The New Zealand New Woman

Representations of White Women in Settler Colonial New Zealand

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ABSTRACT

In recent decades, settler colonial theory has been a a field of continuosuly growing academic interest and research. However, the role of white women within the settler colonial framework so far has often been neglected, especially in front of a specific New Zealand backdrop. Thus, this dissertation examines how the structures of settler colonialism affect and influence the role and ideal of white New Zealand women.

A survey of the development of New Zealand suffrage, as well as of the female ideals shaping and being shaped in the Anglosphere over the course of the nineteenth century will provide the backbone to a comparative approach which will contrast New Zealand with the Empire's home Britain, and the United States of America, as fellow settler colonial nation, in order to show what sets New Zealand women apart from their peers. The rich archival material available in the New Zealand context will be explored thoroughly, and the representations of white New Zealand women in personal accounts and historical pieces of life-writing, as well as in historical newspapers will be compared to their portrayal in autobiographical/autofictional narratives and historical novels by contemporary women authors. Focusing on the particular area where life-writing studies, gender studies, and settler colonial theory overlap, literary analysis and archival work will be the two cornerstones on which this dissertation is founded.

Reading personal reminiscences in continuity with pieces of life-writing and fiction will allow me to address the question whether there is such a thing as a New Zealand New Woman and what role she assumes within settler colonial New Zealand. Ultimately my research will reveal whether settler colonialism, due to its nature as on-going phenomenon, still resonates in New Zealand writing until today in order to come to terms with a settler colonial past and present.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Siedlungskolonialimus als eigene Forschungstheorie hat in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten eine kontinuierlich wachsendes Interesse seitens der Wissenschaft erfahren und folglich auch eine zunehmende Anzahl von Forschungsarbeiten verzeichnet. Jedoch wurde die Rolle von weißen Frauen innerhalb dieses siedlungskolonialen Rahmens oft vernachlässigt, insbesondere wenn man den Fokus gezielt auf Neuseeland richtet. Deshalb untersucht diese Dissertation wie sich die Strukturen des Siedlungskolonialismus auf die Rolle und das Idealbild von weißen Frauen in Neuseeland auswirken und diese beeinflussen.

Eine Übersicht über die Entwicklung der Frauenwahlrechtsbewegung in Neuseeland, sowie über die weiblicher Idealbilder in der englischsprachigen Welt über den Verlauf des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts bilden die Grundlage für eine vergleichende Betrachtung von Neuseeland, Britannien, als Heimat des britischen Weltreiches, und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, als eine ebenfalls siedlungskolonial geprägte Nation. Diese Kontrastierung ermöglicht eine Herausstellung dessen, welche Gemeinsamkeiten neuseeländische Frauen mit ihren Zeitgenossen teilen, aber vor allem, was sie von diesen unterscheidet. Hierzu wird das umfangreiche Archivmaterial konsultiert, welches im neuseelandischen Kontext zur Verfügung steht. So kann die Repräsentierung von weißen Frauen in Neuseeland in persönlichen Aufzeichnungen und biographsichen “Life-Writing”-Texten, sowie in historischen Zeitungen mit ihrer Darstellung in autobiographischen/ autofiktionalen Erzählungen und historischen Romanen von zeitgenößischen Autoren verglichen werden. Wissenschaftlich verankert im Bereich wo sich Studien zu Life-Writing, Geschlechterforschung und die Theorie des Siedlungskolonialismus überschneiden, bedient sich diese Arbeit zu gleichen Teilen der literarischer Analyse sowie der Archivarbeit.

Indem persönliche Erinnerungen in Kontinuität mit Life-Writing-Werken und Fiktion gelesen werden ermöglicht sich die Beantwortung der Frage, ob eine spezifische “New Zealand New Woman” existiert und welche Funktion sie im siedlungskolonialen Neuseeland einnimmt. Letzlich wird diese Dissertation zeigen,

ob sich Siedlungskolonialismus als fortlaufendes Phänomen bis heute in neuseeländischen Texten wiederspiegelt, um so einen Umgang mit einer siedlungskolonial geprägten Vergangenheit und Gegenwart zu finden.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Looking back on the last three and a half years, I feel that there are many people who helped me in completing this work – personally as well as professionally. First, I want to thank my parents for continuously encouraging my scholarly curiosity as well as never ceasing to support me in my decisions and professional career. Without them, I am convinced, this dissertation would never have grown from a fleeting idea into a fully phrased academic work.

Then, of course, I am grateful to my supervisor Prof. M[redacted] B[redacted] who took a chance on me when I approached her not only with an unusual topic and only a very vague methological approach, but also with the prequisite that my job would bind me to Karlsruhe and thus, I would have to work predominantly remotely. Her guidance and advice were my roadmap and streetlights on an otherwise obscure path.

Furthermore, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to A[redacted] W[redacted] of the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington. She, and the entire staff team, ensured that the time spent at the Kathrine Mansfield Reading Room was not only a research stay, but became an exciting, engaging, and enlightening adventure. I could not have completed this dissertation without it and felt that with her I had an attentive, helpful, and cordial advisor at my side.

Last but not least, there is a small group of close friends who ensured that I had a reason to return from this magical place on the other side of the globe, that I would not give up in frustration at obstacles I came across, who would cheer me on when my motivation took a break, who would distract me if my nerves were about to get the best of me, and who, with uncompromising reliability, always had my back. Doro, Ren, Abby, Michi, as well as those I might not name in person but who, I 'm sure, are well aware of being included in this group - thank you for your kindness, encouragement, patience, and strength.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Aotearoa New Zealand. A former British colony in the Pacific which "long perceived itself as the most faithful, and the most British, of the Empire's [...] peripheral members" (Bouchard 275). A nation so small that even today some people might miss it when they glance at a world map with a population of less than five million people – and an infamously larger number of sheep. That is, if the nation in the Pacific is actually on the map: often, the islands are missing which even caused Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern to launch an international social media campaign running under the hashtag 'GetNZonthemap' in 2018.[1] Although it was discovered as early as 1642 by the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman, it took another two hundred years before the first real wave of settlers arrived. By that time, the United States had been independent for more than half a century and Australia no longer was an exile for convicts but had welcomed free settlers for more than forty years.

One might expect that New Zealand, being a small country with a tiny population which has been settled rather late in comparison to other settler nations, is lagging behind in its development of a nation building processes. Undoubtedly, New Zealand took its time cutting ties with its British mother in terms of building an own, independent, national identity, and remained rather British well into the twentieth century. In 1931, the ratification of the Statute of Westminster, which aimed to give Australia, Canada, and New Zealand legislative independence from Britain, was repealed by New Zealand. Eventually, the reluctant emancipation began due to economic reasons after Britain joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 and thus, loosened its ties to the former colonies considerably. Today, New Zealand strives on the image of a unique, tolerant, welcoming nation dedicated to environmental protection, embracing and preserving its Māori heritage, and fostering gender equality.

In contrast to this slow process, supposedly the opposite was the case in view of female emancipation: New Zealand was acting as a pioneer, developing a women's movement which was surprisingly fast and highly successful in its realization of aims

1 youtube.com/watch?v=T2_yF0TxqOw (May 4th, 2018)

and goals. As David Hackett Fischer points out, “the movement for women's rights had a late start and won the earliest national victory in the world” (228-229). This suggests a very efficient and distinctive women's movement in comparison to other nations. Part of this might be due to the kind of people who settled in New Zealand. Women brave enough to take up the challenge, and practical enough to survive in a world which did not allow for strictly separate spheres or the amenities of servants and maids apparently were much more likely to succeed in their demand for fundamental rights of equality and having a voice in official debates.

Nowadays, the fact that New Zealand was the first country to grant women the right to vote bolsters the image that the small nation was indeed fast in its development towards what could be called a 'modern' society. One might even get the impression that women elsewhere had to struggle much harder. While they were preparing to fight long and cruel battles in the war of feminism, kiwi women's success appears to have come softly and quietly like a shy guest to a garden party and their way towards being appreciated as equal and valuable members of a growing nation seems to have been not much more than a stroll in the park. And yet, if observed more closely, it might seem that the quietness of the early success was not the result of clever tactics or even a more open-minded society all-together but, at its heart, had the affirmation of traditional, unchallenged gender roles and the covered mechanisms of settler-colonial self-supersession.

With regard to literature, one can observe a relatively great number of writing and reading females right from the start. Frances Porter and Charlotte Macdonald observe that,

> while women's names are rarely, if at all, to be found at the foot of dispatches to the Colonial Office, in the editorial pages of newspapers, in the bank ledgers, on the Treaty of Waitangi [...] or on land deeds, many of them did write. They wrote for themselves - in journals and diaries. They wrote to each other - copiously, loyally and fulsomely. And they wrote to an extended network of families, acquaintances and officials. In an unsettled age, letters were living connections (“Introduction” 2).

And these connections were essential in a settler colony characterized by great distances and small communities: life-writing accounts and letters were a crucial way

to connect to each other, especially for women. According to C. K. Stead, it is thus unsurprising "that the most notable 19th-century writing is found not in poetry and fiction but rather in letters, journals, and factual accounts, such as Lady Mary Anne Barker's *Station Life in New Zealand*" ("Pakeha (European) Literature" n.p.) For many women, these factual accounts or poetry, but primarily letters and diaries often were the only escape from tedious workdays and exhausting farm life far away from the leisure offerings of cities or the comforting company of other women. Due to the early settler colonial environment, "writing was not something to be done to fill the idle hours as a kind of lady-like refinement. It was necessary, a life-line, part of a social existence" (Porter and Macdonald, "Introduction" 12) because not rarely, writing letters was the only way of communicating with other women sharing a similar life in some other remote location in the small country, and of keeping in touch with friends and family left behind. Diaries became precious accounts of dreams and realities, hopes and disappointments, successes and setbacks. Life-writing in its various forms bloomed in the early days of British settlement unlike any other form of literary expression and the recent surge of scholarly interest in life-writing means that these accounts now are understood as valuable sources for scholars from multiple fields such as cultural studies, gender studies, literary studies, native and indigenous studies, literature, history, or post-colonialism.

Literature of the time about white New Zealand women, either written by visitors and strangers or by themselves, picked up on the common romanticizing of idyllic rural life abroad, but also presented these female figures as rather free-thinking and different to their female readers. According to Terry Sturm,

> by the turn of the century most major British publishers had developed special colonial lists, and encouraged at least some fiction with local colonial setting and themes, especially in the genres of adventure and romance. Ideally, such fiction needed to appeal not only to the broad colonial market (Australasia, Canada, and the Indian subcontinent) but also to the 'home' market in England, where there was a substantial body of readers interested in exotic peoples, locales and actions, and in the progress of Empire in lands to which millions of their fellow-subjects and relatives had emigrated. ("Popular Fiction" 494)

Thus, tales from the exotic settler colonial fringes of the Empire attracted a

wide readership, and a considerable number of female romance readers. Women 'back home' yearned for romantic stories in the wilderness of a faraway land and might have been rather intrigued by the supposed progressiveness of their contemporaries in New Zealand who appeared to work swiftly towards becoming autonomous individuals mainly due to being faced with the settler colonial environment they found themselves in. Naturally, the narratives often bowed to a certain extent to sensationalist expectation instead of adhering to neutral report. Lady Barker declares to give

> the exact account of a lady's experience of the brighter and less practical side of colonization [...] [,] record[ing] the expeditions, adventures, and emergencies diversifying the daily life of the wife of a New Zealand sheep-farmer (“Preface” vii).

Despite her declaration, however, her account is, of course, a far more exciting tale than the life stories of most of her female contemporaries, which probably would have included less adventures, and more worries and hardships. However, her highly popular publication fostered a certain image of settler colonial New Zealand and the women living there.

Even if New Zealand could be admitted as only a minor contributor to a global and international literary world, it plays a considerably more important role when regarded against a post-colonial backdrop. Postcolonialism and post-colonial literature are long established subjects in academia with an extensive amount of research, multiple theories, and various approaches. One rather recent but vital debate, however, is one that by definition is not even post-colonial: settler colonialism. Literary works, such as novels, but also letters, diaries, and other forms of life-writing, may offer rich insights concerning the settler colonial mechanisms at work in a particular New Zealand environment. As the definition of life-writing has shifted over the past, I would like to align myself with Alfred Hornung who declared that

> life-writing has become a recognized and productive genre, incorporating the traditional forms of autobiography, memoir, journal, and biography as well as adding sub-genres such as advice columns, letters to the editor, obituaries, video tapes, performances, and online lives. As such, life-writing has

> simultaneously developed into a privileged form of self-expression and into a major field of scholarship. More than representations of the self, such texts represent their subjects in relation to their cultures, tracing their interactions over periods of time (536).

This contiguity of writer or narrative voice and aspects of culture as well as time turn life-writing in any form into an intriguing source for analysis regarding settler colonial theory. In line with Hornung's exposition, Craig Howes argues that "life representation, primarily through narrative, is an important consideration for scholars engaged in virtually any field dealing with the nature and actions of human beings, or anything that lives" (Howes n.p.). However, despite Howes' declaration that any discipline or area of research can benefit from the insights life-writing might provide, it has been neglected in the settler-colonial context, especially with regard to Australasia, and New Zealand in particular. Thus, I felt vindicated that my dissertation would benefit greatly from the inclusion of life-writing accounts such as letters, diaries, journals, and autobiographical novels as primary sources.

Founded on an interdisciplinary approach linking settler colonial theory with life-writing and gender studies, this dissertation will thus combine literary analysis and archive work, allowing equal room for personal reminiscences, historical newspapers, old autobiographical fiction of the day, and historical fiction of contemporary Pākehā[2] authors. Analyzing the portrayal of New Zealand women in

2 "Pākehā" means a light-skinned New Zealand inhabitant of European descent, as opposed to "Māori," a descendant of the native people settling in New Zealand before the discovery by Dutch navigator Abel Tasman and the arrival of the British explorer James Cook. While I heard the term being used by New Zealanders of various ethnic groups as a neutral expression in a variety of contexts, as well as by journalists, politicians, and other officals, the history of the term is, unfortunately, not untroubled. Today, many New Zealanders decending from the white settlers use it to express and stress their connection to and strong identification with New Zealand (in opposition to "New Zealand European" which is often refused on the grounds that the people no longer perceive themselves as European). Furthermore, "Pākehā" was never meant as a derogative or diminishing term in the Māori language, and yet, some people take offence and prefer "New Zealander" or, more colloquially, "kiwi". Chris E. Sibley, Carla A. Houkamau, and William James Hoverd present a very detailed analysis of the term, its history, and the attitude towards it in "Ethnic Group Labels and Intergroup Attitudes in New Zealand: Naming Preferences Predict Distinct Ingroup and Outgroup Biases," published by *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* in 2011. Their survey found that people identifiying as "Pākehā" reported more strongly their positive attitude towards Māori and acknowledged the duality of these intertwined identities. When I use this term here in this thesis, it is meant enitely in this spirit: as a positive, descriptive, non-judgmental term, stressing the linkage of formerly Europeans with New Zealand as their new home and their consequent relation and connection to Māori resulting from this newly formed co-inhabited nation. For further evalutation of the Pākehā-Māori-duality regarding the use and attitudes towards the term, see also *A Land of Milk and Honey?: Making Sense of Aotearoa New*

literature – historical fiction as well as historical accounts – will reveal the impact and effect of settler colonialism on society, especially in terms of female gender ideals. By putting settler colonial theory at the center of this gender-oriented work, my research will expose the existing, gender-related structures of settler colonialism in historical and contemporary writing, and through making them visible, laying the ground to develop a meaningful approach and sensible method to reconcile and come to terms with a settler colonial past and present.

Evelyn Nakano Glenn states that "despite the increased recognition of the instability and ambiguity of race and gender categorizations, they remain persistent and resilient principles of organizing hierarchical relations within and between societies" (54), especially settler colonial ones. Thus, regardless of the established shortcomings of such classifications, they are undoubtedly relevant to the structuring, organizing, and working of a society, and as such, shall be addressed in this dissertation. Recently, scholarly research has begun to surge with regard to settler colonialism and native or indigenous women. For various reasons – rising interest and expanding studies in native and indigenous studies, as well as in settler colonial theory being the most obvious – this corpus is continuously growing. At the same time, however, white settler women seem to disappear once again into to shadow of their male counterparts. As Penelope Edmonds and Jane Carey point out, "white women's roles in settler colonialism are far less well understood" (381). Thus, in my analysis of historical life-writing accounts and historical fiction, I will focus predominantly on white settler female characters. It will be examined how inherited British types such as the Victorian Angel of the House, the colonial helpmeet, and the New Woman changed over the course of time, and eventually become an intrinsic part to New Zealand settler colonial history. Of course, Māori characters will be included, but it is important to bear in mind that most of the time, they are portrayed through foreign eyes. As Mark Williams puts it, "[t]he view from the boat rather than the beach has traditionally governed description of early contact between Europeans and 'New Zealanders', [causing] an arrogance of the eye" (1) and key terms such as the noble savage or the violent barbarian come to mind. The fact that these descriptions and observations were made by people infused with white supremacist

Zealand by Avril Bell, Vivienne Elizabeth, Tracey McIntosh, and Matt Wynyard.

ideology and convinced of their own superiority and entitlement to displace an eliminate supposedly inferior indigenous people and cultures naturally taints thei perspective and needs to be taken into consideration. This is true for early observation by (mostly male) explorers, but, of course, also for later accounts by settler col nialist women which feature in the following chapters of this dissertation.

