified and more importantly the implications of their ill-formed bandy legs ("dünne krumme Beine, mit dicken Knieen") which implies in the process that they remain fairly inactive on land when they are not out fishing or navigating in their canoes (I:186).⁵³ This belief, however, is more to do with the influence of the social philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment on both Forsters. In accordance with these contemporary theorists, the treatment of women in any given society reflected its 'index of civilisation', in which all females in savage and barbarous nations were believed to be treated "as drudges and beasts of burden, and regarded as the property of their husbands",⁵⁴ as they did not take part in the much valued warlike pursuits of the men.⁵⁵ This interpretation therefore proves in

⁵³ In his own words: "Dies muß ohne Zweifel davon herrühren, daß sie solche wenig gebrauchen, indem sie eines theils am Lande die mehreste Zeit unthätig liegen mögen, andern theils aber in den Canots stets mit untergeschlagenen Füßen, zu sitzen pflegen" (I:186).

⁵⁴ Harriet Guest, "Looking at Women: Forster's Observations in the South Pacific", in: Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World* [1778]. Edited by Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest, and Michael Dettelbach with a linguistics appendix by Karl H. Rensch. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 1996, xlix.

⁵⁵ See *ibid.*, xli-liv; Thomas, "Liberty and Licence", 134f., 141-48; Herbert Uerlings, "Geschlecht und Fortschritt. Zu Georg Forsters Reise um die Welt und dem Diskurs der 'Universalgeschichten des weiblichen Geschlechts'", in: *Beschreiben und Erfinden: Figuren des Fremden vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Eds. Karl Hölz, Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, Herbert Uerlings. Frankfurt a/M: Lang, 2000, 13-44; Küchler Williams, *Erotische Paradiese*, 100-33; Sigrid Weigel, "Die nahe Fremde – das Territorium des 'Weiblichen': Zum Verhältnis von 'Wilden' und 'Frauen' im Diskurs der Aufklärung", in: *Die andere Welt. Studien zum Exotismus*. Eds. Thomas Koebner and Gerhart Pickerodt. Frankfurt a/M: Athenäum, 1987, 171-99; cf. Johann Reinhold Forster, *Beobachtungen während der Cookschen Weltumsegelung 1772-1775: Gedanken eines deutschen Teilnehmers* [1783]. Mit einer Einführung von Hanno Beck. Stuttgart: Brockhaus Antiquarium, 1981, 212f., 362-64; G. Forster, *Reise*, II:173, 228, 251f., 282, 318f.

his mind that the previous encounter was not just an anomaly but something characteristic of not only New Zealand, but also of barbaric societies in general, in which, in his opinion, the Maori take it to a whole new level. What relegates the Maori to the lowest state of barbarism in this instance is the reaction of the boy which Forster uses as the basis for this ranking. To add to the supposed long list of activities forced upon Maori wives, this seemingly undisciplined child, moreover, becomes the archetype of an education which teaches him to disrespect his mother, presumably in order to prepare him for his own future matrimonial state, or at least groom him into a warrior.

The most prominent and controversial example of Maori barbarism is naturally that of cannibalism or 'kai-tangata'⁵⁶ and the principle of revenge.⁵⁷ Instead of focusing on the differences between feudal European society and Maori society, however, he places each culture alongside one another in order to show how similar they are in broader terms, and specifically questions the opinions of those Europeans who justify the extermination of such people due to the above act. Here, the first encounter with cannibalism that Forster records occurs on the return to the Sound when a group of Europeans, including the captain and the elder Forster, discover the entrails of a human corpse, which the nearby Maori claim to have eaten from. They are then shown several limbs, including a half-eaten head, from the same body of the fifteen or sixteen-year-old youth who had been slain in battle and was the only one of the dead that could be brought back. No fierce and frenzied behaviour is visible in their demeanour as this act is contrasted with the humanistic portrayal of the women of fallen friends and loved ones, who "laut wehklagen und sich zum Andenken der Gebliebenen die Stirn mit scharfen Steinen verwundeten" (I:402). The first thought which comes to Forster's mind is that the blame for this battle taking place may indeed lie in their own hands. It is already clear in his eyes the negative influences the Europeans have had on the native population of New Zealand, especially regarding areas of commerce and trade, which he suspects have caused neighbouring tribes to raid one another for goods to trade with the Europeans: "Der große Vorrath von Waffen, Putz und Kleidern, mit

⁵⁶ Debate continues today over the validity of anthropophagy as a widespread custom with some contemporary scholars arguing, for example, that cannibalism is little more than a product of the Western obsession with "man-eating non-Western peoples", what has been referred to as self-perpetuating "cannibal talk", while anthropophagy itself only existed in limited form in the South Pacific generally as ritualistic acts of human sacrifice (see Gananath Obeyesekere, *Cannibal Talk: The Man-Eating Myth and Human Sacrifice in the South Seas*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005; cf. Peter Hulme, "Introduction: The Cannibal Scene", in: *Cannibalism and the Colonial World*. Eds. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme and Margaret Iversen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 1-38; William Arens, "Rethinking Anthropophagy", in: *ibid.*, 39-62).

⁵⁷ See Klauck, 93-101; cf. Salmond, *Cannibal Dog*, 142-45, 223-26; Küchler Williams, *Erotische Paradiese*, 138-50.

welchem sie jetzt zu Markt kamen, ließ allerdings vermuthen, daß sie einen Streich von dieser Art ausgeführt hatten, und das wird schwerlich ohne Blutvergießen abgelaufen seyn” (I:400).

Forster gives a much more human angle to the issue of cannibalism, which stays clear of the extreme stereotypical bloodthirsty savage who kills in a wild frenzy and naturally eats the raw human flesh in the same manner, through instead portraying it as something almost natural, albeit uncivilised, comparable to the way Europeans eat animal flesh. For example, after Lieutenant Richard Pickersgill purchases the head of the cannibalised youth he is accosted by other Maori who show an interest in obtaining the head. He replies by cutting a piece off the cheek which they proceed to eat in mocking fashion only after it has been cooked.⁵⁸ This scene is witnessed by the *Resolution*'s crew and repeated for Captain Cook's benefit. There is consequently a range of questionable reactions from the more adventurous seamen who “fast Lust [...] haben mit anzubeißen, und glaubten etwas sehr witziges zu sagen, wenn sie die Neu-Seeländischen Kriege für Menschen-Jagden ausgaben” to those who are so riled up between complete disgust and outrage that “sie die Neu-Seeländer alle todt zu schießen wünschten, gerade als ob sie Recht hätten über das Leben eines Volks zu gebieten, dessen Handlungen gar nicht einmal für ihren Richterstuhl gehörten!” (I:404). If anything, it is their reactions which Forster sees as the most abhorrent.

Thus, both Forsters are apparent witnesses to the proof of anthropophagy, which only reconfirms eyewitness accounts from the previous voyage. However, Georg diverges from the popular beliefs of contemporary theorists as to the causes of such a custom among savage nations, the most common being a lack of food which drove them to eat one another out of necessity.⁵⁹ He disproves this assessment through the estimated size of the population in the North Island of 100,000⁶⁰ in comparison with the overall size of the island, the abundance of fish which are readily available, and the beginnings of agriculture in the northern areas. For him, it is the key notion of revenge which most likely gave rise to Maori cannibalism in the first place, as it is well-known that “die Rachsucht bey wilden Völkern durchgängig eine heftige Leidenschaft ist, und oft zu einer Raserey ausartet, in welcher sie zu den unerhörtesten Ausschweifungen aufgelegt sind”:

⁵⁸ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 94; Obeyesekere, *Cannibal Talk*, 30-36.

⁵⁹ Cf. Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, III:43f.

⁶⁰ Pool posits a total population for both islands of about 100,000, or at least no more than 110,000-115,000, at the time of Cook's first contact in 1769 (Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population Past, Present and Projected*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991, 42f., 53, 57f.; cf. Ian Pool, *The Maori Population of New Zealand 1769-1971*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1977, 48-52).

Wer weiß also, ob die ersten Menschenfresser die Körper ihrer Feinde nicht *aus bloßer Wuth* gefressen haben, damit gleichsam nicht das geringste von denselben übrig bleiben sollte? Wenn sie nun überdem fanden, daß das Fleisch gesund und wohlschmeckend sey, so dürfen wir uns wohl nicht wundern, daß sie endlich eine Gewohnheit daraus gemacht und die Erschlagenen *allemal* aufgefressen haben: Denn, so sehr es auch unsrer Erziehung zuwider seyn mag, so ist es doch an und für sich weder unnatürlich noch strafbar, Menschenfleisch zu essen. Nur um deswillen ist es zu verbannen, weil die geselligen Empfindungen der Menschenliebe und des Mitleids dabey so leicht verloren gehen können. Da nun aber ohne diese keine menschliche Gesellschaft bestehen kann; so hat der erste Schritt zur Cultur bey allen Völkern dieser seyn müssen, daß man dem Menschenfressen entsagt und Abscheu dafür zu erregen gesucht hat. Wir selbst sind zwar nicht mehr Cannibalen, gleichwohl finden wir es weder grausam noch unnatürlich zu Felde zu gehen und uns bey Tausenden die Hälse zu brechen, blos um den Ehrgeiz eines Fürsten, oder die Grillen seiner Maitresse zu befriedigen. Ist es aber nicht Vorurtheil, daß wir vor dem Fleische eines Erschlagenen Abscheu haben, da wir uns doch kein Gewissen daraus machen ihm das Leben zu nehmen? Ohne Zweifel wird man sagen wollen, daß ersteres den Menschen brutal und fühllos machen würde. Allein, es giebt ja leyder Beyspiele genug, daß Leute von civilisirten Nationen, die, gleich verschiednen unsrer Matrosen, den bloßen Gedanken von Menschenfleisch-Essen nicht ertragen und gleichwohl Barbareyen begehen können, die selbst unter Cannibalen nicht erhört sind! Was ist der Neu-Seeländer, der seinen Feind im Kriege umbringt und frißt, gegen den Europäer, der, zum Zeitvertreib, einer Mutter ihren Säugling, mit kaltem Blut, von der Brust reißen und seinen Hunden vorwerfen kann? (I:406f.)

In other words, the supposedly much ‘polished’ European civilisation is not immune itself from excessive inhuman behaviour committed in cold blood, albeit restricted more to the domain of killing people rather than eating them. However, as can be seen from the examples he cites in Germany and Brazil, isolated acts of cannibalism did in fact occur in contemporary Europe (not to mention among shipwrecked survivors in the Pacific), although not to the extent of a custom as in New Zealand.⁶¹

As Forster subscribes to the view that the majority of nations all rose out of the same barbaric state of cannibalism, the Maori can therefore be seen in ‘monogenist’ fashion as less different or inferior than many Europeans would think at the time. He goes on to distinguish the Maori from the stereotypes and opinions of earlier commentators in order to give them a more realistic and humanistic portrayal, whilst also clearly conveying the improvable nature of these people:

Die Neu-Seeländer fressen ihre Feinde nicht anders als wenn sie solche im Gefecht und in der größten Wuth erlegt haben. Sie machen nicht Gefangne um sie zu mästen und denn abzuschlachten, noch weniger bringen sie ihre Verwandten in der Absicht um, sie zu fressen: [...] vielmehr essen sie solche nicht einmal wenn sie natürlichen Todes gestorben sind. Es ist also nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß in der Folge der Zeit dieser Gebrauch bey ihnen ganz abkommen wird. Die Einführung von neuem zahmen Schlacht-Vieh kann diese glückliche Epoche vielleicht befördern, in so fern nemlich größerer Überfluß, mehr Viehzucht und Ackerbau das Volk näher

⁶¹ See Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 94-97, 177-79.

zusammenbringen und es geselliger machen wird. Auch von Seiten ihrer Religion stehet jener Hoffnung kein Hinderniß im Wege, denn, so viel wir bemerken konnten, sind sie nicht sonderlich abergläubisch, und nur unter sehr abergläubischen Völkern hat man auch nach ihrer Cultur, noch Menschen-Opfer gefunden. (I:407f.)

This last comment is far from the truth, however, especially when one considers the religious nature of the very act of cannibalism for the Maori. The aim of this custom was to destroy the ‘hau’, or life-force, of one’s enemies and offer it to their own ancestral gods (‘atua’) through the ‘whangai hau’ ceremony in order to exact retribution for a previous insult or injury against their own tribal ‘mana’ by ritually eating the remains of the fallen adversaries, in doing so destroying the ‘mana’ of the enemy gods, the victims and all of their descendants through removing their ancestral protection and ultimately preventing future reprisals beyond the grave.⁶² Naturally, it was not to be expected that Forster would know this as no early European explorer did any better.⁶³

As the Europeans never witnessed any religious ceremonies or priests (‘tohunga’) of any kind, it is not surprising that the Maori would hardly seem superstitious. What Forster fails to observe is the significance of ‘tapu’ restrictions present at the time in Maori society, namely a system of social constraints forbidding access to or consecration of specific religious or prestigious areas and items according to a set of sacred laws laid down by the power of their ancestor gods.⁶⁴ Apart from the previously known claim of Tupaia, the Raiatean high priest and guide on the *Endeavour*, that they do in fact acknowledge a Supreme Being, the only conjectures Forster comes up with here are made in contrast with other South Sea nations, which, however, lead him to the opinion that they only have distant connections to superstitions at best. The most promising religious connection is, in his opinion, the somewhat distorted figure of a human being,

⁶² Ibid., 97. Obeyesekere, in contrast, argues that Maori notions of cannibalism evolved along with their worldview once Europeans began to arrive (and ultimately be eaten), bringing with them a prominent obsession with ‘cannibal’ savages, which the locals were only too willing to exploit, and resulting in the Maori replacing their traditional “sacrificial anthropophagy” with the “complex self-fulfilling prophecy” that is “conspicuous anthropophagy” (Obeyesekere, *Cannibal Talk*, 52-87, 92-150, 236-43, 255-67).

⁶³ Johann Reinhold Forster, on the other hand, emphasises the education that Maori receive from birth, in which eating one’s enemies becomes second nature. It starts at an early age for males who are brought up undisciplined in a society where independence is paramount and greatly protected, which, however, leads to licentiousness and inhuman excesses. Furthermore, he adds that this act of revenge, which is committed in a state of frenzy, has an end point in sight due to either the decrease of tribal numbers resulting in their being more careful and eventually doing away with the custom, or else humiliated enemies will choose to offer terms to the victors and reveal the advantages of slavery over cannibalism (J. R. Forster, *Beobachtungen*, 288-95).

⁶⁴ See, for example, Salmond, *Two Worlds*, 43; 209, 246, 330, 386f., 395, 423; *Between Worlds*, 33, 176, 260, 471-73, 480, 495f., 499f., 502-6; Shore, “*Mana and Tapu*”, 143-53, 164f.

or at least a head with a tongue poking out, which could signify the worship of a deity.⁶⁵ However, as no piece of this art was ever denied to the Europeans when trading, even if some were valued more than others, it appeared to lessen the strength of this argument. In fact, he notices that this design is featured on the prow of Maori canoes ('manaia'),⁶⁶ the handle of battle-axes, around their neck in the form of a greenstone medallion or "Etighi" ('hei tiki')⁶⁷ and even on their bales and paddles; in other words, on everything which relates to war and armaments: "Vermuthlich hat die hier zu Lande durchgehends übliche Gewohnheit, den Feind durch Austreckung der Zunge zu schimpfen und auszufordern, zu so häufiger Abbildung solcher Fratzensichter Gelegenheit gegeben" (I:199). Furthermore, the several rows of human teeth that hang around their necks also appear to have no superstitious significance, but are rather a sign of bravery and trophies of their slain enemies to be paraded in victory, much like the fish hooks made of human bone and the heart of the slain youth situated on a prong on the prow of a canoe (I:410), the latter in fact being an offering to Tu, the god of war.⁶⁸ As can be seen, Forster's notions of war and religion in the context of the Maori are relatively unconnected concepts, which then sees them as a race of irreligious warriors who are unswayed by superstition.⁶⁹

According to history, the Maori have been "gefährliche Feinde" to all the nations they have been in contact with, and presumably "wissen also, ohnstreitig schon seit 1642, wie das Fleisch eines Europäers schmeckt" (II:351) with the taking of one of the bodies of Tasman's crew. The next and worst case, however, was the killing of Marc-Joseph Marion du Fresne and twenty-eight of his fellow Frenchmen in the Bay of Islands in 1772, who presumably "ohne es vielleicht selbst zu wissen oder gewahr zu werden, ihnen etwas in den Weg gelegt, wodurch jene sich für berechtigt gehalten haben, ihrer Rachsucht dermaßen den Zügel schießen zu lassen, als dies von rohen Wilden nur immer erwartet werden kann" (II:355).⁷⁰ The Grass Cove killings of

⁶⁵ Anything represented in art at the time which was contrary to the conventions of harmony, order, symmetry, proportion and perfection, as was epitomised in the ideals of Greek art and the works of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Gotthold Lessing, was often regarded as rude, primitive, distorted, chaotic, ugly and imperfect (Esleben, *Enlightenment Canvas*, 37-52).

⁶⁶ See Hope B. Werness, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Native Art: Worldview, Symbolism, and Culture in Africa, Oceania, and Native North America*. New York: Continuum, 2000, 189f.

⁶⁷ 'Hei tiki' were in fact prized ancestral heirlooms to be passed from one generation to the next, taking on 'mana' in the process, and over time became "imbued with powerful magical forces connected with continuity and fertility" (ibid., 131f., 189).

⁶⁸ The human bones of enemies could reportedly be used for making such things as flutes, hooks and spears, whilst preserving the victim's head was a more common practice when it became a favoured item of trade with Europeans (Vadya, *Maori Warfare*, 94-97).

⁶⁹ For an understanding of early Maori religion, see Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 401-509.

⁷⁰ Salmond suggests a possible reason for Marion du Fresne's killing as retribution for breaking 'tapu' restrictions (Salmond, *Two Worlds*, 359-429).

ten British seamen from the *Adventure* in 1773 during the course of the present voyage should also be added to the list, the full details of which were not known to the crew of the *Resolution* until their return journey to England. In this case, the crew of a small boat were sent to Grass Cove (Whareunga Bay) in search of celery and scurvy-grass under the command of John Rowe, a man itching to pick a fight with the Maori. It was here that all the Europeans present were killed and eaten by the locals after an altercation between the two. Forster, however, shows a typical non-British viewpoint with little sympathy for Rowe's cavalier approach to natives:

Dieser unglückliche junge Mann hatte, bey einer sonst guten Denkungsart, die Vorurtheile der seemännischen Erziehung noch nicht völlig abgelegt. Er sahe z. E. alle Einwohner der Südsee mit einer Art von Verachtung an, und glaubte eben dasselbe Recht über sie zu haben, welches sich, in barbarischen Jahrhunderten, die Spanier über das Leben der amerikanischen Wilden anmaaßten. (II:348)

Thus, responsibility for the deaths is firmly placed on the shoulders of the Europeans, which, however, does not soften the blow of their loss. Reportedly one of the Maori stole a sailor's jacket and was met with musket fire from all quarters, which "so lange damit fortgefahren, bis die Matrosen kein Pulver mehr gehabt":

Als die Eingebornen dies inne geworden, wären sie auf die Europäer zugerannt, und hätten selbige bis auf den letzten Mann erschlagen. Da mir selbst erinnerlich ist, daß Herr *Rowe* immer zu behaupten pflegte, die *Neu-Seeländer* würden das Feuer unserer Musketerie nicht aushalten, wenn es einmal zum Schlagen käme; so kann es ganz wohl seyn, daß er bey dieser Gelegenheit einen Versuch dieser Art habe anstellen wollen. (II:349)

In fact, this scene could almost have occurred earlier if it were not for the intervention of another officer. In spite of the neither "verrätherisch" nor "menschenfeindlich" (II:355) character of the Maori, conflict always had the potential to escalate, especially when arrogant Europeans and their guns were involved and where no differentiation was made between different tribal groups, all of which resulted in open retaliation.

Although unaware of the finer details of these killings at the time of the *Resolution's* third visit to Queen Charlotte Sound, apart from later contradictory and ambiguous reports from various Maori that a battle took place with Europeans and a number of deaths resulted, the crew find the cove deserted of local Maori, and when some are eventually spotted they are very hesitant and unsure of themselves, as if expecting some form of retribution which does not eventuate. However, looking back, Forster cannot speak more highly of their courage when facing fear:

[Wir] schieden [...] aus einander, nicht ohne den eigenthümlichen Character ihres Muths zu bewundern, der den Gedanken: "sich vor einem Feinde verbergen" für ganz unzulässig hält, und sie auch jetzt, so wie ehemals in *Dusky-bay*, bewogen hatte, ihrer Besorgniß und unsrer Überlegenheit ohnerachtet, von freyen Stücken hervor zu kommen! (II:346)

This courage in the face of possible death naturally makes their bravery even more extraordinary in his eyes. Moreover, when over 200 Maori are gathered around them in another cove no hostile intentions are revealed:

Wenn ich bedenke, wie oft es den *Neu-Seeländern* ein leichtes gewesen wäre, uns umzubringen, z. E. wenn wir uns von den Booten entfernten, einzeln auf den Bergen herum kletterten, in den Wäldern herum streiften, in den volkreichsten Gegenden landeten, und uns unbewaffnet mitten unter sie mischten: so werde ich immer mehr überzeugt, daß man nicht das mindeste von ihnen zu besorgen hat, wenn man nur seiner Seits sie in Ruhe läßt, und sie nicht vorsetzlich böß macht. Eben daher dünkt es mir auch mehr als wahrscheinlich, daß die Matrosen der *Adventure* nicht würden erschlagen worden seyn, wenn sie sich nicht zuerst, und zwar gröblich, an den *Neu-Seeländern* vergangen hätten. (II:361)

To match their courage, the Maori are also devoid of treachery, and do not appear to intend any future hostilities against the Europeans unless provoked, although he does admit they are lucky to have only met with families with whom prior peaceful relations have occurred.

In other words, the basis for these deadly altercations between Maori and Europeans can be put down to the sole importance of avenging a wrong committed against the indigenous people who utilise whatever means possible:

Dieser verlieh uns die Leidenschaften gleichsam zur Schutzwehr und bestimmte den Trieb der Rache, vorzüglich, zu Abwendung aller gewaltsamen Unterdrückung. Der Wilde fühlt dieses und eignet sich selbst das Recht zu, Beleidigungen zu rächen, dahingegen in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft gewissen einzelnen Personen, ausschliessenderweise, die Macht anvertraut, und zugleich die Pflicht auferlegt ist, alles Unrecht zu rügen. Indessen ist diese Art, das Recht zu handhaben, auch in den gesitteten Ländern Europens, nicht immer, und nicht auf alle Fälle hinreichend. [...] Eben so ereignen sich auch im Privatleben Fälle genug, wo das Gefühl der Rache einige Entschuldigung für sich zu haben scheint. Giebt es nicht eine Menge von Beeinträchtigungen und Beleidigungen oder Beschimpfungen, wogegen kein Gesetz schützt? Oder wie oft geschiehet es nicht, daß die Großen, Macht und Einfluß genug haben, die Gesetze zu verdrehen, und, zum Nachtheil des unglücklichen, freundlosen Armen, zu vereiteln? [...] Wenn ein Räuber sich an meinem Eigenthum vergreift, so darf ich nicht erst zum Richter laufen, sondern kann, in vielen Fällen, den Bösewicht gleich auf der Stelle dafür züchtigen; auf solche Art haben Stock und Degen manchen Schurken in Furcht und Schranken gehalten, der dem Gesetz Trotz bieten durfte. (II:355f.)

As can be seen, this principle of revenge is strongly linked to the concept of self-preservation, which is positioned as the 'first law of nature' against all injury and oppression. If anyone infringes on this law, it results in feelings of revenge which cannot be carried out in any other

way in a state of lawlessness.⁷¹ After all, being brought up in a climate of war and constant mistrust of neighbours can result in excessive acts of violence when provoked during an uncontrolled state of wild fury, which in turn condition future behaviour.⁷² In his opinion, both philanthropy and revenge are natural to man,⁷³ which, although at odds with one another, keep human society in equilibrium (II:349). Thus, this balance is no better illustrated than in the character of the Maori. On the whole, Forster is not far wrong with his estimation of the spirit of revenge that the Maori seem to possess, as it can best be explained by the concept of ‘utu’ or reciprocity. ‘Utu’ came in different forms, ranging from the hospitable notions of gift-giving and generosity toward other Maori groups, which required equal exchange, to the more familiar notions of revenge and combat if no other means could correct the harm done, such as taking war captives, strategically marrying between warring tribes, presenting generous gifts or the bloodless

⁷¹ It is interesting to compare this notion of revenge with the excessive acts of the second *Adventure* party to Grass Cove who do everything but eat the culprits upon finding the remains of their fallen comrades: “Der seitwärts gelegene Berg wimmelte von Menschen, und an vielen Orten stieg ein Rauch auf, der vermuthen ließ, daß das Fleisch der erschlagenen Europäer schon zu einer festlichen Mahlzeit zubereitet werde! Dieser Gedanke erfüllte selbst die hartherzigsten Matrosen mit Grausen, und machte ihnen das Blut in allen Adern starren; doch, im nächsten Augenblick entbrannte ihre Rachgier, und die Vernunft mußte unter diesem mächtigen Instinct erliegen. Sie feuerten und tödteten viele von den Wilden, trieben sie auch zuletzt, wiewohl nicht ohne Mühe, vom Strande, und schlugen ihre Canots in Trümmern” (II:349f.).

⁷² “Ein Volk, oder eine Familie, (denn Wilde leben doch selten in größeren Gesellschaften bey einander) die oft den Anfällen und Beeinträchtigungen andrer ausgesetzt ist, wird dadurch ganz natürlicherweise zu Haß und Unversöhnlichkeit gegen ihre Beleidiger gereizt, und auf solche Art zur Rachgier verleitet, die endlich in Grausamkeit ausbricht. Hat die eine Parthey noch überdem List und verätherische Kunstgriffe bey ihren Feindseligkeiten angewandt; so erweckt dies bey der andern Mistrauen, und auf solche Art entstehet denn nach und nach eine feindselige, boshafte Gemüthsbeschaffenheit, in welcher man sich zuletzt die größten Niederträchtigkeiten gegen seinen Feind erlaubt. Unter so bewandten Umständen ist nun dem Wilden schon der bloße Anschein einer Beleidigung genug, um die Waffen zu ergreifen, und alles vernichten zu wollen, was ihm in den Weg kommt; wird er vollends wirklich gereizt, so verläßt er sich auf das Recht des Stärksten, und fällt seinen Feind mit einer Wuth an, die ihn der unbändigsten Grausamkeit fähig macht. Ein andres Volk hingegen, das nie boshafte Feinde, oder anhaltende Streitigkeiten gehabt, oder sie lange vergessen hat, das durch den Ackerbau schon zu einem gewissen Wohlstand, Überfluß und Sittlichkeit, mithin auch zu Begriffen von Geselligkeit und Menschenliebe gelangt ist, solch ein Volk weiß nichts von Jähzorn, sondern muß schon überaus sehr gereizt werden, wenn es auf Rache denken soll” (II:246).

⁷³ This is in stark contrast to his earlier claim which only labelled philanthropy as natural to man, whilst revenge and the like were seen as savage concepts known only to barbarous nations: “Für ein empfindsames Gemüthe ist aber das warlich ein tröstlicher Gedanke, daß Menschenliebe dem Menschen natürlich sey und daß die wilden Begriffe von Mißtrauen, Bosheit und Rachsucht, nur Folgen einer allmählichen Verderbniß der Sitten sind. Man findet auch in der That nur wenig Beyspiele vom Gegentheil, daß nemlich Völker, welche nicht ganz bis zur Barbarey herabgesunken, der Liebe zum Frieden, diesem allgemeinen Grundtriebe des Menschen, zuwider gehandelt haben sollten” (I:267). Furthermore, following the next statement about the general friendliness between the South Sea natives and previous European explorers, he inserts the footnote: “Die Wilden von Neu-Seeland machen eine Ausnahme”, which makes it unclear whether the Maori are an exception to the general rule, i.e. are both philanthropic and barbaric by nature, or that they have themselves “ganz bis zur Barbarey herabgesunken” to the point where there is no room for philanthropy in their nature.

confiscations of ‘muru’ (raids), the result of which could last over generations until balance was restored.⁷⁴

Thus, with its natural abundance of healthy refreshments in the form of fish and antiscorbutic plants, in conjunction with the beneficial air that is present on warm days, it is not surprising to Georg Forster that New Zealand’s climate has not only enabled a suitable environment for resurrecting one’s health, but also for the development of the Maori (with the exception of their unshapely bandy legs):

Bey so viel zusammenwirkenden Ursachen war es kein Wunder, daß, wenn wir bey der Ankunft allhier auch noch so bleich und abgezehrt aussahen, die Veränderung der Lebensart uns doch in kurzer Zeit wieder eine frische, gesunde Farbe verschafte. Freylich konnte dies äussere Ansehen bey uns eben so trügen als bey dem Schiffe: Wenn wir mit selbigem, nach vorhergegangener Ausbesserung am Lande, von neuem in See giengen; so schien es zwar in ziemlich gutem Stande zu seyn; gleichwohl mochte ihm auf der langen Fahrt, so mancher harte Stoß, insgeheim empfindlichen Schaden zugefügt haben! – Eben das, was in *Neu-Seeland* uns so wohl bekam: die gesunde Luft, die einfache Lebensordnung, besonders aber der Überfluß an guten, leicht zu verdauenden Nahrungsmitteln, alles das kann auch wohl Ursach seyn, daß die Einwohner von so hoher Statur, wohl gewachsen, und stark gebaut sind. Sie leben vornehmlich vom Fischfang, und der ist an der hiesigen Küste, den größten Theil des Jahres hindurch, so ergiebig, daß sie auch den Winter über daran genug haben [...]. (II:366f.)

Furthermore, when he looks toward the bay which was later to become Wellington, the capital of New Zealand, he sees a bright future for a colony situated in its environs, which can be maintained by a growing flax industry:

Sollte die Bay für große Schiffe tief genug seyn, woran wohl nicht zu zweifeln ist; so wäre dieser Platz zur Anlegung einer Colonie ganz vorzüglich bequem. Denn man fände hier einen großen Strich bauwürdigen Landes vor sich, der mit genugsamer Waldung, vermuthlich auch mit einem schiffbaren Strom versehen ist, und, seiner Lage nach, in den besten Vertheidigungsstand gesetzt werden könnte. Da diese Gegend auch nicht sonderlich bewohnt zu seyn scheint, so würde desto weniger Gelegenheit zu Streitigkeiten mit den Eingebornen vorhanden seyn. Vortheile, die sich an andern Stellen von Neu-Seeland wohl selten so glücklich vereinigt finden dürften. Der Flachs (*phormium tenax*,) wovon die Einwohner ihre Kleider, Matten, Stricke und Netze verfertigen, ist von so vortreflichem Glanz, Elasticität und Stärke, daß die neue Colonie schon mit diesem einzigen Artikel einen beträchtlichen Handel nach Indien treiben könnte, weil dort Taue und Seegeltuch in sehr hohen Preisen stehen. Vielleicht werden die Europäer, wenn sie dereinst ihre americanischen Colonien verloren haben, auf neue Niederlassungen in entferntern Ländern bedacht seyn; mögte nur alsdenn der Geist der ehemaligen Entdecker nicht mehr auf ihnen ruhen! mögten sie die einheimischen Bewohner der Südsee als ihre Brüder ansehen, und ihren Zeitgenossen zeigen, daß man Colonien anlegen könne, ohne sie mit dem Blut unschuldiger Nationen beflecken zu dürfen! (I:411)

⁷⁴ See Salmond, *Two Worlds*, 142, 378, 386; *Between Worlds*, 33, 75, 142, 159; Vadya, *Maori Warfare*, 42-46, 102-9, 119-24.

However, in spite of endorsing the notion of welcoming the natives of the South Seas with open arms, his assumption that the little populated area of Wellington will prove unlikely to be a place of much conflict in the future is far from accurate.⁷⁵ In 1787 his views then take on a more British position in his biographical essay “Cook, der Entdecker”:

[Kapitän Cooks] Nachrichten beweisen zur Genüge, daß zumal die nördliche Insel, wegen ihrer vortreflichen Häfen, ihrer Anhöhen, Thäler und wohlbewässerten Ebenen, ihres gemäßigten Himmelstrichs, ihrer herrlichen Wälder vom besten Bau- und Nutzholz, ihrer dauerhaften Flachspflanze und ihrer fischreichen Gestade, dereinst für unternehmende Europäer eine höchst wichtige Entdeckung werden kann. In dem leichten, fruchtbaren Boden jenes Landes würden alle Arten von Europäischen Getraide [sic], von Pflanzen und Früchten gedeihen, und den Ansiedler mit den Notwendigkeiten des Lebens, bald aber auch mit allem was zum Ueberfluß gehört, versehen. Ein Sommer, wie in England, dessen Hitze nie beschwerlich fällt, und ein Winter, wie in Spaniens gemäßigten Provinzen, der eigentlich für keinen Winter gilt, machen das dortige Klima zum angenehmsten Aufenthalt. Für den weit um sich greifenden Handel, der getrennte Welttheile verbindet, kann keine Lage vortheilhafter seyn als diese, welche zwischen Afrika, Indien und Amerika die Mitte hält. Man denke sich in Neuseeland einen Staat mit Englands glücklicher Verfassung, und es wird die Königin der südlichen Welt.⁷⁶

Thus, by pronouncing New Zealand to the German public as the ‘Queen of the Southern World’ due to its abundance of natural resources, temperate climate and favourable location, Forster echoes the hallmarks that would later become the British ‘paradisical’ propaganda of the New Zealand Company.

Conclusion

When Georg and Johann Reinhold Forster set eyes upon the savage and beautiful landscape of New Zealand with its somewhat barbaric but mostly friendly inhabitants (provided no treachery was committed on the side of the Europeans), they became the first German representatives to experience the future colony first hand. It was not long before the younger Forster soon envisaged both a colony where needless bloodshed could be replaced by peaceful co-existence and a nation that could one day become the “Königin der südlichen Welt”. This unique experience produced an immensely popular work, which not only became one of the standard readings on the Pacific, but, more importantly, captured and founded the first real German perception of New Zealand and the Maori to appear in the German-speaking world, an image that was seen by the public as

⁷⁵ This came to a head in 1846 when conflict arose between Ngati Toa and the British over land disputes in the Hutt Valley (Tim Ryan and Bill Parham, *The Colonial New Zealand Wars*. Revised Ed. Wellington: Grantham House, 2002, 33-35).

⁷⁶ Georg Forster, “Cook, der Entdecker [1787]”, in: *Georg Forsters Werke*, Bd. 5, 214.

both distinct from and more reliable than previous European accounts due to its German authorship. During the height of travelogues in the late eighteenth century Georg Forster's name would also become synonymous with the 'Pacific imagination'. In fact, well into the nineteenth century *Reise um die Welt* remained as the sole German-language scientific travelogue to include a substantial section on New Zealand, besides a selection of German translations of prominent British works and various general treatises, pamphlets and articles, until the mid-1800s when it was overtaken in Germany by the likes of Hochstetter's *Neu-Seeland* in 1863. What Forster created was an ambivalent image of New Zealand, which saw the future colony as at times majestic and breathtaking in all its beautifully Romantic forms, with the Arcadian virtues of 'natural abundance' and a healthy climate adding to its isolated and relatively uninhabited appearance, whilst at other times the most wild, savage and raw of climates set amongst barren, craggy and uncultivated landscapes; yet in his opinion a most promising place for replenishing supplies and future colonisation. Like his contemporaries, Hawkesworth and Cook, Forster continues the ambivalent portrayal in his perception of the Maori who are depicted as a courageous and honest but revengeful and barbaric people. On the one hand, his views have been shaped by the tenets of the Scottish Enlightenment, leading him to perceive a male-dominated society where female oppression is wholeheartedly enforced and the women exist as mere drudges to be freely beaten by their husbands and undisciplined children, giving the Maori the lowest ranking of barbarism on the so-called 'index of civilisation'. The existence of female prostitution further inspires him to make negative comments concerning Maori dirtiness and moral decrepitude, albeit with equally damaging judgements made against the actions of the British seamen involved. On the other hand, the Maori showed themselves to be passionate traders and irreligious warriors who were not without sensitivity or artistic ability. Surprisingly, Forster exhibits a high level of relativity and balance in his views, which developed independent of his father and went far beyond the scope of the latter's original diaries, despite his young age and the 'superior' European mentality that characterised the times, particularly regarding controversial subjects such as anthropophagy or cannibalism. Instead he bases his argument on the principle of revenge and portrays this custom as a natural act that is no different, or at least no worse, than European excesses committed in battle. In fact, when a misunderstanding or conflict arises between the two races the benefit of the doubt always goes to the Maori, as he places the responsibility heavily on the side of the Europeans.

It was these images which entered the consciousness of not only scholarly Germans and Austrians, but also the general reading public, and despite his tarnished reputation in later years, *Reise um die Welt* stood the test of time in academic circles, especially as no alternative or updated German account was able to challenge its standing for years to come. Along with the key works of Dieffenbach and Hochstetter, Forster importantly established the scientific-philosophical tradition of the Germanic perspective of New Zealand and the Maori, which consisted of the combined knowledge of the classically trained scientist with a sound background in philosophy, before the latter was increasingly overtaken in the nineteenth century by a more specialised emphasis on empiricism and physical laws. Forster's characteristic philosophical approach, together with his penchant for European moralising and critiquing, his desire for peaceful relations with indigenous peoples, and his at times almost anti-European view of the colonising process would later lend itself to similar manifestations in Dieffenbach's work of suggesting alternative modes of colonisation and offering logical solutions to colonial problems in the same role of the 'superior' and 'more objective' German commentator. While much interest and emphasis is placed nowadays, as it was then, on the happy island of Tahiti,⁷⁷ the image of New Zealand, particularly regarding the theme of cannibalism, was nevertheless widely received by its readers.⁷⁸ Consequently, *Reise um die Welt* is an important text for investigating the nineteenth-century accounts of German-speaking explorers and travellers in New Zealand, as it serves as a useful and necessary starting point for understanding the non-British European viewpoint of the country and its people.

⁷⁷ See, for example, Horst Brunner, *Die poetische Insel: Inseln und Inselvorstellungen in der deutschen Literatur*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1967, 119-44; Küchler Williams, *Erotische Paradiese*, 167-82.

⁷⁸ Notably, Gottfried August Bürger's poem "Neuseeländisches Schlachtlied" (1782) was inspired by Forster's work (see Hans-Werner Nieschmidt, "Bürgers 'Neuseeländisches Schlachtlied': Zur Aufnahme Neuseelands in die deutsche Dichtung", in: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 90 (1971): 186-91).

CHAPTER THREE: Ernst Dieffenbach (1811-55)

The New Zealand Company

With the inevitable move towards the British colonisation of New Zealand, an opportunity was created for a monopoly on land purchases before annexation and a newly formed Crown could be set in place. It is here that Edward Gibbon Wakefield's New Zealand Association, which was founded in 1837 but renamed the New Zealand Company two years later, stepped in with its plans of 'organised immigration' and 'systematic colonisation' in the 1837 prospectus *The British Colonization of New Zealand*, consisting of a careful use of selective readings and misinformation to suit its objectives.¹ The plan was to buy the land cheaply from the local Maori and sell it at a more expensive rate to prospective settlers and investors, thus, in doing so, creating revenue to finance their free passages to the distant country.² The local inhabitants would meanwhile be unconvincingly compensated primarily through their own conversion by means of contact with the "virtuous organised immigrants" to the point where, as one historian cynically puts it, "Maori chiefs would become brown gentlemen, sipping port and reading the Bible and the *Wealth of Nations* on estates reserved for them by the company; [whilst] other lands would be set aside for the education and welfare of lesser Maori".³ The resulting image of New Zealand was one of a rich and fertile, well-watered country closest in geographical location to the antipodes of Great Britain, with a climate described as "one of the most equable in the world"⁴ and one which seemed "to combine the warmth of Southern Italy with the refreshing moisture and bracing atmosphere of the English Channel",⁵ as "rain falls plentifully in every due season, though never to an inconvenient degree".⁶ When combined with the abundance of streams and rivers, there could be no chance of drought or the hot winds that spoiled hard-earned crops in Australia. Here, the refreshing showers not only improved the natural vegetation, but also complemented the

¹ In the preface to the second edition of the Company's *Information Relative to New-Zealand*, dated 23 December 1839, it states: "It has been endeavoured to collect, within the following pages, accounts from many sources, so that, upon comparison with each other, their accuracy may be in some measure estimated by the reader. But if these descriptions should, in any instance, turn out to be exaggerated, the compiler does not, of course, hold himself responsible for them. On the contrary, it has been his wish rather to under-state than amplify the advantages of the promised land; as it is plainly the duty of the advocates of emigration to place, so far as in them lies, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, before the eyes of the intending colonist" (Ward, *Information Relative to New-Zealand*, viii-ix).

² See Burns, *Fatal Success*, 52-55, 99-110.

³ Belich, *Making Peoples*, 183.

⁴ Wakefield and Ward, *British Colonization*, 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.

plentiful quantities of fish of the highest quality, the rich timber and the primeval forests, in which the staples of European foodstuff and animals also flourished unhindered. Moreover, with the many safe and convenient harbours situated all around the coasts and the potential for lucrative businesses in the trading of local products, such as timbers and flax, combined with the already visible whaling industry, the favourable proximity to New South Wales and its ideal location for refitting and provisions, New Zealand could therefore become “the natural centre of a vast maritime trade”, whilst at the same time “a nursery of moral good or evil to be transplanted amongst the neighbouring nations”,⁷ particularly the penal institutions of Australia, over which it already had agricultural superiority.

Also on the agenda was the important objective of “reclaiming and cultivating a moral wilderness, - [...] of civilizing a barbarous people by means of a deliberate plan and systematic efforts”.⁸ The Maori are thus described as “a thoroughly savage people” who, for the most part, “scarcely cultivate the earth, [...] are often exposed to famine” and make wars “sometimes in order to obtain provisions by plunder, sometimes from motives of revenge only”, the result of which is either “the extermination of the conquered tribe” through acts of cannibalism or slavery, in which the Maori slave “appears to be the most miserable being on the face of the earth”, while the women, as is the universal case for savage nations, “are treated with barbarous inhumanity”.⁹ In spite of this, they have in general “a remarkable capacity for becoming civilized – a peculiar aptitude for being improved by intercourse with civilization”, as they “seem not inferior to any race” in both physical and mental capacity, although there is no question that they are inferior to enlightened Europeans.¹⁰ However, not only do they need to be saved from themselves it seems, but also from the unwanted and lawless element of European society, namely escaped convicts from New South Wales, drunken traders, sailors and whalers, and men of questionable and immoral character, all of whom congregate around Kororareka (Russell) in the Bay of Islands, frequent its grog shops and brothels, which they set up in the first place, and commit evil crimes against the Maori, in doing so corrupting the good work done by the missionaries and morally refined settlers, and only resulting in the demise of the indigenous population – all in all, the same official line for British intervention by the Government.¹¹ As a rule no hostilities are directed at

⁷ Ibid., 50.

⁸ Ibid., 27f.

⁹ Ibid., 28.

¹⁰ Ibid., 29.

¹¹ See Ormond Wilson, *Kororareka & Other Essays*. Dunedin: McIndoe, 1990; Peter Adams, *Fatal Necessity: British Intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847*. Auckland: University of Auckland Press, 1977.

foreigners, apart from cases of direct provocation. On the contrary, the Maori are “not opposing but inviting the permanent settlement of English people amongst them – not disregarding merely, but cherishing defenceless missionaries and other strangers – even protecting helpless English women and children from the outrages of savage Englishmen”.¹² Thus, their love of everything European, or rather British, and peaceable demeanour, which continual interaction with the best of British has naturally done no end of good, together with their “great improvement” as servants for hire in the form of labourers, traders, sailors and whalers,¹³ make the “strong, active, and almost uniformly well shaped”¹⁴ Maori the perfect race to share a country with, as “amalgamation” is a foreseeable eventuality due to their superiority over other savages, in which “future generations of Europeans and natives may intermarry and become one people”.¹⁵

Thus, in order to “preserve the New Zealand race from extermination” by encouraging the Maori “to embrace the religion, language, laws and social habits of an advanced country”,¹⁶ what better way than through the guidance and authority of the New Zealand Company as the official agency for emigration to New Zealand by bringing only the best British immigrants into the country, as the well-being of the local population is supposedly foremost on their minds. According to the Company, the Maori are only too willing and anxious to give away all their sovereignty and lands, which in itself was far from the truth,¹⁷ not only in order to ‘improve’ themselves through ‘civilisation’ and ‘Christianity’, which alone already justifies the Company’s ‘noble’ actions, but also to save their own livelihood from the growing number of miscreants, who, it was believed, could irreparably harm the supposedly poor and defenceless Maori:

They are offended that we do not colonize their country; and with good reason, for they see the substantial benefits that would accrue to them from the establishment of our laws and the rest of our civilization, and that it is no longer a question whether Englishmen shall come into their country, but whether they shall do so under the sanction and control of a proper authority, acting with strict impartiality between both parties, or whether they shall come with gunpowder, brandy, and debauchery, to corrupt their wives and daughters, plunder their potato grounds, and set all the neighbouring tribes at variance; whilst the unhappy natives, if impelled by the irregular impulses

¹² Wakefield and Ward, *British Colonization*, 49.

¹³ Cf. Belich, *Making Peoples*, 284.

¹⁴ Wakefield and Ward, *British Colonization*, 276.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 29; cf. Ward, *Information Relative to New-Zealand*, 60-95.

¹⁶ Wakefield and Ward, *British Colonization*, 42.

¹⁷ “For all the tribes of New Zealand land was essential to a healthy way of life, a need as basic as air. From the soil and water they obtained food, clothing, shelter – all the necessities of life; from the possession of land a chief and his tribe derived the mana, the honour, which made life worthwhile. Land linked the people to their ancestors. It was treated as a sacred trust, handed from one generation to the next, ever sustaining the tribe. For tribes which had not known Europeans intimately, or for any length of time, the idea of selling land was incomprehensible” (Burns, *Fatal Success*, 20).

of their nature to seek for justice in the form of revenge, are held up to the execration of mankind as murderers, and as proper objects of cruel retaliation.¹⁸

Furthermore, as there is “abundance and to spare of vast unoccupied territory, without encroaching on what is required by the native population, - a surplus which they are most desirous to sell”, due to their “very small, quite insignificant” numbers “in proportion to the immense fertile territory they possess”,¹⁹ it is only right to make use of the land they cannot make use of themselves. And when a chief sells his tribal land his people shall not be made homeless, but will receive a portion of reserved land “to be held in trust for their use and benefit”,²⁰ albeit scattered around Company-owned property. Moreover, as these transactions are to be made by means of gentle “persuasion”, namely “the kind of influence to which alone the successful missionaries have trusted”, it is only proper “not [to] attempt to convert any part of their country into British territory, without their full, free, and perfectly-understanding consent and approval”.²¹ The reality, however, was somewhat different. Despite all the philanthropic and humanitarian discourse, the crux of the matter was they needed land to sell in a hurry, money, or at least tradable goods, to buy land and finance their venture, in addition to immigrants and investors to begin with, as well as a nice amount of surplus for their own interests. It began with land being sold in Britain before anyone from the Company had even set foot in New Zealand and continued with Edward Gibbon’s brother, William, being sent out in the *Tory* in 1839 to hastily set about purchasing and surveying as much land as possible by whatever means at his disposal before the first immigrants arrived, and writing dispatches to prove the validity of sales and the readiness of the land for immigration. All in all, it was an impossible exercise (a fact not helped by the inadequate translating skills and legal ignorance of the resident whaler Dicky Barrett),²² with some Maori unwilling to give up their land, some not knowing they already had, and others selling land which they did not even own in the first place, all of which was naturally omitted from the dispatches.²³ Accompanying the first ship of Company agents was a German scientist and explorer by the name of Ernst Dieffenbach, who, it will be shown, was not a simple mouthpiece for their propaganda.

¹⁸ Wakefield and Ward, *British Colonization*, 269f.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 271.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 56.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

²² See Julie Bremner, “Barrett, Richard ? – 1847: Trader, whaler, interpreter, hotel owner”, in: *DNZB* 1, 19f.

²³ See John Ward, *Supplementary Information Relative to New-Zealand; comprising Despatches and Journals of the Company’s Officers of the first expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*. London: Parker, 1840, 5-24, 27-61, 111-59; Temple, *Sort of Conscience*, 229-66; Burns, *Fatal Success*, 111-25.

Ernst Dieffenbach and his Travels in New Zealand

Son of a professor of theology and cousin of the well-known surgeon, Johann Friedrich, Johann Karl Ernst Dieffenbach was born on 27 January 1811 in Giessen, a small university town in the Grand Duchy of Hesse in Germany.²⁴ He enrolled as a student of medicine in 1828, and joined the politically-motivated student fraternity (“Burschenschaft”) ‘Germania’ in part due to humanitarian reasons and in part due to the politically-charged atmosphere in the lead up to the July Revolution of 1830 in Paris, which, like its 1789 predecessor, had a noticeable impact in Germany, particularly in Braunschweig, Hanover, Saxony, Hesse-Kassel and Hesse-Darmstadt, where demonstrations over the need for constitutional reforms combined with revolts in such cities as Hamburg, Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, Munich and Vienna. The various revolutionary activities of the liberal-nationalist ‘Germania’, which like the original fraternity started by students in Jena in 1815 stood for honour, freedom and the creation of a unified nation-state, in turn influenced the young non-conformist by further instilling and reinforcing in him a strong sense of liberty, justice and equality, to the point where he was exiled from his homeland for more than a decade after his presumed involvement in the storming of the main guardroom in the seat of the German Confederation in Frankfurt in April 1833. In order to avoid imprisonment, he set off for Strasbourg in August (several months before the outspoken dramatist, Georg Büchner, began studying in Giessen), and was then expelled in May 1834 around the same time as the secret and revolutionary ‘Society for Human Rights’ was founded in his home town by Büchner and his close circle of friends. Dieffenbach reached Zurich via Aarau around the end of June or beginning of July, and soon became involved yet again with a political organisation. This time he became a leading member of the Swiss section of ‘Junges Deutschland’, and was additionally involved in organising meetings of lower-class tradesmen and artisans for the first Workers’ Movement, resulting in his eventual deportation to England via France in August 1836, not before

²⁴ The most reliable and in-depth biography is still Gerda Elizabeth Bell, *Ernst Dieffenbach: Rebel and Humanist*. Palmerston North: Dunmore, 1976; see also Gerda Bell, “Ernst Dieffenbach”, in: *Welt für sich*, 181-94; Gerda Bell, “Ultima Thule: Ernst Dieffenbach”, in: *Bis zu des Erdballs letztem Inselriff: Reisen und Missionen*. Ed. Kurt Schleucher. Darmstadt: Turris, 1975, 137-69; Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists*, 16-29; Ferdinand Dieffenbach, “Der Erforscher Neu-Seelands. Ein deutsches Gelehrtenleben”, in: *Das Ausland [=Ausland]* 47:5 2 Feb (1874): 84-87; Rolf Herzog, “Dieffenbach und die Anfänge der Völkerkunde in London”, in: *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden* 44 (1990): 125-32; Wilhelm Wolkenhauer, “Dieffenbach, Ernst. Arzt, Forschungsreisender und Geologe, 1811 bis 1855”, in: *Hessische Biographien*. Vol. 2. Darmstadt: Hessischer Staatsverlag, 1927, 146-50; Denis McLean, “Dieffenbach, Johann Karl Ernst 1811 – 1855: Explorer, naturalist, linguist, writer”, in: *DNZB* 1, 107f.; Dietmar Henze, “Dieffenbach, Ernst”, in: *EEEE* 2, 78.

receiving dispensation for his doctorate of medicine.²⁵ While in London he worked as a doctor and made contributions to the *British Annals of Medicine* and the *Edinburgh Review*, leading to various contacts with influential people, including Thomas Hodgkinson, who recommended him to the New Zealand Company. After his appointment as Company naturalist, he set off from Plymouth in the *Tory* on 5 May 1839 and arrived at Ship Cove in Queen Charlotte Sound on 16 August. During the voyage Dieffenbach took part in the debate club on the topic of the French Revolution and its effects, as well as giving a talk entitled ‘The causes of the decay of Nations and whether it will be possible to prevent the decay of character’, a theme which would prove influential for his dealings with the Maori. While in New Zealand, Dieffenbach explored the Marlborough Sounds in the South Island, Port Nicholson, the Hutt Valley and Taranaki, as well as the west coast and central volcanic and thermal regions of the North Island up to Northland, and also visited the Chatham Islands in 1840 on the *Cuba*, with his best known achievement being that of the first European to successfully climb Mount Taranaki, while accompanied by James Heberly, on 25 December 1839.²⁶

Although he wanted to stay and complete his surveys of New Zealand after his contract had ended with the New Zealand Company in 1841, especially the South Island, which he had only briefly and partially visited, through going into Government Service, and was prepared to go, as before, without pay, bar basic living costs, permission was refused despite Lieutenant Governor William Hobson²⁷ acting on his behalf.²⁸ This resulted in Dieffenbach’s reported

²⁵ See Ernst Dieffenbach and Peter Mesenhöller, “Ernst Dieffenbach: Briefe aus dem Straßburger und Zürcher Exil 1833-1836: Eine Flüchtlingskorrespondenz aus dem Umkreis Georg Büchners”, in: *Georg Büchner Jahrbuch* 8 (1990-94): 371-443; 9 (1995-99): 649-740.

²⁶ Today the only mementoes of his explorations, besides his monumental work and a handful of extinct birds which share his name, such as Dieffenbach’s rail, are Dieffenbach Point at the entrance to the Tory Channel in the Marlborough Sounds and Dieffenbach Cliffs or Bluffs on Mt Taranaki.

²⁷ See K. A. Simpson, “Hobson, William 1792 – 1842: Naval officer, colonial governor”, in: *DNZB* 1, 196-99.

²⁸ In Dieffenbach’s original letter expressing his desire to remain in New Zealand, he states: “My object in coming to New Zealand was entirely scientific; that is, I wished to obtain and communicate correct information respecting the nature of this group of islands, in a geological, mineralogical, botanical, and zoological, point of view, and from these researches to derive a result as to the real value of the country as an English colony, agricultural and commercial. In this sense I have communicated to the Company full reports on the places I have visited. I have accompanied the reports by collections in all branches of natural history, which have been forwarded to London. / In wishing to exchange my position to the Company with a similar one under Government, I am guided by the persuasion that I shall thus be enabled to fulfil more fully my intention to visit the whole of the islands, instead of a part of them; and by a close examination, to direct the attention of the Government to those places which are likely to become of the greatest importance” (16 Feb 1841, cited in: Bell, *Ernest Dieffenbach*, 81). Hobson, on the other hand, communicates important information regarding Dieffenbach’s circumstances: “The terms on which Dr. Dieffenbach proposes to travel for the Government to any point I think proper to direct him, is simply that the expenses of his journey should be paid; and he plainly told me that these were the conditions, without salary, on which he served the New Zealand Company. In conversation he stated, in addition to what he has written, as his reason for withdrawing from the Company, that not only was he restricted to a partial examination of the country, but his researches were not

departure from Auckland to Coromandel Harbour on the *Kate* on 5 October that same year before leaving for England on the *Planter* on the 10th.²⁹ As were the arrangements of release from the Company, he was obliged to hand over all copyrights to written material while under their employ, as well as all reports, manuscripts and specimens, in exchange for the total sum of £500. Upon his return to England on 13 January 1842,³⁰ however, Dieffenbach did manage to turn his experiences into the two-volume work *Travels in New Zealand* (1843),³¹ a scientific monograph and account based on his early reports and narratives and published the following year in London independent of the New Zealand Company, despite some of his writings previously finding themselves in the *New Zealand Journal*, a fortnightly periodical designed to provide information on current Company activities.³² Although it is unclear whether Dieffenbach had outright permission from the Company Directors to publish this work, the former Company employee, John Wallis Barnicoat, who reportedly witnessed the events, records in his journal that censorship would have been exercised if unfavourable comments were made toward the Company and their ‘image’ of New Zealand.³³ Whether explicit censorship took place or not is unknown, but not unlikely, as no original manuscript exists,³⁴ but one thing is certain, not everything written by

faithfully reported; and that only those parts which suited the purposes of the Company were published” (17 Feb 1841, cited in: *ibid.*, 81; see 80-83). Other biographers, however, would have us believe Dieffenbach received numerous offers which he turned his back on in favour of returning home to a country which expelled him: “‘Ich habe zu große Liebe zum Vaterlande,’ sagte er, ‘als daß ich die mir sich hier bietende Gelegenheit, ein reicher Mann zu werden, benutzen möchte; auch ist meine Anhänglichkeit an die englische Nation nicht so groß, als daß sie mir für das Vaterland Ersatz zu bieten vermöchte, und ich verfehle nie, alles, was groß und schön an den Engländern ist, ihrer Verwandtschaft mit der deutschen Nation zuzuschreiben’” (F. Dieffenbach, “Erforscher Neu-Seelands”, 86).

²⁹ *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette* 1:15 9 Oct (1841): 2; *The Times (London)* 14 Jan (1842): 2. Ensign Abel Dottin William Best writes on 8 October 1841: “Dieffenbach left on the *Kate* to go to England in the *Planter*. I cannot conceive the reasons for this move nor was I aware that he was gone until [sic] the next day” (A. D. W. Best, *The Journal of Ensign Best, 1837-1843*. Edited with an introduction and notes by Nancy M. Taylor. Wellington: Owen (Govt. Printer), 1966, 326).

³⁰ *The Times (London)* 14 Jan (1842): 2.

³¹ Ernest Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*. Facsim. Ed. 2 vols. Christchurch: Capper Press, 1974. (All further references to this work will be given in parentheses in the text.)

³² In addition to various excerpts from *New Zealand and the New Zealanders* (1841), a publication for the Aborigines’ Protection Society, and an account of the Chatham Islands (1841), a handful of articles, including two reports to the Directors and one narrative were published in the *New Zealand Journal* in 1840-41.

³³ “He was about to publish a book on New Zealand when the Company intimated through their solicitors that proceedings would be instituted against him if he published anything unfavourable to their interests. After this threat proposals were made (not exactly from the same quarters) of an arbitration the event of which was that the Dr. consented to accept £500 and give all his manuscripts up together [with] their copyright to the New Zealand Company of which of course they may publish as much as suits their own purposes. In this way all truths unfavourable to the Colony are suppressed and the favourable ones are put forward to convey an idea of New Zealand, thus giving rise to those extravagant notions of this country which result in feelings of intensely bitter disappointment” (9 Feb 1843, cited in: Bell, *Ernest Dieffenbach*, 86).

³⁴ Andersen, however, notes that there were two original issues of *Travels in New Zealand* with minor differences between them, specifically on page 3 of the preface, in which the statement “[m]y researches [...] might have been far more complete, had it been in my power to make an entire survey of New Zealand, but this was denied me [...]”

Dieffenbach would have been favourable to Company views. While *Travels in New Zealand* was widely known in English-speaking circles at the time,³⁵ his work went relatively unnoticed by the general public in Germany as it was never translated in full. The German publisher Johann Friedrich Freiherr von Cotta, however, whom Dieffenbach befriended on his first trip to London, did foresee a German version in April 1842 before it was published in English, albeit without illustrations, the Maori grammar and dictionary sections or scientific nomenclature for flora and fauna, while several chapters had to also be shortened and combined with other accounts of his travels, but it never eventuated.³⁶ Nevertheless, these discussions did produce a series of relatively short translated segments from his work on the Maori which appeared in Cotta's popular periodical *Das Ausland*.³⁷ Notably, Dieffenbach also read the opening paper at the first meeting of the London Ethnological Society on 31 January 1843,³⁸ before giving a presentation on the Maori, their customs and lifestyle at the Geographical Society of Berlin on 10 June.³⁹ After the authorities allowed him to return to his home town of Giessen, he rose to the position of "Ausserordentlicher Professor" of Geology and Geophysics at his old university in 1850, followed by director of the geological collection two years later, but his career was cut short when he died from typhus on 1 October 1855.

In the preface of *Travels in New Zealand* Dieffenbach states the purpose of his work is to give "unvarnished descriptions" (I:iii) of New Zealand and its Maori population, in stark contrast to

is altered to "but circumstances rendered this impossible" (Johannes Andersen, *The Lure of New Zealand Book Collecting*. Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1936, 43f.). Furthermore, nearly 150 pages of handwritten notes, which were copied by John White, on 'whakapapa' (genealogy) beginning in Maori mythology were also removed from the second volume of Dieffenbach's work (MS-Papers-0075-B37E, ATL).

³⁵ See "New Zealand Travels. By Ernest Dieffenbach, M.D., late Naturalist to the New Zealand Company. Murray, Albemarle-street", in: *The Times (London)* 6 April (1844): 5f.

³⁶ Bell, *Rebel and Humanist*, 97f.

³⁷ "Ueber die neuseeländische Sprache. (Aus Ernst Dieffenbachs Werk über Neuseeland)", in: *Ausland* 15:93 3 April (1843): 369; "Die Bewohner Polynesiens", in: *Ausland* 15:118 28 April (1843): 469f.; "Skizzen aus Neuseeland. (Nach Dieffenbachs Werk): Die Eingebornen", in: *Ausland* 15:137 17 May (1843): 545f.; "Skizzen aus Neuseeland. (Nach Dieffenbachs Werk): Die Krankheiten der Eingebornen", in: *Ausland* 15:144 24 May (1843): 573f.; "Skizzen aus Neuseeland. (Nach Dieffenbachs Werk): Die Kinder – Das Tätowiren", in: *Ausland* 15:150 30 May (1843): 597f.; "Skizzen aus Neuseeland. (Nach Dieffenbachs Werk): Die Ehe", in: *Ausland* 15:165 14 June (1843): 657f.; "Skizzen aus Neuseeland. (Nach Dieffenbachs Werk): Die Nahrung der Eingebornen", in: *Ausland* 15:171 20 June (1843): 681f.; "Skizzen aus Neuseeland. (Nach Dieffenbachs Werk): Ursprung der Einwohner", in: *Ausland* 15:180 29 June (1843): 717f.; "Rangclassen unter den Neuseeländern. (Aus Dieffenbachs: Reisen in Neuseeland)", in: *Ausland* 15:256 13 Sept (1843): 1023; "Das Tapu in Neuseeland. (Aus Dieffenbachs: Reisen in Neuseeland)", in: *Ausland* 15:257 14 Sept (1843): 1027f.

³⁸ Ernest Dieffenbach, *On the Study of Ethnology*. London, 1843.

³⁹ *Monatsberichte über die Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* N.F.1 (1844): 85.

the propagandist rhetoric of the New Zealand Company. He saw his role of Company naturalist as the precursor to colonisation, a necessary and important step to secure a promising future:

I have entered, on several occasions, upon questions intimately connected with the capabilities of the country as a home for Europeans. In a time pregnant with the universal desire to search for employment, and to open a new field for exertion, foreign and unoccupied countries, previous to colonization, should be explored with a view of making ourselves acquainted with their soil and natural productions. Natural history and the affiliated sciences should, in that case, be merely the helpmates to noble enterprise; and even more than that – they should guide and lead it. (I:iv)

That is not to say that he fully endorses the colonisation of foreign lands, rather he sees its inevitability, and therefore asks for it to be properly implemented whilst preventing the failures of ill-prepared colonisation and minimising the oft-cited detrimental effects upon the indigenous populations. However, in the case of New Zealand, “it appears evident, from the principle which has guided the Government and the public, that we shall be indebted rather to an extension of colonization, than to a previous examination, for a more intimate knowledge of the country” (I:iii).

Unlike with Forster, the target audience here is a British-New Zealand readership, which immediately asks questions concerning the extent to which Dieffenbach might limit his German perspective in favour of a predominantly British one. In the main, he addresses primarily a more scholarly than general readership, in particular English-speaking scientists, naturalists and historians, although it additionally offers useful information for those educated members of the English-speaking public who are likely to emigrate to New Zealand and have no doubt read the propaganda of the New Zealand Company, or at least could be in a position to do so in the near future, and also directs comments at the current group of colonists and officials already resident in the colony. While a work of this type naturally requires the author to meet the needs and expectations of British consumers on some level, he was aware that its scientific nature, at the very least, would also prove valuable to subsequent German-speaking scientists, as would general information to the non-British reader with a good command of English. Furthermore, it should also be noted that ‘Anglophilia’ was prominent among historians and social scientists in Germany between the 1830s and 1860s in particular, whereby ‘England’ represented “a complex of values, associations, aspirations, and feelings”.⁴⁰ In contrast to the so-called ‘Anglomania’ of the late eighteenth century, which used England as a model against the dominant influence of French

⁴⁰ Charles E. McClelland, *The German Historians and England: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Views*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971, 3.

culture on the German people,⁴¹ nineteenth-century constitutionalists and national-liberalists alike saw the country as an archetype of social development, and perceived a definite kinship with the English, ranging from ‘familial’ or ‘blood-related’ comparisons to the virtual interchangeableness of ‘English’, ‘Anglo-Saxon’, ‘Saxon’ and ‘German’ (i.e. ‘Germane’).⁴² Therefore to say that he is simply using common stereotypes and images for the benefit of his British readers or even supporting immigration on behalf of the New Zealand Company would be grossly unfair and inaccurate. If anything, it is the threat, if not reality, of censorship which impacted most on his observations and undoubtedly prevented open criticisms of the Company’s actions from appearing in the text.

Dieffenbach was brought up within the philosophical context of ‘environmental determinism’, following in the tradition of the eighteenth-century thinkers Charles de Montesquieu, Georges Buffon, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach and both Forsters, which attributed the foreseeable differences in human appearance, skin colour, temperament and character to the natural effects of the environment and climate. Various competing theories were put forward, particularly by prominent German racial theorists, to account for the diversity of non-European peoples encountered in early explorations into the South Pacific, including the popular belief in ‘monogenesis’ (i.e. that all peoples originated from a universal pool of humankind but some had degenerated to their present state), ‘polygenesis’ (i.e. that humanity was in fact made up of different races with Europeans at the outright top and everyone else subordinate to them), and the doctrine that specific races of man could only live in specific geographical locations, in which it was believed that the transportation of Europeans to other parts of the world could lead to physiological complaints from the new environment or worse, biological, mental, physical and moral degeneracy when outside temperate climes. Thus, the order of the day for British colonisers was the confirmation of the belief that a temperate climate, much like that of Great Britain, would not only ensure the best possible standards of health that could be managed at home, but more than likely provide a near perfect environment for reinvigorating one’s health without the high level of industrialisation.⁴³

⁴¹ Ibid., 11; see also Michael Maurer, *Aufklärung und Anglophilie in Deutschland*. Göttingen; Zürich: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1987.

⁴² McClelland, *German Historians*, 64f., 102-4, 229.

⁴³ See, for example, Howe, *Nature, Culture, and History*, 31-42; Nicholas Thomas, “ ‘On the Varieties of the Human Species’: Forster’s Comparative Ethnology”, in: *Observations*, xxiii-xl; Gonthier-Louis Fink, “Klima- und Kulturtheorien der Aufklärung”, in: *Georg-Forster-Studien* 2 (1998): 25-55; Tanya van Hoorn, *Dem Leibe abgelesen*, esp. 21-83; Tanya van Hoorn, “Physische Anthropologie und normative Ästhetik. Georg Forsters kritische Rezeption

It is here that we also see Dieffenbach being influenced by these same arguments as he begins his introduction with the concept of colonisation and the necessity of the desired destination being of similar climate to one's home country: "It is with man as with plants and animals; each kind has its natural boundaries, within which it can live, and thrive, and attain its fullest vigour and beauty" (I:1f.). However, unlike plants, whose immediate environment can be artificially altered to accommodate their growth, the same cannot be said of man, especially in those colonies which have been created for commercial means, such as the West Indies, Senegal and the Cape, which are "merely a factory, where the ease of acquiring riches by supplying a certain commodity to the home market has rendered men reckless of the dangers of climate, and regardless of the loss of life attending the speculation" (I:2). In these cases, "the European population soon became decrepit, and degenerated from the strength and vigour of the stock from which they descended", either founding the colony on a "regular system of oppression and extortion towards the original inhabitants", often in the form of slavery, or else convict labour which creates an "artificial appearance of wealth" and an "illusory value of landed property which could not last as soon as the importation of convicts ceased, because the prosperity was not borne out by the capability of the country" (I:2):

How different from all this is the case of New Zealand, where the climate is not only similar to that of England, but even milder than that of her most southern counties, whilst at the same time it is healthy and invigorating! The children of Europeans, born in this country, show no deterioration from the beauty of the original stock, as they do in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. A great part of the country possesses a soil which yields all those articles of food which are necessary for the support of Europeans, especially grain, potatoes, fruit, and every variety of garden vegetables; it possesses materials for ship-building and domestic architecture in its timber, marble, and freestone; the coal which has been found will probably prove sufficient in quantity for steam-engines and manufactories; its coasts are studded with harbours and inlets of the sea; it is intersected by rivers and rivulets; its position between two large continents is extremely favourable; in short, it unites in itself everything requisite for the support of a large population in addition to the native inhabitants. No other country possesses such facilities for the establishment of a middle class, and especially of a prosperous small peasantry, insuring greatness to the colony in times to come. (I:2f.)

Furthermore, the influence of the New Zealand climate on the "physical and intellectual conditions of its inhabitants", to complement the already helpful atmosphere for rearing vegetation and the "luxuriant growth of plants", is both favourable to individual and numerical growth of European families: "In the families of the missionaries and settlers I observed no

der Klimatheorie in seiner *Reise um die Welt*", in: *Georg-Forster-Studien* 8 (2003): 139-61; Robert Grant, "New Zealand 'Naturally': Ernst Dieffenbach, Environmental Determinism and the Mid Nineteenth-Century British Colonization of New Zealand", in: *The New Zealand Journal of History* 37:1 April (2003): 24-27.

deviation from the original stock; the children grow well and strong, with fresh and rosy faces, and I am satisfied that in this respect New Zealand is in no way inferior to Great Britain” (I:181f.).

However, due to the humidity of the climate upon arrival in the country, the new immigrants are often subjected to “abscesses, or boils, and eruptive diseases, neither, however, of a malignant character, and both disappearing without medical aid” (I:182) once they have acclimatised. And although inflammatory diseases are, on the whole, uncommon, with any ailments that do surface “always assum[ing] the character of catarrh”, “it is certain that causes which, in England, would produce violent colds, and other injurious results, pass over in New Zealand without any bad effect, even to those colonists who are in delicate health” (I:182f.):

The purity of the atmosphere, resulting from the continual wind, imparts to the climate a vigour which gives elasticity to the physical powers and to the mind. Heat never debilitates, not even so much as a hot summer’s day in England; and near the coasts especially there is always a cooling and refreshing breeze. The colonist who occupies himself with agriculture can work all day, and the mechanic will not feel any lassitude whether he works in or out of doors.

From all this I draw the conclusion, that as regards climate no country is better suited for a colony of the Anglo-Saxon race than New Zealand; and were this its only recommendation, it would still deserve our utmost attention, as the future seat of European civilization and institutions in the southern hemisphere, since in the other southern colonies - for instance, in that of New South Wales - Europeans undergo more or less alterations from the original stock.

Invalids rapidly recover in this climate, and there is no doubt that the presence of numerous thermal waters in the island, and the attractive scenery, will make New Zealand the resort of those who have been debilitated in India, and are in search of health. (I:183)

Thus, New Zealand, which has a climate that resembles England “more nearly than that of any other country I am acquainted with”, is “moderate in every respect” (I:173), and whose winds “purify the atmosphere, and prevent the collection of obnoxious exhalation” (I:175), is the embodiment of the pure Anglo-Saxon paradise and the climatic paradise which mends all ailments and promises much prosperity for the European settler.⁴⁴

However, in saying that, one must take the good with the bad, as “many incorrect and exaggerated statements on the present capabilities of the colony have been brought forward”

⁴⁴ In a letter to the editor published in the *New Zealand Journal*, Dieffenbach states: “And I think, Sir, we all agree, that nothing has been said too much respecting the fine and healthy climate of New Zealand. It is so congenial to Europeans, that it has not its equal in the world. It is much milder than ours: an everlasting green cover the trees, and many may be seen at this moment with flower-buds ready to open: the air is always so fresh and pure, that it invigorates body and mind. And we we [sic] must not think this unimportant in the foundation of a new state; physical nature has a greater influence on the condition of men than is generally believed; and in this climate and country there can only rise an energetic nation sending the blessings of civilisation over the countries which are spread through the Southern Pacific” (Ernest Dieffenbach, “To the Editor of the New Zealand Gazette”, in: *The New Zealand Journal* [=NZJ] 2:29 27 Feb (1841): 53; cf. *Travels*, I:247).

(I:8),⁴⁵ resulting in the inflated expectations of the first group of Company settlers to New Zealand who, although this is not expressly stated by Dieffenbach, were duped first and foremost by the New Zealand Company propaganda:

It is, I conceive, no small praise to a country that in it labour and industry can procure independence, and even affluence; that in it no droughts destroy the fruits of the colonist's toil, no epidemic or pestilence endangers his family; that with a little exertion he may render himself independent of foreign supply for his food; and that when he looks around him he can almost fancy himself in England instead of at the Antipodes, were it not that in his adopted country an eternal verdure covers the groves and forests, and gives the land an aspect of unequalled freshness and fertility. More, however, than all these advantages were expected by the colonists who in the last two years have flocked by thousands to New Zealand. They found to their surprise and disappointment almost entirely a mountainous country, the mountains being in many cases steep and intersected by ravines instead of valleys; whilst the cultivable land, instead of being continuous, was much dispersed and subdivided: they found also that in many places a large proportion of the land was entirely useless; that where they looked for extensive pasture-grounds, the food for cattle and sheep was very scanty; that instead of natural grasses, high fern, shrubs, or a thick forest covered the ground; and that in the latter case the thick and interwoven roots formed a very formidable barrier to successful agriculture in the easy and quickly remunerating manner they expected. (I:4f.)

Even so, Dieffenbach has little sympathy for these gullible immigrants as they came into their new country with only thoughts of making quick wealth, rather than establishing solid foundations for a successful colony:

Most of these emigrants did not intend to make the new colony their *second home*, but expected, with the help of the labour which was provided for them in return for their purchases of land, or by cheap, and, as they hoped, almost gratuitous labour of the natives, to produce, in the shortest possible time, those articles of produce which the country was said to offer available for export, or to see their flocks increasing without exertion on their own part; and, having thus made a rapid fortune, to return to their native country. Many came for the purpose of speculating in land, especially in town allotments, which has become such a favourite system of deception and ruin in the Australian colonies, and will retard their progress for many years to come, notwithstanding the halo of wealth produced by it, the distant reflection and splendour of which are continuing to attract thousands of emigrants from the shores of the United Kingdom. (I:5)

The truth of the matter is New Zealand is no exporter's paradise, with the much-vaunted abundance of timber, flax and whale oil⁴⁶ "scarcely furnish[ing] any exports, and they cannot be

⁴⁵ "In respect to the natural qualities of the different districts of New Zealand, a great many misstatements have been made. Parts of the land, which are unfit for a colonial enterprise on a great scale, and for a flourishing agricultural settlement, have been described as containing everything that is desirable for commerce and agriculture; other parts of the country, which unite all those qualities in themselves, have either never been visited, or overlooked" (Dieffenbach, "To the Editor", 52).

⁴⁶ Through the "indiscriminate slaughter" of the whale "without due regard to the preservation of the dams and their young", the whalers, he argues, "have felled the tree to obtain the fruit, and have thus taken the most certain means of destroying an otherwise profitable and important trade" (I:7). Thus, without proper restrictions put in place, "[i]n a

expected to be sources of any considerable profit for some time to come” (I:6), not to mention the erroneous notion of New Zealand as a refitting station for traders, as they went instead to the Pacific Islands, “where they could be supplied with wood and provisions at a much cheaper rate” (I:8). The same goes for the production of wool, silk, olives, oranges and wine which Dieffenbach doubts will thrive in most areas of New Zealand (I:178). Moreover, in terms of the ‘peaceful’ exploitation of the local Maori workforce, “the colonist can at present depend but little; and although he will find them in other respects sufficiently useful, he has to pay them at the same high rate as his European workmen, without being sure that they will always work at his command” (I:6). However, even though the “internal resources and geographical position which secured to Great Britain its unequalled prosperity, are, although much inferior, yet similar, in New Zealand”, he does believe the latter’s situation “may give her, in the course of time, as high a position” (I:8), albeit through a hardworking peasantry, and bring the country to an “*entrepôt* of commerce – a depôt for transit trade, and a manufacturing country, none of which it is at present” (I:18). Thus, “New Zealand will rise *slowly*, but it must found its rise upon *agriculture*. Any material check to its prosperity need not be apprehended, if expectations are moderate, and if the land questions are liberally and speedily settled” (I:19).

This emphasis on the “laborious peasantry” (I:17) lends itself to the popular image of the ‘worker’s paradise’ which must be viewed in the light of the Company’s at times seeming preference for absentee investors over labourers. Although he supports fixed price sales in England to fund transportation costs for agricultural labourers and mechanics “in a just ratio to the demand of labour, the price of provisions, the quantity of capital employed, and the actual produce of the land, accompanied by a sound discretion as to the number of emigrants sent out”, it is out of resignation, more than anything, that it cannot “be easily replaced by a better one” (I:9). He does state, for example, that “if any other way could be devised to provide a fund for the purposes of emigration besides that of selling new lands, no one can doubt that it would be better to give to the emigrants the land for nothing, on the condition of their cultivating it” (I:10). In the present case, Dieffenbach favours the working-class model over mortgaging sections of land to create capital for “*gentlemen* colonists” as it is the best means of attaining the “*real* value” of the land (I:17):

few years this trade, of which, from the geographical position of the ‘whaling-ground,’ New Zealand might have continued to be the centre, will be annihilated. Seals, which were plentiful in New Zealand, but were slaughtered in the same indiscriminate manner, have already entirely disappeared” (I:53).

The more land that is sold in England the better, and the more labourers that are sent out, even if capitalists do not actually proceed to the colony, the more value the sections sold will have to the purchaser. But if the latter shall be the case, a free lease ought to be granted to the labourers, by the landed proprietors, or their agents, for at least fifteen years; say of ten acres each family, at the moment of their arrival in New Zealand. No one need starve in New Zealand who works (it is different with the Australian colonies, where articles of consumption are not easily produced); and it is such a class of small agricultural leaseholders whose toil will prepare the country that it may ultimately attract capitalists. (I:16)

In other words, provided proper care is made in securing the futures of the working class, such as presenting them with a choice of subdivided land and legal titles, it is their hard work which will bring its own rewards, not simply the necessities of everyday life, but, more importantly, they are the means to unlocking New Zealand's true potential as a colony. Moreover, he holds no fear that the number of labouring class immigrating to New Zealand might outnumber the opportunities for labour, so long as appropriate measures are adopted.⁴⁷ Thus, New Zealand has the promise to become a 'worker's paradise' of sorts, so long as the necessities of life become reasonable in price and emphasis is placed on the agriculturalist before the capitalist, which in time will produce liberal communities that are "strong" and "independent" and encourage the "spirit of freedom" (I:19).

The reality, however, of the first and main Company settlement to be set up at Port Nicholson is not so promising. While the first colonists there were "imbued with an excellent spirit of industry and enterprise", for Dieffenbach,

[...] it was only to be regretted that, from the land not being yet measured out, the colonists did not know whether they should be allowed to retain the spot which they might choose and begin to cultivate, and thus was wanting the principal stimulant for exerting themselves, and thereby fulfilling the first demand on a new colony, namely, of producing in the shortest possible time a sufficient supply for its own consumption. (I:74)

Thus, if one reads between the lines it is clear that he disapproves this lack of certainty over the exact location of the settlement due to the Company trying to colonise before surveying the land. The future he therefore sees for Wellington is tainted by the little cultivable land in the immediate area, yet with steady perseverance it could be relatively successful if based on agriculture and

⁴⁷ This is a more toned down version than his letter to the editor, in which he states that even though certain areas are "unfit for extensive agriculture, and for the employment of capital on a large scale", "everywhere is found land enough for the exercise of the individual enterprise of a dispersed population, which could produce with ease every thing it wanted of the necessities of life, and always have an abundance". Moreover, the "first class of people, [...] who are those who especially require relief at home, would find here an excellent field for their industry. In a very short time they would find subsistence for the first time; all sorts of garden vegetables thrive during the whole year, and two crops of potatoes can be easily raised" (Dieffenbach, "To the Editor", 52f.).

even then only in the distant future (I:189f.).⁴⁸ However, with the knowledge of its development three years after his initial visit following the Company first purchasing the land, he looks less favourably at the high emphasis on commerce and the civilising hand of Europeans:

Nearly three years have elapsed since our first visit; and a spot scarcely known before that time, and rarely if ever visited by Europeans, has become the seat of a large settlement, with nearly 5000 inhabitants. Where a few hundred natives then lived in rude villages, fearful of their neighbours, but desirous of intercourse with Europeans, and just beginning to be initiated into the forms of Christian worship by a native missionary, there is now a town, with warehouses, wharfs, club-houses, horticultural and scientific societies, racecourses, - in short, with all the mechanism of a civilized and commercial community; at this very place, where I then enjoyed in all its fulness the wild aspect of nature, and where the inhabitants, wild and untamed, accorded well with their native scenery, there is now the restless European, spreading around all the advantages and disadvantages of civilization and trade. (I:67)

Thus, where the indigenous population once lived now exists only the institutions of European civilisation embodied in shopkeepers and tradesmen, in which one is left with the impression that the negative influences outweigh the positive.⁴⁹

The speed of progress for Auckland, on the other hand, the site chosen by Hobson to be the seat of government (until it relinquished that position to Wellington in 1865), is certainly

⁴⁸ “The prosperity of Wellington, which is situated at Port Nicholson, and is the capital of the New Zealand Company, depends chiefly on the agricultural resources of this district, upon the early construction of roads to connect it with the town, and upon the employment of steam-boats drawing little water for the navigation of the rivers. These two latter requisites are essential for raising contemporaneously the prosperity of the country and town. I should recommend the colonist who has but little capital to select the country rather than the town, as around Wellington there is no great extent of available land, and its prosperity must be deferred until it is enabled, by the produce of the agricultural districts, to exist as a commercial port. It must be expected that the rise of the colonies in Cook’s Straits will be slow, although progressive, and that embarking capital in *agricultural* pursuits will most securely and most immediately yield the greatest advantages” (I:189f.).

⁴⁹ This is a far cry from his earlier views of the prospects of Port Nicholson as the “principal capital and exporting place”, dated 27 July 1840, which, compared with the Bay Of Islands and River Thames, is “nearer to the whaling ground, and would be the better staple place for the commodities derived from that business, one of the most important which can be carried on in New Zealand. All competent men pronounce Port Nicholson to be one of the finest and safest harbours in the world, and which can receive ships of any number and with any wind. It appears, therefore, that Port Nicholson has the greatest chance of becoming the commercial capital of New Zealand. It is true that the country round Port Nicholson is hilly, and for a great part can only be cultivated with difficulty. But it appears to me that the flat land, as far as I know its extent, is of a size sufficient to support a populous town, and is of a superior quality” (Dieffenbach, “To the Editor”, 53; cf. Ernest Dieffenbach, “Dr Dieffenbach’s Report: Report to the Directors of the New Zealand Company, Respecting the Natural Productions and Present State of New Zealand”, in: *NZJ* 2:31 27 March (1841): 83). (For further information on the early development of Wellington as a Company settlement, see, for example, Gavin McLean, *Wellington: The First Years of European Settlement 1840-1850*. Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ), 2000; Angela Ballara, “Te Whanganui-a-Tara: phases of Maori occupation of Wellington Harbour c. 1800-1840”, in: *The Making of Wellington 1800-1914*. Eds. David Hamer and Roberta Nicholls. Wellington: Victoria UP, 1990, 9-34; Rosemarie Tonk, “‘A Difficult and Complicated Question’: The New Zealand Company’s Wellington, Port Nicholson, Claim”, in: *ibid.*, 35-59; David Hamer, “Wellington on the Urban Frontier”, in: *ibid.*, 227-54; David McGill, *The Pioneers of Port Nicholson*. Wellington: Reed, 1984, esp. 19-47.)

more impressive as it is situated in a more favourable location through better laid planning, yet this time it is tarnished by the speculators who are, or at least have been, at work there:

The government town of Auckland, considering the short time it has existed, has made considerable progress. Its population, which amounts to more than 2000, has been drawn together from all parts of the island. A bank has been formed, fine barracks have been built of scoriæ; and were it not for a general spirit of over-speculation in land, without any attempt to explore the home resources of that island, there would be every ground for hoping that the place would gradually and steadily rise into importance. [...] In short, it appears to me that there can be no question but that the place has been very judiciously chosen for the site of a town, as commanding a great extent of cultivable land in its neighbourhood, great facility of communication with the coast and the interior of the northern island, and as being a central point for the most powerful native tribes, the Nga-pui [Ngapuhi] to the northward, the Waikato to the southward, and the Nga-te-hauwa [Ngati Haua] to the eastward, separating them in a military point of view, but uniting them for the purposes of civilization and commerce (I:280-82).⁵⁰

For Dieffenbach, the most promising regions for European settlement are yet to be realised, with the pinnacle being “the whole district of Taranaki, as far as I have yet seen, [which] rivals any in the world in fertility, beauty, and fitness for becoming the dwelling-place of civilised European communities” (I:150).⁵¹ When it comes to acquiring the land, however, he appears somewhat pleased and anxious that the Company succeeds with the purchase of the territory (I:171).⁵² It seems here the Company is the lesser of three evils as Dieffenbach is neither in favour of private individuals, nor missionaries owning land, not to mention the various speculators, “land-jobbers” and “land-sharks” that exist in New Zealand.⁵³ This must of course be

⁵⁰ For further information on the early development of Auckland, see, for example, Una Platts, *The Lively Capital: Auckland 1840-1865*. Christchurch: Avon Fine Prints Ltd, 1971; Winifred MacDonald, *Auckland, Yesterday and Today: An outline of the development and every-day life of New Zealand's largest city since its foundation in 1840*. 2nd Ed. Revised and enlarged. Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1960; A.W. Reed, *Auckland: The City of the Seas*. Wellington: Reed, 1955; John Barr, *The City of Auckland New Zealand, 1840-1920*. Whitcombe & Tombs: Auckland, 1922.

⁵¹ See also I:221,229, 269, 310.

⁵² Upon hearing the news that the *Tory's* return had only been delayed by its refitting at Kaipara after a grounding, he comments: “This news relieved us from the anxiety which we had felt as to the possibility of securing the Taranaki district for the New Zealand Company; as since my arrival churchmen and laymen had vied with each other to obtain possession of that district. On the arrival of the Guide a liberal price was given to the natives for their land, and the good will of the Waikato purchased by presents. Thus the New Zealand Company became proprietors of the finest district in New Zealand, which offers to the colonist, besides its natural resources, the advantage of there being no natives on the land, with the exception of the small remnant of the Nga-te-awa [Te Atiawa] tribe at Nga-Motu [Ngamotu or Sugarloaf Point]” (I:171).

⁵³ Dieffenbach gives several examples of interested parties he wishes to prevent. The first is a Bay of Islands missionary who goes to Port Nicholson in order to prevent the Company from concluding a treaty and purchasing the land “to secure the best parts of the land, not indeed for the church, but merely for himself” (I:94). Second is an example of a European from Kawhia and many Maori who come to the Taranaki district in order to dissuade locals from selling land to the Company “not, however, from any disinterested intention, or for the sake of the Taranaki natives, but because some parties were anxious to buy the land for themselves, either from the small remaining body of the original native proprietors, or, if they would not agree to the terms proposed, from their conquerors, the

understood within the context of land sales at the time. While he omits the dubious nature of the majority of the Company's transactions, Dieffenbach does criticise the Government for auctioning town and country lands, which encourages speculations of town allotments and specifically caters to "land-jobbers" who raise the value of the auctioned land beyond its true worth in order to sell off miniscule parcelled allotments at exorbitant prices to new arrivals for a profit of 200 to 300 per cent, whereby its value can only decrease upon viewing the actual resources of the area (I:11f.). The "land-sharks", on the other hand, who appear to originate from Australia, make certain they are the first to buy land at the town sales, which are small in number and short in notice, and then proceed to subdivide the allotments, and put each piece up for public auction, whereby the unsuspecting newly-arrived immigrant is deceived into buying land, while the former can get away with initially paying only the 10 per cent deposit to the Government, before re-selling the land and again making much profit at the colonist's expense (I:13).⁵⁴ The Company's practices, as far as the welfare of new colonists is concerned, in obtaining the above land are therefore described in a rather generous manner, as he appears somewhat reluctant to overstate the Company's role.⁵⁵

When viewed in this light, it is interesting to see how Dieffenbach then approaches the most popular image of New Zealand as a natural paradise. In spite of the seemingly endless supply of propaganda proclaiming the profusion of nature, he, on the other hand, recognises the limitations of this abundance not only in terms of variety, but also amount and locality. Although his work is far from a comprehensive examination of the entire country's natural resources, he proclaims the "vegetation of New Zealand is nourished by the constant moisture, and, although remarkable for the freshness of its verdure, there is not much variety, considering the extent of the island" (I:77). In fact, the "visitor to the distant shores of New Zealand will be struck by the

Waikato tribes. It was said that the missionaries were much concerned in these transactions" (I:161). Third is the example of multiple ownership, albeit with differing degrees of justification: "Kapiti and the adjacent islands have been sold over and over again to different parties, and spots may be found to which half a dozen different persons lay claim. The chiefs sell their land as many times as they can, still finding hungry sharks ready to purchase, though not very liberal in their offers, who establish by these means some shadow of a claim. A future investigation into the land-titles will afford much work and profit to the lawyers" (I:110).

⁵⁴ He does not stop here with his criticisms of the Government's handling of land sales, whether through their surveying of various sites for prospective cities and towns or numerous allotments "never destined to exist except on paper" turning up for sale as imaginary towns and villages: "It will be acknowledged on all sides, that to found a dozen capitals and commercial ports, and more than two score of villages, before any population is in the island, any produce raised to support a population, or any article of commerce ready to be exported, is subverting the natural order of things, and would have raised a smile on the lips of William Penn, who is often regarded as the father of modern colonization" (I:15).

⁵⁵ Cf. I:114, 129, 131.

scantiness of annual and flowering plants, of which only a very few possess vivid colours, and would attract the attention of the florist”, as one would be met predominantly with numerous trees and ferns, which, however, “give at once a *distinct character* to the vegetation” (I:421). The same goes for the local wildlife, of which the “number of species is still more limited; in fact, fewer varieties are found in New Zealand, in comparison to its area, than in any other country” (I:77).

Despite his predominantly matter-of-fact style,⁵⁶ he is not immune to Romanticism in his descriptions of New Zealand nature.⁵⁷ Even in moments of overcast weather and torrential rain, where the group, without provisions or dry wood for a fire, clamber over slippery trees while sodden, and constantly risk sinking into rotten tree trunks in search of shelter, Dieffenbach can find reason for Romantic reflection: “During these nights the forest assumed a beautiful appearance: the fallen trees, and almost the whole surface of the ground, sparkled in a thousand places with the phosphorescence of the decayed matter; - we seemed to have entered the illuminated domain of fairy-land” (I:151). Furthermore, he acknowledges that the nature of the scenic landscape makes it conducive to tourism, as the

scenery of Taupo lake, the whole character of the landscape, the freshness and peculiarity of the vegetation, with the white smoke rising around from so many hot-springs, are singularly beautiful, and well calculated to attract visitors from all parts of the world. The excellent disposition of the natives will ensure every one a good reception who does not come with the arrogant and ridiculous prejudices which are too frequently characteristic of a European traveller. (I:363)

Moreover, in the future the “picturesque valley” of the Waiwakaio, the peak of Mt Taranaki and “the smiling open land at its base, will become as celebrated for their beauty as the Bay of Naples, and will attract travellers from all parts of the globe” (I:161).

However, when one combines the fact that “travelling through the bush in New Zealand is rather a scrambling affair, and with a load is very fatiguing, and cannot be kept up for a long time” (I:147) with the nature of the impenetrable primal forests whose thorns and thick creepers can tear “hands and faces severely” (I:143), the frequent rain and sometimes violent, heavy swells, overflowing banks, gusts of wind, very slight earthquakes and the constant annoyance of

⁵⁶ At one point, he states: “[...] having a great disinclination to describe personal incidents, I shall omit them altogether, and will risk the reproach of tediousness by giving what will, I conceive, be more useful – a topographical description of the different parts of the country, and afterwards look over the whole in a bird’s-eye view” (I:198; cf. Ernst Dieffenbach, “Zur Geologie der Südseeinseln”, in: *Ausland* 20:18 21 Jan (1848): 69f.; 20:19 22 Jan (1848): 74f.; “Zur Geologie der Südseeinseln. Neuseeland II”, in: *Ausland* 20:66 17 March (1848): 263f.; 20:67 18 March (1848): 266f.; 20:68 20 May (1848): 269-71; 20:69 21 March (1848): 274f.; “Zur Geologie der Südseeinseln. Neuseeland III”, in: *Ausland* 20:72 24 March (1848): 285f.; 20:73 25 March (1848): 290f.; 20:74 27 March (1848): 293f.).

⁵⁷ See I:118, 124, 260, 381.

pests such as sandflies and mosquitoes,⁵⁸ it is not surprising to find a passage which dwells on the misery of being caught alone in the bush in New Zealand's temperamental weather:⁵⁹

We had pitched our tent about a mile from the lake, but, as we had no water near us, we had to send the natives to the lake for it. On their return we found, to our great annoyance, that the water was strongly impregnated with alum; but we were obliged to use it, as the rain-water which was washed down the tent had a smoky taste still more disgusting. This was the most miserable night I ever passed in New Zealand. My friend [Captain William Cornwallis] Symonds was very ill, and the only medicine I could give him was a tea from the aromatic leaves of the *Leptospermum*, but made with alum-water. We had not found any fern, and were obliged to sleep upon the hard and wet bushes of the same plant, which served us, therefore, for tea, medicine, bedding, and fire-wood. We could only venture to distribute a small allowance of pork, as we did not know how long it might be before we fell in with any other provisions. It rained during the whole night, and drenched all our clothes and blankets. (I:376f.)

In spite of the numerous scenes of beautiful nature that exist in New Zealand, Dieffenbach admonishes the actions of a "great many colonists who are not farmers" who believe that "burning the vegetation which covers the land, whether consisting of fern, bushes, or forest, improves its condition" (I:367), which in itself reflects to a degree the Company's criteria for choosing the prospective immigrants and the lack of reliable knowledge imparted to them. However, this is only the case for true alluvial soil, not for New Zealand as a whole: "If this vegetation be burnt down, the wind carries away the light ashes – another vegetation springs up, but less vigorous than the first, until by repeated conflagrations the land becomes perfectly exhausted" (I:368). Furthermore, when forests are destroyed in a like manner many trees and shrubs also disappear as the conditions change (I:297f.). Thus: "Large districts in New Zealand have in this manner been rendered very poor" (I:368).⁶⁰ The worst example of waste and negligence by these colonists-cum-farmers is the destruction of the kauri forests:

A melancholy scene of waste and destruction presented itself to me when I went up to see this forest. Several square miles of it were burning, having been fired in order to make room for the conveyance of logs down to the creek. Noble trees, which had required ages for their perfection, were thus recklessly destroyed in great numbers, as, in consequence of the great quantity of resin around this pine, the fire always spread rapidly. The cupidity of new settlers too often occasions the destruction of the forests, to the irreparable injury of subsequent colonists. A great many of these first settlers, doubtful of being able to maintain their claims to their immense purchases,

⁵⁸ "During the day a sandfly (ngamu), a tipula, is very troublesome in New Zealand, especially near the sea-shore; and, diminutive as they are, they are perhaps the most bloodthirsty animals that exist, attacking all the exposed parts of the body. With the last ray of the sun they all disappear, but are immediately replaced by the mosquitos [sic], which, however, are numerous only in particular spots, such as the cleared places of the forest" (I:145).

⁵⁹ Interestingly, Dieffenbach states that the "sudden alternations of rain and sunshine", through the constant winds, "follow each other in far more rapid succession than is ever experienced in England, which has been so unjustly accused of having the most changeable weather in the world" (I:175).

⁶⁰ Cf. I:201.

have no other object than to clear the greatest possible amount of profit in the shortest time, even at the sacrifice of a large and invaluable forest. It is utterly impossible ever to make good the damage thus done to the real interests of the country at large, as the kauri-land is so exhausted that scarcely anything will grow on it but fern and manuka. Unless the strictest measures are immediately taken to prevent this reckless destruction, it is very certain that the forests of this noble tree will be greatly and irreparably reduced, as the kauri is already a scarce tree, and is confined to very narrow limits. These reflections occurred to me more than once during my wanderings in New Zealand, having many times seen kauri-forest burning, not fired for the purpose of clearing the land, but in order to get a dozen or two of logs: sometimes the conflagration has been caused by neglect: in several places, many square miles in extent are covered with the burnt remains of the forest. (I:227f.)⁶¹

At the same time, he reflects on the introduction of the European dog, cat and rat, which have led to the diminishing number, if not near extinction, of numerous native wildlife (including the kiwi, moa, kakapo, the New Zealand quail, huia, weka, indigenous rat or kiore, native dog or kuri, seal, whale, tuatara and guana),⁶² as well as changes to the fauna of New Zealand, not only through the introduction of European plants,⁶³ but more importantly the unhealthy destruction of forests which favours specific types of vegetation over others, as the “agency of man has effected a part of that eternal fluctuation in the organic world, the knowledge of which has been one of the most important results of modern science” (I:417). In this way, Dieffenbach can be seen as one of New Zealand’s first true conservationists, whose views as a naturalist on the man-made impact on the local environment were ahead of his times, as the only agent in his eyes which could spoil the abundance and beauty of New Zealand’s natural landscape was man himself, particularly European.⁶⁴

⁶¹ A similar view appears in the needless destruction of the pohutukawa around the Auckland region, in which “one after another these beautiful trees are cut down, and thus the naked sandstone cliffs are laid bare, although these trees in no way interfere with architectural or commercial improvements” (I:279).

⁶² I:7, 52-54, 91, 114, 185, 195, 230, 312, 362, 396, 417, II:45f., 136f., 183f., 194, 205; cf. Ernst Dieffenbach, “Ueber die ausgestorbenen Riesenvögel Neuseelands, genannt Moa”, in: *Allgemeine Zeitung* [=AZ] 226 14 Aug (1846): 1802-4; 227 15 Aug (1846): 1811-13; “Zur Geologie der Südseeinseln. Die ausgestorbenen Riesenvögel Neuseelands”, in: *Ausland* 20:249 17 Oct (1848): 993f.; see also Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists*, 21, 25-28.

⁶³ Not all changes were viewed as detrimental, however, such as the introduction of flowering plants which in his eyes actually improved the landscape (I:247).

⁶⁴ Up to 90 percent of the land was originally covered by forest before humans arrived. According to recent research, this was roughly halved by 1840 predominantly at the hands of both deliberate and accidental Maori burning, especially in the first few centuries of human habitation, before being halved again following the arrival of Europeans to around 20 percent. During the Polynesian period roughly 700 years ago 38 species of endemic birdlife alone became extinct. This was followed by a further 20 during European settlement. (See Atholl Anderson, “A Fragile Plenty. Pre-European Maori and the New Zealand Environment”, in: *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*. Eds. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2002, 19-34; Evelyn Stokes, “Contesting Resources. Maori, Pakeha, and a Tenurial Revolution”, in: *ibid.*, 35-51; Jim McAloon, “Resource Frontiers, Environment and Settler Capitalism 1769-1860”, in: *ibid.*, 52-66; Peter Holland, Kevin O’Connor and Alexander Wearing, “Remaking the Grasslands of the Open Country”, in: *ibid.*, 69-83; Graeme Wynn, “Destruction under the Guise of Improvement? The Forest, 1840-1920”, in: *ibid.*, 100-16; Paul Star and Lynne Lochhead, “Children of the

Although omitted from the extended title of the work, Dieffenbach's purpose was not only to give a faithful representation of the country and its 'natural productions', but also to make future colonists "relinquish those ideas of the savage nature of its inhabitants, derived from a series of publications, written by persons whose knowledge of the country is so slight, and whose intercourse with the natives has been so limited, as to render it impossible for them to form a correct judgment" (I:20).⁶⁵ Thus, he makes a special effort to capture the 'real' image of the Maori, yet his 'unvarnished' account of these people, whose total population he estimates at 114,890,⁶⁶ is not, however, without its biases and stereotypes. The second volume of his work offers a more systematic approach and in-depth ethnographic analysis than the first volume, which is made up of various encounters as he experiences them, yet is not only based therefore on first-hand experience, but also conversations with local Maori and various second and third-hand European sources,⁶⁷ the result of which often takes a romanticised form.⁶⁸

Inspired by the writings of Herder and the tenets of the Romantic movement, the concept of the 'Romantic Savage' was born in the minds of artists, writers and scholars alike as a welcome return to the more positive image of the 'savage':

Burnt Bush. New Zealanders and the Indigenous Remnant, 1880-1930", in: *ibid.*, 119-35; James Beattie, "Environmental Anxiety in New Zealand, 1840-1941: Climate Change, Soil Erosion, Sand Drift, Flooding and Forest Conservation", in: *Environment and History* 9:4 (2003): 379-92; Trevor H. Worthy and Richard N. Holdaway, *The Lost World of the Moa: Prehistoric Life of New Zealand*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002, 529-66; Carolyn King, *Immigrant Killers: Introduced Predators and the Conservation of Birds in New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1984, 36-81; Ministry for the Environment, *The State of New Zealand's Environment 1997*. Wellington: GP Publications, 1997, esp. Ch. 8, 27-32; Cathy Marr, Robin Hodge and Ben White, *Crown Laws, Policies, and Practices in Relation to Flora and Fauna, 1840 – 1912*. Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2001, esp. 13-34, 197-226, 291-332, 400-2, 420-24, 426-30; David Young, "Treasure Islands, c.1300-1642", in: *Frontier of Dreams: The Story of New Zealand*. Eds. Bronwyn Dalley and Gavin McLean. Auckland: Hodder Moa, 2005, 49-52.)

⁶⁵ As he says: "I have learned to regard the evidence of Europeans against the natives with great distrust" (I:36).

⁶⁶ It should be noted, however, that his estimate of 6,490 for the Cook Strait tribes (I:195) appears as 5,490 in the combined total of all areas of New Zealand (II:83, 150), which would therefore make the corrected estimate 115,890. Earlier estimates saw his total as no more than 40,000 due to his only viewing the country from coastal regions and contrasting it with the exaggerated estimates of previous explorers (II:81f.). Pool, on the other hand, suggests this estimate is too high, with 70,000-90,000, or perhaps a figure of 80,000, providing a more accurate guess (Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, 50, 53-57, 234, 237f.; *Maori Population*, 52-55, 193-96, 208f.).

⁶⁷ One source which has already been compared with Dieffenbach's work is J. S. Polack's *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders* (1840), the first detailed European monograph on the Maori. (See Jörg Baiter, *Ernst Dieffenbachs Beschreibung von Neuseeland: Eine ethnographische Analyse und kritische Würdigung*. MA Thesis. Albert-Ludwigs-Universität zu Freiburg im Breisgau, 1986, esp. 43-53, 72-169.)

⁶⁸ Cf. Ernst Dieffenbach, "Briefe eines jungen Deutschen von der andern Seite der Erdkugel", in: *Intelligenzblatt für die Provinz Oberhessen im Allgemeinen, den Kreis Friedberg und die angrenzenden Bezirke im Besonderen* 7:45 7 Nov (1840): 310-12; Ernest Dieffenbach, "Report to the New Zealand Company, respecting the Physical Condition and Natural History of Queen Charlotte's Sound, Cloudy Bay, Tory's Channel, Port Nicholson, and the surrounding Country", in: *Supplementary Information*, 72-110, esp.101-10; Ernest Dieffenbach, *New Zealand and the New Zealanders*. London: Aborigines' Protection Society, 1841.

The romantic savages which appear in the poetry, art, and fiction of the nineteenth century draw both upon the enthusiastic description of the early voyagers and upon the less favourable accounts of the missionaries; the romantic savage was, in a sense, child both of noble and of ignoble savage. And as the noble savage had been an epitome of the virtues of the natural man of the Enlightenment so the romantic savage became an epitome of the virtues treasured by the romantics. A great love of personal freedom, a devotion to race and 'nation', a temperament which reacted violently and immediately to experience, courage, great emotional depth, and a childlike warmth and generosity of feeling characterized his personality. He was of course, like the noble savage, essentially a European fiction, but it was grounded upon a longer and better acquaintanceship with primitive peoples. Faulty as knowledge still was, the conception of the romantic savage was a genuine effort on the part of the European imagination to make contact with the personal life of primitive peoples.⁶⁹

The fundamental difference between the 'Noble Savage' and the 'Romantic Savage' is that the latter's destiny has not yet come to fruition:

[T]he former was self-sufficient and most happy in his natural state, the later was a representative of the childhood of man, interesting because he possessed the unrealized accomplishments of the child. The noble savage expressed the classical desire for a state of natural perfection, the romantic savage expressed the ideal of life as a voyage, a continuous movement towards an ever-receding goal. When this romantic ideal was applied to the fields of history and sociology it tended to produce a theory of social undulation – man's genius being progressively expressed in societies which, like organisms, are born, flourish, and decay. The idea [...] had been frequently put into service by travellers and writers reflecting upon the future of the Pacific.⁷⁰

The result of this line of thinking was often the idea that out of the ashes of the ancient Polynesian civilisation the Pacific could become the new seat of future civilisations whilst those in the West, like many before them, declined.

Dieffenbach, likewise, dwells on the origins of the Maori and the ancient Polynesian stock in general. With the similarities in social structure, language, customs, as well as agricultural and architectural techniques, of the various islands in the Pacific, Dieffenbach argues, one is led to believe that the "islands of the great ocean were peopled in periods long passed away" and that the "primitive stock from which all these islanders have sprung was possessed of a certain degree of civilization, of which we now see only the remains" (II:96). Thus, he sees similarities between the remnants of this "common stock" in New Zealand with that of the ancient empires of the Asiatico-African civilisation⁷¹ through their "fine and regular cast of countenance [...], the

⁶⁹ Smith, *European Vision*, 326.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 330f.

⁷¹ The first Polynesians are believed to have descended from the Lapita people in South China/Taiwan and arrived in New Zealand c.1250-1300 (K. R. Howe, *The Quest for Origins: Who first discovered and settled New Zealand and the Pacific islands?* Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003, esp. 76-88, 176-82; Gavin McLean and David Young, "The Last Place on Earth, Prehistory-c.1300", in: *Frontier of Dreams*, 27-37; Young, "Treasure Islands, c.1300-1642", 38-43).

Jewish expression of their features, the very light colour of their skin, and the whole of their customs” (II:98), of which the former was “in a state of infancy, yet was civilized, and understood the art of navigation in a higher degree than they do now”, or at least had “better means of traversing the sea”, but has since “sunk into comparative barbarism” (II:96f.). However, at the end of this process he sees the future of the Maori and Europeans entwined, with mixed marriages providing its early stages. As Maori women are anxious to marry European men, to whom they make affectionate and faithful wives, the result is not only that the latter “obtains, as a matter of course, the full protection of her father; and if the latter is a powerful chief, the son-in-law can exercise a great influence, as the natives generally take great delight in their grandchildren”, but also “one of the finest half-castes that exists, and I would add, also, an improvement on the race, at least in its physical particulars, as far as can be judged from children” (II:41). In his view, this intermarriage provides harmony through “mutual advantage”, as even in death the European relatives are “bewailed as brothers by these sons of nature” (I:191), and since there appear to be more females than males, “this will furnish a remedy against certain evils experienced in other colonies, where the contrary was the case, and tend to what I conceive to be very desirable – an ultimate blending of the races” (II:41f.).⁷²

One of the many important sources for conveying the Company’s views was the oft-cited ‘Romantic Maori’ extracts of Augustus Earle, an English artist and later draughtsman to the *Beagle*,⁷³ along with the staple reading diet of Captain Cook, William Yate, Joel Samuel Polack,⁷⁴ John Liddiard Nicholas and John Savage, which were distorted to wholeheartedly endorse Maori offence at being overlooked for colonisation in favour of those of New Holland who they viewed with great disdain.⁷⁵ Earle’s *A Narrative of a Nine Months’ Residence in New Zealand in 1827* (1832) is the best literary example of the early Romantic representation of the Maori. Unlike the natives of Australia, who, according to Earle, “seem of the lowest grade – the last link in the great chain of existence which unites man with the monkey”, with “neither energy, enterprise, nor industry; and their curiosity can scarcely be excited”, the Maori are instead

[...] ‘cast in beauty’s perfect mould;’ the children are so fine and powerfully made, that each might serve as a model for a statue of ‘the Infant Hercules;’ nothing can exceed the graceful and athletic forms of the men, or the rounded limbs of their young women. These possess eyes beautiful and eloquent, and a profusion of long, silky, curling hair; while the intellects of both

⁷² Cf. Dieffenbach, “Report to the New Zealand Company”, 104; *New Zealand and the New Zealanders*, 15f.

⁷³ See Anthony Murray-Oliver, “Earle, Augustus 1793 – 1838: Artist, traveller, writer”, in: *DNZB* 1, 115f.

⁷⁴ See Jocelyn Chisholm, “Polack, Joel Samuel 1807 – 1882: Trader, land speculator, writer, artist”, in: *ibid.*, 343f.

⁷⁵ See Wakefield and Ward, *British Colonization*, 269.

sexes seem of a superior order; all appear eager for improvement, full of energy, and indefatigably industrious, and possessing amongst themselves several arts which are totally unknown to their neighbours.⁷⁶

When viewed through the eyes of a Romanticist the perfect and pure forms of the body appear as if painted by an artist from antiquity, and although the beauty of the human form, in his view, is missing from contemporary society, it is still present in the “striking” and “graceful” figures of the Maori who are reminiscent of the “fine models of antiquity” as they throw a mat or blanket over their shoulders in toga-like fashion.⁷⁷ Dieffenbach too appreciates the “healthy and symmetrical form of their bodies” and the “graceful and vigorous play of their muscles”, in which the scene before him “offered an excellent study for an artist, or for an admirer of the human form when neither impaired by an artificial state of life nor distorted by the *arts* of fashion” (I:262), especially in the case of a chief at Te Awaitei, who is “of a fine powerfully formed figure, with a noble countenance, and reminded us of a Roman tribune, wrapped, as he was, in a new native toga” (I:57). Moreover, with their “prominent, but regular” features and skin colour, which is sometimes “even lighter than that of a native of the south of France”, their feet, which are uncovered and “in a healthy development”, in contrast to Europeans whereby “a native laughs at our misshaped feet”, together with their self-possessed demeanour, which is “heightened by the tattooing, which prevents the face from assuming the furrows of passion or the wrinkles of age”, and their “easy, open, and pleasing” appearance (II:8f.), the Maori appear both unspoiled and European-like. However, he does observe remnants of what appears to be a darker and somewhat ill-proportioned race intermixed with the pure Polynesian stock, who, “although free men, [...] occupied the lower grades” (II:10).⁷⁸

Another popular train of thought at the time was that warmer climates, among other things, led to idleness and laziness, whilst colder climates encouraged vigour and industriousness, the latter of which reinforced the energy and productiveness of the British spirit for progress, as well as, to a lesser extent, the Maori, who, compared to the Polynesians of the tropics, “show the readiest disposition for assuming in a high degree that civilization which must be the link to connect them with the European colonists, and ultimately to amalgamate them” (II:139).⁷⁹ This

⁷⁶ Earle, *Nine Months' Residence*, 85.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁷⁸ Dieffenbach is here in agreement with earlier commentators who theorised a part-Melanesian origin for the Maori through perceiving evidence of a separate and distinctly ‘inferior’, if not pre-existing, race blending in with the early Polynesian immigrants (M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Maori Origins and Migrations: The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1979, 41-44).

⁷⁹ See Grant, “New Zealand ‘Naturally’”, 26f.; Howe, *Nature, Culture, and History*, 20, 32.

same dichotomy is present in Dieffenbach's work as he describes the Polynesians of other Pacific Islands:

If in the islands situated between the tropics Nature has been profuse in her gifts, yielding spontaneously, or with little exertion on the part of man, all the necessaries of life, man has at the same time become there more effeminate, and less inclined to great bodily or mental exertion. Where the climate is so genial, clothes are superfluous, and houses of a complicated construction are not wanted. Agriculture – that corner-stone of an advanced state of civilization – remains in its infancy; and the cattle, roaming at large, destroy the young cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. The milk of the cocoa-nut serves the natives instead of that of the cow; bread-fruit, bananas, yams, and taro, are all highly farinaceous, and take the place of the cerealia of Europe. The acquaintance with European luxuries, and the creation of artificial wants, have not made these islanders healthier or happier than when they lived upon the bounties of Nature. (II:139f.)

The Maori, on the other hand, are masculine and fully compatible with British ways as they are at present the most European-like, and therefore the most equal, in both manners and social structure:

How different is the case with the natives of New Zealand! Their country produces spontaneously scarcely any indigenous articles of food; all these they have to plant, with much labour: their climate is too severe to allow of their dispensing with clothes or with substantially constructed houses, to obtain both of which they are obliged to exercise their mental and bodily faculties; and they have, therefore, become agriculturalists, with fixed habitations. They are not, indeed, as cleanly as the natives of the favoured islands to the north, but that is a consequence of their climate and their poverty. If the first contact with Europeans produced an injurious effect upon their health, in consequence of the entire change in their food and mode of living, every succeeding step is a gain to them; every advance in the knowledge of our system of husbandry and of our manufactures increases their bodily welfare; every mental acquirement gratifies their ardent desire for information. [...] Their family connexions – that first foundation of social life – that first and strongest link in the chain which binds men into a community – have with them a powerful influence. Among them also woman is on an equality with man, and enjoys the influence due to her position. The New Zealander has excellent reasoning powers; he has no deeply-rooted prejudices nor superstitions, although fond of contemplation. Formerly these people were very warlike, but they are now inclined to peace, and the greater part of them are Christians; they are friends of the Europeans, and particularly of the English, and have become reconciled to their taking possession of the country. (II:140f.)

In fact, it is only a matter of time before these “national wards of England”, who “perfectly understand that they have become English citizens, and are aware of their duties and rights as such”, will be completely amalgamated with the Europeans and fully “participate in the hereditary immunities and privileges of British subjects” (I:19f.).⁸⁰

⁸⁰ In another instance when referring to the mostly Christian Waikato Maori at Waingaroa he states: “They were highly pleased to be in future subject to the English law, the leading principles of which, as affecting their own position, they appeared perfectly to understand” (I:305).

In this way, for Dieffenbach, their ‘natural’ character combines the peaceful and Romantic with the warlike and barbaric, in which he believes “their good and amiable qualities far outweigh the bad” (II:107). On the one hand, they make “affectionate husbands and parents”, and “although the younger and more vigorous chiefs supersede the aged in their authority over the tribe, the latter are respected, and their council listened to” (II:107). The Maori also have a desire to instruct themselves, and are in general “very attentive to tuition, learn quickly, and have an excellent memory” (II:108), although he is of the opinion that due to a lack of specific sounds and consonants in their own tongue “all attempts to teach the natives the English language can only end in their acquiring an unintelligible jargon” (II:301). In terms of “quickness of perception” of objects which surround them, “they are superior in general to the white man”, and are driven by a “spirit of curiosity” which “pervade young and old” (II:108).⁸¹ Furthermore: “The tribes more removed from intercourse with Europeans are hospitable, and this cardinal virtue was once common to all. In the interior a stranger, whether European or native, is always received with welcome: food and shelter are soon prepared for him” (II:107).⁸² On the other hand, this level of politeness, which “would do honour to a more civilized people” (II:109), is contrasted with their often unpredictable behaviour:

[T]heir temper often changes very quickly; and a fickleness of character appears, a change from good to bad humour, often without any imaginable cause, which, especially when travelling, is very disagreeable. But if this irritability of temper is met with firmness, they suppress it; and, indeed, it is often put on to see how the European will bear it. If they are treated with honesty, and with that respect which is due to them as men, I have always found them to reciprocate such treatment; and I have travelled amongst them with as much pleasure and security as I have in European countries.⁸³

A prominent feature of their character is to retaliate and revenge any wrong they have suffered. The wrong is often imaginary, and quarrels arise without any cause, especially if a tribe possesses the right of the stronger. I know an instance where the remembrance of a murder had

⁸¹ “This spirit of curiosity leads them often to trust themselves to small coasting vessels; or they go with whalers to see still more distant parts of the globe” (II:108). However, over the previous seventy years since Cook’s first contact, “their knowledge of navigation has diminished, and with it that bold adventurous spirit which made them brave the dangers of long coasting voyages” (II:97; cf. I:335; Salmond, *Between Worlds*, 175-397). A drawback to this level of curiosity, on the other hand, is the “art of keeping a secret”, which, the “New Zealander is little acquainted, although he possesses in many other respects great self-control; the secret must come out, even if his death should be the immediate consequence” (II:106).

⁸² However, in saying that, as is the case with all barbarous nations, he comments: “Though endowed with many good qualities, his charities are exclusively confined to his own tribe, which is, in fact, composed of his blood relations. His neighbours, inhabiting the same land and speaking the same language with himself, he generally regards as his natural enemies” (I:101; cf. I:91, 102, 169, 199, 304, 310, 313f., 332, 359, 361, 382, 411, 415).

⁸³ As he says: “I have always indeed made a point in New Zealand of keeping my patience and composure in all discussions with the natives, and have in consequence fared well. I recommend the same system to all those who have occasion to travel amongst savages, who, by the bye, are in this respect often our superiors” (I:335f.).

been carried silently for forty years, when it was at length expiated by the death of him who committed it.

They are cruel in their wars, either of retaliation or aggression, and it cannot be denied that they possess a good deal of selfishness, and have not that true generous spirit, that gratitude for benefits conferred, or that true friendship, so characteristic of European and Eastern nations. But we never find these qualities amongst savages: they are, in fact, the fruits, and the best fruits, of refinement and civilization.⁸⁴

It will readily be seen that the character for ferocity and treachery, which has been ascribed to the New Zealanders, does not justly apply to them in times of peace. In their domestic relations they are easily guided; and if outrages are committed, they are either the consequence of superstition or are authorized by what they regard as lawful customs. (II:109f.)

Thus, in spite of their unhealthy preoccupation with revenge, which reveals the worst of their character, it is, however, confined to infighting amongst themselves, as “the hatred of the New Zealander is never directed against the white man, who may travel where he likes, and is never molested unless his own misconduct give rise to a quarrel” (I:106).

The treatment of Maori wives and females in general, in conjunction with their raising of children, were seen by Georg Forster as characteristic of a savage and barbaric disposition which contributed to the unflattering appearance of the former and the unrestrained freedom of the latter. For Dieffenbach, however, his ideas on the above themes have been formed by the images of the ‘Romantic Savage’ and its opposition to contemporary cultural biases and racial stereotypes. Although he notes that in the past Maori women have been treated as “an article of trade” through their predilection before marriage to “dispense their favours as they like” (II:40) without tarnishing their status among their fellow men and women, his Romantic lens puts them in an almost equal position with the males, albeit coupled with, to a lesser extent, traditional European stereotypes:

The females are not in general so handsome as the men. Although treated by the latter with great consideration and kindness, enjoying the full exercise of their free will, and possessing a remarkable influence in all the affairs of a tribe, they are burdened with all the heavy work; they have to cultivate the fields, to carry from their distant plantations wood and provisions, and to bear heavy loads during their travelling excursions. Early intercourse with the other sex, which their customs permit, frequent abortions, and the long nursing of the children, often for three years, contribute to cause the early decay of their youth and beauty, and are prejudicial to the full development of their frame.⁸⁵ Daughters of influential chiefs, however, who have slaves to do the

⁸⁴ Ironically, he contradicts his earlier comments in typical European fashion when he states: “Joy and mirth, I have found from experience, are always sure to find an echo in the susceptible heart of the New Zealander and are also the best means to secure his good will and confidence” (I:33); and that the “undisguised joy and sorrow” of an old woman showed him “how equally Nature has distributed amongst the whole of the human family the kindly affections of the heart, which are not the privilege of any one race or colour, nor increased by civilization, which indeed too often blunts and destroys them” (I:167f.).

⁸⁵ To this should also be added the tattooing of women’s lips which gives them “a livid, deadly appearance, certainly not to their advantage” (II:36).

work of the field, are often handsome and attractive, and no one can deny them this latter epithet as long as they are young. This is heightened by a natural modesty and childlike naïveté, which all their licentiousness of habit cannot entirely destroy. (II:11f.)

Thus, the women are relatively unspoiled by their lack of morals in certain affairs and not tarnished by their previous prostitution to European seamen. This time they are not seen to simply do all the drudgery, only it seems the heavy tasks that are deemed inappropriate for a man to do.⁸⁶ Interestingly, the custom of women doing all the domestic labour remains unchanged in instances of intermarriage (I:38). In general, however, the wife is treated well by her husband to the point where her earlier role as ‘slave’ has been replaced by that of a “constant companion” who “takes care of the plantations, manufactures of mats, and looks after the children” while the man “constructs the house, goes out fishing, and to war: but even in war the woman is often his companion, and either awaits in the neighbourhood the termination of a skirmish, or on the field itself incites the men to combat” (II:39f.).⁸⁷ Even the widows of ‘ariki’, whose respect is no more than “voluntary and complimentary, rather than compulsory”, appear to supersede their husbands as they “hold for life the highest influence over the tribe, or convey this influence to the chief whom they may marry” (II:40), while it is only their slaves who “have to perform the greater part of the work of the field, and are the property of their master, who can do with them as he pleases” (II:113). However, it is the old women in particular who endear themselves to Dieffenbach, as they are “the best-natured and kindest creatures imaginable, and the traveller is sure to receive a smile and a welcome from them, if no one else shows any intention of befriending him” (II:12). This is also shown in the fact that it is the old women who generally are the most affected at the loss of loved ones, as in these instances “their bodies are entirely covered with deep scars, from the incisions which they make with their broken shells, and their eyes become inflamed from an excess of crying” (II:66).⁸⁸

The treatment of Maori children, on the other hand, combines the Romantic with the barbaric, in which the parenting skills of the Maori are generally not inferior to that of Europeans:

⁸⁶ However, these gender roles are not so strict that the males cannot see the advantage of doing traditional female work when it brings its own rewards, as even preparing flax was “resorted to by the men in times of war, for the purpose of procuring muskets, powder, and shot” (I:7).

⁸⁷ We find this same theme of equality in Earles’ account, although it is mixed to a degree by the stereotypical view of Maori wives as “mere slaves”, who “sink gradually into domestic drudges to those who have the power of life and death over them” due to their being just as susceptible at receiving a fatal blow from their husbands in a fit of passion as their miserable slaves (Earle, *Nine Months’ Residence*, 81), before he makes the point that on many occasions, in contrast to most savage tribes, the wife is, nevertheless, “treated as an equal and companion” (ibid., 85).

⁸⁸ Cf. I:102.

The child [...] is nursed with affection and tenderness, either by the mother or by some other woman of the tribe, who gives it her breast. During a great part of its infancy it is taken care of by the father, who evinces admirable patience and forbearance. It remains unclothed and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, but often takes refuge in the warm blanket of the father or mother. It is lulled to sleep by songs which [...] happily express those feelings and sentiments that so delight us in our own nursery rhymes. (II:26f.)⁸⁹

The only blemish is the “unnatural crime” (II:24) of infanticide, or ‘roromi’, which the Maori, like all Pacific Island savages, are accused of committing. The prevailing image of female infanticide is based on the theory that as barbaric savages placed sole importance on warlike pursuits, which females did not take part in, preference for rearing males in order to become warriors resulted in the killing of female infants.⁹⁰ Ironically, this image conflicts with the earlier stereotype as there would be few females to do the manual work in the first place if most of them had been killed at birth. However, Dieffenbach does not view this as a widespread custom, rather an act of revenge due to “broken faith, or desertion by the husband, the illegitimacy of the children, matrimonial dissensions, illicit connections with Europeans, slavery during pregnancy, and separation from the husband”, or else the “result of superstition of the grossest character, and is occasioned by fear of divine anger and punishment” (II:24f.), whereby no distinction is therefore made between male and female.⁹¹

Here, he emphasises the freedom of a liberal childhood, rather than creating an atmosphere of disobedience and immorality, in which their education is “left almost entirely to nature”:

⁸⁹ Earle likewise gives the generous picture of two Maori parents who are “excessively fond of their children”, in which, whilst travelling, “it is more usual to see the father carrying his infant than the mother; and all the little offices of a nurse are performed by him with the tenderest care and good humour” (Earle, *Nine Months’ Residence*, 85).

⁹⁰ As Earle writes: “Before our intercourse took place with the New Zealanders, a universal and unnatural custom existed amongst them, which was that of destroying most of their female children in infancy, their excuse being that they were quite as much trouble to rear, and consumed just as much food, as a male child, and yet, when grown up, they were not fit to go to war as their boys were. The strength and pride of a chief then consisted in the number of his sons; while the few females who had been suffered to live were invariably looked down upon by all with utmost contempt. They led a life of misery and degradation. The difference now is most remarkable. The natives, seeing with what admiration strangers beheld their fine young women, and what handsome presents were made to them, by which their families were benefited, feeling also that their influence was so powerful over the white men, have been latterly as anxious to cherish and protect their infant girls as they were formerly cruelly bent on destroying them. Therefore, if one sin has been, to a certain degree, encouraged, a much greater one has been annihilated. Infanticide, the former curse of this country, and the cause of its scanty population, a crime every way calculated to make men bloody-minded and ferocious, and to stifle every benevolent and tender feeling, has totally disappeared wherever an intercourse has taken place between the natives and the crews of the European vessels” (ibid., 80f.).

⁹¹ However, he does comment that “if the woman is desirous that her child should be of the one sex, and has boasted that she knows it will be so, on its proving of the other sex she frequently sacrifices it” (II:26). Yet “maternal love” often wins in the end, unless the mother or relatives later murder the child out of jealousy or anger (II:26; cf. Dieffenbach, “Report to the New Zealand Company”, 109; *New Zealand and the New Zealanders*, 26).

They early acquire those arts which are necessary for their maintenance and preservation. Near the sea or the lakes they acquire the art of swimming almost before they are able to stand upright. They are not deficient in obedience to their parents, although the latter do not exercise their authority very strictly, but allow their children to do what they do themselves. Where there is no occasion for burthening them with restrictions which they do not understand, as is the case in civilised nations, there are fewer occasions for correction. They are a cheerful, affectionate set of little urchins, indefatigable in annoying the visitor from distant Europe by their curiosity, which extends to his person, clothes, all the things he may have with him, and even to his sayings and doings, which are faithfully reported to the elders: nothing escapes the attention of these youngsters. From their continual contact with adults all their mental faculties are early developed, although they pass their youth in doing nothing, or in innocent games. (II:30f.)

As can be seen, the children are playful, innocent and respectful to their parents, as well as bright and eager to learn. It is therefore no wonder that they are his favourites (II:12).

In this way, these ‘children of nature’ have been brought up within a natural environment which encourages superstitions and fear of the unknown. The most common example is the Maori reverence and trepidation of mountains, which culminates in “tales of terrible animals, or divinities, which we should meet with on the summit of the mountain, and which would inevitably devour the poor maori (native), but could do no injury to the pakea [sic] (stranger)” (I:29). This belief has its roots in the imaginations of all barbarous peoples, even though the results may differ:

[I]n addition to that awe which grand scenes of nature and the solemn silence reigning on such heights produce in every mind, the savage views such scenes with superstitious dread. To him the mountains are peopled with mysterious and misshapen animals; the black points, which he sees from afar in the dazzling snow, are fierce and monstrous birds; a supernatural spirit breathes on him in the evening breeze, or is heard in the rolling of a loose stone. It is this imaginative superstition which gives birth to the poetry of infant nations, as we see in the old tales of the Germans, which evidently have their origin in the earliest ages of the race, and bear the impress of the ethics and religion of a people not yet emerged from barbarism; but with the Polynesians these fears lead to gross superstition, witchcraft, and the worship of demons. (I:155f.)⁹²

When considering the apparent lack of idols in Maori culture, whereby their carvings only appear to represent ancestors and a genealogical connection rather than worship, the Maori assume a refreshing quality:

Nowhere in New Zealand have I seen anything that could be regarded as an idol, although some persons have said that such exist. The absence of all carved gods among the New Zealanders appeared to me a very attractive trait in their national character. They are too much the children of nature, and perhaps too intellectual, to adore wooden images or animals, and I often heard the heathen natives deride the pewter images of the Holy Virgin which the Roman Catholic priests have brought into the country. They are superstitious, it is true, but not more so than we should

⁹² Cf. I:140, 149, 155.

expect as the result of the influence with which their mind is instinctively filled by the powers of Nature. What a noble material to work with for the purpose of leading them towards civilization! (I:391)

Thus, they are both too primitive and rational to comprehend the worship of deities, yet their superstitions are fixed firmly in the realm of the irrational, a concept which Dieffenbach at times ridicules, but also justifies their belief in. After all, the Maori, in his view, have no firm religion when viewed as “a definable system of certain dogmas and prescriptions”, as it is nothing more than a belief in the “action and influence of spirits on the destiny of men, mixed up with fables and traditions” (II:115).

An extension of this superstitious and religious conviction is the concept of ‘tapu’, which has the double meaning of “religious worship and civil law” in Maori society, and although he acknowledges the absurdity of certain usages of this custom, it presents itself as a “wholesome restraint”, in which the “heavy penalties attached to the violation of its laws serv[e] in one tribe, or in several not in actual hostility with each other, as moral and legal commandments” (II:100). The result is that adultery and theft, much like polygamy, are uncommon among Maori, to the point where he regards them as “a very honest people, far more so than the lower classes of the European colonists” (II:105).⁹³ This high sense of justice is naturally continued among the Christian converts. Moreover, there exists a deep respect for the possessions of those who have passed away, which arises out of a “feeling deeply rooted in all the human family, and the more so the higher they advance in civilization” (II:101). If someone breaks a ‘tapu’ restriction but the crime remains unknown, it is believed they are punished by ‘atua’ “who inflicts disease upon the criminal”, if not first of all discovered and punished by the respective parties (II:105). Even Christian Maori still fear diseases resulting from witchcraft as a punishment for this transgression (II:58).⁹⁴ The head of Maori is the most ‘tapu’ part of the body (II:104), in contrast to food which is the opposite or ‘noa’. The only exception to this is kumara, which is likewise extremely ‘tapu’, as are the women at work in these fields, since it is also believed to be the chosen food of departed spirits at Cape Reinga (II:48f.), in which these spirits “live as men do on earth; but they can leave it, and influence the actions and the fate of those who are alive, communicating with them through the medium of the tohunga, who hears them” (II:67). These spirits often speak in dreams, and “commands given in that way are implicitly obeyed, and often influence their most

⁹³ Cf. II:37.

⁹⁴ Cf. I:307.

important actions” (II:67).⁹⁵ Thus, ‘tapu’ in all its forms constitutes “law, custom, etiquette, prejudice, and superstition” (II:105). How stringently the Maori enforce these rules, however, is shown by their liaisons with European travellers, whereby “if treated with a little tact, they are not very obstinate with a stranger in regard to these ordinances, and that, with the hand in the pocket, he may, as in other more civilized communities, free himself from most of them” (II:102). In fact, the only obstacle in the end which denies Dieffenbach permission to ascend Mount Tongariro while the principal chief of the Taupo tribes, Mananui Te Heuheu Tukino,⁹⁶ is away on a war expedition is that he does not possess four sovereigns to pay the tribal members, only trade goods (II:103),⁹⁷ further illustrating the nature of indirect European influences.

When it comes to Maori war practices, however, Dieffenbach still embraces the stereotypical view of the ‘haka’ (war dance) as a means of eliciting frenzied behaviour before combat, “in which all manner of distortions of the body are employed to express defiance of the enemy; the thighs are beaten, the tongue thrust out, and the eyes drawn up, till only the white is visible” (II:125). In fact, it is not only the male warriors who perform this act and fight traditionally in the nude, but also the old women who “dance in front of the party, stripped of their clothes, bedaubed with red ochre, and distorting their faces even more frightfully than the men” (II:125f.). Moreover, in battle the “love of life” is not one of their strongest feelings: “I could record many instances in which they have ventured their lives to save those of Europeans, with a coolness and courage that would have done honour to a man of any nation” (II:40).⁹⁸ As a result, suicides are also fairly common, “in consequence of wounded pride, or of shame from having been found guilty of theft, from fear of punishment, by a husband at the death of his wife, by a wife at the death of her husband, or by both at the death of their children” (II:112f.). The most notable example of Maori warfare is naturally the act of cannibalism. In spite of the cruel and barbaric nature of this custom, however, he retains Forster’s basis of revenge as the main reason, yet develops the idea further by introducing the religious dimensions and restrictions on participation:

This frightful custom has not yet entirely ceased, although it undoubtedly will do so in a very short time. The implacable desire of revenge which is characteristic of these people, and the belief that

⁹⁵ See I:96.

⁹⁶ See Elizabeth Hura, “Te Heuheu Tukino II, Mananui ? – 1846: Ngati Tuwharetoa leader”, in: *DNZB* 1, 447f.; John Te H. Grace, *Tuwharetoa: The History of the Maori People of the Taupo District*. Wellington: Reed, 1959, 233-45.

⁹⁷ Cf. I:346f.

⁹⁸ In one instance, a male Maori preferred death to having his leg amputated, making him “certainly not inferior to a European” in bearing pain (II:101).

the strength and courage of a devoured enemy are transferred to him who eats him, are, without question, the causes of this unnatural taste – not the pleasure of eating human flesh, which is certainly secondary, and, besides, is not at all general. A chief is often satisfied with the left eye of his enemy, which they consider the seat of the soul. They likewise drink the blood from a similar belief. The dead bodies are “tapu” until the tohunga has taken a part of the flesh, and, with prayers and invocations, has hanged it up on a tree or on a stick, as an offering to the Atuas, or to the wairua of him to revenge whom the war was undertaken. The heads are stuck up on poles round the village. Women, especially those who plant the kumara, and those who are with child, are not allowed to eat of the flesh, but children are permitted to do so at a certain age, when the priest initiates them into the custom by singing an incantation [...]. Many men too are restricted from eating it. They all agreed, when conversing with me freely upon the subject, that human flesh is well flavoured, especially the palm of the hands and the breast. The flesh of Europeans they consider salt and disagreeable – a curious physiological fact, if true; and they stated the same regarding the flesh of our dogs and the introduced European rat. It appears very doubtful whether they ever killed a slave merely for the purpose of eating him. Where such murder was committed there was generally some superstitious belief connected with the act, or it was done as a punishment. (II:128-30)

Thus, it is a more humane picture that Dieffenbach creates of the ravages of combat. Yet, he combines this image with that of ‘moko-mokai’, namely preserving the heads of slaughtered enemies and parading them in victory on ‘taiahas’ before placing them on fences outside their houses (II:134),⁹⁹ and ‘taua tapu’ (sacred fight) or ‘taua toto’ (fight for blood), in which “[i]f blood has been shed, a party sally forth and kill the first person they fall in with, whether an enemy or belonging to their own tribe; even a brother is sacrificed” (II:127). However, we are told that “the native ventures out in his war canoe, now, happily, seldom bent on warlike enterprises, but on peaceful visits to his friends and relations” (I:95).

When viewed in this light, the responsibility for the excessive acts committed by the Maori can be directly related to their beliefs and customs, rather than simply being characteristic of an innately treacherous and dishonest nature.¹⁰⁰ In spite of their style of combat being altered through the introduction of firearms,¹⁰¹ a degree of chivalry still exists as “strangers or neutrals

⁹⁹ “After the brain has been taken out (and eaten), the head is slowly steamed over hot stones, the exuding humidity is wiped off, and this process is continued till the head becomes mummified, in which state it can be preserved for a long time [...]” (II:134). It should be noted, however, that heads of lost relatives were also embalmed (I:364; cf. II:66).

¹⁰⁰ However, he is less than charitable in his praise of the Maori that inhabit the Chatham Islands following their treatment of the indigenous Moriori who were, if not exterminated, turned into slaves by their oppressors (Ernest Dieffenbach, “An Account of the Chatham Islands”, in: *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 11 (1841): 195-215, esp. 208).

¹⁰¹ It is generally argued that Maori warfare changed from a less frequent and destructive event of shorter duration to something which could be sustained over a longer period of time with more portable European foods, was quicker, deadlier and more expansive in effect, all in the name of settling old scores, resulting in the extermination or depopulation, as well as the movement and displacement of numerous tribes in the first half of the nineteenth century in what is known today as the ‘Musket Wars’ (see R. D. Crosby, *The Musket Wars: A History of Inter-iwi Conflict 1806-45*. With an introduction by Michael King. 2nd Ed. Auckland: Reed, 2001). Ballara, on the other hand, is of the opinion that the effect of muskets has been exaggerated, and it was not until the late 1820s that their numbers

are allowed to pass from one party to the other, the combatants politely ceasing to fire during the time” (II:126), in contrast to the mass slaughter of men from the enemy ‘pa’ and the placing of their women and children into slavery if peaceful relations are not met and concluded with a friendly feast (II:127).¹⁰² Even the reported act of local women licking their enemies’ blood off the rocks below Mayor’s Island (Tuhua) in the Bay of Plenty after an ill-fated attack resulted in many deaths (II:130) is followed by the Forster-like moralising of supposed European supremacy:

The savage, passionate and furious with feelings of revenge, slaughtering and devouring his enemy and drinking his blood, is no longer the same being as when cultivating his fields in peace; and it would be as unjust to estimate his general character by his actions in these moments of unrestrained passion, as to judge of Europeans by the excesses of an excited soldiery or an infuriated mob. If we were to be judged by the conduct of our countrymen in the South Seas, who, unprovoked, have not only frequently murdered the innocent by tens and twenties, but, what is still worse, have fostered the passions of the natives against each other in every possible manner, what a picture would be given of our civilization! The history of the discovery of the islands of the South Seas is one continued series of bloodshed and aggression; and in our intercourse with the New Zealanders it might easily be proved that, in nine out of ten cases in which there has been a conflict between them and Europeans, the fault was on the side of the latter [...]. If one were to reckon up the crimes and gratuitous cruelties (not including, of course, the unhappy but involuntary consequences of our intercourse) which civilized men have committed against the savage, the balance of humanity, and of other virtues too, would probably be found on the side of the latter. (II:130f.)

Thus, he believes that as long as a Maori “lives by himself, he possesses more virtues than vices, at least as regards his own tribe” (II:105). If anything, it has been their interaction with Europeans which has taught them more vices, as they are no worse than Europeans when it comes to ferocity in battle.

While images of “bush-natives”¹⁰³ still surface from time to time, the Maori in fact have a fixed locale, although they do not always dwell in the same place, as when they are not at their house attending their plantations during the planting season, they are either off visiting distant relatives or European coastal settlements, “either for the purpose of trading or to see what the

increased to replace the early unreliable guns which had less range and were slow to hit their targets (Angela Ballara, *Taua: ‘Musket Wars’, ‘Land Wars’ or Tikanga?: Warfare in Maori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003, esp. 400-11).

¹⁰² See Vayda, *Maori Warfare*, 8-125.

¹⁰³ Even though he is told of one instance where some slaves had run away into the bush despite their settled life (I:261), he is convinced that “the formidable pictures of bush-natives which have been drawn are purely the result of imagination. The natives in general are much too civilised and social, and know their own interests too well, to live in a gloomy and inhospitable forest. It is true, indeed, that excursions for surprising and robbing neighbouring tribes are, or rather were, frequent; and in that manner the natives become acquainted with the most secret recesses of the country: but on such occasions they always return to their settlements” (I:86f.).

pakea [sic] (stranger) is doing” (II:72). Their housing is naturally characteristic of their general sense of hygiene, a subject Forster spoke frequently on:

The New Zealander is not over-clean in his person, but he is very particular respecting his food; and his dwelling also is kept in as much order as possible. The introduction of blankets and all sorts of ragged European clothing, accompanied with the parasitical flea, which, according to native accounts, only appeared with the Europeans, has not improved his sense of propriety or his general appearance. The rigour of the climate and the want of soap are the principal causes of this, as the natives do not cease washing and cleaning themselves when they have plenty of that invaluable article, or when the vanity of females is any way concerned. (II:58)¹⁰⁴

Throughout his journeys Dieffenbach witnesses the traditionally constructed Maori houses, which range from an old native house in the bush, which is a “hotbed” for many “smaller animals, not to be named to ears polite” (I:145),¹⁰⁵ to the “most whimsical structures I ever saw” in a little village at Cape Maria van Diemen, whereby “[e]ach dog and each pig had its sty fenced in, and the men themselves had similar little sties to live in” (I:199), and finally to the more common abode:

In the middle of the house a fire is lighted in the evening, which fills it with smoke; sometimes a [sic] times a lamp is burnt, for which purpose they use shark or whale oil in a pawa (Haliotis), with a wick of the native flax. Each member of the family lies down on a mat, and goes to sleep in the dress that he or she wore during the day, but this is often thrown off if the heat becomes excessive. The smoke and heat render it very disagreeable for a European to sleep in these houses; besides, the natives are so communicative, that on the arrival of a stranger talking goes on all night. Inferior persons and slaves range themselves around the fire in the kitchen, but more frequently they all sleep in the same house. (II:69f.)

However, this does not always mean European structures are an improvement, as when the “upstart settlements of missionary natives” are compared with an “old heathen pa, the former really look extremely miserable and tame” (I:391).¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, various locally constructed houses outshine those of Europeans, of which “some are not inferior to those of the villages in many parts of Europe” (I:38), not to mention the churches, huts and living quarters made for missionaries all in the European style, the latter of which is “in strength and beauty equal to any in New Zealand on the European plan” (II:71). Moreover, in neatness their plantations often “exceed everything that would be done by Europeans with similar means” (I:226), in which everything is “kept clean and in good order, and in this respect it surpassed many villages in Europe” (I:103): “Here and there fields of potatoes, kumaras, melons, and pumpkins, neatly

¹⁰⁴ See I:163.

¹⁰⁵ He adds: “[A]fter this night’s experience I always preferred sleeping in the open air, or under my own tent, which I found by far the most comfortable” (I:146).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. I:247, 316, 320, 390.

fenced in, and kept extremely clean, show all the vigour of vegetation for which New Zealand is so remarkable” (I:214). At times due to superior knowledge of the land, naturally rich soil is chosen for their plantations with greater fertility for crops, such as maize, potatoes, taro, turnips, cabbage, kumara and pumpkin (I:186).¹⁰⁷ This is, however, contrasted with their habit of clearing paths by fire to travel to and from these plantations which “have not failed to produce their natural effect” (I:368).¹⁰⁸ As can be seen, with regard to Maori advancements in agriculture and European construction, the Maori appear to exceed on many occasions in both methods and appearance.

In Dieffenbach’s opinion, the Europeanisation and civilising of the Maori is worthwhile when they reach an “altered and improved condition” (I:301), yet this is not always the case, as is witnessed in the Maori tribes and individuals he encounters. The first Maori community he comes across at Anaho, for instance, consists of a fairly idyllic and peaceful lifestyle despite its open contact with the reportedly nefarious element of European society:

These people were well provided with the necessaries of life; provisions were plentiful, and we were enabled to lay in a large stock of potatoes and pigs at a very moderate price. From the neighbouring whaling establishments they had obtained articles of European clothing in exchange for their commodities, and their condition seemed to be a happy one. I was astonished to find it so easy to deal with them; and instead of sinister savages, brooding nothing but treachery and mischief, as many travellers have depicted them, they were open, confident, and hospitable, and proved of the greatest service to me during my frequent rambles in the woods. (I:31)

No instances of drunkenness exist here in spite of the mixing that goes on with the whalers, yet drinking is a habit of those with constant contact with Europeans in certain coastal areas (I:41). Along the way Dieffenbach is not often disappointed by the levels of civilisation and hospitality he meets, in which the latter is not always a result of the former, such as the friendly Rotoaira Maori who “appeared to be in a very primitive state, which, however, was not, in my opinion, at all to their disadvantage” (I:359), or those at Waipa, who he describes as “perhaps, the finest set of people in New Zealand, [who] are familiarized with Europeans, and very anxious to receive them into their country” (I:334), while the Taupo tribes are “decidedly the best specimens of the race that I had seen in New Zealand, and excelled in their hospitality towards strangers, in prudent attention to their own affairs, in cleanliness and health, most of those who live on the

¹⁰⁷ Cf. I:120, 142, 170, 216, 218.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. I:58, 85, 336, 346, 389, 411.

coasts, and who have become converts to Christianity” (I:361).¹⁰⁹ The agricultural exploits and progress of the Maori in certain areas of the country, who have reached their potential as industrious labourers, is welcomed by Dieffenbach, with “the most advanced in the arts of civilization” being the Te Rarawa who go about their tasks in ‘British’ workmanlike fashion:¹¹⁰

The traveller does not meet here with that begging and grasping behaviour which renders the natives on the coast so importunate; on the contrary, they are a quiet hard-working people, and they have, for a very small payment, cut a road thirty-two miles long through the primitive forest, between Kaitaia and Waimate, in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands; they have also cut roads in the neighbourhood of their own village. During my stay I saw them reap wheat and plough several acres of land, and the missionaries encourage them to exchange their former unwholesome food of decayed maize and potatoes for bread. Several of the natives have one or two head of cattle and horses; and I have every reason to believe that here at least the missionaries will encourage their acquiring them, in order to dispose of the increase of their own stock. (I:217f.)

On the wrong side of conversion, however, are the Waikato tribes, “which have most preserved their original vigour, and, I may add, original virtues, notwithstanding that their customs have been softened down by the influence of missionaries and other Europeans” (II:76f.), and the warlike Maori from Rotorua, known for their raiding and acts of cannibalism, who were “the most primitive tribe in New Zealand, and still resist the inroads of European manners” (I:386).¹¹¹ Added to these should also be the much inferior Maori who “hover about the settlements of Europeans” and are “not only more unhealthy, but also become an ill-conditioned compound of the dandy, beggar, and labourer” (II:147).

During his travels he witnesses the influences, or lack thereof, of missionaries and European goods on the formerly savage characters of the Maori, of which the aged Matangi, “who, with white hair and beard, but with a frame still erect and powerful, formed a link between the warriors and cannibals of former times and the present generation, who, emerging from barbarism, were beginning to turn their minds to peaceful pursuits, and to embrace the tenets of Christianity” (I:93). The converts appear calm, well-mannered, refined and noble in character and

¹⁰⁹ One reason for this is the warm lakes in the nearby volcanic zone which are popular bathing places for local tribes. Other Maori uses for the warm springs and sulphurous baths include healing disorders (I:246), a source of heating “in the place of fires, as they jumped in as often as they felt cold, and this mode of treatment did not seem to do them any harm, as they looked remarkably healthy” (I:385), and, in one instance, “a natural kitchen for boiling their food” (I:389)

¹¹⁰ Cf. I:214, 217, 220, 226, 261, 267, 400, 413.

¹¹¹ The result of an encounter with these “very noisy fellows” en route to Rotorua is that both Dieffenbach and his companion, Captain Symonds, each find themselves missing a shoe, “which our guides had probably pilfered; but we got them again for a salvage, as they said that they had found them” (I:387).

seem to have shed their savage pasts, albeit to varying degrees, with Christian-like manners,¹¹² sometimes even appearing more Christian than those of the supposed Christian nations, such as the renowned warrior Te Kiwi:

Although fully tattooed, his countenance displayed much mildness, and his behaviour to us was conciliating, polite, and attentive. In his exhortations to the rest of our companions he often used the powerful weapons of sarcasm and irony, which had the more weight as they were delivered without arrogance and in perfect good humour. He took great care of his daughter, a fine little girl, who had volunteered to carry Mr. [Abel Dottin William] Best's knapsack. Te Kiwi had become a convert to Christianity, and had a kind and feeling heart, although in his younger days a renowned cannibal. His costume was most peculiar: he was dressed in a shabby black dress-coat and trousers, the offcast of a missionary's clerical wardrobe, with an extremely dilapidated gossamer hat on his head. (I:310f.)

This is also the case with a Maori priest and missionary, who “although [...] almost invariably kept his puka puka (hymn and prayer books) upside down when he pretended to sing his psalms or read the service, [...] what he sung and said pretty nearly corresponded with the text, as he knew the books by heart” (I:141f.). In contrast is the memory of the well-known figure of Hongi Hika, “the scourge of New Zealand”, who he believes will no doubt be “honoured with a column as a sign of public gratitude for his butcheries”:

His warlike extravagancies [...] have more than anything else contributed, by exhausting the strength of the natives, to bring about that state of repose so favourable to the progress of European civilization. The blood spilt with the sword which he received from the hands of royalty, when in England, was, as it were, the fertilizing dew in the hearts of the survivors, preparing them for the seeds of civilization, as he had too much weakened his enemies for them to think of revenge. But the man was as good a hero as many who have appeared on the modern stage, and had perhaps more just pretensions to natural talent [...]. (I:250f.)¹¹³

The ambivalent and contradictory nature of his portrayal is a reflection of the natural character of the Maori in general, and adds to the other interesting characters Dieffenbach comes across, such as the “very suspicious-looking fellow, painted over and over with kokowai, [who] never let the

¹¹² See also I:33, 93, 100, 304, 365, II:39.

¹¹³ The famous Ngapuhi leader, Hongi Hika, is simultaneously responsible for both the beginnings of the Musket Wars and the introduction of Christianity into New Zealand, the former through the use of European firearms against old foes, especially after visiting King George IV in 1820, whereby he sold his royal gifts in Sydney for several hundred muskets to support his campaigns, and the latter through the establishment of mission stations of the Church Missionary Society in the Bay of Islands, which Hongi protected in order to sustain beneficial contact and trade with Europeans. The effect of his expeditions not only led to the ultimate depopulation and movement of various Northern tribes, but on a more positive note his actions also enhanced the agricultural prowess of the Maori in the area, which was often performed by captured slaves, and as they were also often the first to receive Christian teachings, when they were eventually freed after his death, the seeds of Christianity managed to spread throughout the country with the aid of battle-weary and conquered tribes (See Dorothy Ulrich Cloher, *Hongi Hika: Warrior Chief*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003; Angela Ballara, “Hongi Hika 1772–1828: Nga Puhi leader, trader, military campaigner”, in: *DNZB* 1, 201f.; Belich, *Making Peoples*, 164-69).

tomahawk out of his hands” and had “an appearance of sly hostility in his manner” (I:61),¹¹⁴ the chief, Te Heuheu, who told a missionary that “he would only have one more fight with the tribe at Wanganui, to settle his old grievances, then make a durable peace, settle down, and ‘believe’” (I:361), and Te Puata (Te Rauangaanga?) who is “still bent upon war, and [...] would fight till he was dead” (I:317).

As can be seen, the introduction of Christianity by the missionaries and civilisation through continual interaction with Europeans and colonisation have, in Dieffenbach’s opinion, made varying degrees of inroads into the formerly unchristian practices of the Maori. However, he argues that the missionaries cannot be said to have cleared the way for European settlement as generally believed, since many adventurers walked around unhindered for years before their arrival (II:164f.). Furthermore, various tribes still oppose Christianity despite new conversions occurring all the time. In Dieffenbach’s view, Christianity, or rather the teachings of the missionaries, presents itself as an ambivalent condition in respect to the Maori, as different feuding factions or denominations compete against one another to the point where, it seems, the main goal is not to civilise the Maori, but to be the Church with the most converts, even if in name only. As a result of his anticlerical stance, he questions the moral centres and education of a number of the above missionaries, “who are too apt to consider the people to whom they have been sent to preach the Gospel as an inferior race of beings” (I:41). In fact, despite the spread of Christianity, the missionaries remain on the coasts instead of in the interior where their services would be most needed, the result ironically being that the best Christians are often not where the mission stations are, and those who dwell in the harbours are the “worst in the islands” (II:164), although there are naturally other influences also at work here.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, there are various instances of missionaries deviating from their “proper sphere as *civilizers* and instructors” (II:166) by taking land for themselves and not even cultivating most of it. Many older ones have become “landed proprietors; and many, by other pursuits, such as banking, or trading with the produce of their gardens or stock, have become wealthy men” (II:165), an act in itself which goes against the obvious duties and principals of missionary work. Although it is only a few who abuse their office, when he left New Zealand eleven missionaries had reportedly claimed a grand total of 96,219 acres of land for their own purposes (II:166).¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Dieffenbach adds: “[H]e was the only New Zealander who gave me any apprehension, which was probably altogether unfounded” (I:61).

¹¹⁵ Cf. I:79.

¹¹⁶ See II:168.

When viewed in this light it is natural to therefore conceive visible divisions between Christian and non-Christian Maori even within a single tribe. However, this is only the case initially, “as at the first introduction of Christianity a sort of separation always takes place between the Christian converts and the Heathens, without, however, materially affecting the general harmony of the tribe” (I:316). When the majority of the tribe or village are converts, however, “the remainder, finding themselves deserted, and unable to assemble followers for warlike enterprises, frequently affect to adopt the new doctrine” (I:316).¹¹⁷ In other words, when only one denomination of religion is at work, harmony ensues in the form of Maori missionaries who often have more success themselves in converting followers:

An old blind native, Haramona, or Solomon, as he has been christened, acted as catechist to the men, feeling his way from one to the other with his staff, and evincing excellent powers of memory; his class sat around him in a circle. The females were interrogated by a very intelligent-looking young woman; and I was much surprised and gratified to see what progress they had made in so short a time. Nearly all of them were proficient in reading and writing, which they had been taught by mutual instruction. The chiefs, a few only of whom had become converts, sat at some distance, and contemplated the whole in silence. Slaves and the lower classes are always the first among the New Zealanders to embrace Christianity, the doctrines of which are so effectual in consoling the oppressed and the unhappy. (I:318f.)

While the establishment of a printing press by the missionaries has enabled Maori to become skilled readers and writers, a luxury not all Europeans could share, generally, however, the “spirit of intolerance” between Maori of opposing Christian denominations has arisen out of the missionaries being poor role models for the Christian message of tolerance, the result being “that the Roman Catholic converts have more firmly connected themselves with those of their countrymen who continue heathens; and their ancient feuds are now carried on under the garb of religion” (I:370).¹¹⁸ Dieffenbach even gives cases where “some members of a family have become Protestants and the others Papists, merely, as it would seem, from a motive of opposition” (I:412). This is furthered by the Christian teachings of the missionaries, which lead the Maori to understand European social relations as being divided in descending order into “Mihaneres” (missionaries), “Hohios” (soldiers), “Revera” (devils), i.e. “all who are neither missionaries, soldiers, cookies, as the captains of vessels, merchants, or gentlemen, with which latter subdivision they have but lately become acquainted”, and “Cookies” (slaves), i.e. “the artisans, sailors, and so on” who are seen by Maori as “the slaves of the captains, missionaries, or

¹¹⁷ Cf. I:411.

¹¹⁸ Cf. I:407.

gentlemen”, as are Roman Catholic Maori in the eyes of Protestant converts (I:369).¹¹⁹ As if this is not enough, whenever he came across a frosty reception by Christian Maori on his travels, he “always found the cause something connected with missionary, I will not say Christian, observances”, in which the “misunderstanding generally arose from some exaggerated idea of what was required of them by the missionaries, a fault very usual among new and zealous converts” (I:372).¹²⁰

Perhaps the most important contribution Dieffenbach makes to the early study of Maori is the negative impact of European contact on the indigenous population, in which there “is every reason to believe that in a short time the character of the New Zealanders will be entirely changed, and any one who wishes to see what they were formerly must study them in the interior, where they are still little influenced by intercourse with us, which I must repeat, has been little advantageous to them” (II:111). Despite the perceived values and advantages of the influence of civilisation on the ‘savage life’, it does not, in his opinion, always lead to an improved state, which in turn leads him to pose the question as to whose best interests colonisation is really serving:

The naïveté of manners, the childlike expression of joy, innate to people in a state of nature, vanishes before the formalities of our civilization: the hospitable savage is changed into a reckoning and deliberating merchant; the incumbrance of our clothing in a warm climate makes him stiff and helpless;¹²¹ and our complicated food soon renders him unhealthy. Is he the gainer or loser by this change? (I:263)

In truth, he supported colonisation when it was inevitable and introduced the positives of civilisation, but not to the detriment of the indigenous population, leading to such moments when it seems almost better to leave them alone than colonise their country as not all advantages outweigh the disadvantages.

¹¹⁹ Dieffenbach sarcastically remarks: “It is very fortunate for the New Zealanders that a third estate has been established in their country by the introduction of Her Majesty’s Government, of which missionaries, soldiers, and devils are equally beloved children, owing to it equal obedience, and enjoying equal rights” (I:370). However, he later notes that what the Maori “find the most difficulty in understanding are the different grades into which our society is divided, and the poverty and misery under which some of our classes labour, while others seem to lead a life of abundance and idleness” (II:72).

¹²⁰ The main example given is the kind welcome and treatment he receives at a Christian ‘pa’ until the Sunday, where Dieffenbach and company are refused food because the Maori had recently become missionaries, and “had been told it was the greatest sin to kill a pig or to cook on Sunday” (I:326), even though it was requested the day before and “there was no commandment [in the Bible] to refuse a hungry wanderer food on a Sunday” (I:330). Another example is his not being allowed to stay in a church as the present Maori had also lately become missionaries, and it was therefore forbidden (I:372).

¹²¹ An example of this point is Nahiti, the Maori who accompanied Dieffenbach on the *Tory*, who “cut a pitiful figure” despite the “best Bond-street style” (I:61).

The first negative form this takes is moral corruption or at least a deviation from the norm, in which the role of missionaries is yet again heavily, and sometimes unfairly, emphasised:

I am sorry to say that, by intercourse with Europeans, the natives have lost many of their original good qualities, and have acquired others far less amiable. They have become covetous, suspicious, and importunate. They have lost a great part of their hospitality and politeness; and their refusing aid, when the stranger is most in want of it, or exacting exorbitant recompense for it, makes travelling very annoying.¹²² To this must be added, that those who have become Christians refuse, by the ill-judged directions of the missionaries, to furnish food or to perform any kind of work for a traveller who may happen to arrive on a Sunday, which must sometimes take place in a country where one entirely depends upon the natives. Highly as I appreciate the merits of the missionaries, I must say that they have omitted to teach their converts some most important social, and therefore moral duties, which they will only acquire by a more intimate intercourse with civilized Europeans. (II:110f.)

The second outcome is that in the face of continued European progress their change in lifestyle encourages a greater degree of idleness, a popular stereotype for this period, as traditionally they are seen to have done only what was needed and nothing more. Yet they have the potential to further exert themselves, if motivated enough to do so, a task which in itself seems difficult at best, but not impossible:

In their native state they are as laborious as their wants require; but, easily satisfying those, and unable, even by their utmost exertions, to compete with the lowest of Europeans, they get lazy and indolent, prefer begging to working, and pass a great part of their time in showing their acquired fineries and contemplating the restless doings of the colonist. As servants they are very independent, and Europeans will do well, if they want any native *helps*, to treat them with attention, and rather as belonging to the family than as servants.¹²³ They have this feeling of independence very strongly, and it is very creditable to them. (II:111)

Thus, it is not a case of their being naturally lazy, rather the Maori are hard-working by ‘savage’ standards, although at times also by European standards, in accordance with their own non-European lifestyle, which creates a somewhat ambivalent and contradictory image to say the least.

¹²² According to Dieffenbach, the generous image of the Maori preparing food baskets upon hearing of a stranger’s arrival is “rapidly giving way to European modes of hospitality” (I:314), and, as a consequence, has been replaced by that of the extortionate Maori, “as among the colonists they see no transactions but what are based upon an exchange of money and labour”, and “their knowledge of the value of time and money will remain for a long time very imperfect” (I:297). The result of this is that when Dieffenbach finds out his Maori servants have left due to promises of higher wages in Auckland, he states: “I advise any one who intends to travel to New Zealand to avoid the towns, if he wishes to find natives, of whom a great number are required to carry provisions and baggage” (I:289).

¹²³ Cf. I:28, 31, 90, 122, 166, 215, 299, 302, 311, 319.

However, the main issue and stereotype Dieffenbach tackles is that of the so-called ‘Dying Maori’, namely the introduction of diseases and the notion of ‘fatal impact’.¹²⁴ Although early explorers describe the Maori on first contact as being “possessed of that energy of frame and exuberance of health and animal spirits which we may always expect to find where a people are untainted by the evils which seem to be the necessary companions of civilization” (II:13), he is certain that inflammatory and epidemic diseases did exist. Yet the picture seventy years after Cook’s first voyage to New Zealand sees the Maori being more riddled with diseases than ever before, leaving them in a “weakened and corrupted” state through being more prone to disease, specifically European, which is either fatal or else results in chronic disorders from which they never fully recover.¹²⁵ The end result is that the “number of the aborigines in New Zealand rapidly decreases – a strange and melancholy, but undeniable, fact!” (II:14). As Forster was concerned with the effects of moral corruption on the Maori, so too is Dieffenbach concerned with the seemingly fatal culmination of immorality, corruption, disease, ill-fitting modes of living and their improper treatment by European settlers and officials, in which “[n]ot only [...] the bodily frame of the savage lose[s] its health and manly beauty, his mind its instinctive acuteness and primitive resources, but, either by the more violent means of wholesale murder, or gradually, as if acted upon by a slow poison, the races diminish in numerical strength, until they cease to exist as nations or tribes” (II:135).

Although he notes how animals have been affected by man’s introduction of foreign species, Dieffenbach argues that mankind cannot be classed in the same way:

All our researches into his history lead us to conclude that the races are not different in their origin, and forbid the idea of inferiority, and of the necessity of one race being superseded by another. I am of opinion that man, in his desires, passions, and intellectual faculties, is the same, whatever be the colour of his skin; that mankind forms a great whole, in which the different races are the radii from a common centre; and that the differences which we observe are due to peculiar circumstances which have developed certain qualities of body and mind. Man, even in the state of barbarism in which the Polynesian nations remain, is superior in many respects to a large proportion of the population of Europe. That he gives way before the European, and is gradually exterminated, whilst it shows our superiority in some points, shows also our deficiency in the arts of civilization and moral government, which disables us from uniting his savage simplicity and his virtues to what our state of society might offer to improve his condition, and which causes him merely to taste what is bitter in civilized life. But this by no means shows his inferiority: the lion that tears the deer into pieces is not therefore made of nobler material. We, who with “firewater,” with the musket, and disease, war against the unoffending tribes of coloured men, have no right to

¹²⁴ See also Polack, *Manners and Customs*, 184-88.

¹²⁵ Cf. Belich, *Making Peoples*, 173-78; Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, 78-87; *Maori Population*, 90-97, 106-44.

talk of their inferiority, but should rather perceive a deficiency in our own state of civilization. (II:137f.)

Thus, it is not simply a case of native peoples being overwhelmed by the might and supremacy of European knowledge and means, but rather a result of the ambivalence between bloodshed and peaceful ‘amalgamation’ through the overzealous implementation of colonisation, whose “ruling spirit [...] is that of absolute individuality”, as it is “unwilling in its contact with foreign nations to acknowledge any other system than its own, and labours to enforce on all who are under its control its own particular principles” (II:172).

He then proceeds to examine the possible causes for this reduction in numbers, albeit relying on unreliable estimates of pre-contact Maori. To begin with, he isolates the pre-existing conditions that prevented reasonable population growth:

The families of the natives are not large; - early sexual intercourse prevents the natural fruitfulness of the women; - infanticide exists to a certain degree; - the custom of the inhabitants not to cultivate more produce than is necessary to satisfy their common wants, and their being deprived in very rainy seasons even of those scanty means; - their suffering from want during the time of war, since they are usually besieged in their fortifications, which are at a distance from their cultivated fields; - war itself, which, although mere skirmishes, carries off a large number of their strongest men, and has often proved so destructive to a tribe, that it has been broken up entirely, and has disappeared; - the belief in witchcraft (makuta), to which many have fallen victims, both of the bewitched, from the mere force of imagination, and also of the supposed perpetrators of the crime, who have been murdered in revenge by the relations; - the practice of slavery, which in no form, even the mildest, contributes to increase the population [...]. (II:16f.)

However, war, which in itself has redistributed whole districts of Maori, driven others to not cultivate their land out of fear of neighbouring tribes and led to the initial unequal distribution of firearms, or even erroneous customs and habits cannot account for this decline, as wars are now less frequent, and therefore more security exists, especially whilst there is less attention to superstitions, bar in the interior of the country.

For Dieffenbach, the one key ingredient in this decline is the altered lifestyle of the Maori through European means, whether deliberate or otherwise. His evidence for this argument is clearly seen in the tribes in the interior, who live away from European contact in a relatively isolated state and according to their own customs, where “sickness is far less common” (II:22). He puts this down to a number of factors. The first is the introduction of the potato, which is “produced in great quantities with little labour” (II:18), so much so that it became a favourite diet to replace previous healthier food, which took more effort to procure, as slaves and women could simply do these tasks while the men remained idle. The second factor is the replacing of Maori

mats with European blankets which “keep the skin in a continual state of irritation, and harbour vermin and dirt far more than the native mats” (II:18). Third is the preparation of maize which is done incorrectly and unwholesomely by allowing it to decay in water. Fourth is their reluctance to eat the pigs they own in favour of trading them for blankets, muskets, powder and lead. And last but not least are the consequences of the decrease in wars and the relinquishing of dances, songs and games through the efforts of the missionaries, whereby “[i]nstead of being constantly in bodily exercise, they became readers, an occupation very much suited to their natural indolence” (II:19). In other words, “instead of an active, warlike race, they have become eaters of potatoes, neglecting their industrious pursuits in consequence of the facility of procuring food and blankets, and they pass their lives in eating, smoking,¹²⁶ and sleeping” (II:19f.). Thus, he sees the main problem being that the Maori have “adopted *part* of our food and *part* of our clothing, but they have not adopted the *whole*” (II:20),¹²⁷ with chronic catarrhs being the most common affliction “in consequence of the natives exposing themselves to the cold and humid external air, after having been heated in their houses by a temperature of 100° Fahrenheit” (II:22).¹²⁸ However, in saying that, one cannot underestimate the eternal laws of nature, whereby it cannot be totally discounted that “some races of men, like the different kinds of organic beings, plants, and animals, stand in opposition to each other; that is to say, where one race begins to spread and increase, the other, which is perhaps less vigorous and less durable, dies off” (II:14f.), and “if it be the design of Providence that the race should disappear”, it is only morally right to “alleviate that change in the inhabitants of countries of which we have taken possession, and at least to have the satisfaction of knowing that we have done everything in our power to prevent injustice or to lessen the extent of it” (II:15f.).

Despite the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 in order to protect Maori rights, whilst ceding sovereignty to the Queen through becoming British citizens and retaining possession of their lands and fisheries,¹²⁹ injustices and fatal conflicts still had the potential to

¹²⁶ See also I:24, 32, 38, 58.

¹²⁷ He gives the example of the frequent occurrence of a “sickly native” being “soon restored to health after being clothed in a shirt, trousers, and a jacket, instead of a blanket only, which he can, and does, throw off at any moment; and when provided with a strengthening diet, with meat and a glass of wine or beer, - in fact, when he lives altogether as we do, - it is singular how well this mode of treatment generally succeeds, if no acute disease exists” (II:20).

¹²⁸ This view is easily understood when seen in the light of a previous episode, where even in the face of violent and cold gales, which interfered with the expedition’s tents, the Maori from the nearby ‘pa’ “always came quickly to our help, generally rushing in a state of nudity out of their warm houses, and, with mirth and laughter, soon helped the pakea [sic] (stranger) to put up his house” (I:362f.).

¹²⁹ “This was done with a few tribes in the northern parts of the island, and with some individuals in the southern; but circumstances made it afterwards necessary, without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants, to assume at once the

continue or arise if certain issues remained unresolved. In Dieffenbach's view, the majority of Maori welcome Europeans into their country; after all, they constantly provide food for visitors, and increased their cultivations to welcome them for that purpose (II:146), albeit without expecting such large numbers of colonists. Their willingness to sell appears in part due to a "desire of acquiring civilization, protection, and instruction from a European colony" (I:92),¹³⁰ a wish which is naturally not shared by all. They are aware of their own rights, and as a consequence have not sold all of their land as many claim, but have in general kept the best areas for cultivation. However, when this is not the case, various miscommunications have resulted, in which the blame should rest firmly on the European purchasers as they readily assumed that the Maori would not only understand but also have the same meaning for the European conception of 'ownership':

The deeds of purchase have almost always been written in a foreign language and in a vague form, and the purchases were often conducted without a proper interpreter being present. Where the natives had made no particular reserve for themselves, the land was sold by them with the implied understanding that they should continue to cultivate the ground which they and their forefathers had occupied from time immemorial; it never entered into their minds that they could be compelled to leave it and to retire to the mountains. (II:143)

Thus, the Maori granted permission for Europeans to use their land, unaware in many cases that it would pass through many hands since the first buyer, "who perhaps bought it for a hundred pipes", without the thought of actually occupying it: "They wanted Europeans amongst them; and it was beyond their comprehension that one man should buy for another, who lived 15,000 miles off, a million of acres, and that this latter should never come to the country, or bestow upon the sellers those benefits which they justly expected" (II:144).

The New Zealand Company plan of reserving a tenth, and later an eleventh, of the sections sold to European colonists for the Maori may have appeared sound in theory, but as Dieffenbach notes, practice was another matter:

This plan, as regards the town allotments, was certainly very judicious and expedient, as the best means to procure a sufficient fund to be applied to the expenses of protecting and civilizing the natives. It was, however, an error to believe that they would at once occupy their town allotments,

sovereignty over the three islands. This was a mere formal step to prevent other nations, or individuals, or bodies, from acquiring in any way sovereign rights. It should not imply any duties to be performed by the natives, nor any sacrifices to be made by them, before they had become fully acquainted with the duties of a citizen, and were able to participate in the benefits of the new organization" (II:142). (For further information, see Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*. 2nd Ed. Wellington: Williams Books, 1995; Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*. 2nd Ed. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995.)

¹³⁰ Cf. II:39.

and would live in one community with the Europeans. It may be that single individuals will do so, but it will never be the case with the majority. (II:145)

In other words, he does not see the main problem as the amount of land allocated for the reserves, although for him “ten acres of arable land for *each* individual of the tribe, man, woman, or child, chief or slave, is ample” (II:149),¹³¹ rather that the Maori will not occupy it, as they favour communal living in places that are “generally not very available to Europeans”:

What an injustice would be committed if we were to take from them the land which they occupy, and which they have cleared, and were to restrict them to that portion which has fallen to them by a lottery in London, and thus perhaps to separate a tribe from the spot where they were born, where they have hitherto dwelt, and where they have buried their kindred! (II:147f.)

In this way, Dieffenbach observes a strong and noble attachment to their own land, more so than is the case with the “imported race of shopkeepers, who only strive to dissolve the ties which should bind them to the land of their birth, and who pride themselves on their own ignorance regarding everything that belongs to the original inhabitants” (II:175).¹³² If proper measures are implemented, the two objects of colonisation, “that of opening new markets for British manufactures” and “converting in the course of a few years an island of savage tribes into an integral portion of Great Britain, emulous to resemble its parent land in wealth, happiness, strength, knowledge, civilization, and Christian virtues” (II:176), could easily be achieved in the future. However, if land squabbles and tensions increase, interracial conflict is only a matter of time:

There are already reasons for fearing an approaching conflict between the natives and the colonists, if the latter continue to be placed upon land belonging to the former, and for the peaceful and lawful acquisition of which no attempt even has been made. Up to the present time the energies of the New Zealanders to defend their rights have not been roused, and they have merely protested against the injustice; but, if left unprotected, the multitudes of Europeans pouring into their country will not intimidate them – they will rather fill them with suspicion, stimulate them to exertion, and to convert them into open foes. And let not such an enemy be despised: the New Zealander is no coward; he can live in his impenetrable forests, where no European can follow him; he can cut off all chance of colonization, especially if necessity teaches the tribes to forget their own dissensions and to be strong by union. (II:139)

¹³¹ However, he notes that for missionaries “two hundred acres for each child was thought to be a liberal allowance”, in which case, “if that quantity is not thought sufficient for the children of a missionary, who have no claims to the land, I should assert that it is not sufficient for a native, there being no reasonable ground for making a difference between them” (II:149).

¹³² See II:173-76.

Thus, the very astute Dieffenbach already foresees the beginnings of the New Zealand Wars and the advent of the Maori King Movement, as well as their tactics in defending their territories.¹³³

As can be seen, the welfare of the Maori concerned him greatly, so much so that he devotes an entire section to it in the second volume of his work entitled ‘How to Legislate for the Natives of New Zealand?’ (II:135-76). His liberal views, in this instance, are founded on the belief that the Maori deserve equal attention and equal treatment, as well as the same basic human rights and, over time, individual liberties as European colonists.¹³⁴ In this way, he believes this so-called ‘fatal impact’ can be averted, or at least limited in effect, through legislating for the indigenous population. This consists, first of all, in providing Maori with legal titles for the ownership of their land, and allowing them to sort out the reserved land amongst themselves through administering their own justice. This could be achieved by presenting men of authority in the tribe with the responsibility of civil functionaries, such as a magistrate or constable, and constructing a European-style house for them, whilst keeping in mind the gradual introduction of European law through enacting laws in their own language. Importantly, the Maori, he argues, should be left to their own devices, to an extent, in order to become “landed proprietors or peasants”,

[as] he is convinced that what he grows, and the manner in which he grows it, are the fittest for him, and the best adapted to his means, when compared with what he sees the Europeans doing, with all their vaunted intellect, as they have not the advantage of knowing, as he does, the nature of the soil and the climate of the country: and thus he will in time adopt what is desirable in his circumstances; he will by degrees be taught the value of civilization, and be able to appreciate its manifold advantages, without entailing on himself its miseries only. (II:153)

Of equal importance is persuading tribes against hostilities, and resolving land disputes by not only providing each member of the tribe with ten acres of arable land, but also requiring potential purchases of surplus land to go through the Government by means of payment in the form of

¹³³ See next chapter.

¹³⁴ Fittingly, Ferdinand Dieffenbach states that a Maori elegy was made in Ernst’s honour upon hearing of his death: “Des Himmels Sterne sind erbleichend und zerstreut. / Es scheinen nimmermehr Tutahi und Rehua, / Der Stern, der über dir, o Fremdling, wachte, / Fiel auf das bange Land und löschte aus für uns. / Traurig steht im Süden Tangarino [Tongariro] / Und mit dem Federbusch Arawa’s spielt die Welle, / Doch deiner Größe Ruhm ist wie des Donners Stimme / Und eingegraben steht am Firmament dein Name” (cited in: F. Dieffenbach, “Erforscher Neu-Seelands”, 87). However, this is merely a partial transcription of a translation by Julius von Haast of Iwikau Te Heuheu’s lament for his dead brother entitled “Ko te tangi mo te Heuheu i horoa e te whenua”, which appeared in Ferdinand von Hochstetter’s *Neu-Seeland* (1863), with minor adjustments, such as substituting “Mangaroa” with “Fremdling”. (See Sir George Grey, *Ko nga moteatea, me nga hakirara o nga Maori (Poems, Traditions, and Chaunts of the Maories)* [1853]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 2002, 28f.; Charles Oliver B. Davis, *Maori Momentos; being a series of addresses, presented by the native people, to his excellency Sir George Grey ... with introductory remarks and explanatory notes, to which is added a small collections of laments, &c.* Auckland: Williamson and Wilson, 1855, 82f.)

livestock and agricultural equipment, as opposed to the likes of guns, blankets and tobacco which lose value. By such means the property of European children from mixed marriages should also be secured. Furthermore, in order to more easily contain the after-effects of colonisation, as the colony's progress ultimately depends upon their services, the Maori workforce, he argues, should be provided with equal pay, and all Maori able to enter the navy and army. He also recommends providing them with proper medical aid, in contrast to the "unprofessional system of 'dispensing, bleeding, and blistering'" of the missionaries whose "assistance is always refused if there is anything sexual in the disease" (II:160f.), and establishing printing presses to produce books in their native language. In the end, however, his arguments, it seems, went unnoticed.

There is no question censorship played an important part in this work, whether actual censorship or fear of being censored, leading to direct and explicit links with the questionable practices of the New Zealand Company not being made, merely generalised statements on the nature of land transactions, or else brushed aside altogether. An article entitled "Neuseeland und die Colonisation", which appeared in Cotta's widely read *Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1846, sheds some light on this shadow of censorship. A somewhat frustrated Dieffenbach, being unable to stay on and continue his explorations in New Zealand, is now free to speak his mind on the subject of the New Zealand Company and its dealings with the Maori and prospective colonists,¹³⁵ leading to a very negative picture of the immediate future of the colony:

Schiff auf Schiff folgte und trug Auswanderer von allen Classen nach dem neuen fast noch unbekanntem Lande; der Geist der einst die ersten englischen Colonisten über das Weltmeer nach dem neuen Continent geführt, schien wieder erwacht zu seyn, und vor der begeisterten Phantasie der Abenteurer stand das Bild eines neuen Britanniens, der Beherrscherin des unermeßlichen südlichen Oceans. Wie verändert sind die Verhältnisse jetzt! wie trüb die Aussichten derer die alle ihre Mittel auf diese eine Karte gesetzt hatten! Die Compagnie hat sechshunderttausend Pfund Sterling verausgabt, wovon die Hälfte für in England verkauft Land eingenommen wurde, die andere Hälfte aus den Einzahlungen der Actionnäre bestand; für diese ungeheure Summe kann sie keinen Rechtstitel zu einem einzigen Acker des von ihr verkauften Landes vorzeigen; von den 15,000 Menschen die auf ihre Kosten nach Neuseeland gebracht wurden, haben viele sich in die benachbarten australischen Colonien verloren, viele sind nach England zurückgekehrt, der Rest lebt in ewiger Furcht vor den Angriffen der Eingebornen, überall ist Verwirrung und Elend.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Cf. Burns, *Fatal Success*, 271-300.

¹³⁶ Ernst Dieffenbach, "Neuseeland und die Colonisation", in: AZ 191 10 July (1846): 1523.

In Dieffenbach's view, the poor location of its capital lies first and foremost at the heart of the Company's demise, as, he suggests, setting up a colony in an uninhabited part of the South Island would have been more advantageous:

Mit allen Vortheilen die das Land sonst darbieten mochte in Bezug auf sein dem englischen so ähnliches gesundes Klima, und bei seiner das Auge leicht bestechenden halb tropischen Vegetation, war es wirklich für lange Zeit nicht sehr versprechend; in einem solchen Lande mußte eine Colonisationsgesellschaft wie die Compagnie wenigstens eine ausgedehnte Wahl haben, mußte mit dem erlangten Lande verfahren können wie sie wollte. Hier aber wählte sie den unzugänglichsten Theil an der äußersten Südwestspitze zur Gründung ihrer Hauptstadt (Wellington) – einem Ort, wo in keinem Fall die Urbarmachung der umgebenden Gebirge die Kosten decken konnte, nachdem noch obendrein ein Theil der durch keinen Vertrag gebundenen Arbeiter sich nach Sidney, Vandiemensland, oder in die zu gleicher Zeit im Norden der Insel gegründeten Niederlassungen der Regierung verloren hatte. Viel war in einem so taktlos gewählten Platz in keinem Fall zu erwarten; indessen hätten sich diese Hindernisse mit der Zeit überwinden lassen, wenn sich die Compagnie in einer Reihe von Agriculturcolonien nach Westen und nach dem vielversprechenden District am Fuße des Berges Egmont hätte ausdehnen, ihre Ländereien nach Gutdünken hätte verwalten und zu gleicher Zeit die Eingebornen durch milde Behandlung neben einer überwiegenden Stärke-Entwicklung hätte in Zaum halten können.¹³⁷

He gives two further factors which have undermined the authority and success of the Company, namely the missionaries, who like a “Wolf im Schafspelz” have become “stattliche Eigenthümer des besten Landes in Neuseeland”,¹³⁸ and the Government, whose first Governor chose to found his own capital in Auckland in favour of being based in Wellington, which “gleich ihnen selbst die eigenen Interessen unter dem Vorwand der Humanität und des den Eingebornen zu gewährenden Schutzes vertheidigen konnte”.¹³⁹ Ironically, it is the Government who are now involved in a “Vertilgungskrieg” with the Maori, the latter of whom, he notes, will not simply lay down their arms:

Diese letzteren haben durch ihre gegen Engländer erfochtenen Siege einen Begriff von ihrer Stärke erhalten, der nicht leicht wieder weichen wird; der Heiligenschein der Macht des Europäers ist verschwunden, nachdem sich die englischen Soldaten mit großem Verlust schimpflich vor einem ihrer Verhaue zurückziehen mußten. Wenn sie auch durch eine Niederlage wieder von ihrer Täuschung zurückkommen, so läßt sich doch erwarten daß sie immer unruhige Nachbarn bleiben und eine methodische Colonisation von Seite der Regierung sowohl wie der Compagnie ganz verhindern werden. Dessen ungeachtet sind sie klug genug einer sporadischen Colonisation nichts in den Weg zu legen; sie wissen sehr wohl daß sie eine Menge von Bedürfnissen nur beseitigen können, wenn sie Europäer unter sich haben; außerdem sind viele der letztern durch Heirath mit den Töchtern des Landes an sie geknüpft, und es ist durchaus nicht zu befürchten daß das stolze und intelligente Volk der Neuseeländer wieder in den Zustand der Barbarei zurückfällt. Die Regierung wird indessen wohl Auckland behaupten und einen Gouverneur dort lassen müssen,

¹³⁷ Ibid., 1523f.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 1524.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 1524.

dem hinreichende Mittel zu Gebot stehen die Souveränitätsrechte und die Gerichtsbarkeit über die im Lande zurückbleibenden Europäer auszuüben, und die Eingebornen zu verhindern sich gegenseitig zu bekriegen, sie aber im übrigen mehr als Förderirte zu betrachten, und der Zeit zu überlassen eine Amalgamation der Racen herbeizuführen.¹⁴⁰

In the end, it is the role of the Company and the treatment of the Maori, rather than New Zealand itself, which receives the harshest criticism that in turn tarnishes the overall image of the country. It is certain that he still believed that with the right structures in place, New Zealand could reach the heights that he envisaged.

Conclusion

Half a century after Georg Forster proclaimed New Zealand as the future “Königinn der südlichen Welt”, New Zealand’s first colony had been founded, as had a broad set of propaganda-based stereotypes and images which drew on traditional Arcadian values and popular racial theories. According to Company propaganda, New Zealand was an antipodean British paradise in the South Pacific with a healthy climate, fertile vegetation, rich trading prospects, an abundance of unoccupied (and therefore empty) land, and an indigenous people who were the most European-like of savages (and therefore also perfect candidates for a blending of races), desired colonisation and British protection, and made reliable servants. At this important moment in New Zealand history, Ernst Dieffenbach desired to convey to the scholar and intending colonist a more objective stance than the views of certain British writers whose early literature often had hidden agendas, even though his views had been formed and influenced to some extent by the latter or at least in a wider sense by similar European influences. In doing so, Dieffenbach modernised the impartial German perspective laid down by Forster and his German contemporaries. Although he does not dispute every aspect of the Company’s image, that is not an admission of his simply regurgitating the same content in order to cater to the British market, as the above propaganda incorporated various popular European and ‘Anglophile’ beliefs, including ‘environmental determinism’ and the suitability of Anglo-Saxon Europeans to a temperate climate, as well as empty humanitarian promises of racial ‘amalgamation’. Dieffenbach instead set out to give ‘unvarnished descriptions’ of New Zealand and its population, and went out of his way to dispel any exaggerations and inaccuracies concerning the potential of the colony in the 1840s and beyond in order to give more balanced and moderate observations that were in the best interests

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 1524.

of the colony, whilst being conscious of the hand of censorship from his former employers who had invented most of the rhetoric in the first place. For him, New Zealand did not therefore face immediate success, but a slow and sure rise when founded on agriculture. In the case of *Travels in New Zealand*, he directed many of his comments and criticisms as much at the British public and future colonists as at those in charge and already resident in the colony. While he generally only hinted or omitted the role of the New Zealand Company until the publication of his *Allgemeine Zeitung* article, he, nevertheless, took issue over the merits of bringing over the Company's preferred absentee investors and capitalists instead of an industrious middle class and skilled agricultural labourers, who would in reality form the basis of the immigrant vision of the 'worker's paradise' which Friedrich Krull and others observed several decades later, and disputed the naive allocation of land for the Maori reserve scheme. In contrast, he had no such reservations over criticising the erroneous activities of the Government, colonists, missionaries and land speculators in an effort to educate and inform them of a better course of action.

A secondary aim of his work, which in the end takes centre stage as his most memorable contribution, was to correct the colonist's view of the Maori. Dieffenbach's perception of the Maori has in this case been influenced by Romanticism, or more specifically the 'Romantic Savage', which involved the blending of 'noble' and 'barbaric' qualities to create a more harmonious and balanced picture of relative equality between the sexes and positive freedom in childrearing than Forster provided. The Maori now become representatives of an ancient Polynesian Empire, and exhibit the Greco-Romanesque qualities of a symmetrical, well-proportioned and European-like physique, which is adaptable to the colder, harsher climate of New Zealand (when compared to the warmer tropics), making them, in the process, similar to the British constitution. His comparisons with European cultures do not end there, as the superstitious beliefs of the Polynesians also draw the first parallel between Maori and the Germanic tribes. Due to his longer stay of several years, his more personal contact with the Maori and colonial enterprises, as well as the benefit of having other modern literary precedents on pre-colonial New Zealand and the Maori to work with, Dieffenbach was naturally able to surpass Forster's ethnological knowledge, whilst retaining much of his ambivalence and original philosophical flavour. This again culminates in a dual portrayal of Maori as affectionate, good-natured, chivalrous and hospitable, with equal, if not superior, agricultural and architectural prowess to most colonists, while at the same time quick to anger and revengeful. However, he continues Forster's characteristic philosophical mentality through attributing the cause and severity of

Maori actions in battle to their beliefs and customs, whereas no excuse exists for Europeans. The issue of cannibalism has likewise been modified to include a religious angle, as he introduces the concept of 'tapu', and rectifies Forster's ignorance of Maori religion.

Furthermore, Dieffenbach adds a new and important theme to the German perception of the Maori, namely the influence of 'fatal impact' theory. While he questioned the applicability of this belief, he, nevertheless, identified various negative influences that had started to take their toll in that direction. He also harboured reservations over the influence of civilisation and the way in which colonisation had been implemented in the country, which, it seems, had additionally brought Maori into contact with the vices of disease, corruption, materialism and idleness (although he gives various instances of hardworking Maori), and made them at times less trusting and friendly towards foreigners. The actions of missionaries in their capacity as educators were especially singled out as a cause of divisions among Maori and excessive Christian behaviour which saw them refuse hospitality to travellers on Sundays. At the heart of their decline was their altered lifestyle which had left them somewhere in between Maori and European culture, without being wholly one or the other. As he recognised that colonisation was inevitable, he characteristically viewed the Maori with deep-felt empathy, and went to great lengths to outline the current problems facing Maori and what should be done to prevent, if not limit, the causes of their reported demise, as opposed to other commentators who at most bemoaned the loss, viewed it as unpreventable and offered no concrete solutions. Dieffenbach argued that it was the moral obligation of every European resident to do all in one's power to prevent their disappearance, and even if it was part of Providence's grand design, there was no excuse for simple inaction or hastening this decline through maltreatment at the hands of settlers and the Government. The Maori deserved instead their respect and to be viewed with greater equality through careful legislation in order to guarantee their welfare, or at least contain their apparent demise. If this did not happen and land quarrels persisted, he feared that interracial violence could put the future of the colony in jeopardy.

While critics often place greater attention on Hochstetter's later monograph, Dieffenbach's role should not be forgotten, as it was he who laid the foundations for the next generation of German-speaking scholars, as did Forster before him, particularly in his pro-Maori standpoint, his continued interest in their rights as a people, the causes of Maori decay and the British treatment of Maori. Importantly, Dieffenbach also established the German naturalist's viewpoint on the effects of colonisation on New Zealand's natural landscape, which would prove

popular among later arrivals in the country, through exhibiting a conservationist mentality which both questioned the unjust deforestation committed by the erroneous actions of colonists and lamented the extinction of local flora and fauna at the hands of European species, the latter of which was in turn reflected in his desire to protect the Maori from their own extermination. It is this real sense of compassion and humanitarianism resulting from his enlightened liberal approach respecting Maori culture and the environment that sets his work apart from other early nineteenth-century publications on New Zealand.

CHAPTER FOUR: Friedrich August Krull (1836-1914)

German Immigration and the ‘New Zealand Wars’

Even though the New Zealand Company image was directed specifically towards the British market, German immigrants mostly from North Germany, including Prussia, Mecklenburg, Hanover, Hamburg, Holstein, Pomerania, Posen, West Prussia and Bremen, as well as from the Rheinland, Bavaria and other German-speaking regions such as Austria, Switzerland and Bohemia, were also considered valuable through their supposed inherent reliability, industriousness and soberness.¹ The main immigration periods took place in 1842-45, 1861-67 during the height of the ‘goldrush’ and chain migration, and peaked between 1872-86 through Sir Julius Vogel’s ‘assisted immigrants’ and public works scheme, which sought potential immigrants from not only Great Britain, but also Northern Europe, specifically Germany and Scandinavia, in order to build roads and railways with the aim of opening up the land for agricultural and farming settlements which had previously been inaccessible bush.² Possible reasons for their emigration include religious or political persecution, and especially material and economic factors, such as poverty, the division of labour and forced demographic changes resulting from rural overpopulation and the transformation from a rural agricultural economy to a more urban and industrialised one. As far as the Company is concerned, several efforts were made during their tenure to secure German settlers. After the failed plans for a German colony on

¹ “In time, German settlers were regarded almost without exception by their new countrymen as loyal, law-abiding citizens; and they were also praised for their hard work and their resourcefulness, but above all for their quiet and sober habits. For these reasons, Germans, and in particular those who came from rural areas, were regarded by the New Zealand authorities as being particularly suitable for the difficult life in a young colony” (James Braund, “Forgotten Germans, Ugly Germans, Unknown Germans: Some Observations about New Zealanders’ Image of Germany and the Germans”, in: *North and South: Proceedings from the First New Zealand-Scandinavian Conference on Ethnicity and Migration. The University of Auckland, October 29-31, 1997*. Ed. Ivo Holmqvist. Västerås: Mälardalen University, 1999, 135f.). The *New Zealand Journal* also records the following: “We have a high opinion of German emigrants; they are sober, industrious, and Christian men, and we gladly hail their introduction among our own countrymen as likely to lead to the happiest results. There is none of that jealousy in an Englishman towards a German, which he considers, somewhat absurdly, that it is necessary to his reputation for John Bullism; that he should show to a Frenchman or a Spaniard, both of whom he considers to be his natural enemies, and we must confess, not without good reason. But to a German he holds out the right hand of fellowship as readily as he would to a fellow countryman. We belong to a common race; we are, despite our English pride of nationality, governed by German monarchs; so that the fellow-feeling between Germans and Englishmen is easily accounted for, and sorry should we be were it otherwise, for the German is in all his social relations as estimable a character as any among our own nation” (“German Emigration to New Zealand”, in: *NZJ* 5:117 2 June (1844): 494).

² See, for example, James N. Bade, “Deutschsprachige Siedler in Neuseeland: Einleitung”, in: *Welt für sich*, 48-51; Marian Minson, “Tendenzen in der Immigration Deutscher nach Neuseeland”, in: *ibid.*, 53-59; David McGill, *The Other New Zealanders*. Wellington: Rendel, 1982, 45-60; P. L. Berry, *Germans in New Zealand: 1840-1870*. MA Thesis. University of Canterbury, 1964.

the Chatham Islands, a group of islands at the time beyond the eastern boundary of New Zealand, between late 1839 and 1842 with the co-operation of the German Colonisation Company in Hamburg, two more attempts at German immigration were made in 1843 and 1844 in the Nelson region at the top of the South Island, one disastrous (St. Paulidorf) and one successful (Ranzau), the former being the work of John Nicholas Beit, the German immigration agent for the New Zealand Company, while the latter was financed by Count Kuno zu Rantzau-Breitenburg.³ Another, albeit failed, attempt occurred in 1863 when the Government proposed to introduce German immigrants as ‘military settlers’ in Taranaki with the aid of the Hamburg merchant firm J. C. Godeffroy & Son and the respected Ranzau leader Johann Friederich August (Fedor) Kelling as government agent.⁴ The scheme involved bringing out some 500 married couples between the ages of twenty and forty years with up to three children each, i.e. between 1000 and 2500 immigrants in total.⁵ Further German-speaking settlements and communities in New Zealand between 1843 and 1914 were established in the following areas: Northland (Houhora, Awanui), Auckland (Puhoi, Pukekohe), Waikato (Ohaupo), Taranaki (Inglewood, Midhirst, Stratford, Eltham, Kaimiro, Ratapiko, Tarata), Hawke’s Bay (Norsewood, Napier, Takapau, Makaretu), Wellington-Rangitikei (Marton, Rongotea, Halcombe, Carterton), Nelson (Sarau, Rosenthal,

³ See, for example, John Nicholas Beit, *Auswanderungen und Colonisation: mit besonderem Hinblick auf die von der Deutschen Colonisations-Gesellschaft beabsichtigte Begründung ihrer ersten Colonie auf den Chatham-Inseln, nebst der neuesten Charte derselben und Ansicht der Waitangui-Bay, mit einem Anhang, enthaltend die Entwicklung des Wakefieldschen Systems, die Bilancen der Neuseeland-Compagnie und ein Schema der nöthigen Diäten für Auswanderer*. Hamburg: Perthes-Besser & Mauke, 1842; Gerda Eichbaum, “Deutsche Siedlung in Neuseeland: Ein Hamburger Colonisationsversuch im 19. Jahrhundert”, in: *Geschichtliche Landeskunde und Universalgeschichte: Festgabe für Hermann Aubin zum 23. Dezember 1950*. Hamburg: Wihug, 1950, 259-69; Burns, *Fatal Success*, 243-45; Rhys Richards, “Pläne für eine deutsche Kolonie auf den Chatham-Inseln”, in: *Welt für sich*, 60-68; James N. Bade, “Die deutschen Siedlungen im Gebiet um Nelson”, in: *ibid.*, 69-78; Ruth M. Allan, *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement*. With chapters by Nancy M. Taylor and Pamela Cocks; edited with an Introduction by J. C. Beaglehole. Reed: Wellington; Auckland; Sydney, 1965, 309-52; June E. Neale, *Pioneer Passengers: To Nelson by Sailing Ship – March 1842 – June 1843*. Nelson: Anchor Press, 1982, 131-42, 175-77; Jenny Briars and Jenny Leith, *The Road to Sarau: From Germany to Upper Moutere*. Nelson: Briars and Leith, 1993; George McMurtry, *A Versatile Community: The History of the Settlers of Central Moutere*. Nelson: McMurtry, 1992; George McMurtry, *The Extended Community: Part II of the History of Upper Moutere*. Nelson: McMurtry, 2000; James N. Bade, “Deutsche Einwanderung nach Neuseeland im 19. Jahrhundert”, in: Bade et al., *Von Mecklenburg nach Neuseeland: Auswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert*. Neubrandenburg: Neubrandenburg Regionalmuseum, 2002, 18-28; Peter Starsy, “We all are Germans here... Mecklenburger aus dem Klützer Winkel auf dem Weg nach Neuseeland 1844: Eine Spurensuche”, in: *ibid.*, 30-60; “Reisenachrichten der Klützer Auswanderer”, in: *ibid.*, 66-69; Berry, *Germans in New Zealand*, 12-44; “Aus den kolonialleben Neuseelands. Die deutschen Ansiedler in Nelson und ihre Schicksale”, in: *Globus* 4:3 (1863): 93-95.

⁴ See Max D. Lash, “Kelling, Carl Friederich Christian 1818 – 1898: Emigration agent, farmer, community leader; Kelling, Johann Friederich August 1820 – 1909: Emigration agent, farmer, community leader”, in: *DNZB* 1, 221f.

⁵ See James Braund, “The Involvement of German Settlers in the New Zealand Wars”, in: *Writing Europe’s Pasts: Proceedings of the Thirteenth Biennial Conference of the Australasian Association for European History (Auckland, New Zealand, July 2001)*. Eds. Christian Leitz and Joseph Zizek. Unley: Australian Humanities Press, 2003, 15-30; James Braund, “The New Zealand Government’s Plans to Introduce German Immigrants as Military Settlers in the Early 1860s”, in: *North and South*, 77-90.

Neudorf, Hanover, Schönbach), Westland (Jackson's Bay, Smoothwater Valley, Hokitika), Canterbury (Germantown, Waimate, Hanover Valley, Marshlands, Oxford, German Bay), Otago (Waihola, Allanton, German Hill), and Southland (Gore, Germantown).⁶

Set within the backdrop of this immigration was the emergence of what is known today as the 'New Zealand Wars'.⁷ In the beginning it was not much of a concern to European settlers if Maori tribes fought amongst themselves, but it was another matter when it affected the colonists' own well-being and interests. The first signs of approaching interracial conflict arose with the confrontation at Wairau on 17 June 1843 between some forty-nine armed Nelson settlers and the local Maori led by Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata of the Ngati Toa in order to settle the claim surrounding the disputed land which the Europeans incorrectly assumed rights to. Among the dead were the Police Magistrate Henry Augustus Thompson and Arthur Wakefield, an outcome which left a bitter taste in the mouths of many settlers, especially when no systematic retaliation was made by the Government.⁸ The major conflicts that followed between 1845 and 1872 consisted of the Northern War (1845-46) in the Bay of Islands led by the Ngapuhi chiefs Hone Heke and Kawiti,⁹ the Taranaki War (1860-61) to the north and south of New Plymouth which involved both the southern Taranaki tribes and the King Movement, a movement which in itself

⁶ For further information, see Gertraut Maria Stoffel, "Die Beziehungen zwischen Österreich und Neuseeland im neunzehnten Jahrhundert", in: *Welt für sich*, 32-46; Rolf Panny, "Deutsche Siedlungen im Rangitikei-Gebiet", in: *ibid.*, 79-83; James N. Bade, "Subventionierte Einwanderer aus dem Deutschen Reich, die sich in der südlichen Hälfte der Nordinsel niederließen", in: *ibid.*, 84-91; Judith Williams, "Die böhmische Siedlung in Puhoi", in: *ibid.*, 92-102; Pauline Morris, "Deutsche Siedlungen in Otago und Southland", in: *ibid.*, 103-13; James N. Bade, "Deutsche Siedlungen in Canterbury und Westland", in: *ibid.*, 114-22; Hans-Peter Stoffel, "Schweizer Siedler in Neuseeland", in: *ibid.*, 123-36; James N. Bade, "What Happened to the Germans? Ethnicity Problems among Assisted Immigrants from the German Empire who Settled in the Lower North Island in the 1870s", in: *North and South*, 69-76; Wilfried Heller (in collaboration with James Braund), *The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand – An Ethnic Group?* Auckland: Research Centre for Germanic Connections with New Zealand and the Pacific, University of Auckland, 2005; Carsten Felgentreff, *Egerländer in Neuseeland: zur Entwicklung einer Einwandererkolonie (1863-1989)*. Göttingen: Selbstverlag Abteilung Kultur- und Sozialgeographie, Geographisches Institut der Universität Göttingen, 1989.

⁷ See, for example, Edmund Bohan, *Climates of War: New Zealand in Conflict, 1859-69*. Christchurch: Hazard Press, 2005; Peter Maxwell, *Frontier: The Battle for the North Island of New Zealand 1860-1872*. Auckland: Celebrity Books for Waitekauri Publishing, 2000; James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*. 2nd Ed. Auckland: Penguin, 1998; Neil Finlay, *Sacred Soil: Images and Stories of the New Zealand Wars*. Auckland: Random House, 1998; Ryan and Parham, *Colonial NZ Wars*; Keith Sinclair, *The Origins of the Maori Wars*. 2nd Ed. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1961; James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*. 2 vols. Reprinted with amendments. Wellington: Hasselberg, 1983.

⁸ See Patricia Burns, *Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective*. Wellington: Reed, 1980, esp. 232-49; Steven Oliver, "Te Rauparaha ? – 1849: Ngati Toa leader", in: *DNZB* 1, 504-7; Angela Ballara, "Te Rangihaeata ? – 1855: Ngati Toa leader, warrior", in: *ibid.*, 488-91; J. L. Andrews. *The Wairau Massacre: Mindsets of the 1840s*. Blenheim: Author, 1999; Temple, *Sort of Conscience*, 311-22, 351-62; Allan, *Nelson*, 241-308.

⁹ See Belich, *NZ Wars*, 29-70; Ryan and Parham, *Colonial NZ Wars*, 15-28; Paul Moon, *Hone Heke: Nga Puhi Warrior*. Auckland: Ling, 2001; Freda Rankin Kawharu, "Heke Pokai, Hone Wiremu ? – 1850: Nga Puhi leader, war leader", in: *DNZB* 1, 184-87; Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, "Kawiti, Te Ruki ? – 1854: Nga Puhi leader, warrior", in: *ibid.*, 219-21.

spread beyond its borders into neighbouring tribal regions right through the North Island and encompassed many sympathisers and neutrals,¹⁰ the Waikato War (1863-64) which saw the invasion of Kingite territory in the Waikato in order to break the backbone of ‘Maori independence’, followed by further conflict in Tauranga,¹¹ and the skirmishes of Riwaha Titokowaru in South Taranaki and Wanganui and Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki in the Bay of Plenty, Poverty Bay, Taupo, East Cape and the northern Hawke’s Bay (1868-72).¹² With this in mind, it is natural to assume during the various wars or skirmishes throughout the predominantly northern parts of the country that the traditional preconceptions of Europeans either gave way to more backward ideas of the Maori or else reinforced them.¹³

This therefore brings us to the issue regarding the impressions of non-British European immigrants to the colony during a period which was at times rife with conflict and at other times balanced with relative peace. A number of reports and articles on the Maori and the wars appeared throughout the 1860s in such popular German publications as *Das Ausland* and *Globus*, known for their interest in foreign nations, especially in the fields of current affairs, general science, anthropology and ethnography, in which the authors characteristically side with the Maori and emphasise their barbaric treatment at the hands of the British. The language used to describe this conflict is often centred around a “Rassenkampf” or “Vernichtungskrieg” against the brave and courageous Maori, which will only lead to accelerating the process of their eventual “Ausrottung” as they are continually being replaced by the increasing number of European immigrants flooding into the country.¹⁴ For most German-speaking immigrants and explorers this

¹⁰ Belich, *NZ Wars*, 73-116; Maxwell, *Frontier*, 23-59.

¹¹ Belich, *NZ Wars*, 119-200; Maxwell, *Frontier*, 60-105.

¹² See Belich, *NZ Wars*, 203-88; Maxwell, *Frontier*, 154-368; James Belich, *I Shall Not Die: Titokowaru’s War, New Zealand, 1868-9*. Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, 1989; James Belich, “Titokowaru, Riwaha ? – 1888: Ngati Ruanui leader, military leader, prophet, peacemaker”, in: *DNZB* 1, 541-45; Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*. Auckland: Auckland University Press; Bridget Williams Books, 1995; Judith Binney, “Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki ? – 1893: Rongowhakaata leader, military leader, prophet, religious founder” in: *DNZB* 1, 462-66.

¹³ See Belich, *NZ Wars*, 323-30.

¹⁴ See, for example, “Der neue Aufstand der Maori auf Neu-Seeland”, in: *Ausland* 33:31 29 July (1860): 743f.; “Der neuseeländische Krieg”, in: *Ausland* 34:3 13 Jan (1861): 61-63; “Der Maorikrieg auf Neu-Seeland”, in: *Ausland* 34:10 3 March (1861): 239f.; “Barbarei der Engländer auf Neuseeland”, in: *Globus* 5:3 (1864): 95; “Die Unruhen auf Neuseeland und deren Veranlassung”, in: *Globus* 5:7 (1864): 215-17; “Die neue Pai Marire-Religion der Maoris auf Neuseeland”, in: *Ausland* 38:35 2 Sept (1865): 839; “Die Maoris und die Engländer auf Neuseeland”, in: *Globus* 9:1 (1866): 1-9; “Der Vernichtungskrieg gegen die Eingeborenen auf Neuseeland”, in: *Globus* 14:9 (1868): 283f.; “Neuseeländische Maoris als Mitglieder des Colonialparlamentes”, in: *Globus* 21:7 (1872): 111f. Also of interest is the 1869 work by Gustav Droege, the founder and editor of the short-lived “Neuseeländische Zeitung”, who wanted to produce an account of the wars that was not based on the predominantly biased English sources that appeared in many German newspapers, but on his own knowledge and personal experience from working in literary and

same sense of sympathising with the Maori viewpoint is apparent, as is the case with the then little-known German immigrant Friedrich Krull, who set out on his own series of excursions on either side of the wars of the early 1860s and produced a series of letters which offer a welcome contribution to nineteenth-century German literature on New Zealand.

Friedrich Krull and his “Briefe aus Neuseeland”

Friedrich August Krull was born in 1836¹⁵ in the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg Strelitz, Neubrandenburg. In 1853 he attended Commercial College in Gotha, following in the footsteps of his merchant father, Georg Friedrich Krull. As he saw no future remaining in his homeland, he spent several years working in a merchant’s office in France, and then proceeded to London where he embarked on the Swedish ship *Equator* with his Frankfurt friend, Karl Hartmann, on 18 September 1858 in order to settle in the young and more promising colony of New Zealand. Not long after arriving in Wellington on 22 January 1859¹⁶ Krull decided to set up a merchant business with Hartmann called Krull & Co, before assuming the role he is better known for today, that is, the first German Consul in New Zealand. This came about after applying to the Senate of the Free City of Hamburg on 12 June 1861 for the first German Consulate in New Zealand through the trading firm Schultz & Pinckernelle in Hamburg, in order to protect not only Hamburg merchant ships and their captains, but also the interests of German immigrants and open trade between the two countries. This was realised on 3 July 1861 when he was appointed Consul for Hamburg in New Zealand. Over time his consular duties were expanded. He was appointed Consul for the North German Confederation in New Zealand on 16 July 1868 and finally, Consul for the German Empire in Wellington, New Zealand, on 25 August 1871. After becoming a naturalised New Zealander on 1 September 1862, he enjoyed a long and active life in the local business and political communities of Wellington and Wanganui, and formed many lasting friendships, in which “the esteem [...] he was held as Consul for Germany [...] [was] only

journalistic circles during his lengthy stay in New Zealand and Australia (Gustav Droege, *Der Krieg in Neuseeland*. Bremen: Rütthmann, 1869, ii-iii).

¹⁵ 1837 has also been used as his birth date (Athol L. Kirk, “Frederick Augustus Krull”, in: *Von Mecklenburg nach Neuseeland*, 177). However, a copy of his death registration supports 1836 as the year of his birth by stating that Krull was 78 years old at the time of his death in late 1914 and 23 when he came to New Zealand (Death Registration, ref no. G/1914/2942/-/4, Central Registry for Births, Deaths and Marriages, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington); if correct, implying he was born in January 1836. This is repeated in the local press (*The Wanganui Herald* 30 Nov (1914): 4).

¹⁶ *The Wellington Independent* 26 Jan (1859): 3.

equalled by his popularity as a merchant and a gentleman”.¹⁷ He was, for example, chosen as director and later chairman of the Board of Directors of the Wellington Gas Company, became a City Councillor and a founding member of the Wellington Chamber of Commerce, was elected to the Wellington Harbour Board, and served as a Justice of the Peace. He eventually sold his Wellington business in 1884 after losing a total of £70,000 with the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878 and moved to Wanganui, where he took up a partnership with the stock and station firm Freeman R. Jackson in 1886. As a consequence of the move, Krull resigned from his posts, but “in consideration of his long service and great popularity in the office, the authorities declined to accept his resignation and persuaded him to continue in office, even though it would be necessary to appoint a successor for Wellington”.¹⁸ Three months after the outbreak of the First World War, and three and a half months after being informed that it was treasonous to further communicate with Germany,¹⁹ Krull died of a stroke on 28 November 1914.²⁰

What are less well-known, however, and have only recently been rediscovered, are the selected written accounts of Friedrich Krull’s early impressions of New Zealand, in particular three excursions with Hartmann into the Maori populated regions of Wellington province immediately following their arrival in 1859, the first on 4 February through the Hutt Valley, Rimutakas and Wairarapa, the second on 14 February, five days after returning from the first trip, to visit the Maori ‘pa’ in Kaiwharawhara, and the third on 4 April through Porirua, Horokiwi Valley, Paekakariki Hill, Waikanae and Otaki, in addition to a later visit to Ranzau in the Waimea Valley on 26 January 1862. Upon hearing the news of his fellow countryman’s immigration to New Zealand, Ernst Boll, the prominent historian, natural scientist and secretary of the Friends of Mecklenburg Natural History, as well as the brother of Krull’s brother-in-law, requested that he

¹⁷ “Mr. Fr. Aug. Krull”, in: *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand: industrial, descriptive, historical, biographical facts, figures, illustrations* [=CNZ]. Vol. 1: Wellington. Wellington: Cyclopedia Co., 1897, 1367. See, for example, the collection of correspondence to Sir Julius von Haast between 1869 and 1881 (MS-Papers-0037-197, ATL) mostly regarding consular matters, in which he even offers the latter advice on the proper etiquette for addressing nobility and dignitaries. Haast was later German Consul in Christchurch.

¹⁸ “Mr. Fr. Aug. Krull”, 1367.

¹⁹ Val Burr, *German-ating the Seeds of Anger: The Great War’s Impact on Germans in Manawatu and Rangitikei, New Zealand*. BA Hons Research Paper, Massey University, 1996 (revised 1999 and adapted to internet in 2003), ch. 2 <<http://www.geocities.com/somesprisonersnz/index.html>>.

²⁰ The stretch of road from Krull’s house in Wanganui to the Great North Road became known as “Krull’s Lane”. However, in a misguided show of patriotism during the First World War it was changed to Oakland Avenue in 1915, ironically after the very same oak trees that Krull himself had planted. (See Ernst Boll, “Briefe aus Neuseeland von F.A. Krull. (Im Auszuge mitgeteilt von Ernst Boll)”, in: *Von Mecklenburg nach Neuseeland*, 102; Peter Maubach, “Friedrich August Krull und Familie”, in: *ibid.*, 98-100; Kirk, “Frederick Augustus Krull”, in: *ibid.*, 177-89; Gavin Doyle, “Frederick Augustus Krull”, in: *ibid.*, 191-205; “Friedrich August Krull. Dokumente”, in: *ibid.*, 160-74; “Mr. Fr. Aug. Krull”, 1367.)

send back detailed reports on this young colony, particularly regarding the environment and its inhabitants. As it was thought that these accounts could not be published elsewhere, Boll took it upon himself to publish extracts from Krull's 1859 and 1862 letters in the appendix of the *Archiv des Vereins der Freunde der Naturgeschichte in Mecklenburg* of the same years.²¹ His justification for this is as follows:

Dieselben sind so anspruchslos und doch so lebendig geschrieben, und geben ein so vielseitiges und anschauliches Bild der dortigen Zustände, - welches um so mehr festgehalten zu werden verdient, da dieselben bei der schnellen Entwicklung der Colonie vielleicht schon binnen wenigen Jahren zu den gänzlich verschollenen gehören werden, - daß der Inhalt dieser Briefe mit Recht auch wohl in weiteren Kreisen Interesse erwecken dürfte.²²

Even though this contribution cannot compare in scholarship to the work of Forster and Dieffenbach, the result is an interesting series of letters which give as complete a picture of New Zealand as possible through detailed accounts of his experiences and observations, despite some inadequacies with scientific nomenclature.²³ As Krull wrote them specifically to his mother on the understanding that they could later, at least in part, be published in a Mecklenburg journal of natural history, his views and perceptions would logically be fresher and more immediate following his various experiences, yet at the same time it also implies that the content and subject matter were also moulded to meet the expectations of both his mother and the Mecklenburg public, or at least the likely readership of the journal. A revised and updated version of his early travels also appeared anonymously in *Das Ausland* as "Mittheilungen aus Neuseeland" in January 1860, albeit in a more condensed and generalised form.²⁴ Given the wider reception of the latter journal, this contribution would have been the most read and more scholarly of the two, yet it has also clearly been edited to conform to a more popular, informative and reader-friendly format. While the original is less edited and offers far more detailed and impressionable descriptions, it is at times necessary to quote from the revised version when similar content overlaps due to the quality of the comments and material at hand.

²¹ Friedrich August Krull, "Briefe aus Neuseeland", in: *Von Mecklenburg nach Neuseeland*, 102-48. (All further references to these letters will be given in parentheses in the text.)

²² Boll, *ibid.*, 102.

²³ Boll does stress Krull's lack of expertise in certain areas, such as the naming of plants: "[...] leider ist F.K. in den Naturwissenschaften sehr wenig bewandert, und daher lassen nach dieser Richtung hin seine Berichte noch manches zu wünschen übrig" (*ibid.*, 102).

²⁴ Friedrich August Krull, "Mittheilungen aus Neuseeland", in: *Ausland* 33:4 22 Jan (1860): 87-89; 33:5 29 Jan (1860): 102-6.

The fact that Krull is neither a scientist nor naturalist already reveals a clear change in perspective from that laid out by Forster and Dieffenbach. On a practical level, this meant that Krull had very different aims and priorities in mind when composing his letters, which saw him in the dual role of a colonist and a merchant rather than the detached scientific observer. Apart from recording the odd piece of information on natural history, he was more interested in describing and outlining the respective needs of the newly arrived immigrant, such as finding accommodation, employment and eventually starting a family, and the socio-economic conditions which would determine how successful a merchant business could be in New Zealand, as well as general working conditions and opportunities for the skilled labourer and middle-class immigrant. The bulk of the information not garnered from experience would have therefore been available to him in various immigration-related sources, newspapers, and conversations with colonists and fellow immigrants, rather than standard scientific monographs, although he may very well have read Forster's account. On a literary level, this means also that the format of these letters neither caters to philosophical reflection nor criticism of the kind observed in the work of early German explorers. And while there is greater opportunity to do so in the revised article, it is likewise kept to a minimum, as again the author's primary role here is to advise immigrants on the conditions, both positive and negative, awaiting them in New Zealand.

When Krull arrives in New Zealand it is first and foremost as an immigrant full of enthusiasm and hope for the future. His voyage by sea, somewhat reminiscent of Forster nearly a hundred years earlier, offers the reader the first glimpses of his impressions of the foreign country which was to become his new home. As the *Equator* approaches the Cook Strait of New Zealand on 15 January 1859, the magnificent sight of Mt Taranaki and the North Island present themselves to the new immigrants. The next morning the calmness of the seas gives Krull the opportunity to observe his new home further:

Es war ein herrlicher Tag, der erste wirklich warme und schöne, seit wir das Cap verlassen. Wir konnten aus dieser Entfernung das schöne Land so recht überblicken: ein Gebirge thürmte sich in 7 bis 8 allmählig immer höher ansteigenden Stufen vor uns auf und bot mit seinem in der Sonne blendend erglänzenden Schnee einen herrlichen Anblick dar. (27.1.1859, 104)

After alternating days of no wind and strong wind, albeit in the wrong direction, as well as days of slow progress and thick fog, they are finally greeted by favourable wind only for it to change direction yet again. It is not until seven days later that this ship of immigrants and visitors is able

to reach this seemingly unattainable land. Even before setting foot on land there is a clear contrast in views on nature which juxtaposes the sublime with progress:

Sie erschien zwar wie eine völlige Wildniß, ohne Leben bei aller Farbenpracht; große Wälder wechselten mit wenigen Lichtungen ab, und die Gebirge im Hintergrund vollendeten den Eindruck des Starren und Leblosen. Aber gieng die Sonne unter und goß ihre Strahlen über den Schnee der Berge, röthete sie die aus den Wäldern aussteigenden Dünste und vertiefte die dunklen Schatten der ihr abgewandten Felsmassen, dann wurde das Bild entzückend; ebenso während der Nächte, wo die Flammen der mächtigen Waldbrände, durch welche die Farmer ihr Land von Holz entblößen, aus der Ferne hoch über die Waldungen hervorschlügen und einen Theil derselben mit ihrer glühenden Röthe übergossen, die sich dann in schwächerem Maß an den Bergen widerspiegelte.²⁵

The most noticeable deviation from the German naturalist viewpoint is Krull's condoning of the burning forests at the hands of fellow immigrants in order to pave the way for the future prosperity of the colony. After experiencing Wellington first hand for a number of days he comes to the conclusion that in spite of its "dorfartiges Ansehn", due to the houses only being one-storied and built of wood as a result of frequent earthquakes (27.1.1859, 106), this colony has a favourable balance between progress and nature:

Die Entwicklung dieser englischen Colonie schreitet sehr rasch vorwärts, und sie geht ohne Zweifel einer glänzenden Zukunft entgegen. Die Schönheit der hiesigen Natur, namentlich der Vegetation, hat fast in allen Punkten unseren Erwartungen entsprochen; Wellington soll aber leider derjenige Ort auf der Insel sein, der vom Wetter am wenigsten begünstigt ist. (27.1.1859, 108)

Not only does Krull give a far more generous appraisal of the city than Dieffenbach, but the colony's development over the nearly two decades since *Travels in New Zealand* was published is also clearly visible when he remarks: "[D]ie zahlreiche Bevölkerung ist immer in lebhafter Beschäftigung, und in den Hôtels fanden sich manche den gebildeteren Classen zugehörige Einwanderer".²⁶ If anything, it is only the weather which is viewed as unfavourable in this rapidly progressing British colony.

The ambivalent image of nature as wild and untouched and nature as controlled and cultivated through progress can be seen further in Krull's account of the Hutt Valley which has been made into "einem der schönsten und reichsten Districte der ganzen Provinz Wellington":

Fast alles Land ist hier bebauet, die Wälder niedergebrannt und die Wurzeln größtentheils ausgerodet, dennoch aber sieht man hier, wie auch noch in der nächsten Umgebung von

²⁵ Krull, "Mittheilungen", 87; cf. 27.1.1859, 104.

²⁶ Krull, "Mittheilungen", 87.

Wellington, weil das Ausroden des hohen Arbeitslohns wegen so kostspielig ist, eine große Menge abgestorbener Baumstämme stehen, was der Gegend, namentlich beim Mondschein, einen merkwürdig wilden Anblick verleiht. Der Wald, hier Busch genannt, ist von unbeschreiblicher Schönheit. Er besteht aus herrlichen hohen Bäumen, bedeckt mit dem frischesten grünen Laub, dessen Blätter auch nicht im Entferntesten denen unserer europäischen Bäume gleichen. (25.2.1859, 108-10)

Here, Krull is enchanted by nature's beauty (although he does not miss this opportunity to point out the usefulness of these trees for building fences and huts), the multitude and diversity of wild fowl, with their array of coloured plumage, and unique plants, such as flax and fern, the latter of which he labels as "die Perlen des Waldes" (25.2.1859, 110). Furthermore, from the right vantage point on a clear day one can see glorious tranquil views of untouched nature which stretch as far as the eye can see to give grand panoramas of both islands:

Vor uns lag das herrliche Meer, glatt wie ein Spiegel, und blau wie der Himmel; aus seinem Schooße ragte die Insel Kapiti hervor, deren Berge, von der untergehenden Sonne beleuchtet, wie Feuer erglänzten, und noch weiter im fernen Hintergrunde erblickten wir die hohen, mit ewigem Schnee bedeckten Berge der südlichen Insel Neuseeland; im N. sahen wir bis auf 60-80 engl. M. den Strand entlang, und im N.O. erhoben sich die hohen Bergketten unserer nördlichen Insel [...]. (14.4.1859, 128)

In the end, it is not only the underlying splendour of the view, but also the whole atmosphere which makes one think of the numerable possibilities in store for New Zealand in the future.²⁷

However, in spite of the overall positive image of the colony, there are a number of minor inconveniences, especially in Wellington:

Das Wetter ist hier jetzt herrlich, nicht zu heiß, des Nachts gewöhnlich Regen; doch soll fast wöchentlich ein kleines Erdbeben vorkommen, was ich aber selbst bisher noch nie habe spüren können. Gewitter sind hier selten, vielleicht nur einmal im Jahre, der Wind aber ist bisweilen sehr heftig, und zwar z.B. vor einigen Tagen so stark, daß er ein leichtes an der Küste liegendes Boot packte, und eine ganze Straße lang fortführte. (25.2.1859, 122)

The most notable threat to this windy harbour settlement, besides the sometimes violent gusts of wind, it seems, is from an earthquake due to it being situated along a series of fault lines, which in its recent history have caused a big earthquake roughly every seven years or so in 1841, 1848 and 1855. When he does experience an earthquake for himself, it is unexpected and without warning, and is accompanied for days thereafter by weaker shakes every four hours, which are welcomed

²⁷ "Die Scenerie selbst war nicht großartiger als man sie in Europa an manchen Stellen findet; was den Geist hier fesselt, ist auch nicht sowohl das Fremdartige der Umgebung, als eben der Umstand daß er dieß alles, was das Auge wahrnimmt, sofort mit dem Vordringen der Cultur in Verbindung bringt und sich schnell neben dem wirklichen Bilde dasjenige der Zukunft vorstellt. So wird der Geist hier zugleich lebhaft beschäftigt und gefesselt, und empfängt seine Eindrücke in doppelter Weise, genießend und vorempfindend" (ibid., 89).

by the settlers “weil man sie für ein Präservativ gegen die stärkeren, unheilbringenden betrachtet” (18.3.1859, 124). Surprisingly, he does not appear overly concerned by the instability of future earthquakes in the area which certainly cannot be said to be only a remote possibility at the time. For Krull, it seems the risk of an earthquake only poses a moderate danger, if not simply part and parcel of colonial life, that does not make him regret his decision to emigrate, just as the risk of having a near fatal reaction to being stung by mosquitoes, sandflies or fleas in New Zealand is fairly moderate, as he is assured that they are “bei weitem nicht so giftig [...], als in Australien und Indien” (14.4.1859, 136). The news that several escaped prisoners are still on the loose and occupying themselves with burglaries and robberies in the neighbourhood is also ultimately overlooked, even after being mistaken for one, tied up as a consequence and told by the local sergeant: “Sie sind selbst nicht ohne Schuld daran, denn in diesem Lande reiset man nach Sonnenuntergang nicht mehr, wenigstens nicht zu Fuße; ich muß Sie bitten, dies in Zukunft zu unterlassen” (14.4.1859, 128). Thus, the apparent falsehood of the myth of the ‘crimeless’ society does not deter him. In other words, in spite of days of constant rain and strong wind or the fear of frequent earthquakes and escaped convicts, Wellington still manages to retain its charm and beauty simply through the wonders of nature that everyone can enjoy on a perfect summer’s day:

Es regnet wohl einen oder zwei Tage heftig und wehet stark dazu, dann aber folgen wieder mehrere warme Sommertage, die unbeschreiblich schön sind: der Himmel ist vom herrlichsten Blau, und der Sonnenuntergang, der meistens eine Windstille mit sich bringt, giebt dem Meere und den Bergen ein ganz prachtvolles Colorit. Von einer so schönen Natur umgeben sollte man sich kaum je unglücklich fühlen können! (25.5.1859, 146)

Thus, the healthy and temperate climate of New Zealand only reaffirms his view that he has found a home in the best of the British colonies.

With the working conditions and future prospects in the colony at the foremost importance to the prospective immigrant, Krull focuses specifically on the ideal image of the ‘worker’s paradise’. However, it seems far from the perfect paradise upon arrival:

Ich hatte gedacht daß sich für jeden gesunden und arbeitsamen Menschen, zumal wenn er Kaufmann sey und nicht ganz von Mitteln entblößt anlange, sehr schnell eine passende Beschäftigung bei hohem Lohne finden würde. Darin aber sah ich mich sofort getäuscht, alle bessern Stellen waren besetzt, und es blieb mir kaum etwas anderes übrig als ein Haus zu kaufen und ein eigenes Geschäft zu begründen. [...] Diese englische Colonie entwickelt sich außerordentlich schnell, und es wird hier sehr viel Geld verdient, jede Beschäftigung sehr gut bezahlt. Das Leben ist aber übermäßig theuer, alle guten Stellen werden immer schnell besetzt, und es ist wenigstens einem ganz mittellosen Menschen höheren Standes nicht zu rathen daß er auf gutes Glück sich hieher wendet. Besonders ist der Handel schon jetzt sehr stark vertreten, und wenn auch die hiesigen Häuser großartige Geschäfte machen und gewiß bald zu Reichthümern

gelangen, wird doch durch sie eine Concurrenz angebahnt gegen welche ein unbemittelter Anfänger sich nicht wohl halten kann.²⁸

From a merchant's point of view New Zealand's market is too competitive, where the number of merchant traders exceeds that of workers, and as a consequence, the high wages of the latter are contrasted with the expensive prices of everyday goods and affairs. For example, the first hotel Krull and Hartmann go to is an overpriced fifteen shillings per night for a bed and three meals, "welches aber trotzdem, daß es den ersten Rang hier einnahm, nur ein mittelmäßiges Wirthshaus ist", while the first attempt at securing a rented property leads them only to a small "elende Cottage" which costs £1 per week (27.1.1859, 106).

In spite of their having to rent their own cottage, in which they do their own housekeeping and cooking, whilst also doing the shopping themselves and keeping down to two meals a day to the sum of 13 Reichstaler 10 (18.3.1859, 124), Krull soon begins to appreciate the continual effort needed in this new environment which brings its own rewards in time. In other words, it is not a paradise in terms of one's becoming very rich quickly and owning massive plots of land, as Dieffenbach also recognised, rather it is living comfortably and relatively well-off with a sense of well-being and a better position than would be possible in one's homeland:²⁹

Hier in Wellington giebt es eine Menge von Familien, die bei ihrem Vermögen in England gar keine Rolle spielen würden, weil dasselbe nicht hinreicht, den Aufwand, der dort von ihrer Stellung erwartet wird, zu bestreiten. Hier aber sind diese Leute grade die besten Colonisten, welche mit die erste Rolle spielen, indem ihr Geld ausreicht eine hübsche Besizung zu kaufen, und Wagen und Pferde zu halten. (25.5.1859, 142)

Here, Krull stresses the worker's independence from aristocratic landowners, which his fellow North Germans had been subject to at home,³⁰ and the lack of restrictions that exist in this young society:

Die Einwanderung hierher steigert sich sehr, und das hat auch seine guten Gründe. Denn jeder Arbeitsmann, jeder Handwerker kommt hier gut fort, und erwirbt sich binnen Kurzem eine unabhängige Stellung. [...] Das Klima ist hier gut und äußerst gesund, Abgaben giebt es, directe wenigstens, keinerlei Art, und außerdem hat man hier das Recht frei zu denken und zu sprechen. Arbeit findet jeder, der will, und es liegt an ihm, wenn er nicht fortkommt. (25.5.1859, 144)

²⁸ Ibid., 87; cf. 27.1.1859, 106-8.

²⁹ The only obstacle to take into account here is naturally the initial transportation costs: "Die Reise aus Deutschland hieher kostet zwar 200 Thlr., aber wie leicht sind diese verdient! Die Beförderung von Seiten der 'Einwanderungscommission der Provinz Wellington' kostet für Erwachsene 20, für Kinder 10 Pfund (Kinder unter einem Jahr alt sind frei), und für den vierten Theil dieses Geldes erhalten die Einwanderer bei ihrer Ankunft Land, den Acre zu 10 Shillinge gerechnet" (Krull, "Mittheilungen", 88).

³⁰ See Peter Starys, "Die Auswanderung aus Mecklenburg im 19. Jahrhundert: Annäherung an ein sozialhistorisches Phänomen", in: *Von Mecklenburg nach Neuseeland*, 6-16.

Thus, the expensive market is contrasted with the freedom of the individual and the ease with which labourers especially can find a good occupation that pays well. The best paid are artisans, i.e. joiners, carpenters, tailors, glaziers, painters, shoemakers, saddlers and cooks, in which one can comfortably receive £2 per week for an eight-hour day, whilst paying half in accommodation.³¹ However, a married farm labourer can often find himself better off than a single artisan, especially if his wife works too, or even a young married couple as they could work for a farmer in the interior and be quite well off.³² But he warns that this lifestyle is not suitable for all, especially those unwilling to work as labourers and those without sufficient capital:

Der feststehende Preis für das aus der Hand der Regierung zu kaufende Land bleibt auf 10 Shillinge für den Acre gestellt, aus zweiter Hand ist es viel theurer, und ein kleiner Besitz in der Nähe der Stadt, welcher sich in guter Cultur befindet, wird gewiß 1-2 Pfd. für den Acre kosten. Wohlhabenderen, deren Vermögen den Ankauf eines solchen Besitzes erlaubt, ist die Einwanderung sehr zu empfehlen. Sie erreichen aus ihm eine Einnahme welche ihren Bedürfnissen völlig genügt, und gewinnen eine sehr ansehnliche Stellung in der Gesellschaft der Stadt, welche in ihrem größten Theile liebenswürdig und gebildet ist. Dieß, im Verein mit der schönen Natur und dem prächtigen Klima, ist wohl geeignet den Ansprüchen solcher, welche in Europa nur einen Rang niederen Grades auszufüllen vermögen, zu genügen. Wer in dieser Absicht hieher geht, muß ein Vermögen von 5-700 Pfund besitzen; für Leute vornehmeren Standes ohne Vermögen und ohne die Kraft zu körperlicher Arbeit ist dieses Land – wir wiederholen das schon früher Gesagte – durchaus nicht geeignet.³³

In other words, it is a worker's paradise in the sense that it is suited first to occupations of the working class and secondly to immigrants who are willing to work hard, in which "[m]it baarem Gelde [...] hier noch unendlich viel zu machen [ist]" (25.5.1859, 144).

Not surprisingly, the best example of the positive image of hard-working immigrants in Krull's letters is the almost idealised picture of the immigrant community of some several hundred North Germans in Ranzau (Waimea East) who fled their Mecklenburg homes for a variety of reasons, only to find a new home in New Zealand.³⁴ When he visits this Mecklenburg colony, also known as the "German village", as German Consul in 1862, he states:

³¹ He gives the example of the Swedish seamen who deserted the *Equator* in order to become a painter, shoemaker and carpenter respectively (25.5.1859, 144). Earlier he states six "armen Kerlen" had deserted in all, with more likely, "da sie hier auf dem Lande in einer Woche mehr verdienen können, als bei dem Hundeleben auf der See in einem Monat" (18.3.1859, 122-24).

³² Krull, for example, comes across a Scottish farmer with 2,000 cattle and 5,000 sheep who is reportedly wealthy as a result of purchasing his land straight from the Maori (25.2.1859, 112).