For my research, I will use historical pieces of life-writing such as diaries and letters (in Chapter 3), as well as historical fiction by New Zealand authors (in Chapter 4) as two equal pillars this dissertation will be based on. This decision was sparked by Alastair MacDonald Taylor's statement that historical novels "may often portray the forces at work in that age with astounding clarity and vigor, while […] historians […] will fail to convey the spirit of the times" (471). Exactly because fiction seems to convey history more vividly, and more colorfully, people today often turn to historical novels instead of historical textbooks in order to make sense of the past. As a consequence, historical fiction plays a vital part in how a people perceives its own history. Diana Wallace, author of numerous publications on historical fiction and women's writing, explains her research interest as follows:

> [T]he historical novel has been one of the most important forms of women's reading and writing during the twentieth century. [...] [G]iven that a visit to any public library will offer evidence of the huge number of historical novels written and read by women, why is it that, with a few notable exceptions, there has been so little critical attention given to the genre? The tendency has been to associate women's historical novels with romance and thus to stigmatise it as escapist. ("Preface" ix)

Despite its evident importance, historical fiction, especially by or for women, thus was often dismissed and overlooked in the scholarly context. Wallace's own work has contributed significantly to the renewed scholarly interest in historical novels, proving its stigmatization wrong and inducing further research in the field and publications on the topic, such as *The Historical Novel* by Jerome de Groot, *Historical Romance Fiction: Heterosexuality and Performativity* by Lisa Fletcher, *Metafiction and Metahistory on Contemporary Women's Writing* by Ann Heilmann and Mark Llewellyn, or *The Female Figure in Contemporary Historical Fiction* by Katherine Cooper and Emma Short.

As Wallace further explains,

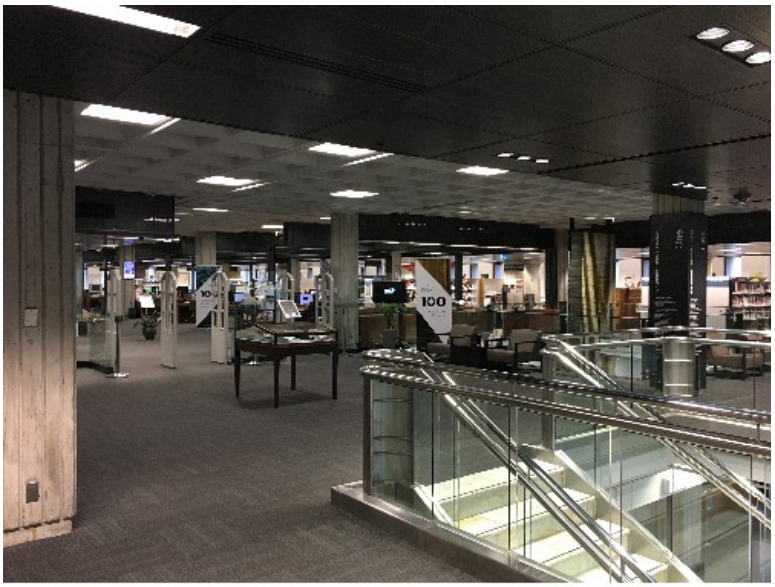
> [w]omen's historical fiction seems to provoke very intense reactions - either positive or negative. General readers are often passionate about it [...]. But professional readers - reviewers, historians, academics - have been rather more ambivalent until very recently. Despite what often seems like our current obsession with history, historical fiction in general still occupies a surprisingly marginal place in the literary canon and the academic curriculum ("Difficulties, Discontinuities and Differences" 206).

Thus, I was confirmed in my decision to use historical novels as one of the cornerstones of my own research, and thus, contribute to the efforts of moving historical fiction from the margins more towards the center of scholarly interest and attention. The continuously rising popularity of historical fiction today proves that these novels, in Mac Donald Taylor's words. "play an invaluable role as a dynamic counterpart to the scientific analysis of history" (476), and as such will provide another perspective on the settler colonial past also within the frame of this dissertation. In line with settler colonial theory and its characteristic as a structure, not an event, fiction, and especially historical fiction, should bear traces of settler colonial mechanisms and nation founding myths intrinsic to a people with a settler colonial past. Furthermore, I chose to include not only historical novels by contemporary New Zealand authors, but also accounts by female authors writing in the late nineteenth century. These accounts are often referred to as novels, too, and yet, in my eyes, they rather constitute primary examples of life-writing with thinly disguised narrators of mostly autobiographical/autofictional works. As such, they will be the transitory elements connecting historical documents with published autofictional works of the same time and the historical novels of modern writers.

CHAPTER 1.1

RESEARCHING AT THE ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

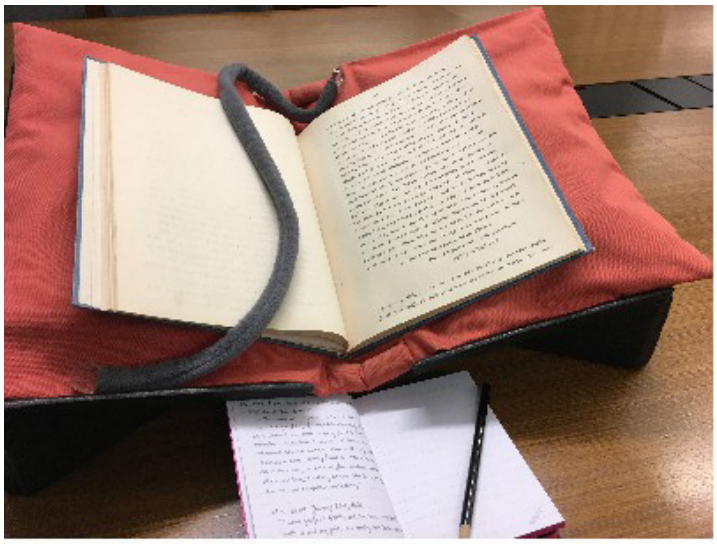
With more than 18.000 kilometers between Germany where I currently live and New Zealand, as the former settler colony my doctoral research focuses on, I was relieved to find out that many historical accounts and sources I was interested in today can be accessed online, are part of anthologies or have been published as commented transcripts. However, it felt like I would limit my research if I had relied solely on this material and therefore, I spent almost four weeks in October 2019 researching at the *Alexander Turnbull Library* in Wellington. Amongst other collections, this library holds the National Documentary Heritage Collection, the Manuscripts Collection, the National Newspaper Collection, and the New Zealand Serials Collection.



The Alexander Turnbull Library is situated ot the first floor of the National Library of New Zealand in Wellington. The edge of the class cubicle known as the Kathrine Mansfield Reading Room is barely visible on the left side.

When I first got in touch with the staff of the *National Library of New Zealand* concerning my intention to visit the Alexander Turnbull Collections for research purposes, I was referred to Audrey Waugh, Research Librarian Manuscripts. Ever helpful, she supported me in preparing for this adventure to make the most of my limited time, warmly welcomed me upon my arrival, and introduced me to my temporary working environment. I am incredibly grateful for her hospitality, attentiveness, and guiding advice regarding further material which might be of interest to me.

As I was mostly interested in unpublished manuscripts, the Kathrine Mansfield Reading Room became my workspace. Due to the delicate nature of many manuscripts which can be ordered from the archives to be seen and studied at this room, access is restricted, entrance only granted to people registered, and arrival and departure must be confirmed by signing in a log at the welcome desk. Any bag or pouch, jacket, and other belongings need to be kept in the lockers outside for the time of the stay, and naturally food or beverage is strictly prohibited. As I quickly developed the routine of showing up upon opening and leaving close to closing time on six days a week, I was soon greeted with warm smiles and friendly nods by the regulars. Any item I wanted to see had to be ordered via *tiaki*, the catalogue for unpublished collections, usually an hour ahead of when I wanted to see it to be brought to the reading room. Items could be ordered for the next day, too, or kept on hold if I had not managed to finish by the end of the day. Gloves were only mandatory when dealing with old photographs but considerate and careful handling of the material in general was axiomatic.

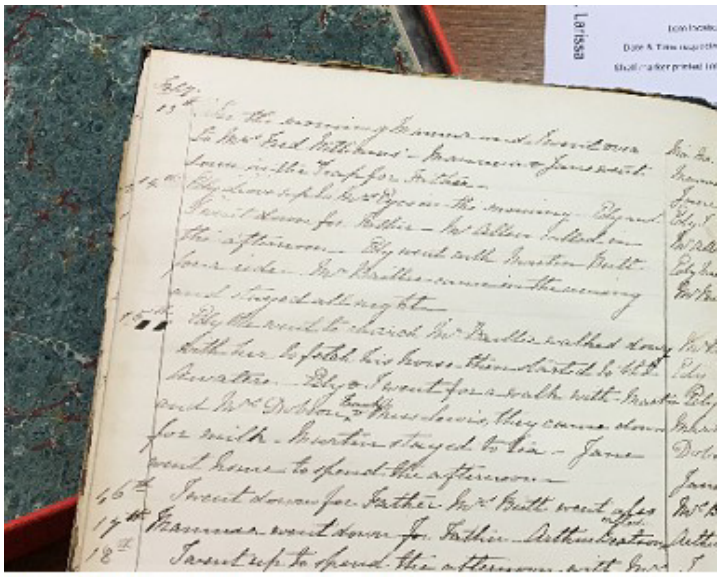


Cushioned reading aids helped to support the sometimes fragile spines of books and journals. While taking pictures of the material and texts or requesting photocopies would have been an option, I prefered to copy any relevant quotations with a pencil into a little notebook that became a real treasure box over the course of researching for this thesis.

Due to the access restriction, I often worked alone or with very few other people present, except for the always helpful staff. More than once I lost myself in the correspondence or a diary, absorbed in someone else's life story and had a hard time abandoning the reading if it proved to be unsuited for my research focus. Despite having a trained eye for hastened or spidery handwriting due to working at a PR agency, I often struggled more than I had anticipated to read fluidly through the

lines and pages of personal records. I was particularly charmed by Anna Heine's Tagebuch from 1875 (ATL MS-Papers-6083). Born in New Zealand in 1856 to German missionaries in the mostly German community of Upper Moutere, Anna begins her diary in German, but eventually includes more and more English words and expressions. Even though her account features only briefly in the third chapter of my dissertation, I still found her diary to be among the most interesting manuscripts I engaged with.

My starting points were of course the records referenced in Porter and Macdonald's *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates*, *tiaki* catalogue searches for the women presented by Sarah Ell in *The Adventures of Pioneer Women in New Zealand*, and, naturally, *tiaki* enquiries after now familiar figures of early settler colonial life such as Sarah Selwyn, Harriet Gore Brown, Grace Hirst, and Elizabeth Mary Rolleston. I also consulted the research boxes and folders for the compilation of *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa*, (MS-Group-0140) which included notes on the respective women in the book, as well as correspondence concerning the contributions and editorial notes. As this material is restricted, I had to formally apply to be granted access, but after stating my interest in the material, my request was approved quickly. With these folders and manuscripts, I specifically searched for information which had in the end not been included in the book but would serve my research interests and possibly hint to new impulses on which other manuscripts to consult.



Apart from sometimes experimental spelling and punctuation (or lack thereof), the sometimes caligraphy-like lines of hand written phrases transported a more intimate atmosphere than the more eligible typescribt copies available for some of the manuscripts.

Once I was able to shake the feeling that the time would never be enough to read all available material – partly due to the realization that indeed, this would be an impossible feat, but that I was making sufficient progress with regard to my particular focus and interest – I split my time during my last week between the Kathrine Mansfield Reading Room and the general Alexander Turnbull Library on the first floor of the National Library of New Zealand, screening several books and anthologies I had repeatedly heard about but had a hard time retrieving from any library in Europe, as well as the National Newspaper Collection. I had left the newspaper research for last because I had been reassured that most of the material I would be interested in was indeed available digitally via *PapersPast* (paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/), so that I was able to focus predominantly on the manuscript material for Chapter 3.1. Even though the better part of research for Chapter 3.2 was thus conducted remotely once I had found my way back home, I still enjoyed seeing at least some samples of historical newspapers. It provided a different, more holistic impression on how the content I later found would have been included in the entirety of the newspaper and how this consequently might have influenced readers or determined the importance the readership might have granted to one article or another.

Most newspapers are only available via scan or microfilm. The White Ribbon is one of the few examples where it is possible to actually leave through the old yellowed pages like some lady might have done at her tea table back in the day.

Looking back at this research trip, I feel obliged to admit that it changed the weighting of chapters and the overall composition of this dissertation. I found the experience immensely rewarding and was overwhelmed by the sheer volume of material available through the unpublished collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library, which to me became a real treasure box I would have enjoyed spending

more time with. I felt well supported by the entire staff team and am grateful for Audrey's time and always quick responses to any enquiry I approached her with. I can only recommend the Alexander Turnbull Library to any researcher with an interest in early New Zealand manuscripts or newspapers and I am glad that I decided to conduct this self-sponsored research trip.

In the following two subchapters, I will now outline in more detail the selection of primary sources consulted mostly during my time in Wellington and now included in this dissertation's third chapter. The wealth of material made limitations necessary and by providing detailed and more in-depth information on the Richmond-Atkinson clan and its background on the one hand, and giving an overview over all the women whose reminiscences will be consulted in Chapter 3.1 on the other, I hope to trace the search path I seek to establish in order to make these historical sources accessible for scholarly debate. How this set of primary sources (private records, as well as newspapers) supporting the third chapter of this dissertation is balanced with the second set of primary sources (autobiographical/autofictional life-writing and historical fiction) backing my fourth chapter will be discussed and explained in more depth in the ensuing Chapter 1.2.

CHAPTER 1.1.1

THE RICHMOND-ATKINSON CLAN

According to David Hackett Fischer, among the small elite settling in New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century, there were "six families who became one extended cousinage and called themselves the Taranaki Mob" (54-55), as Taranaki was the region on the North Island most of them began farming at. Members of this clan – men but also women – were to shape the society and political landscape of the young colony as lawyers, politicians, journalists, editors, but also artists and scholars. While the women mostly complied with their traditional role as wives and homemakers, the Unitarian background of the kin group ensured that girls, too, received a higher education, and the extensive collection of diaries, journals, correspondence, and other written reminiscences are divided almost equally between male and female authors. As Guy H. Scholefield points out, the survival of this unique collection of life-writing was not "a mere chance […] [but] due primarily to the congenital disposition of a family for recording and sporadic impulses towards conservation" (5).

While it is almost impossible to research early examples of New Zealand life-writing without stumbling sooner rather than later over an account by a member of this clan, engaging especially with the women and their written accounts quickly becomes confusing. Not unusual for the time, most had a first and a middle name, often in memory of an ancestor which ultimately led to the situation that some of them used their middle name as their main name they were referred to by others in order to omit confusion with family elders. Others went by nicknames and naturally, the women took the last name of their husbands once they were married. When I first began to look deeper into the Richmond-Atkinson collection of historical accounts, I soon realized I would need a chart or family tree if I wanted to keep an overview over whose account I was currently reading and not be lost between Janes, Marys, Marias, Anns and Annies or the various abbreviations used in letters or personal diaries. Over time, the names began to turn into people I felt acquainted with through studying their writings, and the family tree became less and less necessary. However, the chart successfully visualized at least part of the intertwined structures of the so-

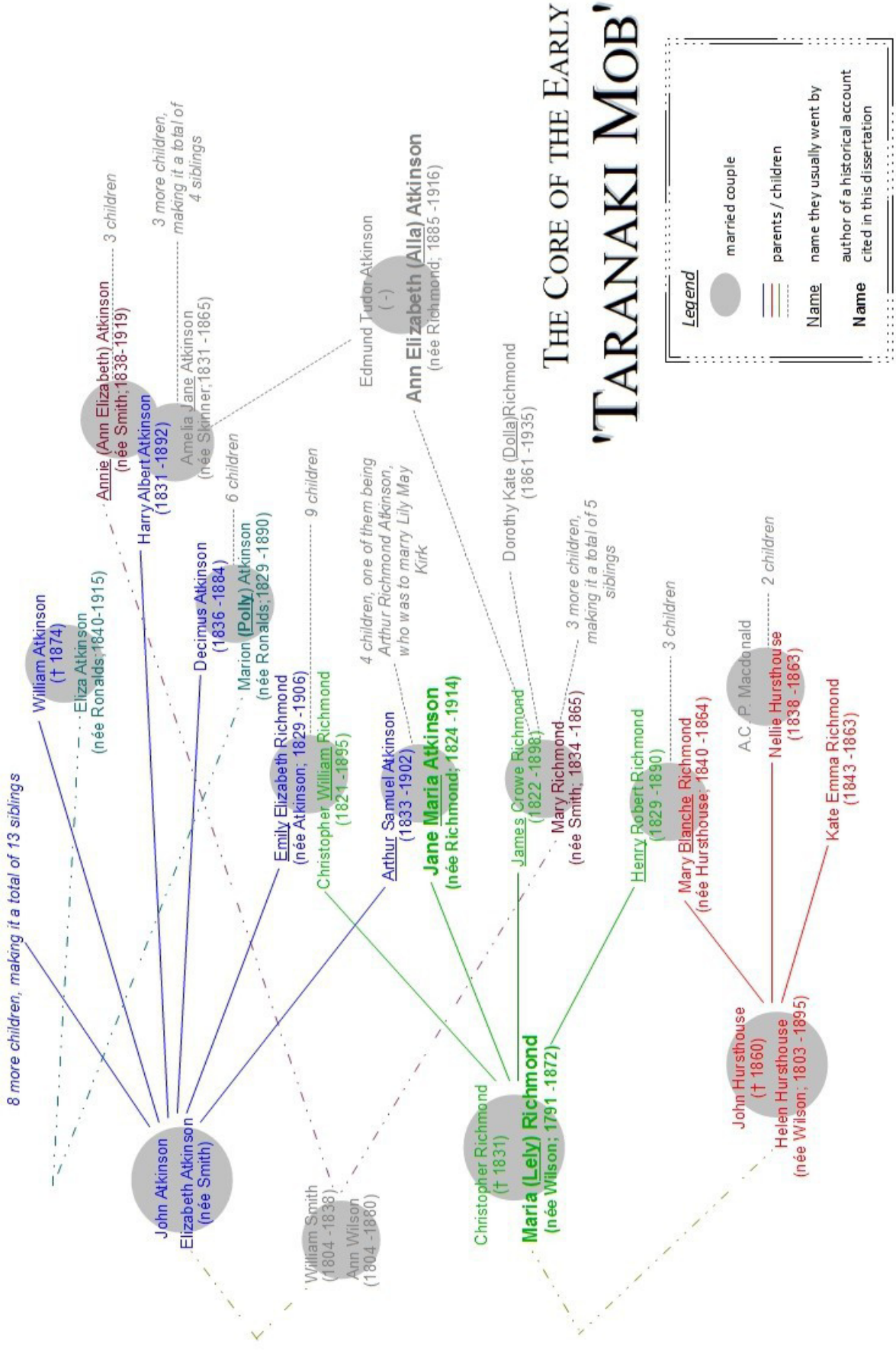
called mob and even though not all females included in it are now cited in the third chapter, I felt it would be a useful addition to the dissertation as a whole.