³³ Krull, "Mittheilungen", 106; cf. 25.5.1859, 144.

³⁴ See Briars and Leith, *Road to Sarau*, 88-97.

Mir wurde die freundlichste Aufnahme zu Theil und ich fühlte mich hier sogleich ganz heimisch. Wir besahen die Wiesen, die Kornfelder, das Dorf, - welches letztere ein durchaus meklenburgisches [sic] Gepräge an sich trägt, ganz abweichend von den englischen ländlichen Niederlassungen; nur eins vermißte ich, nämlich das – Storchnest auf der großen Scheune! [...] Diese Leute waren alle durch und durch Meklenburger [sic] in ihren Sitten und Lebengewohnheiten geblieben, - ich könnte Euch noch viel davon erzählen, wenn mich dies nicht zu weit ab führte. (7.2.1862, 152-54)

What Krull depicts is a smaller version of Mecklenburg transported to the other side of the world which has enough integrity to not be broken down by neighbouring British settlements. Thus, a little bit of North Germany is now alive and well in New Zealand in the form of a harmonious and close-knit community. However, this is not simply the combination of working-class tradesmen and labourers, but, more importantly, what Mecklenburg could have been. Here, the self-made worker can become “ein wohlhabender Mann” (7.2.1862, 156) within a few years, as they are all indeed becoming, through a better lifestyle and living conditions which, however, have not eroded their Mecklenburg habits and manners. Even their houses are decorated in the same fashion as in their former homes, only more rich, and “Plattdeutsch” is spoken by all, while “nur wenige sind der englischen Sprache mächtig” (7.2.1862, 154). In fact, they are the perfect model of industriousness as they set a good example for others to follow. Although they speak well of their homeland, they have proved correct in their move to this distant country and look forward to many a prosperous year. However, Krull does emphasise the need to work and that prosperity is not instant upon arrival, rather something which one must strive for and, in his opinion, will occur in the end after several years of increasing success and affluence.

The most prosperous family in the colony is that of Dorothea Siggelkow, one of the original immigrants, who is reportedly as rich as “ein meklenburgischer [sic] Gutsbesitzer” so that they never need walk, but ride instead:

Ehe ich wegging, nahm mich Mutting Siggelkowsch noch bei der Hand, um mir ihren Reichthum zu zeigen, und führte mich durch die reinliche, mit blanken Geschirre wohl versehene Küche zu Speisekammer, wo die Würste, Schinken und Speckseiten alle hingen und auf den Borten Satten mit Milch standen und in einem Kübelchen mit frischem Wasser etwa 8 bis 10 Pfund frischer Butter lagen, die ich natürlich auch kosten mußte. Darauf rief sie ihre Hühner, Enten und Truthähne, die auf den Ruf der wohlbekannten Stimme alle beieilten, dann ging es zu den Schweinen, Kühen und Pferden, und endlich zu der Scheune, von deren Bodenfenster aus mir die vollen Kornfelder gezeigt wurden. (7.2.1862, 154)

All in all, Krull displays a positive image of not only German immigration to New Zealand, but also the great rewards of hard work for the prospective settler.³⁵ He sums up these views in his 1862 report on Hamburg exports to New Zealand:

Das schöne gesunde Klima NeuSeelands scheint für Deutsche außerordentlich geeignet u. so wohl in Nelson im Norden der mittleren Insel NeuSeelands wo eine Niederlassung von ungefähr 200 Norddeutschen ist als auch in dieser Provinz wo ca. 60 Deutschen zusammen an der Westküste im Innern wohnen gehet es Allen ohne Ausnahme sehr gut, sie sind alle in einem geringsten Grade von Wohlstand der jährlich mit dem Zuwachs ihrer Viehbestände sich vermehrt. Sie beschränken sich auf den Ackerbau u. die Hornviehzucht u. gefällt ihnen ihre neue Heimath ausgezeichnet die Regierung siehet mit den günstigsten Augen auf die Niederlassungen der Deutschen da sie durch ihre Nüchternheit Ausdauer u. Fleiß den Engländern nur ein gutes Beispiel geben. Für den fleißigen Mann bietet NeuSeeland große Vortheile, denn es ist ihm ein leichtes sich in wenigen Jahren eine unabhängige Stellung zu verschaffen, dem nicht tüchtigen Manne aber steht hier mehr Elend wie zu Hause bevor.³⁶

In other words, although New Zealand is not suited to every profession or individual and is not a place of instant success for those willing or unwilling to work, this working man's paradise is something which is within reach for industrious workers over time.

In contrast to the general information provided in immigration pamphlets and local newspapers, Krull's impressions of the Maori from his letters are more immediate and experientially based, that is they develop more closely in relation to his personal experiences, observations and Central European beliefs, rather than any secondary sources, and fluctuate and evolve accordingly. While he had formed a clearer 'model' of Maori behaviour and customs by the time of the revised version, possibly with the aid of further reading and experiences, it is the original letters which offer the most compelling and interesting contribution. Shortly after his arrival in the country Krull, for example, proceeds to give an initial assessment of the 200 or so Maori in Wellington who are outnumbered by the Pakeha population of more than 7000:

³⁵ However, he does state that out of the total land purchased by Count Rantzau, comprising 150 acres away from the coast, fifty acres in the Waimea valley and one acre in Nelson, "[f]ast Alle haben ihren entlegenen Landbesitz veräußert und sich auf den im Waimeathale belegenen beschränkt; thörichter Weise haben sie aber auch ihre Stadtäcker verkauft, welche jetzt schon sehr im Preise gestiegen sind" (7.2.1862, 156).

³⁶ Friedrich August Krull, "Bericht über Hamburger Exporte nach Neuseeland" (1.4.1862), in: *Von Mecklenburg nach Neuseeland*, 170. With regards to German exporting prospects, New Zealand, however, is a somewhat difficult proposition at present, but hopes are high that given time German exporters will succeed: "Es ist schwierig diejenigen Artikel für einen neuen Markt wie NeuSeeland auf einmal zu treffen die gute Rechnung lassen, zumal man in den hiesigen Colonien so sehr auf gewisse Marken achtet, daß man die größte Mühe u. viele Vorurtheile zu bekämpfen hat, Fabrikaten, deren Verfertiger dem Publicum noch nicht bekannt, an den Mann zu bringen. / Die ersten Resultate sollten daher auch die Herren Exporteure nicht abschrecken dieser blühenden Colonie, der eine bedeutende Zukunft bevorsteht einen zweiten u. dritten Versuch zu schenken, der dann sicher mit besserem Erfolge gekrönt wird, zumal wenn die Waare wirklich eine reelle u. gute ist" (ibid., 166-68).

Eingeborne (Maori's, wie sie selbst sich nennen,) leben hier nur ungefähr 200; von den Sitten derselben später mehr, jetzt kenne ich sie noch zu wenig. Ihr Äußeres ist schön und einnehmend, namentlich bei den Männern; die Weiber dagegen machten mit ihrer entsetzlichen Unreinlichkeit und der Pfeife im Munde einen widerlichen Eindruck auf mich. Tätowirt sind sie alle mit vielem Geschmack, nur die Kinder nicht, und so wird dieser Schmuck bei der künftigen Generation verschwinden. Manche Eingeborne sieht man in europäischer Tracht, die meisten tragen indeß statt aller Kleidung nur eine rothe oder weiße Flaneldecke. Gegenwärtig sind sie im Innern der Insel versammelt, um sich einen gemeinschaftlichen König zu wählen. (27.1.1859, 106)

Although in almost his first statement he acknowledges his lack of knowledge of the local Maori, in particular their customs, and consequently proceeds to give a general picture of their external appearance, a number of fixed stereotypes and images are revealed which no doubt influence his perceptions during further encounters. First of all, the male is portrayed as a fine and charming specimen, who by omission presumably does all the manual labour yet remains relatively clean, as the female is relegated to that of a dirty and disgusting creature who from this impression seems to spend the whole day lazing about smoking a pipe. Secondly, he witnesses both elements of native and Europeanised Maori culture in the form of their clothing and 'moko', which is seen by him to be in good taste and not a form of disfigurement as some early commentators observed, yet also something that will disappear in the future as the children appear to be without them, all of which tie into the notions of 'fatal impact' and ultimate European conversion. However, it should be noted that at the time a number of Maori in this region and neighbouring areas were attending a big gathering which he incorrectly attributes to the appointment of the first Maori King.³⁷

Due to his middle-class merchant background and the format of his letters, there is little emphasis on anthropological, ethnological or even philosophical thought concerning the role of civilisation on the indigenous peoples, although he does address the Maori in an amateur ethnographical manner. Instead he admits himself that his numerous excursions were in part motivated by his decision to start up a merchant business:

Um dieß aber mit Vortheil betreiben zu können, war es durchaus nothwendig die Verhältnisse um mich her näher kennen zu lernen, und so entschloß ich mich kurz mir diese einstweilen anzusehen, daneben aber auch Streifzüge in das Innere des Landes zu unternehmen, namentlich auch um die Eingebornen näher zu beobachten, da der Verkehr mit diesen einen großen Theil des

³⁷ According to the report by Wiremu Tamihana, the Maori 'King-maker', King Potatau was 'elected' and 'installed' at Ngaruawahia and Rangiaowhia in Upper Waikato on 2 June 1858 (see appendix in J. E. Gorst, *The Maori King or the Story of our Quarrel with the Natives of New Zealand* [1864]. Reprinted. Edited with an introduction by Keith Sinclair. Hamilton; Auckland: Paul's Book Arcade; London: Oxford UP, 1959, 263-74; Evelyn Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana: Rangatira*. Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2002, 134-73).

Detailhandels, wie ich ihn bei eigenem Etablissement zunächst nur beabsichtigen konnte, umfaßt.³⁸

Thus, he tends to view the Maori in terms of their familial and social relationships, as well as their association with money, trading and materialism. The same Eurocentric arguments that support the popular stereotypes of the period are also present in Krull's initial observations of the Maori, yet it is soon made clear which original perceptions remain and which are replaced by new ones.

On Krull and Hartmann's first excursion, they hire two Maori guides, "ein Paar junge, kräftige Kerle" (25.2.1859, 108), who know enough English to converse with the two Germans. These nameless Maori guides notably become knowledgeable leaders, and make the visitors dependent on them and their hospitality. As if expecting trouble (but not from Maori),³⁹ Krull and Hartmann immediately place their rifles over their shoulders and fasten their loaded revolvers on their saddle before proceeding "mit ihren wilden Führern" (25.2.1859, 108). As Krull observes these guides it is further made clear that, even though they do not wear European-style clothing, the dirtiness and uncivilised aspects of their costume do not make them any more repulsive than the female stereotype he harbours: "Unsere Führer, von angenehmen Äußeren, herrlich tätowiert, hatten statt aller Bekleidung eine schmutzige weiße Decke um den Nacken gehangen, was ihnen ein gewisses beduinenartiges Ansehen gab" (25.2.1859, 108). Importantly, one of his aims is to witness the indigenous culture, which "unser Interesse so sehr erregten", in its native condition as far away from European influences as possible in order to observe communities "wo jene noch ihre alten Sitten und Gebräuche beibehalten haben" (25.2.1859, 108), which enables him to move away from the previous urban Maori image. He even passes up on several opportunities to take a closer look at a number of Maori settlements of various types along the way as they are already "zu europäisch", when he would rather visit "eine entlegnere Gegend" instead (25.2.1859, 110).

When he finally decides to venture into a Maori village, the European guests are given a warm reception by the eager Maori who run out to greet them: "Diese waren jedoch schon alle halb civilisirt und boten dem Beobachter kaum etwas anderes bemerkenswerthes, als eine offene gutmüthige Gastfreundlichkeit, die uns überall mit Speise und Trank entgegen kam."⁴⁰ This is, however, juxtaposed with the almost immediate Maori response upon seeing European weapons,

³⁸ Krull, "Mittheilungen", 87.

³⁹ "Die Bewaffnung sollte nicht sowohl gegen feindliche Eingeborne schützen, denn diese sind durchweg friedlich gegen die Europäer gesinnt, als gegen etwa entsprungene, in den Wäldern herumschweifende und jeden unbewaffneten Reisenden überfallende und ausplünderte Sträflinge" (ibid., 88).

⁴⁰ Ibid., 88.

of offering money for them. In spite of this, Krull does not yield as there is a “harte Strafe” for selling guns to Maori, “so ließen wir uns natürlich in diesen Handel nicht ein” (25.2.1859, 110), just as there is a £50 fine for giving them alcohol (14.4.1859, 134) on account of their being easily drunk⁴¹ and consequently getting out of control and losing all inhibitions. During this fleeting encounter he does not stay long, and after much travelling on horseback they decide to make camp. However, as their two guides do not return in a hurry from hunting for dinner, they soon give in to their fears: “[S]o fingen wir schon an zu fürchten, daß sie sich mit unseren Flinten und Pferden davongemacht haben könnten [...]” (25.2.1859, 110). But once they hear their cry of excitement at catching a wild turkey, “unsere wilden Freunde” return with “freudestrahlendem Gesichte”, and their superior hunting and culinary skills in the wild are soon revealed (25.2.1859, 112).

When Krull is led to the home of his guides and meets a Maori chief and his wife for the first time, he is given an opportunity to develop his male-female stereotypes with the notion of status. However, if anything, it is only the chief himself who receives any degree of respect:

Derselbe mochte 38 bis 40 Jahre alt sein, war europäisch gekleidet, aber im Gesichte ganz und gar tätowirt; seine Züge hatten einen milden aber festen Ausdruck, und im Ohr trug er, wie fast alle Eingeborne, einen Haifischzahn. Sein Körperbau war schlank, aber stark, sein Haar kraus. Seine Frau, die uns mit einer brennenden Pfeife im Munde entgegen kam, war eins der widerlichsten Frauenzimmer das ich je gesehen; sie war gleichfalls tätowirt, aber nicht so sehr, wie ihr Mann, und ihre Kleidung bestand einzig und allein in einem schmutzigen Hemde. (25.2.1859, 112)

Here, the male chief stands firm, strong and fully tattooed in his European clothes, while his ugly wife typically smokes a pipe and is covered in filth. As is already clear from Krull’s earlier observations, his conception of female ugliness in this case is based not around disfigured tattoos but rather an aversion to female dirtiness and smoking, if not also a sexual fear. The guests then engage in a ‘hongī’ ceremony with all the members of the family: “Wir wurden von beiden auf nationale Weise begrüßt, was uns äußerst komisch war, denn dies geschieht auf die Weise, daß die beiden Begrüßenden grinsend ihre Nasen an einander reiben und dabei wie die Bienen summen; je länger dieser Act dauert und je lauter das Gebrumme ist, für um so viel herzlicher gilt die Begrüßung” (25.2.1859, 112). One can imagine the seemingly endless acts of nose-rubbing with dirty individuals as having the potential to be a somewhat unnerving experience for Krull, were it not for the joy in their faces and the comical-like humming which accompanies it.

⁴¹ Ibid., 105.

When invited into the chiefly home they find it to be little more than a one-roomed hut, in which everyone eats and sleeps,⁴² with a fire situated in the centre. Although the chief understands some English, he cannot speak it, and consequently the guides act as interpreters. They then offer the chief a bottle of cognac and his wife several pipes and cigars,⁴³ which clearly reflect Krull's gender-based preconceptions, only to have their guns the "Gegenstand der allgemeinsten Bewunderung" (25.2.1859, 112) yet again, whereby various offers are made to him, even by the chief. Soon after Krull and Hartmann try to rest on bare ground, as there are no chairs or benches to speak of, a meal is served and the guests are provided with knives, forks and plates made of flax. However, one look at this meal of bread, ham, fish and potatoes is enough to turn their stomachs: "Dasselbe war aber so ekelhaft, daß wir keinen Appetit dazu hatten, allein ein wilder Blick des Häuplings [sic], den die Führer uns als Zeichen seines Unwillens übersetzten, nöthigte uns dennoch zuzulangen" (25.2.1859, 112). While he never witnesses any acts of barbarism on his travels, the possibility that he could become the object of such an act in the future convinces him to eat. Krull then describes in detail the process of cooking in a 'hangi' and how the food is equally shared "welche es auf dem Boden liegend mit ihren unsauberen Fingern schnell verzehren" (25.2.1859, 114).

In order to distinguish between the chief's status and that of the common Maori, they are taken to a hut of the latter, which is reminiscent of the dirty hovels Forster speaks of:

Darauf gingen, oder vielmehr krochen wir in die Hütten der gewöhnlichen Eingebornen, deren Eingang so niedrig und enge ist, daß man fast auf dem Bauche hineinkriechen muß. Darinnen lagen nun in schönster Eintracht ein halbes Dutzend Schweine, eben so viele Hunde, 3 bis 4 Kinder, und in der Mitte brannte das Feuer, dessen Qualm seinen Ausweg nur durch die Thüre findet. Die Kleidung bestand hier nur in schmutzigen weißen oder rothen Decken, die sie sich aber durchaus nicht genierten ganz abzulegen, da es um Mittag sehr heiß wurde. Das Wasser lieben die Eingebornen durchaus nicht, und sind daher alle entsetzlich unsauber; sie wimmeln von Flöhen und Läusen, von denen uns bei diesen Besuchen gleichfalls mehr als uns lieb war zu Theil wurden. (25.2.1859, 114)

Thus, his obsession with dirtiness now encompasses both male and female as the traditional lifestyle is revealed to be one which involves being covered in fleas and lice and living in a cramped and impractical communal hut, which acts as living quarters for man and animal alike,

⁴² He later adds: "Erwähnt muß noch werden daß die Bewohner selbst, wenn es irgend die Witterung erlaubt, nicht das Innere der Hütten zu Schlafplätzen wählen; man sieht sie vielmehr bunt durch einander vor der Thüre herumliegen, bloß in eine wollene Decke eingehüllt, den Kopf im Grase, dessen Thau ihr langes Haar netzt" (ibid., 103).

⁴³ "Wir hatten aus Wellington einen hinlänglichen Vorrath an Spielsachen mitgebracht, welche uns zur Zahlung dienten, obwohl diese Menschen mit dem Werthe des Geldes hinlänglich vertraut sind" (ibid., 88; cf. 14.4.1859, 128).

with only one point of access, smoke-filled air circulating inside, and immodest children freely taking off their clothes when it gets too hot. He therefore comes to the conclusion that Maori do not like the water which is why they are all so dirty.

According to Krull, nearly all Maori are Christians, of which the majority are Protestants; the rest being Catholics, apart from, for instance, those chiefs who are so incensed with the bickering of missionaries from opposing denominations who try to ‘re-convert’ tribes over to their side, that they “schon mehrfach beide Parteien verjagt und das Heidenthum wieder hergestellt haben” (18.3.1859, 124). He also observes that they have small families of two children, three at most, who “seit sie Christen sind, zärtlich lieben sollen; früher tödteten sie dieselben meistens, namentlich die Mädchen” (25.2.1859, 116). The idea that Maori parents did not love their children or care for them until Christian conversion taught them how to do so, and readily practised such acts as infanticide, which did in fact take place in Europe, was generally believed by many Europeans, as if to reaffirm or further idealise their own European values.⁴⁴ Much in the same way the traditions of polygamy and tattooing have disappeared or are in the process of doing so, – with the exception of tattooing girls who have some on their lips “aus Furcht daß ihre Lippen im Alter runzelig würden” (25.2.1859, 116) – the introduction of European Christian values has, in his opinion, brought about positive changes, which, among others, have supposedly transformed this child-bashing mother into the caring and loving European-like mother. Accordingly, there is a sudden shift in gender roles as his observations of the Maori female ‘correct’ his previous implications about the laziness of women:

Die Frauen spielen bei ihnen eine sehr untergeordnete Rolle und werden sehr schlecht behandelt. Mit 10-12 Jahren sind sie alle verheirathet und müssen dann die schwerste Feldarbeiten verrichten, Holz spalten, Bäume ausrodern u. dgl., während die Männer gar nichts thun, oder auf ihren Pferden

⁴⁴ Belief in female infanticide, according to Pool, arose from two key sources. The first is based on the reports of “literate European visitors, most of whom had limited in-depth experience of Maori life, and whose comments suffer from their social construction of reality. This was coloured by their generally middle-class values, their perceptions about and extrapolations from the brutish working-class life of European industrial slums, and their prejudices towards Maori. Curiously, they made far fewer specific references to abortion than to infanticide, although they often confused one with the other [...]. Suggestions that female offspring were aborted have little validity, as before the development of the technique of amniocentesis only infanticide could be employed to select for gender” (Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, 47). The second is the “statistical observation that males outnumbered females in the Maori population of the early nineteenth century” (ibid., 47). However, in any given population it is normal for the number of males to be higher than that of females, particularly one that is “subject to high to very high levels of mortality”, in which “male life expectation frequently exceeds female and the associated survivorship probabilities may be higher for males across a range of ages. At the reproductive ages, particularly if fertility levels are relatively high, this holds true for many causes of death and not just simply because of maternal mortality” (ibid., 48). In other words, “the older the age group the higher the masculinity”, especially when high mortality rates exist among women at reproductive ages, and if “female infanticide had occurred at all significantly, the pattern would have been reversed, or age-specific masculinity levels would have been constant” (ibid., 103; cf. Pool, *Maori Population*, 137-40).

herumlungern; so ist es aber nur noch im Innern der Insel, in den Städten und deren Nähe ist es bei Weitem anders, denn hier ist ihre Lebensweise fast schon ganz europäisch. (25.2.1859, 116)

Following the tradition of the anti-female depiction, the woman is now seen to do all the labour while the man remains idle, which Krull puts down to the different levels of European conversion throughout the country, whereby the more positive image of male-dominated labour is seen to be purely Central European, while the negative image of female-dominated labour is purely Maori.⁴⁵ It is this emphasis on manual labour which in turn adds to her unfavourable general appearance (in contrast to all males, female children, daughters of chiefs and prosperous Maori): “Die gewöhnlichen Weiber [...], welche schon mit dem 12ten oder 13ten Jahre heirathen und dann den größten Theil der häuslichen Arbeiten verrichten müssen, sind meistens häßlich und kommen gar nicht zu völliger Entwicklung. Im Alter sind die Weiber alle häßlich, wozu die große Unreinlichkeit und die unvermeidliche Thonpfeife im Munde das ihrige Beitragen.”⁴⁶

Ultimately, there is also no escaping the European theories of ‘fatal impact’, which Krull briefly reflects on:

Ihre Anzahl soll sich trotz der Fürsorge der Regierung für die Erhaltung dieser Race, leider sehr schnell vermindern. Zu Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts sollen noch etwa 200,000 Eingeborne vorhanden gewesen sein, jetzt leben nur noch etwa 56,000, von welchen 54,000 allein auf die nördliche Insel kommen.⁴⁷ Als Ursachen ihrer schnellen Verminderung werden angegeben: die zeitige Verheirathung, geringe Anzahl und ausschweifende Lebensweise der Frauen, deren (in Folge der vorhin erwähnten früheren Sitte, die Mädchen zu tödten,) nur $\frac{3}{4}$ so viele existiren, als Männer vorhanden sind; die vielen kleinen Kriege, die unter ihnen stattfinden; der zu reichliche Genuß der hier in Menge vorhandenen Aale, durch den sie sich verschiedene Krankheiten zuziehen, - und dann endlich das allgemein beobachtete Gesetz, daß, wo der weiße Mann auftritt, der farbige verdrängt wird und zuletzt ganz ausstirbt. (25.2.1859, 116)

Although he does not expressly state that he believes in ‘fatal impact’, he agrees that numbers are increasingly falling, especially if one believes the overinflated estimates upon Cook’s first arrival, and lists a number of ‘irrefutable’ causes he has been informed of, where, in typical European fashion at the time, the majority point to the Maori themselves and their erroneous lifestyle, in spite of the Government’s apparent humanitarian attempts at maintaining the current numbers, while only the latter cause is directed at the Europeans specifically. Overall, it is clear that in spite

⁴⁵ This is later contrasted with the activity of weaving hats out of flax, traditionally a female pastime, in which “ein Eingeborner soll mitunter (in seiner faulen Weise!) drei Jahre lang an einem solchen arbeiten, und erhält dann 5-7 £ Sterl. dafür” (25.2.1859, 122).

⁴⁶ Krull, “Mittheilungen”, 104.

⁴⁷ This figure is based on the 1859 census figure, or rather estimate, of 56,049, in which the male-female ratio was given as 31,667 to 24,303. However, Pool argues the true figure is probably somewhat higher, most likely 61,500 (Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, 61, 76; cf. *Maori Population*, 55-60).

of their visible dirtiness Krull sees them as an intelligent and prosperous self-sufficient people with a sound education, in contrast to his fellow countrymen, and therefore also appears to give the Maori a better chance of a future than critics suggest:

Die Maori's besitzen übrigens viel Intelligenz und Scharfsinn; in Auckland sind Schulen für sie errichtet und es erscheint dort auch eine Zeitung in ihrer Sprache; die eigene Sprache kann jeder lesen und schreiben, was mehr ist, als wir von unseren deutschen Landesleuten rühmen können. – Wohlhabend sind sie alle: eine Heerde Schweine hat jeder, ein Pferd fast alle, Rindvieh nur wenige; Kartoffeln und Getreide bauen sie selbst, andere Bedürfnisse haben sie nicht, und so fällt es ihnen auch nicht ein in die Städte zu gehen und Arbeit zu suchen. (25.2.1859, 116)

As this village appears in his mind to be at the lowest end of the scale of Europeanisation, the wealth of the big potato and wheat fields, as well as the number of pigs and beautiful horses they own (the latter being greatly prized and something which they are somewhat reluctant to sell due to the exorbitant price they ask for), lead him to attribute prosperity to all Maori in general. Thus, on the whole, Krull gives a positive picture of the Maori, in which any negative qualities do not overshadow the positive, so much so that, as he leaves, he states: “Durch kleine Geschenke hatten wir uns bald das Vertrauen dieser heiteren Leute erworben, und als wir Abschied nahmen, wollte das Nasenreiben und das Gebrumme kein Ende nehmen” (25.2.1859, 116).

After greatly enjoying their first outing, Krull and Hartmann decide to go on another excursion five days after their return to Wellington. On this occasion they venture into the charming, almost idyllic setting of a Maori village at Kaiwharawhara, with its cleaner and more prosperous appearance certainly making it a more civilised and advanced community, which Krull incorrectly believes to be spearheaded by the renowned chief Potatau Te Wherowhero,⁴⁸ under whose leadership the Maori people hope “das Joch der Europäer abschütteln zu können” (25.2.1859, 118):⁴⁹

Es ist dies ein kleines, nur von Eingebornen bewohntes Dorf, reizend in einem Thale gelegen, und von einem Bache durchströmt, welcher in einen an heißen Quellen reichen See mündet. Die Eingebornen sind hier unter der kräftigen und intelligenten Führung ihres Häuptlings Te Wherowhero (d. h. der Rothe) ziemlich in der Cultur vorgeschritten. Sie besitzen herrliche Weizen- und Kartoffelfelder, schöne Heerden von Schweinen und Hornvieh, und ausgezeichnete

⁴⁸ The ailing King Potatau was reportedly as old as eighty-four at the time and lived much further north in Ngaruawahia. (See Steven Oliver, “Te Wherowhero, Potatau ? – 1860: Waikato leader, warrior, Maori King”, in: *DNZB* 1, 526-28; Pei Te Hurinui Jones, *King Potatau: An Account of the Life of Potatau Te Wherowhero, the First Maori King*. Wellington: Polynesian Society, 1959.)

⁴⁹ It is curious how Krull later witnesses a scene where the chief is apparently chosen to be the appointed Maori King, even though the decision had been made several years earlier: “Die Königsfrage sollte hier erledigt werden, und da der alte graue Eponi [Te Puni] die Würde ausgeschlagen hatte, so wurde Te Wherowhero einstimmig zum Könige ernannt” (14.4.1859, 134).

Pferde. Ihre Hütten sind aber dennoch ebenso elend, wie die ihrer anderen Brüder; es herrscht hier jedoch etwas mehr Reinlichkeit, da der warme See in der Nähe ist, und sie das Baden darin ebenso sehr lieben, als die anderen Eingebornen das Waschen mit kaltem Wasser verabscheuen. Wir führten uns selbst bei dem Häuptlinge ein, der in seiner etwas ansehnlicheren Hütte ganz gemüthlich nieder gehockt saß und Taback rauchte. (25.2.1859, 116-18)

What an impression the hot lake makes, bringing him to the conclusion that Maori in fact wash themselves, but only if they live near warm water: “Von kaltem Wasser sind die Maoris keine Freunde, und wo sie nur dieses haben, sind Schmutz und Ungeziefer die unzertrennlichen Merkmale ihrer Personen und Wohnungen. Aber hier, wo die Natur ihnen das warme Wasser freiwillig spendet, machen sie einen sehr ausgedehnten Gebrauch von demselben, und an jedem Abend plätschern Männer, Frauen und Kinder, alle durcheinander, in ihm herum.”⁵⁰ Later he also maintains nearly all Maori who are able to, go to the Hot Lakes district in Taupo every year. However, if a European wants to follow suit he requires the protection of a friendly group of Maori, “da man die Dörfer vieler sehr uncivilisirter und den Weißen feindlicher Stämme passiren muß” (25.5.1859, 148). Although in general the huts are rather poor and dirty looking, the chief’s is certainly more plush in comparison. Funnily enough, this time it is the male chief who is smoking while his wife is working in the fields and his daughter is out riding, as is the wont of many females and Maori in general who are so passionate about their horses that chiefly wives and daughters are often seen “in eleganter englischer Reitkleidung, gefolgt von einem berittenen Diener” (25.2.1859, 114). The guests get along well with the chief as he can speak good English. He even shakes their hands instead of rubbing noses, as is common among young, educated and well-off Maori,⁵¹ although in the end they do not accept his invitation to stay the night.

The erroneous Te Wherowhero is described as a strong and tall man in his forties with the customary full facial ‘moko’ and shark’s teeth in each ear. It is noticeable that Krull greets him with respect despite his European attire, which “aber mehr der eines Tagelöhners als der eines Häuptlings entsprach”, and his abode which is “nur mit grobem europäischen Hausgeräthe ausgestattet” (25.2.1859, 118). His supposed status as Maori King is certainly not in fitting with the European status which he exudes in Krull’s eyes. Out of fear that this King Movement could lead to future hostilities, extra troops and warships have been brought in to avoid any conflict:

⁵⁰ Krull, “Mittheilungen”, 103; cf. 25.2.1859, 120.

⁵¹ Krull, “Mittheilungen”, 105.

Um inzwischen den Eingebornen mehr Respect⁵² vor den englischen Waffen einzuflößen, hat man denen, die in der Nähe von Wellington und in der Hutt wohnen, die Wirkung der Batterien gezeigt, indem die Iris alle Morgen eine halbe Stunde lang die Kanonen donnern läßt. Die Regierung hofft dadurch wenigstens zu erreichen, daß die der Colonie näher wohnenden Einwohner sich einschüchtern lassen und sich an einem etwaigen Kriege nicht beteiligen werden. (25.2.1859, 118)⁵³

Here, Krull is not overly critical and portrays the local Government in a fairly positive light without going out of his way to commend them for such action either. In spite of the possible ramifications of this movement, there is a great deal of respect for the highest resident Pakeha authority, as can be seen in the turnout in Wellington of several hundred Maori, particularly women, on horseback and foot to see Governor Thomas Gore Browne,⁵⁴ whom they honour with the most chiefly reverence with the title “Kovanah” (‘Te Kawana’ or ‘the Governor’): “Es war ein prächtiger Anblick, diese alten tätowirten Gestalten auf den Pferden mit Speeren oder Streitäxten in der Hand zu sehen, - ebenso auch die Damen im halb europäischen Reitanzug, wie z.B. in langem Sammetkleide, aber baarhäuptig und mit der Thonpfeife im Munde” (25.5.1859, 148).

However, the most memorable moment on this trip is certainly the introduction of the chief’s daughter, Pomare. After walking over to the lake he reflects on how beautiful and magnificent the surroundings are:

Welch ein reiches, reges Leben herrschte hier! An den Ufern drängte sich die üppige Vegetation, Tausende von wilden Enten hatten hier ihren Zufluchtsort gesucht, und die so schönen wilden Hühner (grün und braunröthlich, die Brust weiß, Schnabel und Füße roth,) flogen mit wildem Geschrei nebst den Papageien bei unserer Annäherung davon. (25.2.1859, 118)

Man, animal and nature seem to co-exist peacefully together as the joyful singing and bright colours of flocking birds enliven the atmosphere of the beautiful lake even further. Krull is then woken from his reverie by the sound of horse’s hooves, only to see yet another striking sight in front of him:

Wir waren alle bei ihrem Anblick auf das höchste erstaunt, denn wir hatten es nicht für möglich gehalten, daß eine Maori so schön sein könne; was wir bis dahin von einheimischen Damen gesehen, hatte uns eben nicht zu hohen Erwartungen berechtigt. Sie war in einem schwarzen

⁵² In his later article “Respect” is replaced by “zur Vernunft zu bringen und ihren Kriegseifer zu dämpfen” (ibid., 104).

⁵³ In a footnote it states: “Diese Absicht wurde auch vollkommen erreicht, denn kaum hatten die Schießübungen einige Tage gedauert, so erschienen hier in W. [Wellington] gegen 800 Maoris, und fragten in großer Bestürzung bei dem hiesigen Superintendenten (d.h. Provinzial-Gouverneur) an, ob es wahr sei, daß die englische Königin befohlen habe sie alle todt zu schießen und ihr Land dann in Besitz zu nehmen” (156).

⁵⁴ See B. J. Dalton, “Browne, Thomas Robert Gore 1807 – 1887: Soldier, colonial governor”, in: *DNZB* 1, 46-48.

europäischen Reitanzuge, auf dem Kopfe trug sie einen gleichfalls schwarzen, aber mit rothen, blauen und bunten Federn geschmückten Hut; ihre Gesichtszüge waren regelmäßig gleich denen einer Europäerin, und nicht durch Tätowirung verunstaltet, ihre Farbe war hellbraun, oder vielmehr gelb, ihr Auge und ihr Haar rabenschwarz und ihr kleiner Mund ließ Zähne wie Elfenbein blicken. (25.2.1859, 120)

In complete opposition to his previous views on the beauty of Maori females, the idyllic surroundings and lifestyle seem to extend to Pomare, who appeals to his Eurocentric ideas of attraction despite her inability to speak English. Not only does she appear in European riding attire with a quaint feathered hat to show her privileged status, but also her features give an almost European appearance with her unspoiled, lighter complexion and clean ivory teeth. In fact, she is almost good enough to marry a European, and he has no doubts that she would find a European husband “wenn man nur nicht, so zu sagen, den ganzen Stamm mitheirathen müßte”:

Bei einer Häuptlingstochter nämlich (deren Mitgift, je nach der Bedeutung und dem Reichthume des Stammes, in einer Anzahl von Aeckern, einigen hundert Schweinen, in Hunden, Kartoffeln u. dergl. besteht,) quartiert sich gleich nach der Hochzeit der ganze Stamm ein, und wenn das junge Paar denselben nicht zu Todfeinden haben will, so müssen sie denselben auf 1 bis 2 Monate beherbergen und mit Kartoffeln und Speck abfuttern. (25.2.1859, 120)⁵⁵

As Krull and Hartmann descend into the wondrous valley of Paekakariki on their third and final excursion into the interior they are met by more friendly Maori who happily engage in nose rubbing and soon become “gute Freunde” (14.4.1859, 128), which justifies their decision not to bring any weapons along with them due to “[d]en friedlichen Charakter der Eingebornen schon kennend” (14.4.1859, 126). The simple, peaceful setting of this Maori village, with its curious “ganz nackten, oder nur mit einem zerrissenen Hemdchen bedeckten Kinder” who follow their European guests as they observe the various cattle, horses and plantations of the community, gives the impression of a life that can only be described as a fairytale dreamland: “[K]urz, es war ein Leben, als wäre ich plötzlich durch Zauberei in ein Feenland versetzt” (14.4.1859, 128). However, with the changing face of ownership in colonial New Zealand, it is with a deep sadness that he soon learns of the settlement’s eventual demise shortly after his return to Wellington:

Dieselben Distrikte, die wir kürzlich durchwandert hatten, das friedliche Thal Paikakariki [sic] ist in den Besitz der Regierung übergegangen. Die Eingebornen, mit denen wir damals verkehrten, sind schon nicht mehr dort, - mit ihren Familien, mit Hab und Gut sind sie nach dem Norden zu

⁵⁵ Furthermore: “Die civilisirten Maori-Frauen haben den Gebrauch bei feierlichen Gelegenheiten ihren ganzen Vorrath von Kleidern anzulegen. Haben sie dasjenige welches gerade als Oberkleid prangte genug bewundern lassen, so ziehen sie sich zurück und entledigen sich desselben, um ihre Freunde und Freundinnen durch ein anderes zu überraschen – dieselbe Sitte welche sich bei den Farmer-Töchtern in den weniger bevölkerten Staaten der nordamerikanischen Union findet” (Krull, “Mittheilungen”, 104).

den warmen Seen gezogen. In einem einzigen Jahre schon wird dies Land in den Händen der Weißen sich schnell verändern, und es freuet mich daher doppelt, es noch in seinem Urzustande gesehen zu haben. (25.5.1859, 146)

A better state of affairs, on the other hand, exists in Otaki, “die stärkste Niederlassung der Eingebornen in der Provinz Wellington”:

Es wohnen hier 800-1.000 Eingeborne und 50-60 Weiße, letztere aus einigen Farmen, Händlern und Missionaren bestehend, die alle ebenso gut maorisch als englisch sprechen. Die hiesigen Eingebornen sind äußerst wohlhabend und ziemlich civilisirt; viele tragen alte europäische Kleider und ihre Wohnungen sind etwas sauberer als die, welche wir auf unsern frühen Reisen gesehen hatten. Ihre niedrigen Hütten erhalten namentlich dadurch ein hübscheres Aussehen, daß die äußeren und inneren Wände mit einer Art von Rohr (sie nennen es Toi Toi,) bekleidet sind. (14.4.1859, 130-32)

For a rather large Maori settlement, there exists a definite European influence with even the huts appearing cleaner and more richly decorated than in the previous villages, whilst also being enclosed by acacias and peach trees with potatoes and maize planted in the ground.

As Krull attributes the proud display of European goods as a symbol of wealth and status for a chief and his tribe, it is therefore no surprise as to the amount of praise he gives the two chiefs he befriends, “Martin Tewivi” (Matene Te Whiwhi)⁵⁶ and “Tomiona-o-roperara” (Tamihana Te Rauparaha),⁵⁷ with the help of an Irish interpreter:

Beide haben ihrem Stande und ihrer Macht angemessene Wohnungen, und zwar solche, wie man sie in Wellington nicht schöner antrifft, ausgestattet mit allem möglichen europäischen Luxus. Rechts und links von dem in einem Garten gelegenen Hause des ersteren befinden sich elende Hütten, in denen die Sklaven wohnen. Vor dem Hause ist eine mit herrlichem Grün bekleidete Veranda, im Vorsaale, dessen Wände aus Rohr geflochten und mit geschnitzten Stäben verziert sind, hängt eine kostbare Lampe. Beim Eintritt in das Empfangszimmer sahen wir den alten Martin [sic] auf einem Sopha sitzend; er reichte uns die Hand zum Willkommen, da er indeß kein Englisch sprach, so mußte die Unterhaltung durch unseren Irländer geführt werden. Das Zimmer war höchst geschmackvoll eingerichtet. Reiche Teppiche bedeckten den Boden, grünsaffiane, gepolsterte Stühle, Lehnstühle und Canapés standen um einen Mahagoni-Tisch [sic]; auf welchem eine Menge englischer und maorischer Bücher lagen, und ein Schreibzeug nebst verschiedenen anderen zierlichen Dingen standen. Die Wände waren mit Kupferstichen der Königin Victoria,⁵⁸ des Prinzen Albert, des Prinzen von Wales und Napoleons I. geschmückt, und außerdem hing dort auch noch des Häuplings [sic] eigenes Portrait in Oel gemalt. Auf dem Kamine standen Versteinerungen von dem Taupo-See, dem Badeorte der Kranken. Eine junge Sclavin bediente uns mit Aepfeln. (14.4.1859, 132)

⁵⁶ See W. H. Oliver, “Te Whiwhi, Henare Matene ? – 1881: Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa leader, missionary, assessor”, in: *DNZB* 1, 528f.

⁵⁷ See Steven Oliver, “Te Rauparaha, Tamihana ? – 1876: Ngati Toa leader, evangelist, writer, sheepfarmer, assessor”, in: *ibid.*, 507f.

⁵⁸ Cf. Krull, “Mittheilungen, 103.

Because Te Whiwhi owns such an abundance of luxurious European goods, in Krull's estimation he is therefore elevated above that of the mistaken Te Wherowhero. The impression one gets is of a chief trying to convey the status of a European king or aristocrat, as he sits somewhat majestically on his sofa beckoning the guests into his chamber, when, as Krull acknowledges, he only does this due to a lack of knowledge of English, while what seem to be slaves take care of his every want and desire and offer guests fruit before returning to their own poor huts at the end of the day. However, as this notion of a fixed social hierarchy is conveyed through European eyes, it immediately places doubt over any specific role definition. Furthermore, this display of wealth in the end appears somewhat hollow: "Obgleich Martin [sic] dies schöne Haus besitzt, so wohnt er doch nicht darin; er kann es in demselben nicht aushalten, sondern lebt in einer schmutzigen Hütte ganz wie die übrigen Eingebornen und nur dort fühlt er sich heimisch. Er hat seinen Ehrgeiz, ein Haus wie die Weißen zu besitzen, befriedigt, und das ist ihm genug" (14.4.1859, 132). In this way, Te Whiwhi is not elevated to the degree of a European king, rather this act of possession is only a façade, and represents his status to show off to rivals and not a place where the chief wants to inhabit for long periods of time, as he returns to the same poor and dirty huts as the rest of them. Noticeably, it is his possessions which define him which is why Krull gives account only of his home.

As if the lavishness of Te Whiwhi's home is enough to bring one to a degree of amazement, we are told that Tamihana's abode is even more impressive. Son of the great cannibal chief Te Rauparaha, who "so viele Weiße verzehrt haben soll" and was feared by the British as a result, Tamihana is "ein nicht tätowirter, schöner junger Mann" who reportedly received a first-class education in England: "Jetzt zurückgekehrt, beherrscht er seinen Tribus mit vieler Einsicht, und die Weißen hassen ihn, weil er ihnen zu klug ist, und sie mit ihm nicht so umspringen können, wie mit den anderen Häuptlingen" (14.4.1859, 132). He is the most European-like of the Maori chiefs Krull has met, and as a consequence of his re-education he thinks and acts more like a European, which is why he is disliked by the British, as he can use it to his advantage: "Er erkannte die Mängel seines Volkes und strebt sich dasselbe zu civilisiren, - 'aber (sagt er,) die Maoris halten sich selbst für das klügste und gescheiteste Volk auf Erden'⁵⁹ und was ich ihnen auch von England und London erzählen mag, sie glauben es nicht und sagen immer, die weißen Männer hätten mich bezahlt, ihnen dies vorzureden'" (14.4.1859, 132-34). If a Maori sees the

⁵⁹ He adds: "Es gibt deßhalb unter ihnen einzelne überaus unverschämte Exemplare, im ganzen jedoch ist ihr Dünkel um so unschädlicher, als sie durch das Zusammenleben die höhere Stellung der Europäer schnell erkennen lernen, und auch willig anerkennen; sie sind in diesem Fall eifrige Nachahmer ihrer Sitten und Gebräuche" (ibid., 105).

need to civilise his own people then there can be no question as to the validity of such action, resulting in only confirming the fact in Krull's mind. Furthermore, he is the only chief who lives in his richly European decorated home, due no doubt to his experiences in England, but his family do not share his tastes and live elsewhere. As if to draw an extreme contrast between the generations, Krull parallels Tamihana with the painting of his infamous father. The appearance of this "wildes, dunkelfarbiges Gesicht, ganz und gar tätowirt" (14.4.1859, 134) with a talisman around his neck and a battleaxe and greenstone club in either hand is in stark contrast to the refined gentleman his son has become. It is no wonder with his fluent English and European views that Krull engages in a long conversation with him.

After the various large meetings that take place among the twenty-one prominent chiefs who are, according to Krull, accompanied by attendants and slaves, Tamihana invites them to attend the chiefs' European-style dinner at the local inn:

Wir setzten uns also mit an die Tafel, die ganz auf englische Weise zugestrichelt war, und es war mir ein eigenthümliches Gefühl hier so weit von Heimathlande in dieser merkwürdigen Gesellschaft, von so wilden Gesichtern umgeben zu speisen. [...] Es amüsirte uns zu sehen, wie anfangs alle Häuptlinge mit Gabeln und Messern [sic] zu essen begannen, Salz, Senf und Pfeffer nahmen, nach und nach aber die ungewohnten Werkzeuge bei Seite legten, und bevor die Mahlzeit halb beendigt war, Tomiona [sic] allein ausgenommen, alle nur mit den Fingern aßen. (14.4.1859, 134)

Although more European in attire and status, all but the European-like Tamihana revert to their old habits, which by now brings an amused response to Krull, in contrast to his first sight of them eating with dirty fingers, as he no longer feels threatened or is repulsed by such behaviour. In the end, it seems the unfathomable toys of the Europeans still hold great joy even for these respected chiefs who look in "große[r] Verwunderung" through a microscope like the stereotypical 'childlike' savage, in which "sie drücken dieselbe durch einen langgezogenen Schrei aus, der so lange währt, als sie den bewunderten Gegenstand vor Augen haben" (14.4.1859, 134). As is the norm whenever a gathering or festivity takes place, the whole tribe gets together to eat, drink, sing and smoke.⁶⁰ In this case, the chief's wives who have come to see their husbands "lagen entweder auf dem Rasen oder saßen auf ihren Pferden" (14.4.1859, 134) while the children run about and perform a dance wearing just shirts. However, once the performance is over, he observes the chiefs leaving on their horses, followed by their wives and male slaves, while the female slaves must go on foot (14.4.1859, 134).

⁶⁰ Ibid., 104.

Before he leaves Otaki he notices a beautiful Maori church built from wood and reeds: “Die vier nackten inneren Wände sind im Tättowirungsstyle (wenn ich so sagen darf,) mit Sculpturen bedeckt; der Altar, ein mit einem Gitter umgebener Baumstamm, ist, wie dieses, reich geschnitzt. Kein Stuhl, kein Sitz ist hier zu finden, denn die Maoris sitzen nach alter Gewohnheit auf bloßer Erde” (14.4.1859, 134-36). What he witnesses is not only a balance between Europeanised Maori culture and ‘Maori-fied’ European culture, i.e. a European church made in a Maori way, but also a showcase of their artistic abilities which “das Vordringen der Europäer wahrscheinlich allmählich spurlos vernichten wird”.⁶¹ They also meet a Maori Priest, “einen jungen Eingebornen in weißer Binde und schwarzem Rock” (14.4.1859, 136), and visit a Catholic church as the Maori are mostly Catholic in this area. These tribes, according to Krull, are “große Freunde der Oui oui, wie sie die Franzosen nennen” (14.4.1859, 136). Furthermore, this apparent fondness for the non-British European is soon also directed at his homeland with the story of a German man who received great reverence and importance through practically being worshipped by this Maori tribe:

Wir erfuhren, daß auch ein junger deutscher Arzt Namens Roth (oder Rode, oder Rother), - genau konnten wir den Namen nicht ermitteln, - hier mehrere Jahre unter den Eingebornen, von denen er fast vergöttert wurde, gelebt hat; er war mit einer Maori-Frau verheirathet gewesen und hatte zwei Knaben, war aber leider vor einem Monat beim Durchschwimmen des Rangitiki-Flusses [sic] mit seinem Pferde ertrunken. Er wurde allgemein und tief betrauert, aber Niemand wußte uns zu sagen, aus welchem Theile Deutschlands er herstammte. (14.4.1859, 136)

Of all the comments Krull makes about the Maori, the harshest, next to their initial filthiness, is their desire to make a profit out of every opportunity and reluctance to do something for free due in part to British ‘pampering’:⁶² “Eigennützig sind sie alle in hohem Grade und thun nichts umsonst. Ich glaube, wenn ein Maori Jemand vom Ertrinken retten könnte, er würde erst mit ihm über den Preis dafür accordiren” (25.5.1859, 150). However, in saying this, they are a very gregarious, cheerful and friendly people: “Doch kann man sie sich leicht mit den kleinsten Geschenken zu Freunden machen” (25.5.1859, 150).⁶³ Furthermore, when it comes to trade the peculiar habits and routines of these people prove a rather amusing tale to say the least, which blunts the sharpness of his earlier comment:

⁶¹ Ibid., 105.

⁶² Ibid., 105.

⁶³ Cf. *ibid.*, 105.

Merkwürdig ist es, wie die Maoris den Handel betreiben. Sobald sie mit ihren Schweinen, Fischen, Kartoffeln oder Flachs in die Stadt gekommen sind, so halten sie erst ihre Mahlzeit und lassen sich darin durchaus nicht stören, es mögen auch Käufer in Menge kommen. Um 11 Uhr sind sie fertig, und wenn sie dann nicht den Preis für ihre Waaren erhalten, den sie selbst festgesetzt haben, so nehmen sie lieber alles wieder mit zurück, als daß sie im Geringsten von ihrer Forderung abließen. Gegen 2 Uhr versammeln sie sich in der Regel an einem bestimmten Orte, und ihrer 30 bis 40, Weiber und Kinder mit eingerechnet, gehen dann unter der Anführung des Häuptlings in die Läden um ihre Einkäufe zu machen, z.B. eine wollene Decke. Sie lassen sich dann deren etwa 50 zeigen, jedes einzelne Stück wird genau geprüft und von jedem besehen; der Häuptling wählt endlich den Gegenstand aus und dann geht das Dingen [sic] um den Preis los. Ist man schließlich darüber eins geworden, dann gehen sie ab und begeben sich in einen anderen Laden, wo sich dieselbe Scene wiederholt, und aus allen diesen behandelten Stücken wählen sie denn zuletzt dasjenige aus, welches ihnen am preiswürdigsten erscheint. Eine wahre Geduldsprobe für die Kaufleute! (25.5.1859, 150-52)

This emphasis in economics is so great that they even have a European-style “Institut, worin die Kinder zugleich theoretisch und practisch in der Oekonomie unterrichtet werden” (14.4.1859, 136). As can be seen, when given the opportunity, he neither philosophises in the tradition of Forster and Dieffenbach over the impact of negative European influences, nor attributes them outright to a failure on behalf of the Maori which led to them adopting this behaviour in the first place.

One of the sources for this emphasised Maori image is undoubtedly the great chief Honiana Te Puni Kokopu⁶⁴ who overtakes Krull’s group upon their return from Paekakariki while accompanied by a boy and ten slaves. Their Irish guide and translator makes a deal with this “angesehene[n] Häuptling” (25.5.1859, 148) from the Hutt Valley to carry his knapsack to an inn. Once they arrive Te Puni lingers on while they proceed to have a meal. However, when invited, the chief makes it clear that he will only join them if they pay for his meal. Coming from a chief with the reported wealth of £10,000 the actions of this rich beggar therefore seem only to reaffirm the profit-oriented image of the Maori. Furthermore, as the Irishman praises the food, Te Puni sits there and counts “uns gierig jeden Bissen in den Mund” (25.5.1859, 148). For a people who certainly enjoy their meals, Te Puni eventually must yield and in this case makes an offer of one shilling to the Irishman if he will pay for his meal, and then adds the further inducement of carrying his knapsack a further four miles. Krull’s response is as follows:

Diese Scene machte einen peinlichen Eindruck auf mich, und ich bedauerte den alten Greis, der einst einer der mächtigsten Häuptlinge Neuseelands war, dem noch vor Kurzem die Königswürde angeboten war, die er aber ausgeschlagen hatte, und der nun in dem Lande, in welchem er frei geboren war und das einst sein Eigenthum gewesen war, sich so vor dem weißen Manne

⁶⁴ See Angela Ballara, “Te Puni-kokopu, Honiana ? – 1870: Te Ati Awa leader, government adviser”, in: *DNZB* 1, 480-83.

erniedrigen mußte. Er ist übrigens einer der ärgsten Kannibalen gewesen und seiner Menschenschlächterei wegen in den Annalen Neuseelands berüchtigt; seit langen Jahren jedoch ein warmer Freund der Weißen, soll er in den neueren Kriegen Hunderten derselben das Leben gerettet haben, wofür er von der Regierung eine jährliche Leibrente von 50 £ Sterl. erhält. (25.5.1859, 150)

He has certainly proved his worth and renounced his savage past, but at the same time Krull feels a great sympathy for his fall from grace, in terms of freedom, power and status, which leaves him totally subjugated and often humiliated in his actions, as the above scene shows. While it shows to the supporters of European civilisation that even the most savage of creatures can be controlled and converted, as Krull notes, he has lost his native rights, and now is in effect a slave to the white man. The quite comical depiction that follows of a drunken Te Puni falling off his cart and injuring his head is then contrasted with his new companions cleaning him up and becoming great friends from this day forward (25.5.1859, 150). Despite touching the chiefly head in the process, which they later learn is worthy of death under traditional Maori practices, the converted Te Puni has no qualms about this act, and neither does Krull have any reservations about the chief's cannibalistic past.

As can be seen, Krull views the Maori as a friendly, cheerful and relatively peaceful people, despite their recent history with the British, in which "Menschenopfer unter ihnen nicht mehr stattfinden, und [...] der Krieg den schrecklichen Reiz für sie verloren hat, der sie früher zu ihm anregte",⁶⁵ as they now try to resolve their disputes in Court Houses.⁶⁶ He does, however, acknowledge that the Maori are, or at least were, not incapable of the grossest acts of barbarism when seeking retribution: "Früher waren sie Cannibalen, die nicht nur das Fleisch ihrer gefangenen und geschlachteten Feinde brien und verzehrten, sondern auch das warme Blut derselben tranken. Auch ihre eigenen Sklaven schlachteten sie nicht selten zur Strafe für irgend ein geringes Vergehen."⁶⁷ This is also witnessed, for example, in the stories he is told of past intertribal conflicts where, in one case, a tribe had slaughtered all their prisoners only to soon receive the same fate from the "blutige[n] Rache" of the enemy chiefs (25.2.1859, 110), and the noticeable piles of bleached bones from a bloody battle fought nine years earlier between the Maori and British soldiers, in which "nicht ein geringer Theil von diesen [...] von den lebend in

⁶⁵ Krull, "Mittheilungen", 104.

⁶⁶ Krull, for example, witnesses, albeit with some difficulty as the proceedings are delivered in their native tongue, the accused and plaintiff being represented by their chiefs who agree on the penalty and are accompanied by their whole tribes and the noise they bring with them (18.3.1859, 124).

⁶⁷ Krull, "Mittheilungen", 103.

die Hände der Maoris gefallenen Engländern [stammt]”.⁶⁸ Krull, not surprisingly, gives a more detailed account of the terrible acts committed by an infamous cannibal chief who is said to be responsible at one point for slaughtering more than 500 enemy Maori under the orders of Tamihana’s father. His most noticeable act of butchery witnessed by European eyes occurred in 1850 where he stabbed and drank the blood of his female slave while in their presence after getting her to fetch the wood which was to be used for cooking her body. Now he is a converted Protestant “aber dennoch ein Schrecken der Kinder, und die Mütter bedienen sich seines Namens, um ihre kleinen Schreihälse zum Stillschweigen zu bringen” (25.5.1859, 150), giving him the reputation of a Maori Bogeyman. Fortunately, it is only those, we are told, who live protected from civilisation in the vicinity of mountains and in the depths of the impenetrable forests in the inner regions of the North Island who are now inclined towards war, albeit more amongst themselves: “Sie entschädigen sich indessen durch fortwährenden Streit mit ihren Nachbarn, die wilden Stämme bekämpfen sich ohne Unterlaß, und machen dadurch eben sehr gegen ihren Willen dem Fortschreiten der Engländer Platz.”⁶⁹ Thus, in order to avoid unnecessary conflict with the Maori, who have clearly proven themselves in battle, and secure New Zealand’s place as a British colony, “so haben sich die Engländer auf alle mögliche Weise bemüht sie sich zu guten Freunden zu machen, erhalten sie in ihren Besitzverhältnissen, unterstützen und belehren sie in der Cultur des Bodens, und ertheilen ihnen auch den Eifer anregende und die Freundschaft erhaltende Belohnungen”.⁷⁰ As a result, one year before the outbreak of the first of the Taranaki Wars Krull records in his last entry of his published 1859 letters: “Auch die Aussicht auf einen Ausbruch von Feindseligkeiten zwischen den Maoris und den Ansiedlern scheint jetzt gänzlich beseitigt zu sein” (25.5.1859, 152).⁷¹

However, the situation he finds himself in by the end of the year paints a slightly different picture. Gone is the purely peaceful outlook, and in its place is the probability of future conflict deciding the future of the colony:

Es ist schon oben erwähnt worden daß die Engländer sich nur gewaltsam im Besitz der Colonien erhalten konnten, und daß ein für die Maoris sehr blutiger Kampf entstand. Nach der Besiegung dieser schlugen die Sieger den Weg friedlicher Colonisation ein, zogen einen Theil der

⁶⁸ Ibid., 103; cf. 14.4.1859, 130.

⁶⁹ Krull, “Mittheilungen”, 104.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 105.

⁷¹ However, he does comment earlier: “Der Schauplatz würde, falls es losgeht, wahrscheinlich zwischen den Provinzen Wellington und Neu-Plymouth [sic] liegen, wo die Eingebornen jetzt schon unter sich im Kriege sind, und bis wohin durch das Dickicht der Wälder noch kaum ein Europäer vorgedrungen sein soll” (25.2.1859, 118).

verschiedenen Häuptlinge mit ihren Stämmen, die zunächst wohnenden durch Geschenke und die Gaben der Civilisation an sich, und hielten die übrigen, wenn sie unruhig wurden, durch Entfaltung ihrer Macht in den Schranken. Sie befolgten hiebei das System die Häuptlinge und ihre Stämme im Besitz ihres Landes zu lassen, wobei sie wohl hoffen mochten daß ein friedlicher Verkauf des letzteren an die Regierung sich leicht werde realisiren lassen. Hier aber traten die gegenseitigen Interessen bald in Conflict. Die Maoris gebrauchen für ihre Heerden sehr große Strecken Landes, welche die Engländer jetzt gern zum Verkauf in kleineren Theilen für die Einwanderer erwerben möchten. Sie boten deßhalb ersteren mehrmals die Gelegenheit zum Verkauf. Aber diese mögen theils den bequemen Erwerb aus der Viehzucht nicht aufgeben, theils erkennen sie sehr wohl daß ein Verkauf an die Fremden die Gelegenheit zu ihrem eigenen Zurückdrängen gibt, theils endlich lieben sie auch wirklich sehr das ihnen zugehörige Land, und lieben es jetzt umsomehr, als die von ihnen angenommene Cultur es ihnen werthvoller gemacht hat.⁷²

As can be seen, he must weigh the issue of land for immigrants with land for Maori, in which the former seems to be in the best interests of the colony, but only if the latter can be resolved peacefully. Speaking from an immigrant's point of view, he respects the Maori right to land and their desire to protect it, but his main concern is how this will affect the country's future colonisation:

Oftmals machte die Regierung Versuche den Widerstand der Maoris zu beseitigen, aber immer ohne Erfolg; es wurden dadurch vielmehr jedesmal bedenkliche Unruhen erregt, welche das ganze bisher befolgte Colonisationssystem über den Haufen zu werfen drohten. In der letzteren Zeit ist es nun gelungen die beiden Stämme der Patikis [sic] und der Waitotaras [Waitara] zum Verkauf ihres Landes zu bewegen, und es ist wirklich zum Abschluß des Handels gekommen. Es läßt sich hoffen daß die Eingebornen sich demselben nicht mit den Waffen widersetzen werden, und dann wird auch für diejenige Einwanderung deren Absicht der Ankauf von Grundbesitz ist, ein sehr günstiger Zeitpunkt beginnen.⁷³

However, despite the offer of the local chief, Te Teira, to sell the land in question, namely the Pekapeka Block in North Taranaki, to the Crown, the principal Te Atiawa chief, Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake,⁷⁴ acting on behalf of his people, did not recognise the right of the lesser chief to make this offer and opposed the sale. As the Government had no issue with the rights of individual Maori to sell land, conflict arose in March 1860 when the British attempted to forcibly take the land.

⁷² Krull, "Mittheilungen", 105.

⁷³ Ibid., 106.

⁷⁴ See Ann Parsonson, "Te Rangitake, Wiremu Kingi ? – 1882: Te Ati Awa leader", in: *DNZB* 1, 499-502.

Conclusion

As emigration gradually became a feasible and more affordable solution to particularly economic distress in Germany during the middle periods of the nineteenth century, a new German readership was found, one that was more interested in information useful to emigrant workers which outlined the pros and cons of living and working in more prosperous foreign colonies. Being a new immigrant himself, Friedrich Krull could very well appreciate the need to advise those in his homeland on the suitability of the colony for immigrant workers and specifically merchants and labourers. While New Zealand initially appeared too competitive for setting up a business and more expensive than he imagined in relation to wages and the number of workers, it in fact offered a much freer and more certain lifestyle than in Germany on account of the relative ease in finding a well-paid profession for the hardworking labourer in particular. The only requirements in this 'worker's paradise' are hard work and perseverance, whereby those with sufficient capital who are able or willing to exert themselves as labourers can be guaranteed better prospects and a more comfortable and independent way of life. Thus, he captures the image of a fledgling British colony, which is well on its way towards the full realisation of the 'worker's paradise' and is progressing along the path that Dieffenbach outlined. Fittingly, as German Consul, Krull is also able to witness fellow Mecklenburgers leading by example through their sober and industrious ways in New Zealand's healthy and paradisaical, albeit temperamental, climate. Naturally this type of contribution does not conform to the German scientific tradition in material or style. Coming from a non-scientific middle-class background, there is little emphasis on philosophical reflection, theories and possible solutions. Compared with Dieffenbach, there is also little social critique or criticisms directed at the Government due to the fact that, in his mind at least, the positives clearly outweighed the negatives, he did not pretend to be as knowledgeable as earlier German scholars and scientists, and the format of his letters also prevented further expansion on these ideas. The main purpose was instead to relate relevant facts and information regarding his experiences to a more general readership, as well as those interested in natural history. Consequently, hotly debated and ambivalent themes such as colonisation take on a more positive role, whereby the sight of progress no longer produces a conservationist mentality, and actions are viewed according to the best interests of the colony and immigration. And while he clearly saw a need for land to be provided for immigrants, that did not mean it should be at the

expense of Maori, whose loss of land he viewed with sadness. These views would soon be tested by Hochstetter after the onset of the Taranaki Wars.

An important difference between Krull's perception of the Maori in his original letters and what would appear in a more scholarly work is that the former's views evolve more according to his experiences, beliefs and the conclusions formed in those moments than on inflexible quasi-scientific preconceived notions derived from a wealth of ethnographic literature. When observing the Maori he often assumes a merchant's viewpoint through placing greater attention on themes which would prove beneficial in future business transactions, such as gender roles, social status, personal hygiene, and monetary and economic pursuits. Despite his non-scientific background, Krull's preconceptions and biases are consistent with those of Forster and Dieffenbach through using similar forms of Romanticism and idealisation. The most noticeable change in perception occurs within the female-male dichotomy. At first glance, he separates the Maori into the beautiful and symmetrical male and the dirty, ugly and seemingly lazy female. Further contact teaches him to agree with the Fosterian notion that it is traditional Maori custom for the women to do all the manual work, with the exception of chiefly daughters, while the man is immune from such chores. However, he finds the reverse to be the case the further he progresses through Europeanised settlements. The outcome of this belief is that a chief's daughter exhibits all the European qualities of beauty and grace, while the appearance of those forced to live their lives as slaves to their husbands reflect the unattractive and detrimental conditions they work in. Following on from Dieffenbach, Krull also views the Maori as an intelligent and friendly self-sufficient people, albeit also materialistic and sometimes greedy traders, who are better educated than his fellow Germans and live more civilised and prosperous lives particularly around the Hot Lake district, leading to his not fully endorsing theories of 'fatal impact', other than recognising disappearing traditional traits and relaying information from predominantly British sources, including colonists. In this way, he continues the underlying sympathies for the Maori that Dieffenbach prescribed to, such as their general welfare and present state of conversion, and combines them with original insights into the more peaceable and productive yet subjugated and materialistic state of the Maori. In doing so, Krull makes a unique contribution to the depiction of colonial life in New Zealand through offering a comparable perception to that expressed in the more well-known writings of his contemporaries, Hochstetter and Haast.

CHAPTER FIVE: Ferdinand von Hochstetter (1829-84) and Julius von Haast (1822-87)

A Series of Chance Encounters

On consecutive days in December 1858 New Zealand had the good fortune to host the arrival of two of the most influential figures in New Zealand geology: one a visiting German scientist by the name of Ferdinand Hochstetter, the other a prospective immigrant named Julius Haast. Together they made significant contributions to the exploration of New Zealand, while individually they were also recognised by leading scientists of the day for their achievements in their chosen fields. Christian Gottlieb Ferdinand Hochstetter was born on 30 April 1829 in the German town of Esslingen, Württemberg. He enrolled at Tübingen University in 1847 in order to attend the Lutheran ministry, following the path of his father, Christian Ferdinand Hochstetter, who was both professor and clergyman and had published scientific works in the fields of geology and botany. Although Hochstetter later finished his theological studies in 1851, his love for the natural sciences soon came to the fore, and he also attended classes on physics, mineralogy, geology and palaeontology, resulting in his graduating with a doctorate in May 1852. Upon receiving a state scholarship to study and travel around parts of Europe, including Germany, Belgium and Austria, Hochstetter was recruited by Wilhelm Haidinger for the Austrian Geological Survey in Vienna, a city which would soon become his ‘second home’. What followed was his elevation to Chief Geologist for Bohemia and lecturer on petrography at the University of Vienna in 1856. In December of that year he was nominated at the assembly of the Imperial Royal Geographical Society for the position of Geologist on the Austrian frigate *Novara*, under the command of Commodore Bernhard von Wüllerstorff-Urbair, for a voyage around the globe with the purpose of not only advancing scientific knowledge and trade relations, but also asserting Austrian naval strength, and providing an inexperienced navy with a training exercise.¹ Following his appointment, Hochstetter travelled to Germany, England and France as preparation

¹ See Günter Treffer (ed.), *Karl von Scherzer: Die Weltumsegelung der “Novara” 1857-1859*. Wien; München; Zürich: Molden, 1973; Karl von Scherzer, “Die Novara-Expedition und ihre wissenschaftlichen Aussichten”, in: *Westermanns Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte [=WIDM]* 2:9 (1857): 278-90; “Die Weltumsegelung der K. K. Österreichischen Fregatte Novara, 30. April 1857 – 26. August 1859”, in: *Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes’ Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann [=MaJPGA]* 5:10 (1859): 403-10; Gertraud Stoffel, “‘Reiche wissenschaftliche Beute’. Das Neuseelandbild in Berichten Österreichischer Forschungsreisender im neunzehnten Jahrhundert”, in: *Novara: Mitteilungen der Österreichisch-Südpazifischen Gesellschaft 2: Österreicher im Pazifik II* (1999): 81-92; Stoffel, “Beziehungen zwischen Österreich und Neuseeland”, in: *Welt für sich*, 36-41.

for the voyage, where he met such distinguished scholars and researchers as Justus von Liebig, August Petermann, Wilhelm von Gumbel, Karl Ritter, Alexander von Humboldt, Sir Roderick Murchison, Sir Charles Lyell, Sir Richard Owen and David Livingstone. He then left Trieste on the *Novara* on 30 April 1857. On reaching Cape Town, Sir George Grey, the Governor of Cape Colony and former Governor of New Zealand (1847–53),² persuaded the Commodore to stop at Auckland and examine the North Island volcanic area. After a stay of four weeks in Sydney, the *Novara* arrived in Auckland on 22 December 1858.

The previous day Haast arrived in Auckland on the *Evening Star*. Born in Bonn on 1 May 1822, Johann Franz Julius Haast is said to have developed a keen interest in geology and mineralogy while studying at the University of Bonn, although he did not graduate. After presumably travelling throughout Europe in the 1840s and collecting mineralogical samples, he moved to Frankfurt and became involved in the book trade.³ On 12 September 1858⁴ under the employ of the London-based shipping company Willis, Gann & Co, Haast was sent to New Zealand in order to report on the prospects of German immigration to the colony.⁵ Haast met Hochstetter at the home of Dr Carl Fischer,⁶ a homeopathic doctor from Berlin who had invited all the members of the *Novara*, and soon became Hochstetter's assistant throughout his stay in New Zealand. As it happened, the Governor General of Australia, Sir William Denison, had recently received a request from New Zealand for a geologist to examine the newly discovered coal mines when the *Novara* had arrived in the Australian port. This resulted in Hochstetter and Haast examining the Drury and Hunua Coalfields on behalf of the Auckland Provincial Government. Due to the excellence of his report,⁷ it was requested that Hochstetter remain in New Zealand after the *Novara*'s departure on 8 February in order to undertake a five-month

² See Edmund Bohan, *To Be A Hero: Sir George Grey: 1812-1898*. Auckland: HarperCollins, 1998; Keith Sinclair, "Grey, George 1812 – 1898: Soldier, explorer, colonial governor, premier, scholar", in: *DNZB* 1, 160-64.

³ According to one source, Haast also reportedly made extensive explorations, mostly mountain expeditions, in the eight years prior to his departure for New Zealand in Russia, Austria and Italy, and even ascended Mt Etna during the 1852 eruption purely for scientific reasons (A. W. Bickerton, "Biographical Notices: Julius von Haast, Ph.D., F.R.S., C.M.G. &c.", in: *The New Zealand Journal of Science* [=NZJS] 2:2 May (1884): 112).

⁴ *The Southern Cross* 24 Dec (1858): 2f.

⁵ See "Treatise on the emigration from Germany and the best means to conduct it to New Zealand", in: *Haast Family Papers*, MS-Papers-0037-240, ATL. Haast later resigned his commission in early 1860 due to, among other things, war breaking out in Taranaki, which, for the time being at least, made it impossible for him to recommend the country as an ideal destination for German immigrants (H. F. von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast: Explorer, Geologist, Museum Builder*. Wellington: Haast, 1948, 112).

⁶ See Michael Belgrave, "Fischer, Carl Frank ? – 1893: Doctor, homeopath, viticulturalist", in: *DNZB* 1, 125f.

⁷ Ferdinand von Hochstetter, "Report of a Geological Exploration of the Coalfield in the Drury and Hunua District, in the Province of Auckland (N.Z.)", in: *The New Zealand Gazette* 2 13 Jan (1859): 9-12; cf. Ferdinand von Hochstetter, "Bericht über geologische Untersuchungen in der Provinz Auckland (Neu-Seeland)", in: *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 37:4 (1859): 123-27.

geological survey of the country. The major excursion that followed through the Waikato, Waipa, Kawhia, Wanganui, Taupo and Rotorua was undertaken by the two Germans while accompanied by Captain George Drummond Hay, who was fluent in Maori, the German draughtsman Augustus Carl Ferdinand Koch and photographer Bruno Lancel Hamel, in addition to two servants, a cook and fifteen Maori porters. His stay was then lengthened to a total of nine months after Hochstetter and Haast were invited by the Nelson Provincial Council to report on the mineral deposits in the province, in particular Dun Mountain,⁸ after briefly stopping at New Plymouth and Wellington along the way.⁹

Although Hochstetter and Haast eventually parted company on 2 October 1859 (when the former left for Sydney on the *Prince Alfred*),¹⁰ their friendship remained, and they kept up correspondence until Hochstetter's death. Shortly after his return to Trieste on 9 January 1860, Hochstetter received a knighthood from Württemberg, and was offered the position of Professor of Mineralogy and Geology at the Imperial Royal Polytechnic Institute in Vienna, where he taught until 1881. He was then appointed Vice-President of the Imperial Royal Geographical Society in 1862 before becoming President in November 1866, a position he held until 1882, during which time he was additionally involved in placing contributions from New Zealand in the world exhibitions in Paris and Vienna. In 1876 he also became Superintendent of the Natural History Museum in Vienna, and received a hereditary knighthood from the Austrian Emperor in 1884. This was followed soon afterwards by his death in Oberdöbling on 18 July from diabetes and a presumed affliction of the spinal cord.¹¹ Meanwhile Haast was asked to stay on by the Nelson Provincial Government to make further geological surveys in the province, and was

⁸ See Charles A. Fleming, "Dr Hochstetter in Nelson (Extracts from the Diary of Sir David Monro, 1813-1817 [sic])", in: *New Zealand Journal of Geology and Geophysics (Hochstetter Centenary Issue)* 2:5 Nov (1959): 954-63.

⁹ See also Ferdinand von Hochstetter, "Lecture on the Geology of the Province of Auckland, New Zealand", in: *The New Zealand Gazette* 23 14 July (1859): 162-74; Ferdinand von Hochstetter, "Lecture on the Geology of the Province of Nelson", in: *The New Zealand Gazette* 39 6 Dec (1859): 269-81.

¹⁰ See Michael Organ, "'Österreich in Australien': Ferdinand von Hochstetter and the Austrian Novara Scientific Expedition 1858-9", in: *Historical Records of Australian Science* 12:1 June (1998): 1-13.

¹¹ See, for example, Walter Carlé, "Ferdinand Ritter von Hochstetter, ein berühmte Geologe des letzten Jahrhunderts aus schwäbischem Stamm", in: *Jahresheft der Gesellschaft für Naturkunde in Württemberg* 135 (1980): 145-66; Julius von Haast, "In Memoriam: Ferdinand Ritter von Hochstetter", in: *NZJS* 2:5 Sept (1884): 202-20; Franz Heger, *Ferdinand von Hochstetter*. Wien: Hölzel, 1884; Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists*, 46-66; Charles A. Fleming, "Hochstetter, Christian Gottlieb Ferdinand von 1829 – 1884: Geologist, writer", in: *DNZB* 1, 199f.; Les Kermode, "Ferdinand von Hochstetter", in: *Welt für sich*, 203-14; Augustin Krämer, "Ferdinand von Hochstetter: Geologe, Erforscher Neuseelands, Intendant des k. k. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseums zu Wien 1829-1884", in: *Schwäbische Lebensbilder*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1941, 229-41; Gerhard Holzer, *Ferdinand Hochstetter insbesondere als Neuseelandforscher*. MA Thesis. University of Vienna, 1984; F. Freiherr von Andrian, "Ferdinand von Hochstetter", in: *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien [=MAGW]* 14 (1884): 77-82; Henze, "Hochstetter, Ferdinand von", in: *EEEE* 2, 590-95.

appointed Provincial Geologist in February 1861 by the Canterbury Provincial Government in order to explore and survey the Canterbury and Westland districts.¹² He then founded the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury in Christchurch in 1862, followed by his greatest achievement in 1868, namely the founding of the Canterbury Museum. Through his tireless efforts as the first director it became one of the leading museums in the Southern Hemisphere, in which he grew his collections through a system of exchange with other European institutions, including Hochstetter's Natural History Museum.¹³ He received an honorary doctorate from Württemberg, and became an honorary member of the New Zealand Society in 1862, as well as a fellow of the Royal Society in 1867. He also became one of the first professors at the Canterbury University College, which he helped found in 1873. Notably, he was knighted by the Austrian Emperor in 1875, received a K. C. M. G. (Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George) in June 1886 and an honorary degree of Doctor of Science from Cambridge University the following month, whilst he visited Europe as New Zealand commissioner for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London. He died, however, the following year on 16 August 1887 in Christchurch.¹⁴

The strength of their long-distance friendship is clear when one reads the heart-warming dedications from one friend to the other. Hochstetter, for instance, was always quick to pay tribute to others, such as the companionship of Haast:

Ein besonders glücklicher Zufall [...] war es, daß ich auch einen wackeren Deutschen hier finden sollte, der mein unzertrennlicher Reisebegleiter wurde, alle Mühen meiner Streifzüge auf Neu-Seeland und ebenso alle Freuden mit mir theilte; ich meine meinen Freund Julius Haast. [...] Wir hatten uns bald gefunden und eng einander angeschlossen. Mit jugendlicher Begeisterung erfaßte er meine Pläne und meine Aufgabe, mit treuer Anhänglichkeit und allzeit heiterer Laune stand er

¹² Another German surveyor worth noting is Gerhard Mueller (c.1835-1918), who became chief surveyor of Westland in 1871 (Rona Adshead, "Mueller, Gerhard 1834/1835? – 1918: Surveyor, engineer, land commissioner", in: *DNZB* 1, 302). His West Coast letters to his wife between September 1865 and August 1866 were eventually published in English (Gerhard Mueller, *My Dear Bannie: Gerhard Mueller's Letters from the West Coast, 1865-6*. Ed. M.V. Mueller; with a foreword by John Pascoe. Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1958). The original letters are held in MS-Papers-0448, ATL.

¹³ See Ruth Barton, "Haast and the Moa: Reversing the Tyranny of Distance", in: *Pacific Science* 54:3 July (2000): 251-63.

¹⁴ See, for example, H. von Haast, *Life and Times*; Wolfhart Langer, "Der Bonner Neuseelandforscher Sir Johann Franz Julius von Haast (1822-1887)", in: *Bonner Geschichtsblätter* 39 (1992): 273-93; R. M. Burdon, "Sir Julius von Haast", in: *New Zealand Notables: Series Three*. Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1950, 133-204; Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists*, 31-44; Bickerton, "Biographical Notices"; H. Lange, "Berühmte Geographen, Naturforscher und Reisende: Dr Julius v. Haast", in: *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik [=DRfGS]* 3:6 (1880-81): 300-2; Peter B. Maling, "Haast, Johann Franz Julius von 1822 – 1887: Explorer, geologist, writer, museum founder", in: *DNZB* 1, 167-69; Rodney Fisher, "Sir Julius von Haast", in: *Welt für sich*, 195-202; Dietmar Henze, "Haast, Julius von", in: *EEEE* 2, 421-27.

mir stets zur Seite, helfend und meine Zwecke fördernd, bis wir uns bei meiner Abreise von Nelson trennten.¹⁵

Haast, likewise, could not help but do the same as he remembered his long-time friend with deep affection:

I had arrived in Auckland a day before the “Novara.” We soon met, understood each other, and gradually we became linked together by the warmest friendship, never clouded for a single moment, and only severed by death. I cannot help observing here that Hochstetter’s desire to acknowledge the merits of other scientific men, and his total want of envy or jealousy, was so great, that though his letters to me contain in many instances valuable contributions to the history of geology and the cognate sciences for the last twenty-five years, he was so unassuming as to his own work that he seldom spoke of it, and then only passed it over with a few remarks, while he fully dilated upon the work of others with sincere praise.¹⁶

This partnership produced many fruits not only in its scientific contributions to New Zealand,¹⁷ but also its literary contribution to the image of the British colony.

As the official chronicler of the *Novara* expedition, Karl von Scherzer (1821-1903),¹⁸ who was also in charge of geography, economics and ethnology, had been granted permission to peruse all the collected material of Commodore von Wüllerstorff-Urbair and his fellow naturalists, and upon his return he set about compiling the three-volume ‘Beschreibender Theil’ of the voyage under the title *Reise der Oesterreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde, in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859*, in which the first two volumes appeared at the end of 1861 and the last volume the following year.¹⁹ Further editions followed, including an expanded and enlarged two-volume

¹⁵ Ferdinand von Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*. Facsim. Ed. Turnhout, Belgium: Time-Life-Books, 1984, 14f. (All further references to this work will be given in parentheses in the text.)

¹⁶ Haast, “In Memoriam”, 203.

¹⁷ The names of the two scientists have in many cases been permanently etched into New Zealand’s landscape in the form of, for example, two Mount Haasts, Haast Range, Haast Ridge, Haast Glacier, Haast Pass, Haast River, Haast Spit, Haast Road, the Haast township, Hochstetter Dome, Hochstetter Glacier, Lake Hochstetter, Mount Hochstetter and Hochstetter Crater in the Southern Alps and Westland, and Hochstetter Cave in Nelson (most of which still remain today), not to mention numerous species of fauna, including Haast’s eagle and Hochstetter’s frog. In recent times they have also been commemorated in the annual Hochstetter Lecture by the Geological Society of New Zealand, which has been running since 1974, and the Julius von Haast Fellowship Award, which was established by the New Zealand Government in 2004 for German scholars and scientists to undertake research in New Zealand, and is administered by the Royal Society of New Zealand.

¹⁸ See, for example, *Dr. Karl Ritter von Scherzer: Eine biographische Skizze*. Ed. Komitee zur Errichtung eines Dr.-Karl-Ritter-Denkmales in Wien. Wien: Verlag des Scherzer-Denkmal-Komitees, 1907; Bernhard Münz, “Nekrolog: Scherzer, Karl von”, in: *Biographisches Jahrbuch und deutscher Nekrolog* 8 (1903): 172-75; Roswitha Karpf, “Scherzer, Karl Ritter von”, in: *NDB* 22, 706f.; Dietmar Henze, “Scherzer, Karl von”, in: *EEEE* 5, 32-34; “Karl von Scherzer: Biographische Skizze”, in: *WIDM* 22:131 (1867): 511-14; “Dr. Karl Heinrich Scherzer”, in: *Illustrierte Zeitung* 28:710 7 Feb (1857): 126-28.

¹⁹ Karl von Scherzer, *Reise der Oesterreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde, in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859, unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair. Beschreibender Theil*. 3 Bde. Wien: Aus der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1861-62.

‘Volksausgabe’ between 1864 and 1866.²⁰ By the end of 1876 Scherzer’s account had lasted to a fifth edition, and was also translated into both English²¹ and Italian.²² With a combined total of 29,000 copies,²³ it proved to be one of the most successful books of popular science in the German language behind Humboldt’s *Kosmos* (1845) until it was overtaken by Ernst Haeckel’s *Welträtsel* in 1899.²⁴ There is a rather large section on New Zealand, despite their short stay in the country, thanks largely to a hefty reliance on other European sources, particularly Hochstetter’s own material from his explorations with Haast.²⁵ In the meantime, both visitors had made a number of contributions surrounding Hochstetter’s arrival in the *Novara* and his prolonged stay in the country. Hochstetter had regularly been sending reports to the *Wiener Zeitung* on the latest news from the *Novara*,²⁶ but following his arrival in New Zealand he was unable to continue due to his commitments with the Provincial Government in Auckland.²⁷ Haast therefore decided to redirect his own account, which had been intended for another German newspaper, to the *Wiener Zeitung*, resulting in “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’, unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. v. Wüllerstorff-Urbair. 41. Der Aufenthalt der ‘Novara’ in

²⁰ Karl von Scherzer, *Reise der Oesterreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde, in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859, unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair. Beschreibender Theil. 2 Bde. Volksausgabe.* Wien: Druck und Verlag von Carl Gerold’s Sohn, 1864-66.

²¹ Karl von Scherzer, *Narrative of the Circumnavigation of the Globe by the Austrian Frigate Novara (Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair.) undertaken by order of the Imperial Government, in the years 1857, 1858 and 1859, under the immediate auspices of His. I. and R. Highness the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, Commander-in-chief of the Austrian Navy.* 3 vols. London: Saunders, Otley, 1861-63.

²² Treffer (ed.), *Karl von Scherzer*, 213-15.

²³ Münz, “Nekrolog: Scherzer, Karl von”, 174; cf. “Die Volksausgabe von C. v. Scherzers Reise der Novara”, in: *Ausland* 37:16 (1864): 382.

²⁴ Treffer (ed.), *Karl von Scherzer*, 214.

²⁵ See Scherzer, *Reise* (1861-62), III:94-172; (1864-66), II:291-383. Scherzer’s ethnographical material was later reworked and revised by Friedrich Müller, another member of the *Novara* scientific team, as part of the official *Novara* publications. (See Friedrich Müller, *Reise der Österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde, in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859, unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair. Anthropologischer Theil. Dritte Abtheilung: Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl Scherzer gesammelten Materials. Bearbeitet von Dr. Friedrich Müller.* Wien: Aus der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1868, esp. 46-71.)

²⁶ The complete collection of these reports was later compiled in one volume following his death: Ferdinand von Hochstetter, *Ferdinand v. Hochstetter’s Gesammelte Reise-Berichte von der Erdumsegelung der Fregatte “Novara” 1857-1859.* Mit einer Einleitung und einem Schlußwort von V. v. Haardt. Wien: Hölzel, 1885.

²⁷ The only report he did make to the Viennese newspaper was “Ankunft in Neu-Seeland”, in: *ibid.*, 331-33. A handful of notices do, however, appear in *Das Ausland, Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes’ Geographischer Anstalt* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* regarding Hochstetter’s explorations: Julius Hanf, “Dr. Hochstetter in Neuseeland: Auckland (in Neuseeland), 24. Jun”, in: *AZ (Beilage)* 264 21 Sept (1859): 4355; Julius Hanf, “Australien: Auckland (in Neuseeland), 29. Jul”, in: *AZ* 295 22 Oct (1859): 4822; “Dr. Hochstetter über die Vulkane Neu-Seelands (Aus dem Athenäum)”, in: *Ausland* 31:46 12 Nov (1859): 1098f.; “Dr Hochstetter’s Forschungen in Neu-Seeland”, in: *MaJPGA* 6:1 (1860): 45; “Neue Expeditionen”, in: *MaJPGA* 6:5 (1860): 199; “Goldfelder und fossile Knochen in Neu-Seeland”, in: *Ausland* 33:14 1 April (1860): 333f.

Neuseeland” appearing in April 1859²⁸ under the pseudonym of ‘Julius Hanf’.²⁹ These mostly popular-style narratives provide some of the best examples of Haast’s impressions of New Zealand, combined with Hochstetter’s own,³⁰ without being overburdened by scientific nomenclature and a focused geological perspective which his later reports to the Canterbury Provincial Government illustrate. He followed this up with another series of articles entitled “Streifzüge in Neu-Seeland: I. Eine Villegiatur in Auckland”, which again coincided with Hochstetter’s unavailability to produce his own narrative and was published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in December 1859,³¹ and “Streifzüge in Neuseeland: Land und Leute in der Provinz Nelson” which appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* in March 1860.³² That same year, through the efforts of Hochstetter, Haast also had his geographical notes on their three-month excursion in the North Island published in Petermann’s *Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes’ Geographischer Anstalt*.³³ As a result, the continued interest with his future explorations and findings, particularly his explorations in the Southern Alps and his conclusions on the extinct moa, has produced a number of contributions in not only the above journal, but also *Das Ausland*, *Globus* and *Westermanns Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte*.³⁴

²⁸ Julius Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’, unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. v. Wüllerstorff-Urbair. 41. Der Aufenthalt der ‘Novara’ in Neuseeland”, in: *Wiener Zeitung (Abendblatt)* 84 13 April (1859): 337-39; 14 April (1859): 341-43; 86 15 April (1859): 346f.; 87 16 April (1859): 349f.; 88 18 April (1859): 354f.; 89 19 April (1859): 358f.; 90 20 April (1859): 361-63; 91 21 April (1859): 366-68.

²⁹ H. von Haast, *Life and Times*, 12.

³⁰ Hochstetter’s narrative appears to have been used as the basis for much of Haast’s account of the Drury excursion, in conjunction with his own observations and conclusions, and appears in the New Zealand section of Scherzer’s *Reise der Oesterreichischen Fregatte Novara*, although the author is only acknowledged in the ‘Volksausgabe’ (II:354-66). Haast’s depiction of the *Novara*’s official Maori welcome, however, is almost word-for-word the same as the respective description in Scherzer’s account, who presumably edited this section with the aid of the above article (*ibid.*, II:297-302; cf. Karl von Scherzer, “Die Weltfahrt der Novara: Abschied von Sydney und Besuch von Neuseeland”, in: *Illustrierte Zeitung* 34:866 4 Feb (1860): 99-102, 104).

³¹ Julius Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neu-Seeland: I. Eine Villegiatur in Auckland”, in: *AZ (Beilage)* 336 2 Dec (1859): 5497f.; 337 3 Dec (1859): 5513-15. This article was also reprinted in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 5-7 December.

³² Julius Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neuseeland: Land und Leute in der Provinz Nelson”, in: *Wiener Zeitung* 58 6 March (1860): 973f.; 60 8 March (1860): 1008; 61 9 March (1860): 1029; 62 10 March (1860): 1041; 64 13 March (1860): 1081; 65 14 March (1860): 1103.

³³ Julius von Haast, “Dr. Ferdinand Hochstetter’s Reise durch die nördliche Insel Neu-Seelands, 5. März bis 24. Mai 1859”, in: *MaJPGA* 6:3 (1860): 107-11.

³⁴ “Expedition in den Alpen-Regionen Neu-Seelands”, in: *MaJPGA* 7:2 (1861): 77f.; “J. Haast’s Erforschung der Alpen Neu-Seelands”, in: *MaJPGA* 8:1 (1862): 36f.; “Aus Neuseeland. Zwei neue Arten Apteryx”, in: *Globus* 3:35 (1863): 351f.; “Die Gelehrten-Akademie und die Riesenvögel Neu-Seelands”, in: *Ausland* 36:6 4 Feb (1863): 144; “J. Haast’s Forschungen in der Alpen Neu-Seelands”, in: *MaJPGA* 9:6 (1863): 214-17; “Ein Pass in den Alpen Neu-Seelands”, in: *MaJPGA* 9:10 (1863): 375-77; “Entdeckungen in Neuseeland”, in: *WIDM* 13:78 (1863): 679f.; “Haast’s Forschungen in den südlichen Alpen Neuseelands”, in: *WIDM* 15:88 (1864): 448; “J. Haast über die fernere Erforschung der neuseeländischen Südinsel”, in: *WIDM* 16:93 (1864): 334; “Haast über die Alpen der Südinsel Neu-Seelands”, in: *Ausland* 37:15 9 April (1864): 357f.; “Die neuentdeckten Canterbury-Goldfelder auf der Süd-Insel von Neu-Seeland”, in: *Ausland* 38:39 30 Sept (1865): 925; “Die Goldfelder an der Westküste der Provinz Canterbury, Neuseeland, und die neuesten Arbeiten von Dr. Julius Haast daselbst”, in: *MaJPGA* 13:4 (1867): 135-40; “Haast’s

Hochstetter, meanwhile, already had plans to publish his own book, and this was realised in April 1863 when *Neu-Seeland* was published by Cotta in Stuttgart.³⁵ Much like Scherzer's narrative, the account of Hochstetter's travels in New Zealand appeared in popular form, and was "at once most favourably received in Europe, and recognised as a standard work".³⁶ Hochstetter received positive views, and had his name frequently mentioned in various articles dealing with New Zealand and the Maori, especially those published in a Cotta periodical, in which his views on the New Zealand Wars and his critical approach to the Government handling of Maori were seen as particularly unbiased.³⁷ This was followed in 1864 by *Geologie von Neu-Seeland*,³⁸ the first part of the geological section of the twenty-one *Novara* volumes which were not completed until 1876. As was always his intention, he later compiled an English edition of *Neu-Seeland*, which was translated by Edward Sauter and appeared in 1867³⁹ after much toil on both sides of the globe and constant revising in order to keep it as up-to-date as possible at the point of

neueste Forschungen in den Neu-Seeländischen Alpen, März und April 1868", in: *MaJPGA* 14:9 (1868): 349f.; "Erdbeben in Neu-Seeland, 5. Juni 1869", in: *MaJPGA* 15:10 (1869): 384; "Plesiosaurier in der Tertiärformation von Neuseeland", in: *Ausland* 43:9 26 Feb (1870): 214f.; "Die Thermen der Hanmer-Ebene in Neu-Seeland", in: *MaJPGA* 17:3 (1871): 95-97; "Wissenschaftliche Forschungen in Neu-Seeland", in: *Ausland* 44:15 8 April (1871): 357-60; "Ein Föhn in Neu-Seeland", in: *MaJPGA* 18:1 (1872): 37; "Ein Föhn in Neu-Seeland", in: *Ausland* 45:44 28 Oct (1872): 1056; "Moas auf Neuseeland", in: *Globus* 27:14 (1875): 224; "Die fossilen Riesenvögel auf Neuseeland und das naturhistorische Museum daselbst", in: *Ausland* 50:20 14 May (1877): 399f.; "Ueber die alten Felsenmalereien in Neuseeland", in: *Ausland* 51:21 17 May (1878): 420; "Verhandlungen des Anthropologischen Instituts von Großbritannien", in: *Globus* 37:2 (1880): 23-25; "'Prähistorische' Bewohner Neu-Seelands", in: *Globus* 39:5 (1881): 79.

³⁵ Prior to its publication a series of articles, which later found themselves in *Neu-Seeland*, appeared in *Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt*: Ferdinand von Hochstetter, "Der Isthmus von Auckland in Neuseeland", in: *MaJPGA* 8:3 (1862): 81-83; "Rotomahana oder der Warme See in der Provinz Auckland auf der Nordinsel von Neuseeland", in: *MaJPGA* 8:7 (1862): 263-66; "Geographische Skizze von Neu-Seeland", in: *MaJPGA* 8:10 (1862): 367-69; "Die Provinz Nelson auf der Südinsel von Neu-Seeland", in: *MaJPGA* 9:1 (1863): 13-16. A summary of his excursions, which also appeared in *Neu-Seeland*, is quoted in Scherzer's account (Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:372-83).

³⁶ Haast, "In Memoriam", 205.

³⁷ See, for example, "Ferdinand von Hochstetter's Werk über Neuseeland", in: *Globus* 4:7 (1863): 218-22; "F. v. Hochstetters Neu-Seeland. 1. Wanderungen auf der Nordinsel bis zum Taupo-See", in: *Ausland* 36:32 5 Aug (1863): 745-50; "F. v. Hochstetters Neu-Seeland. 2. Das 'Seegebiet'", in: *Ausland* 36:33 12 Aug (1863): 771-5; "F. v. Hochstetters Neu-Seeland. 3. Die Südinsel und Rückblicke auf die ganze Gruppe", in: *Ausland* 36:34 19 Aug (1863): 805-11; "Vom Büchertisch. Neuseeland. Von Dr. Ferdinand v. Hochstetter", in: *Illustrierte Zeitung* 41:1049 8 Aug (1863): 102.

³⁸ Ferdinand von Hochstetter, *Geologie von Neu-Seeland. Beiträge zur Geologie der Provinzen Auckland und Nelson*, in: *Reise der Österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859 unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair. Geologischer Theil. Erster Band. Erste Abtheilung*. Wien: Aus der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1864. Haast also contributed a section in this work entitled "Ausgraben von Moa-resten in den Knochenhöhlen des Aorere Thales", 242-48; cf. "Ferdinand v. Hochstetter über den Bau der Vulcane auf Neu-Seeland", in: *Ausland* 38:3 21 Jan (1865): 49-53.

³⁹ Ferdinand von Hochstetter, *New Zealand: Its Physical Geography, Geology and Natural History with special reference to the results of Government Expeditions in the Provinces of Auckland and Nelson* [1867]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1997.

publication.⁴⁰ However, it is Hochstetter's original *Neu-Seeland* which is predominantly the subject of this chapter, not only due to its being the main source for later German-speaking explorers and visitors to New Zealand, but, more importantly, because it reveals more material and insights from the German perspective than the English edition, particularly on the Maori, colonisation and the New Zealand Wars, which one feels were omitted partly due to reasons of sensitivity towards the British public and Government. Furthermore, it is clear when one reads *Neu-Seeland*, and even more so the English edition, that Haast also made various contributions to the work, from supplying information on his latest researches and explorations in the Southern Alps in the form of reports, letters and map-sketches to providing the basis of a chapter and an appendix, and even translating a Maori poem. For that reason, in addition to his several articles mentioned above, Haast's contributions will also be examined, albeit to a lesser extent. Due to the overlapping nature of the material, however, it will sometimes be necessary to link thematically Haast's writings to Hochstetter's instead of separating the two.

Hochstetter's *Neu-Seeland*

As the scientific results of his geological observations and conclusions were to appear as part of the official *Novara* publications, Hochstetter's intention was to produce a second comprehensive single-volume work on New Zealand, one which was aimed at a more general German readership, and included an account of his various expeditions and experiences, as well as socio-political and cultural-historical information, and a selection of chapters devoted to various branches of natural science. Thus, Hochstetter's *Neu-Seeland* is more than just an updated version of Dieffenbach's *Travels in New Zealand*. And while he refers to the latter's work as “[n]och

⁴⁰ H. von Haast, *Life and Times*, 400-4. “The English edition, as now presented, is not a mere translation of the German original. A great portion of the matter in the German work, such as the chapter on the History of the Colonisation, on the Maori War, on the Maori poetry, and on the statistics of New Zealand, was intended exclusively for German readers, to whom the numerous English works on New Zealand, treating at length upon these subjects, are often inaccessible. In these chapters I could have offered nothing new to the English public. I have therefore entirely omitted them in the English edition, and have instead rewritten and enlarged the chapters on the Physical Geography and Geology. In the same way, also, the chapter on the Southern Alps had, in consequence of the discoveries and explorations of the latter years, to be entirely rewritten, and likewise in the other chapters additions up to the year 1866 have been made. Also the sequence of the chapters has been altered in the English edition. Thus, the first part of the book contains now the general matter, whilst the second part, beginning chapter XI, consists of accounts of travels and descriptions of single districts and landscapes on both Islands. A number of the former illustrations have likewise been replaced here by new ones” (Hochstetter, *New Zealand*, vi-vii). Hochstetter adds in another note: “Wir leben der Ueberzeugung daß dieselbe wesentlich zur Verbreitung des Ruhmes des Verfassers, sowie der Kenntnis Neuseelands in jenen meist außereuropäischen Kreisen beitragen wird wo die deutsche Sprache des Originals ein Hemmniß gewesen” (Ferdinand von Hochstetter, “Hochstetters Werk über Neuseeland in englischer Ausgabe”, in: *Ausland* 41:8 20 Feb (1868): 191).

immer eines der besten Werke über Neu-Seeland” (549) which “heute noch eine wahre Fundgrube von Thatsachen und Beobachtungen ist” (365), there are several fundamental differences between the two: Hochstetter’s account is not directed specifically at immigrants and colonisers, British or otherwise, and is inclusive of the wider German public in that it offered as much for the general reader as it did for the scientist. The English version of *Neu-Seeland*, on the other hand, was designed to be accessible to the colonists of New Zealand, and therefore required the necessary changes and editing.

Hochstetter makes it clear in his introduction to *Neu-Seeland* that he relished the chance to devote himself to the “Erforschung eines der merkwürdigsten Länder der Erde [...], eines schönen Landes, welches Großbritanniens unternehmende Söhne, die dasselbe in ihren Besitz gebracht, in begeisterter Hoffnung auf eine reiche und lebensvolle Zukunft ‘das Großbritannien der Südsee’ nennen” (vii). In fact, he cannot put the lasting favourable image of the country down to one factor alone:

War es die Liebenswürdigkeit seiner Bewohner? Waren es Bande der Freundschaft, welche ich dort geknüpft? Oder war es die Großartigkeit und Eigenthümlichkeit der Natur des Landes, das in seiner Abgeschlossenheit eine Welt für sich bildet, die mich so sehr angezogen? Ich kann es nicht sagen; aber noch heute blicke ich mit Begeisterung zurück auf meinen Aufenthalt bei den Antipoden. (vii-viii)

One of the contributing factors in the success he achieves in this distant British colony is the warm welcome and continual favourable treatment by officials and colonists alike despite his being non-British.⁴¹ Another factor is the general make-up of New Zealand society which, in Hochstetter’s ‘Anglophile’ eyes, consists of an educated and inquisitive breed of colonist who is inherently generous and devoted to religion, which is “in weit höherem Grade mit puritanischer Strenge gefeiert” (172).

Throughout both *Neu-Seeland* and *New Zealand* he makes particular mention of their interest in all things scientific, especially when it relates to the material and practical value of the colony: “The well-educated class of colonists, for which New Zealand is noted, were fully aware of the importance of explorations to be made by scientific men in behalf [sic] of physical geography and geology, and that scientific knowledge aids in the extension and improvement of the industrial arts.”⁴² Needless to say, he is impressed how the whole population is interested in

⁴¹ Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neuseeland (Nelson)”, 1103.

⁴² Hochstetter, *New Zealand*, 50. In one instance, he states: “Die hübschen Käfer- und Pflanzensammlungen einiger Familienmitglieder überzeugten mich von Neuem von dem regen Interesse der Ansiedler für Naturwissenschaften

hearing news on his progress and findings, which in the end made up for any hardship encountered:

Die freundschaftliche und kräftige Unterstützung durch Rath und That allenthalben, wo mich meine Streifzüge hinführten, die zahlreiche, aufmerksame Zuhörerschaft in Auckland und Nelson bei meinen abendlichen Vorlesungen über die Geologie Neu-Seelands, die Ehren und Auszeichnungen, mit welchen ich bei meinem Abschied überhäuft wurde, - sie gaben mir das wohlthuende Bewußtsein und die glückliche Gewißheit, daß ich nicht für mich allein oder für wenige in die spezielle Wissenschaft Eingeweihte gearbeitet hatte, sie waren mir vielmehr der erfreuliche Beweis, daß ein ganzes Volk mit frischem lebendigem Interesse ernstlichen und verständigen Antheil nahm an den Ergebnissen geologischer und physikalischer Erforschung und dieselben nutzbar zu machen suchte. (13)

His level of gratitude can be seen in the fact that *Neu-Seeland* is dedicated to the inhabitants of New Zealand and the nation as a whole for their overwhelming kindness and support since the *Novara*'s first welcome in Auckland, which yielded "den Stempel jener offenen Herzlichkeit und jener liebenswürdigen Zuverlässigkeit" (7):

Sollte ich so glücklich gewesen sein, Einiges beigetragen zu haben zur Kenntniß der jüngsten und fernsten Colonie der britischen Krone, so dürfte ich hoffen, eine Schuld der Dankbarkeit einer Nation gegenüber, bei deren Angehörigen ich in allen Theilen der Welt die liebenswürdigste Gastfreundschaft und die thatkräftigste Unterstützung meiner Zwecke gefunden, wenigstens theilweise abgetragen zu haben. (ix)⁴³

Furthermore, not only was he well supported by the New Zealand Government, but as a foreign scientist, he is also very appreciative of the fact that he was willingly accepted into the predominantly British scientific community:

Als Naturforscher hatte ich den uneigennützigsten Beistand gefunden bei Männern, die mit Recht stolz darauf sein dürfen, daß sie einer großen Nation angehören, deren Flagge in allen Theilen der Welt weht, einer Nation, die mit gleicher Thatkraft die praktischen Interessen des Lebens, wie die Zwecke der Wissenschaft und der Civilisation verfolgt. Ich fühlte in vollem Maße, wie wahr es ist, daß die engen Grenzen der Länder und Völker keine Grenzen sind für die Wissenschaft, daß der Mann der Wissenschaft, welcher Nationalität er auch angehören mag, da zu Hause ist, wo er arbeitet und forscht, und daß das Land und der Boden seiner Thätigkeit, und wäre es der entfernteste Theil der Erde, ihm zu andern Heimath wird. (27)

und besonders für Alles, was auf die Naturgeschichte Neu-Seelands Bezug hat. Diesselbe Erfahrung machte ich später überall, wo ich hinkam. Fast in jedem Haus und in jeder Familie, die ich kennen lernte, fand sich Jemand, der Sammlungen anlegte. Bald war es der Mann, der eine Insectensammlung hatte, bald die Frau, welche Moose und Farren niedlich in Papier einlegte, oder es waren die Töchter und Söhne, welche Muscheln und Seealgen sammelten, und stets wurden mir von den Schätzen Neuigkeiten, welche ich noch nicht besaß, gerne mitgetheilt" (Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 125; cf. 115, 174, 281, 302.)

⁴³ Cf. 6f., 22, 26f.; *New Zealand*, 30-32.

Due to the high regard he holds the British Empire, he continually and graciously pays his dues to the government officials in New Zealand who accommodated him, and acknowledges the great work done by the Colonial Governments of other British colonies around the world, who have spared no expense in the pursuit of science, especially in the fields of geology and mineralogy, which will have lasting effects on the prosperity of the colonies (364).

In other words, New Zealand appears to be a colony founded on the moral principles of not only the finest citizens that Britain has to offer, but also the guidance of a scientifically-minded Government. This is the result of the country's short history of colonisation, which began systematically through the efforts of the New Zealand Company, with its "idealen Zügen auf den Principien nationaler und kosmopolitischer Philanthropie" (72), and left New Zealand with the prospects of becoming both "ein neuverjüngtes Albion der Antipoden-Welt" and "Britannia der Südwelt":⁴⁴

Seit Jahrhunderten war keine Colonie mit solcher Begeisterung, in so erhebender Stimmung gegründet worden. Sie sollte in den strengsten Gegensatz gegen jene früheren Ansiedlungen treten, die den Eingebornen nur Unglück und Verderben gebracht hatten. Zugleich lebte in den Ansiedlern die Hoffnung, ein Großbritannien der Südsee zu gründen. Sie wollten die englische Gesellschaft mit allen verschiedenen Abstufungen nach dem neuen Lande verpflanzen, englische Gesetze, Gebräuche, Gewohnheit, Verbindungen, Sitten und Gefühle, kurz Alles mit Ausnahme des heimischen Bodens hinübernehmen, um binnen wenigen Monaten einen Abglanz des Mutterlandes in den theuersten Eigenthümlichkeiten des Volkslebens und Nationalcharakters, in Macht und Reichthum, darzustellen. (73)

His evaluation of the Company and its principles of colonisation, however, are influenced by the famous 1842 speech of the German geographer Karl Ritter, who never actually came to the country, but composed it after a short trip to England where he visited New Zealand House in London.⁴⁵ As a result, much of the material consists of the same propaganda that the Company itself produced.

In short, the outcome of this grand vision is a combination of the British paradise, the natural paradise, the safe paradise⁴⁶ and the 'worker's paradise' all rolled into one:

⁴⁴ Karl Ritter, *Die Colonisation von Neu-Seeland: Ein Vortrag, im wissenschaftlichen Vereine zu Berlin am 22. Januar 1842*. Berlin: Besser, 1842, 6, 11.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁴⁶ When it comes to the question of volcanic activity, namely "ob der Boden unter ihren Füßen auch sicher sei, und ob sie sich nicht einige Jahrhunderte zu früh einem junggebornen Kinde unserer Mutter Erde anvertraut haben?", Hochstetter has this to say: "In dieser Beziehung mögen sich furchtsame Gemüther damit beruhigen, daß schon lange, ehe der erste Europäer seinen Fuß an die Küste Neu-Seelands setzte, das Land die Wohnstätte zahlreicher Völkerstämme war, die lange Ahnenreihen zählten, und daß Beobachtungen und Thatsachen erhärten, daß die vulkanischen Kräfte der Tiefe, die es schon jetzt nicht mehr zum Erguß feurig flüssiger Lava bringen, sichtlich im Absterben und Erlöschen begriffen sind" (42; cf. *New Zealand*, 71-73).

Ueberblicken wir die zahlreichen Colonien der großen Nation, von deren kräftigem Lebensbaum unter allen Himmelsstrichen, in allen Welttheilen Zweige und Ableger wurzeln und gedeihen, und vergleichen wir sie mit Neu-Seeland, so hat gewiß Neu-Seeland in seiner insularen Lage, in den Verhältnissen des Klimas, des Bodens und der ganzen Gestaltung des Landes unter allen Colonialländern der britischen Krone am meisten Aehnlichkeit mit dem Mutterlande. Es ist ein Inselreich, eine Doppelsinsel, die bei der alle Entfernungen kürzenden Dampfkraft unserer Tage an den benachbarten Continent von Australien sich in ähnlicher Weise anlehnt, wie Großbritannien an Europa. Es hat ein herrliches der anglo-sächsischen Race vortrefflich zusagendes oceanisches Klima, einen fruchtbaren, reichbewässerten Boden, der aufs beste geeignet ist für Ackerbau und Viehzucht, und eine Küstenentwicklung und natürliche Gliederung, welche dem maritimen Sinne und den Gewohnheiten des maritimsten Volkes der Erde aufs vollkommenste entspricht. Es ist ein Land ohne gefährliche Thiere, ohne schädliche Pflanzen, aber reich an Mineralschätzen aller Art; ein Land, in welchen Pferde, Rindvieh, Schafe und Schweine, und ebenso Obst, alle Arten von Getreide und Kartoffeln aufs beste gedeihen, ein Land im Ueberflusse gesegnet und ausgestattet mit allen Schönheiten einer großartigen Natur; ein Land, das leicht eine Bevölkerung von fünfzehn Millionen ernähren kann,⁴⁷ das dem muthigen und ausdauernden Einwanderer eine reiche und lebensvolle Zukunft verspricht und vor anderen berufen erscheint, eine Mutter civilisirter Völkergeschlechter zu werden. (65f.)⁴⁸

Thus, his ‘Anglophile’ views not only see the latest acquisition of New Zealand as an important extension of the great British Empire, but he further reiterates the point that this paradisaical colony is possibly the most similar in nature to Britain itself, and therefore also the embodiment of the Empire, and only differs in as much as it offers the best of both worlds, i.e. the ideals of Britain and the healthy lifestyle of the South Pacific.

The only problem which Hochstetter foresees as preventing its full realisation as the ‘Britain of the South’, is the spirit of “extremen Provinzialismus” that pervades the country,⁴⁹ whereby “der gewaltige Regierungsapparat der vielen Provinzialparlamente, der Provinzialministerien und Provinzialbeamten in keinem Verhältniß zur Bevölkerungszahl [steht]” (78). Coming from the disunity of the German Confederation, he could very well appreciate the problem of provincial particularism preventing a sense of unity and nationhood from developing in the colony. What is therefore needed is not merely a “centralistische Reaction”, which brings together “die idealen Bande gemeinsamer Sitte, gemeinsamer Vaterlandsliebe und gemeinsamen Nationalgefühles”, but one which will unify “die neun Colonien, wie sie faktisch bestehen, [zu] einen compacten starken Staat [...] mit gleicher Gesetzgebung, gleicher politischer Organisation und mit einer starken Centralregierung” (78). In other words, the solution must come from the

⁴⁷ This figure is changed to 12 million in the English edition (*New Zealand*, 45). Scherzer, on the other hand, sees New Zealand as a country, which “unter dem Schutze humaner und freisinniger Institutionen leicht 30 Millionen fleißiger Menschen zu ernähren im Stande ist” (Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:343).

⁴⁸ This last phrase is taken from Ritter’s *Colonisation von Neu-Seeland*, 9.

⁴⁹ There were nine provinces in all at the time: Auckland, Taranaki, Hawke’s Bay, Wellington, Nelson, Marlborough, Canterbury, Otago and Southland.

Government. In 1861 Sir George Grey was appointed Governor in order to rescue the country from the doldrums of despair for the second time after his first term during the tumultuous period of the 1840s.⁵⁰ This time he not only has to resolve the “unheilvolle[n] Racenkrieg”, in which the Maori “einen letzten verzweifelten Versuch [machen], sich loszumachen von der englischen Herrschaft und damit von den ihrer Race nur Untergang und Verderben bringenden Einflüssen europäischer Civilisation” (79), but also what Hochstetter sees as the threat of the South Island becoming independent of the troubled North Island to form its own Government due to the prospects of “einer glänzenden Zukunft” resulting from the thousands who joined the ‘goldrush’ in the rich Otago goldfields (79). However, through “das eminente Talent dieses ausgezeichneten Mannes” (79), there exists hope that the nine provinces can be brought together to form one harmonious whole:

Neu-Seeland kann nur Bestand haben als Ein Ganzes mit zwei Theilen, als Ein Staat mit zwei Provinzen – Nordinsel und Südinsel. Auckland wird dann die Hauptstadt der Nordprovinz, Canterbury die Hauptstadt der Südprovinz sein. Der Sitz der Regierung aber wird an der Cookstraße liegen müssen, und vielleicht hat Nelson mehr als Wellington das natürliche Anrecht, der gouvernementale Mittelpunkt des einstigen Gesamtstaates zu sein.

Erst wenn dieses Ziel erreicht ist, wird Neu-Seeland am Anfang jener Periode seiner Geschichte stehen, wo es mit Recht sich nennen wird das ‘Großbritannien der Südsee.’ (79f.)

By the time the English version was published, Governor Grey’s tenure had lasted six years with no real improvement in this area, yet Hochstetter said no more on the issue, and the above comments were never translated for his English-speaking audience, giving New Zealand a more complete image of ‘paradise’ in the process.

In fitting with this paradise image, Hochstetter also notes the many idyllic and picturesque spots throughout the country,⁵¹ especially those geographical features,⁵¹ which remind him of his beloved Germany and Austria, whether in the form of the glistening waters of the Rhein and Donau or the deep swamps and gloomy woods, which “Deutschland zu Tacitus Zeiten ausgesehen haben [muß] ‘silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda’” (209).⁵² In spite of the characteristic excess of fern and bush and the lack of green meadows and flowers in New Zealand

⁵⁰ “Feindselige Eifersucht zwischen Auckland und Wellington, Zerwürfnisse der Colonisationsgesellschaft und der Regierung, Streitigkeiten zwischen der Regierung und den Missionären, gegenseitige Anfeindungen confessionell unterschiedener Missionen, verfehlte Verwaltungsmaßregeln unter den beiden ersten Gouverneuren (Capitän Hobson 1840-1842, Capitän Fitzroy 1843-1846), betrügerische Beamte, schlechte Finanzwirthschaft, Attentate der Eingebornen gegen Personen und Eigenthum der Colonisten, ihre Erhebung gegen die Regierungsautorität, ihre inneren Fehden und Kriege, und zu alledem noch störende Naturereignisse, - das sind die wenig erfreulichen Momente der Geschichte Neu-Seelands für die nächsten sechs oder acht Jahre” (75).

⁵¹ See 119, 131, 136, 182, 308.

⁵² See 112, 170f., 329; cf. 191, 265.

(414), the interior presents itself as an untouched world, which has been more or less left untainted by its relatively short human history:

Wahrscheinlich erst in den späteren Jahrhunderten der Menschengeschichte und nur am Meeresgestadte und längs dem Laufe weniger schiffbarer Flüsse sparsam bevölkert, hat Neu-Seeland bis auf unsere Tage im Innern die volle Eigenthümlichkeit und Ursprünglichkeit seiner merkwürdigen Thier- und Pflanzenwelt bewahrt. Keinerlei Denkmale, weder Grabhügel von Königen, noch Städteruinen oder zerbrochene Säulenhallen von Palästen und Tempeln erzählen die Thaten vergangener Geschlechter. Aber die Natur hat mit ihren gewaltigsten Kräften, durch Wasser und Feuer, unauslöschbar ihre Geschichte in den Boden der Insel eingegraben. Wilde mit Eis und Gletschermassen bedeckte Alpengebirge im Süden, hohe in die ewigen Schneeregionen aufragende Vulkankegel im Norden leuchten dem Seefahrer, der sich der Küste nähert, schon aus der Ferne entgegen. Fruchtbare reich bewässerte Alluvialflächen sind für den Ansiedler der jungfräuliche Boden, auf dem er seine neue Heimath gründet, und wo er in dem mit dem herrlichsten Klima gesegneten Lande nur die Wildniß zu besiegen hat, um des Lohnes seiner Arbeit gewiß zu sein. (29)

The archetype of this virgin landscape is the Southern Alps, whose peaks of perpetual snow majestically tower over the rest of the South Island with that primeval air of an uninhabited and relatively unexplored domain which has preserved its distinct grandeur in a state of isolation:

Großartige Gletscherströme, herrliche Gebirgsseen, prachtvolle Wasserfälle, Engpässe und düstere Felsschluchten von tosenden Gebirgsströmen durchrauscht bilden die Zierde einer wilden unbewohnten, noch selten vom menschlichen Fuße betretenen Gebirgslandschaft, deren Großartigkeit nach den Berichten der muthigen Wanderer, die es unternommen haben, in diese Wildniß vorzudringen, kaum ihres Gleichen hat. (32)⁵³

In contrast, the green pastures around the mountain ranges, which are suitable for grazing sheep, horses and cattle, have been improved through the introduction of European grasses (415).