For further information on the Richmond-Atkinson family and their relatives, I found the *Richmond-Atkinson Papers,* vol. I and II by Guy H. Scholefield, published 1961, immensely useful which are also available through *Early New Zealand Books (ENZB)* online. *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa* includes a detailed entry for Jane Maria Atkinson, as well as for Dolla Richmond and Mary Elizabeth Richmond. *My Hand Will Write What my Heart Dictates* by Frances Porter and Charlotte Macdonald features an index with detailed information on several members of the clan, apart from the pages they are mentioned on in the book itself. Frances Porter further published *Born to New Zealand: A Biography of Jane Maria Atkinson* which also provides detailed insight into the kin group surrounding the female center figure. *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (teara.govt.nz/en/biographies) provides information on several clan members, too, and the website of the *National Library of New Zealand* does not only list any related items it may hold, but also includes short biographical notes on the family member inquired after.

The included legend explains the details of the graph on the following page. I underlined the name the respective family member was usually known by and highlighted those women cited in this dissertation by putting them in larger, bold print. Jane Maria Atkinson is generally referred to as the "factotum" (Porter, "Jane Maria Atkinson" 25) or "effective woman leader" (Porter and Macdonald, *My Hand Will Write* 490) of the clan and wielded immense influence as the fierce and outspoken matriarch of this kin group, discussing politics and official business with her brothers and other men on eye level. Her husband Arthur Atkinson was a Member of Parliament and later became a lawyer, working for his brother-in-law Christopher William Richmond, who had become a Judge of the Supreme Court in 1862. Maria's other brother James Crowe Richmond was a Member of Parliament, too, and Henry Robert Richmond, the third brother, served as superintendent of the Taranaki Province before turning to law and practicing as a barrister and solicitor. Harry Albert Atkinson, the brother to William's wife Emily Richmond, was

politically the most successful member of the family group. He was knighted in 1888 and served as the tenth Premier of New Zealand on four separate occasions, as well as being Colonial Treasurer. As already said, this is an incomplete family tree, only displaying the core of the early generations of the mob. Representatives of the Fell, Stephenson Smith, or Wilson families are almost entirely absent, as is for example Henry Robert Richmond's second wife Emma Jane Parris. Likewise, the first New Zealand-born generation is only abstractly indicated in grey print with few details as their personal accounts are fewer and, during the crucial time period closely observed in this dissertation, most of them were still children.

Despite this incompleteness, the family tree still serves the purpose of illustrating the close ties the families kept with each other, often marrying cousins or the sister of a brother-in-law. Furthermore, I consciously decided against including more accounts from these women, as they were privileged or at least part of the small settler colonial elite and focusing more on them would have defied the intention of representing a broad social spectrum in my sources. This attempt at a societal cross section with the help of the selected historical writing of a variety of different settler colonial white women will be explained and discussed in more detail in the following Chapter 1.1.2.


THE CORE OF THE EARLY
'TARANAKI MOB'
Legend
married couple
parents / children
Name
name they usually went by
Name
author of a historical account cited in this dissertation
John Atkinson
Elizabeth Atkinson (née Smith)
8 more children, making it a total of 13 siblings
William Atkinson († 1874)
Eliza Atkinson (née Ronalds; 1840-1915)
Annie (Ann Elizabeth) Atkinson (née Smith; 1838-1919)
3 children
Harry Albert Atkinson (1831 -1892)
Amelia Jane Atkinson (née Skinner; 1831 -1865)
3 more children, making it a total of 4 siblings
Decimus Atkinson (1836 -1884)
Marion (Polly) Atkinson (née Ronalds; 1829 -1890)
6 children
Emily Elizabeth Richmond (née Atkinson; 1829 -1906)
Christopher William Richmond (1821 -1895)
9 children
Arthur Samuel Atkinson (1833 -1902)
Jane Maria Atkinson (née Richmond; 1824 -1914)
4 children, one of them being Arthur Richmond Atkinson, who was to marry Lily May Kirk
Edmund Tudor Atkinson (-)
Ann Elizabeth (Alla) Atkinson (née Richmond; 1885 -1916)
William Smith (1804 -1838)
Ann Wilson (1804 -1880)
Christopher Richmond († 1831)
Maria (Lely) Richmond (née Wilson; 1791 -1872)
James Crowe Richmond (1822 -1898)
Dorothy Kate (Dolla)Richmond (1861 -1935)
Mary Richmond (née Smith; 1834 -1865)
3 more children, making it a total of 5 siblings
Henry Robert Richmond (1829 -1890)
3 children
Mary Blanche Richmond (née Hursthouse; 1840 -1864)
A.C. P. Macdonald
2 children
Nellie Hursthouse (1838 -1863)
Kate Emma Richmond (1843 -1863)
John Hursthouse († 1860)
Helen Hursthouse (née Wilson; 1803 -1895)

CHAPTER 1.1.2

ATTEMPT AT A SOCIETAL CROSS SECTION

Just as Māori women – or most other social groupings for that matter – early settler colonial Pākehā women were far from being homogenous. As the following sketch illustrates, they were a very versatile group. When this dissertation talks about white (or Pākehā) women in general, it is not out of ignorance regarding the distinctive features of the individuals this collective consists of. Rather, it is an academic umbrella encompassing a group of people unified by their distinct similarities in front of my research backdrop to allow the comparison and contrasting with other, similarly constructed groups or units.

My declared aim was to mirror early settler colonial society and thus, give representatives of the young nation's elite not more space than the average farmer's wife, Practically, this meant to dismiss many of the much more numerous accounts of the more renowned semi-public female figures, and to search for inconspicuously anonymous women of the past. It also means that, while a woman like Jane Maria Atkinson can be observed through analyzing her own writing as well as by analyzing friends and family writing about her, the lesser-known women often remain more shadowy representatives. Not rarely, women are only known as wife of an almost equally ominous John Doe, with no further information than what can be read out of the letter of diary preserved. Birthdays or dates of deaths, children, occupation – if it surpassed the commonly domestic duties of wife and mother – are not always recorded. Naturally, this means that the impressions and insights sometimes remain partial, patchy, or incomplete. However, observations made throughout this assortment of accounts from very different women also mean that the aspects observed qualify indeed as valid cross section of New Zealand society, as far as personal reminiscences allow.

I grouped them according to the main field they can be associated with. Of course, some women were running a school and were the wife of a farmer. In such cases, I granted priority to the primary occupation which shaped their daily life the most. Also, I would like to stress that I personally do not endorse the definition of women solely in relation to the men in their lives (as wives, mothers, daughters of

the more important male kin). The fact that they are, however, mostly listed here as wives of someone is because it is, historically, often all the information given on them, and that female professions and unmarried (and potentially working) women were, in comparison, a rare occurrence. Furthermore, women and their lives were predominantly characterized by their role as spouse to, for example, a politician or a doctor, and their marriage (or, before this pivotal transition from daughter to wife, their parents) determined in which social environment they moved and lived in – often to a higher degree than any profession, for example as governess or seamstress, could.

All information for this overview has been obtained by cross-referencing the index of Porter and Macdonald's *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates: The Unsettled Lives of Women in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand as Revealed to Sisters, Family and Friends* with the respective biographical page in *TeAra – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, and, where applicable, with *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa* by Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams.

Politics

Bethia Featherston (?-1864), wife of Isaac Featherston, medical doctor and superintendent for the Wellington province; Bethia was mother of twelve children

Charlotte Godley (1821-1907), wife of lawyer and politician John Robert Godley

Harriet Gore Brown (1829-1906), wife of governor Thomas Robert Gore Brown

Susan McLean (1796?-1855), wife of the Native Minister Sir Donald McLean; died giving birth to her first son

Clergy

Jane Bolland (?), wife of deacon William Bolland and mother to a son

Anna Heine (1846-1932), eldest daughter of a Lutheran missionary

Sarah Selwyn (1809-1907), wife of George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand

Eliza White (1809-1893), wife of missionary William White and mother of at least three children

Jane Williams (1801-1896), wife of Reverend William Williams and mother of nine children

FARMING

Jessie Campbell (1809-1885), wife of farmer Moses Campbell

Elizabeth Curtis (?), wife of farmer and gold seeker Gersham Curtis and mother of at least six children

Jemima Martin (?), wife of artist and farmer Albin Martin; mother of nine children

May Monkhouse (?), wife of farmer William Monkhouse

Jane Maria Atkinson (née Richmond) (1824-1914), matriarch of the 'Taranaki Mob' or Richmond-Atkinson clan

EDUCATION

Clara Haszard (?), head teacher at a 'native school'

Maria Nicholson (?), unmarried governess who eventually returned to England

Sarah Pratt (?), school director, as her husband Edward was unable or unwilling to provide

TRADE & SERVICES

Sarah Greenwood (1809?-1889), head of a boarding school, wife of John Danforth Greenwood, a medical doctor, and mother to thirteen children

Lizzie Heath (?), wife of trader Charles Heath who ran her own trading store, and had at least three children

Grace Hirst (1805-1901), wife of general merchant Thomas Hirst and mother of eight children (two remained in England with Grace's sister)

Mary Petre (1825-1885), wife of Henry Petre, director of the New Zealand Company and mother of sixteen children

CHAPTER 1.2

STAKING A CLAIM IN THE WILDERNESS OF PRIMARY SOURCES

The spectrum of historical accounts and of historical fiction I selected as primary sources for this dissertation shall offer a comprehensive insight into the development of the portrayal of women in settler colonial New Zealand. Despite their varying format and mode, they shall all equally contribute to help answer the question whether there is such a thing as a New Zealand New Woman, what sets her apart from the New Women elsewhere, and what role she plays within settler colonial New Zealand.

I have chosen to include letters, diaries, and personal reminiscences of several New Zealand settler colonial women. As explained already by the preceding chapters, some of them might not be called famous but surely are familiar figures to students of New Zealand history. Others are probably only known by those searching specifically for personal records of long-gone women that are now part of an extensive archive collection. Among them are, as the overview on the pages before show, missionary and politicians' wives, as well as teachers, servants, or famers' daughters. I tried to compile a diversified collection which reflects the heterogenous group of women who made up the female share of the early settler colony. Texts which will be referred to were written by Harriet Gore Brown, for example, the wife of Governor Thomas Robert Gore Brown, or Susan McLean, wife to the Native Minister Sir Donald McLean. Both women were among the more privileged settlers, thanks to their husbands' importance, and led lives with more amenities than, for example, Jessie Campbell or Elizabeth Curtis, who were married to simple farmers. The days of women engaged in missionary work, such as Jane Bolland or Jane Williams, were certainly equally filled with hard work, but their focus and aspiration differed profoundly to that of women working on farms, as house servants, or as shop keepers. The clear advantage of exploring the vast and rich collection of the New Zealand archives is that it allows glimpses into the lives of very different kinds of women, all of them early settlers and thus, sharing several of their hopes and worries, but also set apart by differing circumstances and expectations. The different forms of life-writing preserved by the archives allow us to access New Zealand society in all

its different facets, and to get a picture of women from various points within the spectrum of white settler society. While Margaret Jacobs in *White Mother to a Dark Race*, as well as Penelope Edmonds and Jane Carey in "Australian Settler Colonialism Over the Long Nineteenth Century" make valid points about white women in the settler colonial context, neither focuses on New Zealand in particular, nor do they acknowledge the social and occupational diversity comprised in the collective of white settler women. Barbara Brookes in *A History of New Zealand Women* does acknowledge the differences, but, due to the nature of her historical overview, not in too much detail, nor in relation with settler colonial theory. Thus, the heterogeneity of white women in settler colonial New Zealand is a research gap I would like to broach at least partly with my dissertation.

In the following, I will quote from the personal records of twenty-one women in total. Of course, the number of historical documents by servants, farm hands, or even Māori which have survived until today is considerably smaller than the amount of documents by women who could be called the social elite of the young nation. However, I strove to level this disparity through my selection. My sketch and listing in the previous Chapter 1.1.2 further helps to illustrate my aspiration to not contribute the perception that Pākehā women (or Māori for that matter) were a homogenous, uniform group. As I have engaged at length with their personal records, names have turned into personalities over the course of my research, and I will try to include brief introductions to each woman within my analysis. However, I felt that these introductions, though sufficient regarding the research questions guiding my reading and the chapter of this dissertation, fall short with regard to allowing a distinctive differentiation between individuals. Thus, I believe the preceding subchapter a helpful addition to clarify and distinguish the numerous women from each other.

In addition to these personal records, I furthermore chose to include newspapers in my selection of historical documents. Being publications available to a broad public, they will counterbalance the more intimate nature of private letters or diaries with the public voice and perspective. This way, personal bias or individual deviations from overall sentiments which might occur in private correspondence will

be revealed as such. Even though, according to Alfred Hornung, “advice columns, [and] letters to the editor” (536) are included in the general definition of the field, newspaper accounts are often neglected in life-writing studies. However, they do undoubtedly reveal biographical information about their authors, if not even about their readers, and therefore, can be explored in front of a life-writing background. Newspaper articles thus will add an official or at least more public perspective on the portrayal and place of women in settler colonial New Zealand. While this opposing division between public and private is necessarily constructed in its nature, it will eventually allow me to draw a more complex image of white settler gender roles.

The considerable number of historical accounts (and the vast amount of historical fiction) made limitations necessary to keep the focus on the research questions guiding this dissertation. Hence, to establish a common ground in order to enable comparison and differentiation, I decided to focus on the second half of the nineteenth century in terms of setting. This was a crucial time in the development of the young nation: the Treaty of Waitangi had been signed in 1840, the New Zealand Constitution Act passed in 1852, the New Zealand Women’s Christian Temperance Union was set up in 1885, and suffrage was granted to women as early as 1893. Consequently, it must have been a pivotal moment in time regarding women, their perception, and their role in settler colonial society.

While the historical setting remains the same for all primary sources, I chose to include two different sets of novels in this dissertation. The first four are by women writers who were contemporaries of the women encountered through the historical accounts. Thus, for Ellen Ellis's *Everything is Possible to Will,* originally published in 1882, Lady Martin's *Our Maoris*, originally published in 1884, Charlotte Evans' *Over the Hills and Far Away: A Story of New Zealand*, originally published in 1874, and Lady Barker's *Station Life in New Zealand*, originally published as early as 1870, the moment of writing and the setting of their works is almost identical, making them contemporary writings and not historical (auto-)fiction in a stricter sense. And yet, from today's perspective their accounts are historical examples of life-writing usually classified as fiction.

Works often referred to when focusing on this particular period of New

Zealand writing are, of course, *Sons O'Men* by Edith Joan Lyttleton, and *The Heart of the Bush* by Edith Searle Grossmann. Edith Lyttleton was among the most popular women writers of the early twentieth century with a wide audience abroad. Under her pen name G.B. Lancaster, her short stories were an immense success, especially in Australia (cf. Sturm, "Lyttleton" n.p., and Sturm, "Popular Fiction" 493-495). However, I decided against including *Sons O'Men* because it is a collection of short stories rather than a novel. Furthermore, it was published not until 1904, so after the turn of the century. Given the setting of the stories is identical with its period of publication, it would break with my declared time frame. In addition to that, all the works selected for this first set of primary sources are set before women's suffrage was achieved in 1893.

The same excluding criterion holds true for *The Heart of the Bush,* originally published in 1910. Although Edith Searle Grossmann is said to be among the most influential novelists of her period (cf. Jones 124), and was herself engaged in the suffrage movement, I wanted to stick to the deliberately short time span defined by the other works. Furthermore, Ellis, Martin, and Barker are all examples of (auto-)fictional life-writing, and the addition of Evans primarily serves the purpose of including a non-autobiographical novel.[3] Adding another novel which does not fit with the features that made me select Baker, Martin, and Ellis, and, in addition to that, does not adhere to the time frame would have unfavorably diluted my analysis.

Station Life in New Zealand by Lady Mary Anne Barker is written in epistolary form, based on the letters Lady Barker wrote to her sister during the three years from 1865 to 1868 she spent in New Zealand. The narrative assumes the mantle of a collection of twenty-five letters, illustrating in great detail her voyage out, the settling in at the sheep farm her second husband had purchased and intended to run, the difficulties of running a colonial household, the couple's excursions and leisure activities with friends, as well as the hardships brought on by losing her infant son,

3 I would have preferred to include Louisa Alice Baker's *A Daughter of the King*, originally published in 1894, but was unable to obtain an affordable copy, either digitally or in print, when I set out to define the corpus of primary sources for this dissertation. Nevertheless, Terry Sturm's summarizing analysis of Baker's work in the chapter "Popular Fiction" of *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature* (cf. 498-501) suggests that this novel, would I have been able to include it in my analysis, would have led me to similar observations as the other four works, and thus, would have been in accordance with my conclusions now drawn in view of Baker's, Martin's Ellis' and Evans' writing.

the New Zealand weather, and the challenging conditions in the young and still scarcely settled colony. The fact that Lady Barker, unlike most other settler colonial wives who had to make do without servants, was able to spend a great deal of her time adventuring and exploring instead of being preoccupied with domestic tasks, is reflected in comprehensive descriptions of New Zealand flora and fauna. *Station Life in New Zealand* was a success, issuing Lady Barker to publish a sequel called *Station Amusement in New Zealand* three years later in 1873. Although she wrote more than fifteen books on a wide variety of topics from "travel to children's stories, domestic furnishing and cookery" (Hankin n.p.), *Station Life in New Zealand* remains her most successful work and today, is often considered a New Zealand classic.

Whereas Lady Barker mainly sought to entertain her readers, the intention of Lady Mary Ann Martin's *Our Maoris*, published a decade later in 1884, were slightly different: here, in line with the imperialist and white supremacist thought of the time, the focus was predominantly on the ability and success of raising the supposedly inferior native population through Christian teaching and missionary work. Lady Martin spent most of her adult life in New Zealand at the side of her husband William Martin who had been appointed Chief Justice of New Zealand in 1841. A vicar's daughter and part of the tight-knit group of friends surrounding bishop George Augustus Selwyn, she invested most of her time and energy into missionary efforts, converting and educating Māori. When the couple eventually left New Zealand to retire in England in 1874, Lady Martin set down to write an account of her time spent among the native population in the young settler colony. These memoires were eventually published posthumously under the title *Our Maoris* by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, clearly intending her recollections as a didactic tale. As the preface claims, "[t]here are no adventures to relate, nor stirring events to record; only a faint but strictly faithful attempt to describe them [Māori] as they were, – a people just emerging from barbarism, with many faults, but also with great capabilities" (Martin iii-iv). Despite the instructive nature of its introduction, however, the memoir otherwise lacks an expected condescending tone. Rather, it is an emphatic, observant report on the people Lady Martin met and engaged with, the social interactions she studied or participated in, and many Māori she had come to know as friends.

While both, Lady Barker's and Lady Martin's accounts openly acknowledge their autobiographical nature, not least because of a first-person narrative voice, the autofictional quality of Ellen Ellis' *Everything is Possible to Will* is more concealed. Published in 1882, the narrative presents itself as preaching, cautionary novel, lamenting the dangers and evils of drink and alcohol, and proclaiming a radical, almost modern stance on matters of female discrimination and lack of opportunity for women. According to its preface, it was

> [w]ritten especially for working women, by one of themselves, [and] the narrative and its reflexions have been patiently elaborated with the 'Line upon line, precept upon precept' simplicity needful to the untaught notwithstanding that conciseness of word and thought appeal more forcibly to the cultivated mind [sic].” (Ellis iii-iv)

This further illustrates the intent of using this supposed novel as a means to spread Ellis' stance on marriage, women's role, prohibition, and legal discrimination among a British audience. The plot, often interrupted by passages of moralizing and accusing criticism detached from the imminent fictional situation or characters, centers around Zee: a young woman who sets out with her husband to New Zealand, and finds her life burdened not only by the challenges of settler colonial life, but brought to the brink of catastrophe by her husband's alcoholism. Progressive in its demand for intellectual, legal, and physical emancipation of women, and its call for equal education for girls, *Everything is Possible to Will* presents a less romanticized, but still flattering image of settler colonial life in New Zealand in comparison with Baker or Martin. Over the course of the nineteen chapters the novel comprises, Zee struggles to find her way, navigating the difficulties of women's lack of emancipation and opportunity without having to sacrifice her own high morals and virtues. In the end, however, her husband is delivered due to joining the Good Templars, the marriage is saved, and almost severed ties mended by Zee's kindness and loyalty.

The fourth novel in this selection, *Over the Hills and Far Away: A Story of New Zealand* by Charlotte Evans, is, as I have already stated earlier, and in contrast to the other three, not another example for (auto-)biographical/(auto-)fiction life-writing, but rather falls under the genre of sensational romance. My intention behind including an account which is purely fiction in order to contrast its analysis with the

ones of the life-writing accounts will be explained in more detail in Chapter 4.1 of this dissertation. Evans' romance was published in 1874, so around the same time as the other three works making up this first selection of primary sources. In the typical fashion of the sensational romance popular at the time, the story evolves around the themes of courtship, match-making, unfortunate love triangles, well-kept secrets, the consequent drama, and marriage. The protagonist Lucy Cunningham is fetched by her brother to join him and their father in New Zealand, where the men have established a successful sheep farm. On the voyage, she meets Clinton Meredith, a nice young gentleman, as well as the more mysterious, possibly questionable Rylston Dacre. She gets betrothed to Meredith, but eventually, he ends up marrying her newly acquired best friend Jeanie Lennox who lives on the neighboring estate. In the end, several romantic subplots successfully untangled, Lucy and Rylston would finally have the opportunity to reach matrimonial bliss, but Rylston has a fatal accident on his way to meet Lucy who ultimately remains the incorruptible, pristine, almost Puritan heroine.

This first set of primary sources by Barker, Martin, Ellis, and Evans will be contrasted with four fictional works by (mostly) current women writers: *An Important Family* by Dorothy Eden, published in 1982, *The Captive Wife* by Fiona Kidman, published in 2004, *LaRochelle's Road* by Tanya Moir, published in 2011, and *The Colour* by Rose Tremain, published in 2003.

Dorothee Eden's *An Important Family* is characterized by typically gothic elements of mystery and suspense, overwrought female characters, and a heroine in distress. Eager to leave an unfortunate past behind, Kate O'Connor takes up position as lady's companion to Lord Devenish's wife and daughter upon their departure to New Zealand where the Lord wants to try his luck as sheep farmer. Over the course of twenty-four chapters, the dark secrets of the Devenish family surrounding their daughter Celina are revealed, Kate manages to overcome both, her interest in the dashing Captain Oxford who is snatched from her, as well as her illicit love interest in her employer, the Lord, and eventually the romance is resolved once she is contently about to settle down with a suitable, successful, young man. By far the earliest novel of my second set of selected primary sources, Eden's work also serves

the purpose of allowing to draw conclusions regarding the potential change in the portrayal of female characters in historical novels over the course of time.

Published two decades later, Fiona Kidman spins her novel *The Captive Wife* around the historical figure of Elizabeth Guard, supposedly the first white woman to settle in New Zealand. Well-researched and considerate of historical documents concerned with the story of the real Elizabeth Guard, Kidman develops her fictional narrative within these parameters of historically proven facts. Elizabeth travels back and forth between Australia and New Zealand around the 1830s with her husband, who sets up a shore whaling station on the South Island of New Zealand. On one of their trips, a storm wrecks their ship on the Taranaki coast, and Elizabeth with her two children is taken hostage by the local Māori. Her husband returns without the ransom but with British naval ships who engage in a brutal conflict. Elizabeth's return, mostly unharmed, to Australian society in its aftermath is overshadowed by rumors that her months in captivity where less of an ordeal than anticipated and that the so-called 'captive wife' even enjoyed her time among the savages.

The third novel of this set, *LaRochelle's Road* by Tanya Moir, is less linked to a specific historical event or person, but equally aware of historically documented circumstances of succeeding and failing settlers attempting their luck in New Zealand. The plot follows the invented Peterson family coming out to New Zealand, attempting to grow grass seed and better their children's future. While the parents fail to adapt to the challenges of their settler colonial environment, the two siblings Hester and Robbie eventually both manage to find their own way. Hester's journey from British girl to New Zealand woman is set off by her finding and secret reading of the journal of Etienne LaRochelle, an artist and the former owner of the Peterson's house who took a Māori lover. The story meanders back and forth between the past told through the lines of LaRochelle's journal, and the present of Hester's coming-of-age, as well as between the familiar left behind and the new world that now needs to be embraced in order to succeed.

Finally, Rose Tremain's *The Colour*, published slightly earlier than Moir in 2003, will complete my selection. The prerequisites are similar to the other three: fictional Harriett and Joseph Blackstone, Joseph's mother Lilian in tow, set out for

New Zealand to try their luck at farming. Having married rather out of reason and convenience than due to love, the relationship of Harriet and Joseph soon becomes strained, as their new beginning on the other side of the earth turns out to be harder, more strenuous, and more challenging than anticipated, taking a toll on everyone, as well as on their dwindling marriage. When Joseph finds gold in a near-by creek, he becomes obsessed with the idea of finding 'the color' and sets out for the goldfields on the West Coast, leaving Harriett and Lilian behind. Against all odds, Harriett eventually follows her husband after Lilian's death, although her motivation is clearly a sense of duty, and not affection. In the end, Joseph's failure – in the settler colonial endeavor, as well as in finding gold – works as counterbalance to Harriett's success who, once freed of her restraints – her husband being among them – strives. While he must admit defeat and returns to England, Harriett has found her place in New Zealand and seems at peace with her prospect of an independent future.

I further considered Nelle Scanlan's *Pencarrow*, Jean Devanny's *The Butcher Shop*, and Mary Scott's *Breakfast at Six.* I ultimately decided against including them in my selection because they were published between the mid-1920s and the 1950s. As my declared aim is a contrast of past and present, all of these novels would have fallen into a time somewhere in-between the defined past of the first set and a present I did not want to stretch any further than four decades. I also briefly considered Essie Summers as “New Zealand's Queen of Romance” (cf. “Essie Summers” n.p.), but not only did she publish in the 1950s and 60s, violating the same condition as Scanlan and Devanny, she, furthermore, wrote contemporary romance and not historical fiction, thus, making her entirely different to the rest of the selected works in this second set. Naturally, I was excited to read Booker-prize winning *The Luminaries* by Eleanor Catton, but dismissed this novel from my selection, too, as the story involves several female characters but is lacking the distinct female protagonist which can be found in Eden, Kidman, Moir, and Tremain. The last novel I considered but did not include was Jenny Patrick's *Skylark*. With an exotic character at its heart who is, by profession, family ties, and lifestyle, so hugely different from the more average settler colonial woman encountered in the other novels, as well as in the historical accounts of Chapter 3, I felt it would not serve the intended purpose of reading letters, diaries, life-writing (auto-)fiction, and historical fiction in continuity with

each other.

What now is the main distinction between the primary sources of Chapters 3 – letters, diaries, and newspapers – and Chapter 4 – life-writing and romance by Barker, Martin, Ellis, and Evans, as well as historical novels by Kidman, Moir, Eden, and Tremain? Historical documents and accounts, as they will be discussed in Chapter 3, in case of this dissertation should imply that the works used are more or less factual, meaning they are meant and have been written with the primary intention not to entertain but to depict reality and to narrate true happenings. Of course, any form of life-writing such as letters, diaries, and other historical documents also might have served the purpose to amuse and distract, and one has to bear in mind that writers of these accounts might have lied, exaggerated, or ignored things. This is closely connected to the scholarly debate on the autobiography-autofiction binary.[4] Even though any form of autobiographical writing includes a "fictional dimension" (Wagner-Egelhaaf 1), the fact remains that the life-writing accounts considered in Chapter 3 of this dissertation were not intended for publication and have not been written in retro-perspective as it is the case for most autobiographical writings. Therefore, they were principally factual compared to the imaginative effort invested in the creation of a novel. I have included Lady Barker's *Our Maoris* as well as Lady Martin's *Station Life in New Zealand* in the historical fiction of Chapter 4 and not the historical accounts of Chapter 3 because they were written and published with a broad, presumably mostly female, but general readership in mind. The decision to shift them into the chapter on fiction of this dissertation even though their works purport to be records of contemporary witnesses rather than strictly fictional imaginations is mainly due to my personal perception that the emphasis of these works was the entertainment of a general audience craving exotic stories from a faraway place, rather than passing on personal impressions to familiar people left behind. Furthermore, both their accounts were written or at least

4 For a detailed discussion of the scholarly debate, consult the *Handbook of Autobiography/Autofiction* edited by Martina Wagner-Egelhaaf. It includes a comprehensive insight into theoretical approaches, forms and genres, historical developments, and exemplary texts. With regard this dissertation's focus, consult specifically the chapters by Lydia Wevers on New Zealand, by Mita Banerjee on Postcolonialism, as well as on Life Writing, by Anne Fleig on Gender Studies, and by Angelika Schaser on Gender. However, as this dissertation is grounded in settler colonial theory and not autobiography/autofiction, this scholarly debate will only be addressed in passing and where it overlaps with the dissertation's argument.

edited and finalized for publication long after the actual events took place and the Ladies had returned to England.

While letters and even diaries were often circulated and read by more than the immediate addressee, too, they remained mostly private, seen by people who knew the writer personally and intimately, like beloved relatives and close, long-time friends. As such, they will allow drawing an accurate and detailed picture of how women saw themselves and each other, as well as their position and purpose in a settler society, their dreams, and their daily realities.

CHAPTER 1.3

STEPPING INTO THE SCHOLARLY ARENA

Interdisciplinary work bears the advantage of offering a more complex perspective on a topic because it uses, figuratively speaking, not just one, but multiple spotlights to illuminate it. However, it also faces the difficulty of where it is to be situated in the scholarly landscape. For this dissertation, the theoretical anchor will be settler colonial theory. In accordance with Patrick Wolfe and Lorenzo Veracini, settler colonialism is considered not as an event with a clear beginning and end, but rather as an ongoing phenomenon, a persistent structure which "typically resisted formal decolonization" (Veracini, "Introduction*"* 3). As such, settler colonial societies do not cease being colonial once the political allegiance to the metropole has been terminated. Furthermore, it is a phenomenon not directed or implemented by elites but rather lives of the fact that everyone continuously contributes to and reinforces its working mechanisms. While classical colonial agents came to exploit land and labor, never intending to stay permanently, but to return home one day, settler colonialists arrived in pursuit of land and with the clear aim of staying and building a new home abroad. Consequently, the removal or genocide of any indigenous population is a fundamental part of the settler colonial structure. In contrast to North America or Australia, violent massacres committed by white settlers against the Māori native population unrelated to greater conflicts such as the New Zealand Wars were comparatively rare, or, as Patrick Wolf points out, "[s]ettler colonialism is inherently eliminatory but not invariably genocidal" (387). Therefore, in New Zealand, this elimination primarily took the form of forced and controlled assimilation of Māori to the Pākehā settler society. The most essential difference to other forms of colonialism which aim to maintain colonial structures, is that settler colonialism works towards self-supersession. While classical colonialism thus reinforces the dualism of colony and metropole, settler colonialism erases it by turning itself as quickly as possible into an unchallenged, supreme settler state.

Ideologies which are intertwined and almost inseparably linked with any form of colonialism are race and gender. While the first will be a minor aspect over the course of this dissertation, the second will be essential. Especially indigenous women

or women of other minorities have been the focus of a vast amount of scholarly work in recent years, but the role of white women in settler colonialism has been neglected. Around the centenary of women suffrage in New Zealand, numerous research projects and publications focused on this particular chapter of kiwi history, paying equal attention to Pākehā, Māori, and women of immigrant minority groups. Considering that settler colonial theory has only begun to flourish in the past two, almost three decades (and thus, after the centenary), and that "there is a scattered (if growing) growing literature" (Veracini, "Introduction*"* 2) on the topic, as Veracini puts it, it comes as no surprise that only few have engaged with questions of New Zealand female roles and aspects of gender in relation to settler colonialism. This dissertation, however, will focus exactly on the intersection of these two specific fields in front of a New Zealand background.

Settler colonialism as a structure lives in and is reinforced by societal and cultural principles such as gender ideals. Thus, focusing on the portrayal of women allows tracing settler colonialism from a perspective which has been traditionally neglected in history and colonial studies: through female eyes. I will use the analysis of literature and life-writing as a magnifying glass through which the structures and mechanisms at work will be examined. As already stated earlier, works of fiction will be balanced and aligned with historical examples of life-writing, including newspapers, letters, diaries, but also (auto-)biographical/(auto-)fictional narratives in order to form a comprehensive understanding of women's image and function within the settler colonial framework.

My research relies heavily on Angelika Köhler's study *Ambivalent Desires: The New Woman Between Social Modernization and Modern Writing*. Her thorough analysis of the image of the New Woman in an American context provides the backbone to my examination of the New Woman in New Zealand. Although Köhler's focus is on the role media and literature played in the creation and preservation of this gender ideal and how it affects modern writing while mine is on the influence and mechanisms of settler colonialism in New Zealand society, especially on how settler colonial ideology affected white women, it still provides invaluable background information on the phenomenon of the New Woman in general, and in a

fellow settler colonial nation more specifically. This allows me to compare and contrast her findings regarding the United States with my own conclusions regarding the situation in New Zealand. Thus, *Ambivalent Desires* will serve as an important reference throughout this dissertation, which I like to see as an extension to Köhler's research – albeit a superficial one compared to her profound, encompassing monograph.

I will begin, however, with a general analysis of the aspects of race, class, and especially gender in New Zealand to illustrate more clearly how and in which ways settler colonialism uses these principles to its own ends. This will be followed by a synopsis of suffrage and the women's movement in New Zealand, comparing and contrasting it with the developments in other parts of the Anglosphere, to provide the necessary political background of the time. An overview of the changing female gender ideal, in New Zealand and elsewhere, will highlight the influence and effects of settler colonialism and thus, facilitate the analysis of women and female characters in historical accounts and fictional narratives later on.

Then, I will turn to historical documents and non-fictional sources, and finally, to historical fiction, both of which will be subject to profound literary analysis. Subsequently, I will come to a conclusion which will not only present a diversified and detailed view of the female figures analyzed – real or fictional – but will put them in context with the distinct impact of New Zealand settler colonialism past to present.

CHAPTER 2

SETTING THE SCENE

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

As the title suggests, Chapter 2 of this dissertation serves the purpose of providing the necessary social and political backdrop for the Chapters 3 and 4 which will focus on the literary analysis of historical documents and historical fiction, respectively. Focusing on governing principles of settler colonial societies, political developments and enfranchisement, as well as social ideals and the image of the New Woman before turning the attention to the actual analysis of the sources, bears certain advantages:

First and foremost, it allows me to discuss all three facets with a specific focus and in more detail compared to inserting the information in the textual analysis itself. By putting the following three sub-chapters of Chapter 2 before the two chapters with the diaries, letters, magazines, and newspapers on the one hand, and novels and autobiographical/autofictional life-writing on the other, I will be able to explain the fundamentals and essentials on which the literary analysis rests in detail and put them into relation with the overall topic of the dissertation. Furthermore, interdisciplinary work often faces the difficulty of losing the anchor or overarching theme of where it is to be situated in the scholarly debate. It is therefore important to define and outline the overlaps as well as the boundaries. In making an obvious division in this chapter, the scholarly context of where this dissertation is to be situated remains clear. Lastly, I like to think of this chapter as a way of providing a coherent and comprehensive background to the analysis that follows and which will reference arguments and features mentioned before. Figuratively speaking, this chapter established the outlines of a painting, while the next two chapters will then be about coloring within these outlines. The final chapter concluding this dissertation will eventually provide the last touches, highlights, and slight corrections, if we stick with the painting analogy.