However, the impact of European colonisation on the state of nature is a double-edged sword, as there exists a real ambivalence in Hochstetter's account between colonisation and nature, or the need to cultivate and clear land in the name of progress with the preservation of the colony's unique natural environment, in much the same way as expressed by Dieffenbach. On the one hand, Hochstetter sees the necessity of such an enterprise, and his mind is full of the possibilities that such a tranquil and heavenly setting could bring to the lives of many immigrant families when he says: "Wie reizend müßten uns die fruchtbaren Gefilde dieses schönen Landes erst erschienen sein, hätten wir auch Dörfer und Städte darin erblicken können!" (171f.), and: "Wie ganz anders wird es einst hier aussehen, wenn am Tauranga-Hafen eine europäische Stadt sich erhebt und das schöne Land ringsum von Farmen besetzt sein wird!" (307) In fact, it is only a

⁵³ Cf. Ferdinand von Hochstetter, "Der Franz Joseph-Gletscher in den südlichen Alpen von Neu-Seeland", in: *Mittheilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft* [=MKGKGG] 10 (1867): 57-62.

matter of time, in his opinion, that even the waterways of the mighty Waikato will soon pass over to European hands:

Allein jene Zeit dürfte noch ferne sein, wo es dem Reisenden möglich sein wird, auf bequemen Flußdampfern in kürzester Zeit diesen Mississippi der Maoris zu befahren. Mit aller Eifersucht einer von der europäischen Einwanderung und Colonisation in ihren Rechten und in ihrer Existenz sich bedroht fühlenden Race bewahren sie den Fluß, und mit aller Zähigkeit halten sie fest an dem Land an seinen Ufern, wohl wissend, daß sie ihr Herzblut vergießen, wenn sie dieses Land verkaufen und daß sie sich die Pulsader ihres Lebens unterbinden, wenn sie die Schifffahrt auf dem Flusse in die Hände der Europäer kommen lassen. (161)

Old Maori superstitions will likewise fade away, and European steamships will one day glide the waters of Lake Taupo: “Dann wird die Herrschaft der gefürchteten Taniwha’s ihr Ende erreicht haben” (245). Moreover, on the tourism front, there can be no doubting the importance of the famed Hot Lake district as the wonders of this landscape are opened up to the greater European population:

Nur die Eingebornen haben bis jetzt Gebrauch gemacht von diesen großartigsten Thermen der ganzen Welt und Linderung und Heilung gefunden bei mannigfachen Leiden und Krankheiten. Wenn aber einst mit der fortschreitenden Colonisation von Neu-Seeland die Gegend zugänglicher wird, dann werden Tausende von Menschen, welche auf der südlichen Hemisphäre in Australien, Tasmanien oder Neu-Seeland ihre Heimath haben, dahin pilgern, wo die Natur in der herrlichsten Gegend, im besten und mildesten Klima so merkwürdige Phänomene zeigt, und in so unerhörter Anzahl und Fülle die heilkräftigsten warmen Quellen geschaffen hat. (37)⁵⁴

Furthermore, as European settlers move into the untamed wilderness with the aim of converting the land into a prosperous farm and, before long, a rural town, the boundaries between European settlements surrounded by cultivated land and wild, unobstructed nature are shrinking in favour of the former. The early stages of progress can be seen in the distant smoke rising from the once virgin forest among the mountains:

Es sind die ersten Ansiedler, welche den Weg bahnen für kommende Geschlechter. Ein kleines Blockhaus steht mitten im Wald, das ärmliche Obdach einer Familie, welche viele tausende von Meilen über den Ocean gefahren, um sich eine neue Heimath zu gründen im neuen Lande. Der Vater ist im Wald, ein Stamm fällt nach dem andern unter dem Schlag der von kräftiger Hand geführten Axt; die Mutter bereitet das Mahl für Mittag in einem eisernen Kessel, der an einer Kette über dem lustig flackernden Kaminfeuer hängt. Vor der Thüre spielen Kinder, strahlend vor Gesundheit und Waldlust; ein treuer Haushund, Hühner und Schweine sind ihre Gespielen. “Es ist harte Arbeit,” mag die fleißige Hausfrau zu ihrem Manne sagen, wenn er heimkommt, “ein Leben voll Mühe und Entbehrung; kein Arzt, keine Apotheke, keine Kirche in der Nähe, auch kein Freund, mit dem man von der alten Heimath plaudern kann; aber was wir vor und um uns sehen, gehört uns, wir dürfen es unser eigen nennen, und Gott wird weiter helfen.” Und so ist es. Von Jahr zu Jahr wird es besser, der Urwald verschwindet, Ernte folgt auf Ernte, an die Stelle des

⁵⁴ Cf. 279.

Blockhauses tritt ein freundlicher Landsitz, umgeben von Gärten und Feldern. Auf den Wiesen weiden fette Rinderheerden und tummeln sich Pferde; in der Nähe haben sich Freunde angesiedelt, zierliche Wege führen zwischen Hecken und durch den Wald von Farm zu Farm. An der Straße aber steht eine Kirche, ein Wirthshaus und auch der erste Kaufladen ist schon eröffnet. Wo noch jüngst nur ein Blockhaus war, steht jetzt eine Ortschaft; man kann nicht sagen ein Dorf, auch nicht eine Stadt, aber ein Stadtfragment ist es. Stadtleute mit Stadtbedürfnissen und Stadtmoden sind es, die hier wohnen, sie haben Post und Zeitungen, Pferde und Wagen und leben wie in der alten Heimath die Grafen und Barone. So erfreuen sich am Abend des Lebens die Alten der Fülle des Lebens, ihre Kinder sind jetzt in den Urwald vorgerückt; Vater und Mutter haben ihnen das gute Beispiel gegeben und ein neues kräftiges Geschlecht nimmt unaufhaltsam Besitz von dem Lande, wo einst andersfarbige Menschen, die man Wilde nennt, lebten, auch nach Sitte und Gebrauch aber nach der Sitte – ihrer Väter. (98f.)

In other words, it is the beginnings of the rural paradise for weary European colonists who traded the city streets for the idyllic countryside of the Antipodes in order to make a life for themselves in a more rewarding fashion, albeit through much hard work.

On the other hand, Hochstetter also sees the already visible signs of destruction at the hands of man, in which the annual clearing of the land has led to a “wahre[n] Calamität” (110). Although this process of burning away vast tracts of land has been the by-product of man since he first settled in the country, it was not until the Europeans came that the method of burning increased in both frequency and scale to leave many areas needlessly barren:

Das Abbrennen ist ursprünglich eine Sitte der Eingeborenen, die mit Brennen den Waldboden klärten, nach dem Brande einmal bebauten, und dann wieder neues Land sich suchten. So angewendet ist das System ein richtiges, aber das wiederholte Abbrennen ist vom Uebel. Auf den ersten Brand folgt üppiges Unterholz, auf den zweiten hoher Flachs und Farn, endlich Krüppelfarn und Leptospermum, und zuletzt bleibt der nackte Boden allein. (110n)⁵⁵

These exact sentiments are echoed by Haast when he writes:

Statt der prangenden, immergrünen neuseeländischen Waldlandschaft ist hier, wie an vielen Stellen an der Nähe Aucklands, der Boden seiner natürlichen Pflanzendecke beraubt, und statt ihrer findet sich eine traurige Vegetation vor, welche von der Zerstörungswuth der Menschen beredtes Zeugniß ablegt. [...] Jahr für Jahr werden diese Gebüsche von den kurzsichtigen und unverständigen Besitzern angezündet, und sie gedeihen natürlich jedes Jahr immer kärglicher. Landwirthe sagten wir daß dieß geschehe um dem Vieh die jungen Sprößlinge, welche es besonders liebe, zu verschaffen. Die Leute sehen wohl ein daß sie, anstatt von den Zinsen, vom Capital zehren, aber es ist nun einmal so Sitte, und so macht, mit Ausnahme weniger denkenden Landwirthe, es der eine dem andern nach, bis man wahrscheinlich, und dann vielleicht zu spät, klug werden wird.⁵⁶

He concludes with the statement: “Es schmerzte mich stets wenn ich bei meinen späteren Reisen im Wald und auf den offenen Stellen die Brände oft in jeder Richtung mitansehen mußte, und an

⁵⁵ Cf. 311

⁵⁶ Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neu-Seeland (Auckland)”, 5514.

die Kurzsichtigkeit und den Unverstand der Menschen in einem von der Natur so reich begabten Land auf eine so traurige Weise erinnert wurde.”⁵⁷

For Hochstetter, the most telling example of the price of progress is the destruction of the kauri forests in the greater Auckland region, which are now “nichts Anderes [...], als öde traurige sonnverbrannte Heiden von verrufener Unfruchtbarkeit”:

Diese Erfahrung sollte man sich zur Lehre dienen lassen, und es nicht dulden, daß die Gewinnsucht Einzelner in den kostbaren Wäldern wüthet und zum Schaden ganzer Generationen das Land zur Einöde macht. Um einzelner brauchbarer Stämme halber werden oft ganze Wälder niedergebrannt und verwüstet, und was ehemals im Kriege kannibalischer Völker geschehen, um den Feind auszubrennen, das geschieht jetzt um des Geldes willen, oder, wie man zu sagen pflegt, um das Land urbar zu machen; der Wald wird verheert und verwüstet mit ‘Feuer und Schwert.’ (139)

Thus, in a time when colonists seem to care more about the welfare of their timber than the forests themselves, the destruction of the latter has been justified as a business to provide overseas markets with kauri timber and gum, which have become important articles of export through the excellence of the former as a means of building houses, furniture and ships, and the latter for preparing varnish.⁵⁸ Here, the saddest outcome is the gradual disappearance of the kauri, in which “die Vernichtung dieses edlen Baumes von Jahr zu Jahr in einem solchen Maßstabe fortschreitet”, that “sein Aussterben ebenso gewiß ist, wie das Aussterben der eingeborenen Menschenrace Neu-Seelands. Die europäische Colonisation bedroht die Existenz beider in gleicher Weise, und mit dem letzten Maori wird auch die letzte Kauri von der Erde verschwunden sein” (138).⁵⁹ In the same way, much of the indigenous fauna also faces extinction: “Viele und zwar gerade die merkwürdigsten, Neu-Seeland ganz und gar eigenthümlichen Arten, sind aber in raschem Aussterben begriffen und zum Theil schon gänzlich ausgestorben” (431). Here too, man plays an important role:

Wir haben geschichtlich erwiesene Thatsachen genug, daß in dem Kampfe um’s Dasein, so weit er ein Vernichtungskampf ist, der Mensch eine Hauptrolle spielt, daß der Mensch schon ganze Reihen von Arten völlig vom Erdboden vertilgt hat und daß gerade die größten Thiere im

⁵⁷ Ibid., 5514.

⁵⁸ See J. G. Erne Adams, *Kauri: A King Among Kings*. 2nd Ed. Revised. Auckland: Wilson & Houghton, 1986.

⁵⁹ Despite any reservations he might have had, Hochstetter paints a fairly ideal picture of life at a sawmill: “In den düsteren Urwäldern, in Berg und Thal und in Gebirgsschluchten, wo sonst Todtenstille herrschte, hört man die Axt anschlagen, die ächzenden Töne der Säge und das weithin tönende ‘Hui’ der Holzhauer. Männer, deren Nerven und Sehnen in den Urwäldern Californiens und Canadas gestählt wurden – Schottländer und Irländer, und da und dort auch ein durch unglückliche Schicksale verschlagener Deutscher – sind es, welche mit den Baumriesen im Walde kämpfen. Lustig wirbeln die Rauchsäulen auf von ihren Feuern und manch abenteuerliche Geschichte wird erzählt, wenn in der Raststunde die Pfeife dampft und das Gin-Glas die Runde macht” (145; cf. 118).

allgemeinen Kampfe um's Dasein dem Menschen am frühesten erliegen. Ja man kann sagen, daß alle größeren Thiere, mit Ausnahme derjenigen, die als Haustiere in eine engere Beziehung zum Menschen treten und in dem absoluten Abhängigkeitsverhältniß von demselben ihre Existenz retten, allmählig vernichtet und ausgerottet werden. (458)

Another talking point for Hochstetter is the apparent ease or difficulty involved in exploring the lesser known regions of the country. Hochstetter directs the reader's attention to a lengthy section on the various considerations that must be made before commencing extended journeys into New Zealand's interior. Even before taking the Government up on their offer Hochstetter already had numerous reservations for the task at hand:

Meine Unkenntniß der Sprache der Eingebornen, die außerordentlichen Terrainschwierigkeiten, welche mir das schon in nicht allzugroßer Entfernung von der Hauptstadt mit düsteren, unwegsamem Urwäldern bedeckte Land zu bieten schien, der Mangel jeder topographischen Karte für das Innere,⁶⁰ ohne welche ich eine geologische Durchforschung theils für unausführbar, theils für nutzlos hielt, diese und noch manche andere Umstände waren es, die mich an einer erfolgreichen Lösung der Aufgabe, welche riesengroß vor mir stand, zweifeln ließen. (10)⁶¹

An expedition in New Zealand is a slow and exhausting exercise compared with other European countries, "wo Eisenbahnen, Dampfschiffe und elegante Hotels zu Gebote stehen, wo Reisehandbücher dem Reisenden Alles sagen, wo Wege und Stege überall hinführen und um Geld Alles zu haben ist, da mag Jeder je nach seinen Mitteln und seinem Zweck reisen, wie er will" (148). In order to embark on a lengthy excursion into the inner recesses of the country, preparation is therefore essential. Importantly, roads only appear around town routes,⁶² and the terrain in most areas is generally not suitable for horseback, unlike in Australia. One must not only pass through steep mountains, river banks and swamps, but also Maori paths, which "an

⁶⁰ "Um geologische Aufzeichnungen machen zu können, war ich genöthigt, gleichzeitig topographisch zu arbeiten; denn was auf einzelnen Karten vom Innern des Landes dargestellt war, beruhte nicht auf wirklich kartographischer Aufnahme, sondern es waren Einzeichnungen, die nach Berichten von reisenden Missionären und Beamten, höchstens nach flüchtigen Skizzen, welche der Eine oder Andere mitgebracht hatte, gemacht waren. Die Kartenskizze, welche ich von Auckland aus zu meiner Orientirung mitbekam, gab nur Anhaltspunkte für die Küste, und war schon wenige Meilen von Auckland weg nicht viel mehr als ein weißes Stück Papier" (20).

⁶¹ Haast, likewise, tells of the hardships involved in the undertaking of his geological excursions in and around the Southern Alps during the 1860s. In his *Geology of Canterbury and Westland* (1879) he devotes the first section of the book (pp.1-166) to a summary of his official reports and journals in a more popular format for the general reader: "I have endeavoured to make him acquainted with the peculiarly grand features of the Southern Alps, to make him participate in the difficulties, dangers, and joys of an explorer's life, and, at the same time, to show him that the work of the Geologist in an unknown country, in which, moreover, he has to seek his way, construct his own map, and carry often a heavy load on his back, is not an easy one, and that it cannot be accomplished without considerable loss of time" (Julius von Haast, *Geology of the Provinces of Canterbury and Westland, New Zealand: A report comprising the results of official explorations*. Christchurch: Times Office, 1879, iv; cf. Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 334-63; *New Zealand*, 478-515).

⁶² The state of one of the main transport routes during a terrific storm, however, is hardly a sight worthy of praise: "Ich habe nie, was eine Straße genannt wird, in einem solchen Zustand gesehen. Die Great South Road war mehr Fluß oder Morast, in dem man knietief einsank, als Straße" (318).

europäische Wald- und Gebirgswege gewohntes Auge [...] kaum erkennen [wird]”: “Roß und Reiter wären auf denselben in steter Gefahr – das Roß in Gefahr, in die tiefen Löcher zwischen den Baumwurzeln einzusinken und die Füße zu brechen, der Reiter aber, an den Aesten hängen zu bleiben oder in den Schlingen des lianenartigen ‘supplejacks’ sich zu erwürdigen” (149). The traveller must therefore go by foot, which requires “voller, ungeschwächter Körperkraft, fester Gesundheit, um den unvermeidlichen Strapazen einer längeren Fußreise durch wilde Gegenden, auf schlecht gebahnten Wegen, durch feuchte Urwälder, durch Sümpfe und kalte Gebirgswasser ohne Schaden Stand zu halten” (149). Furthermore, every item that is needed for the trip must be brought along, as one cannot rely on scattered European settlers or mission stations for supplies, and one must resign oneself “in der freien Luft zu leben” without the “Bequemlichkeiten und des Ueberflusses civilisirten Lebens [...] mit dem Himmel zum Zelt und der Erde zur Tafel, und dem Beispiele der Maoris folgend zurückkehren zu der ursprünglichen Sitte und zu den einfachen Bedürfnissen des Naturmenschen. Aber gerade darin liegt auch der unbeschreibliche Reiz und das Besondere einer Reise auf Neu-Seeland” (150).

For those who would rely on hunting and the local plant life for sustenance, Hochstetter warns that they would “im Innern Neu-Seelands der Gefahr ausgesetzt sein, ebenso jammervoll zu verhungern, wie jene beklagenswerthen muthigen Männer, welche kürzlich auf der Burke’schen Expedition durch den australischen Continent, nachdem sie ihre Aufgabe glücklich gelöst hatten, auf dem Rückwege Hungers sterben mußten” (150).⁶³ The best source of food is naturally from the frequent Maori settlements throughout the North Island, in which items such as tea,⁶⁴ pork and potatoes, which constituted “unser tägliches Brod” (151), can be procured through exchanging money and tobacco. Furthermore, the best means of carrying supplies and equipment is contracted Maori, who, in this case, received “neben freier Verköstigung und ein paar Schuhen eine halbe Krone (2½ Schillinge), ungefähr 1¼ Gulden, per Tag” (152). All knew their respective responsibilities so that “Keiner konnte auf Kosten des Anderen müßig gehen” (152), a tactic which proved successful against the popular stereotype: “Mit Vergnügen gebe ich diesen Maoris das Zeugniß, daß sie sich stets willig und unverdrossen bewiesen, unter allen Umständen ihren vortrefflichen Humor bewahrten und durch ihre treue Dienstleistung wesentlich zum Gelingen der Expedition beitrugen” (152). Moreover, the Maori also make excellent guides, “da man den

⁶³ Cf. Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 355.

⁶⁴ “Selbst die Eingeborenen haben sich so sehr an Thee gewöhnt, daß sie denselben auf ihren Reisen gewöhnlich mit sich führen” (151).

Instinkt eines wilden Thieres besitzen müßte, um zu erkennen, daß man in dieser Urwaldwildniß auf einer Fährte ist, wo schon vorher gleichfalls Menschen gegangen sind” (119).

Once all the necessary preparations have been made the journey itself is relatively safe and invigorating, albeit slow and often arduous, with little chance of encountering severe dangers, despite the fact he injures his knee during the course of his journey, and has to rest for several days due to his not being able to use his left leg (183f.):⁶⁵

Was die Sicherheit anbelangt, so wüßte ich in der That kein uncivilisirtes Land der Erde, wo man so sicher und gefahrlos reist, wie auf Neu-Seeland. Räuber und Diebe kennt man ebenso wenig,⁶⁶ als wilde Thiere oder giftige Schlangen; und wie die Natur, die hier keine giftige Pflanze und kein giftiges Thier hervorgebracht hat,⁶⁷ harmlos ist in allen ihren Schöpfungen, so ist auch der Eingeborene harmlos in seinem ganzen Treiben und Thun, wenn nicht Krieg oder Rache seine wilden Leidenschaften entflammt. Man reist deßhalb mit voller Sicherheit und kann getrost sein Haupt niederlegen in Berg und Thal, in Wald und Feld, wo man auch sein mag, wenn der Abend und die Nacht hereinbricht. (153)

The usual culprits of discomfort, however, are once again the mosquitoes and sandflies, which seem to alternate as the most annoying, that is if the rats do not become a bigger problem first:

Gerade da, wo man von den Mosquitos frei ist, stellt sich die Sandfliege als Plage ein. Ihr Stich ist empfindlicher, als der der Mosquitos, aber er hat keine Anschwellung der Stichwunde zur Folge, und mit dem letzten Sonnenstrahl verschwinden die Sandfliegen spurlos, so daß man wenigstens Nachts vor ihnen Ruhe hat. Dagegen stellen sich bei Nacht manchmal noch andere unliebsame Gäste ein – Ratten. Selbst in gänzlich unbewohnten Gegenden kommen sie vor, und sammeln sich schon nach der ersten Nacht in großer Anzahl um den Lagerplatz. Daß sie einem dann Nachts über den Leib und den Kopf weglafen, daran gewöhnt man sich bald, aber die Eßwaaren muß man sorgfältig vor ihnen verwahren, indem man dieselben an Stangen aufhängt. (153f.)⁶⁸

Furthermore, as Haast reports, this sense of security not only makes collecting samples in the bush “doppelt angenehm [...], weil man weder den Biß oder Stich eines giftigen Amphibiums oder Insekts zu fürchten habe, noch sich wegen wilder Thiere ängstigen müsse”, but we also find that the sting of the mosquitoes is “nicht schlimmer, als die unserer Deutschen Waldmücken”, and “außer diesen kleinen Waldteufeln [hat] Neuseeland kein Insekt aufzuweisen, dessen Stich so

⁶⁵ Cf. 243, 258, 260, 269, 285.

⁶⁶ At one point he states with a touch of Romanticism: “Mühsam kletterten wir über das glatte Wurzelwerk vorwärts im düsteren Halbdunkel des Waldes, als plötzlich dicht neben uns ein Schuß fiel, und hinter einem riesigen Kahikateastamm eine Gestalt hervortrat – mit Doppelflinte, mit unheimlichen Blick und wilder Geberde, kurz ein Räuber, wie ihn die schauerlichste Räubergeschichte der Phantasie nicht räubermäßiger hätte vormalen können; und noch mehr – dort lag die ganze Bande um ein hellaufloderndes Feuer gelagert, alle mit Doppelflinten bewaffnet. Allein wir waren ja in Neu-Seeland – die Räuberbande war nur eine friedliche Maori-Gesellschaft auf der Taubenjagd” (210).

⁶⁷ The only exception to this is the Katipo spider, whose “Biß so giftig sein, daß er bei kränklichen Personen schon den Tod herbeigeführt habe” (301).

⁶⁸ Cf. 118, 135, 165, 436.

schmerzlich, wie der unserer Hornisse ist. Man kann sich daher unbesorgt in dem Walde überall hinlegen und ruhig am Tag und bei Nacht die müden Glieder ausruhen”.⁶⁹

On a note of caution, however, one must not only be weary of the “undurchdringlichen Dickicht, das mit dem Messer oder Schwert durchhauen werden muß für jeden Schritt, den man auf ungebahntem Wege darin machen will” (417), but also the creepers that line the Maori paths, which are “außerordentlich lästig und hinderlich” to say the least, such as ‘supple-jack’, “in dessen fingerdicken schlingenartigen Verzweigungen man sich jeden Augenblick verstrickt sieht”, and the ‘bush lawyer’, whose “dornige Stränge Hände und Gesicht blutig ritzen” (417n). In the dark recesses of this native bush one also longs to be free of the confining atmosphere of lifelessness and constant silence: “[Hier] ist es düster und tod; weder bunte Blüten noch bunte Schmetterlinge noch Vögel erfreuen das Auge oder geben Abwechslung; alles Thierleben scheint erstorben, und so sehr man sich auch nach dem Walde gesehnt, so begrüßt man doch mit wahren Wonnegefühl nach tagelanger Wanderung durch diese düsteren öden Wälder wieder das Tageslicht der offenen Landschaft” (418).⁷⁰ With the negative aspects of travelling throughout the interior out of the way, Hochstetter then concentrates on the advantages of New Zealand’s natural resources, such as ferns and flax, not to mention “das vortreffliche Klima und der Reichthum an Wasser und Holz in allen Gegenden”:

Man hat weder von Hitze oder Kälte zu leiden,⁷¹ noch Fiebergegenden zu vermeiden. Sumpffieber sind ganz unbekannt und von Wassernoth, wie auf Reisen im Inneren Australiens, ist auf Neu-Seeland keine Rede. Nur selten wird man wegen der Wahl eines Lagerplatzes für die Nacht in Verlegenheit kommen und stets leicht den passenden Ort finden, wo man Wasser und Holz in der Nähe hat und den blutdürstigen Mosquitos aus dem Wege ist. Nicht einmal die Zeltstangen hatten wir nöthig mitzuführen, sondern fanden mit wenigen Ausnahmen täglich Gelegenheit, uns dieselben an Ort und Stelle, wo wir lagerten, zu verschaffen. (154)

In the end, he looks back fondly to his time travelling in Maori canoes, staying in Maori ‘pa’ and wandering through the shade of the bush, which “jedem anderen Erdboden fremd sind”, with a

⁶⁹ Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 347.

⁷⁰ As a result, the bush creates the perfect environment for punishing criminals: “Wahrhaftig, wollte man Missethäter auf Neu-Seeland in recht raffinirter Weise abstrafen, so dürfte man sie nur durch solchen Wald auf- und abjagen, wo man mit jedem Tritt zwischen dem Wurzelnetzwerk in morastige Löcher einsinkt und sich die Fußknöchel an den Wurzelknorren bis aufs Blut abreist. Diese Strafe müßte man ‘das Wurzellaufen’ nennen” (210).

⁷¹ “Trotzdem, daß wir uns mitten im Sommer befanden und keine Wolke den dunkelblauen Himmel bedeckte, wurde doch die Hitze durch die stets wehenden Land- und Seewinde gemildert und konnten unsere Deutschen Gäste nicht genug Worte zum Lobe des herrlichen Neuseeländischen Klima’s finden. Es ist wahr, wir hatten während der ganzen Zeit des Aufenthalts der ‘Novara’ 70 bis 76 Grad Fahrenheit im Schatten, was mit 18 bis 20 Grad Reaumur übereinstimmt” (Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 343).

pleasure “die mich recht fühlen läßt, wie hoch Naturgenuß über allen Genüssen des verfeinerten Lebens steht” (155).⁷²

However, his first impressions of the country are far from flattering, as he confesses that “der erste Anblick der Gegend von Auckland den Erwartungen und den Vorstellungen, die ich mir von Neu-Seeland gemacht hatte, in keiner Weise entsprach” (4f.):

Ist das Auckland? – fragte ich mich – die vielgepriesene Hauptstadt des “Großbritanniens der Südsee?” Wo ist die neuseeländische Themse? Wo die dampfenden und kochenden Geysir und Sprudel? Wo sind die Vulkankegel, von welchen ich gelesen, der immer dampfende Tongariro, der mit ewigem Schnee und Eis bedeckte Ruapahu [Ruapehu], der bis in die Wolken reichende Taranaki und wo die neuseeländischen Alpen? Das Bild von Neu-Seeland in meiner Phantasie war ein ganz anderes, als das Bild vor meinen Augen. Die gewaltigen Kegelberge schienen mir in der Wirklichkeit zusammengeschrumpft zu sein zu kleinen unbedeutenden Eruptionskegeln, welche sich nur 5 bis 600 Fuß hoch erheben; obwohl ich wußte, daß jene Riesenvulkane, und die Schneegebirge der Südinsel keine Fabel sind, sondern daß sie nur so weit von dieser Küste abliegen, daß man sie unmöglich erblicken konnte, so suchte mein Auge doch nach ihnen, und weil auch gar keine Spur von ihnen zu entdecken, war ich unbefriedigt.

Allein so ist es mir immer ergangen, wenn ich zum erstenmale die Küste eines Landes erblickte und betrat, von dessen Eigenthümlichkeiten ich viel gelesen, und so wird es jedem Reisenden ergehen. Die Wirklichkeit des einzelnen Punktes, wo der Fuß zuerst das neue Land betritt, paßt nicht zu dem Gesamtbild, welches sich die Phantasie geschaffen. Mit einem Gefühl von Ungeduld und mit auf's Höchste gespannter Neugierde naht man nach langer Seefahrt der neuen Küste, und glaubt man, daß gerade da, wo man zufällig zuerst ans Land steigt, alles Anziehende, alles Merkwürdige sich beisammen finden müsse, nur bereit für den, der so weit über das Meer gekommen und nun da ist, um Alles, was er gelesen und gehört, mit seinen eigenen Augen zu sehen. Wie es aber dem Reisenden geht, der auf einem Fleck gleich Alles sehen und erleben möchte, so geht es wieder Anders mit dem Reisenden selbst. Alles und aber Alles soll man gesehen haben, Alles und aber Alles soll man erlebt und mitgemacht haben, zumal wenn man ein sogenannter “Weltumsegler” ist, und hat man zufällig auch die australischen Goldfelder besucht, so ist ja Nichts natürlicher, als daß man auch alle Taschen und Koffer voll Goldstaub mit nach Hause gebracht hat. Immer ist es die Phantasie welche combinirt, das Fernste zum Nächsten rückt, und Alles auf einmal umfassen möchte. (5)

However, he soon finds his disappointments to be far from the truth, and assures the reader “daß so, wie Auckland und Neu-Seeland jetzt mir in der Erinnerung leben, alle früheren Vorstellungen und Erwartungen bei weitem übertroffen sind, und daß, sollte es mir ein zweitesmal in meinem Leben vergönnt sein, jenen Anblick zu haben und den Rangitoto zu begrüßen, mein Herz aufjauchzen würde vor innerer Freude” (6).⁷³

⁷² Cf. *ibid.*, 362.

⁷³ Furthermore, at a lecture prior to his departure from Auckland, Hochstetter states: “Now that I am on the point of leaving Auckland, I turn in memory to the hour in which I made up my mind to leave my friends on board the Frigate ‘Novara’ and to remain for awhile in New Zealand. I can assure you it was an hour of great anxiety, but I am glad to say I have never regretted the decision to which I with so much difficulty brought myself. Having received assistance in my labours from all sides, I have arrived at results which have afforded me much satisfaction, and which I hope will not be without good fruit to the present and future inhabitants of this Province. Having at first felt some

Auckland itself is, in Hochstetter's view, a flourishing agricultural and commercial settlement reminiscent of Sydney with its coves, and located in an advantageous position for all inland communication. The city justifies its role and status as New Zealand's capital with an increasing population of 10,000 people (and almost as many within the outer Auckland district) and its traditional timber housing gradually making way for large stone buildings with each coming year:

In gesellschaftlicher Beziehung wird, wer nicht an allzu großstädtische Verhältnisse gewöhnt ist, nur wenig vermissen. Zu Allem sind die erfreulichsten Anfänge vorhanden; selbst ein botanischer Garten und ein wissenschaftliches Museum sind bereits gegründet und erst kürzlich wurde in Auckland neben zahlreichen andern Vereinen und Instituten zu wohlthätigen und gemeinnützigen Zwecken auch eine Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, eine New Zealand Royal Society gegründet. (84)

In addition to Government buildings, offices and a mercantile district, there are also twelve churches, ten public schools, four female seminaries, four Maori schools, three banks, several insurance companies, six newspapers, and various public institutions and societies, including the Mechanics' Institute, Chamber of Commerce, Auckland Museum, Auckland Medical and Surgical Society, Agricultural and Horticultural Society, and the Auckland Homeopathic Hospital and Dispensary (84n).

In the outskirts of the capital are the more rural centres, some of which are towns in their own right, giving the atmosphere of a pleasant rustic life within the backdrop of an urban centre:

Onehunga ursprünglich eine Ansiedlung von pensionirten Beamten und Offizieren, welche von der Regierung hier je ein kleines Häuschen mit einem Acre Land bekamen, hat sich bereits zum Rang einer Stadt emporgearbeitet, die als Haupthandelsplatz der Eingebornen mehr und mehr an Bedeutung gewinnt und durch ihre freundliche Lage und reizende Umgebung zu einem Lieblingsaufenthalt vieler Geschäftsleute geworden ist, die in Auckland ihr Geschäft haben, aber in oder bei Onehunga wohnen. Längs der Straße zwischen beiden Städten sieht man Gehöfte und Farmerhäuser liegen. Das Land ist indeß nicht bloß in Händen von Farmern, sondern auch Kaufleute, Offiziere und Beamte legen ihre Ersparnisse in Grundbesitz an. Hübsche Landhäuser von zierlichen Gärten umgeben liegen über den Isthmus zerstreut, während an den Knotenpunkten der Hauptwege schon ganze Ortschaften entstanden sind wie New-Market, Mount St. John Village, Epsom, Panmure und weiterhin Otahuhu und Howik [Howick]. Daß daher im Laufe der Zeiten Grund und Boden in und um Auckland sehr theuer geworden, darf nicht wundern. (85)

difficulty in making up my mind to remain, I now feel a similar difficulty in leaving. Home-ties, however, are drawing me homewards, and I must quit the country in which I have spent so many happy days. In parting, I have one request to make, - that you will remember me as kindly as I will remember you; and I have one wish - which is for the prosperity of the Colony of New Zealand, and the advancement of the Province of Auckland" (Hochstetter, "Lecture on the Geology of the Province of Auckland", 174). This is a far cry from his original diary entry of "Allein bei den Antipoden!" after the *Novara* left Auckland half a year earlier (*Neu-Seeland*, 12).

On a sour note, however, the immediate area around Auckland is now “fast baumlos” (96), apart from the odd secluded area of forest, one lonely thirty-foot high cabbage tree on the road to Onehunga and a few Pohutukawa scattered around Waitemata harbour: “Fast jede Spur von ehemaliger Wildniß ist auf der Landenge verschwunden. Die frühere Pflanzendecke hat zum größten Theile europäischen Culturpflanzen Platz gemacht, und die sich ihnen stets anschließlichen Unkräuter mischen sich mit den Resten der einheimischen Flora” (97). In spite of this, the scene of this new European landscape tells a different picture as its inhabitants enjoy British colonial life in a setting that has been transformed into something both tranquil and idyllic:

In allen Richtungen durchziehen schöne Straßen das hügelige Terrain zwischen dem Waitemata und Manukau. Landhäuser und Gehöfte liegen zerstreut zwischen den beiden Isthmusstädten Auckland und Onehunga. Schwarze Basaltmauern und grüne Hecken (von Ulex) theilen die einzelnen Besitzungen ab, und wo nur der Boden oder das Terrain es möglich macht, sind Wiesen, Gärten und Felder angelegt. Vieh weidet auf den Fluren, Omnibusse sieht man auf den Straßen verkehren, hier eine Farmerfamilie in der einspännigen “Dogcart,” dort Ladies und Gentlemen hoch zu Roß – ein Bild voll frischen und frohen Lebens, sowie in glücklich idyllischen Gegenden unserer Heimath. (97)

The only thing to spoil this image, besides environmental concerns, is the greed of man, which, as Haast notes, can be seen in the plains between Papakura and Tamaki: “Wie wir hörten, findet sich ein großer Theil dieser Ebene in den Händen von Spekulanten, von den Engländern Landsharks, Landhaie, genannt, welche sich noch nicht entschließen können, ihr billig gekauftes Eigenthum zu einem anständigen Preise fortzugeben.”⁷⁴

As Auckland is surrounded by countryside and part of the countryside already exists within the city in the form of private gardens, it is almost laughable to both Hochstetter and Haast that a settler would wish to head deeper into the country for a short vacation in order to free himself of urban life, when the city cannot compare to those industrial centres in Central Europe:⁷⁵

Wenn der Bewohner unserer engbevölkerten Städte, des ewigen Rauches, Staubes und Geräusches müde, sich hinaussehnt in die freie klare Gottesnatur, und daher die ihm zur Erholung gegönnten Tage benützt um seine von dem vielen Sitzen in den engen Schreibstuben zusammengeschnürte Brust wieder ausathmen zu lassen, indem er mit Frau und Kind hinauszieht ins Freie, so finden wir dieß natürlich, um so mehr wenn bald, wie in Mitteleuropa, der Winter mit Eis und Schneegestöber herankommt, und er dadurch wiederum ans Haus gebannt ist. Wenn man aber in

⁷⁴ Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 343.

⁷⁵ Hochstetter’s subsequent chapter on the North Shore is based predominantly on Haast’s “Streifzüge in Neu-Seeland” contribution from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Auckland von Landleben spricht, wo das milde Klima dem glücklichen Bewohner dieser gesegneten Inseln nie verbietet – etwa an Tagen mit anhaltenden heftigen Regen ausgenommen – hinauszuziehen auf das Land und die frische stärkende [sic] Luft einzuathmen, so kann man sich eines Lächelns nicht erwehren.⁷⁶

The solution to this problem is the North Shore, whose popularity as “ein Vergnügungsort” is growing each year, even though the lack of shelter for respective travellers betrays “das Ansehen eines fashionablen Sommeraufenthaltsortes”; yet the Governor himself does not mind “jährlich im Hochsommer einige Wochen mit seiner Familie hier zuzubringen, freilich gleichfalls in Zelte” (104). The reason for this appears to be that for many Aucklanders it is “eine angenehme Abwechslung [...], für kurze Zeit die Bequemlichkeiten eines Hauses mit dem einfachen Leben in einem Zelte zu vertauschen” (104). As they are accompanied to the North Shore by a friend and his family, this desire for rustication appears all the more absurd: “Natürlich brachen wir in ein unwillkürliches Gelächter aus als unser Freund vom Landleben sprach.”⁷⁷ This is especially so “als wir seine idyllische Wohnung oftmals als das Ideal eines Landsitzes bewundert hatten” (103). The house in question is a charming and cottage-like dwelling situated in the picturesque surroundings of a small bay, whose landscape “von solcher Pracht, daß ich nie aufhören konnte es zu bewundern!”, and whose typical “neuseeländischer Garten”, with its variety of shrubs and trees from all over the temperate zone, “ein Stückchen Erde [ist,] auf welchem man sich befriedigt und glücklich fühlen müßte”.⁷⁸ Although the strong gales, in the end, prove too much for the German visitors,⁷⁹ their friend prefers to stay one more night and brave the weather, in doing so revealing the adventurous spirit and love of the outdoors which characterise many New Zealanders today.

The South Island town of Nelson, on the other hand, with a population of 5000 inhabitants, retains its natural paradise image through a more encouraging balance between its original carefree rural character and the advances of progress, which contrasts with the noticeable environmental destruction around Auckland. Unlike other coastal cities, which have “ein wenig zu viel von ‘schöner frischer Brise’”, Nelson enjoys “einer wohlthuenden Windstille, die verbunden mit einem heiteren, nur selten getrübbten Himmel das Klima zum angenehmsten und

⁷⁶ Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neu-Seeland (Auckland)”, 5497; cf. Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 102.

⁷⁷ Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neu-Seeland (Auckland)”, 5497.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 5497; cf. Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 103; see also 169, 193.

⁷⁹ The evening before they leave, Haast comments: “Wie leicht hätten wir in einer Stunde in Auckland, dessen Lichte zu uns hinüberblickten, seyn können, um in unseren Betten zu schlafen, und am frühen Morgen zurückkommend die weiteren Ausflüge vorzunehmen. Unser Freund hatte uns zu seiner Villeggiatur eingeladen, und wir mußten dieselbe daher mit allen ihren Freuden genießen” (Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neu-Seeland (Auckland)”, 5514; cf. Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 109).

schönsten an den Gestadten Neu-Seelands macht”, giving it the title “der Garten von Neu-Seeland” (324). Nelson is a former Company settlement, which he admits suffered a few teething problems in the early years of its development after its founding in 1842,⁸⁰ but once coal, copper-ore, chrome-ore, graphite and gold were discovered, it became “die Hauptmineralgegend von Neu-Seeland” (325):

Nelson gilt mit Recht wegen seiner hübschen Lage und seines vortrefflichen Klima's für einen der angenehmsten Aufenthaltsorte auf Neu-Seeland. Der Eindruck, den die von schönen Gärten umgebenen, niedlichen Häuschen der Ansiedler machen, ist ein überaus freundlicher. Indem die Häuserreihen in den Hauptstraßen sich schon jetzt mehr und mehr schließen, und größere Gebäude entstehen, gewinnt der Platz auch nach und nach an städtischem Ansehen. Am 26. August 1859 wurde feierlichst der Grundstein zu neuen größeren Regierungsgebäuden gelegt, und mir selbst wurde durch die Freundlichkeit der Bewohner bei dieser festlichen Gelegenheit die Ehre zu Theil, mit eigener Hand den Grundstein zu legen für ein schönes Gebäude mit der edlen Bestimmung für Kunst und Wissenschaft – das Nelson Institute. Gewiß ein erfreulicher und denkwürdiger Abschnitt in der Entwicklungsgeschichte dieser jungen Colonie, wo die unternehmenden Männer, die zuerst hierher gekommen, nachdem ihnen die harte Arbeit der ersten Ansiedlung gelungen, nachdem das Haus unter Dach ist, Wiese und Feld bestellt sind, nun auch an die edleren Zwecke des Lebens denken, an die Pflege der Blüthen und Früchte unserer Civilisation, an Kunst und Wissenschaft! (326)

Thus, the town's beauty is only matched by its focus on higher pursuits and scientific ambitions, which he hopes will continue for years to come so that Nelson will be at the forefront of innovation in art and science, as well as the province that will reap the benefits of the agricultural and mineral wealth of the region. Furthermore, as he is convinced that “in späterer Periode der Geschichte Neu-Seelands, vielleicht erst nach dem Aussterben der Maorirace, der Schwerpunkt der colonialen Entwicklung mehr und mehr vom Norden nach dem Süden gerückt sein wird” (83), Nelson is, in his view, the most suitable location for Government headquarters:

Man beschuldige mich daher nicht eines Nelson-Particularismus, wenn ich behaupte, daß das ruhige, stille Nelson vermöge seiner centralen Lage am meisten natürliche Anwartschaft hat, dereinst den gouvernementalen Mittelpunkt eines großen blühenden Neu-Seeland-Staates zu bilden, und dieß um so mehr, als es weder zu einer commerciellen, noch zu einer agricolen Hauptstadt die Anlage hat. (325)⁸¹

⁸⁰ For more information, see Allan, *Nelson*; Field, *Nelson Province 1642-1842*; June E. Neale, *Landfall Nelson: By Sailing Ship 1642-1842*. Nelson: Anchor Press, 1978; Neale, *Pioneer Passengers*; John Overton, *Exploration, Image and Illusion: Developing Views of the Nelson Colony, 1840-1865*. Department of Geography Working Paper No. 2. Victoria University of Wellington, 1985.

⁸¹ Hochstetter's views appeared shortly after the 'goldrush' of 1857-58 when it was thought that Collingwood in the Nelson district would become a large town and also the provincial or even national capital following suggestions by the Nelson Provincial Government, due, for the most part, to its easy harbour access (Chris Petyt, *Collingwood: The Old Cemetery and Early History*. Takaka: Terracottage Books, 2003, 63-80).

Beyond the southern borders of Nelson are situated the fertile plains of Riwaka and Motueka, which were “vor 15 Jahren noch ein Wildniß, [aber] jetzt mit ihren Wiesen, auf denen prächtiges Vieh weidet, mit ihren Feldern und Obstgärten, zwischen welchen die Wohnungen der Ansiedler zerstreut liegen, den lieblichsten Anblick gewähren und mit den weiß schimmernden Schneebergen im Hintergrund an die reizendsten Thäler unserer Alpen erinnern” (329). At the eastern foot of the Southern Alps the settlements of Lyttelton and Christchurch are located in what is known as the Canterbury Plains, “which will one day be the centre of a rich, industrious and large population, [and] are now the home of an energetic and high minded class of settlers”.⁸² However, further inland away from the West Coast and Otago goldfields only wood-cutters and shepherds form “die äußersten Vorposten der Cultur” before “die von menschlichen Fuße kaum betretene Wildniß eines jungfräulichen Bodens beginnt: Urwald, Sümpfe, Gras- und Buschheiden” (329). In these regions the explorer must make his way through difficult and often dangerous terrain to reach unknown and unpopulated landscapes:

Berge, Thäler und Flüsse sind noch ohne Namen, man benennt sie nach zufälliger Laune und Geschmack, nach Erinnerungen an die Heimath oder nach fernen Freunden und Bekannten, und versetzt sich im Spiel der Gedanken in die zukünftigen Zeiten, da alle diese Ebenen und Thäler bewohnt sein werden bis zu den fernsten Schneegebirgen, deren Gipfel am Horizont aufsteigen, und bequeme Straßen und Wege an einem Tage das Ziel erreichen lassen, an dem man jetzt kaum nach wochenlanger Wanderung mühsam anlangt. (330)

Thus, Hochstetter, much like Haast himself who experienced this first hand, envisages a time when New Zealand’s European presence will spread throughout the once nameless landscape of the South Island, so that the settlements will be just as recognisable as those in the north.

The place of the Maori in this European vision of the ‘Britain of the South’ is, however, a different matter. The image Hochstetter provides of the Maori is a combination of the ‘Romantic Savage’ and the ‘Dying Savage’, in which they are undergoing a transition from the ‘Romantic age’ to the age of ‘fatal impact’. Hochstetter, like Dieffenbach before him, conforms to the scientific and philosophical conventions of the day in his appreciation of the Melanesian and Polynesian stocks. The former are “dunkel gefärbt fast Schwarz, von häßlichem Körperbau, auf einer äußerst niedrigen Stufe stehend, wild und zum größten Theil uncivilisirbar” (45), and are closely related to “den Ureinwohnern von Australien und Tasmanien, und scheinen mit diesen die Reste eines uralten, vielleicht des ältesten Zweiges der Menschenfamilie zu sein, der einst weit

⁸² Hochstetter, *New Zealand*, 510.

größere Territorien bevölkerte, aber aus diesen durch höher entwickelte, begabtere Völker mehr und mehr verdrängt wurde und noch verdrängt wird” (45). The Polynesians, on the other hand, who are “von lichterer Hautfarbe, in den verschiedensten Schattirungen von Braun mit schönem regelmäßigem Körperbau, steht in der Stufenleiter der Menschenracen weit höher” (45). In other words, not only are the latter intellectually superior and more highly developed as a people than the former, with a greater ability to adopt European customs and institutions, but they are also, aesthetically speaking, of a more handsome and athletic stock, much like the Europeans themselves. In fact, the Maori are “der bedeutendste Stamm der polynesischen Race nicht bloß der Zahl, sondern auch der körperlichen und geistigen Begabung nach”:

Das gemäßigte Klima Neu-Seelands, seine bedeutende Größe im Vergleich zu den übrigen Inseln Polynesiens, seine mannigfaltige Bodengestaltung, die Art der Nahrung und vor Allem die Nothwendigkeit der Arbeit in einem von der Natur für ein beschauliches und idyllisches Genußleben sehr kärglich ausgestatteten Lande, - alle diese Momente mögen dazu beigetragen haben, die natürlichen Anlagen der polynesischen Race auf Neu-Seeland bis zu dem Grade von Spannkraft zu entwickeln, dessen diese Race überhaupt fähig ist. (47)

Much like Dieffenbach, Hochstetter also gives the superior breed of Maori a ‘Romantic’ veneer, “dessen Eigenschaften an die alten Germanen erinnern, wie sie Tacitus schildert, dessen kühner Muth in seinen Kämpfen mit der europäischen Einwanderung und Civilisation unsere Bewunderung erregt, und dessen Schicksal wir mit reger Theilnahme verfolgen” (48). This heralded past, which epitomises the cannibal age of heroic warriors, has gradually diminished as the European worldview replaces traditional Maori lore, and the Christian merchant replaces the Romantic warrior in a time when even the local rivers are no longer used for waging war, but are instead “die moderne Handelsstraße der Eingeborenen” (135).

Hochstetter balances the traditional Romantic images of the peaceful and warlike Maori with that of the Maori orator, poet and storyteller, whose tales, speeches, myths, legends, poetry, songs and incantations remind him of those of former times in Europe, in particular the “Götter- und Heroen-Mythen, die in mancher Beziehung an die Mythologie der alten Griechen und Römer erinnern” (506), and their “Göttergeschichten”, which consist of “Geistergeschichten und Sagen von Ungeheuern, die an die Kobolde und an die Drachen- und Lindwurm-Sagen des deutschen Mittelalters erinnern” (507). Maori youths are trained at an early age not only in the arts of hunting and war, but also in oratory and storytelling, without which the warrior’s prestige cannot be maintained:

Die Erziehung der Jugend erinnert an spartanische Zucht. Der Knabe gehörte mehr dem Stamme, als dem Vater an. Körperliche Züchtigungen waren selten; man wollte den Knaben nicht feige und unterwürfig, sondern tapfer und selbständig machen. Die Jugend wuchs auf bei Spielen, Tänzen und Wettringen. Die Knaben mußten die Kunst erlernen, Vögel zu fangen und zu erschleichen, Fische zu angeln, Fallen und Schlingen für die Ratten (Kiore) zu legen. Der Sohn des Häuptlings mußte die Traditionen, Gesetze und Riten des Volkes kennen lernen; er mußte Redner und Poet, Staatsmann und Krieger, Ackerbauer und Schiffer, Jäger und Fischer zugleich sein, wenn er dereinst eine seinem Range angemessene Stellung einnehmen und seinem Namen Ehre machen wollte. (468f.)

As there was previously no written language to record these narratives and speeches, the art of the spoken word has become “eine der Hauptaufgaben einer sorgfältigen Erziehung”:

Durch Rednertalent sich auszuzeichnen war ein ebenso großer Ruhm, als Kriegsrühm; ja nach Maori-Begriffen mußte ein großer Kriegsheld auch ein vollendeter Redner sein. Dieses Talent zu zeigen, boten die zahlreichen Feste und Runangas (Versammlungen, um politische und sociale Fragen zu verhandeln) die beste Gelegenheit. In der reichsten Bildersprache und mit lebendiger Geberde und Körperbewegung entwickelte der Redner seine Ansichten. Je geschickter er dabei Stellen aus alten Sagen und Gesängen, Sprichwörter und allgemein bekannte Sentenzen großer Häuptlinge in seine Rede zu verflechten wußte, desto höher stieg die Bewunderung seiner Zuhörer und desto lebhafter war der Applaus, wenn er mit einer raschen eindrucksvollen Wendung schloß. Bei der natürlichen Begabung der Maoris für die freie Rede und bei ihrem Ehrgeiz, sich als Redner zu zeigen, wurde es den Missionären nicht schwer, unter ihren Maori-Zöglingen auch tüchtige Prediger heran zu bilden. Im allgemeinen aber scheint das Dichter- und Rednertalent bei der jüngeren Generation mehr und mehr zu schwinden und an die Stelle dessen eine Vorliebe für das Schreiben von Briefen (puka puka von dem englischen book, Buch) zu treten, die bereits die Einrichtung einer Maori-Briefpost nothwendig machte, um die lebhaftere Correspondenz, die jetzt zwischen den Eingeborenen geführt wird, zu befördern. (510)

Thus, oratory and storytelling were placed alongside prestige and courage in battle as prominent qualities of a chief's reputation; after all, one could not build a healthy status without the ability to relay and exploit heroic tales of one's own glory and the spoils of war in such a way as to fully command the audience.

Without a doubt it is the ‘Waiata aroha’ (love songs) and ‘Waiata tangi’ (mourning songs) which Hochstetter finds to be “das Beste, was die Maoris auf dem Gebiete der Poesie hervorgebracht haben, und man kann nicht leugnen, daß man in denselben, freilich neben vielen Stereotypen Wendungen und Bildern, manchem poetisch schönem Gedanken begegnet” (509). In fact, many famous chiefs are accomplished poets, as “Dichtertalent [...] bei den Maoris für eine der hervorragendsten und edelsten Eigenschaften [gilt]” (509). It is also a talent which is not confined solely to the men. Furthermore, not only do the Maori have their own names for every plant, bird, insect and even different kinds of rock (203, 468), but each name also has a history: “Fast an jeden Hügel im Lande, an jeden Fluß und an jedes hervorragende Object in der

Landschaft, wie Bäume, Felspartien und dergleichen, knüpft sich irgend eine Geschichte voll geheimnißvollen Reizes, in der häufig die Namen oder besondere Eigenthümlichkeiten der Gegend ihre Erklärung finden” (508). Hochstetter is therefore proud of the fact that he has carefully collected the Maori names of all geographical features known to them, as he believes he has “manchen schönen und bezeichnenden Maorinamen der Vergessenheit entrissen” (20). However, as with other traditional Maori customs, their songs, myths and legends, “welche unter den Einflüssen europäischer Civilisation schnell dem Gedächtniß des Volkes entschwinden und schon jetzt der jüngeren Generation der Maoris zum größten Theile unbekannt und unverständlich sind, [sind] ewiger Vergessenheit entrissen worden” (505f.).⁸³

In this way, the Romantic age of the Maori has ended. All that is left are the few living remnants who are gradually fading away into obscurity: “[I]hre Zeit ist vorüber und wie ein düsteres Bild aus romantisch mittelalterlicher Zeit erscheint ihr Leben zu dem heiteren Bilde von heutzutage” (99). As a symbolic illustration of this premise, he gives the “Einst und Jetzt” (101) picture of the Auckland isthmus, which was once home to the Ngati Whatua, who were believed to have numbered between 20,000 and 30,000 several generations earlier, and served as “der Schauplatz der friedlichen Beschäftigungen, der Feste und Spiele eines zwar barbarischen jedoch nichts desto weniger hochbegabten Volkes; aber auch der Schauplatz der blutigsten Cannibalkämpfe, in welchen dieser Stamm von der Erde verschwand” (99). In a passage which appears to have been inspired by Haast’s *Allgemeine Zeitung* article, Hochstetter imagines the Maori strongholds that arrayed the slopes of these extinct volcanoes in the height of the Romantic age “wie die Ritterburgen des deutschen Mittelalters” (99), which in the emergence of the civilised age now lie deserted and in ruins: “Wie in Deutschland die Ruinen auf Fels und Berg Zeugniß ablegen von einer Zeit der Faustherrschaft, in der nur das Recht des Stärkeren galt, so sind auch die Höhen von Neu-Seeland in eigenthümlicher Weise gekennzeichnet als die einstigen Zwingburgen und Zufluchtsorte gewaltiger und gewalthätiger Kriegshelden und Häuptlinge” (99).⁸⁴ It is a landscape which appears “tätowirt aus, wie die Gesichter der alten Krieger, welche noch übrig geblieben sind aus der Cannibalenzeit” (100):

Heutzutage sind Häuser und Hütten zerstört, die Palissaden sind spurlos verschwunden, die Maori-Ritterburg liegt in Trümmern. Und wie der Krater am Gipfel gleichsam als Narbe des feurigen

⁸³ See 49-60, 188, 236, 244f., 266, 427, 460f.

⁸⁴ This analogy has been taken straight from Haast’s article: “Wie die Ruinen in Deutschland auf Fels und Bergen redendes Zeugniß ablegen von der Zeit wo sich die Faustherrschaft geltend machte [...]” (Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neu-Seeland (Auckland)”, 5513).

Erdkampfes geblieben ist, so sind die Terrassen mit tief ausgegrabenen Löchern die Narben, welche an die blutigen Völkerkämpfe erinnern. Haufen von Seemuschelschalen sind die Reste der Mahlzeiten der Wilden. Farnkraut, Manuka und andere einheimische Gewächse oder das Gras und der Klee des europäischen Ansiedlers überdecken mit ihrem grünen Kleide die Stätte der einstigen Thaten des tapferen Volkes, Thaten, die nur noch im Lied und in der Tradition lebten. (101)⁸⁵

Thus, out of this once proud tribe, he claims only a few families now remain in a village at Okahu Bay in Orakei,⁸⁶ while the skeletons of fallen warriors line the lava caves of nearby mountains from the wars of the 1820s, and the solitary figure of an “alte[n] wahnsinnige[n] Maoriweib” lives in a dilapidated tent on Mt Hobson, “nach der abergläubischen Sitte der Ihrigen hierher verbannt, um einsam da zu sterben, wo früher tausende ihres Stammes gestorben” (101).

To this fading past belongs the figure of Hongi Hika, “ein Mann voll Thatkraft, Tapferkeit und Ehrgeiz” who brought “düstere Tage der grauenhaftesten Cannibalenherrschaft über Neu-Seeland” (69). With the death of this “wilde[n] Cannibalenfürst”, known as the “Neu-Seeland-Napoleon” (70), his reign as the “furchtbarster Repräsentant des Heidenthums, des Cannibalismus und der brudermörderischen Stammeskriege” (71) was finally brought to an end. While not a favourable figure from old cannibal times, Hochstetter manages to satisfy his curiosity through meeting another of the old chiefs by the name of Iwikau Te Heuheu Tukino,⁸⁷ “einer der wenigen noch lebenden Repräsentanten der alten heidnischen Zeit, um dessen Haupt noch ein Abglanz jenes romantischen Heroenthums schimmert, das wie eine dunkle Sage an das classische Zeitalter eines unter den Einflüssen europäischer Civilisation rasch seinem Untergange entgegeneilenden wilden Cannibalenvolkes erinnert” (226f.). Although civilised to some extent, this heathen “Maori-Fürsten” is unwilling to let go of his Maori ‘paganism’ altogether:

Ich hatte längst von dem großen und mächtigen Te Heuheu gehört, der zu Pukawa am Taupo-See residirt. Sein Name ist bekannt, so weit die Maori-Sprache reicht; denn er gehört zu einem der ältesten und berühmtesten Adelsgeschlechter des Landes und zählt unter die Heroen oder

⁸⁵ Again the above quote incorporates borrowed elements from Haast’s writings: “Nun ist alles zerstört und selbst keine Spur von einem Palissadenstamme mehr vorhanden. Farnkraut, Manuka und andere einheimische Gewächse nebst europäischen Gräsern und Klee, durch das Vieh aus dem im Thale angelegten Wiesengrund heraufgebracht, überdecken mit ihrem grünen Kleide die Stätte der einstigen Thaten dieses so tapfern Volksstammes – Thaten die nur noch im Lied und in der Tradition leben” (ibid., 5513). Haast later paints a more idealised picture of the area: “Diese Hügel, einst die Schornsteine, aus denen Ströme brennender Lava ausgespöen wurden, und später die festen Plätze wilder Kannibalen, sind jetzt malerische und freundliche Bildungen, die Heimath des friedlichen, glücklichen Ansiedlers, dessen fruchtreiche Gärten und lachende Felder ihr üppiges Gedeihen den Substanzen verdanken, welche vor langen Zeiten aus den feurigen Eingeweiden der Erde ausgeworfen wurden” (Haast, “Dr. Ferdinand Hochstetter’s Reise”, 111).

⁸⁶ This is a slight exaggeration. Although confined to this area after their remaining land in Auckland had been sold, the Ngati Whatua numbered 356 in 1901.

⁸⁷ See Elizabeth Hura, “Te Heuheu Tukino III, Iwikau ? – 1862: Ngati Tuwharetoa leader”, in: *DNZB* 1, 448f.; Grace, *Tuwharetoa*, 435-41.

Halbgötter seines Volkes. Er wurde mir geschildert als ein Mann von bedeutenden Fähigkeiten, als “der beste und schlechteste Kerl zugleich,” als stolz, klug, großmüthig, als ein räthselhaftes Gemisch von moderner Civilisation und altem cannibalischen Heidenthum. [...] Iwikau Te Heuheu hat fünf Weiber und war Willens dazu noch zwei weitere zu nehmen. Er erfreut sich einer zahlreichen Nachkommenschaft, die sein Stolz und seine Freude ist, hat es aber, obwohl dem Christenthum nicht feindlich gesinnt, stets abgelehnt, sich taufen zu lassen, da er fürchtet, dadurch seinen Einfluß und sein Ansehen als Häuptling, das auf allerlei heidnischen Vorstellungen, namentlich auf der ihm zugeschriebenen Macht über böse Erde-, Wasser- und Luftgeister beruht, einzubüßen. Er ist von mittlerer Statur, mehr zart als robust gebaut, und trug sein schwarzes Haar in langen Locken. Sein bartloses auf der rechten Wange nicht vollständig tätowirtes Gesicht mit den kleinen funkelnden Augen machte mir den Eindruck von schlauer, berechnender Klugheit. Er hat nichts von der imposanten, majestätischen Heldengestalt seines verstorbenen Bruders Tukino Te Heuheu, der als ein Riese von 7 Fuß Höhe mit silberweißen Haare geschildert wird, und vorzugsweise der große Mann gewesen zu sein scheint, dem die jetztigen Heuheus ihren Ruf und ihr Ansehen verdanken. (223, 225)

Thus, he continues the ‘royal’ line of the Te Heuheu family in the tradition of feudal European society, which Hochstetter, however, sees as fast running out of heirs.

After having decided “dem gefürchteten Potentaten der Gegend mit meinen Reisegefährten in aller Form den pflichtschuldigen Besuch abzustatten” (223), the party postpone their trip to Te Heuheu’s ‘pa’ until the following day, and visit instead the hot springs near Tokaanu due to the fine weather. As a result, Te Heuheu is described at the time of Hochstetter’s visit as “ein finster blickender Mann in eine schmutzige wollene Decke gehüllt” sitting on the veranda of his “Palast” (223): “[E]r habe [...] meinen Besuch schon gestern erwartet und alle Vorbereitungen getroffen gehabt, um mich festlich und freundlich zu empfangen. Den ganzen Tag habe er in seinem besten Anzug auf mich gewartet; allein ich sei nicht gekommen und es sei daher meine Schuld, daß ich ihn heute in seinem gewöhnlichen Hausgewand treffe” (224). After the issue of his initial non-arrival has been resolved, the noble chief proves to be a very hospitable host, despite his general disdain towards the British and other common Europeans, especially “gelaufene Matrosen und anderes Gesindel, mit welchen Neu-Seeland von Europa und Australien aus überschwemmt werde, [die er] als die erbärmlichsten und schlechtesten Menschen verabscheue” (224), on account of his being treated “wie einen Hund” after his last visit to the “Pakeha-Stadt” of Auckland (224). However, as a consequence of being viewed as an “unabhängige Europäer höheren Ranges” (224),⁸⁸ the local missionary conveys to Hochstetter that Te Heuheu “werde sich freuen, mich abermals bei sich aufzunehmen, aber er warne den

⁸⁸ This also happens in another instance “als wir schon auf dem Wege den lebenswürdigen Damen des [Mission] Hauses nach deutscher Sitte noch ein letztes herzliches Lebewohl zuwinken”, and one of the Maori says: “Seht, das sind wirklich europäische Häuptlinge, die wissen, was sich gehört, die andern sind nur europäische Sklaven” (197). Furthermore, in a letter written by the Ohinemutu chief, Pini Te Korekore, he refers to Hochstetter as “Häuptling von der andern Seite des Meeres, Besucher vom Himmel” (531).

Engländer, welche mich im Auftrage des Gouverneurs als Dolmetsch begleitete, vor einem zweiten Besuche in seinem Pa, er habe diesen nur meinetwegen geduldet, weil ich ein Fremder sei und der Maori-Sprache nicht mächtig” (226). In Hochstetter’s view, he is able to traverse the interior of the country unhindered, with chiefs themselves deciding to guide him,⁸⁹ for two main reasons: “Sie wußten, daß ich ein Fremder sei, der nur kurze Zeit im Lande bleibe, und halfen mir noch auf jegliche Weise mit, damit ich in meiner Heimath recht viel Schönes über ihr Land erzählen könne” (20).

Another notable figure is that of the influential Takerei, who appears at first glance to spend less time on pleasantries with European visitors than on the old habits of a hardened warrior:

Nie hatte ich einen schöner und edler geformten Maori-Schädel gesehen, als Takerei’s stolzes Haupt, aber auch nie kältere und strengeren Züge, als auf seinem über und über tätowirten Antlitz. Kein Zug des Lachens oder auch nur der Freundlichkeit kam über das Gesicht des Mannes während unserer mehrstündigen Anwesenheit. Er saß da, zusammen gekauert, eine schmutzige wollene Decke umgeschlagen, die Pfeife schmauchend, und warf unheimliche, wilde Blicke um sich. Dabei gab er den ab- und zugehenden Eingebornen kurze, rasche Befehle. Es lag etwas außerordentlich Imponirendes in der stolzen, ernsten Miene des Mannes, der mir wie aus Stahl geschmiedet vorkam, aber auch etwas außerordentlich Wildes. (176)

However, he turns out to be “ein den Europäern sehr wohlgesinnter Mann” (176) due to his supporting of the Government and colonisation, in conjunction with his donating a considerable portion of land for the establishment of a missionary school, his campaigning vehemently against the consumption of liquor, and his opposition to the Maori King Movement. At the end of his North Island journey, Hochstetter also meets King Potatau in Ngaruawahia after first consulting his “Privatsekretär”, “einen großen starken Mann mit schön tätowirtem Gesichte, dessen Haltung und Ausdruck Stolz und Entschiedenheit zeigte” (316). The Maori King, however, appears as “ein alter blinder Mann mit gebeugtem Haupte” (317), who sits wrapped in a dark blue blanket in a dark corner of his “Palast” (316), which is guarded by a sentry in a blue uniform “mit rothen Aufschlägen und glänzenden Messingsknöpfen” (317). This “geräumige, gut gebaute Maori-Hütte mit einem Flaggenstock zur Seite” (316) overlooks both the Waikato and Waipa rivers, and is situated in a community of several “unscheinbare[n] Hütten zwischen wildem Farngestrüppe”,

⁸⁹ “Over the past few decades Maori chiefs had made a point of maintaining their responsibility for the task of guiding, and carrying on their backs across rivers and precipitous terrain, Pakeha of standing who needed assistance. It was an indication of chiefly honour and hospitality to provide this service, a situation Europeans frequently failed to appreciate” (Helen M. Hogan, *Bravo, Neu Zeeland: Two Maori in Vienna 1859-1860*. Christchurch: Clerestory Press, 2003, 79).

which form “den Anfang [...], was nach dem Plane der Königspartei einst die Hauptstadt Neu-Seelands werden soll” (317). Although now an “alte[r] gebrechliche[r] Mann, der dem Grabe nahe” (317) and simply raises his head rather than speaks, traces of Potatau’s youth as “ein gewaltiger, einflußreicher Kriegsheld mit starker Hand” (483) are still evident from his distinguished features: “Das über und über tätowirte Gesicht des greifen Mannes zeigte schöne regelmäßige Züge; die tiefe Narbe auf der Stirne kennzeichnete den alten Krieger, der in mancher blutigen Cannibalenschlacht mitgefochten” (317). His son and heir is, meanwhile, described as “ein erwachsener, finster blickender Mann” (318).

The women, by comparison, are less important to his narrative, and as a consequence offer no real Romanticism in their brief descriptions, in which they equate to little more than a collection of “einzelne[n] recht hübsche[n] Gestalten und Gesichter[n]” (157). They are no longer forced to work by their men, but still do various tasks “aus freiem Willen” (475) in addition to preparing the meals (177, 283): “Die Frauen flechten aus den grünen Blattstreifen niedliche Körbe, die beim Mittagmahl als Teller und Schüsseln dienen; die Männer machen Leinen, Netze und Segel daraus” (420). In one interesting scene the Maori women at Mangatawhiri also become a subject of curiosity, as they are seen to perform a “merkwürdige Sitte” of nursing their pigs like children: “Sie pflegten und liebkosen dieselben ebenso zärtlich, wie unsere Damen ihre Schooßhündchen, ja sie gestatten diesen bevorzugten Lieblingsschweinchen dieselben Rechte an ihrer Brust, die sonst nur dem Säugling zukommen. Ebenso sollen die Indianerinnen kleine Affen groß ziehen” (157).⁹⁰ In another instance, Hochstetter also witnesses “einen Klagegesang, wie ich ihn nie zuvor gehört”, which lasts a full hour before ending in a ‘hongi’ followed by a meal: “Sie stießen die jämmerlichsten Schmerzensteine aus, schlugen die Hände bald über der Brust, bald über dem Rücken zusammen, beugten sich dann wieder tief zur Erde nieder und drückten durch convulsivische Bewegungen aller Art ihren Jammer und ihren Schmerz aus” (218).⁹¹

However, not everything about the Romantic age contains the same favourable depiction, as both Hochstetter and Haast do not always care much for the traditional heathen lifestyle, especially when it comes to filthiness, so much so that at one point they are pleased to set eyes upon a European house again after so long a time without the comforts of home (169):

⁹⁰ Haast jokingly adds: “Uebrigens war das quickende Milchsweinchen ganz allerliebste und wir rathen unseren, die Abwechslung liebenden Schönen, es einmal mit einem solchen Neuseeländischen Lieblinge zu versuchen” (Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 358).

⁹¹ See also 124, 134, 174, 201, 205, 209, 299, 313-15; cf. Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 342; Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:302.

Ein gastfreier Empfang in dem Hause des hier [Taupiri] lebenden Missionärs der Englischen Hochkirche erwartete die Ankommenden, die nicht wenig erfreut waren, sich einmal wieder mit Europäern zusammenzufinden; denn seit dem Waipa hatten sie nur Eingeborne gesehen und dieselben in ihrem beinahe vollständig uncivilisirten Zustande beobachten können, da die meisten ihre früheren Gebräuche beibehalten haben, noch manche in ihrem alten Glauben beharren, sich aber nichts desto weniger gastfrei, hilfreich und freundlich gegen die seltenen Besucher benahmen.⁹²

This relief at reaching a clean and familiar European household is better understood when compared with the unfavourable description of the Maori community at Mangatawhiri who, although “sich eines ziemlich bedeutenden Wohlstandes erfreuen”, use the same pitiful Maori huts full of “entsetzliche[r] Unreinlichkeit” (156) that frequent poorer areas:

Viele derselben standen leer; wir wollten uns eine zum Nachtquartier aussuchen, aber sie waren voll von Ungeziefer. Zuletzt entschlossen wir uns doch, eine derselben, nachdem sie gründlich gesäubert worden war, zu beziehen. Was wir aber trotz der vorgenommenen Säuberung des Augiasstalles die Nacht über zu erdulden hatten, darüber will ich lieber schweigen. Für mich war es gleich anfangs eine gründliche Lehre, nie mehr eine Maori-Hütte meinem Zelte vorzuziehen. (156f.)⁹³

On a more positive note, the villages in the Taupo district, on account of the numerous warm springs, have the advantage “daß sich in diesen natürlichen Warmhäusern kein Ungeziefer aufhalte” (286). They also come across the settlement of Katiaho, through whose entrance, or “niedriges viereckiges Loch”, a spacious room is found lit and heated by two fires “fast bis zu tropischer Hitze” (213):

Es mochten 20 bis 30 Personen in der Hütte versammelt sein, deren Zahl wir nun fast um das Doppelte vermehrten. Die Hütte, in der wir uns befanden, war ein sogenanntes Wharepuni, ein gemeinschaftliches Conversations- und Schlafhaus, wie solche in früheren Zeiten in jedem Maori-Dorf bestanden, durch den Einfluß der Missionäre aber welche das Zusammenschlafen von Alt und Jung, von Burschen und Mädchen nicht dulden wollten, mehr und mehr in Abnahme gekommen sind. Dieses Wharepuni war ganz neu, erst kürzlich aus Veranlassung des Besuches eines befreundeten Stammes erbaut. Es war ein wahrer Palast im Vergleich zu den elenden Raupo-Hütten in andern Kaingas. Die Seitenwände waren inwendig künstlich aus Rohr und Schilf geflochten, der Boden war mit zierlichen Matten belegt und eine Reihe geschnitzter Säulen, welche das Dach trugen, trennte den großen saalartigen Raum in zwei Hälften. Die ganze rechte Seite wurde nach üblicher Sitte uns als den Gästen überlassen und bei dem kläglichen Zustand, in welchem wir Alle ankamen, durch und durch naß und aufs Aeüßerste ermüdet, durften wir uns glücklich schätzen, dieses vortreffliche Obdach gefunden zu haben. Wir entledigten uns unserer nassen Kleider und hüllten uns, wie die Maoris, in wollene Decke ein. Draußen aber im Kochhaus

⁹² Haast, “Dr. Ferdinand Hochstetter’s Reise”, 108; cf. Hochstetter, cited in: Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:359-62, 364-66; Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 349f., 358f., 361-63, 366f.

⁹³ Haast also finds his accommodation less than perfect: “Unsere Wharé war die reinlichste im ganzen Dorfe und dünkte es uns, als ob sonst Unrath und Unreinlichkeit überall vorherrschten” (Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 358).

wurde ein Mahl bereitet und nach dem Essen unterhielten wir uns noch bis in die späte Nacht. Unsere Maoris wurden nicht müde, zu erzählen und die Bewohner von Katiaho nicht müde zu fragen. (213f.)⁹⁴

This love of communal activities is not, however, confined to Maori housing. When travelling together on a trading expedition, “Alles mitgeht, so fehlte es auch nicht an Kindern, Hunden und Schweinen,⁹⁵ die sich lustig herumtummelten” (124). In one case, Hochstetter and company share a canoe with a Maori tribe, in which “ich unserer nicht weniger als vierundzwanzig [zählte], welche nebst einer schweren Last von Gepäck und Provisionen ein einziger, ausgehöhlter Baumstamm tragen mußte” (159).⁹⁶ In another instance, a “höchst ergötzlich” breakfast scene at Karakariki unfolds in a similar communal fashion, “da auch die Hunde, Schweine und Katzen des Dorfes brüderlich an dem Mahle Theil nehmen durften” (177).

The two explorers are often able to partake in this customary Maori meal, which is immediately prepared for guests upon their arrival even when uninvited and regardless of how hungry they actually are:

Wenn ein Europäer in ein europäisches Haus zum Besuche kommt, so fragt man ihn gewöhnlich, ob er hungrig sei, und erst dann bereitet man das Essen. Nicht so die Maoris. Wenn sie Freunde oder Fremde in der Entfernung kommen sehen, so fangen die Weiber im Dorfe alsbald an, Kartoffeln zu schälen, und bis die mit dem üblichen Tangi (Klagegeheul) verbundene Begrüßungsscene vorüber ist, ist auch das Essen bereitet. (283)

Earlier Hochstetter comments that so much is cooked in a Maori household that “jeder zufällig anwesende Nachbar oder Reisende mitessen könne; denn der Maori ist ungemein gastfrei, wie wir uns zu wiederholten Malen zu überzeugen Gelegenheit hatten”.⁹⁷ If anything, it is only the stuffy and unpleasant atmosphere of certain Maori huts that spoils the meal itself: “Ich bewunderte den Appetit der Maoris, konnte es aber nicht über mich gewinnen, mit zuzugreifen, sondern war froh, als ich vor der Königshütte wieder frische Luft athmen konnte” (318).⁹⁸

With the soon passing of the last vestiges of the Romantic and noble warrior and the age of progress and civilisation replacing them, the question which comes to mind is whether the

⁹⁴ Cf. 233, 284. In the end, however, this scene is tinged with sadness: “Wenn ich jetzt an diese Scenen zurückdenke, so kann ich mir kaum vorstellen, daß dieselben Männer, mit welchen ich hier 1859 so sorglos und freundschaftlich beisammen saß, schon 1860 und 1861 an dem blutigen Krieg gegen die Pakehas Antheil nahmen” (214).

⁹⁵ “Das Schwein lebt mit und neben dem Menschen in seinem wildesten, rohen Naturzustande und vermehrt die Hilfsquellen seines Unterhalts, ohne seine gewohnte Lebensweise zu beeinträchtigen, während der Besitz des Rindes an das Vorhandensein einer weiter vorgeschrittenen Culturstufe gebunden ist” (428).

⁹⁶ Cf. 163, 181.

⁹⁷ Hochstetter, cited in: Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:361.

⁹⁸ Cf. 105, 107f., 210f., 219, 283.

outcome of such a process has led to an improved or worse situation than before. For Hochstetter, real progress is only made “wenn dadurch zugleich die Lebensfähigkeit des Volkes erhöht wird, wenn der civilisatorische Einfluß auch zur moralischen und physischen Kräftigung des Volkes beiträgt” (476). However, this is far from the case with the Maori, in which European contact seems to be more of a curse than a blessing. The only exception are the Taupo Maori, “welche europäischen Einflüssen verhältnißmäßig am fernsten geblieben sind, entschieden zu den besten und kräftigsten Repräsentanten ihrer Race gerechnet werden müssen, und [...], wie man mich versicherte, sich hier die Familien auch noch eines reichen Kindersegens erfreuen” (245). The Maori at Ohinemutu are in particular “ein besonders kräftiger Maori-Schlag”, with the chief, Rotohiko Haupapa, being “ein wahrer Riese und zugleich ein Herkules an Kraft” (286). The direct causes of their deterioration can be attributed to the age-old evils of civilisation and colonisation, in which Dieffenbach’s influence can often be seen:

So wirkt die ganze europäische Civilisation und Colonisation trotz mancher Vortheile, die sie den Eingeborenen gebracht hat, auf diese doch nur wie ein schleichendes Gift, das an dem innersten Marke ihres Lebens zehrt, als ein Gift, welches nicht bloß Walfischfahrer und Sandelholzkrämer in der Form von Seuchen und Hautkrankheiten einschleppen, sondern das jeder Europäer mit sich bringt. Die Naivetät der Sitte verschwindet vor den Formalitäten der Civilisation. Der gastfreundliche Wilde wird zum rechnenden und überlegenden Händler, unsere Kleidung macht ihn steif und hilflos, und unsere Nahrung macht ihn krank.⁹⁹ Der frischen vollen Lebenskraft gegenüber, mit welcher die anglo-sächsische Race sich ausbreitet und vermehrt, ist der Maori der schwächere Theil, und so zieht er im “Kampf um das Dasein” den Kürzeren. (479)

Based on conversations with missionaries, colonists and Maori, in addition to standard secondary sources, such as Arthur Saunders Thomson and Charles Hursthouse, the main causes mirror Dieffenbach’s emphasis on their new idle lifestyle, clothing, food and attention to monetary pursuits. The first is the dubious benefits of the introduction of the plough and threshing machine, in addition to the construction of mills, which were meant to improve the industriousness of the Maori but instead encourage idleness: “Früher arbeiteten die Leute zu zwanzig und dreißig auf einem Acker, jetzt geht der Pflug und die zwanzig und dreißig sitzen um den Acker, lachen und scherzen, essen und rauchen, und denken, die Europäer haben alle solche Dinge nur erfunden, um

⁹⁹ The last two sentences are a partial translation of a section by Dieffenbach: “The naïveté of manners, the childlike expression of joy, innate to people in a state of nature, vanishes before the formalities of our civilization: the hospitable savage is changed into a reckoning and deliberating merchant; the incumbrance of our clothing in a warm climate makes him stiff and helpless; and our complicated food soon renders him unhealthy” (Dieffenbach, *Travels*, I:263).

nicht arbeiten zu müssen” (476).¹⁰⁰ The picture of the apparent Maori lifestyle of leisure and laziness is seemingly completed by those who frequent the Rotorua springs, “in welchen die Eingeborenen, Weiber und Männer unter einander, alle gemüthlich ihre Pfeifen rauchend und sich unterhaltend, stundenlange Bäder nehmen” (288).¹⁰¹

Moreover, there are numerous examples of Maori ventures incorporating European technology, which, however, end up wasting both money and effort, whilst leaving the Maori in question in a worse position than before. For example, the prospects of a Maori miller becoming rich through selling flour to Europeans are soon dashed by the communal lifestyle of the nearby Maori, who believe it to also belong to them and consume the flour. As the miller does not wish to continue his venture with the thought of others reaping his rewards, no further progress is made: “Geld und Arbeit sind umsonst verwendet; und der Unternehmer, statt durch seine Mühle reich geworden zu sein, ist ärmer als zuvor” (476). In similar fashion he also relates the story of a group of about forty Tauranga Maori who save enough money to buy a European schooner after years of hard work and trading wheat and potatoes in order to say: “[W]ir sind Schiffsherrn und Capitäns so gut wie die Pakehas” (476). However, as soon as tiredness overcomes them, the ship is left in the water only to be used once or twice more for a trip to the Auckland markets, all the while wasting away as they have nothing more to sell: “[...] wie Kindern ist ihnen das Spielzeug überdrüssig geworden; der Schooner liegt unbenützt, er gehört vierzig zusammen, somit Niemanden; Keiner will etwaige Schäden ausbessern, das Schiff geht zu Grunde und abermals ist Arbeit und Geld verloren” (477).

Secondly, as Dieffenbach also noted, the traditional cloaks and mats of the Maori, which were “einen vortrefflichen Schutz gegen Regen und Kälte” (477), have been replaced by a penchant for the latest fashion and, more importantly, dirty blankets, leading to the new generation being unfamiliar with the former art:

¹⁰⁰ This is in contrast with earlier times: “Man staunt mit Recht, wenn man sieht, wie geschickt und vertheidigungsfähig die Maoris ihre Festungen anlegten und welch kolossale Arbeiten sie mit höchst mangelhaften aus Holz und Stein verfertigen Werkzeugen, mit Schaufeln aus Holz, mit Hämmern, Meißeln und Aexten aus Stein und mit Messern aus Muschelschalen auszuführen im Stande waren” (100f.; cf. 176f.). This comment has clearly been borrowed from Haast: “Man ist mit gerechtem Erstaunen erfüllt wenn man die kolossalen Arbeiten ansieht welche sie mit höchst mangelhaften und gebrechlichen Instrumenten in dem meistens gefesten Stein ausführten. Eisen und andere Metalle waren ihnen unbekannt, weßhalb harter Hölzer, Muschelschalen oder mühsam hergestellte Hämmer und Meißel aus Thonschiefer und andern harten Steinen dazu benutzt werden mußten” (Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neu-Seeland (Auckland)”, 5513).

¹⁰¹ Cf. 124, 177.

Man urtheile nicht nach einzelnen Häuptlingen, welche in den Städten in schwarzem Anzug mit Pariser Hut erscheinen und alle Anstrengungen machen, um in diesem ungewohnten Aufzug und in Stiefeln, die bald zu enge bald zu weit sind, ihre stolze Haltung zu bewahren, oder nach dem lächerlichen Aufputz einzelner Maori-Schönen, welche die demi-monde ihrer Race repräsentiren, sondern betrachte die Eingeborenen in ihren Dörfern und in ihren Pas, wenn sie unter sich und zu hause sind. Da ist die wollene Decke, das “Blanket” die einzige Mode. Als diese “Blankets” zuerst Mode wurden, haben die Maoris mit einer wahren Leidenschaft Alles hergegeben, um sich diese Lappen, die schon nach kurzem Gebrauch abscheulich schmutzig aussehen, zu verschaffen. Geld hatten sie nicht, also gaben sie Kartoffeln, Schweine, oder ihre weit besseren Flachs- und Hundefellmäntel her, und jetzt sitzen sie in alte zersetzte schmutzige Decken ärmlich eingehüllt vor ihren Hütten und sind durch diese “Blankets” zu Proletariern geworden nicht bloß dem äußeren Ansehen nach, sondern auch in Wirklichkeit. Gewiß mit Recht muß man in dieser unvollständigen schlechten Kleidung der Maoris mit eine Ursache sehen für die vielen Brustkrankheiten und rheumatischen Uebel, welchen sie neuerer Zeit unterworfen sind. (477f.)

Thirdly, the ill-fated potato has also led to the “physischen Degeneration der Race [...], da sie fast zur ausschließlichen Nahrung der Eingeborenen geworden sind” in place of healthier traditional food, which has “denselben schädlichen Effect, wie bei unsern armen Gebirgsbewohnern, die ausschließlich auf diese Nahrung angewiesen sind” (478).

As a result, a side-effect of the civilising process is the transformation of the hospitable and noble Maori into the money-savvy graduate of the “junge[n] Maori-Schule”, who “kümmert sich um wenig Anderes, als um das Geld des Pakeha” (478), in which the Mangatawhiri Maori have become “rechnende und mäkelnde Juden” (156) and the Ngati Huia “stehen in dem Rufe, die Kniffe und Schliche europäischer Handelsjuden sich in besonders vollkommener Weise angeeignet zu haben” (200).¹⁰² There are even Maori, “welche 50 bis 60 Stück Pferde und ganze Heerden von Rindvieh besitzen und dabei mehrere tausend Pfund Sterling in der Bank liegen haben”.¹⁰³ Hochstetter, moreover, provides the reader with a warning to those expecting cheap and easy assistance from local Maori. As it is not uncommon for Europeans to require the services of Maori to cross rivers, he gives the example of an individual who is demanded to pay £5 for the privilege, but manages to reduce the figure to 15 shillings. As he reports this incident to the Government, which then feels the need to take action, and the same man requires the same services upon his return, he has the unpleasant experience of his canoe being deliberately capsized in the middle of the river after paying only 7½ shillings, in which he “mit seinem schweren Bündel auf dem Rücken nicht an’s Land schwimmen konnte, mußte sich an dem Kahn festhalten und um Hülfe bitten” (478). In order to exact the same figure of 15 shillings as before the Maori in question then request he pay a further 7½ shillings to assist him and keep him from

¹⁰² Cf. 135, 156, 189, 206, 217, 219, 306, 383f., 449.

¹⁰³ Hochstetter, cited in: Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:362.

drowning. However, probably the worst example of the negative development of the Maori through European contact is the “Stadt-Maoris”: “Zu stolz oder zu faul, um bei Europäern Dienste zu nehmen und durch regelmäßige Arbeit sich den Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen, lungern sie in den Straßen und Wirthshäusern herum, physisch und moralisch verkommene Proletarier, die den Europäern eine Last und ihren eigenen Landsleuten ein Gräuel sind” (478f.).

Hochstetter sees the fundamental failure of the Maori to advance past the threshold of civilisation at the heart of their downward slide towards extinction, in spite of their being “das muthigste, tapferste und intelligenteste der Südsee-Völker” (480f.), which exposes their intellectual shortcomings and inability to fully learn and comprehend the ideas behind European knowledge. This belief, however, conflicts with the picture he gives of the two Ngati Apakura chiefs, Wiremu Toetoe and Hemara Te Rerehau (Wilhelm Toetoe and Samuel Rerehau to their Austrian friends),¹⁰⁴ who were taken back to Vienna on the *Novara* under the supervision of Scherzer.¹⁰⁵ Toetoe is described as an influential thirty-two-year-old with a full facial ‘moko’, who was instructed in reading, writing and agriculture, and had worked for the Government as a postman and later postmaster, while the twenty-year-old Te Rerehau, the son of a wealthy relative of Toetoe, was skilled in the art of writing in Maori, partial English, arithmetic, geography, history, ploughing, cultivating wheat and flour, and bread-making.¹⁰⁶ Despite the reported fear of some Maori that they would become fresh provisions for the crew when they ran out of supplies along the way,¹⁰⁷ both chiefs proved to be more than simple “Wilden” when conversing with the Viennese upper-class or visiting palaces, theatres and museums:

Mancher, der die Beiden auf ihren Wanderungen durch Wien näher beobachtete, mochte sich wundern, wenn er sah, wie diese braunen Menschen aus der Südsee, die wir so gerne zu den ‘Wilden’ rechnen, wo sie etwas besonders interessirte, ihr Notizbuch aus der Tasche nahmen und

¹⁰⁴ While the latter is often referred to as ‘Te Hemara Rerehau Paraone’, his full name was Hemara Rerehau Te Whanonga Takawe, with Paraone (Brownie) reportedly being a nickname (Hogan, *Bravo, Neu Zeeland*, iii-v, ix, 116; see also Anne Morrell, *Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe and Te Hemara Rerehau Paraone: Two Maori in Vienna*. Auckland: Research Centre for Germanic Connections with New Zealand and the Pacific, Dept. of Germanic Languages and Literature and Slavonic Studies, University of Auckland, 2002; John Fletcher, “From the Waikato to Vienna and Back: How Two Maoris Learned to Print”, in: *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin* 8:3 (1984): 147-55; Georg Sauer, *Der Aufenthalt zweier Maoris aus Neuseeland in Wien in den Jahren 1859-1860: Eine ethnographische Darstellung*. PhD Dissertation. University of Vienna, 2002, 211-48; Georg Sauer, “Zwei Maoris in Wien in den Jahren 1859-1860 im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Pressestimmen”, in: *Novara: Mitteilungen der Österreichisch-Südpazifischen Gesellschaft 1: Österreicher im Pazifik I* (1998): 57-70).

¹⁰⁵ These were not the first Maori, however, to visit Germany. Two chiefs returned to Bremen on the North German ship *Virginia* in 1838: one known as ‘Charlie’, who later returned to New Zealand, the other ‘Emmeti’ (but later baptised ‘Gottlieb Carl Neumann’) who died alone in Germany in early 1841 (see Peter Oettli, “Two Early Maori Travellers in Germany”, in: *Archifacts* Oct (1991): 1-11).

¹⁰⁶ Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:369-71.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, II:349.

sich in deutlicher Schrift in ihrer Muttersprache Bemerkungen aufschrieben. Ja manche Dame von Wien besitzt in ihrem Album sogar ein Blatt mit einem kurzen, sinnigen Spruch von diesen ‘Wilden.’¹⁰⁸ Beide sprachen gebrochen italienisch, englisch und deutsch, und zeigten bei allen Gelegenheiten schnelle Auffassungsgabe, gesunden Menschenverstand und besonders Toetoe auch tiefere Gemüthsseigenschaften. Wie weit sie auch galante Eigenschaften entwickelten, davon mag die Vorstadt Ottakring erzählen, wo sie wohnten und auf den Faschingsbällen gesuchte und renommirte Tänzer waren. (527)¹⁰⁹

In spite of his views, he acknowledges that most Maori learn to read and write¹¹⁰ in local mission schools regularly with the aid of Maori teachers and preachers, which could “manchen englischen Matrosen beschämen” (71), and often develop “staunenswerthe Kenntnisse in Geographie und Geschichte” (471), with the Bible and law book “das Heiligste, was sie kennen” (494). Furthermore, they spend their time in agricultural pursuits and raising cattle, as well as commerce and trade, and control a large part of coastal navigation, as they have acquired a well-regarded reputation “als gewandte und erschrockene Seefahrer” (471). In fact, “der Kaufmann und Seefahrer [sind] bei ihnen hoch in Ansehen, wenschon der Krieger in ihrer Vorstellung jeden anderen Stand an Glanz überragt und sie sich selbst, was Tapferkeit und Kampflust betrifft, dem Europäer völlig gleichstellen”.¹¹¹

Although all Maori are converted Christians, bar several old chiefs, they are, however, unable “sich zur ganzen Höhe europäischer Bildung und Gesittung emporzuschwingen”:

Von der Natur mit intellectuellen und physischen Kräften reich begabt, von lebhaftem Naturell, voll frischen und freien Selbstgefühls und natürlichen Verstandes ist sich der Maori seiner Fortschritte in bessere Gesittung und Cultur wohl bewußt; allein auf die ganze Höhe christlich civilisirten Lebens vermag er sich nicht zu erheben, und in dieser Halbheit geht er zu Grunde. (471)

This viewpoint again contrasts with the earlier scene at a European mission station in Taupiri, which caters to ninety-four Maori children and presents itself as the best example of the religious and commercial practices of the Maori when inspired by Christian virtues and the civilised life:

¹⁰⁸ Cf. 520f., 528-30.

¹⁰⁹ However, in the case of Toetoe he reports: “[Er] scheint jedoch in seiner Heimath die loyalen Versicherungen, welche er seiner Königin in England gegeben, wieder vergessen zu haben; denn nach neueren brieflichen Mittheilungen hat er sich dort der nationalen Königspartei angeschlossen und bei einem Versuche, für den Krieg gegen die Engländer Pulver zu machen, sein Gesicht verbrannt” (528).

¹¹⁰ An interesting example of this skill is Te Kanawa writing his name on a piece of paper: “[Er] schrieb [...] mit der linken Hand und in riesigen Zügen, jedoch verkehrt, so daß man das Papier gegen das Licht halten und die Züge von der andern Seite durchlesen mußte. Wie die Alte zu dieser Art von Schrift gekommen ist, weiß ich nicht” (187).

¹¹¹ Hochstetter, cited in: Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:366. Haast reports that there was even a Maori who named his cutter “der Menschenfresser” (Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 366).

Um 11 Uhr begann der Gottesdienst. Paarweise in langer Procession kamen die Schulkinder zur Kirche, alle reinlich und sauber gekleidet. Ihnen folgte eine große Anzahl von Männern und Frauen aus den umliegenden Dörfern und Niederlassungen. Der Gottesdienst bestand aus Choralgesang, Gebeten und einer von einem Eingeborenen mit vielem Feuer und lebhafter Action vorgetragenen Predigt. Nach der Kirche wohnte ich der Sonntagsschule bei, und war nicht wenig erstaunt über die geographischen Kenntnisse der Maori-Kinder. Sie wußten mir auf einer Wandkarte von Europa, die keine Namen enthielt, recht gut den Lauf der Donau und die Lage von Wien zu bezeichnen, und beantworteten ganz richtig meine Frage nach den thätigen Vulkanen in Europa. Um 2 Uhr wurde im allgemeinen Speisesaal zu Mittag gegessen. Die Sonntagskost bestand aus Kartoffeln und Schweinefleisch. Um 4 Uhr endlich war englischer Gottesdienst im Schulzimmer und nach demselben wurden wir verschiedene Arbeiten von den Maori-Mädchen gezeigt, die hier nützliche Handarbeiten erlernen, während die Knaben in Ackerbau und in allerlei nützlichen Gewerben unterrichtet werden. Ein besonders hübscher Industrieartikel der Taupiri-Missionsschule sind Matten und Teppiche aus neuseeländischen Flachs in verschiedenen Farben. Die Kinder bleiben in der Missionsanstalt gewöhnlich, bis sie erwachsen sind. Ist auch das Resultat der Erziehung nicht immer das gewünschte, so kann man doch nur mit größter Hochachtung und Bewunderung die aufopfernde Thätigkeit einer solchen Missionsfamilie auf Neu-Seeland betrachten, deren Mitglieder alle gleichen Antheil haben an der Erziehung und Civilisation eines noch vor wenigen Jahrzehnten barbarischen Volkes. (173f.)

Moreover, the progress of the Maori in not only improving their standard of living but also their traditional lifestyle towards that of an autonomous European town seem to stand in the face of his dire predictions:

Ausgedehnte Weizen-, Mais- und Kartoffelculturen umgeben den Platz, breite Fahrstraßen führen nach verschiedenen Richtungen, zahlreiche Pferde und fette Rinderherden zeugen von einem schönen Besitzstand der Eingeborenen, und die über eine große Fläche zerstreut liegenden Hütten sind ganz hinter Obstbäumen versteckt. Sogar ein eigener Rennplatz ist abgesteckt; hier steht ein Gerichtshaus, dort ist ein Kaufladen, weiterhin an einem Mühlteich eine Mühle, und hoch über die üppigen Obstbäume ragen die spitzen Kirchthürme der katholischen und der protestantischen Kirche. Ich war überrascht, als ich in letztere eintrat und ein prächtig gemaltes Glasfenster mir entgegen glänzte. Das ist Rangiawhia [Rangiaowhia], die einzige Maori-Niederlassung, - unter denen, welche ich gesehen, - die man eine Stadt nennen könnte, ein Platz, der durch seine centrale Lage in der fruchtbarsten Gegend der Nordinsel und als Mittelpunkt des Kornhandels einer blühenden Zukunft entgegen geht, wenn die Maori-Race auf dem so glücklich betretenen Wege der Civilisation mehr und mehr vorwärts schreitet. (314)¹¹²

One can be forgiven for thinking the above scenes point to a purely positive development on both intellectual and moral fronts, as well as agricultural and commercial, that will continue for years to come.

According to Hochstetter, the Maori inability to progress further in the state of civilisation is first and foremost illustrated in the extent that the English language and Christianity have been adopted into their psyche. In the first instance, command of the English language seems to have

¹¹² Earlier he speaks of this area in even more positive terms: "In späteren Jahrzehnten wird diese gesegnete Gegend die Kornkammer der Nordinsel sein – ein wahres Eden für Ackerbau und Viehzucht, dem in dieser Beziehung kaum ein anderer Landstrich Neu-Seelands gleichkommen dürfte" (172; cf. 108, 164, 191f., 300).

eluded the Maori: “Vielleicht beweist nichts so sehr die Grenze, welche die Natur selbst der Civilisationsfähigkeit der Eingeborenen gesetzt hat, als die merkwürdige Erscheinung, daß diese, wenn sie auch englisch verstehen, englisch sogar lesen und schreiben können, es doch nimmermehr zu einer deutlichen englischen Aussprache bringen” (472). This has led many Maori to believe the difficulty of learning English must also be the case for European children. The result was therefore that the missionaries were required to first study the Maori language and compile a book of Maori grammar in order to teach their converts English, unlike in other British colonies where the reverse is true. It is in these missionary schools that the only Maori who do fully understand English are taught. Thus, at the same time as he attempts to rescue Maori names from oblivion, Hochstetter encourages the loss of their language through suggesting they should all speak English. He then provides examples of English place names and other words which have been ‘adapted’ almost beyond recognition to the Maori tongue, such as “Nuitireni” [Nu Tirani] for New Zealand, “Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarangi” for Victoria Queen of England, “Kawana” for Governor, “Akarano” [Akarana] for Auckland, “Karaitihati” [Karaitiana] for Christchurch, “Kaura” [koura] for gold, “Te Rata” for doctor, and finally “Hokiteta”¹¹³ for Hochstetter (472).

The second example of this lack of “Civilisationsfähigkeit”, or at least ‘superficial’ conversion, is in their embracing of Christianity which, however, assumes only “die äußere Form” (473), in doing so leading to their being, in his view, little more than excellent imitators:

An die Stelle ihrer alten heidnischen Riten und Ceremonien sind jetzt christliche Riten und Ceremonien getreten; die biblische Geschichte ist für den Maori nur eine neue Auflage von Ueberlieferungen, die er mit seinen alten heidnischen Ueberlieferungen vertauscht und wohl auch vermengt; Viele ließen sich taufen, nur weil sie dadurch zugleich materielle Vortheile erreichten.

Der äußeren Observanz nach sind daher die Maoris die besten und strengsten Christen. Regelmäßig läutet in ihren Dörfern das Glöckchen zum Morgen- und Abendgebet, und in der stricten Beobachtung der Sonntagsfeier übertreffen sie selbst ihre Lehrer, die Engländer.¹¹⁴ Sollen doch die englischen Truppen im letzten Krieg einmal einen Vortheil über die Feinde dadurch erreicht haben, daß ein Pa am Sonntag gestürmt wurde, während die Eingeborenen beim Gottesdienst versammelt waren und nicht glaubten, daß es christlichen Soldaten einfallen könne,

¹¹³ The more common and original variant of this is ‘Hokitata’ – “Dieser Name blieb mir denn auch als mein Maoriname auf allen meinen Streifzügen durch Neu-Seeland, mit der einzigen Variation in Hokiteta in manchen Gegenden und dem Zusatz Te Rata, der Doktor” (125) – which he takes also to mean “bald zurückkehrend” (125) from ‘hoki’ (= to return) and ‘tata’ (= near, of place or time) (Johannes Andersen, *Maori Place-Names, also Personal Names and Names of Colours, Weapons, and Natural Objects*. Reprint. Christchurch: Cadsonbury Publications, 2000, 4). His name also appears, perhaps mistakenly, as ‘Hoteta’ in a letter from a Maori chief (*Neu-Seeland*, 531). However, he is known as ‘Hokiteta’ in Te Rerehau’s diary and presumably also among the King Country tribes (Hogan, *Bravo Neu Zeeland*, 34, 38). Haast was, meanwhile, referred to by Maori as ‘Te Pakeha Kohatu’ (the white stone man) and ‘Te Hata’ (H. von Haast, *Life and Times*, 23).

¹¹⁴ In one case, a Christian chief by the name of Hamona Ngaropi “trug eine Uhr, um, wie er mir sagte, seinen Stammesgenossen ein Beispiel zu geben, daß ein ordentlicher Mensch nach der Uhr lebe” (178).

am Sonntag Krieg zu führen. Daß die Eingeborenen den Europäern nicht erlauben wollen, am Sonntag zu reisen, und ihnen an diesem Tage selbst jede Hülfeleistung versagen, davon habe ich schon früher erzählt.¹¹⁵ Die Liturgie, das Alte und das Neue Testament sind in die Maori-Sprache übersetzt, und es ist staunenswerth, welche Bibelkenntniß viele Maoris verrathen. Die alten Familien- und Dorfnamen werden in biblische Namen verwandelt,¹¹⁶ und bei jeder Gelegenheit hört man Bibelsprüche recitiren. Aber was ist von dem tieferen sittlichen und geistigen Wesen des Christenthums eingedrungen in die Neubekehrten? Auf diese Frage dürfte die Antwort schwer sein. Das Christenthum des Maori ist nur äußerliche Satzung, die zur Mode geworden. Er betet regelmäßig, aber er lebt unregelmäßig und arbeitet unregelmäßig; selbst die Missionäre müssen gestehen, daß Religion allein dieses Volk nicht rettet, sondern daß ihm Arbeit und geregelte Lebensordnung Noth thut. (473)

Thus, in the end, the Christian religion for the Maori is no more than an extension of their own indigenous religion, in what can best be labelled as ‘Maori Christianity’, which appears to him as more of a fashion statement than a deep-rooted system of Christian beliefs.¹¹⁷ The only comfort for the missionaries, it seems, is that Hochstetter sees the fault in the deficiency of the Maori to be raised to a sufficient level of civilisation, rather than in the Christian teachings, or teachers, themselves. For their part, numerous missionaries, such as Reverend John Morgan in Otawhao, can be proud of the work they have achieved with the Maori under their guidance: “Was er hier an der Stelle eines alten heidnischen Pa’s in’s Leben gerufen und geschaffen, Kirche, Schule, Gärten, Wiesen und herrliche Felder, Alles das durfte ihn mit stolzer Freude erfüllen, und nicht weniger der Kranz von blühenden Töchtern, die er groß gezogen” (315). In fact, on various occasions he is pleasantly surprised at the newly acquired skills of the Christian Maori: “[I]ch war nicht wenig erstaunt über dieses geräumige, hübsch gebaute und rein gehaltene Gotteshaus, in welchem sonntäglich eine Maori-Christengemeinde sich versammelt und ein Eingeborner die Predigt hält” (166).

As can be seen, the overriding feature of Hochstetter’s perception of the Maori is his emphasis on their imminent extinction, a conclusion which is both harsher and more definite than Dieffenbach’s own, yet not without sympathy. It is often said by settlers, missionaries and governmental officials alike, “daß man bei der Colonisation von Neu-Seeland sich bemüht habe,

¹¹⁵ “Ich hatte gehofft, die Eingeborenen hier weniger zelotisch zu finden, wurde aber in meiner Hoffnung bitter getäuscht. Zuerst verweigerten sie uns das Canoe zur Ueberfuhr über den Fluß, der vor dem Dorfe vorbeifließt, und dann wollten sie uns nicht erlauben, unsere Zelte aufzuschlagen. Nach langem Hin- und Herreden setzten wir Beides durch, mußten es uns aber gefallen lassen, für heute zu fasten, da der Lehrer des Ortes es auf’s strengste verwehrte, daß Lebensmittel an uns verkauft würden. Diese Maoris schienen die Gebote ihrer Missionäre höher zu achten, als die Worte des Herrn: ‘Der Sabbath ist um des Menschen willen gemacht und nicht der Mensch um des Sabbaths willen!’ Es war übrigens das erste und letztemal, daß ich es auf Neu-Seeland unternahm, an einem Sonntage zu reisen” (202).

¹¹⁶ These include “Petani” (Betania), “Kariri” (Galilee), “Heriko” (Jericho), “Hiruhurama” (Jerusalem), “Papurona” (Babylon), “Pepara” (Babel), and “Piripai” (Philippi).

¹¹⁷ See Belich, *Making Peoples*, 164-69, 217-23.

die Sünden, welche an den Eingeborenen Australiens und Tasmaniens begangen worden, an den Maoris gut zu machen” (465). He notes, for example, the efforts of a number of noble men, who “mit aufopfernder Liebe sich der Eingeborenen angenommen haben und nichts unversucht ließen, um aus den rohen, aber hochbegabten Wilden Christen und civilisirte Menschen zu machen” (465). The Government, likewise, appears to follow “anderen Grundsätzen [...], als in den meisten übrigen Colonien”, in that “sie ihnen, z.B. das Land, welches sie für europäische Ansiedlungen braucht, abkauft, [...] ihre Häuptlinge von den Regierungsorganen im Allgemeinen mit Auszeichnung und mit aller Rücksicht behandelt werden, und [...] man Recht und Gerechtigkeit walten läßt in den Angelegenheiten der Eingeborenen” (465). In Hochstetter’s opinion, however, the “Resultat dieser philanthropischen Bemühungen [...] [ist] kaum ein besseres [...], als dort, wo der Europäer hilflosen Eingeborenen gegenüber das Recht des Stärkeren in schonungsloser, brutalster und oft in schauerlich blutiger Weise geltend gemacht hat. – Auch die Maoris sterben aus” (466). This belief in ‘fatal impact’ has even spread into the Maori consciousness to the point where they are fully aware of their impending extinction, and “sehen mit fatalistischer Resignation dem unabweisbaren Schicksale des Erlöschens ihres Stammes entgegen” (467). In fact, they say themselves: “So wie der Klee das Farnkraut tödtete und der europäische Hund den Maori-Hund, wie die Maori-Ratte von der Pakeha-Ratte vernichtet wurde, ebenso wird nach und nach auch unser Volk von den Europäern verdrängt und vernichtet” (479).

Hochstetter’s pessimistic viewpoint is due to an unshakable belief in the commonplace scientific and philosophical conviction of Social Darwinism, which was repeatedly cited in the latter half of the nineteenth century as the irrefutable authority on European racial superiority over non-European peoples.¹¹⁸ The theory was used in its most extreme form to show that all primitive races were automatically superseded by the ‘superior’ European race as a result of the law of ‘natural selection’, which dictated that the ‘inferior’ race could not compete in the ‘struggle for existence’ and therefore must eventually disappear from the face of the earth.¹¹⁹ Confirmation of the same state of affairs for the Maori population appeared in 1859 in the form of

¹¹⁸ See Erich Kolig, “Ferdinand von Hochstetter: Wahlösterreicher, Neuseelandforscher und Maorifreund”, in: *Novara* 2, 69-73.

¹¹⁹ For more information, see, for example, Peter Dickens, *Social Darwinism: Linking Evolutionary Thought to Social Theory*. Burkingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000; Edward Caudill, *Darwinian Myths: The Legends and Misuses of a Theory*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997; Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought 1860-1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat*. Cambridge: Press Syndicate, University of Cambridge, 1997; Greta Jones, *Social Darwinism and English Thought*. Sussex; New Jersey: Harvester Press; Humanities Press, 1980; Alfred Kelly, *The Descent of Darwin: The Popularization of Darwinism in Germany 1860-1914*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981.

a Government released report by Francis Dart Fenton¹²⁰ entitled *Observations on the State of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of New Zealand*, which provides census figures compiled in 1857-58 by various individuals, with the intention of “draw[ing] attention to the state of the Native Population, - especially to its decrease in numbers, - with a view to invite inquiry as to the cause, and suggestions of a remedy”.¹²¹ Fenton himself acknowledged the limits of such an exercise “obtained for the most part in a somewhat cursory manner”,¹²² whereby not all tribes were actually counted, in which case information was merely relayed about respective numbers, while only specific groups were examined properly as certain tribes remained suspicious of the Europeans’ motives and were therefore reluctant to provide information regarding tribal numbers, and half-castes were also omitted from the combined figures.¹²³ Although this report does not endorse the popular belief in natural laws governing the extinction of weaker or ‘unfit’ non-European peoples when in competition with vastly superior, and therefore ‘fitter’, European peoples,¹²⁴ Hochstetter seems to take to heart the compelling statistical evidence of the projected rate of decline based on the difference between the unreliable 1844 and underestimated 1858 census figures, when he uses the same present population figures and projected estimates in increments of fourteen years over the next century, “being, perhaps, a term equal to half the duration of a generation”.¹²⁵ Provided the Maori continue to decrease at the same rate of 19.42 per cent, their projected population would decrease from 56,049 in 1858 to 45,164 in 1872, 36,363 in 1886, 29,325 in 1900, 23,630 in 1914, 19,041 in 1928, 15,343 in 1942, and 12,364 in 1956. The factors given to support this are as follows:

¹²⁰ See William Renwick, “Fenton, Francis Dart 1820-1825? – 1898: Magistrate, judge, public administrator, musician”, in: *DNZB* 1, 121-23.

¹²¹ F. D. Fenton, *Observations on the State of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of New Zealand* [1859]. Facsim. Ed. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1998, front cover.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 1.

¹²³ “Generally imperfect as the statistical knowledge relating to the aboriginal population of this country confessedly is, or, where perfect, embracing such a limited portion of people, and so inconsiderable an extent of country, as scarcely to afford certain bases whence to draw perfectly reliable influences applicable to the whole race, it is, notwithstanding, suggested that the foregoing calculations are of a character, and the information on which they are grounded are of sufficient value to afford certain evidence that the numbers of the people are diminishing, and must continue to diminish until the causes of the singular characteristics are discovered and removed” (*ibid.*, 28; cf. Pool, *Maori Population*, 55-57).

¹²⁴ “The theory that the colored race must fade away before the white race can receive little confirmation from the present decay of this population, for the great evil existed, as we have seen, in full force during the decade of years ending 1840, a period antecedent to the colonization of the country, when the whites were insignificant in numbers and sparsely located. [...] Moreover, the theory named has never been satisfactorily established as a law of nature. The idea that the inferior race is ordained by some mysterious but certain natural law to dwindle and fade away in the presence of the race of superior physical endurance and greater intellectual energy, like the low vegetation in the neighbourhood of the baleful upas tree, receives little confirmation from facts” (Fenton, *Observations*, 32).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

The peculiar characteristics of want of fecundity of the females, extraordinary inequality of the sexes among the non-adult population in a directly inverse order to that obtaining in other countries not influenced by immigration,¹²⁶ the extreme mortality among the children, the great paucity of births, together with a rate of mortality of both adults and non-adults far higher than any average known in temperate climates, must tend to produce a conviction in the mind, that so long as so many and such powerful causes antagonistic to increase of population exist, and simultaneously operate, any result except a decrease is impossible.¹²⁷

There can be no denying that the Maori population was indeed diminishing, and reached the low point of around 42,000 in 1891-96,¹²⁸ but from there on it steadily increased, although this was not always recognised at the time.¹²⁹

Hochstetter, in contrast, predicts the Maori will be “ziemlich ausgestorben” (467) around the year 2000, while the number of Europeans will rise from a total of approximately 84,000 in 1860¹³⁰ to 500,000 at the present rate of immigration.¹³¹ However, there is no mention as to what Hochstetter considers ‘extinction’ to mean, i.e. whether in a ‘full-blooded’ sense, a physical sense or merely a cultural sense, if not all of the above, in which total assimilation would therefore mean the Maori become “nothing more than that exotic ‘golden tinge’ in the blood of their conquerors”.¹³² Furthermore, unless he regards a population of little more than 6000 as “ziemlich ausgestorben”, which is the approximate figure for that year at the 19.42 per cent rate of decrease, it would appear the decline after 1956 follows a significantly accelerated rate. This is no doubt due to the philosophical significance of the millennium and the length of time of their eventual extinction at the above rate dragging out too long to be acceptable for ‘fatal impact’ believers, in conjunction with the subsequent outbreak of hostilities, and the doom and gloom of the following warning:

Notwithstanding that the decline of the numbers of the people appears at the present rate of decrease to be very rapid, there is reason to fear that a population which has once reached such a

¹²⁶ It was believed that a healthy population should “possess a slight excess of females” when not competing with immigration, yet the Maori appeared to display the “remarkably abnormal condition” of the reverse at roughly a rate of four males for every three females (ibid., 24).

¹²⁷ Ibid., 28.

¹²⁸ The census figures were officially as low as 39,854 in 1896, yet Pool posits 42,564 as a more accurate estimate, therefore making the 1891 figure of 41,993 the lowest total for the Maori population (Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, 76).

¹²⁹ See ibid., 59-227, 239-44; cf. Pool, *Maori Population* 25-39, 52-105, 145-228. The most recent census figures taken in 2001 show a total of 2,689,308 Europeans compared with 526,281 Maori. However, the issue of self-identification today complicates census figures, especially when one considers the degree of mixed backgrounds and the fact that many people of both Maori and European descent identify with only one of these groups (Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, 11-25; *Maori Population*, 40-48).

¹³⁰ According to a separate census taken in 1858, the European population was 59,413 (Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, 55).

¹³¹ Even by the end of the nineteenth century his predictions are way off, as the 1901 census reported a total of 770,313 Europeans compared with 45,549 Maori (ibid., 61).

¹³² Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 191; cf. Kolig, “Ferdinand von Hochstetter”, 70f.

state of decrepitude as that exhibited by the Maori inhabitants of this country will, from causes strictly intrinsic, proceed to its final catastrophe at a greatly accelerated pace, unless, indeed, the causes of decay be ascertained and removed. Moreover, the history of the relations of the white with the colored races in other countries where they have come into contiguity must suggest the apprehension that when the relative numbers of each become such as to banish the necessity for respect and caution in the conduct of the former to the latter, other causes of diminution will begin to operate, the ultimate result of which will be the speedy obliteration of the colored race from the list of peoples.¹³³

As if that is not enough, however, Hochstetter states four years later: “In consequence of the most bloody war of the last years this proportion has become much less favourable for the Maoris, whilst the European population of the South Island was increased by immigration in a proportion quite unexpected, in consequence of the gold discoveries.”¹³⁴

Importantly, it is this same Darwinian process, in Hochstetter’s view, which accounts for the rise of cannibalism in the Maori and, moreover, their present conflicts with the British. When he ponders the question over the state of the country when the first Polynesians set foot on New Zealand soil, he comes to the conclusion that apart from the native rat and a number of small birds, there could only be one other main food source to support a population in excess of 100,000, namely the moa: “Ja ohne diese großen Vögel wäre es ganz undenkbar, wovon 200,000 oder 300,000 Menschen auf Neu-Seeland, das außer den Farnwurzeln auch im Pflanzenreich nichts zur Nahrung bot, hätten leben können” (460). Yet with the extinction of the moa four to five centuries prior to European colonisation,¹³⁵ the “unnatürliche Zustand” (462) of cannibalism took over as a consequence of the lack of game to sustain their population growth:

¹³³ Fenton, *Observations*, 29.

¹³⁴ Hochstetter, *New Zealand*, 222n.

¹³⁵ Recent research suggests the moa population became extinct within the first 100 years of Polynesian settlement, or at least by 1400, through Maori hunting and loss of habitat (R. N. Holdaway and C. Jacomb, “Rapid Extinction of the Moas (Aves: Dinornithiformes): Model, Test, and Implications”, in: *Science* 287 24 March (2000): 2250-54; Worthy and Holdaway, *Lost World of the Moa*, 545f.). Haast, on the other hand, went against the norm by maintaining the moa had in fact died out much earlier through being hunted not by the Maori, but rather by the previous inhabitants of the country, who he referred to as ‘Moa hunters’. He argued that the claims of the Maori that their forefathers had hunted and ate moa could not be taken at face value, as no mention of the bird appeared in the accounts of the early explorers. In his view, it was only when the Europeans introduced notions of giant flightless birds that it started appearing in their myths and histories. In other words, the growing number of inquiries and emphasis on finding moa bones led to its adoption and assimilation into their oral histories, as was the case with European knowledge and concepts in general. This opinion sparked a controversy amongst other local scholars who believed the Maori were responsible for the disappearance of the moa, which therefore only recently became extinct. (See, for example, Julius von Haast, “Moas and Moa Hunters”, in: *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* [=TPNZI] 4 (1871): 66-107; Haast, *Geology of Canterbury and Westland*, 407-31; Atholl Anderson, *Prodigious Birds: Moas and Moa-Hunting in Pre-Historic New Zealand*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, esp. 97-109; H. von Haast, *Life and Times*, 703-58; Burdon, *New Zealand Notables*, 178-92.)