Chapter 2.1

Class, Race, and Gender

Governing Principles in Settler Colonial Society

In most societies, if not in all, the governing principles structuring daily life and the interaction between individuals are class, race, and gender.[5] New Zealand's settler colonial society is no exception. In the early years of settlement, class – defined in the dictionary as "[a] system of ordering society whereby people are divided into sets based on perceived social or economic status" (*Lexico* n.p.)– is often, though not always, a factor to be neglected since the group of settlers tends to be rather homogenous with regard to their social background. New Zealand's immigrants were almost exclusively from a working class or lower middle-class background; upper class or gentry was an exception and only rarely found among them. As Morag Mackay explains, "[i]n the land of opportunity it was believed that hard work was the ticket to success, both monetary and social, which gave rise to the myth of New Zealand as a classless society" (237). Thus, supposedly everyone had the opportunity to make something of oneself if not shying away from the necessary labor it required, and privileges from the old world were not easily transferred to the new settler colony. For decades, this myth prevailed that New Zealand was entirely classless, offering a comparatively high living standard to all its inhabitants. It is, however, a 'myth,' as the complete absence of class in a society is, in James Belich and Lydia Wevers' words, "obviously not true" (4). More realistically, Keith Sinclair eventually argued in 1959 that New Zealand society "must be more nearly classless [...] than any other society in the world. Some people are richer than others, but wealth carries no great prestige and no prerogative of leadership" (276). Exactly because wealth was not as decisive a factor as elsewhere, class or class differences appear less articulated. Especially in the early years of settlement and before of the turn of the

5 These three factors remain the main causes for a discrimination-privilege-duality. Other aspects which can play a role in social hierarchies include but are not limited to sexuality, age, and religion. Stefan Hirschauer is part of the DFG research unit "Un/doing Differences: Practices in Human Differentiation" at the Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz and has published extensively on the subject of social belonging and the sociological structures of societies. For a more detailed discussion of the subject, consult for example *Un/doing Differences. Praktiken der Humandifferenzierung*, or Kimberlé Crenshaw's *On Intersectionality: Essential Writings* for comprehensive discussion of the related intersectionality theory.

century, even those belonging to a colonial elite or bourgeoisie were still working proprietors, actively engaging in businesses such as running farms, and barely anyone was able to afford it to live of privileges in leisure reminiscent of the aristocracy in old England. The willingness to work and one's abilities thus weighted more than heritage, lineage, or hereditary status and wealth. According to Jock Phillips, "[t]here were important distinctions of wealth, occupation, property ownership and culture in colonial New Zealand. But it is difficult to argue for the existence of tightly demarcated classes" ("Class" n.p.). Even though he acknowledges distinctions Keith Sinclair has brushed over, they still agree on the resulting lack of distinct, hierarchical classes. Maria Nicholson, a governess, writes in a letter in 1859:

> [T]here could not be a greater contrast in the society and style of living [compared to the Neilgherries, a stretch of land in India]. There are no distinctions of rank, excepting perhaps that muscular strength takes precedence of intellect and refinement, because manual labour is the only road to success in a new country. There are men of high education doing the work of farm servants, whilst others who brought nothing out with them but a strong arm are now prosperous and wealthy (ms-1717, letter dated June 17, 1859).

Maria Nicholson certainly was appalled by settler colonial erasure of class privileges, and thus, describes society in a rather unfavorable light, especially since intelligence, as the primary sources will show later, in the third chapter of my dissertation, was indeed valued and necessary, in men as well as in women. Regardless of that, however, Nicholson confirms with her observation a country perceived as mostly class- and privilege-free by the people stepping ashore in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, class is a principle not entirely unknown in New Zealand settler colonial life, but a comparatively unimportant one.[6] Therefore, it will only be considered as a minor factor in this dissertation.

Race, or rather ethnicity, however, is a pivotal factor regarding settler

6 For further discussions on New Zealand's myth of classlessness and the social structure in past and present New Zealand, see *Social Class in New Zealand* by David Pitt. A more recent study, focusing on youth, is published under the title *Youth and Social Class: Enduring Inequality in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand* by Alan France and Steven Roberts, while Jeffrey Kennedy looks at the aspect of class(lessness) in relation with leadership in "Leadership and Culture in New Zealand."

colonialism, which lives of binaries, such as colony versus metropolis. The most essential one is the opposition of settler and indigenous population. At the heart of settler colonial theory is the removal of the native inhabitant who, it is hoped by the dominant settlers, will eventually ceases to exist – through assimilation (Māori, or any other native population, assimilating to the white settler standard, of course), genocide, or appropriation. It is telling that the New Zealand census of 1871, for example, did not even include Māori, as if they had already become more fantasy than reality, and in 1881, it included only a very rudimentary Māori census as appendix titled "Appendix – Native Census" (cf. "Results of a Census of New Zealand, 1871" and "Census of New Zealand 1881"). Naturally, the surge of native and indigenous studies since the turn of the twenty-first century also meant a rise of scholarly interest in Māori and Māori-Pākehā relations. In 2010, Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds published *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity*, affirming that the concept of race and its social construction in front of a settler colonial background are now subject to a constantly expanding field of research (cf. Introduction 5). Furthermore, all eight New Zealand universities offer a Māori Studies program,[7] attracting a wide range of students also engaging with various aspects of this broad field. As a result, there is a continuously growing body of scholarly work concerned with the historical, political, sociological, and economical impact and consequences of Pākehā-Māori contact and interaction in general, but also especially in relation to settler colonial theory. Among the most important publications are *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa*, edited by Annie

7 According to the respective university website, consulted in November 2020:
University of Auckland – Māori Studies for undergraduate, postgraduate, and doctoral study; Auckland University of Technology – Te Ara Poutama: Māori and indigenous development as undergraduate or postgraduate program, as well as certificates, diplomas and short courses in this field; University of Waikato – Māori Language/Te Reo Māori, as well as Māori and Indigenous Studies, both for undergraduate, postgraduate, and doctoral study; Massey University – Māori Visual Arts, Māori Knowledge, and Māori Education, all for undergraduate, postgraduate, and doctoral study; Victoria University of Wellington – Māori Resource Management, Māori Studies, Te Reo Māori, Tohu Māoritanga as undergraduate study, and Māori as postgraduate study; University of Canterbury – Te Reo Māori, Māori and Indigenous Studies, Māori and Indigenous Knowledge. Māori Communication Strategy and Practice, all of them as undergraduate, and most of them as postgraduate, and doctoral study; Lincoln University – offers different courses, for example on Māori Cultural Studies or Māori Resource Management that can be part of a wide variety of study programs; University of Otago – Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific & Indigenous Studies offers various programs on undergraduate, postgraduate, and doctoral level.

Coombes and published in 2011. The rich and thorough analysis of how histories of settlement in the respective country have been mythologized and adapted into modern pop culture turns this anthology into an essential read. It pays attention to the similarities and also to the differences between these settler colonial nations and aims at "provid[ing] important insights into how this legacy of unequal rights can be contested in the present" ("Rethinking Settler Colonialism" n.p.). As there are a number of doctoral theses on the topic, I just want to mention two I came across during my own research. Jessica Terruhn 's "Being Pākehā: White Settler Narratives of Politics, Identity, and Belonging in Aotearoa/New Zealand," completed in 2015 at the University of Auckland, uses life story interviews in order to analyze what it means to be Pākehā for New Zealanders today, and how they negotiate questions of identity and belonging. Another dissertation of the same year, completed at the Victoria University of Wellington by Susan Wild, was titled "Creating New Zealand: Pākehā Constructions of National Identity in New Zealand Literary Anthologies." It focuses on canonical literary anthologies, especially lyrical ones, and places them in relation to the process and discourse of and on national identity formation. Another recent publication is *A Land of Milk and Honey? Making Sense of Aotearoa New Zealand* by Avril Bell, Vivienne Elizabeth, Tracey MacIntosh and Matt Wynyard. The textbook was comprised as an introduction for students of sociology and thus, falls into a different field of research. However, it casts a critical perspective on aspects like political identity, New Zealand society, sexuality and gender, and environmental issues which are all inevitably linked with discussions on settler colonialism, and how this shaped or continues to shape New Zealand and its people.

While most of my examples above approach the Pākehā-Māori-binary with a focus on the Pākehā side (like this dissertation as well), there is an equally increasing number of works focusing on the Māori perspective. An essential introductory work being *Te Kōparapara: An Introduction to the Māori World* by Michael Reilly, Suzanne Duncan, Gianna Leoni and others in 2018. Even though I noticed that several Māori expressions and words became familiar parlance for me over the course of my research and I engaged with a wide array of introductory works and articles even before starting this dissertation, I felt that I lacked a more profound language and cultural knowledge which would have been essential if I would have

wanted to engage with a scholarly discourse focusing on te ao Māori, the Māori world, and the experience of a native people I had not been personally in touch with or a part of. Thus, having had no opportunity to study extensively or even personally experience Māori culture in depth, I would feel my steps falter on the scholarly path if trying to adopt this as the main focus of my research. However, it will be a factor to be considered since questions of race or ethnicity are often closely related and intertwined with the third principle pivotal to this dissertation: gender.

The surge in native and indigenous studies also meant that the role of Māori women has been moved more into the spotlight. In 2011, Naomi Simmonds wrote an article on mana wahine, which is "often referred to as Māori feminist discourses, […] a theoretical and methodological approach that explicitly examines the intersection of being Māori and female" (11). While she points out that there are few sources, albeit significant, the number of publications and especially dissertations on the subject has increased noticeably since 2011. In 2019, for example, Sharon Marjorie Toi completed her dissertation "A Mana Wahine Inquiry Into Indigenous Governance" at the University of Waikato, examining the question if and how tribal governance structures today might fortify gendered colonial constructs which ultimately disparage Māori women. However, sticking to the image of the spotlight, pointing this light at one specific aspect or field naturally leaves others being cast into the shadows. In this dissertation, I would thus like to focus on a group that again falls victim to being mingled with a broader, more general crowd: While efforts are being made to emphasize and understand the complexity and multifaceted nature of being indigenous, the opposing 'whiteness' is becoming less differentiated. Consequently, Pākehā women in the settler colonial context are once again pushed into marginality. And yet, they had a distinct and important role in early settler colonial society, which differed significantly from that of not only of their male counterparts, but also compared to women in Europe at the time. Especially when analyzed in contrast to their Māori neighbors, white women's part in the settler colonial endeavor will become visible.

While Margaret D. Jacobs' influential *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American*

West and Australia, 1880-1940 focuses mostly on the theme of maternity and the role white women played in the removal of indigenous children, early child-rearing, restricting and discriminating policies against the native population, and assimilation and acculturation programs in the U.S. and Australia, she also talks about the importance of white women in settler colonialism more generally:

> [I]f we are to fully comprehend settler histories, the central role that gender played in settler colonies must be addressed. In any society, gender - the meaning we attach to maleness and femaleness and the practices that ensue from these meanings - constitutes one of the most fundamental organizing principles. Gender systems, especially the sexual division of labor, often underpin the economy of a group; they also provide fundamental mechanisms for the reproduction of the group and assertions of identity (9).

In accordance with this evaluation of Jacobs, I claim that the gender-specific mechanisms of settler colonialism become visible in four ways. First, and most importantly, settler colonialism enforces a strong gender dichotomy as a sign of civilization and superiority. As Barbara Brookes points out, “the position of women within a society acted as an index of civilization” (2). Thus, women's contribution and place to and in a community is fundamentally different compared to men's and the differentiation of the two is pivotal in structuring the new society. Second, settler colonialists argue that the indigenous populations' understanding of gender must be redefined in order to facilitate assimilation to eventually succeed in absorbing the native people who have not fallen victim to genocide or what Patrick Wolfe calls “the logic of elimination” (387, 390, 401), into the new sovereign settler culture. Third, the idea of “biological assimilation” propagated by the settler colonial regime equally contributes to turning indigenous culture into a thing of the past and, in accordance with white supremacist beliefs intrinsic to developing settler colonial societies, to allow the superior settler culture to take its place and spread further. The fourth mechanism shows itself in men's awareness of the dependence on women in order to succeed in their settler colonial adventure. Thus, settler colonial ideologists values (white) women as an essential necessity in the process of successfully building a new home and sovereign state.

In the following analysis of historical accounts (in Chapter 3), as well as fiction

(in Chapter 4), the first mechanism will presumably be the one featured most prominently, while the others might be more clandestine. Yet, in front of a New Zealand backdrop, it is not only the initial division of maleness and femaleness which will be put into focus, but rather the process of how this definition correlates and interacts with settler colonial ideology as a whole, and how it is influenced, and possibly altered, due the exposure to a settler colonial environment, to the Māori population, and to a daily life which consequently differed – in some aspects more profoundly than in others – from that in Britain. This dissertation will map out how white women are portrayed in early settler colonial New Zealand, if and how they differed from their female contemporaries, and if a settler colonial past still reverberates in the historical fiction of the present.

CHAPTER 2.2

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

FEMALE ENFRANCHISEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND

In 1850, the Treaty of Waitangi which officially declared New Zealand to be part of the British Empire had already been installed for a decade. British settlement was expanding and with the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852, the young colony eventually became self-governed. The New Zealand Wars had begun and were to continue until the 1870s, not hindering sheep farms and missionaries to spread over the South Island. While the population of white settlers had been a mere 2,000 in 1840, it had increased up to more than 22,000 only ten years later (Tuwhakahewa Baker n.p.).

This was the societal and political backdrop for the developing women's movement in New Zealand, which would eventually be the first to succeed in winning the right to vote. Even though it might look like a leisurely stroll in the park at first glance, suffrage was still a battle to be fought in New Zealand. I would argue that what makes it so distinct in comparison to other suffrage movements around the globe, and especially in comparison to the English-speaking world is the pace – it was rather quick to succeed – and its rhetoric – far from outrage, aggressive speeches, and violent protests.

The reasons for this are numerous but I would identify three main factors which were crucial to the development of events: first, the time *when* it took place; second, the way *how* the New Zealand suffragists proceeded and what was left unchallenged; and third, *who* was supporting the movement. The synergy of these three aspects ultimately allowed white New Zealand women and their supporters to succeed in their endeavor quickly, effectively, and – comparatively – quietly. In comparing and contrasting New Zealand to Britain, as well as to the fellow settler colonial United States, the distinct features of the New Zealand women's movement will become visible.

To begin with, the time when women in New Zealand began campaigning for suffrage and demand equal (political) rights was ideal: the discussion about the

inequality faced by women was not new. In other parts of the English-speaking world, the debate had been going on for years already. Following the breakaway of what was to become the United States of America from the British Empire, women there were beginning to ask more loudly for equality, given that the *Declaration of Independence* explicitly states that "all men are created equal" (Jefferson 303). As early as 1790, Judith Sargent Murray, one of the key figures in the American first wave feminism, published "On the Equality of Sexes" in the *Massachusetts Magazine* and two years later in 1792, British writer Mary Wollstonecraft turned herself into the foremother of the British women's movement thanks to the publication of *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. At that time, the only non-native inhabitants of New Zealand were sealers and whalers who mostly only stayed temporarily in New Zealand before returning home elsewhere. It would take almost half a decade until the first waves of immigrants, including a scarce number of women, began to arrive and the Treaty of Waitangi would be signed.

Shortly after this New Zealand founding moment, on the other side of the Pacific, Margaret Fuller's *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1844) became one of pillars of early American female suffrage, the U.S. equivalent to Wollstonecraft's *Vindication*, and helped pave the way towards the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. As one of the pivotal moments of the so-called American first-wave feminism, it attracted three hundred participants and a third of them signed the Declaration of Sentiments, a document outlining which rights American women should have as citizens. In the following years, several women's rights conventions were held with an increasing number of attendees (cf. "US Women's Suffrage Timeline" n.p.). However, especially the first-wave feminism in the United States attracted a variety of women, with a broad range of motivations to engage with the movement. Some belonged to the religiously conservative who concentrated on temperance rather than on suffrage as the main goal, while others were closer to the radicalism which would come to characterize the second wave. Several women and groups were very focused and specific in their aims and goals and tended to employ more militant tactics, in contrast to those who wanted to achieve broader, more general changes and stuck with moderate, less radical methods (cf. Dicker 21-56). Furthermore, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the American suffrage and feminist movement was

also intertwined with abolitionism and the surging debate on slavery, or rather the agitation over the lack of rights (or votes) for colored people (cf. Lange, "Women's Rights Movement" n.p.). As a consequence, there were numerous organizations which often rather worked against each other instead of joining their efforts.[8] In contrast to that, the New Zealand's women's movement was clearly born out of the temperance cause but soon unified most women and the considerably smaller number of organizations under the shared objective that, first and foremost, female suffrage had to be achieved (cf. Coney et al., *Sunshine* 13).

The Civil War from 1861 to 1865 naturally thwarted the American women's movement which had just begun to gain momentum but was unable to stop its undeniable ascent, regardless of the dissensions between the various supporters. The situation in Britain was in some respects very much similar to the one in the United States, at least in the beginning. Already in the 1850s, the Langham Place group had "brought together a small number of determined middle-class women to campaign on a variety of fronts for the improvement of the situation of women" (Rendall n.p.). Consequently, it is often referred to as the first British organization concerned with women suffrage. John Stuart Mill became the first prominent male supporter of the gender equality idea in Britain who presented – albeit unsuccessfully – a first petition on women suffrage to Parliament in 1866.[9] The subsequent parliament debate a year later, after the Second Reform Act[10] extended male franchise, had a catalytic effect on the activists in Britain (cf. "The Campaign for Women's Suffrage: An Introduction" n.p.), and marked the beginning of numerous local and national groups. Like in the U.S., the British women's campaign included multiple organizations, prominent individuals, and was not at all uniform in any way. It would take until the turn of the century – by that time, New Zealand women had already successfully gained suffrage – to unify these organizations under the two main banners of

8 For a more detailed discussion of American feminism, and the so-called first wave in particular, consult *A History of U.S. Feminisms* by Rory C. Dicker, especially the first chapter, *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism* by Nancy A. Hewitt, as well as *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* by Eleanor Flexner and Ellen Fitzpatrick, and *Feminism in America: A History* by William O'Neill.

9 parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/electionsvoting/womenvote/parliamentary-collections/1866-suffrage-petition/john-stuart-mill/

10 parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/houseofcommons/reformacts/from-the-parliamentary-collections/collections-reform-acts/great-reform-act111/

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), formed in 1897 by Millicent Fawcett, and the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), established six years later in 1903 by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters (cf. “The Campaign for Women's Suffrage: Key Figures” n.p.). The former is generally described as the more moderate organization, while the WSPU displayed more radical approach (cf. “The Campaign for Women's Suffrage: An Introduction” n.p.).[11]

Returning the focus, however, to the important one to two decades prior to the success of New Zealand women, it becomes clear that the situation in North America and in Britain was very much alike. The Anglosphere in general, and the North American continent as a fellow settler colonial society in particular, was facing a growing agitation of women over their lack of rights, and saw a formation of various organizations and groups in order to change this.

How did the women's movement in settler colonial New Zealand get on the way then? One of the most important figures who would come to shape the movement and thus, is comparable to Emmeline Pankhurst in Britain or Margaret Fuller in the United States in importance, was Mary Ann Müller. Born in London, she immigrated to New Zealand in 1849 with two sons from a first marriage. She met her second husband on the voyage and eventually accepted his proposal in 1851, becoming the stepmother to his four children. Due to “her husband's strong feeling against women involving themselves in politics” (Coney et al., *Sunshine* 16), she adopted the pen name of Femina (or Femmina) and published letters and articles with the help of her son-in-law Charles Elliott, who was the owner of the *Nelson Examiner,* the first newspaper on the South Island of New Zealand.

In 1869, the same year of Mill's essay “The Subjection of Women”[12] in Britain, Müller's pamphlet “An Appeal to the Men of New Zealand” caused an uproar in New Zealand among opponents and supporters alike – the former outraged by her demands, the latter delighted by her argument which went beyond the right to vote and asked for a complete emancipation of women. Mill even wrote “an encouraging

11 For a more in-depth analysis of British feminism and suffragism, see *English Feminism, 1780-1980* by Barbara Caine, *The Ascent of Woman: A History of the Suffragette Movement* by Melanie Phillips, *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945: An Introduction* by June Purvis, or *The British Women's Suffrage Campaign 1866-1928* by Harold L. Smith

12 A special collection copy of the printed essay is made available online by the University of California Libraries: archive.org/details/subjectionofwome00millrich

letter" (McLeod, "Mary Ann Müller" 462), congratulating the authoress on making such "an excellent beginning" (Mill cited in Coney et al, *Sunshine*,16). Her identity as Femina was eventually revealed in 1898 after her husband's death, and even though she is mostly remembered for her writing under this pseudonym, she herself saw her greatest achievement in contributing to getting the Married Women's Property Protection Acts of 1860, 1870, and 1884 on the way (cf. Coney et al., *Sunshine* 16, and McLeod, "Mary Ann Müller" 462). These acts ensured women were able to own property, to keep what was theirs in case their husband separated or deserted them, and to not be liable for their former husband's obligations.[13]

While these acts applied nation-wide in New Zealand, property acts were also being passed in the United States. However, the status and scope, meaning how much equality was granted to women, ranging from being able to merely own property to having separate economy or controlling their own income, differed depending on the state one was living in in the U.S. The Parliament of the United Kingdom passed the Married Women's Property Act in 1870 and 1882, roughly at the same time as the authorities in New Zealand. By the 1880s, the legal and political status of women in settler colonial U.S. and New Zealand, as well as in old Britain, was thus very much alike, and the discussion of women's rights a well-established, continuing debate.

The impression that the women's movement in New Zealand had a late start originates in the nature of the settler nation which experienced its first major wave of immigration relatively late and became self-governed no earlier than 1852. Thus, developing any movement peculiar to the young nation, focusing on women or any other subject, was simply impossible before the 1860s. Even then, the women engaging in the development in New Zealand were not yet born there, but had emigrated, bringing with them attitudes, demands, and opinions they had acquired in their respective countries of origin and thus, shared with other European- or North American-raised females of their time. Consequently, I deduce that it is a misconception that New Zealand women were earlier than others in their efforts for equality. Rather, they were synchronized with Britain and the United States in the matter. One might even argue that the women laying the foundation for the later

13 For individual acts, consult for example the New Zealand Legal Information Institute (nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/) which provides PDF scans of the original documents.

success did not even consider themselves New Zealanders yet, but rather expatriates who might potentially benefit from the opportunity of a freshly developing society in a politically almost unencumbered environment.

Nonetheless, it is not a misconception that the movement was indeed quick in succeeding. Thus, the crucial time to observe more closely regarding questions of who and how, are, once again, the ten to fifteen years prior to the enfranchisement of women in New Zealand in 1893, which offered an amenable environment for gender debate. In my eyes, what truly set the kiwi women's movement apart was the way how they proceeded in their pursuit of (political) equality. Like Mary Ann Müller, many activists for the women's movement published essays and other writings on the matter in newspapers, which were at the time primarily “set up for political purposes […] [and] the main way that those who weren't officials could participate in government” (“Daily Southern Cross” n.p.). Thus, newspapers were an acceptable medium for women, as well as for other interest groups, to formulate their political demands and participate in political debates. By the 1870s, Polly Plum, whose real name was Mary Ann Colclough, had become a well-known figure in New Zealand regarding on-going suffrage discussion. Highly educated and widowed at the age of 31 with small children to support (cf. Malone 142), Colclough ran multiple schools in the Auckland area to support her family.

At that time, the women's movement in Britain was becoming a nation-wide matter. The National Society for Women's Suffrage were formed in London, Manchester, and Edinburgh, respectively, as well as the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage (cf. “The Early Suffrage Societies” n.p.). While all campaigns were still constitutional in their approach, the continuing fission of the already small units meant that the efforts for women's suffrage were getting weaker rather than stronger in their effect. In the U.S., the suffrage movement had split in 1869 into the more confrontational National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), and the more conservative American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) (cf. “US Women's Suffrage Timeline” n.p.). Six years later, the Supreme Court ruled in the case Minor vs. Happersett that the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution does not grant women the right to vote (cf. Lange, “Legal Case”

n.p.), constituting a legal set-back for the suffrage movement and women's demands regarding a political voice.

Meanwhile in New Zealand, Polly Plum proclaimed her stance towards the women's debate in newspapers or even from platforms. In 1871, a time when women were rarely lecturing or even granted a public stage anywhere in the Anglosphere, she gave her first lecture in the Auckland City Hall which was a huge success. In the *Nelson Examiner*, the *Daily Southern Cross*, the *New Zealand Herald* and other newspapers, she published and responded to heated readers' letters, unmoved by outrage and unswerving by personal attacks. The *Auckland Star* stated that she "has been the consistent advocate, not of anything masculine in the character and conduct of women, but of common sense and true womanly qualities, as opposed to the frivolity and silliness that are too often regarded as fine ladyism" ("Polly Plum" n.p.). This alludes to an essential aspect of gender in a settler colonial context: a strong gender dichotomy. Undoubtedly, and this aspect will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters as well, the definition of what was accepted or desired as male and female characteristics gradually changed due to the settlers' exposure to a new environment and the challenges of settler colonial life which were not comparable to those which had formed to 'original' gender roles in Europe. However, this already points to the fact that in New Zealand, suffrage and political recognition were not as intertwined with feminism and other emancipatory ideas as elsewhere.

Colclough shared multiple features with almost all women who became central figures in the New Zealand women's movement and which contributed significantly to the special nature and effectiveness of it: they were educated, some of them well-versed in the rhetoric of public speaking and politics, and careful not to offend, but to win men over as allies; they were well-organized, quickly uniting their efforts under few organizations which worked together towards the same end; they were incredibly efficient, managing to be get almost all women and many men to support their cause; and they were not trying to overthrow the idea of caring wives and loving mothers, but rather to ensure that every woman had the possibility to fulfill her purpose in the settler colonial endeavor to the best of her abilities. Especially regarding this last

aspect, they often found a way around open conflict – undoubtedly because traditional gender roles and family order remained mostly unquestioned – which today enforces the image of a comparatively peaceful revolution (cf. Daley and Nolan 1). In Britain or North America, the inseparability of feminism and suffragism ultimately meant that asking for the right to vote also called into question woman's role in society on a much more general level. As a consequence, it of course evoked much more upheaval and unrest among supporters and opponents alike, and held more potential for irreconcilable positions and hostile conflict.

What surely also made a difference and is a clear distinction in comparison with the U.S. or Britain, is that New Zealand is much smaller and therefore, had fewer organizations. The most prominent one was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), founded in 1885, which unified many of the suffragists under one roof. In New Zealand, like in North America, drinking and alcoholism has been a rising problem. In the U.S., a whole array of Temperance groups, like the Good Templars or the Anti-Saloon League, came into life. Although New Zealand once again saw a considerably smaller number of organizations (mainly the WCTU, for both, temperance and suffrage) due to the significantly smaller number of settlers, the New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union was very much in the tradition of the American temperance organizations, and in both settler colonies, this cause was where the women later engaged in suffragist efforts first learned how to move in a political arena and with a political agenda (cf. Grimshaw 21-26). But not only had New Zealand fewer organizations to begin with, they also worked together hand in hand instead of against each other with rivaling interests. Many white settler women were active in more than one society and used this intertwining of contacts and resources to attain their goals faster (cf. Coney et al., *Sunshine* 13). For example, Kate Wilson Sheppard, a true key figure in New Zealand, comparable to Susan B. Anthony in the United States and Millicent Fawcett in Britain, was the WCTU's first president, later became the National Council of Women's leader, and launched the WCTU's own magazine, the *White Ribbon*, of which she was the editor (cf. Coney et al., *Sunshine* 20 and Macdonald, “Kate Sheppard” 604-606). An acquaintance of hers, New Zealand-born Anna Paterson Stout, wife to the thirteenth Premier of New Zealand Sir Robert Stout, was among the founders of the WCTU, as well as vice-

president to the New Zealand Council of Women (NCW), and the initiator of the Southern Cross Society, aiming to educate women (cf. Coney et al., *Sunshine* 20 and Nicholls 633-635). Both women must have known Harriet Russell Morison, who was also among the founding member of the WCTU and continued to become secretary of the 1889 established Dunedin Tailoresses' Union (DTU) (cf. Dann 457-459). Even after the joined aim of suffrage was obtained in 1893, the different organizations never rallied against each other, but rather relied on each other and joined forces whenever necessary to strengthen their respective efforts. In contrast to that, North America's various groups were more inclined towards rivalry instead of camaraderie. One reason for that might have been the aforementioned intertwining of abolitionist, feminist, and suffragist goals. What at first glance appear to be issues which should have benefited from each other, led to the splitting of women's efforts, as some felt rather strongly either in favor or against including and incorporating, for example, abolitionism in their own cause, or were divided on the question whether to solely focus on suffrage or whether more general ideas of emancipation and equality should also be addressed (cf. Lange, “Suffragists Organize” n.p.).

Probably most surprising is the spread of the New Zealand women's movement efforts. A country as remote as the two islands in the South Pacific, with small settlements and long distances between communities would have been a reasonable explanation for female activism which dwindles once it breaches the limits of the small towns and villages. And yet, the effectiveness of the campaigns is unrivaled: more than 10,000 women had signed the suffrage petitions presented to the House of Representatives in 1891 (cf. Cooney, *Sunshine* 30, and Fischer 244) – the total population of New Zealand amounting to roughly 625,000 (cf. “Population – Factors and Trends” n.p.). One year later, the number of signatures had doubled, and another year later, the petitions which would eventually win them the vote carried the names of almost 32,000 women – according to Fischer, a quarter of all adult women in New Zealand at that time (cf. 245, as well as Cooney, *Sunshine* 29).

Although New Zealand, like most settler nations, was dominated by settlers with a working-class background, many people, especially women, were well-educated (cf. Coney et al., *Sunshine* 13). Schools had been spreading over the

country, educating settler boys and girls, as well as Māori children (although, admittedly, Māori and Pākehā went to different schools). In 1877, Kate Milligan Edger was the first woman in the entire British Empire to receive a degree of Bachelor of Arts from Auckland College. Helen Brown Connon followed her footsteps three years later and eventually received a Master's degree with honors in English and Latin (cf. Fischer 239-240, Hughes, “Edger”, 201-204, and Airey 150-154). This contributed to the perception of calm, rational, and intelligent women demanding equal rights, and to the specific rhetoric of focused, well-versed debates – written and oral – between suffragists and their adversaries. The fight for the vote was generally missing the hysterics and drama which was central to most movements abroad. Naturally, heated debates did occur here as well as elsewhere, and women in New Zealand had to face a stern opposition just as women in the U.S. or Britain. And yet, the escalations which would lead to the London Mud March of 1907 (cf. Smith, H. 23), hunger strikes by suffragettes, and the subsequent Cats and Mouse Act in 1913 in the UK (cf. Smith, H. 52) never occurred as a part of the New Zealand women history. Partly, I would say this is surely due to the early success of the suffragists in winning the vote which made further, more drastic measures unnecessary. However, the unofficial code of conduct underlying the efforts of women in New Zealand undoubtedly also played an important part in it. They cultivated a more docile, conformist image for themselves which did not seriously threaten the traditional order of the nuclear family as the smallest unit on which settler colonial New Zealand society rested.

Thinking back to the three factors identified in the chapter's opening – when, how, and who – the first two aspects now have been explained which leaves the question of who supported the movement (and why I identified this as one of three essential factors) to be answered. It is impossible to determine whether white settler women were able to proceed the way they did because their way of demanding suffrage without questioning their traditional role as wives and mothers led to more men being inclined to support their cause, or whether they could proceed with such confidence and rationality because they already had the support of important male members of the colony, including husbands, fathers, and brothers. Either way, the fact that their campaigns were backed by important men from politics and society,

and that they found influential ambassadors such as John Stuart Mill or Charles Elliott for their enterprise also paved the way towards full female suffrage in a still very patriarchal surrounding. Although Elliott was far less known or influential than Mill who reached the English speaking public far beyond the borders of Great Britain, the fact that Elliott, as the founder and editor of the *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, gave his mother-in-law Mary Ann Müller, as well as Mary Ann Colclough the opportunity to raise their voices – albeit under the pseudonyms Femina and Polly Plum – in favor of suffragist thought shows that he must have shared their belief in more gender equality and more rights for women. Through his newspaper as well as possibly through political influence, given he was active in local politics and held various offices in the provincial government, he was among the early supporters of the evolving movement (cf. "Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle" n.p.).

It is evident that New Zealand generally seemed to have been unusually willing to endorse rather progressive and very liberal precepts, and suffrage, as one of these, greatly benefited from that attitude. To look deeper into how this came to be would entail an entire new course of research and go beyond the scope of this dissertation, but two main reasons are easily identified at first glance: for one, New Zealand, as a newly founded settler colony, naturally lacked an establishment. In line with the settler colonial trope of a fresh start, politically and socially, in an unbiased – not to say untouched – setting, there were no old institutions, no long-preserved traditions or common practices, and no established privileges or hierarchies. Additionally, and in contrast to the fellow settler colonial United States or Australia, New Zealand "had no system of race slavery, no penal settlements, [and] no plantation serfdom" (Fischer 80), meaning opposition to progressiveness or liberalism by those benefiting from conservative traditions was to be very limited.

The other aspect is the settler colonial pursuit of self-supersession (cf. Veracini, "Introducing" 3). Whereas colonialism reinforces and strengthens the binary of metropolis and colony, settler colonialism, as already stated earlier, wants to overcome it. As Felicity Barnes explains, "Empire itself was to be cut adrift, as assuming a national identity meant escaping the independence-sapping grasp of

Mother England" (439). Adopting progressive and liberal politics was one way of doing that. It set New Zealand clearly apart from Britain and, furthermore, as Chapter 3.2 will show later on, also served the distinct purpose of national identity formation.

But I do not want to preempt my detailed analysis later in this dissertation too much at this point and thus, want to return the focus to the New Zealand political situation in the second half of the nineteenth century, regarding suffrage specifically. At a time when Europe, and also North America, saw many prominent male politicians oppose the idea of female suffrage, a noticeable number of New Zealand premier ministers – Fox, Vogel, Atkinson, Hall, Stout, and Ballance – were all outspoken supporters of the suffrage idea.[14] The most prominent among these male advocates was undoubtedly Sir John Hall who became one of the key figures regarding parliamentary support. He held close ties with Kate Sheppard and other suffragists (cf. Cooney, *Sunshine* 26), advising and supporting them financially, morally, and by his own activism, and was even dubbed the 'Carpet Knight' (cf. Coney et al., *Sunshine* 26, 29 and *Press*, vol. L, no. 8472, 2 May 1893) due to his close relations with feminist thought and the suffrage campaign. He presented the 1893 petition for female franchise to the House of Representatives which would eventually win them the right to vote and which was almost three hundred yards long, being rolled out in the parliament hall like a carpet, earning him his speaking nickname.