Was anders kann Menschen dahin bringen, daß sie Ihresgleichen aufessen, als Noth, als Hunger? Es gibt keinen andern vernünftigen Erklärungsgrund für eine Erscheinung, die so sehr der Natur zuwider läuft, daß sie auch bei Thieren nur ausnahmsweise, wenn die Noth dazu treibt, vorkommt. Es ist nicht barbarische Sitte, nicht Rohheit, nicht Wildheit, nicht Heidenthum, was den uncivilisirten Menschen der Südsee soweit brachte, daß er das Blut seines Nebenmenschen trank und sein Fleisch aß; der Cannibalismus der Südsee-Insulaner hat keinen andern Grund, als der Cannibalismus des civilisirten Europäers, wenn dieser schiffbrüchig und in der Verzweiflung Hungers zu sterben sich an seinem Unglücksgefährten vergreift. Auch der Cannibalismus ist nur eine der mannigfaltigen Erscheinungen des Kampfes um's Dasein. (461f.)

Thus, the argument as to the original cause of cannibalism goes full circle with its return to the Victorian conviction of a lack of food.

In contrast to Forster, who placed the motive of revenge as the direct cause of cannibalism, Hochstetter believes it to be secondary to this want of food:

Aus den Ueberlieferungen des Volkes geht mit voller Sicherheit hervor, daß der Cannibalismus erst lange nach der Einwanderung der Maoris auf Neu-Seeland, erst in den letzten Jahrhunderten aufkam, und es scheint fast, als ob gerade zur Zeit der Entdeckung von Neu-Seeland der Anthropophagismus seinen Culminationspunkt erreicht gehabt hätte. Ueber seinen Ursprung aber herrscht eben solches Dunkel, wie über die ganze frühere Geschichte des Volkes. Meine Ansicht ist die, daß mit der Zunahme der Bevölkerung auf den Inseln das Erträgniß der ohnehin wenig ergiebigen Jagd und damit die einzige Quelle der Fleischnahrung immer spärlicher wurde, und daß um neue Jagdgebiete, um gutes Ackerland und um ergiebige Fischplätze Streitigkeiten entstanden, die zum Kriege führten. Durch diese Kriege verwilderte der Geist des Volkes, die Feldarbeiten wurden vernachlässigt, Noth trat ein und Hunger im Verein mit Rachedurst und Haß führten im Kriege zu den ersten Fällen des Cannibalismus. Aber die Kriege dauerten fort, der Mangel an Fleischnahrung wurde mit der allmählichen Ausrottung der Thier- und Vogelarten, die das Hauptjagdwild ausmachten, immer fühlbarer, und was Anfangs nur in der höchsten Noth und in der äußersten Aufregung der Leidenschaften als vereinzelter Fall vorgekommen, wurde nach und nach ein fürchterlicher Brauch, der erst dann wieder aufhörte, als durch Einführung ergiebigerer Nahrungsquellen dem Mangel und Elend abgeholfen und die Grundursache der blutigen Kriege gehoben wurde. Dieß geschah mit Einführung der Schweine, Kartoffeln und Getreidearten durch die Seefahrer zu Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts. Dazu kamen die wohlthätigen Einflüsse des Christenthums, das die wilden Sitten milderte, und so verzeichnet die Geschichte schon im Jahre 1843 den letzten wirklichen Fall von Cannibalismus auf Neu-Seeland. Wohl leben noch viele Männer, die in ihrer Jugend Menschenfleisch gekostet haben, aber der jüngeren Generation klingt schon jede Erinnerung daran fast wie ein Märchen. (469-71)¹³⁶

In other words, this 'struggle for existence', which became the popular catchphrase in Germany from the 1860s, begins with the continual competition amongst one another due to the limited resources that exist for each individual, and ends with the 'extinction' of the 'less fit' and the continued development of the 'more fit'.

¹³⁶ Cf. Ferdinand von Hochstetter, "Die ausgestorbenen Riesenvögel von Neu-Seeland", in: *Schriften der Vereins zur Verbreitung naturwissenschaftlicher Kenntnisse in Wien* 1 (1862): 213-46.

While the custom of cannibalism may have receded,¹³⁷ the “Kampf um das Dasein” continues as before, but in a new form, this time between the declining and increasingly subjugated Maori and the more dominant and ‘fitter’ British stock:

Aus dem Kampfe mit der Thierwelt war der Eingeborene als der Stärkere siegreich hervorgegangen. Nun hat aber der braune Südsee-Insulaner um seine Existenz gegen die weiße kaukasische Race zu ringen, und es ist zweifellos, wer in diesem Kampfe unterliegt. Ich meine damit nicht allein den offenen blutigen Krieg, der in diesem Augenblick auf Neu-Seeland zwischen Eingeborenen und Engländern entbrannt ist, sondern den Kampf um’s Dasein, wie er sich zwischen Mensch und Mensch in allen jenen unzähligen Erscheinungen vollzieht, welche man als Gründe angibt, warum in allen Weltgegenden, in Amerika, in Australien, auf Tasmanien und am Cap der guten Hoffnung ebenso wie auf Neu-Seeland die Eingeborenen beim Erscheinen des Europäers mehr und mehr sich vermindern und allmählig aussterben.

In der Pflanzenwelt, in der Thierwelt und in der Menschenwelt vollzieht sich dieser Kampf nach unabänderlichen Gesetzen, in der Menschenwelt nicht bloß zwischen Völkern verschiedener Race, sondern ebenso zwischen Nationen gleicher Race, zwischen Staaten und Staaten, zwischen Familien und Familien, zwischen Individuen und Individuen.

Was uns bei diesem ewigen Kampfe trösten mag, ist das, daß er ein Naturgesetz ist, auf welchem die ganze Entwicklungsgeschichte der Erde vom Beginn der ersten Schöpfung in den Urzeiten bis zum heutigen Tage beruht, daß dieser Kampf nicht bloß ein vernichtender Kampf ist, sondern ebenso ein erhaltender, ein schaffender Kampf. Nur das Schwächere, Unvollkommenere geht unter, das kräftigere, stärkere und vollkommenere Element bleibt Sieger. So beruht aller Fortschritt in der Welt auf diesem Kampf um’s Dasein, und soweit der Mensch dabei betheilig ist, mögen wir uns vor Allem damit trösten, daß nicht die physische Kraft diesen Kampf entscheidet, sondern die moralische Kraft und die Stärke des Geistes! (462f.)

In the end, no matter how bravely the Maori fight throughout the New Zealand Wars, in Hochstetter’s view, it can only prolong the inevitable, as, it seems, the eternal laws of nature have already decreed their extinction at the hands of the Europeans. His views on the wars therefore make interesting reading.¹³⁸

Ever since Tasman first set eyes on the country in 1642 and gave accounts of the “gefährlichen heimtückischen Menschen von verrufener Wildheit und Barbarei” (62) who inhabited these wild shores, New Zealand’s European history has been nothing short of “ein fortwährender Kampf und Krieg, ein Kampf zwischen Menschen gleicher Race und zwischen Menschen verschiedener Race, bald ein unblutiger Kampf der Meinungen und Interessen, bald ein blutiger Kampf mit Feuer und Schwert” (66). This is in spite of the usual high regard the Maori have for missionaries and lawmakers since their conversion to Christianity, whose

¹³⁷ However, he later notes: “During the last war, the Maoris have relapsed into Cannibalism and heathenism” (Hochstetter, *New Zealand*, 214n).

¹³⁸ Cf. Hursthouse, *New Zealand, the “Britain of the South”*, 435-88; Droege, *Der Krieg in Neuseeland*; Friedrich Christmann and Richard Oberländer, *Neu-Seeland und die übrigen Inseln der Südsee: Geschichte der Entdeckungsreisen und der Kolonisation Polynesiens: Leben in der Wildniß und in den Städten der Kultur auf den Australischen Inseln*. Leipzig: Spamer, 1871, 55-114.

religious doctrines they follow “mit ächt calvinistischer Strenge”, resulting in their acquiring “unter englischer Herrschaft auch ein Rechtsbewußtsein [...], das sie an Recht und Gesetz mit derselben Ehrfurcht und Scheu festhalten läßt, wie an ihrem alten heidnischen Tapu” (494). Several decades after colonisation, however, land disputes have proven to be a source of “endloser Schwierigkeiten, die bei dem Geist der Widersetzlichkeit, der unter den Eingebornen von Jahr zu Jahr wuchs, bis heute ihre Lösung noch nicht gefunden haben und nicht bloß zu Rechtsstreit, zu hunderten von Klagen und Beschwerden führten, sondern zu Mord, Blutvergießen und Krieg” (75). Two main themes arose out of these disagreements: the first was the emergence of the nationalist ‘Kingitanga’ Movement,¹³⁹ the second was the setting up of the ‘Land League’ in order to prevent further land sales to immigrants, both of which, if not currently a source of tension, had the potential of becoming so:

So lange in den Maoris noch ein Funken von Lebenskraft und von nationalem Selbstgefühl existirte, mußte die Thatsache, daß trotz aller Vortheile, welche sie von den Europäern hatten, ihre Zahl seit Einwanderung der Fremden von Jahr zu Jahr eine geringere geworden, während die Europäer wuchsen und zunahmen, - es mußte das Bewußtsein, daß, je geringer ihre Zahl wird, desto unabwendbarer ihre gänzliche Abhängigkeit von der mächtigeren Race und endlich ihre volle Unterdrückung werde, zum Gegensatz, zum Widerstand führen. Wo zwei verschiedene Racen so in einem Lande beisammen wohnen, da mußte es zu Conflicten kommen, früher oder später. (481)

In the case of the King Movement, Hochstetter describes it as a “nationale Bewegung, deren Endziel Befreiung von der Fremdherrschaft sein sollte und Gründung eines Maori-Staates unter einem nationalen Maori-König” (480), to which all Maori tribes could belong in order to create a sense of harmony among unfriendly factions under the three principles of “Whakapono, aroha, ture” or “Glaube, Liebe und Gesetz”:

Der Sinn war, daß das Königthum nicht eine Rückkehr zum alten Heidenthum bedeute, sondern daß der wahre Glaube und die Ueberzeugung, daß Gott es so wolle, die Anhänger des neuen Banners kräftige und bestärke in dem Bestreben, eine Verbrüderung aller Maori-Stämme, Einigkeit und Liebe statt der alten Feindseligkeiten und Kriege herbeizuführen, daß Gesetz und Friede herrschen solle unter den Eingeborenen selbst und ebenso den Europäern gegenüber. (484)¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ See M. P. K. Sorrenson, “The Maori King Movement, 1858-85”, in: *Studies of a Small Democracy: Essays in honour of Willis Airey*. Eds. Robert Chapman and Keith Sinclair. Hamilton: Paul’s Book Arcade for the University of Auckland, 1963, 33-55.

¹⁴⁰ An old chief gives the following reasons for justifying having a Maori King: “Ehe die Pakehas (Fremde, Europäer) kamen, dachten wir uns der Gottheit am nächsten und fast gleich hoch stehend mit unserem Gotte [...]. Als aber die Pakehas kamen, da meinten wir, daß die Pakehas höher stehen; wir dachten, der Pakeha stehe der Gottheit am nächsten [...]. Jetzt aber haben wir gelernt, daß Maori und Pakeha von einer und derselben Quelle – von Gott stammen, daß sie beide gute und schlechte Eigenschaften haben, und daß sie beide vor Gott gleich sind. [...] [Sie]

The movement was united through the leadership of King Potatau, the self-proclaimed “Friedenskönig der zweite” (483), who was at the time of Hochstetter’s visit little more than a figurehead for his people in an old and fragile state, with numerous younger chiefs appearing to make the decisions on his behalf, and was soon replaced in 1860 by his son, Matutaera Te Wherowhero (later Tawhiao),¹⁴¹ following Potatau’s death.

The aim was to build on the strong sense of unity and independence that the movement stood for, and introduce a Maori Government in order to protect Maori and their land from encroaching immigrants. In this matter, the Colonial Government does not escape criticism, as Hochstetter accuses them of treating the whole affair as nothing more than a “kindisches Spiel¹⁴² von Seiten eines Volkes, das eben aus dem rohesten Barbarismus sich erhebend in die kindische Sucht verfallen sei, alles Europäische nachzuäffen”:

Man glaubte, die beste und sicherste Politik sei, das Maori-Königthum gänzlich zu ignoriren. Schenke man diesem kindischen Spiel keine Aufmerksamkeit, und sei der Reiz der Neuheit für die Eingeborenen verschwunden – so dachte man – dann werde auch das ‘Fastnachtspiel des Maori-Königs’ von selbst aufhören. Aber dieses ‘Kinderspiel’ hat seither zu einem blutigen Kriegsspiel geführt. (481)

However, this movement was not about to go away like a new toy which the Maori soon got tired of, as the reasons for this action were more serious in nature than the Government gave credit. There was growing discontent among the Maori, who complained legitimately about the way land

haben auch beide gleiche Rechte, und es ist ganz natürlich, daß die Maoris ebenso gut ihren eigenen König haben, wie die Pakehas” (482).

¹⁴¹ Matutaera is a Maori version of Methuselah. (See Carmen Kirkwood (ed.), *Tawhiao – King or Prophet*. Huntly: MAI Systems, 2000; R. T. Mahuta, “Tawhiao, Tukaroto Matutaera Potatau Te Wherowhero ? – 1894: Maori King, Waikato leader, prophet”, in: *DNZB* 2, 509f.)

¹⁴² Ironically, this is the very thing he labels the conflict between the Ngati Hokopu and Ngai Te Rangi over a small piece of land: “Daß in den drei Jahren, seit der Kampf entbrannt war, nicht mehr als sieben Menschen getödtet wurden, und diese, wie man mir sagte, aus Unvorsichtigkeit durch ihre eigenen Freunde, beweist, daß Alles so eingerichtet ist, daß so wenig als möglich Blut vergossen werden kann. Es ist nach den Maori-Kriegsregeln verpönt, auf Weiber, Kinder oder auf die commandirenden Generale, die von der exponirten Platform des Pa aus den Kampf leiten, zu schießen. Die Pas liegen kaum in Schußweite, und da beide Theil, durch Erdwälle auf’s beste geschützt, nur von den Laufgräben aus schießen, so ist es fast unmöglich, daß Jemand getroffen wird. Ueberdieß muß der Pa, welcher das Feuer eröffnen will, seinem Gegner dieß vorher durch ein Flaggenzeichen kundgeben, und nur wenn beide Theile einverstanden sind, wird das Feuer wirklich eröffnet und so lange Pulver verpufft, bis die eine oder andere Partei durch Aufziehen der Friedensflagge das Zeichen gibt, daß es jetzt genug sei. Welche Partei dieses Zeichen zuerst gibt, das hängt zumeist davon ab, auf welcher Seite das Essen zuerst fertig ist; denn auch die Regelmäßigkeit der Mahlzeiten darf durch den Krieg in keiner Weise gestört werden. Auf offenem Felde wird nie gekämpft, wohl aber kommt es vor, daß, um das Kriegsspiel zu vervollständigen, die eine Partei auszieht und der andern eine offene Feldschlacht anbietet; jedoch der Feind zeigt sich nicht, man kehrt wieder zurück in’s Lager und bemerkt jetzt erst zu spät, um sich von Neuem zu bemühen, daß der Feind nun wirklich aus seinen Schlupfwinkeln hervor gekommen ist. Dieser trifft den Gegner nicht mehr an und zieht sich daher gleichfalls wieder zurück. So ist das Ganze mehr ein Kriegsspiel, als ein Krieg, ein gefährliches Kinderspiel mit geladenen Gewehren, dessen üble Folge nur die ist, daß die Eingeborenen darüber ihre Geschäfte, Ackerbau und Viehzucht vernachlässigen, daß sie verkümmern oder verwildern” (305f.).

rights were settled, as well as the overwhelming indifference towards them, and unwillingness of those elected to run the country to hear their plight:

Die Eingeborenen klagten darüber, daß Nichts geschehe, um Gesetz und Ordnung unter ihnen einzuführen, daß der Gouverneur um seine Landeskinder sich nicht bekümmere, daß er nie Reisen im Innern mache, um sich von dem Zustand der Eingeborenen zu überzeugen; daß er die Maori-Sprache nicht verstehe, und daher die Häuptlinge, die nach der Stadt kommen, mit untergeordneten Individuen zu verkehren haben, anstatt, wie es ihrer Würde angemessen sei, mit dem Gouverneur selbst; daß Recht und Gerechtigkeit im Innern des Landes keine Vertreter habe, sondern daß die Regierung ruhig zusehe, wie die alten Stammesfeindseligkeiten bei dem geringsten Anlaß zu offenen, blutigen Kriegen führen, welche die Eingeborenen mehr und mehr decimiren; daß die Regierung wohl genaue statistische Protokolle über die Zahl der Eingeborenen führe, aus denen berechnet werde, um wie viel ihre Zahl sich jährlich vermindere, daß die Regierung aber nichts thue, um die Ursachen dieses Aussterbens der Eingeborenen zu heben; daß man die für die Eingeborenen aus Europa eingeführten Waaren mit ungerechtem Zolle belaste, indem eine einfache wollene Decke, wie sie jeder Maori nothwendig zu seiner Kleidung brauche, nach dem Gewichte mehr Zoll zahlen müsse, als das Seidenkleid und die Spitzen der reichen europäischen Dame in der Stadt; daß man den Verkauf von Munition und Schießwaffen an die Eingeborenen strengen Gesetzen unterwerfe, dagegen Spirituosen aller Art, deren Genuß nur schädlich wirken könne, ungehindert verkaufen lasse; daß im Allgemeinen das Benehmen der Europäer gegen die Eingeborenen ein solches sei, als ob diese eine niedrigere, nur zum Sklavendienste bestimmte Race seien. (484f.)¹⁴³

Thus, at the heart of the matter, in Hochstetter's view, is the influence of the theories of 'fatal impact', in conjunction with the actual reality of declining numbers at the time, which led the Maori to believe in their own extinction, and only strengthened their convictions that an act of solidarity was necessary to limit the damaging influences of civilisation, with a check on land sales to European immigrants being a high priority in order to secure their futures from the race which was 'predestined' to supplant them.

The unfortunate consequences of this way of thinking on both sides, however, led to the Taranaki Wars of 1860-61, with the refusal of the so-called Taranaki 'Land League', a passive resistance designed to gain "sociale und politische Institutionen und eine derartige Organisation ihrer Verhältnisse, die ihre Race vor dem Aussterben bewahre" (488), to allow the Government to not only obtain more land, but also to make a tidy profit from selling it at a higher price. Hochstetter's position on this stance is more in line with the European viewpoint on Maori land rights when he refers to "das schwankende rechtliche Verhältniß der Eingeborenen zum Boden" (487). This is due to only a small portion of Maori land actually being used for agricultural

¹⁴³ As two Maori girls in town explain: "[W]ir werden hier wie Hunde behandelt und darum behandeln wir auch die Europäer so" (485).

purposes, as it was also viewed in terms of future inheritance, in conjunction with their need to move location after clearing the land and exhausting its usefulness (486):

Es gab und gibt kein herrenloses Land auf Neu-Seeland, aber es gab auch weder Staatsland, noch Privatland. Das Land oder die Gegend, welche ein Stamm bewohnte, war in communistischem Sinne sein Eigenthum, aber nur so lange, als er dasselbe gegen seine Nachbarstämme vertheidigen und behaupten konnte. Eine Bergkette, ein Fluß, ein Meeresarm bezeichnete im Allgemeinen die Grenzen der einzelnen Stammesterritorien. Innerhalb dieser Grenzen galt das Land als Gemeingut aller Stammesgenossen, ebenso wie Luft und Wasser. Jeder konnte Gebrauch davon machen, wie er wollte, und nur indem eine Familie oder die Bewohner eines Dorfes gewisse Stücke bebauten oder bepflanzten und so lange diese Stücke bearbeiteten, hatten sie eine Art Eigenthumsrecht auf dieselben. Erworben wurde das Land also nur durch Occupation und als Eigenthum erhalten durch ununterbrochene Besitzesübung. Dabei war der Besitz des Einzelnen rechtlich nur durch seinen Connex mit einem Stamme gesichert. Einen andern Begriff von Privateigenthum gab es nicht. (487)

Needless to say, his comments amount to a confirmation of the Eurocentric belief that land cannot be claimed as someone's property if one does not use the land in question or even occupy it, especially if that someone is a native.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, as a consequence of giving the land debate a monetary value instead of a goods value, he argues it has led to absurd and exaggerated claims from both sides, especially in the case of a Maori chief, who does not understand the concept of private ownership, "wenn er an einer Küste einmal gefischt oder zur Nacht geschlafen hatte, wenn er auf dem Grundstück Raupo zum Dachdecken geschnitten, Ratten gefangen oder Verwandte bestattet hatte, wenn er dort gekämpft oder den Kriegstanz aufgeführt, wenn er beim Holzfällen sich in Arm und Bein gehauen" (487f.). Tribes who previously owned land for generations, but recently lost it to a conquering tribe, also made new claims, resulting in further conflict among the Maori people. Yet each time a claim was made, the asking price rose from the original one shilling per acre. All this compounded the issue over land rights, and as the Maori, in his view, could not adapt fast enough in the face of growing numbers of European immigrants, a unanimous decision was eventually made not to sell any more land.¹⁴⁵

Despite it being argued that this stand-off was not directed against the authority of the Queen of England, it did not prevent bloodshed. This was not helped, he claims, by the policies of the Government, which not only chose to ignore the peaceful option, as this action required the abilities of "eine starke, der Sache der Eingeborenen mit Liebe sich widmende Regierung" (489),

¹⁴⁴ See Rollo Arnold, "British Settlers and the Land", in: *Te Whenua, Te Iwi – The Land and the People*. Ed. Jock Phillips. Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press in association with the Stout Research Centre for the Study of New Zealand Society, History and Culture, 1987, 27-41; Marr et al., *Crown Laws*, 40-45.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Kolig, "Ferdinand von Hochstetter", 75-78.

but also procrastinated too long at the wrong moment, leaving the “Weg der Gewalt” (489) as the only option. Moreover, the Government “wollte von Transactionen und einem Compromiß erst dann hören, wenn die Rebellion völlig besiegt und unterworfen seien. Denn jedes andere Verhalten würde die Eingeborenen nur bestärken in der gefährlichen Idee, daß sie ungestraft und mit Erfolg der englischen Regierung sich widersetzen können und nur neue Verwickelungen herbeiführen” (495). There can be no denying the role of both Maori and Pakeha in the conflict that followed, but that does not diminish the sympathy Hochstetter feels for a ‘dying’ people who are making their last stand against a more powerful enemy:

Aber wem sollte man die Schuld beimessen an all’ dem Unheil, welches dieser Kampf schon gebracht hatte und noch zu bringen drohte? Ist es nicht natürlich, daß man Sympathie fühlt mit einem Volke, das im Lande seiner Väter, seit Fremde dasselbe betreten haben, auch ohne Kampf und Blutvergießen dem tragischen Schicksal entgegen ging, auszusterben, und das, im Vorgefühl eines solchen Endes zum letztenmale seine Kraft sammelt, um den unheilvollen Kampf gegen die stärkere Race zu wagen, der sein Ende nicht aufhält, sondern nur beschleunigt? (493)

His last question echoes the thoughts of many commentators who believed the outcome of the wars could only hasten their decline and bring their final days closer to reality, as there was no question, in European eyes, that they would succumb to the superior British firepower and come to the same conclusion, “daß sie es mit einem übermächtigen Gegner zu thun haben und daß offener Kampf mit den Waffen ihren Untergang nur beschleunige” (497).¹⁴⁶

It is on the battlefield where the best examples of the sudden transformation of the Maori character occur and the true level and extent of Maori conversion can be gauged. Hochstetter, for his part, is able to reason how a respectable Christian Maori gentleman can one day revert to a wild and savage warrior with the mentality that “ein ruhmvoller Tod auf dem Schlachtfeld besser sei, als es zu erleben, wie die ganze Race allmählig dahinsterbe” (495):

¹⁴⁶ Scherzer, in contrast, gives an ambivalent picture of future events through maintaining the Maori are the exception to the rule that all indigenous peoples must fade and die out when in contact with civilisation – “Während Buschmänner, Hottentotten, Kaffern und Australneger gleich den Indianerstämmen in Britisch-Canada und den nordamerikanischen Freistaaten das trostlose Bild der Verkümmern und des Unterganges bieten, schienen hier bisher alle Anzeichen vorhanden zu sein, daß die hehre Aufgabe gelingen werde, eines der wildesten aber auch begabtesten Urvölker der Erde durch Unterricht und Bildung zu veredeln und in den Kreis der Civilisation dauernd einzuführen” (Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:297) – whilst lamenting the possibility that the present conflict could very well exacerbate this prognosis and repeat the unfavourable processes of other colonised countries: “Wir glauben zwar nicht, daß die ganze Race von diesem tief beklagenswerthen Rückfall in den Zustand der Barbarei ergriffen werden wird, noch daß die Anwendung des Wortes ‘grattez le Maori et vous trouvez le Sauvage’ hier seine volle Berechtigung hat, aber wir können uns andererseits auch nicht der Besorgniß entschlagen, daß bei einer längeren Dauer der Feindseligkeiten alte Gewohnheiten wieder erwachen werden und der mit immer steigender Erbitterung geführte Kampf die Ausrottung und Vertilgung der neuseeländischen Race zur letzten Folge haben dürfte” (ibid., II:339; cf. II:335-39).

Nirgends zeigten sie sich in größeren compacten Massen zum Angriff, sondern verstohlen bei Nacht trieben sie ihr Räuber- und Mordbrennerhandwerk,¹⁴⁷ und Männer, die noch vor Kurzem für civilisirte Menschen gegolten und für die besten Freunde der Europäer, sind, nachdem Blutvergießen und Krieg die alten Leidenschaften und die angeborenen Neigungen von Neuem geweckt, wieder zu wahren Wilden geworden. Wohl hat Civilisation und bessere Gesittung in den letzten Jahrzehnten unter den Eingeborenen große Fortschritte gemacht, aber bei alledem befinden sie sich erst in einem Uebergangszustande; noch leben viele jener alten Cannibalen, welche die Kriege unter Shongi [Hongi Hika] mitgemacht haben und mit Menschenfleisch großgezogen wurden. Ist es da zu verwundern, daß Krieg und Blutvergießen die wilden Leidenschaften, welche nur schlummerten, wiedergeweckt hat und das Volk wieder zurücksinkt in jenen Zustand, dessen Erinnerung der jetzt lebenden Generation noch nicht entschwunden? Und so das Werk der Civilisation unterbrochen zu sehen bei einem hochbegabten, von der Natur physisch und geistig reich ausgestatteten Volke ist nicht weniger beklagenswerth, als das traurige Loos der Colonisation, die, was sie durch jahrelange mühsame Arbeit geschaffen, plötzlich vernichtet und die Existenz ihrer Familien, um derenwillen sie ihre Heimath verließen und nach dem andern Ende der Erde auswanderten, von Neuem in Frage gestellt sehen. (492)

Thus, the colony has reached a crisis point, in which a “Racenkrieg” is a very real threat, which “auf lange Jahre das Schicksal der Colonie entscheiden werde” (493), as the present conflict in Taranaki “erschien nur als ein Vorspiel zu einem allgemeinen Krieg, der zu einem Racenkampf zwischen Europäern und Eingeborenen zu werden drohte” (497).

In order to prevent such an outcome the Government re-appointed Sir George Grey as Governor of New Zealand, which Hochstetter believes is an “anerkenneswerther Beweis, daß auch die englische Regierung nichts unversucht lassen will, um den Frieden zu halten” (498).¹⁴⁸ Hochstetter looks to the new Governor as the nation’s saviour in both political and social spheres. In terms of the New Zealand Wars, however, he sees Grey as having the unenviable task and responsibility of not only preventing an out-in-out war, but also patching up the differences between Maori and Europeans in order to bring in a new era of peace to the colony, whose future therefore hangs in the balance:

¹⁴⁷ Hochstetter gives a specific example of the guerrilla tactics the Maori initially implemented against the British: “Nicht auf offenem Felde in Reih und Glied treten sie den Linientruppen entgegen, sondern hinter Erdwerken versteckt oder durch das Dickicht des Urwaldes geschützt erwarten sie den Feind, bis die geschlossenen Linien der weithin sichtbaren Rothröcke nahe genug sind und eine bequeme Zielscheibe abgeben. Dann eröffnen sie mit einemmal ein mörderisches Feuer und gleich darauf sind sie spurlos verschwunden im Busch und Wald. Aus diesem Versteck kommen sie nur heraus, wenn sie offenbare Chancen haben, den Soldaten eine Schlappe beizubringen; dazwischen aber verbrennen sie die einzeln zerstreut liegenden Häuser der Ansiedler, treiben deren Vieh weg und tödten und morden Mann, Weib und Kind, was ihnen in die Hände fällt” (491).

¹⁴⁸ “Wenn irgend ein Mann berufen ist, die schwerige Maori-Frage in die Hand zu nehmen, und wenn irgend ein Mann noch im Stande sein kann, die durch den Krieg so furchtbar wieder erweckten alten Leidenschaften der Maoris zu beschwören, so ist es Sir George Grey, ein Mann, den die Eingeborenen, als er vor Jahren in ebenso schwieriger Zeit die Zügel der Neuseeland-Regierung führte, zum Rang ihrer höchsten Häuptlinge erhoben, den sie mit der tiefsten Verehrung ihren Vater nannten, und dessen Andenken sie in zahlreichen Liedern und Sprüchen bewahrten; ein Mann, der ihre Sprache spricht, wie seine Muttersprache, der ihre Anschauungen und Gefühle kennt, und der den Maoris bewiesen hat, daß er nicht bloß ein gutes Herz besitzt, sondern auch einen starken Willen” (498f.)

Die Bewegung, welche mehr oder weniger die gesammte Maori-Bevölkerung vom Norden bis zum Süden ergriffen hat, ist – darüber darf man sich nicht täuschen – Rebellion. Die Taranaki-Landfrage war vielleicht eine Rechtsfrage, welche der Gerichtshof besser, als ein blutiger Krieg, entschieden hätte; aber am Waikato handelt es sich um die Souveränität der englischen Krone und schließlich um die europäische Colonisation von Neu-Seeland überhaupt. Die Eingeborenen wollen ihre Flagge, ihren eigenen König haben, sie wollen eine Nation für sich selbst sein. Diesem Streben aber liegt Nothwehr zu Grunde und zwar Nothwehr im prägnantesten Sinne des Wortes. Es ist ein Versuch der eingeborenen Race sich los zu machen nicht bloß von der Herrschaft Englands, sondern sich los zu machen von allen Einflüssen einer Civilisation, die, seit der erste Europäer seinen Fuß auf Neu-Seeland gesetzt hatte, trotz Christenthum und höherer Gesittung, welche sie unter ein blutdürstiges Cannibalenvolk brachte, doch nur zersetzend und verderbenbringend auf dasselbe wirkte. Es ist die schwierige Aufgabe Sir George Grey's, zu verhindern, daß dieser Kampf von Neuem zu einem Krieg ausarte, der die gesegneten Fluren des Innern der Insel, das sichere Erbtheil zukünftiger Generationen von Colonisten, mit Blut befleckt, mit Mord und Todtschlag. Könnte auch über den endlichen Sieg europäischer Truppen und Waffen kein Zweifel sein, so ist doch eben so sicher, daß ein solcher Kampf die Colonie auf langehin in der Entwicklung ihres Wohlstandes zurückwerfen würde. (499f.)

It is therefore a shame an updated version of this chapter was omitted from the English edition, as it would have been interesting to hear his views on Governor Grey's actions concerning the pre-emptive invasion of the Kingite homeland in July 1863.

Haast's Wiener Zeitung Articles

In contrast to Hochstetter, Haast assumes a greater non-scientific perspective for the majority of his *Wiener Zeitung* articles in order to appeal to the general audience, especially immigrants and various Austrians following the voyage of the *Novara* and Hochstetter's travels, although he does include geological information relating to the purpose of his excursions with Hochstetter. The impetus behind these contributions was twofold: on the one hand, they provided a substitute for an unavailable Hochstetter, while, on the other, they also served as a platform for endorsing German immigration. As far as the latter is concerned, Haast leads from the front in his evaluation of the colony as the perfect destination for German-speaking settlers. An extract from a letter written by the Auckland resident Julius Hanf (Haast's pseudonym) dated 28 May 1858, which appears under the title "Neu-Seeland, ein günstiges Auswanderungs-Gebiet" in Petermann's *Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* in November 1858, provides us with the first example of his views.¹⁴⁹ However, the date and location it was sent from are undoubtedly the result of fabrication, if not also error, in order to have it appear in a German publication before he arrived in New Zealand, whereby more credence would have been

¹⁴⁹ Julius Hanf, "Neu-Seeland, ein günstiges Auswanderungs-Gebiet", in: *MaJPGA* 4:11 (1858): 478.

given if it had been written by a German already living in the country. The letter was presumably written at the same time as he accepted his position at Willis, Gann & Co and produced the pamphlet on German immigration to New Zealand prior to his departure during September of that year.¹⁵⁰ The letter therefore paints the picture of Haast's preconceived impressions of New Zealand, which had no doubt been influenced by Charles Hursthouse's *Britain of the South* (1857) after reportedly meeting the author in England and receiving a personal copy of his work,¹⁵¹ and emphasises the suitability of the German people to the climate and lifestyle of this promising colony:

Es sind leider, ich sage leider, nur wenige Deutsche Kolonisten hier, aber diese wenigen erfreuen sich des besten Fortganges ihrer Unternehmungen und man kann dasselbe, wie ich von zuverlässiger Seite höre, von unseren Landsleuten in Canterbury und Nelson sagen. Wohl giebt es kein Land, wo das Klima und das Leben dem Deutschen Charakter und Gemüthe so zusagt, als in Neu-Seeland, und ich würde mich glücklich schätzen, wenn durch meine Mittheilungen die Auswanderungslustigen, anstatt nach dem unsicheren Australien oder Amerika zu gehen, hierher gezogen würden. Hier ist für den Mann, welcher arbeiten will, wirklich das Gelobte Land und es wird Neu-Seeland einstens seiner natürlichen Vorzüge und seiner herrlichen Lage wegen eine grosse Rolle in der Weltgeschichte spielen.

Wenn man bedenkt, dass die Urbevölkerung noch immer so stark als die eingewanderte ist, dass der Maori-Stamm, was Körperbildung und Intelligenz anbelangt, zu den ersten des Stillen Oceans gezählt werden kann, so dürfte es nicht auffallen, dass sich hier die merkwürdigsten Kontraste vereinigt finden. Noch vor zwanzig Jahren war Kannibalismus im Innern des Landes an der Tagesordnung und es wurden viele Fehden, nur um Menschenfleisch zu erobern, zwischen den einzelnen Stämmen begonnen und mit Erbitterung durchgeführt. Diess hat inzwischen aufgehört. Die Söhne der Wilden sind gute Christen geworden, sie haben sich dem Ackerbau und der Viehzucht gewidmet und bringen gleich den Kolonisten ihre Produkte zu Markte. Sie betheiligen sich an Wettrennen und Regatten, wobei es nichts Seltenes ist, dass die schwarzäugige Maori-Schöne, welche gewöhnlich in den Pa, eine Decke oder ein Stück Kattun, eingewickelt zu sehen ist, zu Pferde erscheint und dabei das lange Englische Reitkleid und den Amazonenhut mit wallender Feder und Schleier trägt.¹⁵²

All in all, it contains nothing more than the usual immigration pamphlet, which stresses both the favourable climate and natural beauty, in which “[es] wohl wenige Länder der Erde [giebt],

¹⁵⁰ Haast would have therefore been aware of his likely date of arrival when he stated his intentions “im nächsten Dezember als Sommers-Anfang eine längere Reise durch das ganze Land [zu] machen und dabei auch die interessanten Goldfelder in der Provinz Nelson besuchen” (ibid., 478).

¹⁵¹ H. von Haast, *Life and Times*, 5. According to Langer, the English publishing house of Hursthouse's *Britain of the South* is said to have turned to a Frankfurt firm to produce a German translation of the two-volume work, which Haast is supposed to have undertaken (Langer, “Bonner Neuseelandforscher”, 278). However, the closest we find to a direct translation is the 1859 compilation by Willis, Gann & Co entitled *Handbuch für Auswanderer nach Neuseeland, dem Grossbritannien der südlichen Halbkugel* which was published in Frankfurt by August Osterrieth, and incorporates translated material by Hursthouse. Whether Haast was directly involved in any way is unknown.

¹⁵² Hanf, “Neu-Seeland, ein günstiges Auswanderungs-Gebiet”, 478.

welche sich in dieser Beziehung mit Neu-Seeland messen können”,¹⁵³ as well as the peaceful and civilised character of the Maori.¹⁵⁴

With the first of his *Wiener Zeitung* contributions, Julius Hanf is now described as a German, “der kürzlich in Neu-Seeland angekommen, um in einer Reihe von Jahren das ganze Land zu bereisen und in statistischer und national-ökonomischer Hinsicht zu untersuchen”.¹⁵⁵ Once again he flies the flag for German immigration, and admits that knowledge of the country in his homeland is not great: “Was weiß man in Deutschland von Neu-Seeland? Leider viel zu wenig und was die große Masse davon kennt, sind meistens irrige Vorstellungen.”¹⁵⁶ In order to clarify the situation he quotes the prophetic words of Karl Ritter who first championed New Zealand publicly as an immigrant paradise to the German people:

So viel wir wissen, hat Niemand, außer diesem großen Manne, in Deutschland daran gedacht, die Auswanderer auf dieses herrliche, dem Deutsche Wesen so zusagende Land aufmerksam zu machen, und sind die wenigen Deutschen, welche sich über die beiden Inseln zerstreut finden, meistens alle aus Australien hiehergekommen, wo sie sich enttäuscht fanden und das gesuchte Glück nicht erlangen konnten. Alle ohne Ausnahme, so viel wir wissen, bereuen es nicht hieher gekommen zu sein und erfreuen sich des besten Fortganges ihrer Unternehmungen, da hier der Mann mit ernstem Streben einem sicheren Wohlstande entgegensehen darf.¹⁵⁷

At this point Haast had not met many native Germans in New Zealand, apart from those living in Auckland, but was fully aware of those around Nelson, despite his lack of knowledge on the subject of Australasian émigré movements, whereby it was not only one-way traffic to New Zealand.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, the reason German colonists are so popular in British colonies is once more due to the characteristic culmination “ihres Fleißes und ihrer Nüchternheit”,¹⁵⁹ in which it is also evident to Haast that “der Deutsche Charakter mit dem des Englischen Volkes

¹⁵³ Ibid., 478.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:293f., 341-44.

¹⁵⁵ Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 337n. In his *Allgemeine Zeitung* contribution, it states: “Der Berichterstatter, sich anderer wissenschaftlichen Zwecke wegen in Neu-Seeland aufhaltend, wurde von der Regierung des Landes eingeladen den Dr. Hochstetter, den auf Wunsch derselben zurückgebliebenen Geologen der österreichischen Fregatte Novara, auf seinen Reisen zu begleiten, wodurch es demselben vergönnt war mit diesem Gelehrten zusammen dieses so interessante Land zu durchforschen” (Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neu-Seeland (Auckland)”, 5497n).

¹⁵⁶ Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 337.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 337f.

¹⁵⁸ Many of the German immigrants at St. Paulidorf, for example, left for Hobart (Tasmania) in 1844 and Adelaide (South Australia) in 1844-45 following the demise of their village after sixteen months. In the end, over a third of the roughly 280 original immigrants from the *St. Pauli* and *Skiold* left for Australia due to various hardships and poor conditions (Allan, *Nelson*, 336f.; Briars and Leith, *Road to Sarau*, 90).

¹⁵⁹ Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 338.

übereinstimme, daß der Deutsche in Energie, Ausdauer und Gründlichkeit dem Engländer nicht nur nicht nachstehe, sondern ihn in vielem überflüege”.¹⁶⁰

The first notable German that Hochstetter and Haast come across is Dr Carl Fischer, “welcher seit fünf Jahren hier wohnt und der Homöopathie eine solche Anerkennung verschafft hat, daß er der erste hiesige Arzt ist”.¹⁶¹ During their three-month excursion into the interior of the North Island, Hochstetter gives mention to further German-speaking immigrants encountered, such as the missionaries Cort Henry Schnackenberg, “einen deutschen Landsmann, aus Hannover gebürtig, dem unser unerwarteter Besuch die aufrichtigste Freude machte, der aber seine Muttersprache fast ganz vergessen zu haben schien” (191), and Carl Sylvius Völkner,¹⁶² who runs “eine Knaben- und Mädchenschule, welche er vor drei Jahren gegründet und bald in blühenden Aufschwung brachte” (302), but “during the native wars in 1865, became in a most horrible way a victim to the brutality of a bloodthirsty horde of fanatical Maoris”.¹⁶³ He also mentions “einen geborenen Oesterreicher, C. L. Strauß, der, wie er mir sagte, früher in Triest Beamter war”:

Welches Schicksal ihn nach Neu-Seeland verschlagen, weiß ich nicht. Er lebt schon seit 20 Jahren unter den Eingeborenen und hat eine Maori-Prinzessin, eine nahe Verwandte des Maori-Königs Potatau, eine sehr dicke, äußerst freundliche Frau, geheirathet. Diese einflußreiche Verwandtschaft scheint er gut benützt und durch Getreidehandel sich ein anständiges Vermögen erworben zu haben, er sprach vollkommen geläufig Maori und Englisch, hatte aber Deutsch ziemlich verlernt. Er hoffte in einigen Jahren in seine Heimath zurückkehren zu können. (178)

While Krull offers a more in-depth description of immigrant life in New Zealand, including what one might expect when searching for an occupation, Haast is more concerned with following the travels of Hochstetter, as well as promoting and emphasising the suitability of Germans through relating their respective success stories. For those immigrants interested in trying their luck in the goldfields, Haast also gives a detailed account of life on the Aorere goldfields, in particular the positive and negative aspects which exist in the life of a gold-digger.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 367. Scherzer follows suit in his comments on the suitability of Germans to the country: “Neuseeland, das Land unserer Antipoden, ist besonders für den Deutschen eine höchst interessante Region. Dem deutschen Fleiße verdankt auch diese herrliche, in jeder Beziehung reiche Insel ihre Urbarkeit, und da sie das neue Asyl der meisten deutschen Auswanderer wurde, die sich in ihren Hoffnungen getäuscht sahen in Australien, da sie den Armen wirklich Das geboten, was sie gesucht, gehofft und erwartet hatten, so ist dieses Land jetzt auch der Liebling aller Jener geworden, die ihren Fleiß dem fruchtbaren Boden, ihren Forschungsgeist den verborgenen Schätzen gewidmet haben. Neuseeland ist beiweitem mehr als jede der anderen australischen Schwesterinseln dazu berufen, die Mutter civilisirter Völkergeschlechter zu werden. Niemand hat es bisher noch bereut, sich hier angesiedelt zu haben, und jedes ernste Streben ward hier noch stets durch Wohlstand, ja durch Reichthum gekrönt” (Scherzer, “Weltfahrt der Novara”, 99; cf. Karl von Scherzer, “Die deutsche Arbeit in außereuropäischen Ländern”, in: *WIDM* 15:89 (1864): 546-57).

¹⁶¹ Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 338.

¹⁶² See Evelyn Stokes, “Völkner, Carl Sylvius 1819 – 1865: Missionary”, in: *DNZB* 1, 566f.

¹⁶³ Hochstetter, *New Zealand*, 441n.

On a positive note, there are no classes or a prevalent sense of status to discriminate against one another, as gold-diggers come from all ends of the spectrum: “Leute jeden Alters und Standes, weggelaufene Matrosen, bankerotte Kaufleute, Aerzte und Advokaten ohne Praxis, Ackerbauer und Viehzüchter;¹⁶⁴ ein jedes Gewerbe ist hier vertreten; aber auch viele achtbare Leute, welche aus Geldsucht, aus Luft am Abenteuerlichen oder aus Liebe zu dem freien Leben hierher gekommen sind, befinden sich dazwischen.”¹⁶⁵ If anything, the role of status in British society is reversed here in favour of the working class, creating a more harmonious image in the process:

[D]er selbstgewählte Obmann, welchem ein Jeder zu folgen hat, ist oft nur ein starker ausdauernder Arbeiter, aber mit klarem Verstande, dem der studirte Doktor der Medizin, der Schüler von Cambrige [sic] oder Oxford untergeordnet ist. – Unter diesen Arbeitern finden sich, aber, wie bereits oben bemerkt, auch viele achtbare Männer, nüchtern, arbeitsam und ausharrend, und man kann mit Recht annehmen, daß die meisten dieser Gesellschaften trotz der oft so wunderlich zusammengewürselten Elemente ein erfreuliches Bild inniger Eintracht und kräftigen Zusammenwirkens darbieten.¹⁶⁶

This is, however, contrasted with the culture of excessive drinking, which brings out the worst in immigrants, some of whom are permanent residents, while others are ‘professional’ gold-diggers who go from one colony to the next in search of wealth:

Bekannte treffen sich hier [in den Zelthäusern], Freundschaften werden geschlossen; man fängt an zu trinken, eine Orgie entsteht daraus und schließlich wird so lange getrunken, bis der mitgebrachte Goldstaub, das Ergebniß der Arbeit in der vergangenen Woche, verschwunden ist. Dann zieht der Digger mit wüstem Kopfe und den geborgten Nahrungsmitteln oft erst Dinstag oder Mittwoch wieder hinauf nach seinem Platze. Er macht sich die besten Vorsätze, arbeitet unverdrossen, und wenn der Sonntag kömmt, so zieht er wieder nach dem Storehouse, bezahlt seine Schulden von dem Gewinne der verflossenen Tage und beginnt dann gewöhnlich von Neuem zu trinken. – Viele Menschen in Deutschland begreifen den Zweck oder die Nützlichkeit der Mäßigkeits-Gesellschaften nicht; hier aber sieht man deren unberechenbaren Segnungen mit großer Befriedigung ein.¹⁶⁷

Those that manage to regain their sober ways once more become “ein nützliches Mitglied der Gesellschaft” and “ein guter Kolonist”,¹⁶⁸ and return to the goldfields in order to continue their hard and tiring eight-hour day workload. Others, however, are not so fortunate and “das delirium

¹⁶⁴ Haast comes across one of these cattledrivers, a blue-eyed “Sohne Albions”, who introduces the explorer to the colourful language of “Ochsensprache”: “Wenn die Englischen Matrosen wegen ihres Fluchens eine nicht unverdiente Berühmtheit erlangt haben, so verdienen doch die Neuseeländischen Ochsentreiber wegen desselben Talentes über sie gestellt zu werden, denn eine solche Auswahl von Flüchen voller Phantasie, aus allen Naturreichen, aus Himmel und Hölle entlehnt, hatte ich nie zuvor von den Lippen eines Sterblichen vernommen” (Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neuseeland (Nelson)”, 1008).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 974.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 974.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 974.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 974.

tremens endet die traurige Laufbahn vieler dieser unverbesserlichen Säufer”.¹⁶⁹ In the end, gold-digging is not a secure profession, and no one can guarantee individual success every time. There will always be those who, to quote Hochstetter, “enttäuscht das Land wieder verließen und, nachdem sie das Wenige, was sie besessen, dem Goldfieber geopfert, froh waren, die Ueberfahrt in ihre frühere Heimath durch Dienste an Bord eines Schiffes abarbeiten zu können” (403).¹⁷⁰

Two German people Haast does encounter at the goldfields, a father and son team from the Erz mountains in Saxony who came over from Australia nine months earlier, show no signs of disappointment or regret at their decision to take up this occupation in New Zealand:

Wir können nicht klagen, das Land ist herrlich, das Klima ist prächtig und wir verdienen viel Geld; aber lieber Herr, nur eins missen wir: Deutsche Gesellschaft. Wenn wir des Abends in den Erholungsstunden mit den anderen Diggern zusammenkommen, so müssen wir mit ihnen Englisch welschen. Wären nur mehr Deutsche hier, mit welchen wir manchmal von dem Vaterlande plaudern könnten, dann wäre Alles recht und wir würden uns glücklich fühlen.¹⁷¹

However, Hochstetter and Haast find German society alive and well in the German communities of the upper South Island, in which Haast in particular provides a colourful picture of everyday life in Sarau.¹⁷² Despite its present appearance, the history of the area was not always so promising, as “nicht Alles nach Wunsch ging”.¹⁷³ In the fairly swampy and flood-prone Moutere Valley the remains of the “Schachtsthal” settlement, St. Paulidorf, can hardly be found:¹⁷⁴

Nachdem es sich gezeigt, daß der Boden zu naß und den jährlich wiederkommenden Ueberschwemmungen zu sehr ausgesetzt sei, verließen die Bewohner nach fünf Jahren diese ungünstige Stätte und wählten eine bessere thalaufrwärts liegende Stelle, wo sie Sarau gründeten, nach einem Dorfe gleichen Namens am Eutiner See liegend, so benannt. Von den Häusern ist, obgleich nur zwölf Jahre inzwischen verflossen sind, nichts übriggeblieben, die auf einem Hügelvorsprung stehende hölzerne Kirche brannte ab und Schilfflachs und Raupo (*typha augustifolia*) überwuchern wieder die ihnen mit so großer Sorgfalt entrissenen Flächen.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 974.

¹⁷⁰ Haast later gives an account of the miserable conditions that can exist when the men desert their local towns in order to go in their thousands to the West Coast goldfields: “Der unwirtsame Charakter des Alpenlandes, die reißenden Flüsse, der Mangel an Nahrungsmitteln und die entsetzlichen Wege durch den dichten Urwald, besonders aber die gänzliche Unkenntnis der Art und Weise wie den Gefahren zu begegnen sei, haben hier viel Elend und selbst Verlust an zahlreichen Menschenleben verursacht” (Julius von Haast, “Beschreibung einer Reise von Christchurch, der Hauptstadt der Provinz Canterbury auf Neu-Seeland, nach den Goldfeldern der Westküste im Jahre 1865”, in: *MKKGG* 9:4 (1868): 132; cf. Haast, *Geology of Canterbury and Westland* 65-107; Mackay, *Frontier New Zealand*, 36-91).

¹⁷¹ Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neuseeland (Nelson)”, 974.

¹⁷² See Briars and Leith, *Road to Sarau*, 98-128.

¹⁷³ Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neuseeland (Nelson)”, 1029.

¹⁷⁴ See Briars and Leith, *Road to Sarau*, 20-86.

¹⁷⁵ Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neuseeland (Nelson)”, 1029.

When they arrive in the German town of Sarau, the two explorers are greeted by the words: “Willkommen in Sarau, ihr lieben Landsleute”.¹⁷⁶ Unfortunately, what Hochstetter offers on the description of the settlement is rather brief:

Eine muntere Schaar flachshaariger und blauäugiger Kinder begrüßte mich in Sarau; aber die Alten, schlichte Bauern aus Mecklenburg und Hannover, hatten viel zu erzählen von der Gewissenlosigkeit der Agenten, durch welche sie hieher gebracht worden waren, von bitterer Enttäuschung und harter Noth in früheren Jahren, bis sie es nach und nach durch Mühe und Fleiß zu einer erträglicheren Existenz gebracht haben. (329)

Haast, on the other hand, portrays a vibrant community of twenty-six German families from Hanover and Mecklenburg, who not surprisingly have retained their old customs even as far as having “ein echtes Deutsches Gericht” with “Speckpfannkuchen” for the evening meal and “ein gemüthliches Deutsches Wirthszimmer” instead of an “unbehaglich Englischen bar”:

Ringsumher standen Tische und Bänke, an welchen die Gäste saßen; eine blaue Dampfwolke aus den vielen Pfeifen und Cigarren erfüllte die Luft; die Töchter des Wirthes, rothwangige Mädchen mit echten flächsernen Haaren und blauen Vergißmeinnichtaugen, bedienten die Kundschaft. – Alles erinnerte uns an die ferne Heimath und wir glaubten uns bei den Antipoden in Deutschland zu befinden.¹⁷⁷

What is more, they are able to speak in German on the subject of politics. However, it is not long before the conversation turns back to the present state of affairs in Germany, as even after seventeen years living in a British colony they still exhibit “eine so warme Vaterlandsliebe”: “Einzelne der hiesigen Ansiedler zeichneten sich durch gediegene Bildung aus und begrüßten es als ein freudiges Ereigniß, einmal wieder über die geistigen Fortschritte Deutschlands, über Kunst und Wissenschaft etwas Ausführliches vernehmen zu können.”¹⁷⁸

The whole atmosphere of this German-style inn manages to capture the timeless nature of the community which remains isolated from its homeland, yet is unwilling to sever its ties. As the “Schwarzwälder Uhr” begins to play “Ueb’ immer Treu’ und Redlichkeit” and “Lieber Mond du gehst so stille”, the scene reminds Haast of his fond childhood:

Tausend Jugenderinnerungen, welche lange geschlummert, wurden wieder wach. Ich dachte der Zeit, wo ich auf den Knien der Kinderfrau sitzend: Ueb’ immer Treu und Redlichkeit für den Geburtstag des Vaters auswendig lernte und später in meinen ersten Lehrbüchern mit eingehaltenem Athem und gerötheten Wangen Cook’s Reisen und seinen Aufenthalt bei den Menschenfressern las. Mein sehnlichster Wunsch mit vielen anderen Jugendhoffnungen war in

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 1029.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 1029.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 1029.

jener Zeit, das weite Weltmeer zu durchschiffen und die Wunderländer der Südsee und die sie bewohnenden Kannibalen zu sehen. – Wenn auch manche Hoffnung jener schönen Zeit zu Grabe getragen ist, so ging doch jener Wunsch in Erfüllung. Ich habe Monate lang unter diesen Kannibalen gelebt, unter demselben Dache mit ihnen geschlafen, aus einer Schüssel mit ihnen gegessen; ich habe sie gastfrei und helfend, ehrenhaft und wahr gefunden und die auf diesen intelligenten Menschenschlag ausgeübten Segnungen des Christenthums und der Civilisation nicht genug bewundern können. Kein Wunder, daß ich mich trotz der mich umgebenden geräuschvollen Gesellschaft in jene verschwundenen Zeiten zurückversetzte und theilnahmlos an dem um mich her Vorgehenden meinen Gedanken nachhing, bis des Freundes Ansprache mich wieder in die Gegenwart zurückrief.¹⁷⁹

Now that he has experienced New Zealand first hand he is not surprised that these people from Northern Germany have been able to make new lives through their own efforts:

Die meisten haben sich zu einem nicht unbedeutenden Wohlstande emporgeschwungen und verdienen noch immer viel Geld durch Pferde- und Hornviehzucht. Einzelne derselben, welche früher in der Nähe Nelsons wohnten, verkauften ihr dort liegendes, wohl kultivirtes Land für 20 Pfd. St. bis 25 Pfd. St. den Morgen und kauften hier anderes Land von der Regierung zu dem Preise von 10 Sh. der Englische Morgen, mit dessen Urbarmachung sie jetzt beschäftigt sind.¹⁸⁰

Furthermore, the Mecklenburg colony of Ranzau to the west of Sarau offers a lifestyle which is more than simply tolerable or modest:

Doch haben sich hier die Engländer vielfach mit den Deutschen vermischt, in dem sie die von den letzteren urbar gemachten Ländereien gekauft. Mit dem gemachten Gewinne haben sich als dann die Verkäufer beeilt in vergrößertem Maßstabe neue Farmen anzulegen. Ein anderer Grund, weshalb die Deutschen hier so beliebt sind, ist daher auch, daß sie den Englischen Kolonisten mit gutem Beispiele vorangehen; sie scheuen sich nicht hinauszuziehen in die Waldwildniß und fürchten nicht die sie erwartenden Entbehrungen und harten Arbeiten. Der verdiente Lohn bleibt ihnen freilich nicht aus, sie erringen alsbald eine Selbstständigkeit und einen Wohlstand, wovon sie im Mutterlande keine Ahndung hatten.¹⁸¹

It is no coincidence that the inhabitants of the latter settlement also exhibit the more industrious characters, or rather, excel in the most German of traits, which lends itself to the image of the ‘self-made man’¹⁸² in this case even more so, it seems, than is the case with their British neighbours.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 1029.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 1029.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 1041.

¹⁸² The ‘self-made’ nature of New Zealand society is further seen in the educated family Haast meets living in an isolated house far from civilisation in the South Island, who manage to balance intellectual life with daily chores, as even the young daughter can play the piano, make butter, milk a cow, sing German songs and ride horses without a saddle. This can be attributed to the efforts of the mother: “Gewöhnlich ist die Frau, oft aus sehr guter Englischer Familie, der eigentliche Schwerpunkt des Hauses. Sie ist dann eine vortreffliche Wirthschafterin und Erzieherin und es verdanken ihr die Kinder ihre ganze Bildung” (ibid., 1081).

¹⁸³ That is not to say a large income is not possible without continual perseverance and a strong work ethic, such as in the case of a group of sheep herders from the South Island, who “mit einem Worte ohne viel Mühe reich geworden

Nevertheless, Haast finds as much promise in the nearby British settlement of Motueka, which he describes as “eine ausgedehnte Ansiedlung, deren zahlreiche Häuser in den sie umgebenden Gärten meistens so versteckt liegen, daß kaum die Dächer über die dichten Gebüsche hervorragen”.¹⁸⁴ In fact, the whole atmosphere gives it a Central European quality:

Haben doch die Bewohner im Gefühle der Schönheit stets Sorge dafür getragen, daß rund um ihre Häuser die immergrünen Gesträuche des Landes wachsen, so daß das Auge selbst in der Mitte des Winters den grünen Blätterschmuck nicht zu entbehren hat. Alles verräth hier den Wohlstand und die Behäbigkeit der Bewohner, die Häuser und Kollegen sind zierlich und reinlich, die Einfriedigungen gut angelegt und wohlerhalten; breite Wege ziehen durch die Ebene und verleihen der ganzen Gegend einen Europäischen Charakter.¹⁸⁵

Haast also gives a favourable depiction of the main centre of Nelson with particular attention to its societal make-up, especially concerning the dressing up of the women and their keeping abreast of the latest fashions:

In Nelson selbst ist die Gesellschaft im Allgemeinen eine gute, denn von jeher sind Leute von besserem Schlage hierher ausgewandert; es finden sich auch einzelne verirrte Schafe unter ihnen, von welchen indessen manche sich hinaufgeschwungen haben und jetzt nützliche Mitglieder der Kolonie geworden sind. Es herrscht durchschnittlich in den Gesellschaften ein feiner ungezwungener Ton. Die Damen lieben es hier, wie in Europa sich zu putzen; bei Mittagsessen, Soiréen und Bällen kann man ihren Geschmack bewundern. Obgleich die neuesten Moden vorherrschend sind, so findet sich doch hie und da eine etwas antidiluvianische Toilette, welche unsern Salondamen par excellence in Europa Lächeln abzwängen dürfte. Auch an Krinolinen fehlt es nicht. – Freilich wird man zuweilen an Kotzebue's Kleinstädter¹⁸⁶ erinnert, hört man die Unterhaltungen an, welche sich oft zwischen den Damen entspinnen.¹⁸⁷

In this way, Nelson has come alive since its founding days, and although some of its early settlers were perhaps of a more dubious character, the same cannot be said for the rest who are of an honourable and honest nature:

Die Thatsache, daß nirgendwo die Sicherheit des Eigenthums größer ist als hier, dürfte wohl mehr als alles Andere zu Gunsten der Bevölkerung sprechen. Es fällt Niemanden ein, seine Hausthüre zu verschließen, die Ladenbesitzer haben keinerlei Vorrichtungen, um ihre Glasfenster während der Nacht zu schützen, und man hört selten oder nie von einem Diebstahle.

Mann kann freilich behaupten, daß in einem Lande, wo es so leicht ist, Geld zu verdienen, wo es keine Armen gibt, die Ehrlichkeit nicht schwer fallen dürfte. Aber es zeigt auch den guten

[sind]”, with an annual income of between £1200 and £2000. By comparison, individuals leading a lonely existence in the mountains can comfortably earn £50 to £60 on top of living costs and accommodation (ibid., 1041).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 1029.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 1029.

¹⁸⁶ This is a reference to August von Kotzebue's *Die deutschen Kleinstädter* (1803) whose fictitious setting of “Krähwinkel” was often used as the model for the typical lifestyle of a small provincial town.

¹⁸⁷ Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neuseeland (Nelson)”, 1081.

Charakter der eingeborenen Bevölkerung, daß man, trotzdem manche Maoris arm sind, nie etwas von einem von ihnen begangenen Diebstahle hört. Sie sind zu stolz um zu stehlen.¹⁸⁸

Thus, the safe ‘paradise’ is no better illustrated than in the promising colony of Nelson, which gives few need to complain or beg for their daily meal. In fact, it is only on the goldfields that he witnesses an instance of a forlorn man begging “ihm um Gotteswillen etwas zu essen zu geben, da er vor Hunger und Ermüdung nicht weiter könne. Eine bis dahin seltene Erscheinung in Neu-Seeland, wo ich während vieler Jahre nie einen Bettler zu Gesichte bekommen”.¹⁸⁹

Following his initial contribution, Haast’s impressions of the Maori, on the other hand, gradually assume less importance than the above themes of immigration and colonial life due to the locations visited. Being less knowledgeable in the areas of science and philosophy than Hochstetter, Haast was therefore not privy to all the same influences, leading to Social Darwinian notions of ‘fatal impact’ and philosophical views holding a less significant impact on his narrative. Instead he assumes a rather good-humoured and jovial character as he relates memorable experiences and observations with a touch of humour and colourful language in an effort to entertain as much as educate the reader. Unfortunately, Haast uses Hochstetter and various relevant articles from the *New-Zealander* as source material for his main *Novara* account, sometimes even translating directly and paraphrasing,¹⁹⁰ while stereotypes also make up a fair amount of the Maori content, making parts of his contribution less original in the process. Haast begins his observations of the friendly and welcoming character of the Maori at the reception of the *Novara* crew at Eruera Maihi Patuone’s¹⁹¹ annual Christmas celebrations in Takapuna. In this instance, the opening speeches of various chiefs to Commodore Wüllerstorff-Urbair, who is referred to as an “Offizier Deines großen Königs, welcher ein Freund der Königin Viktoria und ihrer Kinder ist”,¹⁹² give the picture of both peaceful co-existence between Maori and Pakeha and the importance of British rules on Maori life in general.¹⁹³ Paora Tuhaere,¹⁹⁴ for example, comments:

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 1081.

¹⁸⁹ Haast, “Beschreibung einer Reise von Christchurch”, 139.

¹⁹⁰ These include: “The Imperial Austrian Expedition”, in: *The New-Zealander* [=NZer] 29 Dec (1858): 3; “The Austrian Scientific Exploration in Auckland: Inspection of the Drury and Hunua Districts and Visits to the Waikato” in: *NZer* 1 Jan (1859): 3; “The Visit of the Imperial Austrian Expedition to Patuone’s Christmas Feast” in: *NZer* 5 Jan (1859): 3; “Visit to Mangatawhiri and the Waikato” in: *NZer* 5 Jan (1859): 3.

¹⁹¹ See Angela Ballara, “Patuone, Eruera Maihi ? – 1872: Nga Puhi leader, peacemaker, trader, government adviser”, in: *DNZB* 1, 338-40.

¹⁹² Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 342.

¹⁹³ This section is little more than a direct translation of an article from the *New-Zealander* (see “Patuone’s Christmas Feast”, 3).

Du hast viele andere Länder gesehen und vielleicht manche unter denselben, welche schöner als diese Insel sind; aber hier ist nichts Schlimmes, welches uns stört oder uns wünschen läßt, in einem anderen Lande zu wohnen. Die Gesetze Englands beschützen uns vor der Hand der Angreifer; wir leben glücklich und friedlich und freuen uns, diejenigen zu empfangen, welche gleich Dir, mit einer Friedensbotschaft hieher kommen.¹⁹⁵

Hori Haupapa, on the other hand, states that not all problems have been satisfactorily resolved: “Die Gesetze unserer Königin haben diesen Zustand herbeigeführt. Früher war Krieg, Mord und Blutvergießen unsere Hauptbeschäftigung. Selbst jetzt kommen noch Zänkereien vor, welche schwer beizulegen sind.”¹⁹⁶ This is not surprising considering their inherent ‘warlike spirit’ which is still apparent in their love of guns:

Die Maoris sind, so viel wir sehen konnten, vortreffliche Schützen, und obgleich die Lehren des Christenthums sie den Künsten des Friedens, dem Ackerbaue und der Viehzucht mehr zugänglich gemacht haben, lebt doch noch immer ein kriegerischer Geist in ihnen und die Handhabung der Flinte ist ihre Lieblingsbeschäftigung. Dieselbe befindet sich indessen nur in wenigen Fällen in der Hand einzelner, besonders von der Regierung begünstigter Häuptlinge, denn ohne die Erlaubniß der ersteren darf kein Eingeborner eine Schußwaffe besitzen.¹⁹⁷

Haast is also greatly impressed by the chiefs’ natural techniques at public speaking when he comments: “Wie mancher Deutsche Redner würde mit Vergnügen diese Sitte eines Naturvolkes in dem Vaterlande eingeführt sehen, um sich Wiederholungen, Hüsteln oder gar Stottern zu ersparen.”¹⁹⁸ This is followed by a display of traditional customs, including a ‘haka’ performed by two to three hundred Maori, in which “dieses Schauspiel zu sehen, in den jetzigen Zeiten einem Europäer selten zu Theil würde”.¹⁹⁹

Haast then takes note of the traditional and Europeanised appearance and attire of the congregating Maori to reveal only a partially Romantic image:

Der größte Theil derselben war in Europäischem Anzuge, die Häuptlinge meistens in schwarzer Kleidung und mit einer goldbordirten Mütze, die anderen in allen nur erdenklichen Kostümen, wie ihnen Laune oder Zufall dieselben hatte wählen lassen. Die alten Männer waren je nach ihrem Range mehr oder minder tatouirt, was mit der Europäischen Kleidung nicht wohl zusammenpassen wollte; die älteren Frauen, meistens in Europäischer, oft eleganter Kleidung hatten ebenfalls die Lippen und das Kinn tatouirt, während die jungen Leute beiderlei Geschlechtes diese Sitte nicht mehr lieben und ohne diese Zeichen ihres früheren niedrigen Kulturzustandes ihre natürlichen, oftmals sehr schönen Gesichtszüge zeigen. Es gibt inzwischen einen kleinen Theil der Eingebornen beiderlei Geschlechtes, welche sich noch nicht an die

¹⁹⁴ See Steven Oliver, “Tuhaere, Paora ? – 1892: Ngati Whatua leader”, in: *DNZB* 1, 552f.

¹⁹⁵ Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 339.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 342; cf. Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:299-301.

¹⁹⁷ Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 363.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 342.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 338f.; 341-43; cf. Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:301.

Europäische Kleidung gewöhnen können, und die entweder eine gewöhnliche wollene Decke umgeschlagen haben oder die Kakahu, eine große, oftmals doppelte Decke, tragen, welche die Frauen aus den Fasern des Neuseeländischen Schilfflachs (Phormium tenax) auf eine sehr kunstreiche Weise anfertigen. Wir müssen gestehen, daß uns stets dieser letztere Anzug, welcher besonders malerisch ist, besser gefallen hat als die neuangenommene Sitte. Manche dieser schönen Gestalten in die Maori-Manteldecke eingewickelt und den einen Zipfel über die Schultern geworfen, erinnerte uns unwillkürlich an die Toga der alten Römer. Aber alle tragen mit großer Vorliebe Ohrschmuck, meistens aus einem ovalgeschliffenen Grünstein oder einem großen Haifischzahn bestehend, welcher in dem durch das Ohrläppchen gestochenen Loche mit einem schwarzen Bande befestigt ist.²⁰⁰

Thus, while some Maori in their original garb manage to give the appearance of Greco-Roman antiquity, Haast still retains on another occasion the often held belief that Maori women are not as striking in appearance as the men: “[E]inzelne prächtige Männergestalten erregten allgemeine Aufmerksamkeit, obgleich die Frauen und Mädchen, unter welchen zwar einige Ausnahmen zu finden waren, nicht in demselben Grade schön erschienen.”²⁰¹

Haast soon appeals to the anthropologists in his party when he comments that they also share the British view on the mixed lineage of the Maori: “Es fiel allgemein auf, daß Formen, Farben und Haare der versammelten Eingebornen so merklich verschieden waren und waren unsere Deutschen Gäste gleich den Englischen Gelehrten der Ansicht, daß der Maori-Stamm ein vollständig gemischter wäre, in welchem der Südsee-Insulaner, der Malaye, der Neger, der Chineser und selbst der Jude Alle in gleichem Grade vertreten sind.”²⁰² However, the entertainment value of his account is no better illustrated than in his remarks on the gastronomical delights of Maori cooking which leaves him taken aback, albeit less so with the manner they eat with their fingers:²⁰³ “Der Geschmack läßt wirklich nichts zu wünschen übrig und wir rathen unsern Deutschen gastronomischen Freunden nach dieser Methode sich einmal ein Mahl zubereiten zu lassen.”²⁰⁴ Furthermore, with tongue in cheek he envisages a European market for Maori cuisine:

Während des Essens erzählt uns einer der liebenswürdigen Englischen Begleiter, daß die Eingeborenen auf diese Art das Menschenfleisch gekocht hätten, weßhalb wir diese Zubereitungsweise à la cannibale nannten, und soll es uns freuen, in der Folge auf den Speisekarten der mit dem Zeitgeiste fortschreitenden Gasthöfe in Europa “Schweinerne à la cannibale oder Kartoffeln à la cannibale zu lesen.” Oder man denke sich im Wurstelprater ein

²⁰⁰ Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 342; cf. Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:301f.

²⁰¹ Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 358.

²⁰² Ibid., 342f. This comment continues the popular ‘mixed race’ theories of the Maori which included such images as the ‘Semitic Maori’ and later ‘Aryan Maori’ (Howe, *Quest for Origins*, 36-49; Sorrenson, *Maori Origins*, 14-33).

²⁰³ Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 342.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 361.

Schild mit zwei schrecklich aussehenden keulenbewaffneten Neuseeländischen Kriegeren an den Seiten, dazwischen die kolossale Ueberschrift mit blutrothen Buchstaben

“Te Hangi Maori,”

oder:

“Der Ofen der Menschenfresser.”

Tiefer unten: “Hier wird nach Weise der Neuseeländischen Kannibalen Schweinernes mit Kartoffeln zubereitet. Preis der Portion 30 Kr. Zusehen beim Kochen 20 Kr. extra. – Würde nicht Jedermann hinlaufen, um sich diesen gastronomischen Genuß zu verschaffen und dürfte der unternehmende Mann nicht bald reich werden?! In jedem Falle halte ich mir für meine Anregung einen angemessenen Antheil am Reingewinn aus, oder sollte sich eine Aktien-Gesellschaft zur Ausbeutung meiner Idee bilden, so bin ich auch bereit, die Stelle des Direktors zu übernehmen.”²⁰⁵

Much like Hochstetter, Haast also offers a rather brief account of Maori changes in behaviour, with the somewhat unhealthy emphasis on money again leading the list of negative influences, as it has become a prominent trait among converted Maori, and is evident “wenn sie etwas wünschen, [und] das Geld nicht scheuen”.²⁰⁶ In fact, it is money “welches sie über Alles lieben”,²⁰⁷ if not also smoking: “Rauchen ist bei beiden Geschlechtern zur Leidenschaft geworden und sieht man Kinder auf dem Arme die Pfeife aus dem Munde der Mutter nehmen und weiter rauchen. Die irdene Pfeife, so kurz abgebrochen, daß nur so viel Stiel da ist, um sie zwischen den Zähnen festzuhalten, wird allen anderen vorgezogen.”²⁰⁸ However, he argues that their overall change in behaviour is not wholly negative:

Der Charakter der Eingebornen hat in den letzten zwanzig Jahren eine große Umwandlung erlitten. An die Stelle der früheren unbezwinglichen Kampflust ist ein gieriges Verlangen nach Geld getreten und hat aus dem faulen Aboriginer einen wenigstens zeitweise fleißigen Ackerbauer und Viehzüchter gemacht. [...] Dabei sind sie gute Handelsleute, welche sich bestens auf alle Pfiffe und Kniffe verstehen und stundenlang schachern und feilschen, ehe sie sich zu Kauf oder Verkauf entschließen können. Heuchelei und Verstellung sind zwei noch immer bei ihnen vorherrschende Untugenden, die durch das angenommene Christenthum eine etwas andere Richtung erhalten haben;²⁰⁹ aber noch immer sind sie gastfrei und ehrlich und man kann alle noch so kostbaren Gegenstände und selbst bares Geld ruhig liegen lassen, ohne fürchten zu müssen, daß sie gestohlen werden könnten.²¹⁰

Thus, their seeming greed for money is contrasted with their inherent honesty and hospitality, in which the Maori host is “in vielen Fällen ein wahrer barmherziger Samaritaner, wovon man uns einzelne rührende Beispiele erzählte”,²¹¹ and their apparent ‘natural’ laziness is contrasted with

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 361f.; cf. Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neu-Seeland (Auckland)”, 5513.

²⁰⁶ Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 366.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 362.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 342; cf. Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:298; Scherzer, “Weltfahrt der Novara”, 101.

²⁰⁹ This is due to the fact that the Christian Maori “erfüllen die meisten ihre Pflichten mit so großem Eifer, daß man mit vollem Rechte etwas Heuchelei dabei vermuthen könnte” (Hanf, “Expedition der k. k. Fregatte ‘Novara’”, 362).

²¹⁰ Ibid., 366.

²¹¹ Ibid., 359.

their present state of ‘irregular’ industriousness,²¹² all of which further adds to the already ambivalent and contradictory depiction of the Maori in the eyes of many Europeans.

Conclusion

Hochstetter’s *Neu-Seeland*, which has long been regarded as the definitive German-language book on the country in the nineteenth century, managed to achieve an authoritative status in Germany and Austria thanks largely to his views appearing in an accessible German format for the general reader and scientific novice alike. What he offered was a less biased German perspective complete with political insights and commentary, alternative views on interracial relations, including criticisms of the Government’s handling of the Maori and his siding with the latter during the New Zealand Wars (most of which did not appear in the English edition), as well as observations on the colony’s future prospects and environmental concerns. The timing of Hochstetter’s arrival in the colony may have enabled him to deal more with realities and not just predictions, as New Zealand society had gained a foothold, albeit still a relatively primitive one, on the empty landscape where Dieffenbach once traversed, yet a period of two decades had passed to strengthen popular beliefs and propaganda-based patriotism, which accounts for the inevitable presence of ‘paradise’ imagery and other common ‘Anglophile’ stereotypes and images, while various philosophical theories had also been hardened by ‘science fact’. Hochstetter, for example, saw New Zealanders as a generous, educated and science-minded people who were proud to belong to the British Empire in a colony that had become at once the ‘Britain of the South’ and the epitome of the safe rural paradise especially suited to the industrious Britons and German-speaking immigrants. The only issues that could impact negatively on this image were the decentralised provincial particularism that pervaded the colony, the short-sightedness of certain colonists regarding the management of their land, interracial tensions and conflict, and the still primitive conditions that existed for commencing expeditions. Importantly, Dieffenbach’s views have had a clear influence on Hochstetter’s own arguments regarding conservation, causes of Maori decay and the British treatment of Maori. Hochstetter, for example, continues Dieffenbach’s conservationist mentality through distinguishing between the necessary destruction involved in the building of colonies, including the controlled exploitation of resources to sustain the growth of a predominantly rural economy, and the

²¹² Cf. Hanf, “Streifzüge in Neu-Seeland (Auckland)”, 5513.

needless destruction of nature for personal interests and commercial gain, especially when it leaves the beauty of a landscape permanently destroyed and rare flora and fauna at the point of extinction. Nevertheless, he did witness a favourable balance between rural and urban centres in numerous locations, and particularly admired the pristine condition of the Hot Lake district and Southern Alps.

In respect to the Maori, Hochstetter presents an image of transition from Dieffenbach's 'Romantic Savage' to the Social Darwinian vision of the 'Dying Savage'. Not only are the Maori of a superior Polynesian stock when compared to other Pacific races, but Hochstetter also develops their apparent connection to the Germanic tribes further than Dieffenbach. Thus, instead of the battle-scarred relics of Maori 'pa' he sees the ruins of old German mountain forts (a connection first made by Haast), and instead of aged warrior chiefs he sees representatives of a Romantic and noble past, whose natural skills in oratory, poetry and storytelling, and enduring mythology he blends with that of the ancient Greeks, Romans and Germans. Being a man of science, these philosophically Romantic visions, however, soon gave way to bleak images of decay and extermination, as Hochstetter's outlook on the Maori was increasingly influenced by the Social Darwinist mentality of 'fatal impact', namely that their ultimate extinction cannot be prevented and more than likely will be accelerated through man's intervention. This belief was so strong that any liberal views, other than profound sympathising with Maori resistance, would have been surpassed by the inescapability of their situation and the certainty of their demise. As he relies on Dieffenbach's central arguments for the effects of colonisation on the Maori, the same demoralising and negative conditions again manifest themselves, this time in connection with the Darwinian 'struggle for existence', which simultaneously explains the Maori position in the colony, the extinction of the moa and the rise of cannibalism. Hochstetter's perception of the Maori was a necessary balance between his scientific view and his personal experiences. On the one hand, he was a scientist first, and was bound to the scientific-philosophical traditions of Social Darwinism and the greater emphasis on negative stereotypes which accompanies it (e.g. laziness, greed, dying out). As a result, he came to the conclusion that the inability of Maori to take the final step toward civilisation was their undoing, leading to only superficial conversion at best. Despite any humanitarian or philanthropic endeavours by the Government, he was convinced of their ultimate extinction on a scientific level, even though admissions from positive experiences seem to point to a better outcome. These scientific beliefs did not prevent him from acknowledging their remarkable development in many situations, such as their general progress in

agriculture and Christianity, not just within the confines of the mission stations but also in their own communities, their often educated character which led to their being ably involved in various European ventures, and the civilised characteristics of the two chiefs taken to Vienna whom he found to be well-mannered, learned and far from simple savages. His Social Darwinian views neither prevented him from levelling criticisms at the Government for undertaking the wrong measures and ignoring the urgency of the situation before the outbreak of the wars, nor relating Maori concerns that showed they were indeed justified to feel neglected by the Crown. And while there was comfort in the 'law of nature' during the wars of the 1860s, which declared that the Maori must fall before the European, war, nevertheless, had both an economic cost and a human cost, meaning the immediate welfare of the colony was still in the balance. Thus, in doing so, he produced the first detailed German account of the New Zealand Wars.

Although there is common material between Hochstetter and Haast, the fact that the latter did not complete his studies in natural science and was involved in the book trade, and that he came to New Zealand first and foremost as a German immigrant advisor to Willis, Gann & Co, all contributed to produce a series of articles which, by and large, offer the general reader a more relaxed and emotive but less philosophical style than the at times more serious and studious work of Hochstetter. Given his naturalist-geologist background, Haast, not surprisingly, shares Hochstetter's environmental concerns and likewise agrees that nature should not simply make way for colonisation and opportunism. Further similarities in viewpoint can also be explained, to a degree, by the fact that both explorers borrowed numerous elements from each other's writings. However, it is German immigration which plays a major role in his contributions. While he championed this cause with the aid of popular German stereotypes, it is clear that the Germans were just as patriotic as the British, if not more so, and never missed an opportunity to mention the achievements of their fellow immigrants in British colonies. However, his views should not be dismissed as mere patriotism. Much like with Krull's observations, the 'Germanness' of his fellow colonists still remains in the 'Antipodes of Germany', despite their having to deal with various disappointments and hardships along the way. Here, wealth, independence and an assured lifestyle can be guaranteed to the German immigrant through their supposedly superior national traits of industriousness and soberness which make them suited to colonial life even more so than the British, leading to Haast also sharing Krull's notion of their being a perfect example to the British, which the latter, to some extent, also believed. Even on the goldfields, where life can lead to despair or death, a sense of class equality prevails to combine with his already preconceived

ideas of a paradisaical climate and lifestyle for German-speaking immigrants. While working conditions proved more important for Krull, emphasising the suitability of Germans in an attempt to attract them to the colony through communicating success stories of those who had emigrated was often more central to Haast's aims than to inform the reader of the conditions and effort involved. Importantly, Haast was often restricted to relaying a narrative on Hochstetter and the locations that they traversed, meaning that, apart from when he forces the issue at the start, by the time of his *Allgemeine Zeitung* article he simply conveys the narrative and describes the environment, and he only focuses on the positive image of German immigration specifically when later visiting the German colony of Sarau. Instead he finds value in praising the efforts and successes of the notable German influence Hochstetter has on the colony before he too takes his rightful place alongside him. The strength of the prevailing image of New Zealand as a German immigrant's paradise can additionally be seen in his adopting of the colony as his home, in conjunction with his continued promotion of its resources and scientific community even after the emphasis on German immigration subsided from his writings. His portrayal of the Maori, on the other hand, is less detailed and less original in places, but full of colourful non-scientific comments in order to entertain the reader rather than merely inform, and therefore also offers in general less of an outright German perspective or useful insights. Even so, he includes the same conventional stereotypes and general observations of Dieffenbach and Hochstetter without overdoing Greco-Roman or Romantic imagery, and emphasises the Maori respect for British law and peaceful relations instead of focusing on the rising conflict which would soon lead to the wars of 1860-61. While both explorers' depictions at times lack the same sense of objectivity that is apparent in much of Dieffenbach's work, on account of their more favourable treatment and the state of progress of the colony, in conjunction with the obvious differences in text and target audience, it will be shown in the following chapters that it was these images of New Zealand and its people which proved influential for the likes of Reischek and other German-speaking visitors to the country.

CHAPTER SIX: Andreas Reischek (1845-1902)¹

A Man of Controversy

Undoubtedly the most notorious of German-speaking explorers to reach New Zealand shores in the nineteenth century was Andreas Reischek, the Austrian taxidermist, ornithologist and amateur ethnologist, whose legacy has been remembered in most cases for two things: his reported shooting of 150 rare hihi (stitchbirds)² and, most specifically, his removing of the two so-called ‘Kawhia mummies’ from a sacred Maori burial site.³ Ironically, if it were not for the publishing of *Sterbende Welt* in 1924,⁴ Reischek’s now infamous acts of desecration would more than likely have not been made public:

¹ I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Sascha Nolden in the preparation of this chapter for kindly providing me with access to parts of his collection of copies of original unpublished manuscript material (three handwritten notebooks), which he is preparing for an annotated scholarly edition of Reischek’s letters and diaries. The original manuscripts remain with the Reischek family in Linz, Austria.

² This is the number cited by Johannes Andersen (King, *Collector*, 110, 155). Sir Walter Lawry Buller, on the other hand, writes: “Owing to its market value, it is said that about 150 specimens were taken from [...] [Little Barrier] by Reischek and other collectors before the date of the [1892] proclamation” (Walter Lawry Buller, *Supplement to the “Birds of New Zealand”*. London: Author, 1905, vol. 1, xxxii). In other words, the figure is little more than an estimate, and even though Reischek would have collected the majority of the hihi specimens during the 1880s, he was not the sole bird collector on the island. Ironically, it was Buller who “induced Mr. Reischek, in 1884, to make another visit to the Little Barrier in quest of it” (Walter Lawry Buller, *A History of the Birds of New Zealand*. 2nd Ed. London: Author, 1888, vol.1, 104) due to the lack of hihi specimens in his own private collection. However, the number of collected specimens by the “indefatigable Austrian collector” referred to in Buller’s 1888 work barely reaches double figures (*ibid.*, 103f.). Furthermore, Reischek implies that his intention was only to provide at least a pair of hihi for every New Zealand museum, in addition to other rare birds (Andreas Reischek, “Ornithologische Beobachtungen aus Neu-Seeland”, in: *Mittheilungen des Ornithologischen Vereines in Wien* [=MOVW] 9:22 (1885): 199). Nevertheless, it is believable that the total figure would exceed the number of specimens in museums, as he comments that he had lost many prepared bird specimens due to pests, such as cats, dogs, pigs and rats (Andreas Reischek, “Klein-Barrier-Eiland (Hauturu) im Hauraki-Gulf, Nordinsel von Neu-Seeland”, in: *MOVW* 8:6 June (1884): 83). Angehr, for example, identifies seventy-eight specimens which can confidently be attributed to Reischek, as not all of them still retain the original labels, but estimates the combined figure at between 100 and 130 out of a total of 181 nineteenth-century hihi specimens found in museums worldwide, keeping in mind a larger number would have been shot as some proved irretrievable or unsuitable, other specimens may have found their way into obscure private collections, and some may have also been destroyed over the past century (George R. Angehr, “A Bird in the Hand: Andreas Reischek and the Stitchbird”, in: *Notornis* 31:4 (1984): 304-6).

³ The ‘Kawhia mummies’, which have long been a topic of controversy, were in fact desiccated corpses from a cave at Hautapu, one said to be the remains of the seventeenth-century Tainui chief, Tupahau, and the other, an unidentified child. The adult corpse was, however, returned to New Zealand in March 1985 in order to be buried in a special Maori ceremony at Taupiri Mountain (see King, *Collector*, 91-106; Erich Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde: Andreas Reischek, der Neuseeland-Forscher aus dem oberösterreichischen Mühlviertel (1845-1902)*. Wien: Wiener Ethnohistorische Blätter, 1996, 104-26; E. A. Aubin, “The lost mummies of Hautapu: Collector or thief? Reischek in N.Z.”, in: *Otago Daily Times* [=ODT] 11 Nov (1981): 25; A. Hubbard, “The Other Treasure That Came Home”, in: *The Dominion* 18 Aug (1986): 11; “Restoring Dignity”, in: *The Dominion* 19 Aug (1986): 8).

⁴ Andreas Reischek, *Sterbende Welt: Zwölf Jahre Forscherleben aus Neuseeland; herausgegeben von seinem Sohn*. 2nd Ed. Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1924. (All further references to this work will be given in parentheses in the text.)

It was the beginning of Reischek senior's notoriety. So much of *Sterbende Welt* was exaggeration and even invention. There seems little doubt that had the collector himself been alive he would not have allowed parts of the diaries and reminiscences to be published in the form they were, particularly in English. This would be especially true of the bald account of how he abused [King] Tawhiao's hospitality in the King Country, bribed local Maoris there and broke tapu. These actions did his reputation nothing but damage. In New Zealand it eventually led to vilification of the Reischek name and to demands for the return of the corpses; in Austria it made the museum authorities uneasy about their claims to Maori items in the Reischek collection. Had the account not been published it is probable that few people other than King Country Maoris would have known how the corpses were acquired and there would have been no indelible stain on the Reischek reputation.⁵

In recent years Erich Kolig⁶ has done much to give balance to the often one-sided argument of the respected New Zealand historian Michael King regarding the at times dubious methods Reischek employed in collecting items of ethnological importance and the seemingly boastful and exaggerated manner of the narrative,⁷ as well as the myth perpetuated by Reischek junior surrounding his father's name and position in Maori folklore.⁸

Andreas Reischek was born on 15 September 1845 in Linz in Upper Austria, although he was not legitimated under the same name as his "Finanzoberaufseher" father until 1854, four years after his parents married. Reischek's mother, Barbara Danzer, did not therefore die shortly after his birth as is generally believed.⁹ Reischek's interest in the natural world began at an early age when growing up under the care of Frau Puchrucker, the widow of the head gardener at Weinberg Castle in Kefermarkt, in which the exotic natural history collections and hunting trophies from the African and Asian expeditions of the castle's owner, Ludwig Egbert von

⁵ King, *Collector*, 159.

⁶ Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*; Erich Kolig, "Der Österreicher Andreas Reischek in Neuseeland: Ehrenhäuptling oder Erzfeind der Maori?", in: *Novara 1* (1998): 41-55; Erich Kolig, "Andreas Reischek and the Maori: Villainy or the Nineteenth-Century Scientific Ethos?", in: *Pacific Studies* 10:1 (1986): 55-78; Erich Kolig, "Collector or Thief: Andreas Reischek in New Zealand and the Problem of Scientific Ethics in the 19th Century", in: *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 39 (1985): 127-46; see also Gerhard Aubrecht, "Andreas Reischek (15. 9. 1845 – 3. 4. 1902) – ein österreichischer Ornithologe in Neuseeland. Illustrierte biographische Notizen", in: *Kiwis und Vulkane: Zum 150. Geburtstag des Neuseelandforschers Andreas Reischek*. Ed. Gerhard Aubrecht. Linz: Oberösterreich Landesmuseum, 1995, 9-50; K. E. Westerskov, "The Austrian Andreas Reischek's Ornithological Exploration and Collecting in New Zealand 1877-1889", in: *Festschrift for E. W. Herd*. Ed. August Obermayer. Dunedin: University of Otago, 1980, 275-89; Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists*, 68-90; James N. Bade. "Andreas Reischek", in: *Welt für sich*, 215-26; Dietmar Henze, "Reischek, Andreas", in: *EEEE* 4, 574f.

⁷ See King, *Collector*; Ray G. Prebble, "Reischek, Andreas 1845 – 1902: Taxidermist, collector, naturalist", in: *DNZB* 2, 416f.

⁸ See Andreas Reischek, Jr., "Ein Leben für die Heimat: Zum 50. Todestages des Neuseelandforschers Andreas Reischek am 3. April 1952", in: *Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (1951): 6-15; Andreas Reischek, Jr., "Ein Freund der 'Wilden' und der Tiere: Wie der Bäckergeßell aus dem Mühlviertel Andreas Reischek Stammeshäuptling der Maori auf Neuseeland wurde", in: *Österreichischer Volkskalender* 60 (1949): 146-59; Andreas Reischek, Jr., "Andreas Reischek: Ein Österreichisches Forscherleben: Zu seinem 30. Todestage am 3. April 1932", in: *Bergland* 14:2 (1932): 26-32, 42-44; cf. Theodor Kerschner, "Andreas Reischek Zum 50. Todestag am 3. April 1952", in: *Oberösterreichischen Heimatblätter* 6:2 (1952): 146-55.

⁹ Aubrecht, "Andreas Reischek", 11f.

Thürheim, left a lasting impression on the youth. Hunting had always played a major role among the Austrian aristocracy and was “respected and admired by subordinate social classes”¹⁰ alike. As one historian writes: “Shooting seems often to be its chief object in life”.¹¹ Reischek returned to Linz in 1853 to attend formal schooling, in which history and geography were his main interests. However, as his father could not financially support him in higher education,¹² Reischek was apprenticed to Herr Danner in 1860, a baker in Unterweissenbach who also had a keen interest in hunting, which in turn developed Reischek’s love of collecting and natural history. With his earnings he invested in scientific books and travel literature. At the age of twenty-one he was then conscripted into the army during the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Upon his return from the field, he was taken in as gamekeeper by his superior, Baron Gotter von Resti-Ferrari, who later recommended him to Baron Pasetti, the Austrian military attaché in Rome, after taking leave from military service. Reischek accompanied Pasetti on his travels through Italy and Tyrol between 1870 and 1875, during which time he was able to attend lectures in natural science at the university in Rome. It was, however, his subsequent decision to move to Vienna in 1875, following the Baron’s death, in order to undertake a career in taxidermy which ultimately led to his connection to New Zealand. The following year Haast inquired of his long-time friend, Hochstetter, whether he knew of someone who could fill the position of taxidermist at the Canterbury Museum. In October 1876 on the recommendation of Dr Franz Steindachner, the custodian of the Natural History Museum in Vienna, Hochstetter offered Reischek the two-year contract in Christchurch on the understanding that the latter collect specimens for the former after completing his time with Haast, especially items of ethnographical nature, which he would receive money for upon his return.¹³ Following his acceptance, Reischek left Trieste on the

¹⁰ John M. Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1988, 23.

¹¹ Henry Wickham Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*. 4th Ed. London: Constable & Co, 1919, 133.

¹² H. Commenda, “Nachruf”, in: *Jahresberichte des Vereins für Naturkunde* 31 (1902): 4. This is the standard argument which has been taken up by most scholars. Heger, on the other hand, states the reason for Reischek not being able to continue his studies was the lengthy illness of his mother (Franz Heger, “Nekrolog: Andreas Reischek”, in: *MAGW* 32 (1902): 409).

¹³ In his own words: “Im Oktober 1876 wurde ich auf Anregung des Herrn Hofrat Dr. Steindachner zu Herrn Hofrat von Hochstetter, Intendant des k.k. Naturhistor. Hofmuseum, gerufen. Letzterer stellte die Frage, ob ich mich nicht entscheiden könnte nach Neuseeland zu reisen, um im Christchurch Museum [sic] die zoologischen Sammlungen zu ordnen, und nach Vollendung dieser Arbeit für das k. k. naturhistor. Hofmuseum zu sammeln, besonderes Augenmerk sollte ich den Maori, den dortigen Eingeborenen zuwenden. Herr Hofrat sagte, Geld habe er zwar jetzt keines dafür, doch es würde mir alles bezahlt werden wenn ich mit reichen Sammlungen zurückkehre” (cited in: Aubrecht, “Andreas Reischek”, 15). Unfortunately, King unfairly implies Reischek’s sole goal was to “gather a collection in New Zealand that would enable him to secure status and financial security when he returned to Europe” (King, *Collector*, 52), rather than an agreement made with Hochstetter, which, however, came to nought with the

Kastor on 11 February 1877 and arrived on the *Tararua*, following stopovers in Suez, Ceylon and Melbourne, at Bluff on 18 April, Port Chalmers on the 20th and Lyttelton on the 22nd.¹⁴

His stay, however, eventually became twelve years in total as he explored throughout New Zealand with his trusty side-kick Caesar, the ‘Wonderful Dog’. Reischek made two excursions while under the employ of Haast, one to Lake Brunner via Porter’s and Arthur’s Pass to relieve the boredom of his day-to-day life, the other to the glaciers and mountains around Rakaia in the Southern Alps with Haast himself. Once he had finished his contract at the museum in Christchurch he then proceeded to the North Island and soon began work at the Auckland Museum and later the Wanganui Museum, whilst also working for various private collectors and making contributions to the Otago Museum. Between 1879 and 1888 Reischek made a number of excursions in and around Northland, Auckland, the Waitakere Ranges, Coromandel, Waikato, Fiordland, Dusky and Chalky Sounds, as well as the Hen and Chicken, Little Barrier and Great Barrier Islands, and the subantarctic islands to the south of New Zealand.¹⁵ In his home of Austria, however, his greatest achievement was seen as his being one of the few Europeans to be allowed into the Maori stronghold of the King Movement in the Waikato in 1882, an area known as the King Country, which barred Europeans and provided a refuge for ‘renegade’ Maori fighters.¹⁶ On 20 February 1889, after continued delays, Reischek finally departed New Zealand for Sydney on the *Waihora*¹⁷ for a stopover of several weeks before eventually arriving in Vienna on 15 April. Among the overestimated 16,000 items that Reischek junior claimed his father

death of his patron five years before he returned to Vienna (Heger, “Nekrolog”, 409). Furthermore, King states one of the main factors in the ease and speed Reischek made the decision to leave his wife of two years in Vienna was in order to run away from marriage troubles and, in particular, his mother-in-law (King, *Collector*, 31-34). However, as there are so many variations in interpretations and facts, it is impossible to say with certainty what really happened (Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 20-24, 34f.). The tragedy for Reischek is that he did not return in time, as it is made clear in a letter from Hochstetter in March 1883: “[...] für mich werden alle Ihre ethnographischen Sammlungen, die Mumien und Ihre Aufzeichnungen über Maorisagen etc.etc. von größtem Interesse sein. Hoffentlich werden Sie all das für unser Museum reservieren. Ich habe Sie schon sicher in diesem Jahre zurückerwartet. Direktor Steindachner möchte schon lange die Kuratorenstelle am zoologischen Museum neu besetzen aber wir wollten warten, bis Sie zurückkommen. Hoffentlich wird das nun bald der Fall sein” (cited in: Aubrecht, “Andreas Reischek”, 33).

¹⁴ *The Southland Times* [=ST] 19 April (1877): 2; *ODT* 21 April (1877): 2; *The Lyttelton Times* [=LT] 23 April (1877): 2.

¹⁵ The exact dates of his individual trips to Little Barrier and surrounding islands and the number of excursions made by Reischek have often been a subject of confusion, as they are contradicted in the various accounts (see King, *Collector*, 175; Westerskov, “Reischek’s Ornithological Exploration”, 283-85; Andreas Reischek, “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, in: *MKKGG* 33 (1890): 610-27).

¹⁶ Reischek first attempted to enter the King Country in 1880 but failed (Andreas Reischek, “Zwölf Jahre auf Neu-Seeland: Blätter aus meinem Tagebuche: 1. Theil. Hinreise (im Jahre 1877) und Aufenthalt bis zum Jahre 1882”, in: *Jugendheimat* 6 (1892): 75).

¹⁷ *The New Zealand Herald* [=NZH] 21 Feb (1889): 4.

brought back in his extensive New Zealand collection,¹⁸ the Natural History Museum in Vienna received a total of 3016 ornithological specimens, of which only 2278 were native to New Zealand,¹⁹ 2406 plants, 1194 ethnographical specimens, including 467 Maori objects,²⁰ as well as thirty-seven skulls and fourteen lower jaws, in addition to 800 fish and reptile specimens,²¹ 120 mammal skins and 501 geological, mineralogical and botanical samples.²² Although, at the time, his efforts were well-respected by his peers at the Auckland Institute and his many friends within the local scientific community,²³ which contributed to his receiving of the prestigious Fellowship of the Linnean Society of London in 1885,²⁴ recognition and positions, other than his later becoming an honorary member of the Vienna Ornithological Society, proved elusive for the self-educated Reischek upon his return. He could never achieve the same standing in his own homeland that the members of the *Novara* had received several decades earlier. Without the formal education and scientific background of Hochstetter, Reischek was more of a practical man than a man of theory or a scholar, making him not always conform to the general practices of other naturalists, and at times less reliable and accurate, and more likely to rely exclusively on others for knowledge in unknown fields. After moving to Klosterneuburg, he soon accepted the

¹⁸ King, *Collector*, 142. While the majority of the collection he brought home would have gone to the Natural History Museum in Vienna, a small part of it went to a handful of other museums, including the Francisco-Carolinum Museum in Linz, and the rest remained as a private family collection, some of which was sold to private collectors by Reischek, while several hundred bird specimens were also put up for sale by his wife following his death (Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 27f.; Aubrecht, “Andreas Reischek”, 39; Gabriele Weiss, “Andreas Reischek”, in: *Entdeckung der Welt*, 365f.).

¹⁹ Reischek’s remaining Viennese collection of around 1000 New Zealand bird specimens has been described as “one of the biggest, best labelled, and best prepared collections outside New Zealand” (K.E. Westerskov, “Reischek’s New Zealand Bird Collection”, in: *A Flying Start: Commemorating Fifty Years of the Ornithological Society of New Zealand 1940-1990*. Eds. B. J. Gill and B. Heather. Auckland: Random Century, 1990, 130).

²⁰ Hauer uses the figures of 453 Maori objects and 741 items from other Pacific Islands in his annual report, but the inventory for 1890/91 lists 467 and 727 respectively (Franz von Hauer, “Jahresbericht für 1890”, in: *Annalen des K. K. naturhistorischen Hofmuseums* 6 (1891): 7f.; Irmgard Moschner, “Katalog der Neuseeland-Sammlung (A. Reischek) Wien”, in: *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 13 (1958): 51-131; Weiss, “Andreas Reischek”, 365).

²¹ This figure has been misquoted by Reischek junior and King as 8000 (King, *Collector*, 142).

²² This consists of twenty-two items taken after the Tarawera eruption in 1886 (although not by Reischek) and a collection of 479 items gifted in 1888 (Johannes H. Obenholzner and Bernhard Spuida, “Andreas Reischek – Zeugnisse über die aktiven Vulkane Neuseelands zwischen 1877 und 1888”, in: *Kiwis und Vulkane*, 123f.).

²³ Reischek Col, which was named by Haast during their excursion together in the Southern Alps, Reischek Glacier, Reischek Stream and Reischek Hut in Canterbury, the endangered Reischek’s parakeet and a tuatara all share his name.

²⁴ King is quick to point out that Reischek was struck off in May 1891 after paying only the first subscription and having gone four years without paying the annual fee he agreed to when submitting the application (King, *Collector*, 123). However, it should be noted that Reischek did in fact make an effort to pay the annual £3 subscription fee to the Linnean Society during his frequent expeditions by asking, for example, Thomas Cheeseman in 1887 to pay on his behalf and explain why he was unable to do so (Andreas Reischek, “Letter to Thomas Cheeseman, 29 March 1887, Chalky Sound”, in: Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists*, 164).

position of curator at the newly opened Francisco-Carolinum Museum in Linz, where he worked from January 1893 until his death on 3 April 1902.

The only book written by Reischek during his lifetime was *Caesar: The Wonderful Dog* (1889), a collection of reminiscences of his faithful companion during his excursions in the North and South Islands and a guide to training animals, camping and bush and alpine exploration, which was “dedicated to the people of New Zealand” and published a month prior to his departure.²⁵ The original handwritten manuscript is over 200 pages in length, and provides a summary of his activities between 1879 and 1889, as well as additional material on taxidermy and preparatory work and a section on hints for amateur geologists, ornithologists, botanists and collectors of reptiles and insects. It also appears to have been written with the aid of a native English-speaker, and incorporates translated passages from his diaries, but was ultimately shortened to its present length of fifty-seven pages.²⁶ As a result, the published work has more to do with the antics of his dog, animal training and exploration preparations than his perceptions of New Zealand. He did, however, publish numerous articles between 1877 and 1896 on the results of his frequent expeditions in New Zealand in such journals as *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, *Mitteilungen des Ornithologischen Vereines in Wien* and *Jugendheimat*, catering specifically to ornithologists, naturalists, anthropologists, as well as more general and younger readers. What is notable in these instances is that, when addressing the same issues, Reischek does not alter significantly his arguments for the New Zealand and Austrian readerships. His main intentions in both cases were to relate various findings and observations on native avifauna, in conjunction with popular narratives of specific journeys and on the Maori to a lesser extent, while educating both audiences about the effects of introduced pests and predators, and the human impact on the natural environment. Even in his English texts he does not hold back on criticisms and advice regarding conservation matters, yet, without a doubt, it is his later German-language contributions which offer the most variety and depth.

²⁵ Andreas Reischek, *Caesar: The Wonderful Dog, or: The Story of a Wonderful Dog with Some Notes on the Training of Dogs and Horses. Also, Hints on Camping, Bush and Mountain Exploration in New Zealand*. Auckland: Star Office, 1889. Although Reischek junior published the work *Cäsar, der Freund des Neuseelandforschers* in 1928, it is not in fact a direct translation, but a work loosely based on the adventures of Caesar from *Sterbende Welt* and *Caesar: The Wonderful Dog* and meant for a younger audience, which he then expanded in Romantic fashion to emphasise the dog’s “Heiligsprechung” by Maori and include a section on Maori myths (Andreas Reischek, Jr., *Cäsar, der Freund des Neuseelandforschers*. 3rd Ed. Wien: Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1952).

²⁶ Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 68; Aubrecht, “Andreas Reischek”, 21. King incorrectly claims Reischek was “unable both to finish it and to bring what he had written to a publishable standard, however, because of his difficulties with written English” (King, *Collector*, 107f.).

Despite attempting in later life to write a definitive popular account of his travels in German based on his own notebooks, it was never completed for publication.²⁷ Instead we have Andreas Reischek junior to thank for completing the book his father began, albeit a biography of Reischek senior's exploits in New Zealand based on original material, whilst stylistically edited and romanticised with the spirit of the early twentieth century under the title *Sterbende Welt: Zwölf Jahre Forscherleben aus Neuseeland* (1924). After several failed attempts at selling his father's private collection of manuscripts and notebooks in order to alleviate his family's financial difficulties during the period of inflation following the First World War, Reischek junior decided to write the 'reconstructed' diary of his father to achieve not only financial reward, but also to give recognition to the 'forgotten man of Austria'.²⁸ The issue, however, is complicated by the different versions of this account, none of which were written in their entirety by Reischek senior, but edited together and 'reconstructed' by his son from his father's private collection of various manuscripts and notebooks some twenty-two years, in the case of the 1924 edition, after his death. Due to the success of the work, whereby the first printing sold out within three months, and in order to commemorate twenty-five years since Reischek senior's death, an abridged version of about half the length of the original appeared in 1927 under the shortened title of *Sterbende Welt*,²⁹ followed by the English edition, *Yesterdays in Maoriland*, in 1930, which was translated by Herbert Ernest Lewis Priday.³⁰ Two further versions of varying length appeared in 1948 and 1955, also courtesy of Reischek junior, entitled *Ihaka Reiheke. Der Maorihäuptling aus Österreich* and the somewhat fictionalised *Weißer Häuptling der Maori*, the latter of which was aimed specifically at the popular German-speaking youth market.³¹ The original primary source appears to be eighteen rough notebooks written predominantly in German, together with unpublished manuscripts and drafts, excerpts from newspapers, published articles and various correspondence in both English and German.³²

²⁷ See King, *Collector*, 141, 144, 147f.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 153-55.

²⁹ Andreas Reischek, *Sterbende Welt*. Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1927 [=SW (1927); 1924 Ed. = SW].

³⁰ Andreas Reischek, *Yesterdays in Maoriland: New Zealand in the 'Eighties*. Translated and edited by H. E. L. Priday. 3rd Ed. London: Cape, 1952 [=YIM].

³¹ Andreas Reischek, *Ihaka Reiheke. Der Maorihäuptling aus Österreich: Tagebuch einer zwölfjährigen Forschungsreise auf Neuseeland*. Wien: Noreia, 1948; Andreas Reischek, Jr., *Weißer Häuptling der Maori: Das Leben des Neuseelandforschers Andreas Reischek. Erzählt von seinem Sohn*. Wien: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1955.

³² Kolig maintains *Sterbende Welt* could not have been translated from English as his son implies (SW, 5), since the diaries are predominantly written in German (Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 68). However, it seems incredulous that Reischek junior would make such a statement without any justification, especially as the initial draft of *Caesar: The Wonderful Dog* cannot be the primary source in question (*ibid.*, 75, n32). According to the Auckland press, Reischek did intend to compile a work in English after his return to Vienna: "It is Mr. Reischek's intention to return to Europe,

For the purpose of this chapter we must make do with Reischek junior's revised diary, Reischek senior's assortment of published articles and glimpses of the original German notebooks. When compared with these notebooks, the majority of Reischek senior's draft material does appear in *Sterbende Welt*. However, in order to make it read well and be of interest to the general public, the more learned Reischek junior (albeit still with an incomplete education in the fields of medicine and philosophy due to his being conscripted during the First World War)³³ had to improve the quality of the original manuscripts both stylistically and in language, as much of the material is little more than fragments of barely readable notes and scribbles, and where sections are still legible his father's standard of writing in both German and English at times leaves much to be desired (although the state of the aborted manuscripts would have been of a higher standard when aided by an editor, as is apparent in his numerous published articles and papers):

Imzuge dieser Metamorphose – um den Text dem Publikumsgeschmack näher zu bringen – ist auch viel Schmeichelhaftes und dem Originaltext fremdes Gelehrsames miteingeflossen, sodaß letztlich der Originalcharakter des Werkes Reischek Seniors verloren gegangen ist. Die übertrieben romantische Sprache, Latinismen (wie z.B. die Anspielung auf “Tacitus redivivus”) und anderes, dem heutigen Geschmack nach eher als bombastisch erscheinendes Beiwerk sind der Feder des klassisch gebildeten Sohnes entsprungen, waren aber dem einfachen, geraden Geist und trockenen Stil des Vaters fremd. Einstellungen zum Maori als Edlen Wilden und das romantische Bedauern über die zerstörerische Wirkung durch das Vordringen der westlichen Zivilisation sind bei Reischek Senior nur embryonalhaft angelegt und entsprechen mehr dem romantisch gefärbten Vorstellungsniveau des Gebildeten in Zentraleuropa in früheren Dekaden unseres Jahrhunderts.³⁴

The result is a work more in the mould of an adventure novel than a true and faithful representation of his father's diaries, which often emphasises the Maori episodes and his father's ethnological contribution over his ornithological, when in many instances the reverse should in fact be the case, and at times bends the truth with popular stereotypes and ‘Romanticism’, rather than merely sticking to the facts. Furthermore, as intimate thoughts, feelings and philosophical

and there to publish a book upon New Zealand in the English and the German languages. It will be a popular work, and will no doubt contribute to an extension of the knowledge about New Zealand throughout Europe” (“Mr Reischek”, in: *NZH* 23 May (1888): 5). Interestingly, the mistakes that Kolig points out in King's list of manuscripts and diaries presented in 1921 to the British Government by Reischek junior (King, *Collector*, Appendix II, 176), whereby the eighteen notebooks are incorrectly said to be largely in English instead of German and seen to be ordered neatly and naturally from one to eighteen with firm dates, which is not the case at all, match the son's claims that he first and foremost translated the work from English (Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 74f.). The source for the discrepancies is unclear. Possibly those on the list are different diaries from the ones Kolig viewed or else, if the list in question is indeed accurate, Reischek junior would therefore be the one responsible, as many of the statements he made in order to sell the collection show a lack of knowledge of the facts, implying in the process that he had not in fact read most of the material or possessed even then a willingness to bend the truth (King, *Collector*, 153-55).

³³ *Ibid.*, 152.

³⁴ Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 68.

and moral reflection are, for the most part, extremely lacking in Reischek's original notes,³⁵ there can be no underestimating the impact of his son's "Neigung zur poetischen Übertreibung"³⁶ when it comes to 'polishing' the language and developing ideas and images beyond the scope of his father's comments, not to mention the various inaccuracies in chronology and spelling, due for the most part to Reischek senior's quality of writing and his son's inability to correct mistakes without first-hand knowledge:

Auch neigt die "Sterbende Welt" dazu, etliche Taten des Forschers fast prahlerisch herauszustreichen, während die Tagebücher in einem nüchternen, "understated" Stil gehalten sind. Wenn also der Kritiker King Reischek der Aufschneiderei bezichtigt, so trifft sein Hieb bestenfalls dessen Sohn, zeigt aber im übrigen, daß er mit den Originaltagebüchern nicht vertraut war.³⁷

After all, Reischek junior refers to the work as a "monumentum aere perennius" dedicated to his father's memory, which contains "der geistige Inhalt seiner Beobachtungen und Forschungen und das Bild eines gotterfüllten Mannes" (6). The son is therefore responsible for creating the myth surrounding his father through his use of colourful language, the material selected for revision, and the finished work, and not Reischek senior, who often has many criticisms levelled against him, many of which would appear to be unjustified.

Furthermore, all too readily is the inferior English version used as the sole basis of Reischek scholarship in New Zealand, as well as the definitive narrative of Reischek senior, with neither reference to the original manuscripts and diaries nor relevant papers due to a lack of knowledge in German. Priday, a former "New Zealand student of German",³⁸ perhaps overambitiously took it upon himself to translate *Sterbende Welt*, whereby the finished product is far from satisfactory, although not something that would have been picked up by the non-German public. Roger Paulin describes *Yesterdays in Maoriland* as a "pretty shoddy piece of work", which has been put together "without any clear guiding principle" and contains "serious errors in translation which do not inspire confidence".³⁹ First of all, it is neither a complete translation of

³⁵ Ibid., 136.

³⁶ Ibid., 99.

³⁷ Ibid., 69. King, however, offers only unhelpful comments on Reischek's supposed "propensity for enlarging and dramatising his own role, and an inclination to believe any story he is told, even in jest [...]. Reischek's claims were in part a consequence of his addiction to self-dramatisation, and in part a propaganda device to inflate the value of the ethnological section of his collection in European eyes (it is doubtful if Reischek intended his account of the trip to be published in English in New Zealand, where inaccuracies and exaggerations were bound to be detected eventually)" (King, *Collector*, 48, 81).

³⁸ Ibid., 159.

³⁹ Cited in: James N. Bade, "Andreas Reischek's visit to the Waitakere Ranges, March-April 1880", in: *West Auckland Remembers: A Collection of Historical Essays for the 1990 Commemoration*. Ed. James N. Bade. Auckland: West Auckland Historical Society, 1990, 50.

the German original nor the exact words of the attributed author, facts which appear nowhere in this edition. Moreover, the editing alone is worthy of criticism, as he re-orders, renames, and at times combines or separates numerous chapters without correcting common misspellings of place names and Maori names,⁴⁰ whilst often omitting or paraphrasing sections, paragraphs and entire pages, and in some cases even inventing sentences and altering the chronology, none of which is mentioned by the editor, as if the omissions, including key German phrases, have either been deemed too difficult to translate or else not relevant or interesting enough for the contemporary readership, if not both. Without complete access to the original notebooks and manuscripts, however, we are still left with the problem of authorship when it comes to specific sections of the book. Furthermore, as the image of Reischek is a major component in understanding and validating his perceptions of New Zealand and the Maori, it is also necessary to evaluate the controversy surrounding his behaviour and actions. Therefore the object of this chapter is twofold: to extrapolate the likely influences of Reischek junior from the narrative of the 1924 edition of *Sterbende Welt* in order to identify the perceptions and stereotypes which are consistent with Reischek senior and the mentality of the late nineteenth century, in addition to examining the latter's other available writings, and, at the same time, rectify the unbalanced interpretation of King and others, who have done him a great disservice through basing their arguments primarily on an inferior and abbreviated translation, which excludes the necessary balance that can be observed particularly in his numerous German-language contributions, if not also those in English.

⁴⁰ In a review of *Yesterdays in Maoriland*, New Zealand historian James Cowan criticises the frequent and often inexcusable mistakes which appear in the text: "Misspellings of scores of Maori names and words and phrases, too, mar an otherwise most useful book. [...] The number of mistakes in names is extraordinary, and there are errors in fact which should have been corrected or referred to in notes. If the book goes into a second edition we hope it will be thoroughly revised" (James Cowan, "Our Native Wilds: Adventures of a Naturalist: Story of Reischek the Bird-Hunter", in: *The Auckland Star* 17 May (1930): 18). Unfortunately, no changes were made in subsequent editions. The fact that Priddy incorrectly refers to Reischek as being the first to climb Mt Ruapehu in his original transcript for *Yesterdays in Maoriland* (King, *Collector*, 134n), which neither Reischek mentions, further suggests that he also did not have a comprehensive knowledge of New Zealand history. Ironically, all he had to do was view Cowan's *The New Zealand Wars* (1922-23) to find the correct spelling of many of these names, as well as more reliable versions of history. Granted the majority of spelling errors can be attributed to both Reischek senior and junior, it does not change the fact that the job of an editor surely encompasses making corrections or at least making reference to the exact spelling and information, a task which Reischek junior was unable to do with his limited knowledge of the country, leading to perhaps more errors in spelling than his father originally made due to the nature of the latter's difficult handwriting. Poor spelling in later published accounts by the elder Reischek can also be attributed to the transcriber misreading his handwriting, which often involved, for example, 'u' being mistaken for 'n' due to the similarity in handwritten form.