Furthermore, the activists in New Zealand were well connected and used their network of family ties, friendships, and acquaintances for their purpose. Charismatic leader Kate Sheppard maintained contact with other activists and supporters of the cause around the world as well as in New Zealand. She published extensively on the

14 In 1869, the former position of Colonial Secretary, filled by six men between 1856 and 1869 (later Premiers William Fox and Edward Stafford both already serving twice in this function), was eventually replaced by the position of New Zealand Premier Minister. The twelve men who took this position between 1869 and 1906 were, in chronological order, after their first term (as some of them served multiple terms, albeit with other candidates taking the position in between): Sir William Fox, Sir Edward Stafford, George Waterhouse, Sir Julius Vogel, Daniel Pollen, Sir Harry Atkinson, Sir George Grey, Sir John Hall, Sir Frederick Whitaker, Sir Robert Stout, John Ballance and Richard Seddon. While six of them (those mentioned above) were explicitly in favor of female suffrage and declared this openly, only one, Richard Seddon, the fifteenth Prime Minister, was an open opponent of women's suffrage (cf. Grimshaw 14-16; Coney et al., *Sunshine* 27.30; Fischer 243, 245; and "Women, the Vote" n.p.).

subject, organized talks, meetings, and other activities untiringly, and was a fierce lobbyist, utterly aware of the importance of having the right political allies (cf. Macdonald, "Kate Sheppard" 605-607). One of these allies was, as already mentioned, Sir John Hall whose efforts to pass a suffrage bill were supported by his friend (and later Prime Minister) Sir Robert Stout, husband to aforementioned Anna Stout, herself an active participator in political debates and emancipatory discussions. Stout's partner in their joined law firm William Sievwright became husband to one of the most radical New Zealand suffragists, Margaret Home Sievwright (cf. Coney et al., *Sunshine* 21). The man who preceded Stout in his office as prime minister twice (and also followed him, also twice), Harry Atkinson, was part of the Richmond-Atkinson clan,[15] a group of people intricately connected by family relations and marriage ties which had settled in New Plymouth and were active in politics and business alike. Also a part of this extended family network was Jane Maria Atkinson, his sister-in-law and the clan matriarch, who was engaged in promoting education of girls and a "consummate letter-writer who expressed strong opinions" (Porter and Macdonald, *My Hand Will Write* 490). Harry's nephew Arthur Richmond Atkinson would get to know his future wife Lily May Kirk through their work for the temperance cause. She would function as the WCTU's "dominion recording secretary (1887–1901), president of the Wellington branch (1896), and dominion president (1901-1906)" (Porter, "Atkinson" n.p.) and was a strong platform speaker for the enfranchisement of women. A feature she shared with Amey Daldy, president of the Auckland branch of the Women's Franchise League and good friend of Kate Sheppard and fellow suffragist Annie Schnackenberg. Daldy benefited from the useful connections of her husband William Crush Daldy, a "powerful figure in the colonial business and political worlds" (Coney, "Amey Daldy" 165), who was also her must fierce supporter, accompanying her to meetings and conferences (cf. Fischer 243). This illustrates not only how intertwined the relations of the New Zealand women's movement were, but also that a striking number of women active and engaged in suffragist efforts were supported by their husbands and families and

15 As members of the Richmond-Atkinson clan will reoccur in later chapters and due to the influence and importance this group of families with its often prominent individuals had in early New Zealand, a short explanation on the background of the clan, as well as a graph of the early generations to illustrate the interwoven family relations has been included earlier as Chapter 1.1.1 of this dissertation.

thus, did not call into question women's traditional gender role, even though they demanded having a say in politics.

Most importantly, however, New Zealand women countered a popular stereotype of the time which depicted suffragists as angry old maids and spinsters who had grown frustrated and bitter over their lacking success in finding a husband, and therefore turned against all men, or unsexed women trying to strip themselves of everything female. Cartoons became a common medium to express pro-, but even more dominantly, anti-suffragist sentiments in newspapers and periodicals in New Zealand, North America, and Britain, and fueled rising resentments on both sides. While these cartoons naturally ceased in numbers in New Zealand after the right to vote was won, they became even more popular, blunt, and almost rude in the U.S. and Britain, having their peak the early twentieth century.[16] New Zealand had seen less of these cartoons, and generally, seem to favor a more sympathetic perspective on suffragists. As Sandra Coney points out, "leading suffragists […] [in New Zealand] tended to be well-educated, middle-class urban Pākehā women with a history of commitment to philanthropic work. The majority was married and, although most had small families, several had impressive broods" (Coney et al., *Sunshine* 25). This is a stark contrast to Britain or the United States, where "spinsters provided the backbone of the feminist movement in the late nineteenth century" (Jeffreys 86), or where at least the perception prevailed that the movement – and suffrage as core element of it – was driven by single women (cf. Levine 152). Arguably, this contributed to the more favorable atmosphere in New Zealand compared to the situations abroad: it was obvious that suffragist thought did not erase the idea of women as wives and mothers, but rather endorsed a certain gender dichotomy in the settler colonial context. Since so many New Zealand key figures unified their efforts for the cause with household obligations and motherly duties, men were reassured that granting women the vote would not automatically deprive future generations of the prospects of marriage and family life as the essential foundation of society. As Gérard Bouchard points out,

16 For a more detailed discussion of the cartoons, their meaning, and their context in the United States and Britain, respectively, consult *American Women in Cartoons 1890-1920: Female Representation and the Changing Concepts of Femininity During the American Woman Suffrage Movement* by Katherina Hundhammer, *Cartooning for Suffrage* by Alice Sheppard, and *UK Feminist Cartoons and Comics: A Critical Survey* by Nicola Streeten.

> [m]ost female activists, indeed, did not call into question the social order […]. To them, participation in political life deemed a more effective way of fulfilling their mission [within their traditional role]. It is likely that these conservative trends [...] facilitated their access to suffrage. (284)

In New Zealand, granting the vote, therefore, was an acknowledgment and reinforcement of women's traditional role in the settler colonial effort and not the establishment of a revolutionary new approach to the aspect of gender or the acceptance of feminist thought.

Apart from that, the good timing, the considerate versing of their demands, and the strong supporters they were able to engage in their efforts, the women in New Zealand also benefited from the epitome of fairness echoing in their nation and which is, according to Fischer, the "organizing principle" (Fischer 4) of New Zealand society ever since the 1850s. The importance of fairness as core value especially with regard to female enfranchisement is emphasized by the seventeenth Prime Minister Joseph Ward's explanation that "[t]he main argument […], which weighed with us, was that of right, of abstract right. If the foundation of the government is the consent of the governed, it appears monstrously unfair that one half of the population should not be represented or have any share in it" (Ward quoted in Fischer 245). David Hackett Fischer describes the importance of the fairness concept in New Zealand in depth by comparing it to the United States' paradigm of freedom in his comprehensive study *Fairness and Freedom: A History of Two Open Societies, New Zealand and the United States,* spanning various fields and numerous aspects of historical, social, and political development in both countries. Though I do not want to elaborate further on the influence and significance of fairness as an omni-present maxim in New Zealand in past and present, Fischer's comparison illustrates in great detail how two countries with the same preconditions – both settler colonial, both former British colonies, both with native populations – can have much in common, and, at the same time, be fundamentally different in other aspects. Due to his elaborate argument, I can hardly doubt that fairness is indeed an essential value in New Zealand society. However, as I have adopted a different focus for my research and have shown over the course of this chapter, fairness is only one aspect of several

which needs to be considered regarding the political developments in relation to women, and their role in the second half of the nineteenth century in New Zealand.

After the early success of winning the right to vote, the feminist movement seeking to establish gender equality in New Zealand, now bereft of the related topic of female suffrage, staggered. The New Zealand suffragists who won this victory mostly did not question their traditional roles. To them, "[p]olitical rights were a recognition of the worth of that vocation [as wives, mothers, homemakers] and a complement to it" (Dalziel 120). And even though some women continued to engage in the striving for gender equality, the nation, at least in terms of gender, remained settler colonial to the core and thus, missed the chance to stay ahead of other countries in terms of political initiatives. It took more than twenty-five years, before women could stand for parliament thanks to the Women's Parliamentary Rights Act of 1919. Four decades passed since the first big victory before Elizabeth McCombs would become the first female member in 1933, and it would take another sixteen years until Iriake Ratana, the first Māori woman, enters parliament.

In North America, the 19th Amendment which grants women the right to vote on the same grounds as men, was not ratified until 1920. However, women were able to stand for political offices long before that. The first female presidential candidate was Victoria Woodhull as early as 1872 (cf. "Milestones for Women" n.p.). In 1917, so two years before New Zealand women could even legally stand for such a position, Jeanette Rankin entered the U.S. House of Representatives as the first female member in either chamber of Congress (cf. "Rankin" n.p.). Admittedly, however, New Zealand was ahead regarding women of minorities, Ratana having entered Parliament in 1949: Patsy Takemoto Mink was the first woman of color to enter the U.S. House of Representatives in 1965 (cf. "Mink" n.p.), Shirley Chisholm followed in 1969 as the first African American woman (cf. "Chisholm" n.p.), and the first Native American women would not be elected until 2019, when Sharice Davids and Deb Haaland became members of Congress (cf. Manning n.p.).

In the United Kingdom, the Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act 1918 enabled women over twenty-one to become members of Parliament, one year earlier than the New Zealand Women's Parliamentary Rights Act. In the same year, the first

women, Constance Markievicz, was elected, even though “as a member of Sinn Fein, she did not take her seat at the Westminster Parliament” (cf. “Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act” n.p.). And yet, it took another ten years, so three and a half decades after New Zealand women's suffrage was achieved, until the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act in 1928 equalized the franchise, allowing everyone, men and women, over the age of twenty-one to vote on equal terms. The first woman from an ethnic minority in the U.K. Parliament was Diane Abbott in 1987 (cf. “About Diane” n.p.). Evidently, there were different timelines to the achievements of women in the different parts of the Anglosphere. Nevertheless, by the time of the Second World War, women's movements and feminist thought spread as a global phenomenon in developed countries rather than as movements peculiar to specific nations. New Zealand is no exception to continuous debates about gender equality and discrimination in English-speaking countries and elsewhere which are discussed to this very day.

Despite the liberal and relaxed atmosphere characterized by tolerance and open-mindedness cherished by thousands of tourists visiting the small nation each year, full gender equality is still to be established. Nevertheless, ever since the 1990s, New Zealand has had a noticeable number of women in high offices such as Prime Minister, Chief Justice, Governor-General, or Speaker of the House of Representatives. This contributes to the perception that even though it was lagging behind over the course of the early twentieth century regarding gender equality, New Zealand has caught up or even exceeded other countries again with the beginning of the 2000s. However, bearing in mind that settler colonialism is an ongoing event to present times, it begs the question whether or, more precisely, how settler colonial gender dichotomy still echoes through society. In the following chapters, I will try to answer this question. At first and as a final section of the frame-defining second chapter, however, I will consider female gender ideals over the course of time, and how they are to be understood in relation to this dissertation. Then, in Chapter 3 and 4, respectively, I will use the in Chapter 2 established historical, political, and social foundations to analyze the primary sources selected for this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2.3

SOCIAL IDEALS

WOMEN IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD THROUGH THE AGES

I have now elaborated on the historical cornerstones and political pillars of the time. Last, but not least, I now want to focus on the social ideals which shaped the period and created the atmosphere in which the accounts of the following Chapter 3 were written, the readings of Chapter 4.1 were composed, and which should be historically accounted for in the novels of Chapter 4.2 The nineteenth century was a time of movement, of great changes, and of new approaches. Consequently, new female ideals emerged along with other new developments. Especially in the new world, the ideal of the colonial helpmeet prevailed for a long time: women who put all their efforts and skills into helping their husbands – or fathers, brothers, and other male relatives – succeed. Hard labor and long hours were accepted without complaint, while they strived to create a comfortable home and warming meals, fulfill all their housework duties, raise and care for their children, and never question male authority or dabble in official, manly business. As the term already suggests, this ideal was endemic in the colonies or former colonies and thus, mostly enforced and upheld among the working class, or lower middle class, which constituted almost always the biggest part of early settlers.

By the mid of the century, when the first major waves of immigrants landed in New Zealand, the Victorian Angel of the House was the Empire's idea of the ideal woman. The name famously derived from an 1854 poem by Coventry Patmore, and this concept enforced the image of a selflessly devoted wife and mother; caring, submissive and delicate, she adorned the house, and ensured that man had a heavenly sanctuary to come home to. According to Coralie Canot, Victorian women were “valued and respected but almost exclusively for the 'mission' which they had to consider as their sole function and their sole purpose in life: marriage and procreation” (11). The value and respect thus were ultimately linked and irrevocably tied to a dependent, ancillary position only achievable in relation to men. While the helpmeet had been a colonial phenomenon and mostly for the working class, this

ideal was propagated across almost all classes and throughout the entire Empire. Naturally, the lower the social standing, the more women had to work in their households. In the middle and upper class, it was a sign of wealth and prestige if women were able to not work at all, but to reign over a number of servants and employees and thus, as far as an outside observer could tell, be reduced to an embellishment of their homes and husbands. Even though New Zealand had some of these leisured ladies, they were rather seldom due to the nature of a comparatively young settler nation. Even wealthy women usually had to take over some household duties, if for no other reason than simply because only few servants and maids were available. As Charlotte Macdonald explains, "[m]ost places were 'single-handed' places: the woman of the house and her servant performed all the work necessary to maintain the family" (*Good Character* 109). Consequently, New Zealand saw an overbearing number of women who, despite their role as the woman of the house, actively engaged in the often physically demanding daily tasks a running a settler colonial household. And yet, even though women were needed – in the colonies more than back at home[17] – they were still not individuals but "were seen solely in the role of wives, mothers, homemakers and housekeepers" (Dalziel 113). In other words, their role was still only defined as subject to the clearly patriarchal, male framework of society.

When the century was about to end, the Girl of the Period emerged. Rather short lived, it was less an ideal but rather a description of advanced girls who were fun-loving, openly admitted their hunger for luxuries, and enjoyed their lives without burdening themselves with the expectations of parents or society. Extravagant dress and hair, painted fingernails, exaggerated accessories – their look was their most important concern and consequently, they were criticized as superficial, selfish, reckless, and not suitable for marriage or motherhood. As the adverse description

17 The "growing demographic imbalance between the sexes during the course of the nineteenth century" (Levine 151) was one of the reasons why women began to ask for more rights and independence in Europe simply because a growing number of women were confronted with a future where marriage might not be an option. As women began to outnumber men, they had to find ways to provide for themselves, as not all could hope to find a husband that would secure their living. In early settler colonial New Zealand, however, the number of single men remained considerably higher than the number of single (white) women until the twentieth century (cf. Porter and Macdonald, "Introduction" 6). As a consequence, there was always a lack of potential future wives to help these men succeed in their settler colonial endeavor.

already indicates, this anti-ideal was a creation of those opposed to less conservative, traditional ideals of womanhood. The expression 'Girl of the Period' was coined in 1868 (cf. Coney et al, *Sunshine* 15) by Eliza Lynn Linton, a British essayist, novelist, and anti-feminist who published *The Girl of the Period: And Other Social Essays* in two volumes in 1888, which was a scathing review of this ideal and how it harms young women and society in general. This phenomenon, however, was mostly observed in North America and Great Britain. Especially New Zealand, having not been settled by Europeans that long, had not yet established the commodities of bigger cities, growing wealth, and flourishing social life which were the prerequisites for this type of women to emerge. Nevertheless, the fact that to these girls their own interests came first and pleasing future husbands and societal expectations second could be identified as the first – albeit unintentional – spark of emerging feminist ideas. Eventually, girls began to grow into women, leading to the rise of the so-called New Woman.

Who established the label 'New Woman' can be debated, but it is often attributed to Sarah Grand who coined the expression in the article "The New Aspect of the Woman Question" in the *North American Review* in 1894. It was quickly picked up by her writing contemporaries, regardless of them being in favor or against this new idea of womanhood. New Woman's admirers and those in favor of her, described the New Woman as "free-spirited, independent, bicycling, intelligent career-minded" (Buzwell n.p.). In contrast, her opponents called her "sexually degenerate, abnormal, mannish, chain-smoking, [and] child-hating" (Buzwell n.p.). This new kind of women pushed the social limits of the established, male-dominated society and demanded to be recognized in her own right and not simply in relation to a male relative. Usually educated, these women spoke their mind, insisted on making their own decisions, were determined to push their way into public life and the workforce, and demanded autonomy, especially regarding legal matters. According to Ann L. Ardis, New Women simultaneously challenged "the gender-based division of labor, the ideal of the bourgeois home, and the hierarchy of class" (26). Most women ascribed to be part of this new phenomenon were politically active or at least highly aware of the suffrage movement and its affiliated projects. And yet, it is important to bear in mind, "[w]hile many feminist activists […] defined themselves

as New Woman, not every turn-of-the-century 'New Woman' would have thought of herself as a feminist" (Heilmann 22). Especially in New Zealand, most women would surely have accepted the label 'New Women' – many openly claiming to be one – but they surely would have challenged if not refused to be called a feminist.

Angelika Köhler's *Ambivalent Desires: The New Woman Between Social Modernization and Modern Writing* discusses the development of the New Woman in the United States in depth, and examines the role magazines, periodicals, and literature played in the creation and definition of this female type. As she points out, "late nineteenth-century industrialization and urbanization as well as the reforming spirit of the Progressive Era prepared the ground for the New Woman to become the most challenging and most controversial discussed image of American femininity" (7). This already alludes to the fact that the American and New Zealand New Woman were not necessarily identical role models. This rift between the New Woman identified by Köhler in her study, and the characteristics of the white settler women as they are portrayed in the primary sources of this dissertation will be examined more thoroughly over the course of the following chapters. From a very general point of view, it is important to note that, while the closing nineteenth century was without a doubt characterized by a surge of industrial development, and of more and more people moving into growing cities, in the United States as much as in Britain (and the rest of Europe for that matter), New Zealand was characterized by its agriculture. People who set out for the young nation in the Pacific left due to poor circumstances and lack of perspective in Europe, and sought careers and social improvement as craftsmen, farmers, stockbreeders, and servants.[18] Most of them were prepared for a life not in a city but in a rural, often remote environment. Industrialization was a slower and less aggressive development in the young settler colony than in the old world or the United States. Consequently, the social environment fueling the emergence of the New Woman was in some respects quite different in the United

18 The fact that most New Zealand immigrants were assisted (the passage was considerably more expensive than the one to the USA and would have made it unaffordable to many) and predominantly laborers from the English countryside had a considerable impact on the social fabric of New Zealand and accounted for a significant difference to the United States (cf. Fischer 220-227), Australia, or Canada (cf. Stachurski vxii-xx). For a detailed discussion of New Zealand settler demographics, consult Rollo Arnold's *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s*, as well as David Hackett Fischer's *Fairness and Freedom: A History of two Open Societies, New Zealand and the United States*

States and in New Zealand, even though both are settler colonial nations.