Sterbende Welt and the Two Reischeks

In a letter which appeared in the *New Zealand Herald* in December 1892, Reischek writes:

My thoughts are often in New Zealand. It would be impossible for me to forget that lovely country, with the many kind friends I made during my stay. It is always a great pleasure to me when I am lecturing or writing on New Zealand to give the Paradise of the Southern Hemisphere, which has a great future before it, its just due. The great mineral wealth which the colony possesses, the many durable and beautiful timbers, the large extent of fertile land, the healthy climate, the varied scenery, make New Zealand a country unsurpassed in the world. The hot springs, with their curative powers, will be widely known in time[s] to come.⁴¹

In *Sterbende Welt* the typical stereotypes and images of the day also surface in the introductory chapter “Das Forschungsgebiet” (which, however, has been omitted by Friday). New Zealand nature, we are told, possesses “ein gemäßigtes, außerordentlich gesundes” (20) climate, and unifies “alle Wunder landschaftlicher Schönheit und Eigenart” (17), with the landscape on the West Coast of the South Island constituting “ein noch unvergleichlich schöneres Wunder” (18) and the Southern Alps providing breathtaking views: “Das tiefdunkelblaue Meereswasser, die in allen Schattierungen von Grün gewebten, dichten Urwaldteppiche, die zackigen Kronen der Berge, die vom Eis der Gletscher wie von Diamanten funkeln, und darüber der tiefe, südliche Himmel, alles zusammen gibt eine Symphonie von Farben und Formen, die den Ruhm der skandinavischen Fiorde in den Schatten stellt” (18f.).⁴² New Zealand politics are also briefly mentioned in favourable terms. To the approval of Reischek, New Zealand-born citizens now sit in both lower and upper houses of Parliament, as opposed to consisting solely of British representatives, after the colony received the right to vote in or appoint its own representatives. The most important example of how far New Zealand has come in its interracial policy is seen in the fact that Maori also “sitzen als Abgeordnete sowohl im Oberhaus als auch im Unterhaus” (21). The superlatives soon come out as New Zealand is portrayed as one of the best governed and happiest nations in the world:

⁴¹ Andreas Reischek, “Letter from Mr. Reischek”, in: *NZH (supplement)* 17 Dec (1892): 1; cf. Reischek, “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, 627.

⁴² Cf. 284f., 303f. Granted Reischek senior’s descriptions of nature may have been reworked to some extent by his son, the former shows in other contributions that he was not incapable of similar language when edited, only perhaps with a lesser focus on philosophical attitudes and classical parallels. This can be seen, for example, in the storm at Dusky Sound, in which the thunder “held me awe-stricken by a sense of man’s feebleness in the presence of the forces of nature. It was a wild but inspiring experience to witness such a storm on a dark night among those lovely hills with no human companionship to disturb the contemplation of Nature warring, as it were, with all her power until her forces were lulled into peace through sheer exhaustion. More impressive indeed, if that were possible, than the storm was the calm which followed it, speaking to the soul with the still small voice – not a breath of air, not a quiver of a leaf recalled the fury of the elements which had preceded the sudden lull. I can never forget such a scene” (Reischek, *Caesar*, 24f.).

Es ließe sich noch vieles Interessante von den politischen und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen Neuseelands erzählen, doch liefe eine erschöpfende Darstellung dem Zwecke dieses Kapitels zuwider, eine knappe Einführung in das Verständnis meiner Tagebuchaufzeichnungen zu sein. Es sei nur erwähnt, daß Neuseeland eines der bestregierten demokratischen Länder der Welt ist, das z. B. schon zur Zeit, als ich hinüberkam, den Achtstundentag⁴³ und andere Einrichtungen eingeführt hatte, deren Propagierung in manchen europäischen Staaten als revolutionär und staatsfeindlich verfolgt wurde, und daß es eben dadurch gegenwärtig als eines der glücklichsten Länder der Erde angesehen werden kann, in dem es weder Armut noch übermäßiges Großkapital gibt. Die Neuseeländer sind somit auch in wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht Antipoden Österreichs und Deutschlands. (21)

The universal hospitality of New Zealand colonists has been well-documented by European travellers in the nineteenth century, and Reischek finds this to also be the case in the distant sheep stations in the South Island: “Trotz ihrer harten Lebensweise sind es durchwegs gutmütige, weichherzige Menschen, die jedem Wanderer Obdach gewähren und ihre Nahrung gern mit ihm teilen” (281). German-speaking immigrants also provide a warm welcome to weary travellers, especially those who share their Germanic background. Reischek, for example, is pleasantly surprised to even meet a German Baroness in New Zealand’s southern wilderness:

Ich war nicht wenig erstaunt, als ich von der Dame deutsch angesprochen wurde. Sie war eine Baroness von Rosenberg und aus Dresden gebürtig. Nach einem vorzüglichen Mahl überraschte uns die Dame des Hauses mit einem Klavierkonzert: deutsche Musik und deutsche Lieder klangen in die Urwaldstille hinaus. Es war mir wie ein Traum: die nächste Rast lag schon tief in der Wildnis, aber heute schwelgten wir noch auf einer Insel, erfüllt von allen Zaubern und Genüssen der fernen Heimat. (66)

Furthermore, in a guesthouse at Te Kopuru he comes across Herr Harders from Holstein, who “mich freudig als Stammesbruder begrüßte”: “Er lud mich zum Tee ein, und der Abend verging heiter mit Erzählungen aus unserer Heimat” (77f.). He also meets two Austrian gold-diggers in the Coromandel, who “sich durch fleißige Arbeit bereits ein beträchtliches Vermögen erworben hatten”: “Während meiner Forschungen in diesen Gegenden blieb ich ihr Gast. Wir schlossen gute Freundschaft, und meine Gastgeber machten mir den Aufenthalt so angenehm, als sie nur konnten. Zum Abschied benannten sie einen reichhaltigen Stollen nach mir” (105).

However, for someone more familiar with the increasingly secularised societies of Central Europe, the colony’s sense of religious piety sometimes impinges on the generosity of the people. The sacrosanct nature of the Sabbath, which formerly proved a significant nuisance to various explorers seeking food from converted Maori on a Sunday, now poses a common problem in the European settlements. This is no more evident than during Reischek’s days working at the

⁴³ In spite of this, he often worked long hours until the early morning and even on Sundays when preparing displays at the Canterbury Museum (37).

Canterbury Museum, where he not only had to keep it a secret that he was often working on the traditional day of rest to prepare specimens for the museum, but as he also frequently went on expeditions that day (37f.), he recollects two occasions in Lyttelton where he was met with both disapproval and disappointment. The first time he visits the town on a Sunday “um mich zu restaurieren”, he finds that “alles gesperrt [war]. So mußte ich denn hungrig und durstig zurückgehen, dazu auch schwer tragen” (40). The second occasion leads to even more distress as he is directly refused entry to any of the local establishments:

Alle mir begegnenden Leute maßen mich mit feindlichen Blicken, da ich es gewagt hatte, an einem Sonntag auf die Jagd zu gehen. In der Stadt selbst bekam ich die Sittenstrenge der Kolonisten noch empfindlicher zu fühlen: vergebends wanderte ich von Hotel zu Hotel; nirgends wurde mir geöffnet, weil man meine Jagdausrüstung sah; nach dem Gesetze hätte ich als Reisender Anspruch auf Verpflegung gehabt. Ich mußte also mit knurrendem Magen und trockenem Gaumen nach Christchurch heimwandern. (62f.)

In addition to this unwelcome behaviour in the colony, several isolated abodes do not share the same sense of kindness to strangers coming to their door at all hours of the night and morning. In one instance when a woman opens the door to Reischek after a period of knocking, her response suddenly changes upon viewing his attire: “Als sie mich aber bewaffnet sah, hörte sie nicht mehr auf meine Bitte um Nachtquartier, sondern schlug mürrisch und ängstlich die Türe wieder zu” (43). This is followed by his knocking for half an hour at a guesthouse before someone finally opens the door (43).⁴⁴

Reischek distinguishes between the charity of Europeans and that of Maori, although there are similarities between the latter and early Germanic tribes: “Wie bei den alten Germanen wurden für die Gäste – denn auch den Maori galt Gastfreundschaft als heilige Pflicht – Berge von Lebensmitteln aufgehäuft, und die Feste endeten erst, wenn der gastgebende Stamm kahlgefressen war. Oft zogen sie dann, ebenso wie die Germanen, zum Nachbarstamm und feierten dort auf gleiche Weise” (164). As a fine example of European hospitality, his reception at Mason’s station is related as follows:

Von Herrn Mason wurde ich sehr freundlich aufgenommen, ja ich kann sagen, dass ich auf meinen Reisen kein Land gefunden, wo die Gastfreundschaft so glänzend geübt wird, als auf Neu-Seeland von den Farmen und Stationsinhabern. Als ich das Haus betrat, war ich erstaunt, hier mitten in der Wildniss solch elegante Einrichtung zu finden, obwohl nur ein Reitpfad zur nächsten Strasse führt. Noch mehr war ich überrascht, als zu Ehren des wegmüden Wanderers ein förmliches Concert gegeben wurde. Mädchen und Männer, die vorher noch die Kühe gemolken hatten, kamen nun elegant gekleidet herein und spielten Clavier, andere begleiteten ausgezeichnet auf der Violine und

⁴⁴ Cf. 119.

Flöte. Die jüngste Tochter des Farmers sang mit seelenvoller Stimme manch herrliches Lied. Im Fluge vergingen die Stunden, aber ich konnte nicht länger als diese Nacht bei meinem gütigen Gastfreunde bleiben, obschon er und seine Familie mich bestürmten, länger zu verweilen, denn bei einem Wetterumschlage wurde der 50 englische Meilen lange Pfad durch den Urwald unpassierbar und meine Partie ging dann in Brüche.⁴⁵

This is juxtaposed by a scene from a Maori 'pa' the following day, where he is met by two old Maori women:

Doch welch' ein Contrast zwischen gestern und heute. Gestern im Kreise gebildeter Damen und Herren, umgeben von allem Comfort eines englischen Herrensitzes, heute inmitten eines riesigen Urwaldes in einer aus Totararinde und Kiki zusammengefügtten Hütte; die zwei tätowirten Häuptlingsweiber machten in ihrer Weise die Honneurs, halbnackte Kinder, Hunde und Schweine purzelten und sprangen in der Hütte durcheinander. Trotzdem war ich freundlich aufgenommen, und sie reichten mir das Beste, was sie nur auftreiben konnten. Ueberhaupt ist die Gastfreundschaft ein Grundzug der Maori.⁴⁶

In the end, the main difference is the unquestioning nature of Maori generosity at any given opportunity, irrespective of one's gender, race or attire:⁴⁷ "Ich glaube kaum, dass europäische Damen einen landfahrenden Mann in einsamer Wildniss aufgenommen hätten, besonders wenn er so aussah, wie ich. Ein riesiges Bündel auf dem Rücken, über und über mit Koth bespritzt, so dass selbst in die Kniegamaschen von oben der Schmutz hineinrann, war ich gerade kein Adonisbild."⁴⁸ However, he recognises how easily things could soon change, when "Misstrauen in des Wilden Herz eindringt, sobald er mit Händlern in Berührung kommt und von manchen übervortheilt wird".⁴⁹

Reischek cannot speak more highly of the Maori penchant for hospitality when visitors arrive at their village: "Ich war bei vielen solchen Festen willkommener, manchmal allerdings auch unwillkommener Gast. Ich war erstaunt, mit welcher Liebe und mit welchem Fleisse diese

⁴⁵ Andreas Reischek, "Bergfahrten in den Neuseeländischen Alpen: I. Besteigung des Ruapehu", in: *Oesterreichische Touristen Zeitung* 10:4 15 Feb (1890): 38. The explanation given in the final sentence is not, however, revealed in *Sterbende Welt* (301f.; cf. 44f., 47f., 65, 80, 94, 276).

⁴⁶ Reischek, "Bergfahrten in den Neuseeländischen Alpen", 38; cf. *SW*, 302.

⁴⁷ See 39, 78, 86, 98, 180-85, 191, 193f., 197, 202, 206f., 304, 308. That is not to say Maori are never intolerant. In a scene between a Maori and a Chinese man, the former is offended at the latter asking what his 'moko' is, even though he mocked the other's appearance in the first place. Reischek junior then adds: "Sonderbar ist jedenfalls, daß auf der ganzen Erde die Dümmeren (in diesem Falle der Maori) anderer Völker Sitten verlachen und die eigenen für große Tugenden ansehen" (60). In Reischek senior's original diaries, this Maori position toward a Chinese gold-digger is further emphasised when he writes: "Als ich vom Mittagessen nach dem Museum ging sah ich einen Maori u. Kinesen [sic] streiten der maori sagte zu dem Kinesen [sic] du bist kein Bleichgesicht u. auch kein schwarzer Mann, wahrscheinlich stamst [sic] du von Affen und Oposum sie stritten sich noch weiter" (cited in: Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 78).

⁴⁸ In *Sterbende Welt* his early departure is said to be due to a reluctance to partake in another long Maori farewell (303). However, Reischek senior says himself that his reason for departing in the early morning was in fact due to his already having said his goodbyes the night before (Reischek, "Bergfahrten in den Neuseeländischen Alpen", 40).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

Leute arbeiteten, ohne zu murren oder zu zanken.”⁵⁰ Their inherent generosity is so great that large amounts of food are present at all festivities and celebrations: “Die Festlichkeiten dauerten gewöhnlich so lange, bis alle Nahrung aufgezehrt war. Die Gastgeber mussten nach solchen Festen oft längere Zeit hindurch darben, denn ein Maori kann an einem Tage so viel essen, dass ein Europäer vier Tage daran genug hätte.”⁵¹ He is often the recipient of these free Maori meals, which, however, are not always to his liking due to their predilection for half-decayed potatoes and corn and the way in which shark and eel are left to dry in stinking fashion in front of the hut (166f.):⁵² “Sie hatten bestialisch stinkendes Haifischfleisch, eine Maoridelikatesse, Kartoffeln und Honig bereitgestellt; ich begnügte mich aber mit den Zuspeisen” (185). He also recognises an element of compulsion when a meal is prepared for a guest: “Ich mußte mit ihm essen; es wäre die größte Beleidigung, die man einem Maori antun kann, wenn man das angebotene Mahl ablehnen würde” (190). Ultimately, the Maori, it seems, have every reason to be overly generous in serving meals to strangers, as they lead a self-sufficient lifestyle, which in this country has a seemingly endless supply of nature’s provisions: “Was die Nahrungs- und Genußmittel der Maori betrifft, war zur Zeit, als ich auf Neuseeland weilte, fast nirgends Mangel zu bemerken. In den Wäldern lebten zahlreiche verwilderte Rinder, Schweine, Schafe und einheimische Vögel, die Flüsse und das Meer boten reiche Fischbeute, und in den Pflanzungen gediehen viele Getreide- und Gemüsearten” (166).

The various urban and rural settlements across the country are likewise presented in a relatively positive fashion. Christchurch, for example, seems to combine the healthy lifestyle of outdoor recreation with the charms of nature: “Die Stadt besteht vorwiegend aus Holzbauten mit hübschen Vorgärten; breite, mit Baumalleen beplante Straßen durchziehen sie. Am Avonflusse tummelten sich zahlreiche Kanus des Ruderklubs; ich bemerkte auch viel hübsche junge Mädchen unter den Sportsleuten, in eleganter Kleidung mit aufgelösten Haaren, die ihre Schultern umhüllten” (35). The appeal of the city as his adopted home of two years, even though he describes his second abode as “teurer und schlecht” (62), is seen in his return several years later: “Je näher wir Christchurch kamen, desto heftiger schlug mein Herz vor Freude, als wäre ich

⁵⁰ Andreas Reischek, “Die Feste der Maori auf Neuseeland”, in: *Verhandlungen der Zoologisch-Botanische Gesellschaft in Wien* [=VZBGW] 2:1 (1894): 288.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 290.

⁵² According to Te Whitiora, “die Maori hätten in früheren Zeiten, als sie untereinander fast ständig Krieg führten, ihre Pflanzungen vernachlässigt, so daß die Ernte oft verfaulte. Sie waren aber doch gezwungen, davon zu leben, und hatten sich schließlich so an den Geschmack verfaulten Nahrung gewöhnt, daß er ihnen zum Bedürfnis wurde” (167).

auf der Reise in meine Heimat” (247). The only downside is the fear of robbery, which he finds out at the opening of the new museum wing:⁵³

Beim Nachhausegehen sagte mir Haast, er befürchte einen Einbruch, um so mehr, als er vergessen habe, die Konstabler zu verständigen. Ich bot mich an, im Museum Nachtwache zu halten, holte meinen Revolver und begab mich auf den Korridor des Museums, von wo aus ich alle Geräusche hören mußte. Ich war noch keine halbe Stunde gesessen, als ich Tritte und leise Stimmen vernahm. Ich schlich mich zum Seitentor und versuchte, es leise zu öffnen, aber das Schloß knarrte und warnte die Eindringlinge. Als ich in den Garten kam, hörte ich nur noch die Tritte der Davonlaufenden. (37)

Here, the ‘crimeless’ nature of New Zealand society, which Haast previously spoke of in glowing terms, appears to have been replaced several decades later by representatives of the same sinister underbelly of more established European countries. While there is no indication that the colony is now crime-ridden, it does contrast markedly with Haast’s earlier account, which implied there was no need for police in the first place due to the high moral character of the people.⁵⁴

Reischek’s immediate description of Auckland, on the other hand, is much the same as Hochstetter and Haast’s:

Auckland ist eine mächtige Stadt mit 44 000 Einwohnern und großem Hafen, in dem mehrere Flotten bequem ankern können. Der Hafen ist umgeben von vielen Kegeln vulkanischen Ursprungs, auf denen noch Reste einstiger Maorifestungen (Erdwälle und Gräben) sichtbar sind, die, jetzt mit Gras überwachsen, eine friedliche Weide für Pferde, Rinder und Schafe bilden. Einstens wurden dort oben die blutigsten Kämpfe geschlagen und dem wildesten Kannibalismus gefrönt. (79)

However, the growing city soon leaves a big impression on him for all the wrong reasons:

Wir gingen in ein kleines Gasthaus, denn in ein erstklassiges Hotel konnte sich ein armer Naturforscher nicht getrauen, da er seine Pfund Sterlinge für seine Forschungen reichlich gebrauchte. Den Wänden des Zimmers war schon arg mitgespielt, Waschgefäß und Kanne, sowie das andere Geschirr hatten manchen Sturm mitgemacht, wovon ihre abgestoßenen Ränder zeugten. Kaum hatte ich mich schlafen gelegt, hörte ich schwere Schritte sich der Türe nähern. Die Türe wurde aufgestoßen, ein schwerer Körper fiel auf mich. Es war ein Betrunkener, der sich verirrt hatte.⁵⁵

⁵³ King writes in a footnote that Reischek incorrectly implies the museum had opened in June 1877 instead of the new wing (King, *Collector*, 36n). However, it is Priday who is responsible for this confusion (*YIM*, 19). In *Sterbende Welt* it states somewhat ambiguously that he was arranging the displays for the opening of “das ganze neue Museum” (*SW*, 36), whereas no such confusion is made by Reischek senior (Reischek, “Zwölf Jahre auf Neu-Seeland”, 69).

⁵⁴ Cf. 248-50. This contrasts with Reischek’s backpack being made ‘tapu’ in order to protect it from being stolen by curious Maori (157, 183).

⁵⁵ Furthermore, the drinking routine of gold-diggers, it seems, had not changed in the years since Haast first commented on it: “Mir war gar nicht festlich zumute unter diesen Abenteurern, die monatelang fleißig arbeiten und sparen, um dann an einem einzigen Festtag ihr ganzes Geld zu vertrinken. Wenn sie ihren Festrausch ausgeschlafen haben, fängt das Spiel wieder von vorne an: arbeiten, sparen – bis zum nächsten Fest mit seinem großen Rausch!”

Ich entfernte mich, ging auf den Hof hinaus und sah den vielen Ratten zu, die sich dort herumtummelten. Als der Kaffeekoch aufgestanden war, trank ich einen starken schwarzen Kaffee und weckte meinen Freund, der auch nicht hatte schlafen können, da er von den Wanzen arg zerbissen wurde. Wir verließen diese "gastliche" Haus auf Nimmerwiedersehen und gingen in die Hauptstadt, wo ich mir Briefe abholte. (79)

Thus, reality is a little harsher than the images and stereotypes of earlier years suggest. As he himself recognises, he is in a profession that often takes up more time than the typical eight-hour job and relies on the whim of museum curators and private collectors to fund his rather expensive undertakings in the bush, all of which hinges on the quality and quantity of specimens he returns with, often leaving him to survive on the bare minimum and the hospitality of his peers and strangers.

As Reischek departs the country, he refers to it as "eine zweite Heimat" (315). It is therefore not surprising to also find elements of a 'home away from home' in the descriptions of various European settlements he visits.⁵⁶ First to attract his attention is the illusory layout of farms and meadows at Port Chalmers: "Ich hätte mich in die Heimat versetzt gefühlt, wenn nicht die fremdartigen Urwälder und die Papageien auf den Bäumen in diese europäische Landidylle eingefügt gewesen wären" (35). Not long afterwards it is the view of the Canterbury Plains and the endless array of farmland on either side which leaves him with the same feeling:

Diese aus Europa eingewanderten Vogelfremdlinge [Sperlingsschwärme] und die netten, hell angestrichenen Häuser mit ihren luftigen Veranden, von Efeu umrankt, in leuchtendem Blumenschmuck prugend, die Obst- und Gemüsegärten, die gackernden Hühner, die wiehernden Pferde, die blökenden Kälber und Schafe, die Wiesen und Getreidefelder, die munteren blond- und schwarzköpfigen Kinder, die vor den Häusern spielen, zaubern mir meine Heimat vor! – Nur hie und da zerreißt der Anblick eines fremdländischen Vogels, einer Palme oder der Klang einer fremden Sprache den Schleier der Illusion. (42)

When he walks into the township of Kennedy, it is, likewise, as if he had never left his home in Austria:

An den grasreichen Hängen weideten Pferde, Rinder und Schafe. Niedliche Holzhäuschen im Schweizer Style hoben sich von dem dunkeln Hintergrunde der Berge durch ihren weissen Anstrich sehr hübsch ab. Das melodische Läuten der Kuhglocken, die blanken Melkzuber vor den Hütten versetzten mich mit Zauberschlag in meine Heimat, in mein geliebtes, so viele, viele Meilen entferntes Ober-Oesterreich. Aber nur fernab erklang mein heller Juchezer im Echo als Antwort.⁵⁷

(48) Reischek later refers to this as "ihr schwer erworbenes Geld dem Bacchus zu opfern" (Reischek, "Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland", 613).

⁵⁶ See also 33f., 78, 104, 234, 239, 244, 246f., 266, 300.

⁵⁷ Reischek, "Bergfahrten in den Neuseeländischen Alpen", 38; cf. *SW*, 301.

This effect is aided by the fact that the boundary between civilisation and nature is often blurred: “Ich habe kein Land bereist, in dem Kultur und Wildnis so nahe aneinanderstießen wie hier auf Neuseeland” (95).

It is this same theme of the natural environment which preoccupies Reischek throughout the majority of his writings. In order to analyse his perceptions on the subject, it is necessary to first establish Reischek as a conservationist and his role as a collector. His relationship to the New Zealand landscape at first glance is rather ambiguous to say the least. In *Sterbende Welt*, on the one hand, he marvels at the beauty of nature and the tranquillity of its inhabitants, and appears to infrequently comment on the European impact on the environment. Here, the stereotypical anti-European sentiments towards the effects of progress and civilisation on the natural world are present with lines like: “Denn wohin der Europäer kommt, dort stirbt die Natur” (82), “Des Menschen Habgier schändet die großen Tempel der Natur und schafft eine neue Welt der Maschinen und Kasernen” (88) and “[D]er zivilisierte Mensch [ist] das ärgste Ungeziefer dieses Erdballs [...]; wohin er kommt, vernichtet er das wunderbare Gleichgewicht der Natur und ist, soviel er sich auch mit allen Künsten müht, nicht imstande, das Zerstörte zu ersetzen” (110).⁵⁸ However, it is especially tragic when the culprits also turn out to be Maori: “[I]ch war empört, als ich erfuhr, daß sie es waren, die den Wald angezündet hatten” (98).⁵⁹ After all, one feels when reading his accounts that he was only at home when surrounded by unspoilt nature and a rural lifestyle.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Reischek almost seems to have been a collector first and a lover of nature second, as he often showed his appreciation for common, rare or what appeared to be unknown species by shooting them, unless he was given reason not to, such as when he followed the principle not to shoot birds near his hut in isolated locations (271), or when he decided against

⁵⁸ Cf. 81f., 100f., 107, 214, 217.

⁵⁹ See Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 66.

⁶⁰ In his own words: “There is nothing more charming than to wander among the beauties of nature, where human foot has never trodden before and the hand of man has not yet disfigured its pristine grandeur and purity. Sometimes the forces of nature are very harsh, but when overcome they seldom deceive. Nature’s welcome is equally bestowed on everyone, without distinction. In large cities even the air one breathes is foul, without mentioning other grievances. I often wonder why people crowd so together in towns, and very often make themselves and others miserable, and if they make more money there are more temptations, and people spend more. Then the poorer classes are exposed to the fluctuations of employment, which render their means of livelihood precarious. Shifting about is expensive, and their lives are full of anxiety. In the country, if a family begins in ever so small a way, they have a home secured. Nearly all the practical and contented people who have taken up land and take a pleasure in work get on well and are happy. Of course, farming is not always a money making business, but there is not so much anxiety and sorrow in the long run. Wealth is not in all cases productive of happiness, but occupation of time keeps discontent and troubles away. I know many farmers in our highlands who make very little or nothing, but they are happy, live well, and work hard, and are not subject to social restraints” (Reischek, *Caesar*, 38f.).

hunting specimens on account of their bad plumage during that time of the year.⁶¹ In reality, the manner with which he collected rare birds was to first observe them in their behaviour and habits, and record accurate observations about them even before thinking about collecting specimens.⁶² The greatest disgust for contemporary conservationists has been the excessive numbers he collected, especially of rare species, and the lengths he went to, as he seems to have been willing to sacrifice his life, money and own safety to achieve his goal (107). While many opportunistic collectors were motivated by greed, “a few felt that, since all the unique native birds were bound to become extinct anyway, the best thing to do was to ensure that good specimens reached as many museums as possible”.⁶³ Reischek should not automatically be placed in the first category, as Westerskov writes: “Like others of his day (e.g. [Sir Walter Lawry] Buller,⁶⁴ [Thomas Henry] Potts)⁶⁵ Reischek collected, traded, and swapped specimens of birds, rare and common. In that respect he appears no better and no worse than anyone else: collection was in that period the way to learn of species, maybe find new ones.”⁶⁶ However, one clear difference between Reischek and the general collector/taxidermist was the fact that he recorded his observations. Despite various inaccuracies and mistakes due to his lack of formal training and relevant books available to him, Reischek “added materially to the understanding of the distribution of New Zealand birds and to biological facts on the life histories of various species; on nests and eggs, on food and feeding, and on behaviour”.⁶⁷

The prime example given to illustrate his excessive shooting practices is the hihi.⁶⁸ In two letters to the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs from 1922 and 1924, Johannes Andersen⁶⁹ argues that Reischek was “responsible for a very considerable thinning-out of the numbers of our rare birds”, including the shooting of 150 hihi specimens, and it was his assurances that he had “left a few for breeding purposes” which “urged other collectors to try to secure the few before

⁶¹ Reischek, “Letter to Cheeseman, 29 March 1887”, 164.

⁶² Andreas Reischek, “Der Tiora”, in: *Jugendheimat* 11 (1897): 328. For example: “I was so interested in watching this beautiful bird [...] with its quick and graceful movements, that it disappeared before I attempted to use my gun” (Andreas Reischek, “Notes on New Zealand Ornithology: Observations on *Pogonornis cincta* (Dubus); Stitch-Bird (Tiora), in: *TPNZI* 18 (1886): 85).

⁶³ King, *Immigrant Killers*, 78.

⁶⁴ See Ross Galbreath, *Walter Buller: The Reluctant Conservationist*. Wellington: GP Books, 1989; Ross Galbreath, “Buller, Walter Lawry 1838 – 1906: Interpreter, magistrate, ornithologist, lawyer”, in: *DNZB* 1, 53f.

⁶⁵ See Paul Star, “Potts, Thomas Henry 1824 – 1888: Explorer, runholder, conservationist, naturalist”, in: *DNZB* 2, 396f.

⁶⁶ K. E. Westerskov, “Andreas Reischek 1845-1902”, in: *Flying Start*, 192.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁶⁸ Reischek uses the alternative Maori name of ‘tiora’ instead of ‘hihi’.

⁶⁹ See P. J. Gibbons, “Andersen, Johannes Carl 1873 – 1962: Clerk, poet, ethnologist, librarian, editor, historian”, in: *DNZB* 3, 14f.

they became extinct”.⁷⁰ King too gives little insight into Reischek’s views on conservation when he writes: “While it is true that Reischek has to be observed against what were accepted standards at the time, the scale of his shooting and the fact that, for example, he later used kokako for soup tends to diminish the admiration of a twentieth-century observer.”⁷¹ In the case of the hihi, few examples existed at the time in scientific collections around the world or even in New Zealand until Reischek arrived on the scene and collected specimens for local museums and abroad. He reasoned that he would therefore be doing a great service for science if he could find “wenigstens einige Exemplare für wissenschaftliche Sammlungen”.⁷² Even if one reads the explorer’s attitude as hypocritical in light of his actions, a great deal of his views on conservation and the environment appear in his predominantly ornithological contributions from *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* and *Mittheilungen des Ornithologischen Vereines in Wien*, both of which deserve far more emphasis than the odd ‘reconstructed’ reference in *Sterbende Welt*.⁷³ Furthermore, by leaving the comments of Andersen and King as the definitive illustration of Reischek’s views, it implies that he was either alone in such behaviour, which is certainly not the case, or at least stood out in his apparent recklessness. Although irresponsible by today’s standards even if the numbers were in fact closer to 100 than 150, it should be remembered that the population fluctuated throughout the 1880s on Little Barrier Island,⁷⁴ where Reischek collected his samples due to their being extinct on the mainland,⁷⁵ but proceeded to increase in number from the mid-1880s in spite of his actions. Today Little Barrier is New Zealand’s foremost wildlife sanctuary for birds and animals that are at risk or else extinct on the

⁷⁰ Cited in: King, *Collector*, 110, 155. In 1926, however, Andersen cites Buller’s statement that “Reischek and other collectors” were responsible for the estimated 150 specimens, and states that it was Buller’s report that “evidently seemed to do no more than make an opportunity for another collector” to take several more specimens after Reischek had assured his friend that he “did not destroy them all” on Little Barrier (Johannes Andersen, *Bird-Song and New Zealand Song Birds*. Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1926, 141; cf. Walter L. Buller, “Notes and Observations on New Zealand Birds”, in: *TPNZI* 24 (1891): 77f.; Walter L. Buller, “Notes on New Zealand Birds”, in: *TPNZI* 25 (1892): 58).

⁷¹ King, *Collector*, 40. (See K. E. Westerskov, “Reischek’s observations of kokako during his travels in New Zealand, 1877-89”, in: *Forest and Bird* 13:3 (1979): 7-12.)

⁷² Reischek, “Tiora”, 319.

⁷³ See Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists*, 68, 72, 77-81, 89f.

⁷⁴ In *Sterbende Welt* it states his killing of older male birds and feral cats was beneficial for population growth between later expeditions (241). There is no way of knowing for certain whether this was in fact the case, but the distribution of specimens collected during this period suggests there was indeed a difference in population size (Angehr, “A Bird in the Hand”, 306f.).

⁷⁵ The decline in the hihi population is usually attributed to either predation, most likely the black rat, loss of habitat or else avian disease, resulting in their extinction on the mainland in the 1880s, with the last reported sighting in the Tararua Ranges in 1883 (*ibid.*, 301f.). Reischek, in contrast, lists the following possible causes: their being a source of food and an object of hunters, the introduction of dogs, cats, rats and bees, as well as habitat destruction by European settlers (Reischek, “Tiora”, 318f.). As a result, he also feared that the hihi would soon become extinct even on Little Barrier (Reischek, “Ornithologische Beobachtungen aus Neu-Seeland”, in: *MOVW* 9:23 (1885): 211).

mainland, and the hihi population has been estimated as being anywhere between 600 and 6000 following the eradication of feral cats in 1980.⁷⁶ If anything, Reischek's contribution of fifty-one complete kakapo skeletons (one more than the official kakapo population in 1995!)⁷⁷ and four skulls to the Natural History Museum in Vienna alone is a more telling number than his shooting of hihi.⁷⁸ In the end, however, introduced predators and loss of habitat at the hands of European settlers have done far more harm, and continue to do so, than Reischek's gun, which, although it did not help declining populations or even hastened this decline in some species, did not in itself cause any extinctions. The fact of the matter is that even without Reischek's heavy-handed collecting of bird specimens, other hunters and predators would most likely have taken his place before ideas of conservation were acted upon, as the processes of decline had already been set in motion by the arrival of mankind. Thus, it does not excuse his behaviour, but at least places it in perspective.

It will now be shown that Reischek did indeed have strong views on conservation, especially regarding native birdlife, and that he not only continues the conservationist mindset of earlier German naturalists, but surpasses it. During these occasions a clear environmental conscience overrode his vocation as a collector, and he became a strong supporter of the establishment of Little Barrier as a wildlife sanctuary. On 18 October 1886, the same day as the issue of Maori ownership had been settled in favour of the Ngati Wai, Reischek gave a paper during the meeting of the Auckland Institute on the birds of Little Barrier, after which Judge Fenton, who had conducted the winning case, suggested to the members of the society the merits of acquiring the island for the protection and preservation of New Zealand's unique birdlife, including the introduction of kiwi and kakapo to maintain their survival.⁷⁹ Reischek's official

⁷⁶ Department of Conservation (NZ), *Hihi/stitchbird (Notiomystis cincta) Recovery Plan 2004-09*, 2005, 9-12.

⁷⁷ The notoriously slow-breeding kakapo population now numbers eighty-seven on the predator and pest-free Codfish and Chalky Islands (see Mary Cresswell, *Kakapo Recovery Plan 1996-2005*, 1996).

⁷⁸ Ecker Bauernfeind, "Die Collection Reischek (Skelettsammlung)", in: *Kiwis und Vulkane*, 64f. It should be noted, however, that a portion of his collections may have been the remains of live specimens which had died in captivity with skin intact, and others may have been the skeletons of those killed by predators, but whose skins were too damaged to be used. After all, he suggests the additional sending of wine to preserve those that died during their transport, so as not to waste the specimens (Andreas Reischek, "Letter to Thomas Cheeseman, 13 Jan 1887, Bluff", in: Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists*, 162f.). Westerskov also records in 1981 that there are twenty adult kakapo skins, five mounted specimens, two downy chicks and two eggs in the Viennese collection, on top of the nine specimens in Linz (K. E. Westerskov, "Reischek's 1890 Paper on 'The Kakapo (*Stringops habroptilus*) in the Wild and in Captivity'", in: *Notornis* 28:4 (1981): 263). In 1990, however, there are only fifteen kakapo and three eggs (Westerskov, "Reischek's New Zealand Bird Collection", 131).

⁷⁹ Thomas Kirk claimed that he and his fellow scientist, Frederick Wollaston Hutton, first suggested the idea in 1868. Fenton also reportedly brought it up at a meeting of the Auckland Institute in 1875, followed by the politician, Thomas Potts, who endorsed the use of bird sanctuaries on Resolution Island and the islands off the north-east coast

recommendation occurred through his paper entitled “Description of Little Barrier or Hauturu Island, the Birds which Inhabit it, and the Locality as a Protection to them”, which was read to the Auckland Institute on 14 November by Professor Algernon Phillips Withiel Thomas⁸⁰ due to his being away on an expedition.⁸¹ As a result of the island’s natural advantages, with the only drawback being the wild pigs and cats, which, however, could be rectified by “a good marksman with well-trained dogs”, he saw Little Barrier as having a bright future as a sanctuary for New Zealand’s native wildlife:

If the members of this Institute are in favour of obtaining Hauturu Island for preserving and protecting the Native birds, from my knowledge, and after many years studying the habits of New Zealand birds, I could not recommend a more favourable place. It would be of great benefit to science and agriculture to have such a means of preventing the extinction of these remarkable birds, which, as they multiplied, could easily be transferred to the mainland for the purpose of checking the insect pests; and if my aid in the project is of any use, I will be most happy to procure (gratis) live specimens of both sexes of *Apteryx* (kiwi) and *Stringops* (kakapo), if the Committee will provide me with cages and arrange for the transport, before or when I am again on the West Coast, about December next.⁸²

King, to his credit, comments that the move to purchase Little Barrier in 1894 from the local Maori as a bird sanctuary “could have been the end result of Reischek’s earlier submissions”:

When he passed through Wellington in December 1886 to join the *Stella* for his second Fiordland expedition he discussed with Buller and [James] Hector⁸³ the idea of making Little Barrier or Taranga Island into a reserve,⁸⁴ with himself as curator. At the same time he wrote to Cheeseman [on 15 December] and asked him to put such a proposal before the council of the Auckland Institute so that it could be forwarded to Government with the backing of the relevant professional body.⁸⁵

In his letter he outlines his proposal for Little Barrier to become a reserve to protect native birds from poaching and pests on the condition that permission would be granted to the curator for collecting museum specimens in a “controlled and conserving manner”.⁸⁶ With growing support

of the North Island in a paper in 1878, albeit without specifying Little Barrier, although he first mooted the idea in 1872 (Marr et al., *Crown Laws*, 274; Galbreath, *Walter Buller*, 164; Westerskov, “Reischek’s 1890 Paper”, 277).

⁸⁰ See Ross Galbreath, “Thomas, Algernon Phillips Withiel 1857 – 1937: University professor, biologist, educationalist”, in: *DNZB* 2, 536f.

⁸¹ The date for the meeting of the Auckland Institute is incorrectly recorded as 16 December 1886 in a later contribution (Andreas Reischek, “Ein Schongebiet für Neuseelands Vögel”, in: *MOVW* 17:2 (1893): 25).

⁸² Andreas Reischek, “Description of Little Barrier or Hauturu Island, the Birds which Inhabit it, and the Locality as a Protection to them”, in: *TPNZI* 19 (1886): 184.

⁸³ See R. K. Dell, “Hector, James 1834 – 1907: Geologist, explorer, administrator”, in: *DNZB* 1, 183f.

⁸⁴ Reischek mentions on several occasions Taranga (or Hen) Island as an option in the meantime until Little Barrier has been made predator-free (Reischek, “Letter to Cheeseman, 13 Jan 1887”, 162).

⁸⁵ King, *Collector*, 121.

⁸⁶ King refers to this as an “attempt to secure employment and income” (ibid., 121). However, it is already clear that Reischek was willing to collect live specimens for free even if he succeeded in nothing more. In his proposal he

among New Zealand Institute members and the lobbying of such figures as Thomas Cheeseman⁸⁷ and Algernon Thomas, it was ultimately Lord William Onslow's⁸⁸ memorandum, which had been drafted by Buller in December 1891,⁸⁹ for the protection of native wildlife and the implementation of bird sanctuaries on offshore islands that paved the way for the acquisition of Little Barrier in October 1894 after the proclamation came into effect on 23 February 1892.⁹⁰

At first glance, the local chief, Wiremu or Rini Tenetahi, a “schon etwas civilisierte[r] Maorihäuptling” in European attire who Reischek first met in Auckland transporting firewood from the island,⁹¹ and his village on Hauturu appear to be anything but a hindrance to the idea of turning the island into a bird sanctuary. The practice of conservation is clearly visible, as their leader does not allow birds to be shot without his permission nor does he permit cats or bees on the island, and kills any that are found in order to protect the birds (although, considering the number of specimens Reischek presumably collected and the manner in which he would have had to transport them sometimes under the observation of Tenetahi, he appears to have lifted the ban for the Austrian).⁹² Away from the evils of civilisation and nestled in “Gottes wunderbarer

emphasises, first of all, the importance of acting quickly, as “you might have not [sic] again a chance to get so easy [sic] live specimens”, and secondly, his recommendation that “you would have to get a man who understands the habits sexes and age of the Birds of New Zealand to procure jung [sic] healthy unheard [sic] specimens nothing would please me more if I could serve you in this good purpose to procure [for] you live specimens gratis and take care that they are properly shipped and supplied with food &c” (Andreas Reischek, “Letter to the President and Committee of the Auckland Institute, 15 Dec 1886, Wellington”, in: Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists*, 161f.).

⁸⁷ See Jeanne H. Goulding, “Cheeseman, Thomas Frederick 1845 – 1923: Botanist, museum director, teacher”, in: *DNZB* 3, 95f.

⁸⁸ See Ross Galbreath, “Onslow, William Hillier 1853 – 1911: Politician, colonial governor”, in: *DNZB* 2, 365f.

⁸⁹ Reischek, meanwhile, notes in 1891 that Buller had been trying to persuade the Government to transplant rare and endangered birds and plants onto an uninhabited island for protection, but at that stage had not succeeded (Andreas Reischek, “Die Fauna Neuseelands und der Einfluss der Civilisation auf ihr rasches Verschwinden”, in: *Sitzungsberichte: Kaiserliche und Königliche Zoologisch-Botanische Gesellschaft in Wien* 41 (1891): 8).

⁹⁰ Marr et al., *Crown Laws*, 274f.; Galbreath, *Walter Buller*, 164f., 176-92. The acquisition of Little Barrier, however, was not an easy matter. Even though the Government had first been interested in the island for defence purposes in 1878 and the issue of ownership had been settled in 1886, it finally took the passing of the Little Barrier Island Purchase Act in 1894 to resolve previous Ngati Wai refusal to accept the Government's offers and for the island to become Crown land under the urgency of ‘compulsory purchase’. This came on the heels of the Auckland Institute and others urging the Government to purchase the island as soon as possible due to the growing deforestation of certain areas on the island. When an attempt at evicting the twenty-four Maori who resided there failed the following year, they had to be forcibly removed in January 1896 by a bailiff and soldiers. In 1897 R. H. Shakespear became the first official caretaker (Marr et al., *Crown Laws*, 271-78; Angela Ballara, “Tenetahi, Rahui Te Kiri ? – 1913: Ngati Wai and Ngati Whatua woman of mana, ship owner, land claimant; Tenetahi, Wiremu Te Heru fl. 1860 – 1902: Ngati Wai; ship owner, trader, land claimant”, in: *DNZB* 2, 533f.; Ronald Cometti, *Little Barrier Island: New Zealand's Foremost Wildlife Sanctuary*. Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986, 18f.; W. M. Hamilton, “History”, in: *Little Barrier Island (Hauturu)*. Ed. W. M. Hamilton. 2nd Ed. Wellington: Government Printer, 1961, 18-30).

⁹¹ Reischek, “Tiora”, 320.

⁹² Reischek, “Klein-Barrier-Eiland”, 83.

Mantel Natur” (110), the Maori live in peace and harmony, and look as if they have been left untainted by greed and laziness:

[S]ie sind fleissig und gastfreundlich und bauen Kumara, Kartoffeln, Melonen, Kürbisse, Kraut und diverse Früchte. Auch haben sie Rinder, welche sich von wilden Grase und Karuka-Blättern nähren, und sehr fett sind. Im Walde wimmelt es von verwilderten Schweinen; auch nähren sich die Eingebornen von Vögeln und Fischen. Sie schlagen Feuer-Holz und graben Kauri-Harz, welches ziemlich häufig ist und kaufen sich dafür Nahrung, Kleidung etc.⁹³

In general, thick bush and a plentiful array of birdlife, which contrasts in variety with those on the mainland, dominate the landscape, except around cultivated areas and places used for firewood.⁹⁴ However, this picture of peaceful trade soon changed as the price of progress took its toll on the surroundings. By March 1892 kauri logs were regularly being transported to Auckland sawmills on Tenetahi’s personal ship after signing a lucrative agreement with the timber merchant, S. Welton Browne, for the sale of the existing kauri on Little Barrier over the next five years in the form of large-scale logging until an injunction was made by the Government before the end of the year, whereupon Tenetahi temporarily took over the logging with the aid of European and Maori workers. This resulted in a third of the bird habitat reportedly being destroyed within the space of a few years (even though one of the primary motivations for the deal was to pay his outstanding legal fees), which only provided further incentive for the Government to buy the island sooner, rather than later.⁹⁵

The Hauturu reserve proposal was not just an isolated case of conservation on Reischek’s part. He made a number of attempts to capture live specimens of New Zealand’s rare and unique avifauna, many of which were destined for Little Barrier.⁹⁶ However, his numerous efforts in bird conservation, it seems, failed. Reischek made his intentions of bringing live kiwi and kakapo, if possible, back to Vienna early on in a letter dated 20 July 1877, in which he comments on the live male kiwi he had acquired from Hokitika.⁹⁷ On 18 October he again reports his hope at bringing home the two live kakapo he had captured, as they were only about a year old. He also mentions Caesar had come back with two further live specimens of half-grown weka.⁹⁸ During his time in Christchurch he had further live kakapo placed in the large cages of the acclimatisation society

⁹³ Ibid., 82.

⁹⁴ Interestingly, there is a kauri tree on the southern side of Little Barrier with Reischek’s carved initials, the year 1882, and “what appear to be Masonic symbols” carved on it (Cometti, *Little Barrier Island*, 18).

⁹⁵ Marr et al., *Crown Laws*, 274f., 313f.; Cometti, *Little Barrier Island*, 130.

⁹⁶ See 199, 217, 270f., 273.

⁹⁷ Andreas Reischek, “Ein gefangener Kiwi (*Apteryx Owenii*, Gould)”, in: *MOVW* 1:10 (1877): 71.

⁹⁸ Andreas Reischek “Kakapos oder Nachtpapageien (*Strigops habroptilus*) in der Gefangenschaft”, in: *MOVW* 2:1 (1878): 11.

until, however, the “rats killed them, and ate the half of one away”.⁹⁹ On one occasion in 1884 he recalls his attempt at taking several specimens from Dusky Sound in a roomy cage with a darkened sleeping box, but his efforts are again thwarted, this time by the actions of a curious onlooker on the *Stella* leaving the cage door open and allowing them to escape. Despite the crew trying to recapture the birds, they climb to the top of the rigging and plunge to their death in the sea.¹⁰⁰ In another instance following the suggestion of Little Barrier becoming a reserve, Reischek sets off again into the Sounds in 1887 in order to collect live kiwi and kakapo. However, when he places several male and female specimens together in a cage, to his horror he finds the next morning that all the females have been killed by the males. On his second attempt he loses another five overnight. On his third he collects sixteen kakapo only to have rats sneak into the cage and kill two and wound at least one other “by biting their throats and eating parts of their heads off”.¹⁰¹ As a result, he ships the remaining kakapo in separate cages from Chalky Sound to Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum, with the idea of having replacement cages sent back for the next shipment. In the meantime he traps more live specimens of both in a pit while he waits for the cages, albeit small ones as the larger cages he had ordered in Dunedin could not be made in time.¹⁰² However, after a number of weeks he decides to let them go as there is no sign of the transport. As it happens, the boat had been caught in a storm and all the birds had died.¹⁰³ Reischek’s last attempt involved bringing several live specimens, in particular kiwi, kakapo and weka, to Vienna (although this is omitted from Friday’s version), and he did not doubt that he would have succeeded had he used more spacious transport cages on the passenger liner to Europe. However, they were only shipped in small cages and did not survive the long journey, apart from several tuatara (which, however, gradually died in Austria due to the

⁹⁹ Andreas Reischek, “Notes on Rats”, in: *TPNZI* 20 (1887): 126. Rats often proved to be a constant nuisance to his collecting activities. However, as much of his time in Chalky Sound was spent killing rats, it would appear his love of hunting in this instance would be met with more approval today: “It has taken five months’ shooting, poisoning, and trapping before they seemed to lessen at all. Now there are only two, and they are too shrewd to go in the trap, eat poison, or give me a chance to shoot them” (ibid., 126). His adventures were also offset by other natural pests, such as sandflies, fleas, kea and weka (see *SW*, 49-51, 102, 108, 195, 219, 255, 264, 267, 303).

¹⁰⁰ Interestingly, he contradicts this in 1890 when he states the intended destination of the specimens was Europe, and implies that he found they had escaped just prior to departing the country (Andreas Reischek, “Der Kakapo, *Stryngops habroptilus* in seinem Frei- und Gefangenschaftsleben”, in: *MOVW* 14:16/17 (1890): 222). However, in a paper the following year, it states he had merely returned from a day’s excursion in 1884 (Andreas Reischek, “Die flügellosen Vögel”, in: *Jugendheimat* 5 (1891): 173f.). *Sterbende Welt*, likewise, supports the latter, and states that he had also promised several kakapo to Professor Thomas Jeffery Parker (263).

¹⁰¹ Reischek, “Notes on Rats”, 126; Reischek, “Letter to Cheeseman, 29 March 1887”, 163.

¹⁰² Reischek, “Letter to Cheeseman, 29 March 1887”, 163.

¹⁰³ Reischek, “Kakapo”, 222.

unaccustomed climate),¹⁰⁴ some pigeons from the Solomon Islands and one weka, which reportedly later lived in the menagerie in the imperial zoo at Schönbrunn, but was seldom seen due to its secretive lifestyle.¹⁰⁵ It was outcomes like these which led him to comment in 1891 that he had concerns about the prospects of his friend, Buller, succeeding where he had failed.¹⁰⁶ Granted it would have been better if the numbers he collected, in relation to how many he attempted to save, had been reversed or at least if there had been a better balance between the two, this attempt at bird conservation, nevertheless, should not be overlooked or regarded as an example of his being motivated solely by money.

Reischek seems to have also inherited the beliefs of Buller, who was a strong opponent of introducing stoats, ferrets and weasels into the country to combat the growing rabbit problem of the 1870s.¹⁰⁷ In a 1902 editorial of the *Auckland Star* it states: “He tried hard to do lasting good to New Zealand by protesting against the introduction of stoats and weasels. He wrote to the press, and communicated with the Government, pointing out the evils that would result from these pests being let loose in this colony. His efforts were, however, without avail, and the stoats and weasels came to stay.”¹⁰⁸ Reischek gave a paper on the habits and effects of mustelids in *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* in 1885, in which he warned against the stoat in

¹⁰⁴ Andreas Reischek, “Seltsame Kameraden in der Thierwelt”, in: *Jugendheimat* 8 (1894): 264.

¹⁰⁵ Andreas Reischek, “Die nichtfliegenden Vögel Neuseelands”, in: *MOVW* 14:23 (1891): 332f.; Reischek, “Kakapo”, 222; Westerskov, “Reischek’s 1890 Paper”, 274f. In *Sterbende Welt* it states that the live specimens were killed due to seawater getting into their cages through the carelessness of a sailor, leaving only four rare lizards, a weka and several pigeons and ducks (316).

¹⁰⁶ Reischek, “Die nichtfliegenden Vögel Neuseelands”, 332. In comparison, the conservationist, Richard Henry, attempted to transfer between 350 and 400 kakapo to the predator-free Resolution Island from 1894. However, stoats soon swam across from Fiordland and slaughtered them all within the space of six years (Cresswell, *Kakapo Recovery Plan 1996-2005*, 7).

¹⁰⁷ The introduction of animals for food, sport and as reminders of home implemented by the various acclimatisation societies of New Zealand in the latter half of the nineteenth century provided the country with the first intentionally introduced non-endemic pests. However, it was not until the 1870s that one such animal reached plague proportions, namely the rabbit. Rabbits stripped away vegetation and crops from pastureland and competed for food with sheep, leading to their being termed a menace by farmers. In order to contend with the growing rabbit problem farmers demanded the introduction of their natural enemy: stoats, ferrets and weasels. It was reasoned that the multiplying rabbit population was a result of an absence of natural predators. By introducing such animals they could then restore the ‘balance of nature’. Ultimately, economic factors forced the issue, and, in the end, instead of fixing the problem or even replacing it with another, the country ended up with two problems, the second even worse than the first and now numbering in the millions. Today a combined and continual effort from local conservation and wildlife agencies and tens of millions of dollars are required each year to control and rid introduced pests from conservation areas, and ultimately prevent the extinction of native flora and fauna throughout the country and offshore islands. (See King, *Immigrant Killers*, 83-119; Carolyn M. King (ed.), *The Handbook of New Zealand Mammals*. 2nd Ed. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2005, esp. 133-38, 146f., 161-67, 171-73, 176-81, 185f., 189-94, 200-2, 264-67, 284-86, 288f., 293, 296f., 304f., 310-14, 322-24; Gerard Hutching, *The Natural World of New Zealand: An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of New Zealand’s Natural Heritage*. Auckland: Viking, 1998, 82, 116f., 185f., 275f., 280f., 286-88, 329; Marr, *Crown Laws*, 227-57, 413-16.)

¹⁰⁸ *Auckland Star*: editorial 22 May (1902): 4.

particular, which has recently become enemy number one in New Zealand.¹⁰⁹ In his opinion, there was no need to introduce these predators in the first place, as rabbits are “much easier destroyed by shooting, netting, or bagging with ferrets, when the land becomes more closely settled”.¹¹⁰ He gave one last impassioned plea before departing New Zealand to save the country from the plight of these pests:

I protested years ago very strongly against the importation of stoats, weasels and ferrets, and the turning out of cats in this lovely country to destroy rabbits. The result will be, that when all the rabbits, native and imported birds and poultry have disappeared, these vermin will attack the lambs, which are very helpless creatures; and then who is to get rid of these vermin, which multiply very fast in this mild climate, with plenty of food and shelter. It will be impossible to get them out of cover. The rabbits only inhabit the open places, but these animals make their habitations anywhere. They find a shelter in the field, in stone walls and hedges, in hollow trees, in the forest, in houses, barns and stacks. My readers will pardon me for speaking once more on this subject, but I think it my duty to do so. If nature wanted such vermin in this country they would be here, but the greed of man looks often only to the present and takes no account of what the results will be or the harm he will do in the future. When the land is more settled the rabbits will have to disappear. I sincerely hope that my theory about these vermin destroying the lambs in time[s] to come is wrong, but I have strong doubts.¹¹¹

This outcome, however, never came to fruition as the native wildlife is still the target of these predators, more so than the rabbits which spawned their introduction.

Reischek saw himself as a collector of scientific specimens, and distinguished himself from those hunters who made a trade out of killing birds. It is these reckless individuals whom he admonishes for acting in a profit-oriented manner outside the principles of science, sport and sustenance, as a “proper sportsman will not slaughter every creature which comes across his path, as one man did in [the] Waitakerei [sic] Ranges a few years ago during the shooting season, for several years making a trade out of it”:

A friend told me he shot seven hundred birds in one season, which were sent in sacks to town for sale. He went on till the birds got rare, and then he left the district, I suppose, to go on with his work of extermination somewhere else. [...] In some districts the kiwi, kakapo, and other birds are exterminated, and others nearly so. If they had only been used for scientific purposes or true sport, or even as subsistence for a hungry man, we should find them still in every district. The New Zealand birds are naturally tame and slow in their movements; all have not yet learned the danger of the gun, and they are as in former days when the snare and spear only lurked for them and demolished but a small number. They can never stand long against firearms, dogs of itinerant travellers, curs and cats run wild, imported ferrets, stoats, weasels, and innumerable rats which

¹⁰⁹ Andreas Reischek, “Notes on the Habits of the Polecat, Ferret, Mongoose, Stoat, and Weasel”, in: *TPNZI* 18 (1885): 110-12.

¹¹⁰ Andreas Reischek, “Observations on the Habits of New Zealand Birds, their Usefulness or Destructiveness to the Country”, in: *TPNZI* 18 (1885): 104.

¹¹¹ Reischek, *Caesar*, 31.

watch them day and night, destroying their eggs and their young. The birds that are not destroyed leave their beloved habitats in despair and seek those beautiful and secluded wilds away from their enemies, where nature receives them smiling, and they can make a fresh home until so-called civilisation exterminates them, when kiwi and kakapo will be a thing of the past, like the moa and others.¹¹²

Interestingly, however, the above statement reveals a degree of naivety in his belief that true ‘scientific’ collectors of specimens and game hunters could not have had a significant impact on the depopulation of species, especially when the main targets were the ones usually nearing extinction in the first place.¹¹³ This is even more surprising when one considers that it must surely have dawned on him that his own collecting of rare and endangered birds would also have done little to prevent their extinction, especially after discarding unsuitable victims when in search for the perfect specimen due to his own shooting, irretrievability or predation.

His position on bird collecting is therefore based on the premise that he is serving science, and anything to the contrary is damaging to the environment and reckless. He believed useful birds should be “protected, except for scientific purposes”,¹¹⁴ and disapproved of the increasing number of tourists who every year ventured into the domain of the kiwi and kakapo, only to cause these populations to rapidly decline “ohne dass damit der Wissenschaft gedient ist”.¹¹⁵ Instead, he argues, museums provide an environment of “instruction, free to public inspection”, in which both local and foreign, rare and common specimens are on display without the need to “molest” these birds.¹¹⁶ And he warns that the time is near when “diese interessanten Thiere nur mehr in den Museen zu finden sein werden und der schrille Pfiff des Kiwi, das Gekrächze der Kakapo und der melancholische Ruf der Weka durch die nächtliche Stille der neuseeländischen Urwälder nicht mehr ertönen wird”.¹¹⁷ While today’s critics may point to his excessive shooting practices and label him as one of the worst offenders, apart from a ‘quasi-official’ group of scenery preservation societies and nature lovers, who, nevertheless, included prominent figures from

¹¹² Ibid., 56f.; cf. Reischek, “Fauna Neuseelands”, 4-7.

¹¹³ “The impact of the collectors on bird populations was probably not great for most species; loss of habitat in the progress of colonisation must have been a more significant factor than the loss of birds taken by collectors. However, the collectors were not like other predators; they concentrated on the rare and unusual species – those with the highest market value. Species nearing extinction were most valuable of all and hence the most rigorously hunted. Where a species was known to survive only in a restricted area such as an island, the collector’s task became easier and his destructive effect all the greater” (Ross Galbreath, “The 19th-Century Bird Collectors”, in: *A Flying Start*, 128f.).

¹¹⁴ Reischek, “Habits of New Zealand Birds”, 101f.

¹¹⁵ Reischek, “Fauna Neuseelands”, 6.

¹¹⁶ Reischek, “Habits of New Zealand Birds”, 101.

¹¹⁷ Reischek, “Fauna Neuseelands”, 7.

public, business and scientific life,¹¹⁸ the country as a whole had not yet played a significant role in conservation practices, nor were its people concerned in the same way about the state of the environment as the ‘Green Kiwi’ is today:¹¹⁹

I feel sorry that in this colony there is not more interest taken in nature and its resources; I do not mean that people should follow it as a pursuit, but more as a recreation, in leisure time. Through the extermination of forests, birds are forced to disappear; and it is a waste of timber, where the soil is too poor for agriculture and pasture, to burn and destroy the young trees for the purpose of getting a few large ones, or kauri gum, all of which might be secured without this wanton destruction, and thus save the bush and its useful inhabitants, of which we could learn a great deal by observation.

In conclusion, I should respectively urge the necessity of effort to preserve the useful birds of New Zealand, which are of so much importance to the colony; and if this paper is the means of inducing anyone to interest himself in that direction, I shall be well pleased.¹²⁰

These sentiments appear all the more serious when one considers his observations after numerous years exploring near uninhabited wilderness, where native birds once lived in greater numbers, only to find several years later on his second visit that more birds had disappeared, and others had become rare due to the destruction brought by the arrival of new colonists, leaving the country in the process with an unwanted distinction: “[I]n keinem Lande, das ich bereiste, sah ich die Vögel so schnell verschwinden, wie in Neu-Seeland.”¹²¹

His most important paper on the state of New Zealand’s environment appeared in 1891 under the title “Die Fauna Neuseelands und der Einfluss der Civilisation auf ihr rasches Verschwinden”, in which he bemoans not only the introduction of introduced pests (and foreign birds for that matter) and the careless and needless felling of forests at the hands of new immigrants, but also the use of native birds as a food source by many colonists and Maori:

So wie sich die von Europa importirten Vögel vermehren, besonders die Spatzen [...], so vermindern sich die einheimischen Vögel, welche dem Vordringen der Cultur nicht gewachsen sind.

Mit jedem Schiffe kommen neue Ansiedler, ein Stück Urwald nach dem andern wird geschlagen, sogar der mächtigste Baum muss sich vor der Axt beugen. Wird zum Beispiel heuer ein Stück Wald geschlagen, so bleiben die Bäume liegen und trocken bis zum nächsten Hochsommer, dann werden sie an einem windigen Tage angezündet, das Feuer greift rasch um sich, erfasst auch oft den stehenden Wald und brennt so Tage lang, gerade in der Brutzeit der

¹¹⁸ See Marr et al., *Crown Laws*, 259-90, 416-20.

¹¹⁹ Reischek, for example, put his conservation failures in part down to a necessary reliance on others: “I am sorry I did not succeed in all I intended to do for this institution re live birds I did all I could to make it a success but having to depend also on other people who did not take the same interest in the matter unabled [sic] my success” (Andreas Reischek, “Letter to the Council of the Auckland Institute, 25 July 1888, Auckland”, in: Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists*, 165).

¹²⁰ Reischek, “Habits of New Zealand Birds”, 104.

¹²¹ Reischek, “Ornithologische Beobachtungen”, 197.

Vögel, welche vernichtet oder verscheucht werden, und von den Waldriesen, wie die Kaurifichte (*Dammara australis*), welche eine Höhe bis zu 200 Fuss und einen Durchmesser bis zu 18 englische Fuss erreicht, bleiben nur die mächtigen Stumpfen als Reste übrig.

Die Sammler, Mineraliensucher, Landmesser etc. leben oft Tage, ja Jahre lang von den Thieren. Ich kannte einen Mineraliensucher, welcher durch sieben Jahre die Westküste der Südinsel erforschte und jeden Tag zwei Kiwi, Kakapo oder Maorihühner als Nahrung benützte. Die Eingeborenen veranstalten grosse Jagden im Spätherbste, wenn die Vögel sehr fett sind, wo sie Kiwi, Kakapo, Weka, Tauben, Tui, Korimako, Parera zu Hunderten fangen und im Fett conserviren, um sie dann nach Belieben zu verzehren und aus den Kiwifedern Festmatten zu machen.¹²² Die verwilderten Schweine und Hunde graben die Kiwi und Kakapo, welche am Tage in Erdhöhlen oder hohlen Bäumen schlafen, aus und verzehren sie oder tödten sie und lassen sie liegen; ich fand oft die Ueberreste. Die Katzen lauern bei Tag und Nacht auf die armen Vögel, welche durch ihre Zutraulichkeit als Beute fallen, und die Wanderratte tritt manchmal zu Tausenden auf, so dass die Wälder und Alpen davon wimmeln; ich fand ihre Fährten über 5000 Fuss über dem Meere und hatte oft einen harten Kampf mit diesen Ratten, damit sie mich nicht aushungerten oder meine Sammlungen vernichteten. Die grössten Feinde der neuseeländischen Vögel sind die von den Europäern importirten Hermeline, Wiesel, Frettchen, welche freigelassen wurden, um Kaninchen zu vertilgen, leider vertilgen sie aber auch die Vögel in ihren letzten Schlupfwinkeln, zwischen den Abhängen, wo der Mensch nicht hingelangen konnte. Diese kleinen Räuber haben schon die Schneegrenze, die Gebirge, welche die West- von der Ostküste scheiden, überschritten, und den letzten Wohnsitz dieser Vögel aufgefunden.¹²³

Despite his efforts and those of the Government and other leading figures, without the proper supervision he saw the indigenous wildlife as still being at the mercy of anyone with a gun: “Ich und andere Naturfreunde gaben uns viele Mühe, diese Thiere vom Aussterben zu retten, so auch die herrlichen Wälder vor Vernichtung zu bewahren. Die neuseeländische Regierung hat gute Gesetze für Schonzeit, sie macht auch Schutzgebiete, aber hat aus Ersparniss zu wenig Aufsichtspersonal und jedem Burschen ist das Tragen eines Gewehres erlaubt, ohne einen Pass oder eine Jagdkarte zu besitzen.”¹²⁴ In 1893 he then stressed that more should be done in Europe to prevent the disappearance of native wildlife, as an insufficient number of laws, in his opinion, had been put in place to prevent man destroying their habitats, taking their eggs as a delicacy and shooting birds for their feathers. He therefore urged Europe to follow suit in New Zealand’s 1892 proclamation for the protection of local birdlife.¹²⁵ Thus, the conflicting principles of collecting and conservation enabled Reischek to offer a uniquely Germanic perspective which stands in the face of his many criticisms.

Reischek’s attitude towards the Maori, on the other hand, has been dismissed by King as deceitful at best. The most controversial aspect of this relationship is contained within the seeming

¹²² Cf. Reischek, *Caesar*, 56.

¹²³ Reischek, “Fauna Neuseelands”, 7f.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹²⁵ Reischek, “Schongebiet für Neuseelands Vögel”, 23.

duplicity of his actions when in the presence of Maori, as opposed to his collecting habits when unaccompanied. King makes much out of this set of contrasting images to reveal Reischek's supposedly immoral behaviour and falseness. However, as his interpretation relies on the image of Reischek as a self-centred and unscrupulous character who only wanted to make a name for himself and wealth to boot, rather than a self-styled 'man of science' who intended to portray Maori culture as completely as possible in his collection intended for Hochstetter, which he had hoped to sell to the Natural History Museum in Vienna upon his return,¹²⁶ not enough has been done to give balance to this argument.¹²⁷ Kolig rightly puts more emphasis on the unbridled scientific ethos of the nineteenth century, which was part and parcel of the 'superior' European mentality, whereby indigenous concerns were superseded by the wishes of museum curators and the like who would pay good money to possess rare and unique specimens for their collections, especially those from a culture nearing extinction, which could then be proudly displayed for European eyes; and Hochstetter and Reischek knew only too well the importance of such a task:

The starkly pessimistic views of the foremost Austrian authority provided the powerful ideological matrix on which Reischek's own views must have formed. In the case of disappearing species, science assumed the duty to preserve their images for posterity. The vanishing present, one thought, could be frozen for the benefit of future generations, in glass cabinets, between the pages of folio volumes, and in the form of dead and stuffed skins. Written texts, pictures, and bones would provide mankind with a lasting record of these unfortunate victims of evolution. Similarly, the Maori culture, if not the Maori themselves, must die out, so it was believed, and should be preserved in museums at any cost – even, and this is the crux of the matter, if this had to be achieved in violation of Maori laws and beliefs. For these laws themselves are of no lasting relevance and subject to the relentless greater law of evolution. Because the Maori were by and large ignorant of their impending fate, it was left to science to assemble a neat record of their culture to be gazed at with wonder and admiration in the future. Accomplishing this task was considered by the scientist a responsibility larger than any obligation to honor the customs of the vanishing "savages." To ignore their protests and to override their quaint taboos was no more than an act of scientific duty.¹²⁸

Reischek therefore saw it as his responsibility to obtain, or rather 'save', these rare treasures at all costs not only for his patron and Austrian science, but also before they were lost forever or only

¹²⁶ Reischek refers to his time in New Zealand as "die besten Mannesjahre, ferne von der Heimat, [wo ich] im rastlosen, aufreibenden Dienste der Naturforschung zugebracht, um meinem Vaterlande eine Sammlung zu erringen, die so vollständig nicht mehr zusammengebracht werden kann und sich neben alle Sammlungen dieser Art stellen darf, getreu dem Wunsche meines leider verstorbenen, unvergesslichen Freundes und Gönners, des Herrn Hofrathes Ferdinand v. Hochstetter" (Reischek, "Bergfahrten in den Neuseeländischen Alpen", 51f.).

¹²⁷ King even comes to the absurd conclusion, albeit in a footnote, that the fractured skull Reischek receives during an expedition, which later requires several operations to remove all the bone fragments (*SW*, 233), "raises the possibility that some of Reischek's more outlandish and unstable behaviour in later years might to some extent have been the product of brain damage (although there are ample manifestations of such behaviour – albeit milder ones – prior to the accident)" (King, *Collector*, 69n).

¹²⁸ Kolig, "Andreas Reischek and the Maori", 69f.

found their way into private collections that never again saw the light of day, and no ‘superstitious’ protection would prevent him achieving that goal, especially when it came from a people soon facing extinction. This does not, however, excuse his raiding of various shell-middens, deserted ‘pa’ sites and burial sites (57, 80, 89, 96f., 114, 118, 235-37, 239f.). Unfortunately, he was not alone in his search for Maori objects, nor even in his collecting techniques, as can be seen in the many sacred items which mysteriously materialised in private collections and museums around the world. The fact that the Government did not prevent such actions at the time and many local scientists, museum curators, collectors and governmental officials were fully aware of his undertakings, and in various situations also took part in them, further illustrates this nineteenth-century European mindset, which often placed more importance on the acquisition of specimens than on the manner in which they were acquired.¹²⁹

As the prevailing image of Reischek is tied in closely to his perceptions of the Maori, it is essential to first discuss the matter of his actions in *Sterbende Welt*. Granted the nature of the work often causes difficulty in confirming whether details are specifically the work of Reischek senior, rather than his son, there are clear examples where the latter has made his presence felt. From the outset Reischek junior attempts to portray his father as a courageous pioneer who was prepared to take great risks in the name of science.¹³⁰ However, to a New Zealand audience it comes across as a blatant disregard for the Maori concept of ‘tapu’ and objects of religious sensitivity, even though he knew full well of the dangers involved: “[S]ie [halten] diese Plätze tabu [...] und [bestrafen] jeden Frevler mit dem Tode” (81). The most graphic episode takes place in Northland, and reads like a scene straight out of an adventure novel. It is made clear that Reischek is acting alone in his breaking of ‘tapu’ (82f.).¹³¹ Once the target of his curiosity, a dilapidated hut in the deserted Marikura ‘pa’, is in sight and the “Hüter des Heiligtums” (84) have retired to their village, he leaves his hiding-place in order to venture into the “einstige[n] ‘Palast’

¹²⁹ Ibid., 57-61; cf. Kolig, “Collector or Thief”, 138-44.

¹³⁰ See 72, 113f., 233, 255, 285.

¹³¹ Cf. 100, 313. Reischek’s attitude to ‘tapu’ is somewhat ambiguous on several occasions. On the one hand, for example, he recognises the custom of honouring the dead with ‘tapu’, in spite of his apparent indifference when attempting to acquire them: “Es ist anzunehmen, daß zum erstenmal gegenüber Toten der Tabubegriff aufgetaucht ist; die Scheu und der Widerwille vor dem Leichnam haben zweifellos dazu geführt, die Toten als ‘tabu’ zu erklären” (157). Yet, on another occasion he has to be told to wait before receiving a gift which is ‘tapu’, and then proceeds to eagerly cut excess wood from the edges of the sacred carving to the surprise and fear of another, as if he does not entirely understand the concept in the first place (192).

des Königs¹³² Ngapui Tirorau [Ngapuhi Tirarau], eines einst gefürchteten Kannibalen des Nordwairoadistriktes” (84):

Drinne lagen zwei morsche geschnitzte Särge, daneben standen Kisten mit Totengaben: Holzkeulen, Steinäxte, Tukituki [tukutuku] usw. Die Stein- und Holzwerkzeuge nahm ich an mich; dann kroch ich wieder aus der Hütte heraus. Von der Hütte selbst nahm ich den 2½ Meter langen Mittelpfosten (Totara) mit, auf dem eine sehr schöne Tekateka [tekoteko] (geschnitzte Figur) war, die das Porträt des Häuptlings Tirorau [sic] mit allen seinen Tätowierungen darstellte. Vorsichtig schleifte ich den Pfosten bis zum Flusse und sägte dort den Kopf ab, aber so, daß die Sägespäne vom Wasser weggespült wurden und von meiner nächtlichen Arbeit keine Spuren zurückblieben. Dann packte ich den wertvollen Kopf und die Geräte in meinen Rucksack, löschte die Laterne aus und wandte mich heimwärts zur Station. Aber im Dunkel des Dickichts verlor ich die Orientierung; plötzlich fingen Hunde in der Nähe zu bellen an: ich war in der Nähe des Maoridorfes!

Rasch verbarg ich mich im Wald und wartete. Maoristimmen riefen nach den Hunden. Da ich mich mit Cäsar ruhig verhielt, hörten die Hunde wieder zu bellen auf. Nun führte mich mein treuer Cäsar durch den stockfinsternen, sumpfigen Wald zurück, der mit einem Netzwerk mächtiger Baumwurzeln verbarrikadiert war. Ich dachte nicht mehr daran, wie oft ich wohl gefallen und in Wasserlöcher eingesunken war, als ich schließlich gegen Morgen, zerkratzt und mit zerfetzten und durchnässten Kleidern, die Wiesen der Station [John] Wilsons erreichte. Zunächst versteckte ich meine Beute und ging dann ins Haus, wo man schon mit Besorgnis auf mich gewartet hatte. Ich wechselte meine Wäsche, trank einen heißen Tee und begab mich dann zur Ruhe. (84f.)¹³³

Although Reischek is warned the following day by his host that the Maori prophet, Aperahama Taonui,¹³⁴ had been to see him and stated “es werde mir übel ergehen, wenn ich noch einmal in der Nähe des Pah [sic] gesehen werde”, he does not heed his advice: “Ich schenkte der Warnung keine Beachtung und ging fort, um zu jagen und zu sammeln” (85). On his return, he finds the Maori prophet and a chief at the farm:

Die beiden Wilden waren von ausgesucht scheinheiliger Freundlichkeit; sie verlangten mein Gewehr und den Inhalt meiner Tasche zu sehen. Solche Neugierde der Eingeborenen war mir oft schon recht unangenehm geworden, wenn ich Sammelgegenstände bei mir trug, die die Maori nicht sehen durften. Doch diesmal machte ich den beiden gern die Freude.¹³⁵

Ich hatte in den Büschen Giftspinnen, Tausendfüßer und Eidechsen, vor denen die Maori große Angst haben.¹³⁶ Ich öffnete also bereitwillig meine Sammelbüchsen und ließ sie dem Propheten, scheinbar unabsichtlich, vor die Füße fallen. Der lebendige Inhalt kroch dem geheiligten Mann über seine Beine aufwärts. Von Angst und Schrecken gepackt, vergaßen beide ihre würdevolle Haltung; sie nahmen Reißaus, und der Prophet schrie:

¹³² The erroneous reference to the Ngapuhi chief being a king is omitted from Priddy's version (*YIM*, 65).

¹³³ In the first notebook of Reischek senior's original manuscript this scene is not so dramatic (*unpublished manuscript*, I:243-48).

¹³⁴ See Judith Binney, “Taonui, Aperahama ? – 1882: Nga Puhi leader, prophet, historian, teacher, assessor”, in: *DNZB* 2, 500-2.

¹³⁵ This last sentence is missing from the abridged version (*SW* (1927), 45).

¹³⁶ “Wenn eine Eidechse auf einen Maori lospringt und er sie nicht sofort tötet, muß er selber sterben. Dieser Aberglauben, der, wie die Ausgrabungen von Eidechsenknochen auf alten Maorikochplätzen beweisen, sich erst spät entwickelt hat, wirkte in manchen Fällen so suggestiv, daß Maori durch Autosuggestion und aus Angst vor der Eidechse starben” (156). The term “Autosuggestion” is a modern concept which Reischek junior obviously added.

“Er hat den Teufel auf mich losgelassen!”
Von diesem Tag an war ich gefürchtet, und keinem Maori gelüstete mehr nach den Geheimnissen meiner Tasche. (85f.)

Here, the use of “scheinbar unabsichtlich”¹³⁷ does not change the fact that the scene leaves the reader with the impression that it was in fact a deliberate act of cunning in order to hide his looting exploits from the prying eyes of his ‘simple’ would-be accusers.¹³⁸ Surprisingly, the last line is omitted from the English version, yet it is clear these are the comments of Reischek junior, who sought to create a ‘Romantic’ mythos around his father, enabling him to be both ‘feared’ and ‘revered’ by Maori.¹³⁹ In other words, the overly dramatised and adventure-laden narrative, which appears in a bold and blatant manner, is too embellished to be the sole work of Reischek senior. From his 1928 and 1955 efforts Reischek junior can be seen as quite capable of creating scenes which diverge from the facts and bend the truth in order to convey a wider appeal and Romantic touch.¹⁴⁰

It is scenes like this which have led local scholars to chastise Reischek’s behaviour, even though the manner and language of the narrative in both German and English editions cannot be attributed outright to the explorer in question:

When dealing face to face with Maoris he would seek with displays of friendship to jolly them into bartering. Where open dealings failed to secure his objectives, however, he showed no scruples about giving assurances that he had no intention of keeping. He was prepared to lie, to cheat, and to steal under the cover of night; and he had no compunction about playing on Maori fears (of tapu, of night, of guardian spirits) as a cloak for his activities. In addition he frequently found his activities amusing.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Friday translates this instead as “carelessly”, but the same impression of falseness and calculated behaviour remains (*YIM*, 67), as is the case in *Cäsar, der Freund des Neuseelandforschers*, where Reischek junior makes his father’s intentions appear more deliberate by stating: “[E]r kannte nämlich die abergläubische Furcht der Maori vor Spinnen und Eidechsen” (Reischek, Jr., *Cäsar*, 58).

¹³⁸ The same sense of European superiority is seen, for example, in the episode where Reischek is led on a kiwi hunt by Maori guides who then proceed to get lost and very agitated only to have a calm and composed Reischek lead them to safety with his compass, all to the amusement of the King (189).

¹³⁹ Reischek senior’s own description of events in his original manuscript, on the other hand, implies that he opened his bag out of necessity because the Maori wanted to look inside, not because he knew their fear of insects and reptiles or wished to scare them away, and states clearly that they were dropped by accident: “[I]ch offnete [sic] den De[c]kel etwas und liss [ließ] aus Zufall die Büchse auf seine Füße fallen” (*unpublished manuscript*, I:249). Furthermore, the above statement that he was “feared from this day forth” does not appear, only that no-one bothered to look in his bag again (*ibid.*, I:250).

¹⁴⁰ This scene is depicted in varying length in the other versions, although they still convey the same impressions (*SW* (1927), 42-45; *YIM*, 63-67; *Ihaka Reiheke*, 61f.; Reischek, Jr., *Cäsar*, 53-59). However, it is left out altogether in the 1955 account, *Weißer Häuptling der Maori*, presumably due to growing controversy surrounding the ‘Kawhia mummies’.

¹⁴¹ King, *Collector*, 61.

It never occurred to his accusers, however, that the son had not always been faithful to the original diaries or the true spirit of his father, something which was not helped by the lack of information on the diary's construction in the English version and not brought to the New Zealand public's attention, albeit to a small degree, until King's 1981 biography (although even then his use of the English version, in conjunction with his lack of knowledge of German and his being unable to view the original manuscripts, did not aid his interpretation). That is not to say Reischek senior is blameless. Even when one considers the acceptable standards of 'collectors' at the time, there can be no denying the sacred nature of the objects he uncovered from unguarded burial sites and the questionable actions he took 'in the name of science',¹⁴² only the reliability of actual events and the choice of language used cannot all be taken at face value.

It is his actions in obtaining the Hautapu 'mummies', which have most tarnished his reputation in New Zealand.¹⁴³ In this case, the location of the cave and its possible contents came to his attention through Hochstetter, yet there is, in contrast to the previous scene, a distinct lack of details and colourful language in this brief account:

Zwei Maori, die schon europäisch genug waren, um für Geld¹⁴⁴ ihre nationalen und religiösen Prinzipien zu verleugnen, führten mich nachts in eine Höhle bei Kawhia; dort fand ich vier Mumien, von denen zwei tadellos erhalten waren.

Das Unternehmen war sehr gewagt, denn seine Aufdeckung hätte mich unfehlbar das Leben gekostet. In der Nacht wurden die Mumien weiterbefördert, dann gut verborgen; in der nächsten Nacht wurden sie wieder weitergeschleppt, bis ich sie über die Grenze des Maorilandes gebracht hatte. Aber auch da hielt ich sie noch bis zu meiner Abreise vorsichtshalber versteckt. Nun zieren diese beiden Maori-Ahnherren die ethnographische Sammlung des Wiener Naturhistorischen Staatsmuseums. (174f.)¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 130f.

¹⁴³ Reischek's infamous reputation among northern Maori is so poor that the rumour surfaced that Reischek had dug up the grave of the Ngati Hine chief Maihi Paraone Kawiti on the evening of his burial, severed his head and then sent it back to Europe (Maui Dalvanus Prime, "Andreas Reischek", in: *Mokomokai: The Documentary* <<http://www.digitalus.co.nz/mokomokai/areischek.html>>; Michael King, "Michael King", in: *ibid.* <<http://www.digitalus.co.nz/mokomokai/mking.html>>). The unfounded nature of these allegations is seen in the fact that Maihi is reported to have died on 21 May 1889 at Waiomio (Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, "Kawiti, Maihi Paraone 1807 – 1889: Ngati Hine leader", in: *DNZB* 2, 253-55). Reischek had already left the country three months earlier, and had been back in Austria for more than a month before the chief's death.

¹⁴⁴ Priday incorrectly translates 'Geld' as 'gold', instead of 'money' (*YIM*, 215).

¹⁴⁵ In the 1927 version the last five lines have been omitted (*SW* (1927), 82), while the whole section is left out of *Ihaka Reiheke* and *Weißer Häuptling der Maori*. The last line, moreover, is little more than an added remark by Reischek junior. In reality, the two corpses were moved to the Ethnological Museum in 1928, after it had separated from the State Museum of Natural History, but found little interest from the public, and in later years, leading up to 1985, spent most of their time gathering dust than being proudly displayed (Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 106).

The two half-castes who aided Reischek have been identified as John Ormsby and Tommy Green (Te Puaha).¹⁴⁶ However, in a draft of a letter to Hochstetter on 5 January 1883, which appears in his original diaries, Reischek also reveals the involvement of a chief, as well as additional information on his transportation of the corpses:

Die Mumien sind in sitzender Stehlung, ich bewegte 2 half casts und einen Maori chief durch gute Bezahlung mir zu helfen. wir mussten es geheim halten wegen der Eingeborenen und ich hielt es geheim, Sie sind der erste welchen ich meine Forschung veröffentliche, es nahm uns 14 Nächte before ich die Mumien in einem sicheren Ort brachte, leider lit es ein wenig durch Nässe da es die ganze Zeit regnete wo wir auf dem Wege waren und bei Tage mussten wir die Mumien in Sümpfen verbergen um keinen Verdruss zu erwecken, ich präparierte die Mumien, dann samelte ich meine bereits vollständige Sammlung von Maori Waffen, Kleidern, Schnitzereien, Spielzeuge, Nahrungsmittel [...].¹⁴⁷

While it is presumed he also acquired the services of the local chief, Wiremu Kumete Te Whitiara,¹⁴⁸ the unknown chief mentioned above is not the one and the same, as the latter is unnamed and needed to be induced through money to help, which either suggests he was aware of the contents of the two bundles or else was simply reluctant to help him in the first place. King takes the view that the remains of Ngati Te Wehi were of no real concern to local Hauturu people so that the sacrilege was ultimately overlooked,¹⁴⁹ while Aubin believes the bodies were “tapu and greatly respected, but had nothing of the sacred and revered character of the repository of their own dead not too far away” due to the belief that the “tribe exists for the tribe alone, and disrespect shown to the relics of another people was not really the heinous crime it would be considered in the modern concept of one Maori people”.¹⁵⁰

One of the most criticised aspects of Reischek’s perception of the Maori is his portrayal of the King Country, in which Michael King has asserted that the explorer’s observations “are to be distrusted and disregarded almost in their entirety”.¹⁵¹ What has of course been overlooked here is the role of Reischek’s son. As it was Reischek junior’s intention in *Sterbende Welt* to take the reader “immer weiter weg von Europas Zivilisation Schritt für Schritt [...] in die stillen

¹⁴⁶ King, *Collector*, 99f.

¹⁴⁷ Cited in: Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 107.

¹⁴⁸ See King, *Collector*, 70. His name has also been written as Whitiara Te Kumete.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 100f.

¹⁵⁰ Aubin, “The lost mummies of Hautapu”, 25.

¹⁵¹ King, *Collector*, 63.

Geheimnisse einer unberührten Natur!” (22), the ‘Romantic parameters’ are set early on with his undoubtedly inserted comments:¹⁵²

Verschlossen in tiefen Urwäldern, behütet von “Wilden”, die eine weit höhere Kultur und einen weit schärferen Geist besitzen als die Gottähnlichkeitsbonzen der europäischen Zivilisation, leben Märchen, Wunder und Sagen in unbestreitbarer Wirklichkeit. Dem Forscher, dem Gott die Kraft gab, den Traum für wirklicher zu halten als den Tag, tun sich hier vor seinen Augen und Ohren am hellen Tage die Pforten des Traumes auf.

In den grünen Riesendomen, aufgebaut aus turmhohen Säulen der Kaurifichtenstämme, wandeln behäbige Gnomen mit spitzen krummen Nasen, gehüllt in langhaarige Pelzkutten; seltsame Käuze, die in mond hellen Nächten Tänze aufführen und weite Wanderungen durchs Land unternehmen, immer einsam, versunken in die Geheimnisse einer vergangenen Zeit; es sind dies Kiwi (Apteryx), Strauße von der Größe eines Huhnes, die kleinen Verwandten ihrer großen neuseeländischen Ahnen, der riesenhaften Moa (Dinornis). (21f.)

The Maori now appear as ‘guardians of nature’ and the kiwi as a mythical figure from the past in this ‘fairy-tale’ landscape,¹⁵³ both of which still exist in New Zealand’s virgin bush. There are even real life dragons, or tuatara, in isolated locations to complete the picture, although in reality they are little more than “recht harmlose und gutmütige Nachkommen jener vorweltlichen Riesensaurier, die an den vielen Drachensagen aller Völker schuld sind” (22).

The Kingite Maori are, likewise, seen to appear in their “Urzustand”, compared with those in the cities who lead a very European way of life, because “die wenigen Maori, die heute noch auf Neuseeland leben, [...] keine Maori mehr [sind]; es sind durchwegs – dunkelfarbige Europäer!” (152) To Reischek, it would appear as if he has been taken back to a time before European colonisation and civilisation had set foot on this primeval soil and set in motion the gradual deterioration of the ‘Noble Savage’ lifestyle:

Es war mir, als unternehme ich eine Fahrt in eine längst versunkene Vergangenheit. Aus dem Lärm und der banalen Geschäftigkeit der europäischen Stadt entführten mich Urväter des Menschengeschlechts in ein Zeitalter der Rechtlichkeit und der Zusammengehörigkeit mit Gott und Natur. Ehe sich die den Weißen streng verschlossenen Pforten des heiligen Maorilandes vor mir auftaten, ward ich eingeweiht in ihre Lehre.

Ich will deshalb auch den Leser, ehe ich ihn mit mir ins Königsland führe, durch die Vergangenheit, die Weltanschauung und die reine Seele eines Volkes geleiten und als ein Tacitus redivivus die ehernen Gesetze der Natur rechtfertigen und die zerstörende, lebensfeindliche Zivilisation anklagen. (122)

Although the above comments reveal the undoubted influence of Reischek junior, his father makes it clear that he also believed that elsewhere the Maori were becoming more and more

¹⁵² No ‘Noble Savage’ imagery appears in the King Country segment of the second unpublished notebook (*unpublished manuscript*, II:406ff.).

¹⁵³ See also 38, 46.

Europeanised and the rare birdlife was gradually disappearing in the face of European intrusion. It was both these factors which motivated his decision “in das Innere des Landes vorzudringen und die Wildnis aufzusuchen, um die Wilden in ihrem Urzustande studieren, eine ethnographische Sammlung anlegen zu können, seltene Vögel zu erbeuten und deren Lebensweise kennenzulernen”.¹⁵⁴ The notion of ‘savages’ living as ‘savages’, or for that matter Maori living as Maori, in a state beyond the reaches of civilisation had long been a firmly entrenched stereotype in the minds of Europeans. The difference between this philosophical mindset, which emphasises the ‘unchanging’ conditions of the environment, and Reischek’s is that while the text in *Sterbende Welt* conforms more strongly to these parameters, Reischek senior did in fact observe European influences, as is clear from his ethnological collection and also, for instance, in the young men and women he witnessed who had a Maori mother and European father, but were brought up among full-blooded Maori in the King Country and now only spoke Maori.¹⁵⁵ In other words, judging from Reischek senior’s unpublished manuscript, as no definitive account of his King Country travels was ever published, it seems likely that Reischek junior is more responsible for the Romantic turn of phrases¹⁵⁶ and a greater emphasis on the seemingly ‘untouched’ Maori living in this unspoiled “stille Paradies” (212) than his father.¹⁵⁷

The premise is based on two erroneous facts: the first is the claim that Reischek was the first European to enter the King Country (made only by his son),¹⁵⁸ and the second is the general

¹⁵⁴ Reischek, “Zwölf Jahre auf Neu-Seeland”, 71.

¹⁵⁵ Andreas Reischek, “Ueber Neu-Seeland und seine Bewohner”, in: *MAGW* 20 (1890): 96.

¹⁵⁶ Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 12, 68; cf. Roger Paulin, “Die Erfahrung des Fremden: Andreas Reischeks *Sterbende Welt*”, in: *Schnittpunkt Romantik: Text- und Quellenstudien zur Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Eds. Wolfgang Bunzel, Konrad Feilichfeldt and Walter Schmitz. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997, 341-49.

¹⁵⁷ Again King characteristically attributes this to the long list of ‘exaggerations’ by Reischek senior: “He did not want to recognise or record manifestations of Westernisation or technology in Maori life. He wanted to create a strong impression for his European audience and potential buyers of his collection that he had encountered the last of the ‘old-time’, neolithic Maoris, living as they had done for centuries before the coming of the white man to New Zealand” (King, *Collector*, 62f.).

¹⁵⁸ See 147, 190, 202; Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 92. In spite of these assertions, a small number of Europeans did in fact cross the ‘aukati’ line, or boundary, of the King Country, as the bordering settlement of Pirongia served as “a neutral gateway through which people could pass in both directions across an ostensibly closed border” in order to “sell produce and to attend European race meetings, agricultural shows and Maori hui”, while some also lived among Maori kin beyond the border – seven alone in Te Kuiti in 1875 (King, *Collector*, 72f.). Entrance was at first regulated and boundaries were tightened and relaxed as Tawhiao and his council of advisors saw fit throughout its isolation between 1864 and 1883, and those who were allowed to enter were always escorted. Government officials, such as the Native Minister and Premier, were also invited into the territory for official ‘hui’, despite being a safe haven for Maori ‘rebels’ and ‘murderers’, which was worsened by the fact that many Ngati Maniapoto endorsed the killing of unauthorised Europeans, mostly surveyors, who crossed the border (Kirkwood, *Tawhiao*, 71, 121-37; Cowan, *NZ Wars*, II:468-74). Reischek himself states in his unpublished manuscript that he was told by Tawhiao that he was the first white person to be allowed to remain there and explore the territory, not the first or only European to enter: “Du bist der erste [W]eisse dem wir erlauben hier zu bleiben und durch unser Land zu gehen” (*unpublished manuscript*, II:456). While King automatically labels Reischek a liar, several points have been overlooked. For one,

belief that the Maori who inhabit the area remained ‘frozen’ in time and uninfluenced by European customs or culture, something which is frequently contradicted within the text itself (no doubt due to a discrepancy between Reischek senior’s material and the image his son was trying to convey), as even the very notion of a Maori King is European in origin.¹⁵⁹ In his 1890 presentation before the Imperial Royal Geographical Society in Vienna, entitled “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, Reischek senior describes the King Country tribes as being “abgeschlossen von jeder Civilisation”:

Sie erblickten in jedem Europäer einen Feind und nicht ganz ohne Grund. Denn obwohl die neuseeländische Regierung sich immer bemüht hat, gute Gesetze einzuführen, damit die Eingeborenen nicht von geldgierigen Leuten überlistet werden, so konnte sie doch unmöglich jede Ausschreitung verhindern. Es wurde demzufolge auch jeder Weisse, welcher ihre Grenzen überschritt und den Warnungen nicht folgte, getödtet.¹⁶⁰

The respective passage in *Sterbende Welt* does not alter this view (142), yet it goes much further in its generalisations and exaggerations by implying there was no or little contact between Maori and Pakeha even before laying down the boundaries, which in itself is astonishing considering the wars which preceded it.

At the bordering township of Pirongia, Reischek repeatedly assures the local chiefs of his intentions to explore their territory “nur als Forscher, nicht als politischer Spion”: “Es würde mich sehr schmerzen, von dem hochintelligenten Maorivolke, das ich liebte und achtete, zurückgewiesen zu werden” (178). Three days of intense discussions then follow, in which representatives from every tribe form a “Parlament der Eingeborenen” (178). Leading the proceedings is Wahanui Huatare, the ‘ariki’ of Ngati Maniapoto and loyal advisor to King Tawhiao.¹⁶¹ Reischek describes him as “ein alter Krieger, ein Mann von festem Charakter, Mut und gerechter Gesinnung [der] von seinem Volk wie ein Vater verehrt [wurde]” (206). However, it was not always the case that he only enjoyed great respect in Maori circles:

Reischek was at the mercy of a translator, leading to the possibility that he was simply misinformed. Secondly, Tawhiao is clearly not referring to kin or those who were already living there before the borders were closed, and traders did not stay or travel into the heart of the King Country. A third consideration is that he was indeed popularising the event, which is clear to some extent from his manuscript, but regardless of whether he recorded events straight away or at a later date, this does not change the fact that he does not make his son’s claim.

¹⁵⁹ Tawhiao had already visited nearby European settlements, including Raglan, Hamilton, Te Awamutu, Kihikihi, Cambridge, Ngaruawahia and Mercer, and become a frequent visitor of Pirongia (he even invited certain parties to his home) all before his official visit to Auckland in 1882 (Kirkwood, *Tawhiao*, 129, 137f.).

¹⁶⁰ Reischek, “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, 616.

¹⁶¹ See Manuka Henare, “Wahanui Huatare ? – 1897: Ngati Maniapoto leader”, in: *DNZB* 2, 559-61.

Wahanui [...] war in europäischen Schulen erzogen worden und genoß sowohl bei den Maori wie auch bei der Kolonialregierung großes Ansehen. Er bekleidete das Amt eines Maoripastors und Friedensrichters in Ahuahu Kawhia; er hatte die theologische Hochschule bei Auckland besucht und wurde später vom Gouverneur Brown [sic] zum Postmeister in Waikato ernannt. Wegen seiner Geschicklichkeit bei der Schlichtung von Landstreitigkeiten wurde er von Maori und Engländern häufig zu Rate gezogen. (134)

According to Reischek, when Te Whitiara wished to sell some of his land in Kawhia, Wahanui could not reach agreement among the various tribes, and he advised all concerned that the best course of action was to relinquish completely the plan of selling the land, in doing so signalling a change in his neutral standpoint:

Zu diesem entscheidenden Schritt, mit dem er seine bisher bewahrte Neutralität aufgab und sich zum Anwalt der Maoriinteressen machte, wurde er noch dadurch bestimmt, daß früher mehrere Häuptlinge, ohne daß er es verhindern konnte, ihr Land gegen Gewehre und Munition hergegeben hatten, um dann gegen ihre Stammesbrüder Raubkriege zu führen. Er befürchtete überdies, daß infolge dieser fortschreitenden Landenteignungen die Maori rasch aussterben würden. Mit jedem Schiff kamen neue "Pakeha", die Land erwerben wollten, und die unerfahrenen Maori verkauften ihnen für wertloses Zeug, Schnaps, Schmuck, Waffen ihr kostbares Eigentum. In kurzer Zeit waren sie dann dem Hunger preisgegeben. (134)

Most tribes followed his advice, which prepared them for the idea of having a Maori King, who "die Rechte der Maori mit Nachdruck verteidigen und dem Länderverkauf und den ständigen Kriegen der Stämme untereinander Einhalt gebieten konnte" (134). And although he did not initially support the King Movement, this all changed when "die englischen Truppen auf die wehrlosen Maori geschossen [hätten]" (136).

Once Reischek is granted permission on the fourth day to meet the King, albeit under the watchful eye of Wahanui, the exploration of New Zealand's very own 'Eden' is back on the agenda: "Nun lag das Maorikönigsland offen vor mir! Ich durfte die Wunder einer seltsamen alten Rassenkultur erleben und die Geheimnisse einer unberührten Natur und Tierwelt schauen und erforschen!" (180) Upon his arrival, he is met by Tawhiao, the "Herrscher[...] über die wilden Maori",¹⁶² who is surrounded by several hundred "herkulischen Häuptlinge und Krieger" and various females, who "zum Teil von außerordentlicher Schönheit waren und fast europäische Gesichtsformen hatten" (181). Tawhiao is described as "ein kräftiger, energischer Mann mit reich tatauiertem Gesicht [...]. Er trug einen Mantel aus Kiwifedern um die Schultern; seine Haare waren mit Huiafedern, dem Rangzeichen der Häuptlinge, geschmückt, seine Ohren mit Schmuck aus Haifischzähnen und Nephrit behangen. In der Hand trug er eine große, schön geformte

¹⁶² Reischek, "Zwölf Jahre auf Neu-Seeland", 76.

Nephritkeule” (180).¹⁶³ Despite their strict obedience to morality,¹⁶⁴ Tawhiao is reported to have six wives (165), but Reischek only meets two of them.¹⁶⁵ The first is Hera, the paramount wife, who is tattooed around the lip and chin and described as “wohlbeleibt”: “Es fiel mir schwer, ernst zu bleiben, als ich ihr Festkleid sah. Sie war in einen Kalikomantel gehüllt, auf dem sonderbarerweise alle Kartenspiele aufgedruckt waren; ihren Kopfschmuck bildete ein Zylinderhut” (180f.).¹⁶⁶ However, Rangiaho, the “rangzweite Gemahlin des Königs”, provides an “erfreulichen Gegensatz zu dieser tragikomischen Karikatur europäischer Würde [...], deren ebenmäßige Gestalt und hübsches Gesicht in reiner Maorikleidung harmonisch zur Geltung kam” (181). Reischek also comments on the Maori ‘ranking system’, which dictates the responsibilities of a chief’s principal wife:

Die Hauptfrau eines Häuptlings muß von adeliger Geburt sein; nur ihr erstgeborenes Kind erbt den Rang eines Häuptlings, alle ihre andern Kinder und die der übrigen Frauen bleiben gewöhnliche Stammesangehörige. Interessant ist, daß auch einem Mädchen, wenn es das erstgeborene Kind ist, der Häuptlingsrang zufällt.

So wie der Ariki Vater, ist seine Hauptfrau Mutter des Stammes. Ihr Amt ist es, die Mädchen zu erziehen, sie im Mattenflechten, Kochen und allen häuslichen Arbeiten auszubilden und über alle andern Obliegenheiten der Frauen zu wachen. Die rangniedrigeren Frauen haben sie dabei zu unterstützen. (165)

In the same way Dieffenbach portrayed the Romantic picture of equality in Maori society with the notion of ‘noble’ women achieving high-ranking positions, Reischek too sees the role of the head wife as an important one for teaching the fundamentals of Maori domestic life to the females of lesser standing: “Die Mädchen werden so erzogen, dass sie für den Mann sorgen können, wenn sie heiraten. Sie verfertigen nämlich die Kleider, kochen und besorgen mit ihren Untergebenen die Landwirthschaft.”¹⁶⁷ Even women are seen to fight in battle, as is the case with Honana Te

¹⁶³ In Reischek’s 1890 contribution, Tawhiao is described in much the same way, but in a more sedate fashion as “ein alter stattlicher Mann mit schön tätowirtem Gesichte” (Reischek, “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, 616).

¹⁶⁴ Reischek, “Ueber Neu-Seeland und seine Bewohner”, 96.

¹⁶⁵ Only the names of four wives have been recorded: Hera, Rangiaho (Pare Hauraki), Poihaere and Aotea. It should be noted that even though Tawhiao is “noted to have had many women”, these unions were often a strategic act: “Tatau Pounamu was an attempt by two tribes to bind together, and was a conscious move to stop warring parties from unnecessary bloodshed and wanton waste of human life. [...] Except for Hera, the principal wife, the arranged unions were not always for pleasure as sometimes expected. The relationships were really for the benefit of the tribes who would come under the Kingitanga by the said union” (Kirkwood, *Tawhiao*, 180f.). Reischek, in contrast, sees the ‘Hauhau’ practice of polygamy in a different light: “Je mehr Frauen ein Häuptling besitzt, desto reicher ist er” (Reischek, “Ueber Neu-Seeland und seine Bewohner”, 96).

¹⁶⁶ Hera is also described in much the same way as in Reischek’s later contribution, but without the last comment and with feathers in her hair (Reischek, “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, 616) instead of the hat shown in the photo (SW, 152). Importantly, however, there is no reference to Hera being ‘comical-looking’ in the original manuscript (*unpublished manuscript*, II:436f.).

¹⁶⁷ Reischek, “Ueber Neu-Seeland und seine Bewohner”, 96; see also SW, 96, 98, 161, 181f., 195, 308.

Maioha's wife, who is described as "eine[...] schöne[..], große[..] Erscheinung mit tatauierten Lippen und Kinn und Narben im Gesicht und am Körper, die von dem Mute Zeugnis gaben, mit dem sie im Jahr 1864 an der Seite ihres Mannes gegen die Europäer gekämpft hatte" (184).¹⁶⁸

Reischek is soon invited to the King's hut for a feast after being entertained first and foremost by competitive horse-racing, which has become a beloved sport among Maori, as their fighting spirit has now been channelled into competitive sports and sham fights: "Das kriegerische Maorivolk liebte sportliche Spiele; Fechten nach genauem Kommt, Springen, Schwimmen, Rudern und – nach der europäischen Einwanderung als beliebtester Sport Reiten – wurden von Kindheit an mit Eifer gepflegt" (164).¹⁶⁹ After several minor accompanied excursions,¹⁷⁰ Reischek is asked to return to Whatiwhatihoe, and is then led to "ein elegant eingerichtetes Zelt" which has been pitched up near the King's abode:

Ein Pferdewärter war mir zugewiesen, ein Häuptling saß beständig als Ehrenwache – in Wirklichkeit als Beobachter – vor meinem Zelt. Ein anderer Häuptling bereitete für mich die Speisen. Täglich besuchte mich nach ihren Gebeten der König mit seinen Häuptlingen, die ihm als Räte beistanden; oft blieben sie fünf Stunden bei mir, wobei lebhaft debattiert wurde. (186)

When it comes time for the final decision to allow him into their Kingite domain, the Maori are split into two groups, those who are for "die Anbahnung einer friedlichen Verbindung mit den Europäern und für Öffnung der Landesgrenzen" and the stereotypical 'Hauhau' faction who "wollte[...] alle Europäer vertrieben und vernichtet sehen [und] glaubte ihres Sieges gewiß zu sein, da sie durch Gebete und Geheimzeichen den Körper kugelfest machen zu können glaubte" (186).¹⁷¹ Tawhiao is in the former camp,¹⁷² as are the high-ranking chiefs Wahanui, Te Whitiara and Honana, who Reischek befriends and wins over. There is no doubting the sincerity of their friendship, however, which is evident in their letters to him.¹⁷³ As King writes:

¹⁶⁸ Cf. 242.

¹⁶⁹ This love of riding, however, which has led to the horse becoming "das am meisten geschätzte Tier", sometimes brings out the worst in Maori fashion, with one of the male riders reportedly wearing "eine Frauenjacke und als Kopfbedeckung eine Teehaube" (182).

¹⁷⁰ Although Reischek junior does at times misprint dates and put sections together which do not fit chronologically (see Bade, "Andreas Reischek's visit to the Waitakere Ranges", 49-61), the events of this chapter are not so jumbled as King implies (King, *Collector*, 82n) due to Priday incorrectly recording 16 February (*YIM*, 156), instead of the 6th, before the proceeding events of 7 -14 February.

¹⁷¹ Granted there would undoubtedly be many Maori who were against allowing him entry, they would not have been of the radical 'Hauhau' element as he maintains (even though no distinction was generally made by Europeans at the time), especially as the belief in their being bullet-proof did not stand the test of battle in the wars of the 1860s and was not likely to still be present in Kingite circles.

¹⁷² Reischek, for example, emphasises the fact that Tawhiao, in the footsteps of his father, followed the belief "soweit als möglich Blutvergießen zu vermeiden" and imposed this view on his people (139).

¹⁷³ See 163; Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 96f.

He seems to have displayed no inhibitions in the presence of Maoris, and few notions of superiority or patronage. His gregarious good nature (on the occasions when he felt like company), his affectionate terms of address, his philosophical turn of mind, his propensity for singing and playing the mouth organ, the antics of Caesar, the fact that he was Austrian and not English – all these factors tended to dissolve much of the suspicion or hostility that might otherwise have been directed towards him as a stranger.¹⁷⁴

In the following scene he is asked a series of questions by Tawhiao in the form of an interview, whereby these questions appear to act as an important ‘test’, in which one has to answer correctly to be allowed in. However, this conversation in fact took place roughly a month later after he had already been given permission. This scene has therefore been rearranged by Reischek junior to fit a more European-style setting.¹⁷⁵ During the debate, the first question asked by Tawhiao is how Reischek found the Maori as a people, to which he replies: “[I]ch sehe es für ein intelligentes, tapferes Volk an, das leider oft irreführt und betrogen worden sei und jetzt Haß und Mißtrauen gegen alle Europäer hege. Sie sollten aber nicht glauben, daß alle Europäer ihre Feinde seien” (186). He then proceeds to take two kumara with fine skin and several with rougher skin to illustrate his point:

Die mit der feinen Schale sind weicher und haben ein angenehmeres Äußere als die mit der groben, aber das Fleisch der grobschaligen ist besser. So ist es auch bei den Europäern; die einen kommen euch süß entgegen, reden euch ein, sie seien eure Freunde, sie lauern dabei aber nur auf Gewinn und lachen über euch. Die andern, die euch ernst oder gar barsch erscheinen, werden euch nicht hintergehen und sie werden jede Gemeinheit verabscheuen. (186f.)

Given the behaviour he soon shows in the removal of the Hautapu corpses while in the King Country, this comment is extraordinary. It not only implies a seemingly kind and friendly person cannot be honest and loyal in the long run or that an outwardly gruff individual could also be an innately dishonest person, but also that he must see himself as the ‘coarse fellow’, even though his exploits appear to point to the qualities of a ‘sweet-talker’. Thus, in light of his collecting habits the scene gives the appearance of outright deceit and hypocrisy, rather than heartfelt honesty.

The second question he is asked is how he feels about the King’s darker skin and whether he fears the ‘Hauhau’: “Ich sagte ihm, daß ich mein Urteil über einen Menschen nicht nach Rasse und Hautfarbe bildete, sondern nach dem Charakter des Betreffenden, daß ich Sitte und Glauben der Maori achtete und keinen Grund wüßte, weshalb ich vor jemand Furcht haben sollte” (187).

¹⁷⁴ King, *Collector*, 52f.

¹⁷⁵ Permission was given on 14 Feb 1882 shortly after the kiwi hunt (*unpublished manuscript*, II:454), while the conversation occurred after returning from an expedition to Te Kopua on 10 March (*ibid.*, II: 481-84).

In answer to the King's question on why the Maori should have a British Queen instead of their own king, Reischek continues his diplomacy:

Ich erwiderte, daß die Engländer die Rechte der Maori nicht schmälern würden, wenn sie friedlich mit ihnen lebten und nur jene Mörder auslieferten, denen sie jetzt noch Asyl in ihrem Gebiete gewähren.

Tawhiao sagte, er sei zwar zu friedlicher Gemeinschaft bereit, er werde aber die Mörder nicht ausliefern, da sie seine Stammesbrüder seien. Die Weißen seien nach Neuseeland gekommen, ohne daß die Maori sie gerufen hätten. Als sich später die Maori gegen die Ländergier und Herrschsucht der Weißen aufgelehnt hätten, seien sie von den Europäern bekriegt worden. Da diese bessere Waffen gehabt hätten, hätten die Maori naturgemäß unterliegen müssen. Nun gälten sie als die Schuldigen, weil sie die Schwächeren seien. (187)

Following the conversation, Reischek is further observed and treated with every courtesy as an "Ehrengast", albeit confined to his immediate surroundings: "Diese Gefangenschaft war mir nur deshalb peinlich, weil ich keine Beobachtungen aufzeichnen konnte, wollte ich nicht das Mißtrauen der Maori gegen mich wecken. Daß sie mich als Geisel verwenden würden, befürchtete ich weniger, da ich das vornehme Wesen und die Anständigkeit der Maori kannte" (188).¹⁷⁶ King criticises Reischek for implying the whole gathering, horse race and feast were held in his honour, when the contrary is the case, as the 'hui' was primarily set up to resolve the dispute between Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto over recognising Tawhiao's authority and whether to seek land matters out through the Native Land Court:

Rather than offer an account of a major dispute that was to affect the future character of the King Movement, and whose outcome was awaited by the New Zealand Government with some anxiety, Reischek chose instead to speak as if he were stepping back into an exotic past where time and progress were unknown concepts. He was concerned about superficialities, and particularly superficialities that would weave the kind of narrative he wanted to write. Again this was a consequence of his being out of his depth, and a lack of training that would have helped him recognise the significant aspects of what was happening around him. It was probably also an attempt to render the booty of this expedition more attractive and more valuable in the eyes of his European readers.¹⁷⁷

Granted the reliability of any explorer with an insufficient knowledge of Maori must be taken into account, the role of Reischek junior, which again comes to the fore, is, however, no less important. Reischek, for example, states in "Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland" the nature of his nightly discussions with the King and his advisors during his three weeks under observation: "[Z]ur selben Zeit [waren] die Maori gegen die Europäer sehr gereizt [...], weil das Militär den

¹⁷⁶ This statement led Priday to overdramatically label a chapter "A Hostage of King Tawhiao". No mention of "Gefangenschaft" appears in the original manuscript however (*unpublished manuscript*, II: 448f.).

¹⁷⁷ King, *Collector*, 77.

Pah-Pasihaka [Parihaka] in Südwesten belagerte und sie bei dieser Belagerung einen Ueberfall fürchteten, gegen welchem sie sich vorbereiteten.”¹⁷⁸ *Sterbende Welt*’s contribution on the matter, however, gives unequal weighting to the present state of affairs through the assumption that it is their hatred and mistrust of the British which could bring about a new conflict, as the Maori prophet, Te Whiti-o-Rongomai, was at that moment besieged by British troops (193),¹⁷⁹ and that Reischek’s place among the ‘Hauhau’ was therefore a “recht gefährliche” one (187). Despite a fine of £50 for selling Maori weapons and ammunition, “hatten diese doch genug Gewehre, Säbel, Revolver und Fässer voll Pulver; sie hatten auch ihre Officiere und die Mannschaft einexercirt, und ausserdem ist der Maori ein tapferer Kämpfer”.¹⁸⁰ Even aged warriors, he notes, were still in peak physical condition for fighting (206).

The most contentious issue that arises out of Reischek’s perceptions of the Maori is without a doubt his son’s claim (although it is commonly attributed to his father) that the explorer had been adopted as an honorary Maori chief,¹⁸¹ which naturally would have held more weight if he actually had been the first and only European to enter the King Country. Importantly, this statement says as much about Reischek’s image of the Maori as it does about his self-perceptions, or at least his son’s perceptions of his father. Furthermore, the validity of the above assertion must also be taken with a grain of salt, as nineteenth-century Europeans were rather liberal in their claims of Pakeha with Maori chieftainship.¹⁸² Nevertheless, it should not simply be dismissed altogether without viewing the available facts and placing it within the context of nineteenth-century Maori-Pakeha relations. In *Sterbende Welt* the scene unfolds with the surprise of Te Whitiora presenting Reischek with a huia tail on behalf of Tawhiao, “die höchste Auszeichnung, die der König oder Oberhäuptling verleihen kann”:

Sie bedeutet die Verleihung der Häuptlingswürde, die insoweit erblich ist, als sie auf das erstgeborene Kind der Hauptfrau,¹⁸³ gleichgültig, ob Knabe oder Mädchen, übergeht. Sollte mir, nach glücklicher Heimkehr zu meiner lieben Frau, ein Sohn oder Töchterchen beschieden werden, dann wird Österreich um ein Fürstengeschlecht reicher sein!

Der Häuptling hielt folgende Ansprache an mich:

¹⁷⁸ Reischek, “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, 617.

¹⁷⁹ Parihaka had in fact been stormed in November 1881, and Te Whiti and others were arrested without a fight. (See Danny Keenan, “Te Whiti-o-Rongomai III, Erueti ? – 1907: Taranaki leader, prophet” in: *DNZB* 2, 530-32; Kirkwood, *Tawhiao*, 92-99.)

¹⁸⁰ Reischek, “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, 617.

¹⁸¹ See 189f., 316.

¹⁸² Hochstetter, for example, refers to Sir George Grey as having reached the “Rang ihrer höchsten Häuptlinge” (Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 499), and also mentions a William Bailey Baker at the Native Department in Auckland who had been adopted as a chief by the Ngati Kahununu under the name Te Huia (*ibid.*, 522).

¹⁸³ Priday omits reference to the principal wife having to give birth to the first-born child (*YIM*, 163).

“Ich begrüße dich als unsern Freund. Der König sendet dir dies als Zeichen seiner Liebe. Er sah, daß du ein Freund der Maori bist und nicht ihr Gegner, wie er zuerst vermutet hatte. Von heute an kannst du in seinem Lande hingehen, wohin es dir beliebt; wer dich beleidigt, der beleidigt auch mich und den König. Dein Name sei von nun an “Ihaka Reiheke Te Kiwi, Rangotira [sic] [o] Auturia!” (Häuptling Reischek, der Kiwi, Fürst von Österreich.)

Ich dankte für die Ehrung und war sehr froh, daß ich von nun an meine Beobachter los wurde und ungehindert das Königsland durchforschen durfte.

Ich meldete mich beim König, der mich wie einen Bruder empfing. Als ich auch ihm für die Ehrung dankte, sprach er zu mir:

“Wir lieben dich, weil du ein Mann nach unserer Art bist. Wären alle Weißen so wie du, dann hätten wir nie die Keule und die Lanze gegen sie erhoben. Seit zwanzig Jahren haben wir unser letztes Stück Land gänzlich vor den Weißen abgesperrt. Du bist der erste, den wir einließen. Mögen es die Götter geben, daß der Sinn der Weißen sich ändere!” (189f.)¹⁸⁴

Here, Reischek junior would have us believe that his father was not only the first and only person to enter the King Country, but also that he was made an honorary Maori chief, with the belief that it would be “passed down to his son and grandson, both of whom hoped to visit New Zealand and to be honoured as Maori chiefs”.¹⁸⁵ Although King justifiably describes this interpretation as “eccentric”, he attributes its creation to the wrong person, as is the case with many of the inaccuracies and exaggerations in *Sterbende Welt*. When compared with Reischek senior’s unpublished manuscript, his son appears to be the one responsible for the Maori chief reference and hereditary honour, as it appears nowhere in the text. Only the title “Ihaka Raiheke te Kiwi Rangatira te [sic] Auturia” is present.¹⁸⁶

The only Europeans who came close to becoming actual Maori chiefs were the ‘Pakeha Maori’ who arrived in New Zealand before 1840 and adopted Maori customs out of necessity. During these early encounters, Maori distinguished between Europeans of different standings, character and social classes: “Poor Europeans who arrived in New Zealand without material possessions, or degenerate Pakeha Maori without prospects or mana, were termed tutua or nobodies by Maori. Wealthy or influential Europeans who showed respect for Maori customs and

¹⁸⁴ The last six lines have been omitted from the abridged version (*SW* (1927), 92f.). In *Weißer Häuptling der Maori*, however, the enormity of the occasion is exaggerated even further: “So heiße ich also jetzt: Häuptling Reischek der Schnepfenstrauß, Fürst in Österreich! Ja, die Maori sind die Gegenfüßler der Österreicher, sonst könnten sie nicht glauben, daß ich wegen meiner Liebe zu einfachen Menschen und zur Natur unbedingt in meinem eigenen Heimatlande längst ein Fürst sein müßte. Dort wird eine Leistung erst dann anerkannt, wenn man längst verstorben ist, aber hier im Inselreich der Märchen, da gelten der Hund Cäsar und der naturbesessene Einzelgänger Reischek as Heilige, als Zauberer und sogar als Fürsten, die man liebt und verehrt” (Reischek, Jr., *Weißer Häuptling der Maori*, 159). This is soon followed by a ceremony to celebrate the inclusion of Reischek into their tribe: “Heute ist ein festlicher Tag, wie wir ihn in unserem Lande noch nicht erlebt haben. Ein Weißer ist in unseren Stamm aufgenommen und mit der Häuptlingswürde ausgezeichnet worden” (ibid., 161).

¹⁸⁵ King, *Collector*, 80n.

¹⁸⁶ *Unpublished manuscript*, II:455. Reischek junior appears to have also altered the spelling of ‘Raiheke’ to ‘Reiheke’ for the benefit of German-speaking readers so they could see his name more clearly.

acknowledged the authority of the chief were termed Pakeha rangatira or chiefs among the whites.”¹⁸⁷ “Rangatira pakeha”, in contrast, were the “Pakeha who became fluent in Maori and who lived, dressed and fought as Maori. [...] Recognising the extent of their adaptation, their diverse abilities, courage in battle and their marriages to high-born women, the tribes accorded these Pakeha Maori all the status, privileges and responsibilities of indigenous chiefs”.¹⁸⁸ While these so-called “white chiefs” never attained a rank beyond “hapu chief”,¹⁸⁹ leading Pakeha Maori were buried with all the honours of Maori chiefs.¹⁹⁰ Given the different atmosphere in Maori-Pakeha relations during the 1880s, it seems likely that military competence would no longer be a prerequisite, but the belief that one must earn one’s status through proving one’s abilities or lineage is certainly more paramount than merely making a ‘good impression’, as is marrying into a tribe to secure one’s position and continued involvement in tribal affairs. Despite Tawhiao reportedly attempting to acquire the services of the Pakeha Maori, Kimble Bent, who visited Kawhia in 1881, as his interpreter,¹⁹¹ Reischek was in no way groomed to act as mediator for the King’s future pro-European policies. He was not even fluent in Maori, despite what his son claims, but reliant on several interpreters during his time in the King Country, particularly when conversing with important chiefs, including Tawhiao, and recording in-depth ethnographic details about their customs and religion.¹⁹² Even so, the number of items gifted to him, many of which represent the sign of chiefly rank, seem somewhat excessive in light of Reischek’s actual standing.¹⁹³

Much weight has been placed on his receiving of huia tail feathers.¹⁹⁴ Huia feathers were traditionally worn by men or women of rank, whereby the rarer the huia became the higher the

¹⁸⁷ Trevor Bentley, *Pakeha Maori: The extraordinary story of the Europeans who lived as Maori in early New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin, 1999, 164.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 164f.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 96.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 184-86. “Only five foreigners who attained or claimed the rank of rangatira Pakeha in the years before 1840 can be identified by name and just one European is recorded living as a white chief after this date. The pre-1840 rangatira Pakeha were James Caddel, Jem the Tahitian, John Rutherford, Jacky Marmon and Barnet Burns” (*ibid.*, 165).

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁹² Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 107, 144.

¹⁹³ Coincidentally, he returned the favour with little more than trinkets, such as pipes, tobacco, knives, pencils, mirrors, rings, and silver and gold earrings (190).

¹⁹⁴ Commenda, however, who reportedly met Reischek in Vienna, states that the explorer “erlangte [...] sogar das Häuptlingszeichen, bestehend in einer Miniaturkeule aus edlem Nephrit, die er mit demselben Stolze trug wie andere ihm später verliehene Ehrenzeichen” (Commenda, “Nachruf”, 7). Curiously there is no direct reference to the huia tail.

value of its feathers, leading to their often being regarded as ‘tapu’.¹⁹⁵ By means of barter, these feathers spread throughout the greater Maori community. However, as European influences took over, the value of the feather was eroded and Maori of lesser rank also wanted, and ultimately acquired, huia feathers. The increasing interest in the rare huia was also noted by Reischek: “Die Huia (*Heteralocha*) sind schon äusserst selten, und da ihr Wohngebiet sich nur auf wenige Meilen erstreckt und der Huiaschwanz bei den Wilden als Rangzeichen gilt, so wird ihm eifrig nachgestellt, auch von den Europäern, da der Pelz einen guten Preis erzielt.”¹⁹⁶ In the early twentieth century having a huia feather in one’s hatband even peaked as a fashion statement among European men after the Duke of Cornwall and York received this honour from one of his Maori guides during his official visit in 1901 on account of his being a ‘great chief’, in doing so hastening the extinction of the huia six years later.¹⁹⁷ Phillipps writes: “Huia feathers were a sign of the high prestige of the wearer and were reserved for use at special ceremonies. Gradually all Maoris who considered they had any claim to chiefly rank desired at least one feather to wear as occasion demanded.”¹⁹⁸ In Reischek’s case, Tawhiao’s huia tail was presented to him in a ‘Paparaukura’, or ceremonial box, by the King’s advisor¹⁹⁹ and entourage.²⁰⁰ In his original diaries Reischek states the following: “Ein Maori welcher einen Huia Schweif trägt ist der Ariki erste Häuptling des Stammes, oder der König [...]. Es ist die höchste Ehre, was ein Häuptling einen erweisen kann, wenn er einen mit einem Huia Schwanz oder Federn präsentiert wobei er seinen Rang an denjenigen überträgt [D]ieser Schwanz wurde mir im Namen Tawhio [sic] des

¹⁹⁵ The huia was also traditionally viewed as a “bird of omens”, in which a “single feather was worn as a talisman against bad luck” (Murdoch Riley, *Maori Bird Lore: An Introduction*. Paraparaumu: Viking Sevenses NZ, 2001, 106).

¹⁹⁶ Reischek, “Fauna Neuseelands”, 5. Buller, for example, reports in 1888 that a group of eleven Maori had collected a combined haul of 646 huia skins within the space of a month between Manawatu Gorge and Akitio (Buller, *Birds of New Zealand*, vol. 1, 14).

¹⁹⁷ Causes for its extinction have been attributed to excessive hunting and collecting, as well as habitat destruction and predation. (See W. J. Phillipps, *The Book of the Huia*. With a foreword by R. A. Falla. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1963, 37-47; Margaret Orbell, *Birds of Aotearoa: A Natural and Cultural History*. Auckland: Reed, 2003, 56-59; Riley, *Maori Bird Lore*, 102-6; Rod Morris and Hal Smith, *Wild South: Saving New Zealand’s Endangered Birds*. With a foreword by Sir David Attenborough. Auckland: TVNZ in association with Century Hutchinson, 1988, 31-36.)

¹⁹⁸ Phillipps, *Book of the Huia*, 38f.

¹⁹⁹ Reischek incorrectly refers to Te Whitiara as Tawhiao’s uncle.

²⁰⁰ In Maori culture “special boxes, usually elaborately carved, were set apart [...] as repositories for treasured feathers and ornaments to be worn on ceremonial occasions” (Phillipps, *Book of the Huia*, 43). In such situations the term most popularly used for the ceremonial boxes which housed huia tail feathers was “waka huia”. Riley describes one as a “long narrow carved box, which was half-rounded in shape, with a lid fitting neatly on the top, but not having hinges” (Riley, *Maori Bird Lore*, 105). Although there is no mention as to whether the box in question was of the same importance as a ‘waka huia’, the respective scene in *Sterbende Welt*, nevertheless, gives the appearance of a ceremony.

Königs überreicht. Whatiwhatihoe King Country 1882.”²⁰¹ Here, Reischek interprets this gesture as a transferring of status from one Maori chief to another, which, if true, would leave him with the rank of Maori King, or at least an ‘ariki’ of the highest order! However, this is certainly not the case. And although it was not presented to him by Tawhiao in person, he still regards it as the highest honour that can be bestowed on any individual.²⁰² Even so, there is no reason to believe this alleged custom could be appropriate for a European recipient (if it is believed to have existed among Maori in the first place), especially one who had only been with them for a short time, was not actively involved in their community and never would be, and would not be living among them or even in the country beyond seven years’ time (and even then there were many suggestions that his departure would be sooner rather than later).²⁰³

In the end, even if he misunderstood this gesture, it is nowhere made apparent in his own words that he considered himself an honorary Maori chief, let alone that the honour was hereditary. If he had, he would surely have made reference to this in his other papers on the Maori and his excursion into the King Country. However, again this is not the case. In “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, he simply states: “Während dieser drei Wochen gelang es mir nun doch, den König und seine Häuptlinge freundlicher gegen die Europäer zu stimmen. Ein Häuptling überreichte mir vom König einen Huia-Schwanz, die höchste Auszeichnung eines Maori, und ich durfte nun sein Land durchforschen.”²⁰⁴ All that can be read from this statement is that Reischek made a favourable impression to win the trust of Tawhiao and his prominent chiefs, which resulted in the King’s gifting of a huia tail and allowing Reischek to explore his territory. The impression one is therefore left with is that the gesture was viewed more as a symbol of his friendship and a sign of protection and permission, which entitled Reischek to explore the region unhindered, rather than a transfer of rank. Furthermore, the fact that he is given huia feathers on at least four further occasions,²⁰⁵ of which only three are recorded in the text and seemingly without ceremony (190, 206, 208), when the presence of Tawhiao’s would already have been known, suggests this gesture was little more than an offering of a prized possession to an

²⁰¹ Cited in: Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 98.

²⁰² Cf. 219, 304.

²⁰³ Kolig, “Andreas Reischek in Neuseeland”, 51.

²⁰⁴ Reischek, “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, 617.

²⁰⁵ Moschner lists a total of five huia tail feathers in Reischek’s Viennese collection (Nr. 42.482-42.486), one each from Tawhiao, Wahanui, Te Whitiara, Te Rerehau and Honana (Moschner, “Katalog der Neuseeland-Sammlung”, 121f.). However, according to Reischek junior, the private family collection also included “ein schwarzweißer Federstoß vom heiligen Vogel Huja [sic]” (Reischek, Jr., *Cäsar*, 7). King meanwhile refers to a total of eleven tail feathers (King, *Collector*, 88).

honoured guest, as the gift from another branch of the Tainui confederation would seem redundant in the face of the King's endowment if it was meant to bestow actual chieftainship on the explorer; otherwise it would lead to the absurd scenario of his being made a chief no less than five times in potentially five different tribes. In other words, if he was already viewed as a 'great chief',²⁰⁶ and this gesture therefore represented a sign of the rank he had achieved in Maori eyes rather than an elevation in rank, then this presentation would merely act as a token of his standing and friendship. Thus, the likely interpretation is that Reischek received the honour of being treated like a chief, but never actually became one. This honour lasted for the duration of his stay in New Zealand, and was subsequently inflated by his son, following Reischek senior's death, with the romanticised vision of actual chieftainship and an unfounded inclusion of hereditary dimensions, most likely the result of an overactive imagination driven by childhood memories of his father and a distinct lack of knowledge of Maori customs.²⁰⁷

The various factors which led to Reischek's reception and treatment by the King Country Maori will now be explored in order to expel any exaggerations and myths surrounding his apparent 'veneration'. On top of his obvious friendship with the prominent chiefs, Te Whitiara and Honana, and Wahanui's ultimate endorsement, King lists the following reasons for their acceptance of him in their territory:

Reischek was an Austrian and a subject of Emperor Franz-Josef. This was a double advantage. Negatively stated it meant that he was not English, and much of the anti-Pakeha feeling in Waikato and the King Country at the time was in a large measure anti-English rather than anti-European. Stated positively, the older Kingites remembered Hochstetter and the favourable impression he had created; they remembered the Austrian named Strauss who had married a relative of Tawhiao's and lived among Maoris at Whatawhata; and even more graphically, they remembered the visit to Austria of Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe and Te Hemara Rerehau Paraone, the

²⁰⁶ Honana says to Reischek prior to his alleged honour: "Du bist der erste Mann, den ich getragen habe. Ich tat es nur aus Liebe zu dir, denn du bist ein großer Häuptling" (184).

²⁰⁷ It is easy to see how a child of nearly eleven years of age at the time of his father's death could form the mistaken impression that his father was a Maori chief when all he grew up with were constant stories of Reischek senior's adventures in a far-off land on the other side of the world. In his own words: "Zu Hause, in unserem Privatmuseum, wo in großen Vitrinen Hunderte von Tierbälgen, Skeletten, Waffen, Schnitzereien, Mineralien, Spirituspräparaten und Herbarpflanzen aufgestapelt lagen, lernte ich bald auch diese fremde Welt der Südseeinseln Neuseelands so lebendig kennen wie die heimatliche Natur. Mein Vater bediente sich oft der englischen Sprache, wenn er von Neuseeland erzählte. Am tiefsten erregten meine Phantasie die Geräte der Maori. Da gab es ein geheimnisvolles Kästchen, reich geschnitzt, darin ein schwarzweißer Federstoß vom heiligen Vogel Huja [sic], das Zeichen der Häuptlingswürde der Maori, lag. Es war die Insignie, die meinem Vater vom König Tawhiao verliehen worden war, als er ihn zum erblichen Häuptling machte und in den Stamm aufnahm. Über dem kostbaren Kästchen hing ein seidenweicher Mantel, aus den gebleichten Fasern des Lilienflachses geflochten, grüner Schmuck aus dem Halbedelstein Nephrit und eine vielzackige Speerspitze, aus dem Schenkelknochen eines Menschen geschnitzt. – Und ich fühlte in diesem Reiche der Erinnerungen, daß mein Freund und Vater wirklich ein Häuptling, ein Märchenfürst sein mußte" (Reischek, Jr., *Cäsar*, 7; cf. Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 98-100; Kolig, "Andreas Reischek in Neuseeland", 51).

fact that those men had been well treated there, and that they had considered the Austrians the most generous people they had encountered. Archduke Maximilian's gift of the *Hokioi* press was also remembered and appreciated, and it had seemed to put Austria in the category of a Maori ally (however unwitting) during the Waikato war.²⁰⁸

The first point of interest is Te Rerehau's journal, in which he emphasises the "great hospitality" of the Austrian people, especially when it comes to dinner parties: "In this respect I would say they are a very generous people; I thought they would be like the English who are not generous. The warm-heartedness of this people is so very, very great."²⁰⁹ He continues:

They are a very fine people, the best we have encountered in European countries. How excellent are their houses, their food and drink. There were many kindnesses in invitations to go to their houses and have meals prepared for us. There is no rum-taking; we have not seen a single drunk person on the roads, even though we have been living here a full nine months. Nor have we seen any badly behaved person in this country. Indeed, Germany [German Confederation] is the finest country in the world.²¹⁰

No doubt upon their return, these same messages of generosity and orderliness were spread among the people of the Waikato at the same time as the British engaged in military actions with the Taranaki tribes and the King Movement.²¹¹

Furthermore, due to the newly acquired skills of Toetoe and Te Rerehau, who had worked as apprentices in the State Printing House in Vienna under the mentorship of Herr Zimmerl, they were gifted a printing press to bring back to New Zealand. This printing press was used to publish *Te Hokioi (e Rere Atu Na)*, a propagandist Kingite newspaper based in Ngāruawahia between 1861 and 1863 designed to spread Tawhiao's word to his loyal subjects, which incorporated much anti-British sentiment during the Waikato War and whose early issues appeared with the statement "printed with the loving gift of the Emperor of Austria to the Maori people".²¹²

²⁰⁸ King, *Collector*, 79; cf. Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 82-85.

²⁰⁹ "Te Rerehau's Journal", in: Hogan, *Bravo, Neu Zeeland*, 21.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

²¹¹ According to King, Toetoe was said to have even organised a "royal guard" for King Tawhiao in imitation of the Austrian Imperial Guard (King, *Collector*, 28). However, the "very smart young fellow" that John Elsdon Gorst comes across serving as the general of the King's guardroom at Hangatiki in 1862 is most certainly Te Rerehau (Gorst, *Maori King*, 153f.; Hogan, *Bravo, Neu Zeeland*, 96).

²¹² King, *Collector*, 28n. So great was its anti-British standpoint that a rival press called *Te Pihoihoi (Mokemoke)* was set up in February 1863 at Te Awamutu in order to spread the Governor's views through the editorship of John Gorst, the resident magistrate and civil commissioner to the Waikato (M. P. K. Sorrenson, "Gorst, John Eldon 1835 – 1916: Lawyer, teacher, magistrate, civil commissioner, politician, writer", in: *DNZB* 1, 154f.). Scherzer, meanwhile, was dismayed to find the Austrian gift was being used in the King Country to encourage violence against the British: "Den neuesten Nachrichten (Jänner 1864) aus Neuseeland zu Folge, sind die beiden Maori's seit ihrer Rückkehr die entschiedensten Gegner der Engländer und benützen die, ihnen zur Gründung eines friedlichen Erwerbes zum Geschenk gemachten typographischen Utensilien, um fulminante Proklamationen zu drucken und zur Rache und Vernichtung ihrer Feinde, der Engländer, aufzufordern!" (Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:371n). The last issue of *Te Hokioi* was in fact printed in March 1863. No comment is made in the first German edition, but, interestingly, in the

Although it is not certain what specific role Toetoe and Te Rerehau had in establishing and printing the newspaper, it is known that the editor and principal writer was the Ngati Mahuta chief, Patara Te Tuhi, who was the cousin of Potatau and secretary to Tawhiao, while his brother Honana was the compositor.²¹³ It is therefore no surprise that on entering Te Kopua Reischek is introduced first and foremost by Honana as “den großen Rangotira [sic] von Auturia [...], von wo sie den ‘Hokioi’, die Handpresse, bekommen hätten” (184), which seemingly holds as much importance to the local Maori as his friendship with the chief and Tawhiao. The fate of the Maori press is recounted by Reischek as follows: “Als der Maorikrieg gegen die Europäer ausbrach, schrieben sie revolutionäre Artikel gegen diese, und als sich die Maori vor den europäischen Truppen zurückziehen mußten, luden sie die Presse in ein Kanu, um sie über den Waipafluß zu schaffen. Das Kanu klippte um, und die Presse versank” (185). According to Honana, “die mit Flinten bewaffneten Maori hätten in Ermanglung von Schrot zum Schluß mit den noch vorhandenen Lettern auf die Europäer geschossen” (185).²¹⁴

The next important factor to be considered is naturally the Hochstetter connection, which also sheds light on Reischek’s honorary title. Reischek junior translates his father’s title, which should read “Ihaka Raiheke Te Kiwi, Rangatira o Auturia”, as “Häuptling Reischek, der Kiwi, Fürst von Österreich” (189) and later as “Häuptling Reischek der Schnepfenstrauß, Fürst in Österreich”.²¹⁵ While it is generally assumed ‘Ihaka’ is meant as a Maori version of ‘Andreas’ or even mistakenly as a word for ‘chief’, it is in fact Maori for ‘Isaac’.²¹⁶ However, any connection to the biblical figure is unclear. The only conclusions one can make are either he was given a new name (if it could be believed that he had been made a chief in the first place or at least had been adopted into the tribe in some way or even given an honorary title), it contains some unknown meaning, or it was a mistake, as it seems unlikely to simply be a garbled version of his Christian name. And although Hochstetter was likewise given a Maori name, it was not in itself a sign of honorary chieftainship, but, he maintained, an effort to pronounce his European name in Maori

English edition only Toetoe is referred to as being involved in using the printing press for Maori propaganda: “The news we have received of Toetoe since have [sic] been rather distressing. He issues from the press, presented to him at Vienna, stirring publications, comparing the Maories to Pharaoh (?) [sic] and exciting them to declare their independence!” (Scherzer, *Narrative*, III:176). Hochstetter likewise only refers to Toetoe’s involvement with the King Movement (Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 528).

²¹³ See Steven Oliver, “Te Tuhi, Wiremu Patara ? – 1910: Waikato leader, newspaper editor, warrior, secretary to the Maori King”, in: *DNZB* 1, 510f.

²¹⁴ The press was in fact moved to Te Kopua for safeguarding, but left to rust by the Waipa River until discovered in 1935, and now lies in the Te Awamutu Museum (see King, *Collector*, 28, 77f.; see also Hogan, *Bravo, Neu Zeeland*, 92-99; Morrel, *Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe*, 21-24; Fletcher, “From the Waikato to Vienna and Back”, 152f.).

²¹⁵ Reischek, Jr., *Ihaka Reiheke*, 125; *Weißer Häuptling der Maori*, 159.

²¹⁶ Angela Ballara, “Whaanga, Ihaka ? – 1875 Ngati Rakaipaaka leader, assessor, military leader”, in: *DNZB* 1, 584.

fashion.²¹⁷ The last facet of his title is ‘chief of Austria’ (that is an Austrian chief, not a Maori chief in Austria). As it has already been shown, Hochstetter was also regarded as a ‘Pakeha rangatira’, or ‘European chief’, in Maori circles,²¹⁸ as he was accompanied by an entourage of respected chiefs, which provided him with an elevated status due to the pedigree of those guiding him. Notably, he was described by Te Heuheu as an “unabhängige Europäer höheren Ranges”, and was even referred to by one chief as “Häuptling von der andern Seite des Meeres, Besucher vom Himmel”.²¹⁹ In other words, it was an attempt by the local Maori to reciprocate the equivalent social standing of a respected European individual in their own terms, which was also a result of his being Austrian and only a ‘visitor’, together with his generally respectful behaviour towards Maori and their customs, and the respect accorded to him by the New Zealand Government. According to Reischek, Hochstetter was “not alone held in high esteem by Europeans, but also by the Maoris, who have not forgotten him”.²²⁰ This is not surprising when one considers, first of all, that Hochstetter accompanied Toetoe and Te Rerehau on their final trip to Bavaria, Württemberg and London, where they met the Queen in June 1860 prior to their departure for New Zealand,²²¹ and secondly, the fact that he had already visited the home of both

²¹⁷ Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 472. There are several trains of thought when it comes to the association with the kiwi. On the one hand, the obvious conclusion one can make is that it was merely added to give Reischek’s title the appearance of having stronger ties to the world of the Maori. If it is believed, on the other hand, that Reischek was compared to a kiwi by Maori, then it is not an unrealistic premise, as birds were frequently used in Maori culture to convey human likeness in some way, whereby birds assumed human traits and humans assumed bird traits: “[Maori] interpreted the behaviour of birds in human terms, on that basis assigning to each species a particular character and role. Then, when they spoke of human nature and behaviour, they frequently employed metaphors and other usages that likened individuals to appropriate kinds of birds” (Orbell, *Birds of Aotearoa*, 14). The kiwi has two contrasting characteristics: “Though timid by day they are bold and aggressive at night, and they are then capable of running at high speed, crashing through dense undergrowth” (ibid., 28). Furthermore, “a person giving sidelong glances might be said to be acting like a kiwi (whakakiwi)”, in imitation of a kiwi running away and looking back in anticipation of stopping to defend itself (ibid., 30), and the expression “te manu huna a Tane” (the hidden bird of Tane, the god of the forest) could also be “used to describe the return of a long-lost relative, a visitor who arrives at dusk, or a stranger who comes to stand unnoticed like the kiwi” (Riley, *Maori Bird Lore*, 135; cf. 136-39). Interestingly, as the unpublished manuscript reveals, it was after returning from a kiwi hunt, in which he utilised his compass skills to lead his Maori guides back, that he received the kiwi reference. If there is any truth in the title given to Reischek, then perhaps the most appropriate, if not also the most comical, comparison that could be made is between his trademark long beard and the long facial whiskers and shaggy plumage of the kiwi, which resembles hair more than feathers!

²¹⁸ Scherzer (‘Hata’ in Maori) was, likewise, referred to as both chief and leader to Toetoe and Te Rerehau in Vienna, with the title “rangatira o te No(v)ara” (“Te Rerehau’s Journal”, in: Hogan, *Bravo, Neu Zeeland*, 24).

²¹⁹ Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 224, 531.

²²⁰ Reischek, *Caesar*, 19.

²²¹ Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 527-29. There is a lot of confusion as to whether Hochstetter played an integral part in the selection or recommendation of Toetoe and Te Rerehau for the *Novara*’s return journey. Fletcher states: “It was he who had been instrumental in bringing to the Commodore’s attention the ambition of four Maoris and one half-blood of making the voyage to Europe. The Colonial Government exercised a circumspect watching brief and by Tuesday 4 January, the day of embarkation, the number had been whittled down to two” (Fletcher, “From the Waikato to Vienna and Back”, 147). Hogan states Te Rerehau’s descendants believe the two chiefs were chosen

absent chiefs, and met Toetoe's wife and friends at Rangiaowhia during his travels. In this instance, he was met with much interest not only in the form of many questions, but also numerous letters and greetings, and even a photograph to take back with him, before being permitted to visit the then King Potatau at his residence in Ngaruawahia.²²² Thus, the glowing reputation of Hochstetter and the Austrian people in general among the Waikato Maori would have done no end of good to enhance the status of Reischek. As soon as he mentioned that he was Austrian and a friend and colleague of Hochstetter he would have appeared on the same level as his mentor, especially when combined with the favourable stories of the two chiefs from their time with the *Novara* crew and their nine-month stay in Vienna. When the questionable significance of the huia tail is taken out of the equation, Reischek's treatment by certain sections of the King Country Maori is therefore still believable, even accounting for his son's Romanticism. In the end, however, as the general notion of honorary hereditary chieftainship is highly imaginative, it seems likely the significance of the title has again been exaggerated beyond the real honour presented to him in recognition of his being viewed as a 'great chief' in the eyes of the Maori.

because they had "proved friendly and helpful as guides to Hochstetter", as he appears to have been the one responsible for their inclusion on the *Novara*. However, this could only have occurred during his journey to the Drury coalfields between 28 December and 2 January (Hogan, *Bravo, Neu Zeeland*, 16; cf. Morrel, *Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe*, 10; Sauer, "Zwei Maoris in Wien", 58). Reischek also claims Hochstetter invited both chiefs on board (SW, 184, 207). If this was indeed the case it would therefore account for even more gratitude on their behalf. The only reference Hochstetter makes on the subject, however, is a remark that the Commodore invited the two to join the crew (Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 526), as the decision to offer several Maori this opportunity in the first place ultimately rested on him. Scherzer, on the other hand, maintains the expedition parties used every opportunity to inquire for prospective Maori wishing to join their crew for the return journey following the Commodore's decision to take on board "einige schön tätowirte Maori's", but reports none were found in Orakei (Scherzer, *Reise* (1864-66), II:348f.). Although he does not state whether this intention had been made prior to Hochstetter's trip to Drury, which was led first and foremost by Captain Drummond Hay who was familiar with the district, it seems likely that he was aware of the fact, but ultimately makes no mention of this in his account. In the end, it seems, it was the *Novara*'s delayed departure from Auckland which secured the services of Toetoe and Te Rerehau, who had in the last few days stated their interest in joining the crew. Originally four Maori and a half-caste had intended to do so, but only these two remained when the time came to sail on 8 January 1859. It is not stated whether they were previously invited or recommended, nor if any of the interested were in fact part of the entourage of six Maori chiefs who visited the *Novara* with Bishop Pompallier and his vicar-general on New Year's Day. However, we are told the vicar-general made a last minute, albeit wasted, effort to add several Catholic Maori to the crew (ibid., II:369-71). As Sauer notes, there were in fact three names on the official contract dated 7 January 1859, the third name being "Ihaia Pohskala" [sic], in which the ship's diary reports three Maori boarded on 7-8 January, but one disembarked before their departure (Sauer, *Aufenthalt zweier Maoris*, 188f.).

²²² Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 314-18. Hochstetter's reputation may have been great among certain Maori, but the South Island gold-mining capital of Hokitika (hoki = to return, tika = direct, i.e. in a straight line) was not in fact named after 'Hokitata' or 'Hokiteta' (Hochstetter) by West Coast Maori as Reischek junior later claims (Reischek, Jr., *Weißer Häuptling der Maori*, 56, 109f.). This mistake is most likely due to an incorrect rendering of 'Hokitika' by Reischek, which lends itself more to the possibility of being a misspelling of Hokitika (see A. W. Reed, *The Reed Dictionary of New Zealand Place Names*. 3rd Ed. Auckland: Reed, 2002, 206f.).

The best illustration of the great affection shown towards this ‘Austrian chief’, albeit a more believable one, is when Reischek is invited by Te Rerehau, the “treuer Freund Hochstetters” (196) and close relative of Wahanui, to visit his home in Mokau.²²³ However, to get there he would have to travel through the “von den erbittertsten Europäerfeinden bewohnten Gebiete” (196) of the King Country. He is told by the King that it is dangerous and he cannot guarantee his safety, as “viele der Leute aus diesen Gegenden [...] noch nie einen Weißen gesehen [hätten], wohl aber viel Schlechtes über sie gehört” (197). This last point is emphasised during his stay through many being surprised at seeing a European among them (182, 201f.), some of whom are unable to hide their displeasure (193), while others are dumbfounded why Tawhiao would permit him into their territory (202), and in one instance, the Maori are so astonished at seeing his white skin that they “sahen mir bei dem Rockärmel hinein, ob ich auch da weiß sei” (207). While this may be true among some Maori, Reischek senior makes it clear elsewhere that it is the young ones who have never seen a white man before,²²⁴ unlike in *Sterbende Welt*, which seems to stress both the isolated nature of the area and the dangerous inhabitants in the interior who harbour a great hatred towards the British. Certainly most adults would have been involved in the wars, but many of the ‘rebel’ warriors and ‘outlaws’ were made to lay down their arms in return for protection, and many others favoured peace and pacifism. After continued efforts to reach his destination, Reischek witnesses several of these bitter enemies of the British only for the reader to find they are little more than ‘unfriendly’ and ‘suspicious’. These include Winiata, who he claims to have seen often, “aber er verschwand immer gleich, wenn er mich sah” (197), Te Mahuki,²²⁵ who threatens him with words instead of weapons (202), and the infamous Te Kooti, who, although he had not picked up a weapon since 1872 and was pardoned by the Government in 1883, reportedly lives with the “tiefsten Haß gegen alle Europäer”, yet his brethren in Te Kuiti can only manage “sehr unfreundliche Mienen” (205).

Reischek is eventually taken by Te Rerehau’s son to Kuratahi, where his father “nahm mich freundlich auf” (207). However, instead of witnessing the qualities of a chief who “mehrere Sprachen beherrschte und der sich in Europa mit Zylinder und Handschuhen in besten

²²³ Toetoe had meanwhile lost all his tribal land in Rangiaowhia during the Waikato War, and lived out the remainder of his existence in Waiuku and the Manukau Heads as a poor and broken man until his death in February 1881 (Hogan, *Bravo, Neu Zeeland*, 109; King, *Collector*, 83n).

²²⁴ Reischek, “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, 617.

²²⁵ See Chris Koroheke, “Te Mahuki ? – 1899: Ngati Maniapoto and Ngati Kinohaku prophet”, in: *DNZB* 2, 518f.

Gesellschaftskreisen bewegt hatte”, Reischek sees an “erbitterten Engländerfeind” (207), and “einer der ärgsten Fanatiker”,²²⁶ sitting on the floor of his hut dressed in a traditional mat:

Ich liebte die Europäer; wir gaben ihnen Land, nahmen sie als Freunde auf, aber sie wollten immer mehr und wollten unsere Herren sein. Als wir ihnen kein Land mehr geben wollten, bekriegten sie uns und nahmen uns das Beste. Wir mußten uns in die Wälder und in diese verborgenen Täler zurückziehen, wo uns die Soldaten nicht folgen konnten. Ich bin entschlossen, wenn uns die Europäer auch noch diesen letzten Landbesitz streitig machen wollen, mit meinem Stamm bis auf den letzten Mann zu kämpfen, um wenigstens als freier Maori auf eigenem Boden zu sterben! (207)

From the above description it would seem all the positive influences of Viennese life had seemingly left his person. Yet there is no escaping the extreme pleasure Te Rerehau appears to have felt through the chance to meet a friend of Hochstetter, especially an Austrian, and it is not long before Reischek is treated to a celebration held in his honour, which includes dances, swimming races, diving, mock fights and horse races. He is even greeted by a tui which has been taught by Te Rerehau to say the words “Guten Morgen, Herr!” (207). Reischek consequently receives the same hospitality that Te Rerehau enjoyed in Vienna, and memories of Austrian life and people seem to resurface in the mind of the chief, so much so that when it comes time for the explorer’s departure, Te Rerehau proclaims: “Bleibe bei uns; ich gebe dir so viel Land, als du brauchst, und die schönsten Häuptlingstöchter gebe ich dir zu Frauen!” (208) However, to his surprise, Reischek refuses the offer: “Er sagte, ich könnte für die Maori den Vermittler mit den Engländern machen. Es tat mir im Herzen leid, daß ich diesem edlen Naturmenschen nicht zu Gefallen sein konnte” (208). The chief’s apparent devotion to Austria is further shown in a letter given to Reischek by Te Rerehau for the Austrian Emperor:

Ich grüsse Dich, o Kaiser von Österreich, Grüsse, Grüsse an Dich im fernen Land. Gott hat sich Deiner angenommen, und auch meiner, mögest Du ewig leben Amen, und ich auch. Ich habe Dir über die Jahre mehrere Briefe geschrieben, vielleicht sind sie nicht angekommen. Schreib mir doch, damit ich es weiss. Der Brief von Hochstetter mit dem Bild ist angekommen. Ich habe Reischek gesehen, er war mein Gast und ich gab ihm einige Sachen der Maori. Das ist alles. Reischek soll zurück kommen und mir Gesellschaft leisten. Ich möchte auch gerne einmal hinüber kommen. Ich habe drei Kinder, die Dir gehören, Kaiser, für ein bisschen Geld [...].²²⁷

The fact that he simply states he gave Reischek a few Maori objects and ‘that is all’ further implies the huia feathers were only meant as gifts.

²²⁶ Reischek, “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, 617.

²²⁷ Cited in: Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 85. This is a German translation of the letter in question, dated 26 March 1882.

As his explorations through the King Country give him the opportunity to examine the Maori outside his own culture, he is able to observe three supposedly different types of Maori: the ‘Melanesian’ Maori, who is darker and smaller in stature, the “arabisch-semitisch” Maori, who is lighter in complexion and hair colour,²²⁸ and the most prominent Maori type in a Polynesian mould: “Leute mit proportionierten, fast europäischen Gesichtsformen, straffem schwarzem Haar, hellerer Hautfarbe und etwa 1,8 Meter Körperhöhe, durchwegs muskulöse, edle Mannesgestalten und grazile, wohlgeformte Frauen” (152f.).²²⁹ At the end of his so-called case study, the Maori image, however, returns once more to the realm of the ‘Noble Savage’ and, in doing so, the realm of Reischek junior.²³⁰

Meine Forschungen in diesen Gegenden und meine Studien des Maorivolkes waren beendet. Ich hatte von diesen Kindern der Natur einen viel besseren Eindruck gewonnen, als ich ihn mir früher, vom Hörensagen und durch Lektüre, gebildet hatte.

Vor diesen Maori empfand ich die Beschämung, die wohl jeder fühlende Mensch erlebt, der an die Geheimnisse der Natur herantritt, angefüllt und gottähnlich angeschwellt von Schulweisheitsdünkel. Sobald er aber die Geheimnisse auf sich wirken läßt, schmilzt sein Wissen vor ihnen zu einem Nichts, und es bleibt ihm nur tiefe Ehrfurcht vor der lebendigen Ewigkeit der Natur und Ekel vor jener Geistesrichtung, die “zwar vieles weiß, doch gerne alles wissen möchte”.

Jenes Europäertum, das die ganze Welt “unterworfen” hat und das die gottnahen Urmenschen “Wilde” nennt, empfand ich als einen Aussatz, von dem mich die “Wilden” und die “wilden Tiere” hatten heilen wollen. Ich fühlte mich mitschuldig an dem großen Verbrechen, das Europa an diesen “Wilden, die wahrhaft bessere Menschen” waren, begangen hatte, indem es sie ihres Landes, ihrer Sitten und ihrer Freiheit beraubte. Ich hörte die Sägen in den Kauriforsten klingen, die den Riesenbaum, der Jahrhunderten Trotz geboten hatte, in einer Stunde mähen; ich sah im Geiste dieses letzte[n] freie[n] Maoriland der Maschine Europa unterliegen. Was der Kannibalismus in Jahrhunderten nicht hatte vernichten können, das gelang der europäischen Zivilisation fast in einem Menschenalter. (213f.)

Reischek, it seems, stands at the gateway to a ‘dying world’, the last bastion of ‘Maori’ New Zealand before it becomes just another extension of Europe and its inhabitants merely Britons in brown skin. As he leaves this ‘forgotten world’ for the first and last time (although he visits the King in Pirongia several years later), we are told the departure of this ‘white chief’ is commemorated like the death of a loved one in a close-knit community: “Alle Dorfbewohner

²²⁸ Reischek senior refers to this ‘type’ elsewhere without the Jewish reference: “Einige unter ihnen sahen ganz anders aus, so dass ich glaubte, dass dieselben tätowirte Araber seien. Es wurde mir aber versichert, dass auch diese Maori sind; jedoch erzählten mir mehrere Häuptlinge, dass bei manchen Stämmen die Rasse nicht mehr rein ist” (Reischek, “Ueber Neu-Seeland und seine Bewohner”, 96).

²²⁹ While the above statement implies the ‘true’ and ‘original’ forms of the Maori could only exist within the confines of the King Country, it appears from an earlier statement that Reischek had already observed the so-called ‘Melanesian’ and ‘Polynesian’ Maori beforehand: “Die meisten Eingeborenen waren kupferfarben und hatten schwarzes Haar; einige fand ich von dunklerer Farbe und gekraustem Haar. Sie sind alle stark gebaut, von 1,65 bis 1,80 Meter Höhe” (78).

²³⁰ See *unpublished manuscript*, II:548f.

saßen im Kreise um mich und weinten. Es war ein ehrliches, kein konventionelles ‘Tangi’ (Totenklage)” (214).²³¹ This is followed by a section on the avifauna of the King Country, which, in typical Reischek junior fashion, promises to explore the world of the ‘Noble Savage’ even further (although the chapter itself after the following statement reverts back to Reischek senior’s text): “Ich hatte hier nicht nur Einblick in eine dem Untergange geweihte, edle Rassenkultur eines Naturvolkes gewonnen, sondern auch die heimische Tierwelt, die hier noch in paradiesischer Sorglosigkeit in ausgedehnten Urwäldern hauste, so genau studieren können, wie dies vor und nach mir wohl wenigen beschieden gewesen ist” (215).

It is important to note here that in spite of the ‘frozen’ nature of much of the Maori imagery of *Sterbende Welt*, King also lists three original Maori manuscripts, which presumably would have provided detailed descriptions of Maori life far beyond the content of *Sterbende Welt*, with the first centred on Maori history, manners, customs, religion and character, while the latter two are reported to provide general ethnographical notes, observations and experiences.²³² In his diaries, Reischek refers to having acquired a “ganze Beschreibung über die Eingeborenen (die Maori) ihre Kunst, Sitten, Gebräuche, Religion Kämpfe, Cannibalismus Werbung Wilkom und Todtenfeste, Jagt, Fischfang, Ackerbau, Aberglauben, etct [sic]”.²³³ The conclusion therefore is that Reischek senior was not only attempting to capture ‘unchanging’ forms of Maori, but also ‘changing’ forms, albeit perhaps less important than the first, and items with a significant European influence to complete his collection. The responsibility for the selective Maori content therefore rests firmly on Reischek junior’s shoulders, as he presumably had the opportunity to include further details regardless of whether or not they were omitted from his father’s draft manuscripts.²³⁴

One such image which points to a change in the ‘frozen’ state of the King Country ‘bubble’ is that of ‘fatal impact’ which is connected firmly to the title of the work “Dying World”. As Hochstetter was the leading representative of modern science in Vienna, and therefore also a knowledge on Darwinism, much of this would have rubbed off on Reischek.²³⁵ The similar views of various museum curators and collectors, including Buller, who recalled the

²³¹ In his second notebook, Reischek, however, describes only a normal Maori ‘tangi’ at his departure (ibid., II:548f.).

²³² King, *Collector*, 176.

²³³ Cited in: Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 130.

²³⁴ Ibid., 145.

²³⁵ Ibid., 140.

remark by Dr Isaac Featherston²³⁶ – “The Maori (he said) are dying out and nothing can save them. Our plain duty as good compassionate colonists is to *smooth down their dying pillow*”²³⁷ – would also have played a part. Although there are still elements of ‘fatal impact’ theory in Reischek’s writings, they are not as fatalistic or prolific, no doubt due to his less formal education and the varying aims of the texts in question, and are without the scientific basis of Darwinian resignation, which in turn makes the title not wholly appropriate for the colony as a whole nor for the Maori, especially when one considers neither the local landscape nor the Maori have been completely ‘exterminated’, but perhaps more appropriate for the environment in certain locations and certain species of wildlife. In *Sterbende Welt* the most relevant images of Maori demise are rather brief. In the introductory chapter the two populations of New Zealand are presented with contrasting fortunes:

Während die Zahl der Ureinwohner in ständigem Abnehmen begriffen ist, nahm die Zahl der europäischen Ansiedler rasch zu. Im Jahr 1840 gab es auf Neuseeland etwa 1200 Europäer und mindestens 100 000 Maori; im Jahr 1891 betrug (nach dem Ergebnis der Volkszählung) die Zahl der Europäer (zumeist britischer Abstammung) 667 000, die Zahl der Maori ungefähr 42 000.

Die Hauptursache des raschen Aussterbens der Maori ist der schädliche Einfluß der europäischen Zivilisation auf dieses urwüchsige Volk: Alkohol, Geschlechtskrankheiten und Kriege, die aus Ländergier gegen die Maori geführt wurden, haben die Kraft des Urvolks gebrochen. Aber auch der Kannibalismus der Maori, der die einzelnen Stämme zu ständigen Kriegen untereinander führte, die nur zu dem Zwecke der Erbeutung von Menschenfleisch unternommen wurden, hat zur raschen Dezimierung der Eingeborenen beigetragen. (20)

Another instance of ‘fatal impact’ theory is his comment on the opening up of the King Country in 1887 for a train route between Auckland and the Waikato,²³⁸ where the initial act of Tawhiao taking part is compared to digging his own grave and that of his people: “Er selbst tat den ersten Spatenstich, als die erste Eisenbahnlinie in sein Land gelegt wurde. Ein trauriges Symbol: der Urmensch, der seiner und seines Volkes Kultur und Freiheit das Grab schaufelt!” (265)

Reischek also gave several papers on the Maori upon his return to Austria published in a more polished but abbreviated form. The most important of these articles is “Ueber Neu-Seeland und seine Bewohner” (1890), which also deals with the changes in lifestyle following their adoption of European wares and customs. Although it expands slightly on the above factors, it proves little more than a summary of Hochstetter’s ideas rather than the comments of an expert ethnologist:

²³⁶ See Davis Hamer, “Featherston, Isaac Earl 1813 – 1876: Doctor, politician, provincial superintendent”, in: *DNZB* 1, 119-21.

²³⁷ Cited in: Walter L. Buller, “Address at the Wellington Philosophical Society”, in: *TPNZI* 17 (1885): 444.

²³⁸ Cf. Reischek, “Meine Reisen auf Neu-Seeland”, 611.

Der Einfluss der Civilisation wird in Kurzem auch dieses intelligente, einst mächtige Volk verdrängen. Der Maori stirbt aus, da er sich der Cultur nicht fügt und auch nicht fügen kann. In der Stadt tragen die Leute warme Kleider; sobald sie in ihre Ansiedlung kommen, werden dieselben ausgezogen und eine Matte über den blossen Körper geworfen; dadurch entstehen viele Brustkrankheiten. Dazu kommt noch das Trinken geistiger Getränke, wovon sie träge und stumpf werden, ihre Anpflanzungen vernachlässigen und einmal darben, während sie ein anderes Mal wieder unmässig viel essen.

Leider haben die Maori von den Europäern auch noch manche andere schlechte Gewohnheit[en] angenommen und manches Uebel geerbt, das sie decimirt. Namentlich haben syphilitische Krankheiten grosse Verheerungen unter ihnen angerichtet.²³⁹

Here, the most notable difference in material is in *Sterbende Welt*'s emphasis on cannibalism as a factor in their decline and as a motivation for their wars. Thankfully there are exceptions to the plight of the Maori, who only seem to be spared this fate when living in relative isolation: “[E]s gibt solche, welche ihre alten guten Eigenschaften beibehalten haben und von den Europäern nur die nützlichen annahmen und wahre Muster sind. So fand ich in der King-Country mehr gut gebaute Leute unter ihnen, von stärkerer Musculatur, und von gesünderem Aussehen, als es die meist verkommenen civilisirten Maori zeigen; dieselben hatten auch grössere Familien.”²⁴⁰ Those Maori who still retain their traditional character despise nothing more than cowardice, lies and deception, an all-too-familiar trait in many Europeans: “Im Leben der Stämme untereinander selbst bemerkte ich nie eine Unmoral, Diebstahl oder Verrath; sie leben in Frieden und Eintracht, so dass diese Naturkinder in dieser Beziehung uns Europäern in Manchem als Beispiel dienen könnten.”²⁴¹ There are also still chiefs who forbid the consumption of alcohol by their people, yet that does not stop others knowing how to obtain it, even though “dieselben schrecklich unter diesem Gifte zu leiden haben”.²⁴² In the end, however, the fear of complete European immersion and the loss of Maoridom are firmly on his mind:

Man sollte es gar nicht glauben, daß ein so mächtiges und verständiges Volk wie die Eingeborenen auf Neu-Seeland die von ihnen lange geübte Kunst binnen vierzig Jahren so verlernt hatten, daß der Nachwuchs von Schnitzereien und Mattenverfertigung fast nichts mehr versteht. Aber mit der Veränderung der Lebensweise geht dieses Volk auch zugleich seinem Untergange zu, und man hat die Zeit berechnet, in welcher der letzte Maori ins Grab sinken wird und nur Bücher von seinem Stamme mehr erzählen werden.²⁴³

Continuing the trend of negative European influences on the Maori are once more the customary stereotypes of laziness and smoking. The sufficiently Europeanised type of Maori

²³⁹ Reischek, “Ueber Neu-Seeland und seine Bewohner”, 99.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 99.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 97.

²⁴² Ibid., 99.

²⁴³ Reischek, “Zwölf Jahre auf Neu-Seeland”, 74.

woman who frequently accompanies the trading party to Mangawaro in order to barter kauri gum for food and clothing manages to fall into this category: “Die Weiber hatten in Matten ihre kleinen Kinder auf den Rücken gebunden und kümmerten sich wenig um diese; sie saßen ruhig und rauchten ihre Pfeifen. Schrie ein Kind gar zu arg, dann steckte man ihm die Pfeife in den Mund” (78).²⁴⁴ It is as if they are too lazy to even look after their own children properly, and will do anything to silence them, leading to the child no doubt forming a predilection for smoking in later years. This scene is not surprising in light of the following comments in one of his original notebooks, whereby the hard-working Maori who took pride in their own work have, in his opinion, been transformed into a more Europeanised and less industrious people:

Die Maori waren ein sehr fleissiges Volk und Arbeiteten mit liebe bevor die Europäer unter sie kamen ihr erwerb für Nahrung war mühsam und gefahrvoll..... meine grosse Sammlung des k k naturhistorischen [Museums] welchen in allen ihren Industriezweigen den fortschreit von Jahrhunderten zurück zeigt kann man den Fleis und die der Maori studieren auch ihr Karakter und ihre Chivalery ist zu bewundern aber seit dem die Europäer unter sie sind und die maori gelernt haben das man für ein Stück Land welches sie genug besitzen und vieles nach ihrer Ansicht für sie keinen Wehrt hat genug Kleider besere Werkzeuge und Waffen so auch Nahrungsmittel bekommt, und den Wehrt des Geldes kennen lehrnten mit welchem sich auch gewöhnlich der Egoismus einschleicht hat sich dieses Volk verändert²⁴⁵ sie sind nicht mehr so fleisig Bauen ihre Häuser im Europäischen Stile, tragen Europäische Kleider benützen Europäische Werkzeug Gefäse und Waffen, Kochen nach Europäischer Sitte, ich sah auch junge Eingeborene welche unter den Europäern lebten welche die Kunst ihrer Vätter verlachten Die King country das Land des Maori Königs war das letzte Haim der Maori Kunst Industry Sitten und gebräuche als 1887 die Grenzen fielen verwandelten sich auch damit die Maori in Pakeha Maori und ich wünsche das dieses Volk welches ich lieben und achten lernte noch lange auf dieser Insel glücklich und mit den Europäern in freundschaft Leben und das das schleichende gift welches sich auf Unatürliche weise der Culture aufdrängt sie nicht zerrüttet.²⁴⁶

Thus, the Maori people, in the Romantic language of Reischek junior, had at one point reached the mythical heights of Atlantis (158), but have since fallen to the present state of a “bedeutsame Naturvolk” (177), whilst Reischek senior, in typical European fashion, recognises the deterioration of Maori traditions, practices and lifestyle in the face of Europeanisation at the same time as he sees them as a savage culture which needed to be raised to the standards of civilisation:

²⁴⁴ This is a clear example of Reischek junior improving the language of his father who himself wrote: “...sie kümmerten [sic] sich wenig wen sie weinten sie sassen ruhig und rauchten ihre Pfeifen und wenn das kind gar zu arg schrie stekten [sic] sie ihm die rauchende Pfeife in den Mund” (cited in: Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 79; see also *SW*, 194, 209, 239).

²⁴⁵ One example is when Reischek attempts to acquire various items from a chief: “Ich fragte ihn dann, ob er sie verkaufen wolle. Nach langem Hin und Her verlangte der Häuptling so phantastische Preise, daß ich gezwungen war, die Verhandlungen abzubrechen” (89).

²⁴⁶ Cited in: Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 81.

“[D]en braven und gutten [sic] Pionieren [wurden] erschwert [...] die Eingeborenen an sie zu fesseln und aus dieser intelligenten jedoch barbarischen Rasse Menschen zu machen”.²⁴⁷

As the source for Reischek’s ethnographical information is predominantly the anecdotal evidence and second-hand information from the various high-ranking chiefs in and around the King Country, it is therefore no surprise to find a strong Maori viewpoint in his account of British colonisation and Maori-Pakeha conflicts, giving him in the process the most pro-Maori perspective of all the German-speaking explorers. Before a Christian presence had been set up in New Zealand, the worst character of the British, in his view, had revealed itself in the lawlessness of Kororareka:

Es war dies aber der ärgste Auswurf des Europäertums: aus den australischen Gefängnissen entsprungene Verbrecher und wüste, tierische Abenteurer. Sie tauschten gegen Schnaps und Tabak von den Maori Weiber und Lebensmittel ein (auch “Kannibalenschädel”, die sie nach den “Kultur”ländern verhandelten) und führten ein wildes, nur auf dem Faustrecht begründetes Zusammenleben, in dem Sauf- und Liebesorgien, Raub und Mord an der Tagesordnung waren.

Die Maori hatten so die Europäer von ihrer widerlichsten, abschreckendsten Seite kennengelernt, als eine habgierige, ihre geistige und zivilisatorische Überlegenheit nur zu Schlechtem nützende Rasse. Es war daher nicht verwunderlich, daß sie dem neuen europäischen Zuzug mit Mißtrauen und Feindseligkeit begegneten. (124)

What ensued, in his opinion, was a history of consistently poor behaviour against the Maori by their British ‘superiors’. Christian influences had no impact on those Europeans who felt free to act how they pleased, but did on the Maori, who embraced the just character of the missionary effort, gave up their immediate lust for war and acts of cannibalism, and instead attended missionary schools and listened to sermons. Evidence of their success is witnessed first hand by Reischek in the form of a Maori school at Matakahe: “Die Leistungen einzelner Schüler überraschten mich; sie zeugten von der außerordentlichen Auffassungsgabe der Maori. So konnte ein achtjähriger Knabe, der erst ein Jahr die Schule besuchte, bereits sehr gut schreiben, lesen und rechnen wie ein europäischer Schüler der dritten Volksschulklasse” (98). However, these Christian teachings did not protect them from the greed of new settlers who soon flooded into the country and wanted “die vertrauensvollen Eigentümer des Landes ausbeuten und ihres Landbesitzes schonungslos berauben” (125). As distrust over British colonisation grew among the tribes, they learnt that the ‘Christian’ European is but a false and hollow façade: “Ihre scharfe Intelligenz durchschaute bald die Praktiken der Christen, die ihre Lehre von der Nächstenliebe

²⁴⁷ Cited in: *ibid.*, 81.

recht einseitig auffaßten. Sie sahen, wie sich die Gäste in ihrem Lande breitmachten und sich bald als die unumschränkten Herren aufspielten” (125).

During the pre-colonisation years there existed only minor conflict between Maori and Pakeha, which “zumeist durch das Verschulden der letzteren entstanden waren, sei es, daß sie die Maori bei der Erwerbung von Landbesitz übervorteilt, sei es, daß sie deren Sitten und Gebräuche nicht respektiert hatten. Der Erfolg solcher Streitigkeiten war zumeist der, daß die Maori im Kampfe eine Anzahl Europäer töteten und dann – verspeisten” (128). However, Reischek is critical of the self-interested motives involved in the decision to turn New Zealand into a British colony. He argues, for instance, that it was the threat of a foreign “Sovereign Chief” coming in to oppress or even exterminate the Maori being painted no doubt in the most colourful of terms which resulted in the signing of the Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand in 1835 by a group of “eingeschüchterten” chieftains: “Sie konnten unter dem Titel eines Schutzbundes gegen jeden Angriff von außen die Maori, ohne daß diese es recht merkten, zu englischen Untertanen machen” (129). He then describes the Treaty of Waitangi as a “rasch ausgefertigte[r] Vertrag” (130) which had a telling influence on land sales, as Europe immediately called for “den Dank für den bisher geleisteten ‘Schutz’” (130): “Der Landverkauf war jetzt sanktioniert; der Vorteil war entschieden auf der Seite der geriebeneren Europäer” (131). With the subsequent efforts of the New Zealand Company to exact as much land out of the Maori as possible, which “in vielen Fällen nicht ganz gerecht gegen die Maori vorgegangen [war], und in manchen Fällen lud sie blutige Schuld dem – Gott sei Dank recht tragfähigen – europäischen Kulturgewissen auf” (143),²⁴⁸ he argues that the true qualities of the British and Maori soon revealed themselves.

Through the “spartanisch” education of their young,²⁴⁹ the Maori acquired a chivalrous war ethic, which valued having a good fight with a strong enemy and “verabscheute[.] [...] jeden feigen Überfall auf Wehrlose”:²⁵⁰

Ein Maoristamm, der zum erstenmal gegen Europäer zu Feld zog, sandte zuerst nach altem Maoribrauch eine Deputation zu den Feinden, die ihnen Lebensmittel brachte und sie aufforderte, sich gut anzuessen, um im Kampfe widerstandsfähig zu sein. Als die Europäer mit Gewehren zu schießen begannen, sandten die Maori wieder eine Deputation, die die Weißen aufforderte, zum

²⁴⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 134-36.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Hochstetter, *Neu-Seeland*, 468.

²⁵⁰ However, it was not uncommon for the widow of a fallen chief to avenge her lover’s death with the killing of prisoners (172; Andreas Reischek, “Die Kriegsführung der Maori auf Neuseeland”, in: *VZBGW* 2:1 (1894): 287).

Zweikämpfe anzutreten; die Schußwaffen seien Waffen von Feiglingen, da sie es auch dem Schwächsten ermöglichen, aus der Ferne ohne Gefahr den Kräftigsten zu töten. (167)

The same cannot be said of the British, however, who have proven on the battlefield to be, in his view, arrogant, duplicitous and without chivalry. He recounts two examples, the first being the treatment of the Ngapuhi chief, Hone Heke, who showed the Europeans in the 1840s what it really meant to be a Christian:

Als für alle Europäer beschämendes Beispiel mag Hone Hekes, des “Kannibalen”, Edelmut der “Tüchtigkeit” der Europäer gegenübergestellt werden.

Hekes Art: Der neutrale Häuptling Ruhe, der die englischen Soldaten mit Proviant versorgte (man sieht, auch die kannibalischen Neutralen waren schon Kriegslieferanten), mußte, um zu den Engländern zu gelangen, durch Hekes Lager ziehen und fragte deshalb bei ihm an, ob er den Durchzug seiner Kolonnen gestatte. Heke gab seine Einwilligung mit den Worten: “Auch die feindlichen Soldaten müssen essen, wenn sie stark zum Kampfe sein wollen.”

Der Europäer Art: Sie wußten, daß Heke ein frommer Christ war. Als nun eines Sonntags Heke seine Krieger zu einer Morgenandacht vor seiner Festung versammelte, in der festen Überzeugung, daß auch die christlichen Europäer den Sonntag heiligen und nicht angreifen werden, nahmen die Engländer, während die Maori beteten, den Pah [sic] ein und überrumpelten die Ahnungslosen. (133)²⁵¹

The second example is taken from the 1860s, during which time conflict was at its fiercest on both sides as the Maori fought “mit feuer und schwert für ihre Rechte und Unabhängigkeit wie civilisirte Völker”²⁵² against the shamelessness of the Europeans and the “Vergiftung des Urvolkes mit dem Gifte Zivilisation” (133). During one campaign, Reischek argues, General Duncan Cameron²⁵³ chose to feign a noble sense of chivalry in letting Maori women and children go free to the safety of Rangiaowhia from the battle site at Paterangi ‘pa’ in order to make a strategic victory over the Maori:

Da kamen eines Tages, von der Flucht und dem grauenvollen Erlebnis erschöpft, einige Maorifrauen in den Pah [sic] geschlichen und berichteten, die Engländer hätten schon vorher Rangiaowhia [sic] erobert und als der Zug der Frauen und Kinder aus dem Pah [sic] kam, diesen überfallen und die Wehrlosen gefangengenommen. Einige Frauen seien dabei getötet worden, nur ihnen sei es gelungen, zu entfliehen. Empört über diesen Verrat verließen die Maori den Pah [sic], um Rache zu üben und ihre Frauen und Kinder zu befreien.

Das war der Zweck, den Cameron mit seiner List erreichen wollte, die Maori aus ihrem uneinnehmbaren Pah [sic] auf offenes Gelände zu locken. Wie sagt die unchristliche Moral? “Der Zweck heiligt das Mittel!” Hier waren Mittel und Zweck einander ebenbürtig. (140)²⁵⁴

²⁵¹ Belich labels this story as implausible and part of the enduring myth of Ruapekapeka. Available evidence suggests the Maori intentionally abandoned the ‘pa’, a tactic which later proved successful in the 1860s (Belich, *NZ Wars*, 60-62).

²⁵² Cited in: Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 136.

²⁵³ See James Belich, “Cameron, Duncan Alexander 1808 – 1888: Soldier, military leader”, in: *DNZB* 1, 65f.

²⁵⁴ Although credible Maori evidence suggests Rangiaowhia was set aside for women and children, the settlement was an important “economic target” which Cameron would have wanted to destroy, and the Maori must have known

Thus, outright victory through brandishing European ‘superiority’ and stamping British authority onto its ‘rebellious’ subjects can be seen as the order of the day, regardless of the means used to obtain it.²⁵⁵ It is only in victory, it seems, that the European rewards Maori bravery and courage against overwhelming odds: “Nach dem Friedensschluß, im Jahr 1882, als ich im Maorikönigsland weilte, lebte Rewi [Maniapoto]²⁵⁶ friedlich in Kihikihi, wo die neuseeländische Regierung ihm in Anerkennung seines Heldenmutes ein Haus gebaut hatte. Gastfreundlich empfing der einst gefürchtete Feind der ‘Pakeha’ jeden bedeutenderen Europäer in seinem Heim” (141).

In the end, the Maori-Pakeha conflict revealed the gulf between the opposing tenets of Christianity and civilisation (although this again has likely been enhanced somewhat by Reischek junior):

Das Maorivolk, das wir bereits aus seiner Geschichte als trotz seiner kannibalischen Grausamkeiten sittlich und geistig hochstehend kennengelernt haben, war für die Lehre Christi sehr empfänglich. Seinem ritterlichen, rechtlichen Empfinden bedeutete das Wort Christus’ ein Evangelium, eine frohe Botschaft im wahrsten Sinne.

Es ist aber auch verständlich, daß gerade aus diesem Grund die Erkenntnis von der antichristlichen Tendenz der materialistischen Zivilisation Europas die Maori zum Widerstand gegen diese Gefahr führen mußte, der in einem förmlichen Religionskrieg seinen Ausdruck fand. Mit wütendem Fanatismus und glaubensbesessener Grausamkeit bedankten sich die gottnahen Urmenschen für das Danaergeschenk der europäischen Zivilisation.

Wie oft haben es die Europäer mit den Urvölkern so gemacht wie die Hellenen vor Troja! Das erhabene Bild Christi wurde in fremdes Land getragen und, sobald die Urvölker dankbar vor ihm in die Knie sanken, entstiegen seinem Innern die mord- und beutegierigen Europäer, jene Christen, die den Mantel der christlichen Liebe vom Nächsten beanspruchten, um damit ihre eigene Schändlichkeit zudecken zu können. Gewehre, Schnaps und Syphilis haben geholfen, die Herrschaft Europas in fernen Erdteilen zu begründen. (145f.)

The acceptance of missionaries came to an abrupt end, however, following the arrival of Lord George Augustus Selwyn, the “fanatischer Bischof der Hochkirche”:²⁵⁷

that to have built four ‘pa’ along the major routes between these locations. Belich argues a likely interpretation of events is that after a number of non-combatants were killed at Rangariri, Bishop George Augustus Selwyn and General Cameron “intimated to the Maoris that women and children would be safeguarded where possible, and that they should be kept out of the firing lines – without specifying any sacrosanct ground. Subsequently, the Maoris misunderstood this, or raised the issue in response to one-sided aspersions cast on their own actions” (Belich, *NZ Wars*, 164).

²⁵⁵ In spite of this, he also notes that Maori fortification, even when supported by a modest army of little more than a hundred warriors, often proved too strong for thousands of British troops with their modern weapons and required several days of warfare before they could overcome the stronghold (Reischek, “Ueber Neu-Seeland und seine Bewohner”, 98), and even then, many were deliberately abandoned.

²⁵⁶ See Manuka Henare, “Maniapoto, Rewi Manga ? – 1894: Ngati Maniapoto leader, war leader”, in: *DNZB* 1, 263-65.

²⁵⁷ See Warren E. Limbrick, “Selwyn, George Augustus 1809 – 1878: Missionary, bishop, metropolitan”, in: *ibid.*, 387-89.

Selwyn sandte ins wesleyanische Gebiet Missionare, die den Maori erzählten, die wesleyanische Lehre sei eine Irrlehre, die wesleyanischen Missionare hätten nicht das Recht zu taufen und seien jene "gefräßigen Wölfe", von denen die heilige Schrift erzähle.

Die wesleyanischen Maori hielten sich anfänglich für schmäzlich hintergangen, und bereits begannen Haß und Feindschaft in ihren Herzen zu gären. Die Verwirrung wurde ärger, als später noch andere Glaubensgemeinschaften, Protestanten und Katholiken, Missionare nach Neuseeland sandten. Die gebildeten Maori sahen, da sie die Bibel gut kannten, bald ein, daß sich die einzelnen christlichen Bekenntnisse nur durch verschiedenartige Auslegung des Bibelwortes gebildet hatten. (146)

Thus, the various sects of Christianity only confused issues over the belief in one God, and hastened the missionaries' exit from the tribes in the interior. To illustrate this point, he relates a story by Tawhiao about a respected missionary who lived in peace with his people in the King Country only to have it ruined by differing religious interpretations when a second missionary arrives preaching his own beliefs and stating that "sein Gott [...] besser als der Gott des ersten Priesters [sei]" (147). This leads to divided supporters, albeit living peaceably together. However, when a third then arrives with his own doctrine, the chiefs and elders form a council, and tell the missionaries to leave the area and not to return "bis sie sich über Gott einig sind; denn recht kann nur einer haben, und der wahre Gott kann nur einer sein" (147).

One consequence of the wars and the advent of Christianity among Maori tribes was the re-emergence of cannibalism. Reischek relates two different explanations for this custom among Maori. The first is clearly influenced by Hochstetter:

Die Erklärung dafür ist darin zu suchen, daß die Maori in früherer Zeit, als noch die Riesenstraße (Dinornis) auf den Inseln lebten, an reichlichen Fleischgenuß gewöhnt waren. Nach der Ausrottung dieser Tiere gab's nur noch kleine Vögel und Maoriratten, die für den Fleischbedarf nicht ausreichten. So kamen die Maori dazu, zuerst das Fleisch getöteter Feinde zu kosten; diese Ungeheuerlichkeit wurde ihnen schließlich so zur Gewohnheit, daß viele Stämme ständig Krieg führten, lediglich um Menschenfleisch als Nahrung zu bekommen. Erst als die Europäer ihre Haustiere einführten, begann der Kannibalismus der Maori abzunehmen. (175)

Te Whitiora, on the other hand, gives an alternative account which still retains the basic Victorian premise that the catalyst was scant resources:

Er sagte, die sehr kriegerisch veranlagten Maoristämme hätten fast ununterbrochen gegeneinander Krieg geführt und dadurch seien ihre Pflanzungen, Jagd und Fischerei ganz vernachlässigt worden. Die daraus entstandene Hungersnot habe sie dazu getrieben, das Fleisch der getöteten Feinde zu essen. Vom eigenen Stamm töteten sie nur die verbrecherischen und überflüssigen Leute. Schließlich wurde ihnen der Genuß von Menschenfleisch so zur Gewohnheit, daß sie es jeder andern Nahrung vorzogen. (175f.)²⁵⁸

²⁵⁸ In Reischek senior's original notebooks, the chief's explanation also centres on the rise of rivalry among the formerly peaceful agricultural community once numbers increased, in which "manche Stämme waren nicht so

In *Sterbende Welt* the notion that the Maori waged war “fast ausschließlich, um Menschenfleisch als Nahrung zu bekommen” (167) is also frequently emphasised, more so than the ritualistic act of retribution.²⁵⁹ Reischek notes, for example, that the flesh of enemies sometimes provided a war party with nourishment on longer excursions, as an old woman who had to live off human flesh for three weeks in her youth reports (128). He also states that a Maori chief would kill and eat one of his own wives and child in order to have fresh human meat for entertaining visitors, and that a group of Maori visiting another ‘pa’ would do the same to most of their hosts if it turned out they had no human flesh to feast on (175f.).²⁶⁰

With the renewed threat of war and suffering, religion and cannibalism took a more sinister turn in the mid-1860s, as the peaceful teachings of ‘Pai Marire’ were distorted into the creed of the ‘Hauhau’ by Te Ua Haumene’s would-be ‘apostels’, Matene Te Rangitauira, Hepanaia Kapewhiti, Kereopa Te Rau and Patara Raukatauri,²⁶¹ to spell the end of the Pakeha.²⁶² Interestingly, while most Europeans, including many twentieth-century historians, labelled all Maori ‘rebels’ unfairly as part of the so-called ‘Hauhau’ cult, Reischek was able to distinguish between the two. As is always the case with subsequent generations, “die Jünger sind anders als der Meister, und aus den großen Gedanken gebiert sich die gemeine Tat!” (149f.):

Hepanaia und den andern Jüngern war in erster Linie an der Vernichtung der Weißen gelegen; sie stachelten den Blutdurst der Maori auf und feierten grauenvolle Triumphe über die Weißen.

arbeitsam als andere vernachlässigten ihre Kultivationen Streitigkeiten fingen an bis es zu offenen Gefechten aufbrach, und als sie nicht genug Nahrung hatten. So assen sie die erschlagenen welche ihnen gut schmeckten [sic]”. (cited in: Kolig, *Umstrittene Würde*, 89). Furthermore, Reischek only gives Te Whitiora’s explanation in a later paper, and emphasises Wahanui’s comments that “nur im Kampfe Getödtete oder solche, welche dem Stamme keinen Nutzen brachten, gegessen wurden; gefangene Feinde, die dem Stamme nützlich waren, oder solche, welche die Kunst des Schnitzens oder andere Arbeiten verstanden, wurden geschont!” (Reischek, “Ueber Neu-Seeland und seine Bewohner”, 98).

²⁵⁹ When a typical Maori victory feast is described, however, there is a somewhat balanced portrayal of bloodthirstiness and religious fervour: “Die Häuptlinge stachen ihren getöteten Gegnern die Augen aus und verschluckten sie; sie tranken deren warmes Blut aus der Halsschlagader und schnitten ihnen das Herz heraus. Dadurch vermeinten sie den in dem Feinde wohnenden Gott (Atua) auf sich übertragen zu können. Je mehr Feinde also ein Häuptling erschlagen hatte, für desto unüberwindlicher hielt er sich” (171; cf. Reischek, “Kriegsführung der Maori”, 287).

²⁶⁰ Cf. 81, 247.

²⁶¹ Cowan, *NZ Wars*, II:18. While Reischek spells many Maori names incorrectly, surprisingly when he does get it right, Priday spells ‘Patara’ consistently as ‘Pataia’ (*YIM*, 145f.).

²⁶² “*Hauhau*, or Hauhauism as it was flippantly called, [...] was a political element or another interpretation of Pai Marire. Although the Pai Marire of Te Ua Haumene and that of Tawhiao [called *Tarioa*, meaning ‘morning star’], which came later [in 1875], both end with the word *Hau*, it is not the recital of that of Hauhauism. The new interpretation was accredited to others. Hauhau means rebel. All Maori who advocated no sale or leasing of lands or would not cede their sovereignty were all considered rebels. [...] The Hauhauism as a cult was a group that manipulated some verses and words of Pai Marire. There were groups who readily adopted the new version” (Kirkwood, *Tawhiao*, 88f.; cf. 86-91; Lyndsay Head, “Te Ua Haumene ? – 1866: Taranaki leader, prophet, religious founder” in: *DNZB* 1, 511-13).

Hepanaia wurde zwar bald abgekühlt, als er das Fort Sentry-Hill belagerte und von den Europäern vernichtend geschlagen wurde. Aber Patara und insbesondere Keriopa [sic] schwelgten in Blutorgien. (150)

One such incident which proved both disturbing and relevant for German-speaking visitors to the country was the murder of Rev. Völkner in Opotiki by Kereopa, the “Eye-swallower” or “Eye-eater”.²⁶³ Völkner, who was well-respected “wegen seiner Güte und Gerechtigkeit” (150), was hanged and later decapitated following his return from Auckland after Kereopa convinced the missionary’s followers that he was betraying them to the military:

Der Leichnam wurde wieder herabgelassen und in die Kirche geschleift. Hier hieb ihm Keriopa [sic] den Kopf ab und befahl den Hauhau, das Blut zu trinken, auf daß sie fest im Glauben würden. Keriopa [sic] selbst stach Völkner mit einem Instrument aus Nephrit die Augen aus und verschluckte sie. Die Maori tranken, wie ihnen geheißen, das Blut und bemalten sich damit das Gesicht. (151)

Thus, Reischek’s version of New Zealand history illustrates where his sympathies truly lay and how he viewed himself in light of his actions, as there can be no denying his sincerity when it came time to leave these people who had left a lasting impression on him: “Schwer war es mir, als ich von diesem so hochinteressanten Volke, das ich lieb gewonnen hatte, scheiden musste, bei dem ich mir viele treue Freunde erworben hatte und dem ich immer die beste Erinnerung bewahren werde.”²⁶⁴

Conclusion

No matter how excessive Reischek’s shooting of rare birds and how underhanded and deceitful his collecting habits of sacred Maori objects may seem to today’s reader, it is important to look beyond the bare facts as they appear in *Sterbende Welt*. In this work there is often a fine line between reality and Romanticism when it comes to the description of many aspects of the narrative, especially in view of Reischek junior’s penchant for bending the truth and creating a mythic image around his father, leading to many more inaccuracies and exaggerations than appear in Reischek senior’s own sometimes embellished unpublished manuscript, in addition to his many papers and articles that were published over a period of two decades. What is clear in the majority of Reischek’s own writings, particularly his ornithological contributions, is that, while he also noted such common themes as the universal hospitality and generosity of New

²⁶³ Cowan, *NZ Wars*, I:357, II:18; Steven Oliver, “Te Rau, Kereopa ? – 1872: Ngati Rangiwewehi warrior, Pai Marire leader” in: *DNZB* 1, 503f.

²⁶⁴ Reischek, “Ueber Neu-Seeland und seine Bewohner”, 99.

Zealanders, as well as several other less positive qualities, including their excessive religiousness on Sundays, which compared and contrasted with the paradisaical ideals perceived by Hochstetter and Haast, his main image of New Zealand centred around its unique native wildlife, which he saw as being greatly under threat from foreign invaders, such as man and his introduced pests. Maori culture, if not the Maori race itself, was also seen as facing the threat of extinction, but it was the domain of nature that he felt obliged to expend efforts in preserving, much like Dieffenbach with the Maori.

Due to his mostly self-educated naturalist background, the fact that he had experienced nature first hand and was exposed to hunting both at an early age, as well as the often ornithological nature of his contributions, conservation and the natural environment logically assume greater importance than is the case with the wide-ranging monographs of more prominent scientists like Hochstetter. Ironically, Reischek appears to have been the most environmentally conscious German-speaking visitor at the same time as the most destructive. Needless to say, when he alternated between shooting birds and recording their habits, Reischek did not see an inherent contradiction in his actions, as he was motivated by the idea that he was serving science (a fact which is rarely mentioned in the secondary literature). For him, science was the motivating factor which separated his innate love of nature and conservationist mentality from his state of mind as a collector to create a dual desire to admire nature's creations in both the wild and the museum, making him a more complex character than most critics give credit. He also seems to have been guided by the belief that he could preserve the country's unique wildlife while collecting as many specimens as necessary to fill the cabinets of certain museums around the world, so long as the amount did not cause the complete extinction of the species in question (although this presumably would not have stopped him shooting the last representative of a species for the museum if he knew there were no others). And although the number of specimens Reischek collected were far too numerous by today's standards, it cannot be forgotten, first of all, that hunting was a noble profession in his homeland, that he was greatly concerned for the well-being of New Zealand's long-term environment in the face of the ecological impact of man and introduced predators, and that he frequently commented on the fate of endangered species with the view of educating the public and promoting conservation techniques, particularly with regards to establishing a bird sanctuary on Little Barrier Island in order to preserve many unique and rare species from the ravages of 'civilisation' and harmful pests. His views on New Zealand conservation practices are also very revealing, as they came at a time when little was known

about the impact of foreign species on the native wildlife, other than the mixed opinions and theories of a minority group, which was often not heard until it was too late, and when many other collectors would only have been concerned at monetary rewards rather than seeing their creations displayed around the world. He lamented, in particular, the lack of action or at least belated response of the Government and population at large to prevent the irresponsible introduction of mustelids and their unmistakable consequences, not to mention the unwanted clearing of bush and excessive collecting of birds for non-scientific purposes.

Due to the controversy surrounding his name, Reischek has also been viewed as both the best and worst friend of the Maori, meaning his perceptions of the Maori have, likewise, been distorted somewhat in both New Zealand and Austria. Most critics in New Zealand, for example, are unable to resolve the conflict between the notion that Reischek respected the Maori on some level and the fact that he had no qualms in raiding their burial sites and collecting sacred Maori treasures without focusing solely on his actions, surmising his questionable motives, and dismissing the first line of thought as barefaced dishonesty. Yet it has been overlooked that he was a product of his times, in which his collecting practices were characteristic of a much larger and uninhibited scientific ethos. Secondly, it should also be remembered that the Maori were seen as a race destined to die out, a view shared by all at the time, whereby acquiring traditional Maori objects and relics was therefore viewed as a means of preserving remnants of a culture that was supposedly collapsing in on itself for all of Europe to appreciate in various well-to-do museums before they were lost to the world, or worse, raided by unscrupulous profiteers and scavengers, both of which, it must be emphasised, were widespread across the British colonies. In Austria, on the other hand, Reischek junior was responsible for bringing his father's Maori adventures to the German-speaking public after embellishing the explorer's position in Maori circles. At the lower end of these 'Romantic' exaggerations and inventions were the excessive emphasis on the isolated, untouched and 'noble' nature of the King Country Maori, and the unfounded statement that his father was also the first European to enter the territory since its borders had closed in the 1860s. At the higher end was the claim that Reischek senior had become an honorary Maori chief, which naturally placed his son in the position of honorary Maori 'heir', even though the former never made this claim himself in his various Maori-related contributions. There is, however, enough documented evidence to suggest Reischek would have been treated as a chief without his having to become one, especially after befriending various high-ranking chiefs and through the Austrian connection of *Te Hokioi*, Toetoe and Te Rerehau, and the reputation of Hochstetter.

However, once his son's role has been established, it is apparent from Reischek senior's own writings that he did in fact respect the Maori as a people, he did sympathise with them, and he did value their generosity and friendship. Most significantly, Reischek wholeheartedly adopted the Maori version of events in the wars of the 1860s and British colonisation in general, despite popular European evidence. While both Dieffenbach and Hochstetter sided with the Maori in their accounts of colonisation and Maori-Pakeha conflict, Reischek's viewpoint is actually the most pro-Maori. As his sources were predominantly Maori themselves, he appears even more on their side, if not one-sided in their favour, through emphasising their being robbed, maltreated and cheated through unjust European land purchases, and the dishonour and corrupt nature of British troops in battle. He was also able to recognise the difference between Te Ua's 'Pai Marire' teachings and the actions of the 'Hauhau', despite the European predilection to group the two together. Even though his account may not be wholly balanced either, it still comes closer to understanding and identifying the Maori viewpoint than most observers would have. When it came to Social Darwinism, Reischek may not have embraced the belief as much as the title of *Sterbende Welt* might suggest, but he, nevertheless, was influenced by the same common images and philosophical position as his mentor, Hochstetter, and was in the constant company of museum curators and collectors when he was not away exploring the land who shared this same mentality. This in turn combined with his own experiences and observations over more than a decade to form the same line of thinking as a more professional anthropologist or ethnologist. However, even his most scholarly of contributions on the Maori reveals a less trained, insightful and philosophical mind than his son would have us believe, which at times tended to reproduce the standard beliefs of Hochstetter or simply relayed those of the Maori themselves rather than develop his own conclusions. Although somewhat misguided in his beliefs, in the end, there is no question that he felt he was serving science and the greater good in the tradition of the scientific ethos at the time by 'preserving' or even 'saving' Maori relics from oblivion, if not from the plunder of individuals of perhaps less scrupulous character, the very thing he is accused of being, as it is as much about the way he is portrayed to have done it, as it is what he actually did. These same views, however, would also appear in the accounts of other ethnologically interested travellers from Germany and Austria, and Reischek's emphasis on New Zealand nature would be surpassed by a greater focus on the urban and cultural realities of the colony.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Progress versus Arcadia 1870s-80s

The ‘Long Depression’ and German Immigration in the 1880s

During the ‘Long Depression’ or ‘Long Stagnation’ of 1879 to 1895 the British ‘paradise’ model was put to the test as unemployment and poverty rose¹ and living standards fell, leading to 100,000 New Zealanders leaving the country between 1886 and 1891:

Rabbits had been nibbling farmers’ yields even before grain and wool prices plateaued and fell around 1878. Then the City of Glasgow Bank failed, its woes mistakenly blamed on Australasian pastoral investments. Nervous City of London bankers put colonists addicted to borrowing for capital gain on starvation rations. The ‘Long Depression’ settled over the colony, lingering like a heavy fog from 1879 until 1895. Historians debate its severity but not that it strangled growth in a colony until then sheltered from global recession by state borrowing; nor that it radicalised the migrants of the 1860s and 1870s. The south felt the chill first. In a reversal of the gold-rushes, thousands fled Otago and Canterbury for prosperous Victoria; many who stayed put preferred to invest their money there. [...] For a while Auckland, always more in step with the still-healthier Australian economy, rolled along on a speculative boom. [...] In 1880’s bubble economy skilled labour was scarce. They said that there ‘was not a man without work, unless he be infirm, dissolute, or lazy’. Then came the reckoning. In 1885 and ’86 Auckland’s economy crashed fast and hard. The Northern Steamship Company reported a loss and the National Bank wrote off £100,000 of capital, beginning ‘a 10-year banking crisis which affected the whole colony’. [...] The capitalists’ credibility crashed along with their fortunes. Credit tightened, loans were called in and businesses once thought solid closed their doors.²

The times became so desperate that some employers even resorted to ‘Old World evils’, such as exploiting female and child labour, lowering wages, lengthening and altering the hours of work, and subjecting the workers to overcrowded and unhygienic conditions.³

In 1881 an article by Auckland-based German correspondent Georg Zürn⁴ entitled “Neu-Seeland als Auswanderungsziel und Exportgebiet” appeared in *Export*,⁵ a journal concerned with German-speaking Europe’s commercial interests abroad, in which he reports the downfalls of

¹ 11,444 individuals alone filed for bankruptcy in the 1880s, on top of a further 4,000 in 1877-79, a sum equivalent to about 100,000 in today’s reckoning (Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 32-38).

² Gavin McLean, “God’s Own Country, 1878-1913”, in: *Frontier of Dreams*, 186f.

³ Judith Bassett, “Dark Satanic Mills 1880-1890”, in: *People and the Land*, esp. 187-94; McLean, “God’s Own Country, 1878-1913”, 188f.; Matthew Wright, *Reed Illustrated History of New Zealand*. Auckland: Reed, 2004, 188-94.

⁴ Originally from Saxony, Zürn was a “Premierlieutenant” and “Regimentsadjutant” who left the army in order to travel. After visiting Africa and Australia, he spent his last three years in New Zealand, became well-known in Auckland and made many friends. However, in May 1882 at the age of 34 he went missing in the Coromandel: “An educated man, master of five languages, and a gentleman in every sense of the word – if lost he will be deeply mourned by all who knew him” (“The Search for Lieutenant Zurn”, in: *NZH* 15 May (1882): 6; “Australien und Südsee”, in: *Export* 4:27 (1882): 409f.).

⁵ Georg Zürn, “Neu-Seeland als Auswanderungsziel und Exportgebiet”, in: *Export* 3:31 (1881): 450-52; 3:32 (1881): 465f.; 3:33 (1881): 481-83; 3:34 (1881): 494f.; 3:35 (1881): 505f.

immigrating to New Zealand after three years' experience living in the colony, and does anything but endorse the existing myths circulating in the German press and various propaganda-based brochures and handbooks, which emphasised the flourishing state of the British colony and proclaimed the suitability of New Zealand as a field for German immigration: "Leider entsprechen solche Angaben dem heutigen Stande der Dinge nicht mehr. Die sanguinischen Hoffnungen auf eine rasche, gesunde Entwicklung Neu-Seelands haben sich nicht bestätigt, vielmehr haben ungünstige Zeitverhältnisse und schlechte Verwaltung unsere Kolonie in eine Lage gebracht, die zu ernstern Besorgnissen für die Zukunft Veranlassung giebt."⁶ The culprits here are not simply the immigrant agents themselves, but in particular Government produced handbooks and local newspapers, which, he argues, never present the reality of the situation due for the most part to misplaced patriotic sentiment: "Der Lokalpatriotismus ist bei den Ansiedlern so stark, dass es schon schwer wird einem Privatmann das Eingeständniss irgend einer Schattenseite der Kolonie zu entreissen, eine Zeitung aber, oder die von Gouvernementsbeamten recht hübsch zusammengestellten statistischen Unterlagen werden niemals andeuten, dass Etwas faul steht, sondern rechnen gewöhnlich nur die Seiten heraus, in denen ihr Staat anderen voraus ist."⁷ Even English newspapers, we are told, no longer believe what is reported in New Zealand papers, and prefer to listen instead to their own correspondents and contacts.⁸

Zürn characterises New Zealand prior to 1870 as "eine solide, langsam, aber stetig sich entwickelnde Ansiedlung, auf die der Engländer mit gerechtem Stolze hinblicken durfte":

Das günstige Klima, die originale Grossartigkeit einer von aktiven Vulkanen, Geysern und zahlreichen Heilquellen belebten Natur, die Menge der Produkte und der Reichthum an mineralischen Schätzen sicherten Neu-Seeland eine hervorragende Stellung unter den australischen Kolonien, so dass ein starker Auswandererstrom sich alljährlich in seine Häfen ergoss. Gutes, billiges Land war in Masse vorhanden, vernünftige Agrargesetze erleichterten die Niederlassung, eine vorsichtige Eingeborenenpolitik sicherte friedlichen Verkehr mit den Aboriginern, die ohnedies, ziemlich rasch aussterbend, den Weissen immer mehr Platz machten, der Finanzstand des Landes war durchaus solid – kurz es waren alle Garantien für eine ausnehmend günstige Entwicklung der jungen Kolonie vorhanden.⁹

However, the reforms of Sir Julius Vogel during the 1870s saw unparalleled borrowing of overseas money for the development of the colony (£10 million by the Government in 1871-76, and the same amount spent on rail alone between 1871 and 1881, while public debt rose from

⁶ Ibid., 450.

⁷ Ibid., 451.

⁸ Ibid., 452.

⁹ Ibid., 451.

£7.8 million in 1870 to £40.6 million in 1887),¹⁰ leading to New Zealand becoming the “meistverschuldeten Staat[.]” at the time: “Sein Kredit ist auf lange dahin, die Geschäfte stocken, viele Arbeiter darben, andere verlassen das Land, der beste Theil der Einkünfte geht nach England und die Kolonie weiss nicht, wie sie ohne fremde Hilfe bestehen soll, darf aber zunächst nicht mehr borgen.”¹¹ What this meant for prospective German immigrants was that New Zealand could no longer be remarkably suitable in all facets for the setting up of a German agricultural community, especially considering such factors as the reported non-existence of free or cheap land,¹² the lack of an immigration office or fixed accommodation for new arrivals, the expense of the voyage in the first place, and the immigrants’ ignorance of the local language, customs, work conditions and work ethic, none of which could be remedied by “ein[em] kräftige[n] Deutschthum”.¹³

He goes on to describe the German presence in the country as at best sporadic and in some regions even isolated:

Unsere Landsleute sind in Neu-Seeland äusserst dünn verstreut und halten so wenig aufeinander und zusammen, dass sie einem Einwanderer durchaus keine zuverlässige Stütze gewähren können. Zwar muss anerkannt werden, dass das Deutschthum hier einen guten Namen hat (einmal von 1870 her, dann wegen der vorzüglichen Haltung unserer Marine, die hier viel verkehrt, und endlich ob des einen Namens Godeffroy), aber zu einer Stellung als Deutsche den Engländern gegenüber können und wollen es seine Vertreter nicht bringen, vielmehr suchen die meisten von ihnen eine Ehre darin, für gute Engländer, oder doch wenigstens alte, loyale Kolonisten gehalten zu werden, der Rest folgt dem Grundsatz: *ubi bene ibi patria*, wobei man *bene* nur gleich mit *money* übersetzen kann. Am zahlreichsten sind die Deutschen in einigen Städten der Südinsel, Dunedin und Christchurch, vertreten, theilweise auch in recht guten Verhältnissen; aber einen Rückhalt für ankommende Landsleute können und wollen sie auch da nicht abgeben.¹⁴

The reason for this is first and foremost the outside pressure to conform to a British way of life:

Es ist von englischen Ansiedlern bereits soweit bevölkert, dass neue Ankömmlinge wenig Aussicht haben, ihre Nationalität sich zu bewahren. Sie würden ihre exzeptionelle Stellung auch von keiner Seite anerkannt sehen, sondern bald in Sprache und Sitte in dem englischen Elemente aufgehen müssen. Wer hier Geschäfte machen, mit dem Gerichte verkehren, bürgerliche Rechte ausüben, kurz, mehr als bloß existiren will, muss Englisch verstehen, muss englischen Sitten und Anschauungen sich fügen, sonst kann er nicht fortkommen. Das kolonial-englische Regime ist trotz seiner vielgerühmten Freiheit eminent selbstsüchtig und dem Nichtbritten durchaus abgeneigt. So lange der Fremde an dem Wohle des Ganzen fördern hilft, ist er willkommen, macht er aber

¹⁰ See Raewyn Dalziel, “Railways and Relief Centres (1870-90)”, in: *Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, 99-124; Belich, *Making Peoples*, 349-75; Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*. Revised edition with additional material by Raewyn Dalziel. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2000, 157-78.

¹¹ Zürn, “Neu-Seeland als Auswanderungsziel und Exportgebiet”, 451.

¹² *Ibid.*, 465f.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 481.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 481f.

Ansprüche auf eine Aufnahmestelle, oder steht er im Geringsten ihrem Interesse ein Wege, dann sind die Engländer die Ersten, ihn zu unterdrücken, vide Fiji u. s. w.¹⁵

The only instance, he notes, of a minority ethnic group of Germanic origin maintaining some sort of ‘cultural cohesion’ away from British life are the Bohemians, some of whose descendants still exist in Puhoi today:¹⁶

Diese Leute haben, vom besten Willen beseelt, fleissig und nüchtern für viele Jahre hart gearbeitet, zunächst, um die Schulden, mit denen sie anfangen, abzuarbeiten, dann einfach, um ihr Leben zu fristen. Und Das thun sie noch heute; Keiner von ihnen hat es zu etwas Besonderem gebracht, aber Alle schlagen sich mit schwerer Arbeit und allerhand Entsagungen ehrlich durch. Ihr kleines Settlement ist ein fast vergessener Erdwinkel geworden; denn ihre Sprache, ihre Sitten, ihre (katholische) Religion halten das Interesse der Kolonisten von ihnen fern, und auch das Mutterland weiss Nichts mehr von ihnen. Ihre Kinder, soweit sie das Land der Eltern nicht ernähren kann, verlieren sich unter den Engländern und eine weitere Generation wird über das Stückchen Böhmen in Neu-Seeland zur Tagesordnung übergehen.¹⁷

The next attribute he finds fault with is the ‘worker’s paradise’ model which does not live up to the propaganda discourse either, as the good pay and low commodity prices do not make up for the lack of available positions: “Die Thatsache, dass jede Arbeit hier vortrefflich bezahlt wird, kann über die Wahrheit nicht weghelfen, dass es sehr schwer ist, Beschäftigung irgend welcher Art zu erhalten. Daher können wir unsere Ansicht nur dahin zusammenfassen, dass es auch dem Handwerker nicht zu rathen ist, Neu-Seeland als Auswanderungsziel sich zu wählen.”¹⁸ The news is no better for artisans and “Kaufleute”, or even those with a good German education, as they likewise cannot be guaranteed a good job upon arrival in New Zealand, with the exception of doctors, and have to start in the same lowly position as the less educated, and only then when familiar with the English language and work conditions, as “Bildung und Erziehung hier noch Keinem zum Broderwerb verholfen haben, der nicht vorher gezwungen gewesen wäre, mit seiner Hände Arbeit sich weiter zu helfen, weil er seine geistigen Anlagen nicht zu verwerthen vermochte”.¹⁹ As for the notion, however, that New Zealand is “ein wahres Eldorado” for “überhaupt jedes dienende weibliche Wesen”, such as maids and cooks, he does not disagree: “Noch ehe sie das Land betreten, werden Mädchen und Frauen, die hier ankommen, gegen hohen Lohn engagiert, so gross ist der Mangel an weiblichen Dienstboten, während Gouvernanten und

¹⁵ Ibid., 466.

¹⁶ See Heller, *The ‘Bohemians’ in New Zealand*, esp. 16-21; Felgentreff, *Egerländer in Neuseeland*, esp. 16-34.

¹⁷ Zürn, “Neu-Seeland als Auswanderungsziel und Exportgebiet”, 466.

¹⁸ Ibid., 482.

¹⁹ Ibid., 482.

Lehrerinnen mit grosser Schwierigkeit ein Unterkommen finden.”²⁰ In sum, the stereotypical images of New Zealand as an immigrant paradise full of wealth and possibilities cannot, in his view, live up to the somewhat harsh realities of the 1880s:

[D]ie Auswanderung nach Neu-Seeland [ist] bei dem heutigen Stand der Dinge ein Wagestück [...], von dem wir dringend abrathen. Ein Aufschwung in kommerzieller Hinsicht, oder die Entdeckung neuer Goldfelder mag vielleicht in kurzer Zeit die Verhältnisse vollständig ändern, und dann mag es Zeit sein, nach Neu-Seeland sich zu wenden, aber heut zu Tage können wir unsere Landsleute nur warnen, die halbe Erde zu umschiffen, um schlechter zu fahren, als daheim.²¹

If anything, he argues, it is better to come as an importer, rather than an immigrant, as the prospects of a decent livelihood are little affected by the financial difficulties of the Government or prominent businesses during countrywide depression.²² The question one then asks is did this period of economic depression greatly affect German and Austrian perceptions of New Zealand as a whole, and were they also predominantly negative in their outlook?

Ironically, it was during the 1870s and 1880s that the number of German-speaking visitors to New Zealand increased dramatically, as did the number of German-language books and papers resulting from these visits and other general works published on New Zealand and the Maori, or at least monographs devoting an entire section to the subject. These include, for example, Friedrich Christmann and Richard Oberländer’s *Neu-Seeland und die übrigen Inseln der Südsee* (1871), Carl Eduard Meinicke’s *Inseln des stillen Oceans* (1875), Max Buchner’s *Reise durch den Stillen Ozean* (1878), Gustav Emil Burkhardt’s *Kleine Missions-Bibliothek* (2nd Ed. 1881),²³ Adolf Bastian’s *Die heilige Sage der Polynesier* (1881) and *Inselgruppen in Oceanien* (1883), Georg Seelhorst’s *Australien in seinen Weltausstellungsjahren 1879-81* (1882), Karl Emil Jung’s *Der Weltteil Australien* (1883), Alexander von Hübner’s *Durch das Britische Reich* (1886) and Robert von Lendenfeld’s *Australische Reise* (1892) and *Neuseeland* (1900), in addition to the series of articles by Ludwig Engler (1870-74),²⁴ Henry Greffrath (1878-96),²⁵ Otto Finsch

²⁰ Ibid., 483.

²¹ Ibid., 483.

²² Ibid., 494f., 505f.

²³ The first edition appeared in 1861 under the title: *Kleine Missions-Bibliothek oder Land und Leute, Arbeiter und Arbeiten, Kämpfe und Siege auf dem Gebiete der evangelischen Heidenmission. Bd. 3: Asien, Abt. 2: Die evangelische Mission unter den braunen Insulanern der Südsee und auf Neuseeland.*

²⁴ Ludwig Engler, “Der Golddistrikt Shortland in Neuseeland”, in: *Aus allen Welttheilen* [=AaW] 1:40 (1870): 313-15; “Bericht über die Entdeckung von Gold in den australischen und neuseeländischen Kolonien. Zur Geologie der Halbinsel Koromandel in Neu-Seeland”, in: *AaW* 2:25 (1871): 199-203; “Neuseelands Wälder und ihre Nutzhölzer”, in: *AaW* 3:7 (1872): 50f.; 3:9 (1872): 70f.; “Das Klima Neuseelands”, in: *AaW* 4:24 (1873): 190; “Ein Besuch bei den heißen Quellen Neuseelands”, in: *AaW* 5:1 (1874): 1-6.

(1881),²⁶ Bruno Schwarzbach (1881-82),²⁷ Franz Reuleaux (1884-85)²⁸ and Wilhelm Stieda (1885).²⁹ As these contributions were predominantly made by passing visitors (if they actually came here in the first place) rather than new or long-standing immigrants, the balance between informed criticism and entrenched stereotypes varies according to their experiences and expectations. The most notable of these accounts, in respect to their popular narrative content which tended to be directed at general readers rather than a scientific audience, will now be examined beginning with those which occurred before the effects of the ‘Long Depression’ were felt, or at least as far as the regions they visited are concerned.

Max Buchner (1846-1921) and Franz Reuleaux (1829-1905)

Once peace had returned to the colony in the 1870s following the wars of the previous decade, the growing international reputation of Lake Rotomahana’s Pink and White Terraces as the ‘Eighth Wonder of the World’ attracted package tour pleasure-seekers and travellers from all over the world to recreate New Zealand as a ‘Tourist and Health Resort’. The introduction of cheaper and more comfortable steamships soon followed in the 1880s, which more than halved the duration of the typical European voyage to the antipodes from three to six months by sail to between four and seven weeks. The same could not be said of early travel in New Zealand, however, which, besides sea and rail, often consisted of horse-drawn coaches, which proved less than satisfactory during periods of flash flooding, excessive rain or when navigating holes in the road.³⁰ The new breed of traveller was not necessarily the typical explorer and scientist of earlier times furthering knowledge in his chosen field or the prospective immigrant looking to start a new life in New

²⁵ Henry Greffrath, “Die Eingeborenen (Maori) auf Neu Seeland”, in: *AaW* 9:1 (1878): 4-9; “Die Provinz Auckland, Neu Seeland”, in: *AaW* 9:8 (1878): 238-40; “Die Kolonie Neu-Seeland”, in: *Ausland* 59:6 8 Feb (1886): 101-5; 59:7 15 Feb (1886): 131-34; 59:8 22 Feb (1886): 146-51; “Die vulkanische Eruption auf Neu-Seeland”, in: *AaW* 18:3 (1886-87): 80f.; “Neu-Seeland”, in: *DRfGS* 13:2 (1890-91): 76-79; “Die Hau-haus in Neu-Seeland”, in: *AaW* 22:8 (1891): 222; “Die australische Kolonie Neu-Seeland”, in: *AaW* 28:5 (1896): 167f.

²⁶ Otto Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, in: *Hamburger Nachrichten (Abend-Ausgabe)* 261 3 Nov (1881): 1; (*Abend-Ausgabe*) 262 4 Nov (1881): 1; (*Abend-Ausgabe*) 263 5 Nov (1881): 1; (*Morgen-Ausgabe*) 266 9 Nov (1881): 1f.; (*Abend-Ausgabe*) 266 9 Nov (1881): 1; (*Abend-Ausgabe*) 268 11 Nov (1881): 1; (*Abend-Ausgabe*) 269 12 Nov (1881): 1.

²⁷ Bruno (Beheim-)Schwarzbach, “Die Maoris auf Neu-Seeland”, in: *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 8 (1881): 141-45; “Die Maoris auf Neuseeland”, in: *WIDM* 51:304 (1882): 499-515.

²⁸ Franz Reuleaux, “Ein Ausflug nach Neuseeland” in: *WIDM* 57:9 (1884): 130-39; 57:19 (1884): 270-84; 58:5 (1885): 56-74; 58:36 (1885): 540-57.

²⁹ Wilhelm Stieda, “Neu-Seeland in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart”, in: *Deutsche Geographische Blätter* 8 (1885): 44-65.

³⁰ Margaret McClure, *The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004, 7-13.

Zealand, but a curious European pleasure-seeker looking for adventure and wonder. To this last category belongs our next visitor. Max Joseph August Heinrich Markus Buchner, perhaps better known for his exploits in Africa 1878-82 and 1884-85, held the position of Director of the Ethnological Museum in Munich from 1887 after his promotion from curator of the ethnological collections. Buchner's early desire to see the world saw him travel as ship's surgeon seven times from 1872 on the Europe-America route before setting off in 1875 on a voyage to the South Pacific as "Surgeon Superintendent" on board the *Terpsichore*,³¹ which carried close to 400 predominantly German and Scandinavian immigrant passengers to New Zealand.³² After setting sail from Hamburg on the night of 15 November 1875, they did not reach Wellington, however, until 12 May 1876 after 55 days in quarantine on Somes Island following their arrival on 18 March due to a typhus outbreak.³³ During his seven-week stay he travelled to the Hot Lake district, Ohinemutu and Tauranga, before heading north to Auckland and departing on the *City of San Francisco* on 3 July.³⁴ On his return to Hamburg following a stay of several months among the Pacific Islands and stopovers in America and England, he compiled a popular account of his travels in 1878 entitled *Reise durch den Stillen Ozean*, in which he devoted roughly a quarter of the work to his stay in New Zealand.³⁵

After having to first adjust to the overcrowded and uncomfortable conditions of quarantine life, Buchner's impressions of the colony begin in Wellington, which against his expectations, presents itself as a very un-American city:

Es fehlte vor Allem jenes Charakteristikum amerikanischer Städte, welches in der Lotterigkeit und Unreinlichkeit der Strassen, in einem gewissen Bombast der Architektur und in der bunten Farbenmenge der Aufschriften besteht. Die Häuser von Wellington sind klein, bescheiden und

³¹ Buchner refers to the ship as the *Euphrosyne*, but it has been identified as the *Terpsichore* (fMS-Papers-2226, ATL).

³² See, for example, *Max Buchners Reise nach Zentralafrika 1878 - 1882: Briefe, Berichte, Studien*. Ed. Beatrix Heintze. Köln: Köppe, 1999, 10-13; Dietmar Henze, "Buchner, Max", in: *EEEE* 1, 387f.; Otto Maull, "Buchner, Max Joseph August Heinrich Markus, Forschungsreisender", in: *NDB* 2, 705f.; Max Buchner, *Reise durch den Stillen Ozean*. Breslau: Kern, 1878, 1-5; "Wanderungen im Stillen Ocean I. Auf Neuseeland. Zum Taupo-See", in: *Ausland* 52:1 6 Jan (1879): 14-17; "Wanderungen im Stillen Ocean II. Auf Neuseeland. Vom Taupo-See nach Auckland", in: *Ausland* 52:2 13 Jan (1879): 34-37.

³³ Buchner, *Reise durch den Stillen Ozean*, 70-86. The *Times* refers to a total of eight deaths from typhus fever (five adults, three children) at the time of their arrival, with another eleven out of 390 immigrants also being treated (*The New Zealand Times* 20 March (1876): 2).

³⁴ Buchner, *Reise durch den Stillen Ozean*, 189; *NZH* 4 July (1876): 4.

³⁵ A translation of the New Zealand section by Margery Walton (fMS-Papers-2226) and a retranslation of the quarantine period on Somes Island by Margaret Fitzgerald (MS-Papers-5630) are held in the ATL.

anmuthig, die Strassen sauber und zu beiden Seiten mit wohleingefassten Trottoiren versehen. Das Ganze trägt den Charakter Old Englands.³⁶

Considering the time he spent on board and in quarantine with immigrant workers, it is not surprising that the ‘Britishness’ of New Zealand and the strong self-image of ‘paradise’ combine once more to create the idealised immigrant vision of relative equality without class distinctions, including job opportunities for women and affordable living standards:

Neuseeland macht unter allen Ländern, die ich kenne, den solidesten Eindruck. Man sieht keine Bettler. Es scheint ein mehr allgemeiner Wohlstand zu herrschen ohne die Extreme von Reichthum und Armuth. Die servilen noch immer mit dem Stempel ihrer einstigen Leibeigenschaft gebrandmarkten Bauerngestalten fehlen gleichwie in Amerika. Jedermann ist sich bewusst, im grossen Ganzen eben so viel werth zu sein wie ein Anderer.

Die Hotels sind gut und billig, billiger als bei uns und unvergleichlich besser. Ich habe selten mehr als acht Mark pro Tag bezahlt. “Two Shillings for the Bed and for every Meal” ist der beinahe allgemein übliche in ganz Australien geltende mittlere Satz, wofür bis auf die Spirituosen Alles gewährt wird, was die täglichen Bedürfnisse eines anständigen Menschen verlangen. Dass zu diesen auch ein Badezimmer, bei uns leider noch als Luxusartikel betrachtet, gehört, versteht sich in jedem Lande englischer Zunge von selbst. Keinem Menschen fällt es ein, Trinkgelder zu geben, die einer höheren Kulturstufe überhaupt unwürdig sind. Das Aufwartepersonal wird vom Wirth so gehalten, dass es nicht zu betteln braucht. Die Rubriken für “Bougies” und “Service” und ähnliche schmachliche Prellereien sind unbekannte Dinge. Eine Prostitution weisser Rasse giebt es kaum, oder sie ist auf das menschenmöglichste Minimum reduziert. Bei der stark überwiegenden Zahl der männlichen Bevölkerung hat jedes neuankommende Mädchen die beste Aussicht, zu heirathen. Weibliche Dienstboten sind deshalb ein äusserst gesuchter Artikel, und die Löhne und Anforderungen derselben dürften nach den Begriffen deutscher Hausfrauen haarsträubend zu nennen sein.³⁷

This is contrasted with the somewhat stormy weather of autumn and winter, the numerous steep, narrow and substandard roads when exiting the city, the almost farcical manner with which one must place one’s feet and belongings on the seats of the narrow and uncomfortable carriages when crossing rivers, the inferior and primitive Maori canoes for guiding tourists (especially when carrying a heavy cargo or navigating bad conditions), and the sporadic and sometimes primitive use of rail in the North Island, all of which would have been taken for granted in Central Europe.³⁸ In the end, however, the sight of the famed Hot Lake district makes him forget the various hardships he met along the way:

Ich weiss nicht, welchem geheimen psychologischen Faktor ich es zu verdanken hatte, dass ich jenen interessanten Punkt der Erde mit einer Art Enthusiasmus und einer gewissen Andacht betrat,

³⁶ Buchner, *Reise durch den Stillen Ozean*, 87. Auckland’s Queen Street in comparison appears “halb amerikanisch halb englisch” (ibid., 171).

³⁷ Ibid., 90.

³⁸ See ibid., 98f., 102, 111, 113f., 147, 149f., 168-70, 173; Max Buchner, “Eine Reise durch den Stillen Ocean”, in: *Mittheilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg* 1 (1877): 96.

deren ich mich nicht mehr fähig hielt, und die ich in jüngeren Jahren empfunden hatte, als ich zum ersten mal das Meer erblickte. Jedenfalls trug diese gehobene, ungewohnt affirmative Stimmung wesentlich dazu bei, mir den Genuss des Lake-Distrikts zu erhöhen und mich die Unbilden der Witterung und der Gesellschaft, der schlechten Strassen und der schlechten Transportmittel ignorieren zu lassen.³⁹

Buchner appears to have had a particular interest in the natural sciences, and intended to not only visit the hot springs and geysers in the central North Island, but also acquaint himself with the Maori.⁴⁰ He even acted as a doctor in Ohinemutu, as there were none at present and “ich so tiefer in die Geheimnisse der Maoribevölkerung einzudringen hoffte”.⁴¹ His impressions of the Maori naturally contain various images, which not only differ from and support the stereotypes of the day, but are also consistent with the views of a German ethnologist and that of a medical practitioner; yet he seems to immediately find Maori, albeit in the cities, who seem to fit the negative examples given by Hochstetter. From his first observations, Maori are often seen to be somewhat demoralised – always drinking and smoking, or at least begging for tobacco, but frequently entertaining, if not all at the same time,⁴² while their clothing “variirt in allen Graden der Verlüderung” (although he notes there are Maori “Gentlemen” in Parliament who look completely respectable despite their ‘moko’ giving them “einen starken Ausdruck von Wildheit”).⁴³ In fact, he argues, one can always find “eingeborene Zecher [...], meist alte Häuptlinge, die hier ohne Beschäftigung von dem Ertrag ihrer Landverkäufe leben”.⁴⁴ At times one finds attractive women among the Maori, especially in the Hot Lake district,⁴⁵ but he notes that their deterioration and degradation, particularly in the urban areas, is all the more clear than with the males: “Häufig hocken sie betrunken auf der Strasse herum.”⁴⁶ Moreover, while the men sometimes possess “etwas Stolz und Gebieterisches in ihrer Haltung”⁴⁷ and like to parade on their horses in “oft prächtige, martialische Gestalten”, the women fail to deliver the same effect despite possessing some of the best costumes of the day: “Ihre Züge sind unweiblich grob, ihr schwarzer Haarwust meist nicht genug gepflegt, und in allen Bewegungen ist soviel Urwüchsiges,

³⁹ Buchner, *Reise durch den Stillen Ozean*, 115.

⁴⁰ Buchner, “Reise durch den Stillen Ocean”, 95.

⁴¹ Buchner, *Reise durch den Stillen Ozean*, 158. However, it was only Europeans who called for him to see sick Maori: “Diese selbst schienen mich nicht zu wünschen und zu mir viel weniger Vertrauen zu haben als zu einem in der Nähe wohnenden Zauberer. Selten erntete ich etwas wie Dankbarkeit. Vielleicht auch fürchteten die Maoris, dass ich Bezahlung verlangen würde” (ibid., 158).

⁴² See, for example, ibid., 91, 98, 102, 116f., 121, 123, 132, 148-50, 152, 155, 166f., 181.

⁴³ Ibid., 91.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 91.

⁴⁵ See ibid., 120, 122, 134, 150, 166.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 91.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 91.

Eckiges, dass ihr Vornehmthun höchstens komisch, wenn nicht gar abgeschmackt wirkt.”⁴⁸ The women, it seems, are even treated poorly by their own children: “[E]in nackter fünfjähriger Junge [schlug] [...] ungestüm mit der Faust auf seine Mutter [...], bis sie ihm die Brust zum Saugen reichte”.⁴⁹

This is followed by his disappointment and annoyance at finding the stereotypical greedy Maori in the Hot Lake district, whose “Spekulationsgeist”⁵⁰ has been well documented, if not also exaggerated.⁵¹ Here, Buchner observes the new emphasis of the younger generation: “Der alte Geist des Haka war eben unter dem jüngeren Volk nicht mehr vorhanden, und wenn er jetzt noch hie und da produziert wird, so geschieht es blos des Geldes wegen und vor Touristen, die nichts davon verstehen.”⁵² Furthermore, when his Maori guides demand further money from his tour group he is outraged at their audacity after having already paid for their services in the first place:

Wir armen Europäer waren nicht so praktisch gekleidet und standen verlegen am Rande, während jene sich höhnisch erboten, für einen Shilling uns hinüberzutragen. Wir waren entrüstet ob dieser Frechheit. Sie waren unsere gemietheten Diener, jeder von den Kerls kostete uns per Tag fünf Shilling und die Verpflegung, und nun wagten sie noch uns extra zu brandschatzen. Gerne hätten wir uns der Stiefel und sonstiger Anhängsel entledigt, allein wir hätten sie sicher wegen ihrer Feuchtigkeit nicht wieder anlegen können. Wir wollten um keinen Preis nachgeben und beschlossen, auf das Kanuu zu warten.⁵³

It seems the Maori are only stirred into action as soon as they receive his second payment and at once became very attentive guides.⁵⁴ However, he does note that in other situations he was only once treated in an unfriendly manner by Maori.⁵⁵

As the future director of a German ethnological museum would appreciate, he also views seemingly abandoned ancient Maori relics as being left needlessly at the mercy of the elements, in doing so providing the reader with a similar position to Reischek:

⁴⁸ Ibid., 110.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 99.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 123.

⁵¹ “[T]ourists came with idealised preconceptions of an indigenous people who were bound to nature, an integral part of an exotic landscape, and were disconcerted to find that Te Arawa were entrepreneurial providers of tourist experiences, charging entry to sights and expecting payment for guiding and entertainment. Disputes with Te Arawa over these payments contributed to critical tourist tales that multiplied and repeated one another. Travellers described the Maori hosts as manipulative and greedy, lazy and drunk, or as comic figures – men holding an umbrella as they bathed in hot pools, or women hideous in high heels and red and yellow clothing ‘loud enough to make one’s head ache’” (McClure, *Wonder Country*, 12f.).

⁵² Buchner, *Reise durch den Stillen Ozean*, 145.

⁵³ Ibid., 152.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 152f.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 162.

Dort wären noch viele werthvolle Dinge für unsere Museen zu retten. Ehemals war sie bewohnt und ein Theil der Ortschaft. Jetzt ist sie “tabu” erklärt, geheiligt, verpönt oder wie man dieses allgemein polynesische Wort übersetzen will. Wahrscheinlich deshalb, weil die Wellenbewegung des Sees, unterstützt von der Wirkung der heissen Quellen, welche den ganzen Boden durchsetzen, sie allmählich hinwegspült. Erst ganz kürzlich sollen in einer stürmischen Nacht mehrere Hütten untergraben und verschlungen worden sein. Hie und da ragen noch vier Pfähle aus dem Wasser. [...] Kein Mensch, auch die Regierung nicht, scheint sich um diese Schätze zu kümmern, und so stehen sie denn so lange bis sie eines schönen Tages der Wind umwirft und der vollständigen Verrottung preisgibt. [...] Wie viel wäre hier noch zu retten, nicht blos auf dem Lande, sondern auch auf dem Grunde des seichten Sees. Wie gerne würde ich hier einen ganzen Wagen voll mitgenommen haben, wenn ich die Mittel dazu gehabt hätte. Aber es fehlte mir an Geld, und dann wäre auch die Auffindung und Feststellung der betreffenden Eigenthümer und ihre Befriedigung allzu zeitraubend und mühevoll gewesen.⁵⁶

Within the confines of this region, however, he notes that there still exists a visible presence of the Constabulary Force,⁵⁷ even though the wars have since abated, as the Government now takes a more practical and patient approach, and “giebt [...] sich alle erdenkliche Mühe, die gefährlichen tapferen Maoris nicht zu reizen und hofft auf ihr allmähliches Aussterben”.⁵⁸

Two scenes, on the other hand, stand in the face of popular belief expressed in romanticised travel literature, the first being the idea that Maori women behave like the stereotypical South Sea Siren exciting and enticing passers-by from hot pools with their feminine wiles:

Die Weiber und Mädchen beobachten in der Regel die grösste Sorgfalt, beim Hinein- und Herausgehen so wenig als möglich von ihren Reizen zu exponiren, und jenes Titelbild, welches Lieutenant Meade seinem Buch über Neuseeland voranschickt,⁵⁹ auf welchem er badende Nymphen von antiker Formenschönheit und mehr als europäischer Lilienweise unter dem kochenden Sprühregen eines gewaltigen Geysers sich amüsiren und produziren lässt, fand ich niemals verwirklicht. Nur alte Vetteln geniren sich weniger und zeigen sich oft in der ganzen Länge ihrer nicht sehr aphroditischen Leiber.⁶⁰

Moreover, there are no signs of overpowering urges or one individual violating the decency of another in the Maori bathing rituals (even though, in one case, he witnesses the curiosity of some Maori to see what is hidden behind the swimming outfit of an old man!). He nevertheless finds this custom of nudity in the vicinity of the Hot Lakes surprising in a country where the “bibelfrome und bis zum Unerträglichen anständige Brite neun Zehntel der Bevölkerung

⁵⁶ Ibid., 136-38.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 116.

⁵⁸ Buchner, “Reise durch den Stillen Ocean”, 96; cf. Buchner, *Reise durch den Stillen Ozean*, 184.

⁵⁹ Buchner is referring here to Herbert Meade’s *A Ride through the Disturbed Districts of New Zealand* (2nd Ed., 1871).

⁶⁰ Buchner, *Reise durch den Stillen Ozean*, 129.

bildet”.⁶¹ Those who have nothing better to do, as appears to be the case without exception among the Maori, often bathe at least three times a day: straight after waking up, in the evening during sunset, before going to bed around midnight, as well as during the early hours of the morning when one cannot sleep.⁶² The second scene occurs during a canoe voyage, in which the bickering, excitement and indecisiveness of his guides almost cause disaster:

Kurz eine Gefahr nach der anderen drohte aus der Unentschlossenheit und Aufgeregtheit des braunen Piratengesindels, dem wir in die Hände gefallen waren. Ihre ganzen Navigationskünste, von denen die Neuseeländischen Reisehandbücher viel Rühmliches zu berichten wissen, äusserten sich mehr in einem ewigen wüsten Geschrei, einem ewigen rathlosen Hin- und Herfackeln, als in einer zweckmässigen ernsten Thätigkeit. Und zu alle dem waren die Kerls noch schmälich faul, ruhten gemächlich aus oder frugen uns durch Geberden, ob wir nicht auch einmal rudern wollten.⁶³

Thus, his real life experiences seem to dispel one fallacy, only to replace it with further stereotypes.

The next visitor to be examined has often been referred to as the “father of modern kinematics”. Franz Reuleaux, a professor of mechanical engineering, became Director of the Royal Industrial Academy in Berlin between 1868 and 1879, before acting as German Commissioner to both Australian international exhibitions in Sydney (1879-80) and Melbourne (1880-81).⁶⁴ As the second exhibition was coming to an end, he and Georg Seelhorst, Secretary to the German Commission in Melbourne, set about organising a short trip to New Zealand with ethnological⁶⁵ and geological pursuits in mind.⁶⁶ The two of them left Sydney on the *Ringarooma* on 28 April 1881 and arrived in Auckland in the early hours of 4 May after a stopover in Russell on the night

⁶¹ Ibid., 129.

⁶² Ibid., 129f.

⁶³ Ibid., 151.

⁶⁴ See, for example, Wolfhard Weber, “Reuleaux, Franz, Maschinenbauingenieur, Begründer der Kinematik”, in: *NDB* 21, 453f.; Hans-Joachim Braun, “Franz Reuleaux”, in: *Berlinische Lebensbilder. Bd. 6 – Techniker*. Eds. W. Treue and W. König. Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1990, 279-92; Hans Zopke, “Professor Franz Reuleaux: A Biographical Sketch”, in: *Cassier's Magazine* 11:2 Dec (1896): 133-39; R. F. Keam, *Tarawera: The Volcanic Eruption of 10 June 1886*. Auckland: Author, 1988, 1-7.

⁶⁵ Reuleaux, “Ausflug nach Neuseeland”, 67f., 72, 550.

⁶⁶ Seelhorst even attempted to climb Mt Tarawera with the part-Maori guide, Kate Middlemass, in search of a crater from a suspected meteor landing, but he did not succeed. As it turned out, however, he had reportedly visited a part of the mountain which had not been climbed before (Georg Seelhorst, *Australien in seinen Weltausstellungsjahren 1879-81*. Augsburg: Reichel, 1882, 297-302). Reuleaux later speaks of the catastrophic destruction from the Tarawera eruption on 10 June 1886 which affected this very same area (Franz Reuleaux, “Die vulkanischen Ausbrüche in Neuseeland”, in: *WIDM* 61:361 (1886): 143f.).

of the 2nd.⁶⁷ Before their departure on the *Arawata* on 18 May,⁶⁸ Reuleaux and Seelhorst had visited Rotomahana, Te Wairoa, Taupo, Ohinemutu, Tauranga and Auckland, but were unable to visit the South Island as hoped due to time constraints.⁶⁹ It was not until 1884 and 1885, however, that Reuleaux's popular and somewhat philosophical account of his short visit appeared in *Westermanns Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte* under the title "Ein Ausflug nach Neuseeland".

The first thing that strikes Reuleaux on reaching the outskirts of Russell is the appearance of an uninhabited and somewhat lonely, albeit beautiful, wilderness: "[D]och lastete wie ein Druck darauf die Einsamkeit, denn weit und breit war kein Haus, kein Gehöft, kein Weg zu erblicken."⁷⁰ When approaching Auckland, however, he finds the countryside "schon fast besät von freundlichen Landhäusern inmitten von Gärten und parkartigen Anlagen",⁷¹ while the city wears the "Stempel der Neuheit" and offers clean and friendly accommodation.⁷² While in Auckland, the opportunity arises to meet several German-speaking immigrants and visitors, including Siegfried Kohn, the Berlin-trained jeweller, diamond cutter, gold and silversmith, practical working optician, award-winning exhibitor and Government supplier of passes, medals and watches,⁷³ who "mir von einem früheren kurzen Besuch her bekannt war und der es an Gastfreundlichkeit gegen deutsche Landsleute gern allen zuvorthun möchte".⁷⁴ This is then followed by Gustav von der Heyde, the German Consul, politician, businessman and chairman of the 'German Club',⁷⁵ who invites them on a trip to Mt Eden,⁷⁶ and Georg Zürn, whom they meet in the same club:

Er hatte sich aus dem sächsischen Militärdienst berurlauben lassen, um, dem Reisetrieb gehorchend, die Südseeländer kennen zu lernen. Seine lebendigen Schilderungen und ethnographischen Urteile fesselten uns bis zu später Stunde. Es ist bekannt, daß der kräftige,

⁶⁷ Reuleaux refers to the ship as the *Rotomahana* and gives the incorrect departure date of 26 June (Reuleaux, "Ausflug nach Neuseeland", 130-39). However, the local newspapers show that the ship was in fact the *Ringarooma* and that they arrived in May (*NZH*, 4 May (1881): 4; *The Auckland Evening Star* [=AES] 3 May (1881): 2; *AES* 4 May (1881): 2).

⁶⁸ *NZH*, 19 May (1881): 4.

⁶⁹ Reuleaux wrote a telegram to Haast stating that it was impossible for him to visit the South Island and ultimately meet him in Christchurch, as he was leaving for Sydney later that night (Franz Reuleaux, "Telegram to Haast, 18 May 1881", in: *Haast Family Papers, Correspondence*, MS-Papers-0037-130, ATL).

⁷⁰ Reuleaux, "Ausflug nach Neuseeland", 135.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 270f.

⁷³ "Kohn, Siegfried", in: *CNZ* 1, 759.

⁷⁴ Reuleaux, "Ausflug nach Neuseeland", 270.

⁷⁵ See James N. Bade, "Gustav von der Heyde", in: *Welt für sich*, 242-251; James N. Bade, "Gustav von der Heyde: Director of Henderson and Macfarlane and M. P. for Waitemata", in: *West Auckland Remembers*. Vol. 2. Ed. James N. Bade. Auckland: West Auckland Historical Society, 1992, 77-89.

⁷⁶ Reuleaux, "Ausflug nach Neuseeland", 271.

lebensfrische Mann, dessen Studien auch für Deutschlands Ausfuhrhandel noch so vieles Wertvolle zu liefern versprochen, ein Jahr etwa nach unserem Besuch verunglückt ist; wie, weiß man noch zur Stunde nicht. Er ist von einem Morgenausflug, den er von einem Landhause aus mit der Vogelflinte auf dem Rücken machte, nicht zurückgekehrt; auch ist von ihm trotz sorgfältigstem peinlichstem Suchen keine Spur mehr gefunden worden.⁷⁷

Finally, it is not long before they also make the acquaintance of Reischek who notably leads them on a day excursion into the local woods and provides them with all types of zoological information, as well as many interesting items from his private collections.⁷⁸ Reuleaux describes the achievements of this hard-working explorer as his having brought together “die Fauna des Inselreiches mit ebenso trefflichem Jagdwie [sic] Ausstopfgeschick in dem Museum. Er salzte und arsenizierte die Felle und Bälge, hatte in Fässern die herangebrachten Amphibien in Spiritus und baute die ausgestopften Vögel in lebendigen, der Natur vorzüglich abgelauchten Stellungen an dünnen Baumzweigen auf, für jedes Tier voll Interesse und Naturkenntnis”.⁷⁹ Just prior to his mentioning of Reischek, it is no surprise to see him also expressing the same European viewpoint on the collecting of Maori craftwork: “Wie sehr muß man aber wegen dieser letzteren Sammlungsrichtung den Sammlern und Kustoden recht geben, welche jetzt, wo es noch Zeit ist, die noch bestehenden, aber unfehlbar dem baldigen Untergang geweihten Kunstfertigkeiten und Leistungen des begabten Stammes festzuhalten und auch zu würdigen suchen.”⁸⁰

Both Reuleaux and Seelhorst are soon inspired to visit the island of Mokoia in Lake Rotorua by the local entrepreneur and innkeeper, Robert Graham,⁸¹ after divulging to them the existence of the ‘Matuatonga’, which had only been seen once by Sir George Grey sixteen years earlier before the Maori found that his secretary had knocked off a piece of stone from the “uralte[n] Götterbild”⁸² and promptly buried it. Graham subsequently offers his services to try to persuade the Maori on the island to dig up the treasure for his guests. Once successful, Reuleaux then proceeds to make several sketches before it is re-interred.⁸³ No sooner has he finished, however, than Maori men, women and children begin to encircle him, as he misunderstands the significance of his actions and, unbeknown to him, is made ‘tapu’:

⁷⁷ Ibid., 274.

⁷⁸ Seelhorst, *Australien*, 312; Reuleaux, “Ausflug nach Neuseeland”, 276. Reuleaux, for example, brought two preserved tuatara back with him, one intended for the Berlin Museum, the other for the Dresden Zoological Museum (ibid., 541n).

⁷⁹ Ibid., 276.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 276.

⁸¹ See Douglas Graham, “Graham, Robert 1820 – 1885: Merchant, farmer, landowner, politician, provincial superintendent, tourism promoter”, in: *DNZB* 1, 156f.

⁸² Reuleaux, “Ausflug nach Neuseeland”, 57.

⁸³ Ibid., 66f.; Seelhorst, *Australien*, 270-73.

Wer tapu oder einen unter tapu Stehenden anfaßt, ist des Todes würdig, ja in der leicht erhitzten Auffassung der Maoris auch dem Tode verfallen, muß getötet werden, jedenfalls droht ihm Gefahr für Leib und Leben. Unvorsichtige Reisende sind in Neuseeland schon in große Gefahr gekommen, weil sie unter Tapu stehende Dinge angefaßt. Mr. Graham erläuterte mir nun, ich habe mir die Hände zu waschen, oder genau mitten in dem gefüllten Eimer, welchen nun des Häuptlings Tochter scheu vor mich hinstellte oder mehr schlenkerte, aber ja nicht das Metall berühren, weil sonst die Leute den Eimer wegwerfen müßten; ich würde dann nachher durch den Häuptling aus dem Tapu gelöst werden.⁸⁴

Through the course of their trip the pair are also allowed to visit Tongariro after Horonuku Te Heuheu Tukino⁸⁵ gives “seine hoheitliche Erlaubnis und sodann auch Pferde und Mannschaften [...], nachdem er gehört, wir seien von der Nation tapferer Krieger, ‘die den großen Häuptling Napoleon geschlagen’”.⁸⁶ However, they cannot reach the mountain in the day they have to spare.⁸⁷

Reuleaux gives much less emphasis to the common Maori stereotypes illustrated in Buchner’s account, apart from several references to the “schmutzige, zerissene, ungeknudelte europäische Kleidungsstücke”⁸⁸ of ‘civilised’ Maori, the efforts of his Maori rowers being “viel zu faul”⁸⁹ (but strong and fast once it becomes a competition between rival canoes and being the first one back suddenly emerges as “ein verlockendes Extrahonorar”),⁹⁰ their placing of church and Sunday school ahead of their guiding duties,⁹¹ and their apparent worship of money which is still evident in the Maori meetinghouse in Ohinemutu. While he praises their embracing of money, in this case, the act of nailing silver and gold coins onto the walls to represent famous Gods and mythical heroes is not so wise, especially when it comes from earnings taken from successful land transactions: “Nagelt sie nur an, ihr Thörichten, die goldenen Dinger, die ihr für euer schönes Land erhieltet; dieser euer Stolz wird euer Untergang sein!”⁹² However, in the scientific tradition of Hochstetter and others, Reuleaux also paints a dominant picture of loss and decay starting from the moment the Treaty of Waitangi (meaning “weeping water”) was signed:

⁸⁴ Reuleaux, “Ausflug nach Neuseeland”, 67.

⁸⁵ See Steven Oliver, “Te Heuheu Tukino IV, Horonuku ? – 1888: Ngati Tuwharetoa leader, carver”, in: *DNZB* 2, 515f.; Grace, *Tuwharetoa*, 458-62.

⁸⁶ Reuleaux, “Ausflug nach Neuseeland”, 556. Seelhorst writes: “Zu unserem Erstaunen hatte er von unserem grossen Kanzler, dem Fürsten BISMARCK gehört und vom Kriege 1870/71. Er sprach seine Freude aus, Angehörige des Volkes zu sehen, welches den grossen Häuptling NAPOLEAN gefangen genommen hatte” (Seelhorst, *Australien*, 294).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 294f.

⁸⁸ Reuleaux, “Ausflug nach Neuseeland”, 137.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 555.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 540, 543.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 544.

Das Wasser mochte wohl weinen für die Maoris, welche den Verlust ihrer Freiheit, ihrer Selbständigkeit, ja eigentlich ihrer ferneren Existenz vertragsmäßig gutheißen. Denn das Herabschmelzen ihrer Zahl geht seitdem mit Schnelligkeit vor sich. 1840 waren ihrer noch 115000, aber 1878 nur noch 43000. Zur Zeit dieser letzteren Zählung betrug die "jährliche Abnahme", diese traurige Ziffer, welche die Geister der Wasser in Waitangi wohl ahnten, etwa 750. Was soll man diesen Daten gegenüber zu Macaulays Phantasmagorie sagen, welche nach einem Jahrhundert den Neuseeländer auf der Londonbrücke die Stätte betrachten läßt, wo einst ein untergegangenes Volk, die Engländer, geherrscht!⁹³ Macaulay war eine zu redliche Natur, um im Hohn so zu sprechen; die Stunde indessen, wo ihm seine Phantasie den triumphierenden Maorisohn vorgaukelte, gehörte gewiß nicht zu seinen klarsten.⁹⁴

With each passing ship and each new immigrant, he believed the imminent demise of the Maori was brought nearer: "Wie mögen sie besorgt von dort herab der Schiffe immer mehr haben kommen sehen und der weißen Männer, deren Übermacht sie kennen gelernt und welche so rasch alle Gewalt in ihre Hände bekommen hatten, so daß die Inlandssöhne vor ihnen weichen mußten, sei es im Guten oder in Bösen, in Friede oder Streit, aber weichen, weichen."⁹⁵ When facing the British, the Maori are described as 'brave' and 'clever',⁹⁶ but against one another their antics are 'foolish' and 'devilish' through treating murder and cannibalism as sport, in which the "Thorheit der braunen streitsüchtigen Bursche, die sich von Stamm zu Stamm die blutigsten Niederlagen abwechselnd beibrachten, scheint mehr noch die Schuld als das Eindringen der Weißen",⁹⁷ resulting in their more rapid and assured decline, which "ihnen der eindringende Fremdling nun erst recht bringt".⁹⁸ However, in saying that, this earlier lust for war has now been replaced by a more good-humoured and temperate state of mind, as witnessed in the behaviour of his Maori guides: "Das Ganze bot einen Einblick in die wirklich harmlose Gutmütigkeit, die dem Maori im allgemeinen, wenigstens im Kreise des Stammes, eigen sein soll, jedenfalls den Engländern das Herrschen ungemein erleichtert."⁹⁹

In the end, the Maori may have lost "das Land der alten, einst so mächtigen Götter und Titanen",¹⁰⁰ but they have, in his opinion, not yet completely lost all their freedoms, even though

⁹³ "Macaulay's New Zealander" is taken from Lord Thomas Macaulay's concluding remarks in an 1840 review which referred to the future event of a Maori traveller (but often thought of as European following theories of 'fatal impact') sketching the ruins of St. Paul's cathedral while standing on the remains of London Bridge. Needless to say, it proved popular with early New Zealand propaganda.

⁹⁴ Reuleaux, "Ausflug nach Neuseeland", 138.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 272.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 279-82.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 278.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 70.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 547.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 556.

they are in the process of doing so. Fittingly, he confirms his philosophical position with the following final thoughts on the future of the Maori:

Es war gerade Gerichtstermin, wo die Landkäufe gesetzlich geregelt wurden. Ich bekam zuzusehen und zu hören, wie ihnen das Land gesetzlich abgekauft wurde, nachdem sie, nicht unähnlich Angeklagten, zeugenbeweislich dargethan, daß ihnen das Landstück, um welches es sich handelte, gehörte! Wie scharf wurde inquiriert, wie sah die stumm am Boden des weiten Saales hockende Schar der Männer und Weiber erwartungsvoll und betroffen auf zu den weißen Richtern am Tisch! Es war der Vorgang des Abbröckelns, des Zergehens einer Nationalität, eines Volkes. Ich muß gestehen, daß mich das Miterleben der Einzelheiten dieses Prozesses der Desorganisation innerlich bewegte. Um so mehr, wenn ich nach dem Verlassen des in einem Fort gelegenen Gerichtssaales die belebte Menge der Maoris überschaute, die hin- und herliefen zwischen dem Fort und – dem großen Wirtshaus, wo sie johlten und spielten und tranken, denn sie hatten doch soeben Massen Geld bekommen; in manche Hunderte von Pfunden ging es ja öfter.

Aber auch allgemein historisch schien mir der Vorgang interessant. Man konnte die Parallele ziehen, welche in die Zeit des römischen Eindringens in das damalige Deutschland fällt: Ebenso überlegen in der Kultur wie die Engländer den Maoris waren die Römer unseren Vorvätern; auch damals ordnete das Gesetz, was Waffen, Klugheit und Gold von dem Besitz der weniger Kultivierten losgelöst. Auch damals stand hoch ausgebildete überlegene Kriegskunst der schlichten Tapferkeit und Leibesstärke gegenüber; auch damals wurden Gebietsabgrenzungen verabredet und gern von der überlegenen Seite bestritten und überschritten. Nur war die Ausdauer unserer Vorväter und ihre Masse groß genug, dem Vorschreiten des Eindringlings Grenzen zu setzen; auch stiegen sie mehr und mehr auf an Kultur und Kriegstüchtigkeit, während der Fremdling, der die Kultur gebracht, einem sinkenden Volk angehörte. Ein Spiegelbild bleibt aber deshalb dennoch der heutige politisch-ethnische Prozeß auf dem südlichen Inselland von Zuständen, welche die Entwicklung unserer Nation vor vielen Jahrhunderten so bestimmt beeinflußt haben, und deshalb schien mir das Ganze der dort sich abspielenden Erscheinungen in Natur und Leben besonders wert, auch dem deutschen Leser in den vorstehenden schlichten Beobachtungen vorgeführt zu werden.¹⁰¹

Thus, Reuleaux develops further the Germanic-Maori connection of Hochstetter and Haast through now seeing a more specific affinity between the Germanic tribes who faced the established power of the Roman Empire and the Maori who now face the might of the British Empire, which in itself shows where his sympathies lay. However, while the Germans managed to ward off and ultimately outlive their more civilised invaders through sheer numbers and strength, the same could not be said of the Maori who, although they may have had strength and courage on their side in battle, did not, in his opinion, possess sufficient numbers to repel the encroaching British civilisation.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 556f.

Otto Finsch (1839-1917), Alexander von Hübner (1811-92) and Robert von Lendenfeld (1858-1913)

The next category of traveller to be examined includes those also interested in the political, commercial and economic success of the ‘Britain of the South’. Otto Friedrich Hermann Finsch, a leading ornithologist of his day, is one such figure.¹⁰² Finsch became the first director of the Museum of Natural History and Ethnography in Bremen in 1876 after serving as curator since 1864. With funding from the Humboldt Foundation he then made his important Pacific expedition between 1879 and 1882, in which his ethnological interests often took over from his ornithological.¹⁰³ During the voyage he made an eleven-week stay in New Zealand, arriving at Bluff on the *Te Anau* on 23 May 1881, Port Chalmers on the 24th and Lyttelton on the 26th. Following visits to Invercargill, Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington, Wanganui, Taranaki, Hamilton, the Southern Alps and the Hot Lake district, he left Auckland on the *Arawata* on 10 August.¹⁰⁴ The popular-style narrative of his stay in New Zealand, which is the main focus of this section, was published as part of a series in the *Hamburger Nachrichten* in November that same year as “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”. In addition to this, he also contributed a number of publications and letters relating to New Zealand ornithology, as well as the later scientific paper “Charakteristik der Avifauna Neu-Seelands als zoo-geographische Provinz in ihren Veränderungen und deren Ursachen” which appeared in *Globus* in 1896.¹⁰⁵

In the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, Finsch sums up New Zealand as “ein in jeder Beziehung reiches und gesegnetes Land” due to the abundance of mineral resources, the excellence of the land for raising horses, cattle and sheep, and the success of the wool industry.¹⁰⁶ However, his

¹⁰² Finsch was made an honorary member of the New Zealand Institute in 1870 (*TPNZI* 3 (1870): 358), while several New Zealand birds have also been named after him, including the extinct Finsch’s duck.

¹⁰³ See, for example, Dietmar Henze, “Finsch, Otto”, in: *EEEE* 2, 218-23; Herbert Abel, “Finsch, Otto Friedrich Hermann, Forschungsreisender, Zoologe und Ethnograph”, in: *NDB* 5, 163f.; Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists*, 92-98; P. G. Sack, “Finsch, Otto (1839-1917)”, in: *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 4: 1851-1890. Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1972, 170f.; Adolf Mießler, “Berühmte Geographen, Naturforscher und Reisende: Otto Finsch”, in: *DRfGS* 9 (1887): 574f.; Otto Finsch, *Systematische Uebersicht der Ergebnisse seiner Reisen und schriftstellerischen Thätigkeit (1859-1899)*. Berlin: Friedländer & Sohn, 1899.

¹⁰⁴ Otto Finsch, “Ornithological Letters from the Pacific. IX New Zealand”, in: *The Ibis* (1882): 391; Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, 3 Nov (1881): 1; 12 Nov (1881): 1; *ST* 24 May (1881): 2; *ODT* 25 May (1881): 2; *LT* 27 May (1881): 4; *NZH* 11 Aug (1881): 4.

¹⁰⁵ Otto Finsch, “Charakteristik der Avifauna Neu-Seelands als zoo-geographische Provinz in ihren Veränderungen und deren Ursachen”, in: *Globus* 69:2 (1896): 21-24; 69:3 (1896): 42-45; 69:4 (1896): 55-57.

¹⁰⁶ Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, 4 Nov (1881): 1. This is despite the threat of kea to the business of sheep farming on country stations in the vicinity of the Southern Alps, in which he cites examples of 205 deaths from 310 sheep on one farm and 19 out of 20 deaths on another (*ibid.*, 5 Nov (1881): 1).

first impressions gleaned from even the country's southern-most town of Invercargill is of a land of bankers and lawyers catering specifically to hapless borrowers and land squabbles:

Wie ich das später allenthalben in Neu-Seeland fand, fällt dem Fremden besonders die große Anzahl von Banken auf, von denen ich nicht weniger als sechs zählte, sowie nicht minder die unverhältnißmäßig starke Vertretung des Advocatenstandes. Ueberall treten Einem Firmenschilder mit "Lawyer", "Solicitor", "Barrister" und wie alle die englischen Titel heißen, entgegen. Wie mir von Einheimischen gesagt wurde, ist Neu-Seeland deshalb für Advocaten so überaus günstig, weil die Gesetze über Landverkäufe sehr verwickelte sind, und was die Banken anbetrifft, so ließ ich mir sagen, daß ohne diese Hülfe englischen Capitals es vielen Geschäftsleuten überhaupt unmöglich sein würde, weiter zu arbeiten.¹⁰⁷

The various successes over the past decade or so could only be achieved through heavy borrowing, leaving the colony with a reported average debt of £62 per person. As a result of personal observations and information supplied by colonists, he notes that skilled workers were leaving in their thousands and this shortfall could not easily be made up, especially in light of the unequal distribution of land and wealth, which saw certain individuals owning vast tracts of land while poorer ones struggled to make ends meet:

Ich selbst machte die Wahrnehmung, daß mehr Arbeiter aus-, als einwandern; jeder nach Australien gehende Dampfer war mit Zwischendeckspassagieren, darunter vielen Familien, beladen. Arbeitslosigkeit ist die Ursache dieser Auswanderung, hauptsächlich weil die Arbeiter von dem früher gewohnten Tagelohn von 8-10 Shilling, der inzwischen auf 3-6 gefallen ist, nicht abgehen wollen, wie man mir sagte. Und dafür werden wahrscheinlich Gründe vorliegen, denn so überaus billig auch einige wenige Lebensbedürfnisse, darunter hauptsächlich Fleisch, sind, so ist Neu-Seeland im Uebrigen doch ein sehr theures Land, und das theuerste welches ich bisher kennen lernte.¹⁰⁸

The image one is left with is of a colony facing growing pains after a long period of sustained development and colonisation, whereby the many ideals of this southern British paradise are fading fast, at least for migrant workers, and although it might still be a paradise for bankers and lawyers, the same cannot be said for everyone else. Even the German people (although this does not extend to Prussians) are at least freer in one aspect than their New Zealand counterparts: "Obwohl sich die Neu-Seeländer als das freieste Volk der Welt betrachten, so herrscht doch kein allgemeines Wahlrecht wie bei uns. Nur Leute von englischer Abkunft und über 21 Jahre alt, welche Grundbesitz (Pacht oder Eigenthum) im Werthe von £ 25 (= 500 M.) nachweisen können,

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 3 Nov (1881): 1.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 4 Nov (1881): 1.

sind stimmberechtigt.”¹⁰⁹ Naturally, this is all information that Reuleaux could not have obtained from his short and less travelled experiences.

What have not changed for the worse, however, are the guarantee of a free education,¹¹⁰ and the predominantly lively and charming character of the cities and towns throughout the country, which have everything you would expect to find in Europe, and in some cases more so, including an array of banks, museums, theatres, hospitals, public libraries, schoolhouses, newspapers and various higher institutions.¹¹¹ One can, for example, enjoy the high life in the esteemed company of the Governor, ministers, leading officials and businessmen with the frequent formal balls that take place during the winter season in the capital (which Finsch is only able to attend himself through the help of the local German Consul, Friedrich Krull, who “sich der allgemeinsten Hochachtung erfreut und, beiläufig bemerkt, ein engerer Landsmann Fritz Reuter’s ist”).¹¹² Then there is the general enjoyment of partaking in New Zealand’s sporting lifestyle, which perhaps also offers a more telling insight into today’s obsession with sporting success on the world stage:

Als charakteristisch für die Kolonie muß auch der großen Leidenschaft ihrer Bewohner für Sport aller Art gedacht werden. Wettrennen, Wettrudern, Fußball, Cricket, Croquet und wie alle die specifisch englischen Spiele heißen, gehören zu den am meisten interessirenden Ereignissen und bilden das Tagesgespräch. Bei den jährlichen Wettrennen in Wanganui sind Preise zu gewinnen, so hoch als bei irgend einem englischen und sein Ruderclub besitzt eine Reihe der elegantesten und besten Boote, wie sie ein ähnliches Institut einer großen Stadt wohl schwerlich aufzuweisen hat.¹¹³

Due to his museum affiliation, he is naturally most impressed with the state of New Zealand museums, which are generally open every day and frequented by the public, “da sonst kaum andere Sehenswürdigkeiten existiren”.¹¹⁴ His counterpart in Christchurch, Julius von Haast, whose name, he believes, will remain “unvergänglich in den Annalen der Wissenschaft und vielleicht dauernder, als durch die Erhebung in den Adelstand, mit welcher ihn der Kaiser von Oesterreich ehrte”,¹¹⁵ gives the best example of what Germany’s exported talent can do in foreign colonies.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., (*Morgen*) 9 Nov (1881): 2.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 4 Nov (1881): 1; (*Morgen*) 9 Nov (1881): 1f.; (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹¹² Ibid., (*Morgen*) 9 Nov (1881): 2.

¹¹³ Ibid., (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1. Buchner, likewise, notices the early signs of a possible obsession with sport when he reads the *Greymouth Argus*, the first newspaper he had seen in four months at sea, and is disappointed to find it contains more news on the latest sports results than on current political issues in Europe (Buchner, *Reise durch den Stillen Ozean*, 69f.).

¹¹⁴ Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 4 Nov (1881): 1.

Thanks largely to his “genialen intellectuellen Urheber[.] und jetzigen Leiter[.]”,¹¹⁷ the Canterbury Museum exceeds Finsch’s greatest expectations not only in the size of the collections, but also in the variety of scientific fields catered to:

Soweit meine nicht ganz unbedeutende persönliche Kenntniß der Museen der alten und neuen Welt, übertrifft das Christchurch-Museum [sic] die meisten unserer Universitäts-Museen bedeutend und rangirt ebenbürtig mit Stuttgart oder Frankfurt. [...] Wenn man bedenkt, daß das Museum erst Ende 1870 eröffnet wurde, so wird man dem regen Eifer der Antipodier für Naturwissenschaften die vollste Hochachtung nicht versagen können und offen gestehen müssen, daß gegenüber diesen großartigen Leistungen viele unserer heimischen Institute nicht nur in den Schatten gestellt, sondern geradezu beschämt werden.¹¹⁸

Also unaffected by the state of the economy is the eternal beauty of nature. However, Finsch is not always so forthcoming with compliments when it comes to describing certain aspects of the landscape. After being among the tropical plants of the South Pacific, for example, he reflects a number of weeks later on “die ziemlich monotone Landschaft der Südspitze Neu-Seelands, mit ihren langweiligen Flachsstauden und Kohlbäumen!”¹¹⁹ The mighty Southern Alps might also be as grand as the alps of Central Europe or even surpass them in certain locations, but ultimately what they lack, according to Finsch, is variation:

Wir vermissen grüne Matten, schöne Wälder, oder überhaupt den Schmuck abwechselnder Vegetation, sowie mächtige Wasserfälle. Alles starrt uns, bis auf die Schneeregion, Braun in Braun entgegen und macht daher den Eindruck unendlicher Oede und Leere, der durch die fast gänzliche Abwesenheit aller menschlichen Wohnplätze noch vermehrt wird. Jedenfalls verdienen unsere Alpen in jeder Hinsicht den Vorzug und haben von ihren südlichen Collegen nicht sobald Concurrenz zu befürchten.¹²⁰

The reputation of the Hot Lakes, on the other hand, does not disappoint: “So darf man sich den Aufenthalt von Najaden, Nixen und anderen Wassergöttinnen vorstellen und Aphrodite selbst hätte keinen märchenhafteren Ort wählen können, um dem nassen Elemente zu entsteigen.”¹²¹

Furthermore, Finsch also expresses his views on New Zealand conservation in several contributions, and highlights the growing threat of extinction among the native wildlife from

¹¹⁶ He also comments on the German church in Christchurch, whose pastor gives sermons in German and whose bells “ein Geschenk unseres Kaisers [waren], [die] aus französischen Kanonen von 1870-71 gegossen wurden” (ibid., 4 Nov (1881): 1). Sadly, these bells were destroyed during WWI hysteria after it was falsely believed they had been melted down from a German cannon (Jean King, “Deutschfeindliche Hysterie im Ersten Weltkrieg”, in: *Im Schatten zweier Kriege*, 39).

¹¹⁷ Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, 4 Nov (1881): 1.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 4 Nov (1881): 1.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 3 Nov (1881): 1.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 5 Nov (1881): 1.

¹²¹ Ibid., 12 Nov (1881): 1.

foreign invaders in the customary viewpoint of the German naturalist. He is, among other things, critical in particular of acclimatisation societies which introduce foreign birds, “which they do not know even the proper names, and still less whether they are likely to prove useful or may not rather become a nuisance”,¹²² but supports the endeavours of the Government to implement various laws for bird conservation, and strongly recommends the setting up of a central ornithological organisation.¹²³ Unlike today’s critics, Finsch appreciates the tireless devotion of Reischek, who “mehr von ihrer Vogelwelt kennen lernte, als irgend ein anderer”, to the local wildlife, and for one supports the Austrian’s collecting spree due to the rarity of many items:¹²⁴

Seine glücklicher Weise für das k. k. naturhistorische Hofmuseum in Wien geretteten reichen Sammlungen (unter denen der Ethnologie vielleicht der erste Platz gebührt) enthalten daher auch ornithologisch ein Material (in ganzen Serien von Bälgen, nebst Nestern, Eiern und Skeletten), wie es wohl einzig dastehen dürfte und, wenigstens damals, in keinem Kolonial-Museum nur annähernd zu finden war, obgleich auch diese durch Reischek [sic] seitdem wesentlich bereichert wurden. Dieses Material ist um so wertvoller, als es gar manche Arten enthält, mit denen es in erschreckender Weise zu Ende geht und die, jetzt nur noch auf einige kleine Lokalitäten beschränkt, in der That auf dem Aussterbeetat zu stehen scheinen.¹²⁵

The Maori view of conservation, in contrast, seems to span both extremes with the actions of some not allowing the general shooting of waterfowl along the Rotomahana or canoe traffic through the area during breeding season¹²⁶ being juxtaposed with a group of about a dozen Maori hunters armed with “gewöhnliche[n] Bauernkörter” returning from a fourteen-day trek with a “sorgfältig aufgeschichtete[n] und überdachte[n] Haufen präparirter Weka-Körper, der aus nicht weniger als 1500 Stück bestand”.¹²⁷

One of the main objectives in his coming to New Zealand is “Gesichtsmasken von Maories an Lebenden in Gyps abzunehmen”,¹²⁸ which proves a difficult proposition even with the support of William Rolleston, the Minister of Native Affairs,¹²⁹ and others. On the whole,

¹²² Finsch, “Ornithological Letters from the Pacific”, 393.

¹²³ Finsch, “Charakteristik der Avifauna Neu-Seelands”, 56f.

¹²⁴ A case in point is the scant remains of the extinct aboriginal population in Tasmania: “Wie bald wird andere von mir gesehene Stämme der Südsee ein gleiches Schicksal ereilen [sic]? und wie befriedigt fühlte ich mich nicht diesen Thatsache gegenüber in dem Gedanken, von solchen durch vollständige Sammlungen noch gerettet zu haben, was zu retten war, denn auch auf manchen Inseln Mikronesiens wird es bald zu spät sein. Der Fall mit den Tasmaniern ist jedenfalls eine ernste Mahnung an alle Anthropologen und Ethnographen, nicht lässig zu sein” (Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, 3 Nov (1881): 1).

¹²⁵ Finsch, “Charakteristik der Avifauna Neu-Seelands”, 42.

¹²⁶ Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, 12 Nov (1881): 1.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, (*Morgen*) 9 Nov (1881): 1; cf. Finsch, “Charakteristik der Avifauna Neu-Seelands”, 44.

¹²⁸ Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹²⁹ See W. J. Gardner, “Rolleston, William 1831 – 1903: Public administrator, politician, provincial superintendent, educationalist”, in: *DNZB* 1, 372-74.

Finsch is disappointed with both the Europeanised appearance of the Maori and their behaviour, particularly when attempting to collect plaster casts of tattooed faces, leading to more negative comments than other explorers. In these cases the Maori are anything but helpful, “ja so wenig entgegenkommend, scheu und albern, daß sie kaum die originelle Tätowirung gewisser Körperteile sehen ließen”.¹³⁰ In two letters, one published in an anthropological journal, he reveals several factors which proved an annoyance to his collecting activities, such as the worries of some Maori that they would die from the experience, the actions of others pulling all kinds of faces, including terrible grimaces, during the casting process, the fact that touching a Maori head was considered an insult, and the fact that he was readily laughed at in Parihaka and Hamilton by local Maori, who in general seemed to be too interested in dancing and performing the ‘haka’ to concern themselves with scientific research.¹³¹ Before he is finally successful in obtaining six ‘Gypsmasken’ through the help of Buller to add to his collection of almost forty others from the Pacific Island nations, he makes two notable attempts to procure samples and view the Maori “in voller Originalität”.¹³² The first excursion to Parihaka, however, proves fruitless on both counts: “Von der so sehr gerühmten Gastfreundschaft und dem freundlichen Wesen der Maoris fanden wir wenigstens in Parihaka nichts, obschon die Gelegenheit eine besonders günstige war, denn es fanden gerade Feste statt, die mehrere Hunderte Maoris vereinigten.”¹³³ Parihaka was founded on the peaceful teachings of Te Whiti and Tohu Kakahi¹³⁴ who were disposed towards passive resistance and pacifism. The community had grown into a large Maori settlement of about 1500 permanent inhabitants by 1881, and its existence on confiscated land was seen as a further sign of Maori independence in the face of British sovereignty, leading to many false claims that they were merely ‘fanatics’ hell-bent on war,¹³⁵ statements which Finsch, however, does not completely dispute: “Ueberhaupt leben die Maoris in diesen Reservaten ja fast vollständig unabhängig und können thun und lassen was sie wollen. Weißen ist es nicht gestattet, diese Reservationen zu besuchen und als neulich ein solcher dies dennoch wagte, wurde er von den

¹³⁰ Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹³¹ Otto Finsch, “Reise nach Neuseeland”, in: *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 12 Nov (1881): 334; Otto Finsch, “Letter to Julius von Haast, Wanganui, 8 July 1881”, in: Nolden, *German and Austrian Naturalists*, 172f.

¹³² Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹³⁴ See Ailsa Smith, “Tohu Kakahi 1828 – 1907: Te Ati Awa and Taranaki prophet”, in: *DNZB* 2, 541f.

¹³⁵ See Hazel Riseborough, *Days of Darkness: Taranaki, 1878-1884*. Rev. Ed. Auckland: Penguin, 2002; Hazel Riseborough, “Te Pahuatanga o Parihaka”, in: *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance*. Eds. Te Miringa Hohaia, Gregory O’Brien and Lara Strongman. Wellington: City Gallery Wellington, Parihaka Pa Trustees, Victoria University Press, 2001, 19-41.

Maoris einfach todtgeschlagen, ohne daß die Regierung irgend welche Bestrafung der Uebelthäter einleitete.”¹³⁶ Needless to say, when he tries to enter himself, his best efforts are refused:

Es war mir schon in Wellington gesagt worden, mich nicht auf Empfehlungen der Regierung zu berufen und so führte mich mein Begleiter in stilgewandter Rede in Maori als Fremdling ein, der gekommen sei, die Eingebornen kennen zu lernen, zugleich als einen Landsmann des Herrn [Johann Friedrich] Riemenschneider, eines Bremers, der lange Zeit als Missionär unter den Maoris lebte und bei ihnen in großem Ansehen stand.¹³⁷ Aber auch dieser letztere Apell machte keinerlei Eindruck: die ganze Versammlung verharrte in tiefem Stillschweigen, ja ein Häuptling wies die zum Gruß gebotene Hand zurück!¹³⁸

As luck would have it, his next trip to Hamilton coincides with the visit of Tawhiao and about 200 of his followers. As it is in their best interests for the settlers to fraternise with the Kingites, a royal banquet is organised for the occasion, which Finsch is able to take part in thanks to the assistance of Major Gilbert Mair:¹³⁹

So wurde dem “König” z. B. in Hamilton, einem freundlichen Flecken von kaum 200 Einwohnern ein Festbanket gegeben, dessen Menu dem Hôtel einer Großstadt Ehre gemacht haben würde, und bei dem es an schwunghaften Reden nicht mangelte: Ehrenpforten, Musik, singende Schulkinder, Ansprachen durch Bürgermeister und Stadtverordnete gehörten allenthalben in das Programm der Empfangsfeierlichkeiten. Durch die Güte des Regierungs-Commissars für die Eingeborenen, Major Maire [sic], hatte ich überall Zutritt und wurde dem Könige selbst, seiner hübschen jungen Frau Nummer 4 (nicht der vierten) und dem ganzen Hofe vorgestellt.¹⁴⁰

Tawhiao himself, however, is “keineswegs ein schönes Exemplar der Rasse” due in part to his facial features giving him “einen unheimlichen Ausdruck”.¹⁴¹ Instead Finsch is more interested in his “Flügeladjutant”, Te Rerehau: “Er erkundigte sich angelegentlichst nach dem Befinden [...] [Hochstetters] und gab mir einen Brief für ihn mit. [Te] Rerehau, der als vollständiger Gentleman von Wien zurückkam, ist jetzt längst wieder zum echten Kanaka geworden.”¹⁴² Like Krull, Haast and Buchner, he also describes various Maori males as “stattliche, tadellose Figuren, [und] hübsche Kerls”, while “dies vom weiblichen Geschlecht nur in beschränkterem Maaße gilt”.¹⁴³ Finsch then accompanies the King and his followers on a short train journey and is amused at the Maori reaction to their means of transport. Unfortunately, he cannot accept Tawhiao’s subsequent

¹³⁶ Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹³⁷ See Peter Oettli, “Die deutsche christliche Mission unter den Maori Neuseelands”, in: *Welt für sich*, 264-80.

¹³⁸ Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹³⁹ See Paula Savage, “Mair, Gilbert 1843 – 1923: Surveyor, interpreter, soldier, public servant”, in: *DNZB* 1, 260f.

¹⁴⁰ Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

offer to take him to his residence, as it could not take place for another several weeks and he had to return to Auckland.¹⁴⁴

To Finsch's dismay, his best chance at viewing traditional Maori practices again comes to nought, as not even the relative isolation of the Kingite Maori can recreate the characteristics of the classical Maori figures found in Hochstetter's work:

Im Uebrigen interessirte mich das, was ich von ihnen zu sehen bekam, im Ganzen nicht sehr, und meine Erwartungen endlich hier Eingeborene in ihrer vollen Originalität zu finden, wurden wiederum arg enttäuscht. Da gab es keinen Krieger mehr, wie ihn das Titelbild zu Hochstetter's berühmten Werke darstellt, der malerisch mit dem Kaitaki ['kaitaka'] oder künstlich geflochtenen Mantel aus Flachsfaser bekleidet, die elegante kurze Keule aus Grünstein, den Meri ['mere'], in der Hand, gleich einer Gestalt des klassischen Alterthums dasteht. Dieser Figur gleichen die heutigen Maoris nicht mehr im Entferntesten. Kaum drei Männer hatten Flachsmatten umgeschlagen, dagegen war aber Alles, was europäische Toilette für beide Geschlechter zu bieten vermag, vertreten, wenn auch häufig in jenem Stadium, welches mehr oder weniger die Bezeichnung Lumpen verdient. Unter den Damen gab es übrigens einzelne tadellose Toiletten, in Reitkleidern mit Hut und Schleier, Glacéhandschuhen, und dem modernsten Schmuck. Nicht selten waren solche Damen noch überdies in der eigenthümlichen Weise am Kinn und den Lippen tätowirt, welche letztere von zwei schmalen blauen Linien eingesäumt, den Mund unschön vergrößern und somit, wie die ganze Tätowirung, das Gesicht verunzieren. Die beliebtesten Bekleidungsstücke der Maoris beiderlei Geschlechts sind übrigens wollene Decken oder große Umschlagetücher, in die sie sich sehr würde- und geschmackvoll zu hüllen verstehen. [...] Wie in Kleidung, so war auch in der Bewaffung und sonstigen Geräthschaften fast alle Originalität verschwunden. Es gab kaum ein halbes Dutzend Krieger, welche Handkeulen (Meri) [sic] oder andere eigenthümliche Waffen trugen aber die Leute schämten sich nicht mit Zaunlatten, Stöcken und Knütteln, als Substitute ihrer alten Rüstung zu paradiren. Uebrigens zählte das königliche Gefolge an zweihundert, meist mit Doppelflinten bewaffnete Krieger, die zu Ehren des Tages Pulver genug verschossen und sich äußerst martialisch anstellten.¹⁴⁵

Thus, on both counts his expectations of meeting friendly and helpful Maori who live according to traditional customs remain only partially fulfilled at best.

Not surprisingly, the characteristics of the Maori in the Hot Lake district are once again described as troublesome, lazy and greedy. When one cannot avoid “die störenden Scherereien der Eingebornen” and must employ the services of “faulen und unverschämten Maori-Ruderer”,¹⁴⁶ or at least “faulen und schläfrigen Ruderer”,¹⁴⁷ it is worth being aware of the ‘ulterior motives’ of Maori guides in tourist locations:

Ich hoffte hier noch einige Maori-Sachen erstehen zu können, aber meine Börse reichte nicht aus, denn es wurden meist so viele Guineen verlangt, als ich Thaler erwartet hatte. Die Maori des

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., (*Abend*) 9 Nov (1881): 1; cf. Finsch, “Reise nach Neuseeland”, 335.

¹⁴⁶ Finsch, “Aus dem Pacific. X. Neu-Seeland”, 11 Nov (1881): 1.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 12 Nov (1881): 1.

Lake-Districts sind in der That die unverschämtesten, die ich kennen lernte, und durch die vielen Touristen, welche ihnen viel zu verdienen geben, vollends verdorben und verwöhnt worden. So beziehen die Bewohner Ohinemutus allein von den weißen Ansiedlern (Gastwirthen und Landbesitzern) an £ 400 Jahresrente und verdienen mit Wegweisen und Rudern außerdem sehr viel. Die kleine Tour über den Tarawera-See kostet allein £ 2 (= 40 M.). Die Maoris wissen also sehr wohl, was Geld ist und lassen sich so hoch bezahlen wie irgend möglich. Immerhin gelang es mir wenigstens, eine der alten Schnitzereien, eine scheußlich-häßliche, aber sehr gut ausgeführte Ahnenfigur zu retten, die wie so manches andere gute Stück dem Verderben anheim gegeben an der Erde lag. Obwohl ohne jeglichen Nutzen für die Eingeborenen geben sie von solchen alten Reliquien ihrer einstigen Größe nichts ab, wie sie überhaupt wenig entgegenkommend gegen Fremde sind, außer wenn sie dieselben um Tabak und Schnaps anbetteln, was sehr häufig der Fall ist. Ueberhaupt hat sich der Reisende hier allerlei Launen der Eingeborenen zu unterwerfen, die u. A. nicht erlauben, Skizzen zu zu [sic] machen und die mich nach meinen bisherigen Erfahrungen in der Südsee nicht weniger als angenehm berührten.¹⁴⁸

In the end, Europeanisation once again seems to involve adopting not only the best, but also the worst traits of the ‘superior race’.

Another traveller of note was Baron Joseph Alexander von Hübner (born Hafenbredl), a former Austrian diplomat, who had served directly under the Habsburg Chancellor Clemens von Metternich and Prime Minister Felix zu Schwarzenberg, and later international celebrity. His significant career took him to various parts of Europe, including Paris and Rome where he assumed the position of minister and later ambassador to France in 1849-59, and Austrian envoy and minister to the Vatican in 1865-67. As it had been his childhood dream to travel to India, Hübner, at the remarkable age of seventy-one, embarked on a voyage around the British Empire between June 1883 and August 1884. Through the course of this journey he arrived in Bluff on board the *Wairarapa* on 15 October and left Auckland on the *Zealandia* sometime after midnight on the morning of 12 November¹⁴⁹ after travelling the length of the colony by train, coach and ship, including stops in Invercargill, Queenstown, Christchurch, Nelson, Wellington, New Plymouth and the Hot Lake district.¹⁵⁰ This “distinguished statesman and diplomatist”, who was

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 12 Nov (1881): 1.

¹⁴⁹ *ST* 16 Oct (1883): 2; *NZH* 12 Nov (1883): 4; *AES* 12 Nov (1883): 2; Alexander Freiherr von Hübner, *Durch das Britische Reich. Südafrika – Neuseeland – Australien – Indien – Oceanien – Canada*. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1886, I:118f., 162.

¹⁵⁰ See, for example, Friedrich Engel-Janosi, *Der Freiherr von Hübner, 1811-1892: Eine Gestalt aus dem Österreich Kaiser Franz Josephs*. Innsbruck: Universitäts-Verlag Wagner, 1933; Viktor Hantzsch, “Hübner: Joseph Alexander Graf von”, in: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 50. Zweite unveränderte Auflage. Ed. Historische Commission bei der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1971, 498-51; “Berühmte Geographen, Naturforscher und Reisende: Freiherr von Hübner”, in: *DRfGS* 12 (1890): 41-43; Walter G. Wieser, “Hübner, Alexander Graf v. österr. Diplomat und Reiseschriftsteller”, in: *NDB* 9, 718f.; Hübner, *Durch das Britische Reich*, I:v-vi.

said to possess “all the experience and knowledge of the world”¹⁵¹ and was believed to have been “strongly advised by Dr. Hochstetter to make a stay in Auckland”,¹⁵² was described by the local press as “a sincere friend of England”¹⁵³ and “one of those ‘grand old men’ of whom the world has lately had not a few, who have been active and energetic throughout a long life, and who in extreme old age are still endowed with great bodily health and vigour, and whose mental faculties exhibit no signs of decay, but on the contrary, are as acute and alert as ever”.¹⁵⁴ The result of his travels was the publication of the two-volume work *Durch das Britische Reich* in 1886 which appealed to a general audience and armchair travellers alike.¹⁵⁵

In an interview with the *Herald*, Hübner acknowledges the “courtesy and kindness which I have received from all persons with whom I have come in contact” and speaks in the words of a “well-educated Englishman”:

What has struck me most forcibly during my stay in New Zealand has been the great progress that has been made in so short a time. I have been much astonished at this. And, of course, such rapid progress shows great capacities not only in the country, but in the people. The progress made in some parts of America is owing to the enormous influx of people, and to the development of particular localities. Your progress has been a remarkable event in the world’s history. As to your politics, I have not been long enough in the country to form any opinion of value. You are a democratic community, and from the nature of things could have been nothing else. [...] There is no order of nobles here, and no reason for their existence. But absolute equality is a dream, and can never be realised, so long as men have different capacities. You have perfect freedom of government, but are loyal to the Empire, and it is part of your greatness to be connected with so grand a maritime Empire as England. The scenery of New Zealand is exceedingly fine and varied. You have mountains and plains, and every variety of country. Rotorua and Rotomahana are wonderful and unique places. Some spots remind one of the scenes depicted in Dante’s “Inferno.” To look at, it is like a dream.¹⁵⁶

Notably, Hübner’s focus on the colony’s progress, egalitarianism, democracy and connection to the British Empire reveals the hallmarks of a devoted ‘Anglophile’, even though German interest in England began to wane in the 1880s until it was replaced by full-blown ‘Anglophobia’ by the turn of the century as Germany’s own naval and colonial ambitions took on more significance.¹⁵⁷ When compared to Finsch’s sometimes negative perceptions, several other factors appear to have

¹⁵¹ Alexander Freiherr von Hübner, “Baron Hubner Interviewed. His opinions on New Zealand and the European situation”, in: *NZH* 12 Nov (1883): 5.

¹⁵² “Baron Hubner”, in: *NZH* 29 Oct (1883): 5.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁵⁴ Hübner, “Baron Hubner Interviewed”, 5.

¹⁵⁵ An English and French translation of his account were also published that same year as *Through the British Empire* and *A travers l’Empire Britannique, 1883-1884*.

¹⁵⁶ Hübner, “Baron Hubner Interviewed”, 5.

¹⁵⁷ See McClelland, *German Historians*, 161-224.

also contributed to Hübner's overwhelmingly positive image of the colony. These include the fact that the latter was first and foremost treated like a dignitary, with his extensive trip being made possible by the Government providing him with a saloon wagon and free passage by train in both islands,¹⁵⁸ he arrived later and stayed shorter, and his efforts were not frustrated by any official or Maori. However, once he was able to collect his thoughts, consult further literature and compile his account for a German audience several years later, the negative aspects of his experiences, although not many, would also come to the surface.

In *Durch das Britische Reich* Hübner depicts a nation that embodies 'Britishness', wealth and progress, and no hint of the 'Long Depression' seems to appear on the distant horizon. This view is no better illustrated than in the cities he visits. The "Ansehen des Wohlstandes"¹⁵⁹ in the architecture and people of Dunedin, for example, comes across early on, as the churches, museum, schools and various stately buildings "zeugen von dem wachsenden Wohlstande, dem Credit, und dem strebsamen Geiste dieser jungen Stadt welche vielleicht bestimmt ist einst die Handelsmetropole von Neuseeland zu werden".¹⁶⁰ Granted the layout of the streets and appearance of houses may remind one more of Australia or America, there is no ignoring the unmistakable presence of the "Söhne des 'alten Landes'" and a number of Germans who "beloben sich sehr ihrer Beziehungen zu den Anglosachsen".¹⁶¹ Even the passengers waiting at the various train stations en route to Christchurch all appear "wohlgenährt, anständig gekleidet, wohlhábigen und ehrbaren Ansehens".¹⁶² The latter city also wears the "Gepráge einer echt englischen Stadt",¹⁶³ so much so that downtown one can hardly tell apart this 'Britain of the South' from 'Mother England':

Ohne die Ti, welche man noch in einzelnen Exemplaren hier und da sieht, würde man sich in England glauben. In diesen Stadttheilen hat alles Geschäftstreiben aufgehört. Man sieht nur Kinder mit ihren Wärterinnen. Die Männer sind im Comptoir oder in den Schulen, die Frauen in ihrem Hause beschäftigt. Nur die Kinder genießen der Freiheit, und diese Freiheit scheint unbegrenzt; sie blicken ruhig in die Welt, nicht ohne einen etwas spöttischen Ausdruck, jedenfalls wie kleine Wesen welche nichts aus der Fassung bringt und nichts wundernimmt. Das Nil admirari bildet überhaupt einen Hauptzug des Demokraten, wie er sich in den Colonien entwickelt hat.¹⁶⁴

This is especially true on a quiet Sunday afternoon:

¹⁵⁸ Hübner, *Durch das Britische Reich*, I:121.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., I:125.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., I:126.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., I:126.

¹⁶² Ibid., I:127.

¹⁶³ Ibid., I:128.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., I:129.

Morgens Glockengeläute, abends feierliche Stille und tiefe Einsamkeit. Ausgenommen einige Männer und Frauen in Sonntagsanzug, unterwegs nach den Kirchen wo der Abendgottesdienst stattfindet, besitze ich die Gassen für mich allein. Ich schlendere unter schönen Baumreihen, gehe Worcester-Street auf und nieder und glaube mich in der Umgegend einer alten englischen Kathedralstadt. Diese Täuschung wiederholt sich unaufhörlich. Sind dies wirklich die Antipoden?¹⁶⁵

As can be seen, even an ‘Anglophile’ could be partially disappointed at the excessive ‘Britishness’ and lack of uniqueness of one of the Empire’s colonies. Another contributing factor in the city’s British appearance is the grand design of the university which has been modelled on those in Oxford and Cambridge: “Eigentlich kann man sagen daß diese beiden Sitze der Wissenschaft der Stadt ihr Gepräge aufgedrückt haben. Feine Sitten und geistige Bildung werden den Einwohnern wie es scheint mit Recht nachgerühmt.”¹⁶⁶

As seems to be the norm for visiting Germans and Austrians, Hübner immediately meets Haast, and this time also John George Ruddenklau, a well-known figure in the local German community, owner of the first City Hotel and mayor of Christchurch in 1882-83:¹⁶⁷

Aus Kurhessen gebürtig, kam er als Bäckergehilfe hier an, verlegte sich auf Landwirthschaft, errichtete eine Mühle und lebt jetzt von seinem redlich erworbenen Einkommen. Trotz seines fremden Ursprungs wurde er zum Vorstand einer Gemeinde erwählt welche hauptsächlich, wenn nicht ausschließlich, aus Engländern besteht. Ein, wie mich dünkt bedeutungsvoller Umstand; jedenfalls bezeichnend für die zwischen Colonisten verschiedener Nationalität bestehenden guten Beziehungen.¹⁶⁸

Due to this affiliation Hübner is put up in the respectable Christchurch Club, which charges a fairly low rate for food and lodgings and includes excellent cuisine and bedrooms, saving him from experiencing more ‘common’ accommodation: “Weniger werden die Gasthäuser gerühmt. Ich kann hierüber nicht urtheilen da ich, dank neuseeländischer Gastfreundschaft und der Zugänglichkeit der Clubs, das Innere eines Hotels nicht gesehen habe.”¹⁶⁹

Nelson, a city of retired businessmen and pensioners, meanwhile provides a welcome retreat from the hustle and bustle of the burgeoning offices and businesses in the heart of Wellington (a city which surprises him, as he wonders how it was able to fill all the bureaucratic positions and set up businesses in such a short space of time):¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., I:130; cf. I:131.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., I:128.

¹⁶⁷ “Mr. John George Ruddenklau”, in: *CNZ* 3, 107.

¹⁶⁸ Hübner, *Durch das Britische Reich*, I:128.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., I:128.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., I:137f.

Tiefe Ruhe herrscht über Pensionopolis, im grellen, meinem Gefühle nach, angenehmen Gegensatz zu dem lärmenden Getriebe der großen Handelsstädte. Ich sah in den Colonien so viele denen der Drang und das Bedürfnis Geld zu machen auf die Stirn geschrieben ist, daß mir Menschen welche, wie hier, nur ausruhen und genießen, wie Wesen höherer Art erschienen. Man liest das *dolce far niente* auf ihren zufriedenen, sorglosen, ein wenig schläfrigen Gesichtern. Sie verlangen nichts als daß man sie in ihrer Ruhe nicht störe, daß man sie der Schatten ihrer Gärten, der sanften lauen Lüfte ihrer Bucht, unter einer meist halb verschleierte Sonne genießen lasse. Vielleicht sehen sie auch so glücklich aus weil sie dem Götzendienste des goldenen Kalbes entsagt haben.¹⁷¹

The hopes and dreams of the country, on the other hand, are represented best of all in New Plymouth, the focal point of much despair during the New Zealand Wars, as it is “voll von Jugend, überströmender Thatkraft, voll von unbestimmten Sehnen und Trachten, von Hoffnungen deren Erfüllung unmöglich ist, welche sie aber verwirklichen wird, dank ihrer Willenskraft, ihrer Verwegenheit, ihrem naiven Glauben an das Glück. Ueberall in den Colonien findet man diese geistige Stimmung, aber, wie mir scheint, nirgends mehr als hier”.¹⁷²

On a less positive note, however, New Zealand, as Zürn also noted, has developed an unfavourable trait in the high level of propagandist self-promotion and patriotic exaggerations, if not also ignorance and inward-thinking, which have beset the colony. Hübner does not deny that breathtaking scenes of nature do exist (even if the weather can change within the space of a few hours),¹⁷³ and that the mantle of “Wunder der Welt”¹⁷⁴ does fit the famous geysers of the Hot Lake district,¹⁷⁵ for example, but, in some cases, even mediocre landscapes are exaggerated to the same extent or erroneously compared to the most famous attractions in Europe:

Die Kolonisten sind, mit Recht, stolz auf ihren Wakatipusee. Sie haben aber seine Schönheit zu viel besungen, und es scheint mir, es ist ein Fehler ihn mit den Seen der Schweiz oder Oberösterreichs zu vergleichen. Dergleichen Uebertreibungen schaden mehr als sie nützen. In den vielen Beschreibungen welche ich las wiederholten die Verfasser, mit Ausnahme Trollope’s,¹⁷⁶ aus Gefälligkeit die Lobsprüche der Landeskinder. Unter dem Eindruck dieser glänzenden Schilderungen hier angekommen, fühlte ich mich etwas enttäuscht. Die Wirklichkeit blieb unter meiner Erwartung. Es fehlen hier der Vordergrund der Landschaft, die Vegetation, der Mensch und seine Wohnstätten.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹ Ibid., I:139.

¹⁷² Ibid., I:141.

¹⁷³ Ibid., I:123.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., I:154; cf. I:122f., I:158f.

¹⁷⁵ The only downside of the district comes from the dangers involved, especially during the night, in making “unheimlich” excursions in the vicinity of the numerous pools of boiling water, in which one has “immer den Tod eines Hummers vor Augen” (ibid., I:155).

¹⁷⁶ Hübner is referring here to Anthony Trollope’s *New Zealand* (New Ed., 1875).

¹⁷⁷ Hübner, *Durch das Britische Reich*, I:124f.; cf. I:138.

The description of Auckland, with its gardens, villas and villages, likewise, suffers from the same affliction as all fledgling nations:

Das Gesamtbild ist schön und sogar malerisch, aber der Enthusiasmus der Einwohner übersteigt jedes Maß, erweckt daher den Widerspruchsgeist, und thut jedenfalls der Bewunderung, welcher man sich ja schon aus Gefälligkeit recht gern hingeben möchte, bedeutenden Eintrag. Auckland wird verglichen mit Neapel, Nizza, Genua, Konstantinopel, aber, natürlich, ist Auckland am schönsten. Man nennt dies in die Posaune stoßen, blowing the trumpet, oder kurzweg blowing. Spricht man von den Erzeugnissen der Natur oder der Industrie, von der Schönheit der Gegend, vom Klima, von den Menschen und Dingen des Landes, so endigt das Gespräch immer mit der Versicherung, die einer ehrlichen Ueberzeugung entspringt, es sei das Beste der Welt. Und, was das Aergste, dem Fremden wird ein artiges Schweigen nicht gestattet. Man zwingt ihn mit in die Trompete zu stoßen. Es ist eine Schwäche, eine Kinderkrankheit die man nur in neuen Ländern antrifft. [...] Auf was immer für einem Gebiete seiner Thätigkeit oder seiner Studien, ist der Mensch immer geneigt sich seine ersten Erfolge zu übertreiben, je mehr er aber vorwärts dringt, je mehr vermag er den Weg zu messen der noch vor ihm liegt. Dann tritt der Rückschlag ein, d. h. Entmuthigung. Erst im reifern Alter findet er, der tüchtige Mann nämlich, sein Gleichgewicht. So ergeht es auch den Gemeindewesen. [...] Die Einwohner rühmen natürlich das Klima: es ist das Beste in der Welt. Aber hier ansässige Fremde versichern mir es sei heißer, feuchter und veränderlicher als jenes der gemäßigten Zone unsers Continents. Es übt insbesondere einen entnervenden Einfluß aus, und die in der Colonie geborenen jungen Leute sind schwächer als ihre aus Europa eingewanderten Väter.¹⁷⁸

Furthermore, Wellingtonians also seem to have a high opinion of their home city as the capital, even though Hübner believes Auckland and Christchurch have better claims to the title.¹⁷⁹ If there is one virtue that has not been over-exaggerated, however, it is the innate generosity of New Zealanders which was never once refused him.¹⁸⁰

While Hübner is not acting expressly as an immigrant advisor like Krull or Haast, the ‘worker’s paradise’ model assumes one of the most dominant images right from the start, although this time it is not directed specifically at German workers but workers in general, as it reflects, on the one hand, the general readership of his account, and, on the other, his interest in socio-political issues, particularly government policies and relations between colonists and those who govern them. In New Zealand the apparent egalitarianism of the colony is foremost evident upon his arrival, as the following expression reiterates: “[Hier] herrscht vollkommene Gleichheit. Jack, sagt man, gilt so viel wie sein Herr.”¹⁸¹ In Invercargill, for example, the mayor makes a great first impression on him through exhibiting the characteristic elements of an educated class of British worker:

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., I:145f.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., I:137.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., I:147.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., I:150.

Man sieht ihm an daß er ein Sohn seiner Thaten ist, a self made man, und überdies ein Mensch dem nichts für unmöglich gilt. Ruhig, einfach, bescheiden nicht ohne Würde, verrathen sein scharfer Blick sowie der Ausdruck seiner Physiognomie den Mann von innerm Gehalt. Engländer von Geburt, ging er zuerst nach Australien, suchte, ohne es zu finden, Gold in Ballarat und Bendigo, kam dann nach Neuseeland wo er glücklicher war. In Otago sammelte er einen kleinen Schatz der den Ankauf eines Gütehens ermöglichte. Im Laufe der Jahre gelang es seine Söhne als Färber zu versorgen; er selbst treibt, wenn ich nicht irre, das Schusterhandwerk. Er hat einen offenen Kopf, unverdreht durch schlecht verdaute Lektüre, und sprach mit großer Klarheit und den politischen Zuständen der Insel, was ihn nicht verhinderte zugleich meine Fußbekleidung aufmerksam zu betrachten und sogleich den französischen Ursprung derselben zu erkennen. Dann zog er eine Flugschrift aus der Tasche welche er mir verehrte. Es war ein von ihm in irgendeiner Versammlung gehaltenen Vortrag über die Angelegenheiten der Stadt, einfach, klar, sogar sprachlich fehlerlos. Keine Spur von Eleganz; aber man sieht daß der Verfasser den Gegenstand kennt den er behandelt. Lächelnd zeigte er mir die Schwielen seiner Hände. Dieser "Mayor" ist ein Typus von Menschen wie man sie zuweilen in den englischen Colonien trifft: Männer die von ihrer Hände Arbeit leben aber den Horizont ihrer Gemeinde oder ihres Districts geistig beherrschen. Sie sind vor allem Bürger die nichts gemein haben mit dem professionellen Politiker, aber die nicht ohne den Stoff sind aus dem der Staatsmann gebildet wird. Ihre Stellung ist eine bescheidene, und ihr Leben verläuft in dem Dunkel beschränkter Verhältnisse, aber sie üben einen ununterbrochenen, zuweilen wichtigen, vielleicht in kritischen Augenblicken entscheidenden, Einfluß auf die Geschicke ihres neuen Vaterlandes.¹⁸²

The favourable attributes of the 'self-made man', who makes a living with his hands and is not afraid of getting them dirty, cannot, however, be accounted for simply by the difficulty in acquiring servants:

Das Gemeinwesen hierzulande ist von Gentlemen begründet worden, aber diese Gentlemen wurden allmählich durch Männer aus dem Volke von der Leitung der öffentlichen Angelegenheiten verdrängt. Es ist daher natürlich daß letztere der neuen Gesellschaft ihren Stempel aufdrücken. Wahrscheinlich werden sie sich, im Laufe der Zeit mit dem erworbenen Besitz auch den Geschmack der höheren Klassen aneignen. Man wird sie dann neue Reiche, nouveaux riches, nennen, aber allmählich werden sie die Muße welche der Reichtum gibt würdigen lernen, und so dürfte die neuseeländische Gesellschaft des 20. Jahrhunderts mit der unsers alten Europa manche Aehnlichkeit darbieten. Aber mittlerweile gibt es hier nur Menschen die mit ihren Händen arbeiten. Die Mitglieder der Aristokratie und der Gentry bewahren die geistige Richtung, die Traditionen und die Manieren ihrer Klasse. Handarbeit erniedrigt niemals. [...] Hier, fürchten Edelleute nicht durch Handarbeit ihren Stammbaum zu schädigen. Man hat schwielige Hände. Wie sollte dies nicht sein, da man die Schaufel führt? Man ist sonnverbrannt, wenn man den ganzen Tag den Busch ausgerodet oder Viehheerden gehütet hat. Dies verhindert aber nicht, vom Felde oder von den Hürden heimgekehrt, sich zu waschen, eine sorgfältige Toilette zu machen und an der Tafel der höchstgestellten Personen ein Gedeck zu finden.¹⁸³

In other words, there is no shame in being a worker and no-one is too good for work, meaning there is also no excuse for abandoning the "anständiger Ton"¹⁸⁴ which exists in the colony.

¹⁸² Ibid., I:120f.

¹⁸³ Ibid., I:133f.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., I:148.

The most pressing issue in the colony is this usurping of power from the early colonists of an aristocratic or genteel background to the growing lower middle class who “in kürzester Zeit, wenn sie es nicht schon sind, auf Neuseeland die Herren der obersten Gewalt sein [werden]”.¹⁸⁵

What he notices early on is the difference in ideology and lifestyle even between father and son:

In der Familie geben die Aeltern den Ton an, im Staate die Gebieter. Hier sind die Gebieter Leute aus dem Volke, der Pöbel wie die von der Macht Verdrängten sie nennen. In meinen Gesprächen mit den letztern bemerkte ich daß sie das Wort Mob, Pöbel beständig im Munde führen, zum Unterschied von den Gentlemen. Aber was wenigstens die Manieren anbelangt, ist es augenfällig daß hier unter den Antipoden der Mob steigt und der hier geborene Gentleman die Gefälligkeit hat zu sinken, sodaß sich beide Theile auf halbem Wege begegnen werden; wie denn überhaupt die Bildung einer neuen, einer seeländischen Nation keinem Zweifel unterliegt. Die anglosächsische Rasse wird in ihr vorherrschen, aber sie wird alle andern fremden Elemente, namentlich das deutsche, in sich aufnehmen, und diese neue Nation wird den Stempel der Demokratie auf der Stirne tragen.

Der Mann aus dem Volk fühlt sich als Herr, und gewiß ist Neuseeland das Paradies der Menschen welche durch Handarbeit ihr Brot verdienen. Daher die Redensart der “vier Acht: acht Stunden Arbeit, acht Stunden Nichtsthuns, acht Stunden Schlafes und acht Schillinge Lohn”. Der Lohn ist sehr hoch, wenn verglichen mit den Preisen der Lebensmittel und anderer Gegenstände erster Nothwendigkeit. Auf der Südinsel verdiente, vor sieben bis acht Jahren, der Feldarbeiter 4–4½ Schillinge; heute erhält er 7–8, an der Westküste bis zu 10 Schillingen. Das Leben ist wohlfeil. Fleisch kostet ein Drittel, Mehl etwas weniger als die Hälfte weniger als im Mutterlande. Gemachte, von England eingeführte Kleidungsstücke erleiden zwar einen Zuschlag von 5 Procent, aber die Leute geben doch weniger Geld für Kleidung aus in einem Lande wo Luxus und strenge Winterkälte unbekannt sind. Es ist also, wie bereits bemerkt, das Eldorado des Arbeiters.¹⁸⁶

One thing he notes, however, which could burst the ‘paradise’ bubble, is the increasing number of immigrant workers who could in time lower wages and lengthen work hours.¹⁸⁷

The second most important issue on the minds of colonists is the question of landed property. Following in the footsteps of Australia, the New Zealand Government, he argues, has committed a serious error in gradually declaring the land as the property of the Crown, albeit through more indirect means, with the only real difference being that reserves have been created for those Maori who have not relinquished their ownership. The result of these measures, according to a large portion of the public, is the enviable monopoly by the thousand or so large landowners who “verfügen über die Regierung und das Parlament”:

Ein ungeheurer Theil des Gebiets ist in den Händen einer kleinen Anzahl von Männern, deren mehrere ein Einkommen von 20-30000 Pfd. St. besitzen, und in deren Interesse es liegt ihr Land nicht zu bebauen da es als Weidegrund ein größeres Erträgniß gibt. Ihr ganzes Bestreben geht darauf hin die Erwerbung kleiner Grundstücke durch kleine Leute zu vereiteln. So geschieht es

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., I:173.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., I:166f.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., I:167.

daß, infolge ihres Einflusses auf die Minister und im Parlament wo ihre Creaturen sitzen, sich ein Zustand verlängern kann welcher für das unbebaut bleibende Land ebenso nachtheilig ist als für die ankommenden Einwanderer.¹⁸⁸

Despite the efforts of ministers, whose sincerity the public doubts, he warns that the solutions, such as the idea of land naturalisation, may in fact be worse than the problem.¹⁸⁹

Although Hübner travelled the length of the country, he does not see a Maori until he arrives in the North Island, which only seems to confirm the prevailing belief that it is a result of their gradual demise and not their general demographic, in doing so echoing the sad process of the native flora and fauna:

Die Menschen, die Thiere, die Pflanzen des Landes werden verdrängt durch Menschen, Thiere, Pflanzen die aus Europa kommen. Diese Metamorphose vollzieht sich mit wunderbarer Raschheit. Ein neues England entsteht. Der Māori, die Mōa, der Ti verfallen der Vergangenheit und werden bald der Sage angehören. Wer weiß ob künftige Geschlechter sie nicht für einen Mythus halten, ob irgendein Zukunftsprofessor von Christchurch nicht beweisen werde daß es niemals einen Māori gab?¹⁹⁰

The reasons given are again the adoption of European clothing, which, he argues, was not forced upon them but a result of their desire to imitate Europeans, and other customs and mannerisms, leading to various pulmonary complaints, diseases and alcohol-induced disorders.¹⁹¹

Once he finally comes into contact with Maori, with the exception of an insolent beggar,¹⁹² he finds them to be both civil and intelligent:

Nach dem allgemeinen Urtheil sind die Māori, innerhalb gewisser nie überschrittener Grenzen, geistig begabt.¹⁹³ In Auckland machte ich die Bekanntschaft eines Mannes der wie ein Gentleman aussah. Es war der Häuptling von Ohinemutu; ein ältlicher Herr, mit lichter Hautfarbe und einem prachtvoll tatouirten Gesicht. Da mein Begleiter als Dolmetscher diente, konnte ich mit dem Māori verkehren. Nach wenigen Minuten hatte ich vergessen daß er ein Wilder war.¹⁹⁴

The European-like nature of the Maori gentleman, however, only seems to fuel the Social Darwinian debate that the Maori are ‘diluting’ into brown Britons:

Unter den verschiedenen wilden Stämmen, deren Misgeschick es war mit dem weißen Manne in Berührung zu gerathen, hat keiner mehr als der der Māori die Aufmerksamkeit, die Neugierde und das wohlwollende Interesse Europas erregt. Man rühmte ihre Schönheit, ihren

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., I:171f.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., I:173.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., I:131; cf. I:156.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., I:130.

¹⁹² Ibid., I:157.

¹⁹³ Cf. *ibid.*, I:153.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., I:164.

Unabhängigkeitssinn, die Tapferkeit welche sie in vielen blutigen Kämpfen mit den Eindringlingen bewährt hatten. Daher auch das Angstgeschrei der Colonisten, als, nach Wiederherstellung eines problematischen Friedens, die letzten englischen Truppen Neuseeland verließen. Die Abberufung dieser Streitkräfte war übrigens nur die Anwendung des neuerlich aufgestellten Grundsatzes daß jede Colonie mit verantwortlicher Regierung für ihre eigene Sicherheit zu sorgen habe. Hier schien die Aufgabe die vorhandenen Kräfte zu übersteigen; aber sie wurde, wie die Folge zeigte, glücklich gelöst. Allmählich beruhigten sich die Eingeborenen, und heute geben sie keinen Anlaß mehr zu ernsten Besorgnissen. Auf ihre "Reserven" und das sogenannte Königsland auf der Nordinsel beschränkt, auch dort sogar von der herbeischleichenden Civilisation bedroht, beginnen die ehemaligen Herren des Bodens sich in ihr Schicksal zu fügen, und dies Schicksal, sie wissen oder ahnen es, ist das nahe Erlöschen ihres Stammes.¹⁹⁵

In his diplomatic view, this peace has been made possible not only by the actions of the Maori, but also the Government which, according to Hübner, is intent on dissolving Tawhiao's kingdom through 'moral' means by attempting to convert the region into a great business centre.¹⁹⁶ Despite the "ausnahmsweisen Großmuth welche die Regierung in ihren Verhandlungen mit den Máori an den Tag legte, die aber von letztern als Schwäche gedeutet wurde, erwiesen sich die Häuptlinge wenig dankbar".¹⁹⁷ This is understandable when one also considers the colony's view of Tawhiao, the "Schattenkönig",¹⁹⁸ which is so negative that he cannot bring himself to repeat their comments: "Es thut mir leid, zur Steuer der Wahrheit, bekennen zu müssen daß Tawhao [sic] keines sehr guten Rufes genießt. Meine Achtung für die Größen dieser Erde verhindert mich hier die Schilderung wiederzugeben die ich von diesem Gelegenheitskönige vernommen habe."¹⁹⁹ As yet, the Government's plans have not progressed beyond the constant presence of an armed garrison of 130 soldiers at Kawhia Harbour in order to keep the peace: "Ich will mir kein Urtheil über eine Politik erlauben welche, nach gewöhnlichen Rechtsbegriffen, kaum zu entschuldigen wäre. Aber die Macht der Dinge versetzt zuweilen in Zwangslagen denen man nicht zu entgehen vermag. Wenn die Máori überhaupt wieder zu den Waffen greifen sollten, und dann gewiß zum letzten mal, würde das 'Königsland' den Kriegsschauplatz bilden."²⁰⁰ Thus, it seems there is no place for Maori in the grand Arcadian vision: "Der Weiße hat nichts mehr zu befürchten von dem Máori. Der Máori hat nichts zu hoffen von dem Weißen. Somit gibt es keine Máorifrage mehr."²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., I:162f.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., I:142.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., I:169f.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., I:171.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., I:142.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., I:165.

²⁰¹ Ibid., I:165f.

The final person to be examined is Robert Ignaz Lendlmayr von Lendenfeld, a keen alpine explorer and biologist who studied the natural sciences, zoology and geology in particular, in Graz between 1878 and 1881 and led numerous ascents (many successful first attempts) in the Austrian Alps, before turning his attention to Australia in 1881-86 in order to study the native marine sponges, hydroids and medusans, and explore the Alps of Australia and New Zealand.²⁰² Lendenfeld and his wife, Anna, left Melbourne on the *Arawata* on 6 February 1883, arriving at Bluff on 12 February, Port Chalmers on the 13th and Lyttelton on the 15th.²⁰³ Once in Christchurch he was met by his “unvergeßlichen Freunde v. Haast”,²⁰⁴ before embarking on a month-long excursion to the Tasman Glacier in the Southern Alps within the space of a few weeks, where he and his wife, while accompanied by Harry Dew, became the first climbers to successfully ascend Hochstetter Dome on 25 March.²⁰⁵ The other highlight of their trip were the fiords of Milford Sound which he labelled the “Juwel der Antipoden”.²⁰⁶ After their return to Christchurch on 2 April, Lendenfeld worked for a time on New Zealand sponges at the Canterbury Museum, and was later appointed as lecturer of natural science at the Lincoln College of Agriculture. On 4 October he became a member of the Canterbury Philosophical Society and was elected onto the Council for the following year at the annual meeting on 1 November, but ultimately vacated his position at Lincoln after only a few months and departed for Sydney on the *Huroto* on 4 January 1884,²⁰⁷ where he was commissioned to write a monograph on the Australian sponges.²⁰⁸

²⁰² See also, for example, “Prof. Robert von Lendenfeld”, in: *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie* 36 (1914): 187f.; David Sandeman, “Robert von Lendenfeld: biologist, alpinist and scholar”, in: *From Berlin to the Burdekin: The German Contribution to the Development of Australian Science, Exploration and the Arts*. Eds. David Walker and Jürgen Tampke. Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1991, 67-77; Robert Hösche, “Lendlmayer von Lendenfeld, Robert”, in: *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1850*. Vol. 5. Ed. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien; Köln; Graz: Böhlau, 1972, 129; Diemar Henze, “Lendenfeld, Robert von”, in: *EEEE* 3, 210.

²⁰³ *ST* 13 Feb (1883): 2; *ODT* 14 Feb (1883): 2; *LT* 16 Feb (1883): 2.

²⁰⁴ Robert von Lendenfeld, *Australische Reise*. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner’schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1892, 194.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 174f., 191, 265-79; “Alpine Exploration”, in: *LT* 3 April (1883): 5; “Dr von Lendenfeld’s Journey: Ascent of Hochstetter Dome”, in: *LT* 5 April (1883): 5; W. S. Green, “Dr. R. v. Lendenfeld’s Explorations in the Southern Alps of New Zealand”, in: *The Alpine Journal* 12:85-92 (1886): 162-67. Although only Lendenfeld Peak (also known as Mt Lendenfeld) was named after him following this feat, he is responsible for naming a number of other geographical features in the Southern Alps.

²⁰⁶ Robert von Lendenfeld, *Neuseeland*. Berlin: Schall, 1900, 172; cf. Lendenfeld, *Australische Reise*, 191.

²⁰⁷ *LT* 5 Jan (1884): 4; *The Sydney Morning Herald* 15 Jan (1884): 6. During their stay, the Lendenfelds also gave birth to a baby girl named Helene on 1 October 1883 at Armagh St in Christchurch (Birth Registration, ref no. G/1883/3947/-/2, Central Registry for Births, Deaths and Marriages).

²⁰⁸ *NZJS* 1:11 Sept (1883): 514f.; 1:12 Nov (1883): 576; 2:1 Jan (1884): 34; 2:2 March (1884): 78f., 85; Robert von Lendenfeld, *A Monograph of the Horny Sponges*. London: Published for the Royal Society by Trübner, 1889, 1-3.

Lendenfeld wrote numerous scientific contributions on New Zealand, especially concerning the Southern Alps and glacial theories, as early as mid-1883.²⁰⁹ However, it was not until 1889 that a more popular narrative of his arrival in New Zealand and subsequent expeditions appeared in both *Das Ausland* and *Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Oesterreichischen Alpenvereins* under the titles “In den Alpen Neuseelands” and “Die Alpen Neuseelands” respectively,²¹⁰ before being revised with additional material in the mostly reader-friendly works *Australische Reise* (1892) and *Neuseeland* (1900), the latter of which offer the best sources for his general perceptions of New Zealand. After devoting nearly two decades on and off to the study of New Zealand, in *Neuseeland* he attempted to produce an all-encompassing work, with the aid of various updated secondary sources, in a mould similar to that of Dieffenbach and Hochstetter, which included sections on land and people, flora and fauna, climate and geology, economics and trade, as well as colonisation and cultural and socio-political history. Although he failed to deliver as successful or influential a work as Hochstetter’s *Neu-Seeland*, his desire to produce a work of this format, albeit much shorter than his predecessors, is, nonetheless, commendable.

Lendenfeld’s initial assessment of the colony in *Australische Reise* is very positive despite the burden of debt which had piled up over the last few decades, one reason being the construction of the rail network in the South Island which had provided important trade routes through unpopulated areas:²¹¹

Heute gibt es kein zivilisierteres Land wie Neuseeland[.] Prächtige Bauten, großartige Museen und Universitäten schmücken die Städte. Ausgedehnte Eisenbahnen und Dampftramways vermitteln den Verkehr. Es gibt mehr Zeitungen – im Verhältnis zur Bevölkerungszahl – wie in irgend einem anderen Lande auf der Erde und in den zahlreichen Städten einen Komfort und eine Eleganz, welche sehr gut den Vergleich mit europäischen Städten gleicher Größe aushalten würden. Doch

²⁰⁹ These include, for example, his initial contribution in the *Oesterreichische Alpen-Zeitung* in 1883 entitled “Erste Besteigung des Hochstetter Dom, ca. 3600 M. (Neu-Seeländer Alpen)”, his July paper at the Canterbury Philosophical Institute published that same year in the *New Zealand Journal of Science* as “An Expedition to the Central Part of the Southern Alps”, his official scientific report on the Southern Alps entitled “Der Tasman-Gletscher und seine Umgebung” which was published in *Dr A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes’ Geographischer Anstalt* in 1884, followed shortly by “Eine Expedition nach dem Zentralstocke der Neuseeländischen Alpen” in the *Oesterreichische Alpen-Zeitung*, as well as a number of generally short but well-illustrated contributions in *Globus* (1888-89, 1891, 1896), and a fairly substantial section on the Southern Alps in *Die Hochgebirge der Erde* (1899).

²¹⁰ Robert von Lendenfeld, “In den Alpen Neuseelands”, in: *Das Ausland* 62:40 7 Oct (1889): 781-84; 62:41 14 Oct (1889): 816-20; 62:42 21 Oct (1889): 838-40; 62:43 28 Oct (1889): 856-59; 62:44 4 Nov (1889): 877-80; 62:45 12 Nov (1889): 897-900; 62:46 18 Nov (1889): 904-8; 62:47 25 Nov (1889): 927-30; 62:48 2 Dec (1889): 958-60; 62:49 9 Dec (1889): 967-71; 62:50 16 Dec (1889): 995-99; Robert von Lendenfeld, “Die Alpen Neuseelands”, in: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Oesterreichischen Alpenvereins* 20 (1889): 470-503.

²¹¹ Lendenfeld, *Australische Reise*, 200. Unfortunately, New Zealand trains only offered basic facilities for the traveller: “Die erste Classe gleicht unserer dritten Classe, sowohl was Ausstattung der Waggons als auch was das Aussehen der Passagiere anbelangt” (Robert von Lendenfeld, “Eine Expedition nach dem Zentralstocke der Neuseeländischen Alpen”, in: *Oesterreichische Alpen-Zeitung* 6:146 8 Aug (1884): 202).

dasjenige, was die hohe Zivilisation Neuseelands am schlagendsten erweist, ist die ungeheure Staatsschuld dieses Landes. Am 31. März 1890 betrug dieselbe gegen 40 Millionen Lstrl., das ist ungefähr 1300 Mark per Kopf der Bevölkerung! Der Wert des gesammten Besitztums der Kolonie betrug um diese Zeit nach einer offiziellen Berechnung etwa 230 Millionen Lstrl.; es käme demnach auf jeden Bewohner ein Besitz von etwas unter 8000 Mark. Von diesem Besitztum ist also ein Sechstel schon verpfändet. Nun aber bildet die Staatsschuld nur einen Teil der Gesamtschuld der Bevölkerung und die Privatschulden an Ausländer sind deshalb sehr bedeutende, weil viele einzelne reiche Engländer sowie Konsortien im Mutterlande den Kolonisten und kolonialen Banken größere Geldsummen mit Vorliebe leihen. Ich glaubte nicht irre zu gehen, wenn ich sage, daß ein Drittel des Gesamtbesitzes verpfändet ist.²¹²

Gewiß wird jeder Finanzmann dieses Verhältnis mit Grausen betrachten, aber die Neuseeländer selber trinken ihren Champagner deswegen nicht mit geringerem Behagen, und wenn sie auch heute oder morgen in einen Bankerott verwickelt sein sollten, so wird ihnen doch immer das Verdienst bleiben, ein ödes, von Menschenfressern und Schweinen bewohntes Inselgebiet in einen zivilisierten Staat verwandelt zu haben.²¹³

Again there are no signs of mass unemployment or poverty. Instead New Zealand society seems to enjoy a somewhat reckless lifestyle of expensive thrills without worrying about the consequences. In the area of farming at least, the devastation the rabbits have brought is a state of concern to the locals. These pests, which were introduced “von einem jener vielen Philanthropen, die mit der lobenswerten Absicht, der Menschheit zu helfen”,²¹⁴ are now responsible for harming the wool industry (which already produced less successful merino wool than Australia) through costing some farmers their livelihood and forcing them to emigrate.²¹⁵ Interestingly, he makes no mention of the ruin caused by those predators brought in to combat the rabbit problem.

Like Hübner, Lendenfeld also comes into contact with an overwhelming sense of parochialism and nationalism, which, in his opinion, sometimes borders on the racist (although this is disputed somewhat by Hübner). However, he does not reveal this fact until the publication of *Neuseeland*, leading one to suspect that either he was reluctant in the first place to state anything overly negative to the public, he was saving this material for a more appropriate work, or else was inspired by the additional reading he undertook to complete the book and the increasing ‘Anglophobia’ in imperialist Wilhelmine Germany at the time:

Gewiss haben die vorwiegend englischen Kolonisten Neuseelands alle Ursache, auf die Kultur sowie auf die gute Ausnutzung der Reichtümer ihres Landes stolz zu sein, und niemand wird es tadeln, dass sie ihr eigenes Land loben – leider gehen sie aber so weit über das erlaubte Mass von Lokalpatriotismus hinaus, dass einen dies geradezu anwidert: alles, und wenn es auch gar nichts Besonderes an sich hat, wird, wenn es nur neuseeländisch ist, über alle Berge gelobt, und in jeder Hinsicht hätten die Neuseeländer – wenn man ihren eigenen Äusserungen Glauben schenken

²¹² Cf. Lendenfeld, “In den Alpen Neuseelands”, 783.

²¹³ Lendenfeld, *Australische Reise*, 166f.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 202.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 201f.; cf. 70f.

könnte – von allem das Schönste, das Beste und das Grossartigste in ihrem eigenen Lande.²¹⁶ Diese Selbstverhimmelung beherrscht den Ton der Gesellschaft, und ein objektiver Beobachter, der in eine solche gerät, muss, wenn er nicht als ein Flegel angesehen und moralisch hinausgeworfen werden will, heucheln und lügen, um in diese Lobeshymne keine Dissonanz hineinzubringen.

Diese tadelnswerte Selbstüberhebung beruht zum Teil auf Unkenntnis von allem Nichtneuseeländischen, zum Teil auf Abneigung gegen alles Nichtenglische. Was ersteres, die Unkenntnis, anbelangt, so ist dieselbe in den sogenannten gebildeten Kreisen in mancher Hinsicht geradezu grotesk. Sie ist die Folge des Mangels an Interesse an auswärtigen Dingen.

Englischen und amerikanischen Dingen stehen die Neuseeländer ziemlich gleichgültig, anderen und ganz besonders deutschen feindlich gegenüber. Ich habe mich oft über den in Neuseeland und den australischen Kolonien überhaupt herrschenden Deutschenhass gewundert, denn es sind die Deutschen tüchtige Arbeiter und gute Kolonisten, und es haben gerade in Neuseeland mehrere Deutsche – ich will nur Haast und Vogel²¹⁷ nennen – sehr Bedeutendes geleistet.²¹⁸

He does note earlier, however, that New Zealand has a “weniger unternehmungslustig, [...] aber solider, ‘more respectable’”²¹⁹ social tone than Australia due to the colony’s non-convict past. Coming in a close second to the overblown “Lokalpatriotismus” is the exceptional “Sonntagsheiligung”:²²⁰

Wie in den anderen Ländern, in denen der englische Geschmack der maassgebende ist, wird sich in Neuseeland – und hier vielleicht ganz besonders – sehr viel Wert auf äusserliche Beobachtung der Religionsformen gelegt. Wer Sonntags nicht in die Kirche geht, an diesem Tage arbeitet, sich unterhält, oder auch nur ein anderes als ein Gebetbuch liest, ist verpönt. Alle Wirthäuser, Theater und sonstigen Vergnügungsorte sind Sonntags geschlossen, wer Karten spielt oder Rad fährt, wird eingesperrt. Die Sonntagsruhe wird derart eingehalten, dass es unmöglich ist, am Sonntagabend etwas zu essen zu bekommen: man muss sich mit Konserven, Spirituslampe und dergleichen ausrüsten wie zu einer Urwaldexpedition, wenn man ein Nachtessen haben will.²²¹ – Neuseeland ist ja sonst ein ganz angenehmer Aufenthaltsort – aber diese frömmelnde und durchaus heuchlerische, englische Art, den Sonntag zu verbringen, muss einem Nichtengländer das Leben dort verleiden.²²²

Apart from these two black marks, however, New Zealand society is in itself “nichts Besonderes”: “[S]ie machen es dort so wie anderswo, besuchen einander, geben Gesellschaften, spielen Lawntennis und Whist und langweilen sich selbst und andre in hochanständiger Weise.

²¹⁶ In saying this, however, he does comment that Christchurch is “eine der freundlichsten und angenehmsten Städte in den australischen Kolonien” (ibid., 475).

²¹⁷ Sir Julius Vogel was not in fact German, but English, his German-sounding name deriving from his Dutch father.

²¹⁸ Lendenfeld, *Neuseeland*, 112.

²¹⁹ Lendenfeld, “Alpen Neuseelands”, 476.

²²⁰ Lendenfeld, *Neuseeland*, 113.

²²¹ Furthermore, one is also unable to procure food from hotels on Sundays after 1pm: “Alle Dienstboten in den Kolonien haben den Sonntag Nachmittag ganz für sich, so daß alle jene, die nicht gewöhnt sind, ihre Nahrung sich selber zu bereiten, eben hungern müssen, wenn sie nicht etwa, wie wir, Proviant bei sich haben” (Lendenfeld, “In den Alpen Neuseelands”, 839).

²²² Lendenfeld, *Neuseeland*, 107f.

Das Klima ist für Beschäftigungen im Freien sehr gut geeignet, und es werden die gewöhnlichen Jugendspiele, Fussball und Cricket, sehr gepflegt, wenn auch vielleicht nicht in dem Masse wie in Australien.”²²³

As for New Zealand’s prospects, Lendenfeld sees the country’s workers as being more efficient and capable in their field than their more educated peers, and it is these reliable and hard-working people, in his opinion, who will shape the future of the colony in more ways than one, since it is ultimately they who choose whom they want to run the country and represent them.²²⁴

Viel mehr Günstiges als über die sogenannten Gebildeten lässt sich über die sogenannte arbeitende Klasse in Neuseeland sagen. Ebenso wie unsre deutschen “Gebildeten” den ersteren überlegen sind, ebenso sind die letzteren unseren deutschen Arbeitern überlegen. Es geht den Arbeitern Neuseelands im allgemeinen materiell viel besser als den unserigen und sie haben einen unvergleichlich grösseren politischen Einfluss als die Arbeiter bei uns. Der Unterschied zwischen “Arbeitern” und “Gebildeten” ist in Neuseeland ein geringerer als in Deutschland. Die Träger, die mich bei meiner neuseeländischen Alpenexpedition begleiteten, sowie alle anderen Angehörigen des Arbeiterstandes, mit denen ich dort in nähere Beziehungen getreten bin, haben sich als verlässliche und ausdauernde Männer voll Thatkraft, Umsicht und Mut erwiesen, und sie waren frei von jener lächerlichen Selbstüberhebung, welche die sogenannten Gebildeten charakterisiert. Sie und nicht die “Gebildeten” sind die Leute, denen das in Neuseeland bereits Erreichte zu danken ist, und sie sind es nach meiner Überzeugung auch, welche die Gewähr für eine glückliche Zukunft Neuseelands bieten.²²⁵

Thus, the realisation of the ‘worker’s paradise’ appears to still be on the cards heading into the twentieth century, as the country is in good hands and in a far better and more egalitarian situation than the working classes face in Germany, with the added possibility that these workers may later also become the “Gebildeten”.

As his knowledge of the country in later years had been supported further by various updated secondary sources, much of the content appears to have not been garnered from experience but from other writers. Unfortunately, Lendenfeld’s description of the Maori seems to fall into this category, as it does not progress much further than the most common of stereotypes on beauty, appearance and mannerisms, and even then generally only fleeting comments due to the limited contact he presumably had with them.²²⁶ With less philosophical flair than Hochstetter, Lendenfeld argues that the Maori, who this time lack “jene Biederkeit und jener Ränke-verachtende Mut, die den germanischen Völkern die Herrschaft der Welt verliehen

²²³ Ibid., 112f.

²²⁴ Ibid., 115.

²²⁵ Ibid., 113.

²²⁶ Lendenfeld, *Australische Reise*, 162f.; Lendenfeld, *Neuseeland*, 66f.

haben”,²²⁷ are subject to the same natural laws as the European, but the latter has now been positioned as the stronger species, in doing so justifying the force of the Crown solely as a pawn of Social Darwinism:

Ueber die christlich-moralische Berechtigung dieses Kampfes kann wohl kein Zweifel bestehen, und in diesem Lichte betrachtet, hatten die Engländer offenbar Unrecht. Aber christliche Moralität ist eben nicht das Naturgesetz der Völker, sondern Kampf, ewiger Kampf und Unterliegen des Schwächeren. Dem Naturgesetz nach hat der Starke recht, und so muß auch den Engländern das Recht zuerkannt werden, Neuseeland zu besitzen.²²⁸

As numbers of the almost pure British stock soar to over 600,000 and the Maori dwindle at little more than 40,000, he notes that there has nevertheless been a slight increase in the latter.²²⁹ However, after he gets the reader’s hopes up, they are brought back down again eight years later when, it seems, it was only a temporary equilibrium:²³⁰

Überblicken wir diese Verhältnisse, so zeigt sich uns das traurige Bild der Erfüllung eines tragischen Schicksals. Wir sehen ein mutiges und kräftiges Volk das unbekanntes Weltmeer in gebrechlichen Fahrzeugen kühn und mit Erfolg durchschiffen. Wir sehen, wie dasselbe das gesegnete Land in Besitz nimmt und es von den Riesenvögeln, die dasselbe vorher beherrscht hatten, säubert. Wir sehen, wie es rasch sich vermehrt, wie künstlerischer Sinn und Kunstfertigkeit sich entwickeln, wie die Krieger in fortgesetzten Kämpfen zur Klugheit und zur Tapferkeit erzogen werden. Wir sehen aber auch, wie es, nachdem es mit den Europäern in Berührung gekommen, in kürzester Zeit seine guten Eigenschaften einbüsst, die Laster der neuen Ankömmlinge annimmt, ihre Krankheiten einsaugt und ihre Dummheiten nachäfft, ohne im Stande zu sein, Vorteile aus der von den neuen Ankömmlingen mitgebrachten Kultur zu ziehen. In Bezug auf Quantität sowohl als Qualität gehen die Maoris zurück, und es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass der oben erwähnte, temporäre Stillstand in der Abnahme der Maoribevölkerung ihren völligen Untergang wird aufhalten können.²³¹

In the end, he presents a typical nineteenth-century view of progress at the expense of Maori, which is perhaps best illustrated in the following somewhat flippant remark: “Wie die fortschreitende, europäische Kultur mit diesen alten Bauten aufräumt und Modernes an ihre Stelle setzt, ist sehr hübsch daraus zu ersehen, dass vor einigen Jahren die alte Burg des letzten königlichen Maorihäuptlings in einen – Bahnhof umgewandelt worden ist.”²³²

²²⁷ Lendenfeld, *Australische Reise*, 163.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 166.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 166.

²³⁰ The census figures show a small increase from 41,969 in 1886 to 41,993 in 1891, but a fall in 1896 to an underestimated 39,854.

²³¹ Lendenfeld, *Neuseeland*, 70.

²³² *Ibid.*, 68.

Conclusion

As New Zealand society evolved in the latter periods of the nineteenth century, so did the subject matter and focus of the respective visitors, many of whom were not scientists, but non-academic travellers. While others like Reischek were more concerned with the state of the environment or the 'natural state' of the Maori, various German-speaking visitors in the late 1870s and early 1880s found New Zealand society, the people, cultural characteristics, and the disenfranchised and 'dying' Maori to be of more interest. More often than not these accounts were written for a general audience (although additional contributions sometimes had a more scientific basis), were of a less philosophical nature, and tended to be narratives of their experiences rather than comprehensive quasi-scientific works. As one would expect, Hochstetter's *Neu-Seeland* has been used as one of the primary sources, in which all of the post-Hochstetter visitors in this study either refer directly to his work or at least show clear influences. And as his standard account was clearly outdated in many respects, it left sufficient room for others to comment not only on the realities of social and technological progress in the colony, but also on whether their expectations as visitors, scientists and explorers were fulfilled. However, due to their predominantly shorter stays, these German-speaking arrivals understandably had less time to get the full picture, and were not in the same position as Dieffenbach, Hochstetter and Reischek to offer advice or criticise policies. As it has been shown, during the 'Long Depression' the state of the economy, employment and the quality of life in general were all in decline. New Zealand was even depicted in the German press as a heavily indebted colony which could no longer accommodate German immigrants, with those already living there forced to lead a somewhat isolated and 'British' existence, resulting in the author's conclusion that it was better to stay at home than immigrate to New Zealand. Naturally, these comments were influenced by the unfavourable situation that existed for German immigration. In the case of Buchner, Reuleaux, Finsch, Hübner and Lendenfeld this same focus did not exist, with the only exception being their tendency to mention prominent German figures met during their stay.

Several years before the 'Long Depression' had set in, Buchner reiterates Hochstetter's British paradisaical imagery, and relates the ideals which his fellow immigrant passengers were striving for such as class equality and egalitarianism, although he is not as pleased with the state of public roads and transport. Given his present position as a medical doctor and his later role at an ethnological museum, it is understandable that he would possess a strong interest in the state of

the Maori as well as an ethnological mindset despite his initial encounters conveying a demoralised and mostly degenerate urban Maori and a somewhat greedy entrepreneurial merchant in the Hot Lake district. Like Reischek he desired to 'save' Maori treasures from the fate of time, and believed their final resting place should be in a museum. And while he tries to dispel several Maori stereotypes, he is unable to do so without confirming others due to a noticeable disappointment that his expectations as a visitor, rather than a scientist or naturalist, in the Hot Lake district in particular are not entirely met. Even so, he does not dispute the recurring image of the hospitable Maori host; he only questions its applicability in certain situations.

Reuleaux, by contrast, had the shortest stay of all the visitors under investigation. As a result of his visiting only the economically stable Auckland and the tourist-friendly Hot Lake district, he does not encounter any negative conditions. The most memorable aspects of his account instead are his contacts with German colonists and especially the Maori, the latter of which fascinate him the most. Being a scientist with a philosophical outlook, he adopts Hochstetter's Social Darwinist perspective, in addition to Reischek's collector mentality, when observing the Maori, and questions the merits of intertribal warfare, especially in light of the threat of extinction coming from the British majority. However, the main image that not only captures but exceeds Hochstetter's Romantic imaginings is his parting thought on the Maori, which sees the Roman Empire's invasion of German land being analogous to the British Empire's conquest of Maori land, in doing so leaving his sympathies firmly with the rightful Maori heirs.

Finsch, on the other hand, produced a non-philosophical account of his stay in New Zealand, but was certainly more travelled than Reuleaux and in the colony for a longer period. Accordingly, he shows more interest in the political, commercial and economic spheres, leading to his observing the effects of economic depression and constant borrowing, and relating information from colonists concerning unsatisfactory conditions such as the unequal distribution of land and wealth among farmers. By the same token, he also witnessed many positives, particularly the cities and towns he visited, which were not far behind, if at all, most European counterparts, sometimes offering even more, and the Canterbury museum, which far exceeded Germany's own. While not all landscapes live up to his expectations, he does share Reischek's museum-naturalist perspective on conservation and collecting. The driving negativity in his perceptions of the Maori, however, is the result of his often being disappointed at the treatment he received by Maori, especially as it confounded his main purpose for seeking them in the first place. And although he is able to meet Tawhiao, it does not change the fact that he was first

turned away at Parihaka, he was met by non-obliging Maori in the Hot Lake district, and had his patience tested more than any other German explorer. Moreover, the Maori he does witness, even when more accommodating, are too European to conform to the classical image published in Hochstetter's work.

Hübner's long life and career left him, on the other hand, in the mould of a devoted 'Anglophile' at the same time as a diplomat and foreign relations expert, who had a particular interest in general matters, as well as the effects of government policies on the populace at large. Remarkably Hübner offers a much more positive view of the colony, whether in its apparent high level of prosperity, or its noticeable progress, egalitarianism, democracy, natural beauty and 'Britishness', despite his visit only several years later, albeit for only a month. An important factor to consider here is his already visible reputation among the British, which saw him treated to the best accommodation and free transport. Conversely, it is clear that there was also some disappointment in the fact that parts of the country left him feeling that he was still in Britain when witnessing something British but uniquely distinctive would have been better. The main issue he takes issue with is the naive childlike patriotism and self-promotion of the colony which leads the population to feel the need to label everything the 'best in the world' and make erroneous comparisons to famous sites in Europe. In saying that, however, he sees this as being characteristic of all young nations until they reach a higher level of maturity. Without focusing directly on German immigration, he does share Krull and Haast's emphasis on the 'worker's paradise' image, particularly regarding the educated British worker, and relates several concerns which had been raised by the public such as land monopoly and the perceivable differences between older genteel colonists and the newer lower middle class. As for the Maori, Hübner fully endorses their demise in accordance with the philosophical dimensions of Social Darwinism, yet he still admires their independence and courage, even though he, like Hochstetter's scientific perspective, gives them no chance for the future. Beyond this, he does not offer detailed insights like Dieffenbach or Hochstetter into the treatment of the Maori and produces a fairly diplomatic viewpoint.

Lendenfeld, by comparison, had the second longest stay, behind Reischek, of the later explorers, and despite his background in biological and natural sciences, it is his comments made over a decade and a half after his departure which are the most significant for his perceptions of New Zealand. Perhaps as a sign of things to come, considering the rise of 'Anglophobia' in Wilhelmine Germany by the end of the century, he not only echoes Hübner's sentiments in his

final work on New Zealand when reproving the colony's overwhelming nationalism and self-promotion, but he also argues that this apparent ignorance of everything foreign manifests itself in anti-German sentiment (although none of his contemporaries who visited New Zealand mention this, and he also does not refer to this fact until 1900). Sunday observances, which are common to all British colonies but especially so in New Zealand, again prove a nuisance. But whereas Hübner only saw abundant affluence, Lendenfeld also saw rising state debt, about which the public did not seem greatly concerned. More positively, he also noted the egalitarian position of workers and their influence in New Zealand's political landscape which was by far superior to that in Germany. Social Darwinism again impacts on his views of the Maori, albeit with only limited philosophical content and no real personal observations. This time, however, the Maori lack the same level of German qualities of uprightness and courage that the likes of Hochstetter and Reuleaux perceived, yet he accepts that the morality of European actions in the New Zealand Wars has been surpassed by natural laws.

In sum, the above literature provided the German-speaking reader to varying degrees with not only a renewal of earlier stereotypes and images, but also a heightened emphasis on critiquing the inherited and inborn characteristics of British society present in the colony. At the same time as interest in England began to diminish in the estimation of German historians and social scientists, these visitors were sometimes able to exhibit an alternate perspective on the British and early colonial mentalities by viewing certain values and behaviour, for example, which might be seen in 'Mother England' as true and good British values or at least acceptable in British colonies, in an unfavourable light or else finding fault in the inflexible Anglocentric society, with some comments even appearing anti-British or in agreement with the minority views of the British. Thus, even when the 'Long Depression' began to have an effect on New Zealand life, these German-speaking visitors were not always directly influenced by any deplorable conditions, except when they were witnessed first hand or relayed through reliable sources, as positive encounters still had the ability to supersede any untoward situations so long as expectations were well and truly met. When it came to the customary sympathising or siding with Maori, however, often a stronger belief in Social Darwinism went hand in hand with those who had less contact with Maori and were not trying to give a full account of the New Zealand Wars. These explorers and travellers did not, for example, have the benefit of close personal contact with Maori like early explorers, especially in a Maori-dominant society, and those they did observe were predominantly from urban and tourist areas rather than ones living in close Maori communities.

As a result, they were less informed, and often took it for granted that Maori extinction was inevitable. And as they no longer questioned this belief the way earlier Enlightenment and Romantic thinkers did, since it coincided with an actual fall in Maori numbers, no-one predicted a better outcome. Instead they either agreed with the status quo or implied as much. In the end, the Germanic perspective from the late 1870s and 1880s reveals a shift in angle, in which the negative aspects at times define the general slant of the accounts as much as the positive, without, generally speaking, fully tarnishing the overall image.

CONCLUSION: The Germanic Perspective

It has been the intention of this study to evaluate the various published contributions of German-speaking explorers and travellers to the perception of New Zealand and the Maori between 1839 and 1889, and, in doing so, establish whether the chosen subjects have been able to find a dominant German or Austrian voice in their discourse which, even if derived from British sources, is distinct or separate from the typical British viewpoint. As it has been shown, over the fifty years under investigation German-speaking observers did present a somewhat different picture of New Zealand from their British counterparts, for the most part due to their dual position as non-New Zealanders and non-Britons, which often went in their favour, particularly among Maori and officials, through allowing them to experience privileges that a local British New Zealander never or rarely would, and their general lack of a vested interest in the colony (at least at the time the accounts were written). At the same time, it is clear that these German and Austrian visitors were also subjected to many of the same influences as the British, from common beliefs and philosophical standpoints to scientific theories and racial stereotypes, which were in many cases consistent with the greater European mentality, such as the ‘index of civilisation’, ‘environmental determinism’ and ‘fatal impact’. This is even more understandable when one considers that up until the 1860s the main literary sources were still in most cases British, or at least English-language works, in addition to general information gathered from New Zealand colonists, officials and Maori. Ultimately, standard British sources and views interacted with a smaller, but in various cases no less significant, amount of German sources, with the key publication of Hochstetter’s *Neu-Seeland* proving to be a popular and standard primary source among later visitors to the country. As a result, the outlook of this non-British observing party did differ in many other respects from that of the colonising power due to their own Central European cultural values, mentalities and general attitudes towards such themes as colonisation, non-European peoples, the British Empire and England in particular. While a detailed analysis between the views of British visitors and those of German-speaking visitors warrants further study, what we have contended ourselves with instead are the issues of how far and why the latter were able to separate themselves from the British belief system, witnessed, for example, in their adoption or rejection of common stereotypes, and to what extent they revealed a distinctly Germanic perspective, rather than whether their opinions formed a corrective to or balanced the predominantly British views of the colony.

Among the authors selected in this study, two distinct viewpoints present themselves within this Germanic perspective: the scientific position of the scientist, explorer, naturalist and ethnologist, and the non-scientific position of the immigrant and general traveller. While the subjects in question may shift between these viewpoints, as the often broad subject matter generally requires an overlapping of common themes and roles, discernible differences have developed not only according to such factors as personal experiences, levels of interaction, locations visited, length of stay and the time period, but also the respective backgrounds of the authors (i.e. education, influences, attitudes, preconceptions), the type of text (i.e. scientific monograph, general narrative, social commentary, immigration guide), and the target audience (i.e. British-New Zealand readership, German readership, scientific community, general middle-class readers). On a literary level, this meant there were at times significant differences in the layout, presentation and content of the accounts. Contributions directed at a British-New Zealand readership, for example, were either designed to educate the public or interested parties, if not merely as English versions of German texts and published presentations of notable expeditions, or else contained material relevant only to the English-speaking community and omitted content which might prove too sensitive. German and Austrian readers, on the other hand, were, in many respects, privy to more ‘uncensored’ accounts, including not only criticisms and critique, but also patriotic sentiment and popular stereotypes. And although the most significant scientific contributions did also appear in English, in most cases here, however, the primary accounts were never translated. In spite of these differences, the views of German-speaking explorers and travellers in general also followed similar contemporary mentalities in accordance with the authors’ fields of knowledge, cultural traditions, shared sources and common influences. While their general views may not always have been consistent with or representative of earlier viewpoints, some were more reliant on others for specific images and information, when, for example, a given field fell outside their expertise, such as science and history, when only standard German works formed the main reading sources, and when established precedents were used as a guideline to endorse or correct the latest scientific theories.

As early German representatives generally had to be handpicked as scientists and naturalists on board foreign expeditions to reach the South Pacific in the eighteenth century, the first emergence of the Germanic perspective of New Zealand and the Maori unsurprisingly had a solid scientific foundation. In the latter half of the eighteenth century a heralded tradition of German travel writing ensued to fill the void of colonial ownership. The literary conventions at

the time encouraged the critiquing of other nation's colonial activities, while moralising and lamenting the treatment of native peoples, and emphasising a more careful implementation of colonisation. German travelogues which balanced scientific discourse with general narrative and philosophy were soon made popular by the likes of Georg Forster and Alexander von Humboldt. In the context of New Zealand, this was to last right through the nineteenth century, albeit with greater concentration in the early and middle periods. As science and philosophy went hand in hand in the broader and less specialised education of the time period, German and Austrian scientists, in general, showed several fundamental qualities. The first was their propensity for European moralising, particularly within anthropological circles, in which they often attempted to distinguish between European and non-European characteristics and behaviour. At the same time they also revealed a clear predilection for theorising over the merits, implementation and general process of colonisation, and putting forward solutions and advice in an effort to counteract any negative outcomes. The effects of colonisation on the indigenous population, in this case, against specifically British excesses, were of particular importance, and time and time again it is with these original inhabitants that they characteristically and openly side. The single most influential development in this perspective, however, was the rise of Social Darwinism as an unquestioning belief from the 1860s which replaced the above outlook with a tendency to instead sympathise and retrospectively dwell on British-Maori conflict and the ultimate extinction of the latter without offering feasible solutions. A by-product of this way of thinking was the 'Romantic' connection between Maori and the Germanic tribes, which compared favourable traits and underscored clear sympathies at the same time as it highlighted the opposite outcomes of the civilising process.

Naturally viewpoints and attitudes had changed somewhat since the days of Forster, as Enlightenment thinkers had been replaced by Romanticists and Social Darwinists. The role of the author was no longer focused on addressing popular misconceptions based on fanciful accounts of the South Pacific or educating the public on racial theories and the efforts of fearless explorers and adventurers. Instead New Zealand and the Maori became important subjects in their own right, as it was the country's uniqueness in both nature and people that made it worthwhile as a destination for German-speaking scientists. New Zealand itself had also become a constantly evolving British colony, whose transforming face was shaped by the remarkable level and speed of progress characteristic of the colonising era of the 1840s to 1880s. Subsequently, the later one's arrival, the more advanced the process of colonisation had become, and the less that could

be done to prevent negative processes from worsening or increasing in effect. For the naturalist and ethnologist, New Zealand therefore became the perfect model for studying the effects of rapid colonisation on both the environment and the Maori. This resulted in the dominant interests of many nineteenth-century German and Austrian visitors to carefully study the indigenous fauna, flora and population. In possibly the most significant Germanic contribution to the perception of New Zealand, they exhibited a central fascination in not only ornithology and botany, but also the state of the environment, with specific emphasis given to educating the public in conservation and preservation practices and in their need to act or change harmful actions before it became too late. In fact, from the middle decades of the colonising era, this latter focus had grown steadily in importance to the point where certain observers were more concerned about New Zealand's environment than most of the public and officials combined. Furthermore, as both natural and indigenous worlds faced extinction from European invaders and immigrants, rare New Zealand birds and Maori artefacts in particular became much sought after by European museums. As a result, most observers were generally connected to a German or Austrian museum as director, curator or collector, and possessed a strong desire to record relevant ethnological information and acquire or 'save' rare native treasures and specimens due to the underlying belief that they were collecting permanent records of New Zealand's fast disappearing wildlife and indigenous culture, which could remain in European museums as a showcase to those species and races that were believed to be nearing extinction, if they had not reached that point already. One manifestation of this outlook was the constant fascination, if not obsession, of many to see the so-called 'Classical Maori' living according to traditional customs before they too became European and ultimately extinct.

While early explorers of New Zealand's isolated wilderness had to 'rough it out' in extremely primitive conditions without a European settlement in sight, and were therefore at the constant mercy of Maori generosity, circumstances improved by the mid-nineteenth century to enable not only a new generation of German-speaking scientists, naturalists and explorers to arrive in the fledgling British colony, but also various travellers and immigrants from all walks of life. Due to the intense period of German emigration at the time, many individuals and families traded their homeland for better living conditions and employment in the antipodes. This was followed in the late 1870s and 1880s by improved transportation, which meant a higher concentration of visitors and travellers could now also explore tourist-friendly areas, townships and cities with relative ease. As many of these travellers and immigrants came without a formal

education in the natural sciences, if not without basic scientific knowledge, and were at times of a less privileged class, they could imprint their own non-scientific views onto the Germanic perception of New Zealand, in which working conditions, and not natural history and philosophy, were of greater value. This often involved assuming the role of an immigrant advisor to the general public, i.e. specifically lower and upper middle-class Germans, particularly concerning the merits and means of immigrating to the 'worker's paradise'. The main tendency was to focus on or emphasise German immigrants and communities in New Zealand through recounting their respective success stories or failures and following the achievements of specific German figures, or else create a picture of the conditions facing skilled immigrant workers in general. The resulting aspiration to be a social critic was also shared by the scientists and naturalists when the format of their contributions permitted it. In both cases, they showed a clear willingness to assess the socio-political and cultural realities of the colony through relating general information on the social conditions and inhabitants, including the general make-up of society, cultural characteristics and the nature of the surroundings, with particular attention given to future prospects and work conditions. During the latter decades of the nineteenth century in particular, in which New Zealand was still a visibly Anglocentric society, social commentary became even more significant for viewing those national characteristics that had appeared in their own right and distinguished the colony from the world the original colonists had left behind. The worldly traveller or scholar was then also in a position to offer a critique on similar issues facing other colonies or on how New Zealand had followed its own path by comparing the state of the colony to Britain, Germany or Central Europe at the same time as its prevailing international reputation and national stereotypes.

In conclusion, German-speaking visitors and immigrants made numerous contributions to the perception of New Zealand and the Maori in the nineteenth century, not only in the field of science, but also in their level of social commentary and conservationism which a British observer might be reluctant or else unable to make. In many cases they offered solutions or advice concerning ongoing disputes in the colony, but they were either ignored by the English-speaking public, or else only seen by a German readership. On a number of occasions their not being British also proved an advantage in winning the trust of Maori and being granted permission to visit closely guarded or 'tapu' sites. And while they were unable to divorce themselves completely from British influences, they did, nevertheless, project a distinctive German or

Austrian voice which enabled them to view New Zealand and the Maori in a uniquely refreshing manner.

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