Also a common female ideal, occurring roughly at the same time as the New Woman was the Gibson Girl. As a mainly American icon with only marginal influence in New Zealand, I will mention her only briefly and for the sake of comprehensiveness as this chapter's heading suggests a broad overview of ideals in the English-speaking world. American illustrator Charles Dana Gibson provided pen-and-ink illustrations to popular magazines, depicting a particular female ideal so iconic that it was eventually named after him. I would be tempted to call the Gibson Girl the big sister of the Girl of the Period, as it is an ideal which sits somewhere in-between the rebelliousness of the latter ideal, and the slightly more mature, and definitely more progressive New Woman. She, too, "has crossed the narrow borders of domesticity" (Köhler 76), and was defined by attractiveness, elegance, sportiness, ambition, but also a very feminine, ephemeral beauty of youth, full bosoms and hips with a slim, corseted waists, and high-piled hair. While the Gibson Girl was depicted at college or entering the workspace, and even openly meeting men as an equal, occasionally challenging their superiority, she ultimately was less progressive than the New Woman, as she lacked the political awareness and agency. Furthermore, she was a male creation which, in the end, regardless of her liberal or modern airs, did not question or challenge the traditional definitions of masculinity and femininity.[19]

For Māori in New Zealand, the arrival of white settlers marked a fundamental change in their concept of gender. The scope of gender equality in Māori society in pre-contact times in New Zealand is subject to ongoing research and debate, but it is mostly agreed that Māori women enjoyed greater freedom and autonomy – especially compared to British women at the time (cf. Ralston 33, Roundtree 58, Porter and Macdonald, "Introduction," 5, Brookes 15, and Coney et al., *Sunshine* 82-83, 176, 186-187, 189). They could hold property, speak at gatherings and assemblies, chose a spouse or leave one out of their own free will. It is important to bear in mind that

19 Angelika Köhler discusses the ideal of the Gibson Girl, its history and positive influences on American society, as well as its shortcomings in terms of a not truly sufficient modernization of old role models in much depth and detail in chapter 3.4 (pp. 76-85) of *Ambivalent Desires: The New Woman Between Social Modernization and Modern Writing*. For further information on the Gibson Girl, , apart from Köhler's study, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915* by Martha H. Patterson, *Lessons from the Gibson Girl: Her Quest for Equality, Justice, and Love* by Gary W. Clark, and *Gibson Girls and Suffragists: Perceptions of Women from 19 to 1918* by Catherine Gourley are useful sources.

Māori themselves did not write, so most sources, particularly in the early times, are records and observations made by – mostly male – Europeans. Nevertheless, they still provide an insight into the past and the role women had in the native community. In sharp contrast to the Victorian gender ideal they were familiar with, the settlers encountered confident women who participated actively in political, social, and religious matters of their community (cf. Ralston 27, 32). They "were not docile or submissive helpmates supporting husbands or male chiefly power without negotiating and questioning what was expected of them" (30). And yet, although the settlers might have perceived them as homogenous group, and even though this dissertation will often talk about Māori women in general due to its focus on white settler colonialism, their social standing was of course a matter of iwi, hapū, and mana. According to Rāwiri Taonui, the iwi or tribe "is the largest of the groups that form Māori society. Each iwi is made up of various hapū (clans or descent groups), which might have up to several hundred members" (n.p.). Hapū functioned as the "basic political unit within Māori society" (*He Hinātore* 32), while the iwi "were independent units and the largest politico-economic unit" (*He Hinātore* 34). Mana, as the Ministry of Justice declares in *He Hinātore ki te Ao Māori: A Glimpse Into the Māori World*, as a Māori concept, "cannot easily be translated into a single English definition. […] [It can] take on a whole range of related meanings depending on […] association and the context" (51). Generally, it is synonymous with authority, power, psychic force or prestige (cf. "mana" in the *Te Ara* glossary). It can be inherited, but also "acquired by an individual throughout the course of their life" (*He Hinātore* 55). Without wanting to disregard the complexity of all three terms in the context of Māori culture and history, for the argument in this dissertation, it is sufficient to say that the standing and role of Māori women depended on their tribal affiliation, and ancestry, as well as on their (acquired) authority and power.[20] To what extend the

20 For a detailed discussion of the concepts of iwi and hapū, consult *He Hinātore ki te Ao Māori: A Glimpse Into the Māori World,* published in 2001 by the New Zealand Ministry of Justice, *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, "A View of the Maori Family: Whanau, Hapu, Iwi" by Donna M Tai Tokerau Durie-Hall in Sandra Coney's *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, and Angela Ballara's *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c. 1769 to c. 1945*, published by the Victoria University Press in 1998.
For more detailed information on the concept of mana, consult also *He Hinātore ki te Ao Māori: A Glimpse Into the Māori World*, *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, and Roger M. Keesing's article "Rethinking 'Mana'," published in the *Journal of Anthropological Research* in 1984.

European observers of the time were aware of and sensible to these circumstances is, as stated above, the subject of on-going research and scholarly debate.

It must further be considered that settlers' observations were often made with regard to chiefly women and not commoner women or even slaves who naturally remained more in the background. According to Basil Keane, "Māori society had three main groupings, loosely described as classes: rangatira (chiefs), tūtūa or ware (commoners) and taurekareka (slaves)" (n.p.). Occasionally, slaves were also referred to as pononga or mokai (as, for example, Hine, a character from Tanya Moir's *LaRochelle's Road* discussed later in this dissertation). Generally, they were war captives taken during inter-tribal conflicts and battles.[21] As Keane explains,

> [i]t was acceptable for free people of a hapū or iwi to marry slaves, and their children would be considered free. Because of this no hereditary class of slaves developed. Slaves were not prevented from escaping, as generally they were not wanted back by their own people because their mana was thought to be lost (n.p.).

This shows that there were profound differences between Māori and Pākehā understanding not only regarding gender or women's place in society, but also in view of the concept of slavery and class differences within a society. Again, the extend of knowledge of average settlers encountering and writing about Māori women concerning these insights into Māori social structures, customs, and conventions varied widely. Nevertheless, as Barbara Brookes emphasizes, Māori "[w]omen led communities, they could make decisions about their property, and they could bring about peace" (15). Brookes continues to explain that "[s]uch authority was not always understood by male observers who came from societies in which social structures served to limit the activities of women" (15). Thus, at the time Māori and white settlers came into contact with each other, the understanding of gender roles, and of the role of women in particular, differed profoundly. Analyzing settler's understanding of the complexities of Māori women, their role, and their authority in Māori society would be an interesting starting point for further research but unfortunately goes beyond the scope of this dissertation.

21 For a detailed analysis of slavery in Māori society and the different usages and connotations of the expressions, see Hazel Petrie's *Outcasts of the Gods? The Struggle Over Slavery in Māori New Zealand*, published 2015 by the Auckland University Press.

In her article “Re-Making the Māori Female Body,” Kathryn Rountree observes that “Māori women deviated considerably from the English ideal of womanliness, whereas Māori men, in many, physical aspects at least, embodied manliness” (58). In other words, the settler's understanding of manliness was to a considerable part reconcilable with the Māori understanding of the concept, whereas it differed or even clashed profoundly regarding womanliness. Consequently, settler colonialism manifests itself predominantly in the definition and enforcing of womanliness, and the shaping and re-shaping of women became fundamental to the settler colonial endeavor. Doubtlessly, the clear-cut dichotomy between men and women was widespread at the time and not at all peculiar to New Zealand. However, the settler colonial set-up soon turned this aspect into a structure far more essential and different to the situation elsewhere. Being one of the epitomes of settler colonialism, “white settler society understood extreme gender differentiation as a mark of civilization” (Glenn 69). As such, it was continuously enforced, particularly with regard to the native population. Redefining Māori's understanding of gender meant that they could be absorbed into the newly created 'we' as people of New Zealand and facilitated the settler colonial aspiration of genocide or forced absolute assimilation.

Yet, the settler colonial environment also influenced what was considered the female ideal in the New Zealand context. Living circumstances required women to be a lot more self-sufficient. Success, economically as well as in the overall settler-colonial endeavor, relied to a significant degree on the abilities of the female helpmeets in form of wives, mothers, and daughters. Being aware of this dependence on women – by male and female settlers alike – constituted a shift of balances. Thus, the colonial backdrop also seems to have facilitated the emergence of the New Woman – or rather a distinct New Zealand New Woman.

The following analysis of historical and personal accounts will focus on the settler colonial mechanisms at work in the texts which function as an outlet of and evidence for settler colonial ideology. Furthermore, it will also serve to answer my earlier declaration that New Zealand New Woman were peculiar and that there is a difference to the New Women elsewhere in the English-speaking world. While Ardis

and others point to the intertwining of suffragism and feminism by most New Woman, I claim that New Zealand saw a variation of this female type that makes a distinction between political progressiveness and societal revolution. With the help of literary analysis, the third chapter of this dissertation will try to determine whether the documents analyzed suggest that it was a wise decision made consciously to separate the campaign for political recognition from the striving towards a new understanding of femaleness and the role of women altogether, or whether the analysis shows that this circumstance was rather due to the fact that the intrinsic gender dichotomy of settler colonialism impeded the questioning of traditional roles.

CHAPTER 3

LISTENING TO THE PAST

HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

As the title already suggests, in this chapter, historical accounts will be subject to thorough literary analysis. Having mentioned the purpose behind this in several passages before, I would like to summarize the two main factors guiding the analytical reading: first and foremost, the selected historical accounts will illustrate the ways in which settler colonialism works within a society, and which effect and impact these mechanisms have, especially regarding women. As settler colonialism relies on a strict gender dichotomy as a sign of supremacy and civilization, the role intended and ascribed to (white) women, as well as their self-perception within the settler colonial framework becomes an essential aspect.

Second, a close reading of the sources will also reveal whether there are features which can be identified as uniquely Pākehā, and thus, set New Zealand women apart from their female peers elsewhere. As illustrated in the previous chapter, the New Zealand women's movement in the late nineteenth century differentiated between suffragism and feminism. While these two subjects were inseparably linked in Europe or the United States, white settler women apparently embraced the first, but did not engage in the second. As a matter of fact, these women were active and very much involved in suffrage efforts, becoming the first women to gain the right to vote. Yet, feminist notions of total gender equality or sharply phrased criticism of patriarchy and patriarchal order were not as fundamental a part in their early struggle as it was, for example, in the United States. The emancipatory nature naturally ascribed to suffrage, which was feared and criticized in the U.S. and the United Kingdom, was apparently not part of the public conception in New Zealand. Or rather, it was not perceived as being as threatening and inextricably linked with an emancipatory power which would inevitably upset and overthrow the order of nuclear family, “regarded as the key integrative institution of society” (Brookes 3), on the small scale, and of the settler colonial society on a grander scale. The disentanglement and separation of suffragism and feminism seems

to be a contradiction at first glance, and a unique feature to New Zealand.

This chapter is split in two parts: one, Chapter 3.2, is concerned with early New Zealand newspapers as public sources; the other, Chapter 3.1, focuses on life-writing examples in form of private accounts such as diaries, letters, and journals. This division was made to allow room for differences which could occur between the general public opinion and the personal attitude of individuals. Some things might have been shared with close relatives and long-time friends or noted down in the privacy of a journal which would not align or even go against the opinion propagated in local or national media. Even if diaries as pieces of life-writing are considered as a form of self-fashioning and performance (cf. Novak 6-7), they still serve a fundamentally different purpose and audience than newspapers. While the first might have had a readership in mind if it was not written simply for the writer's own sake, it was certainly never intended for general publication, and this audience was usually known to the writer. Newspapers, however, were meant to inform the public, written for an anonymous, diversified group of readers, and potential organs in the aspiration to form an own distinct national identity, and the overall nation building process of the young settler colony. Private records such as journals enjoy the freedom of emotional indulgence and biased judgment due to personal impression and preconception. Papers, however, should be factual and at least pretend to be more or less neutral and unbiased.

Another reason for splitting the chapter and contrasting the different media with each other is the fact that newspapers were intended for the broader public, estate owner to shop assistant, governor's wife to kitchen maid. Especially regarding the private accounts, it is essential to bear in mind that the selection of sources is limited and far from being representative of the entirety of New Zealand settlers. Not every woman kept a journal and even if a diary was fed with intimate thoughts, these documents did not always survive, or if they did, are not always made available for the public but rather kept in the privacy of carefully handed down family heirlooms. Most sources available today have been written by comparatively well-educated and at least slightly privileged individuals of settler colonial society. Missionary and politicians' wives, wealthy ladies – at least by early New Zealand standards – and

women who could be called the social elite of the young nation. Records written by those on the margins such as servants, farm hands, laundry women, prostitutes or Māori are immensely rare. Women of these groups are often only visible through the non-objective eyes and accounts of the ladies who employed them.[22] Evidently, this needs to be considered when trying to give an adequate image of society in settler colonial times. Therefore, the newspapers also help to put the insights from private accounts into perspective.

22 I included a rough survey of the women who will be cited in the following Chapter 3.1 in the introductory Chapter 1.1.2 to illustrate my attempt of making a balanced selection which would on the one hand not give more room to the privileged individuals simply because they might have provided more reminiscences explorable today, and, on the other hand, repute the notion that white settler women in New Zealand, even though they are often referred to and described as one unit are not a homogenous group, but included a range of educational backgrounds, daily obligations, occupations and professions, as well as age and marital status, which was, at the time, an often more important factor in terms of social position and standing than the level of schooling are ancestry.

CHAPTER 3.1

DIARIES, JOURNALS, LETTERS

THE PRIVATE PERSPECTIVE

When reading diaries, journals or letters, the subject of gender dichotomy is only occasionally addressed outright. It is, however, much more commonly found than one might suspect – hidden away in-between the lines. Thus, this chapter does by no means imply to be all-encompassing. Rather, it is a collection of particularly interesting examples and could undoubtedly be lengthened by a number of other text passages from a variety of sources. Yet, I am convinced that the selection is sufficient regarding this dissertation and research questions guiding this chapter: How did gender dichotomy work within the New Zealand settler colonial society? How did it affect white settler women and what was their role in the settler colonial construct? What provoked the separation of suffragism and feminism? And was this split a conscious decision or an unconscious consequence of deeply ingrained settler colonial ideology?

Considering these letters as examples of life-writing moves women and their personal experience from the sidelines into the center of historical research. While literary scholarship and the science of history have been distinctly separate spheres for a long time, life-writing studies have helped to bridge the gap between two fields which did not always look favorable upon each other (cf. White, “The Burden” 111, and White, *Metahistory* 6). Nevertheless, they shared the characteristic that they were both fiercely dominated by men and the male perspective until well into the twentieth century. Marlene Kadar defines life-writing as “genre of documents or fragments of documents written out of life, or unabashedly out of personal experience of the writer” (“Whose Life Is It Anyway” 152). Especially with regard to my focus on women, Kadar's note that "[t]he literary history of autobiography has been a womanless history, whereas life-writing offers a feminist canon, among others" (*Essays on Life Writing* 20) struck a nerve and made it impossible for me to not acknowledge the obvious connection to this field. The letters and correspondence analyzed over the course of this chapter are prime examples of the role life-writing

can play in gaining a more complex and differentiated image and understanding of the past. Writing about their lives, successes, and worries enabled the writing women to reflect upon their situation, to reach out and let their families or loved ones participate in their lives even though they might be thousands of miles away, and today, it provides a unique and manifold personal perspective on historical times and events. As already mentioned above, the letters discussed in the following are a selection which aims to cover a broad social and societal spectrum and to balance the accounts of ladies and leading figures with average farmer's wives and servants in order to provide a comprehensive insight.[23]

Several of these historical accounts were available to me through the anthology *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates: The Unsettled Lives of Women in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand As Revealed to Sisters, Family and Friends* by Frances Porter and Charlotte MacDonald, first published in 1996. Bibliographical information on the edition used can be found in the works cited section, and the volume gives detailed information on where the original documents are held. In case both, the reprint in the anthology, as well as the original document, have been consulted, I took the liberty of including both sources. Another collection supporting first research for this chapter is *The Adventures of Pioneer Women in New Zealand from Their Letters, Diaries and Reminiscences* by Sarah Ell, published in 1992. Even though none of the accounts in this second collection are now included in this chapter, it was a starting point for my research at the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL) in Wellington. All other sources used in this chapter are held as part of the extensive collection of private reminiscences at the Alexander Turnbull Library. As most of them are only listed in the catalogue of unpublished sources *Tiaki*, I took the liberty of listing them separately in the bibliography and including the library's signature for precise identification in case any of these sources want to be consulted in the future.[24]

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23 For an overview of the selection, consult the aforementioned introductory Chapter 1.1.2, where all the women cited here are listed in accordance with the respective social group they can be sorted into. If not indicated otherwise, all biographical information either in this chapter or in Chapter 1.1.3 has been obtained by cross-referencing the index of Porter and Macdonald's *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates* with the respective biographical page in *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa* by Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams, and in *TeAra – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

24 Further information on this research excursion to the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington,

Some of the women cited in the following had a sense for preserving personal impressions and first-hand accounts of what they experienced in New Zealand with the idea of historiography in mind, and well-aware of the possibility that their writings might one day be consulted as historical source. Most of them, however, wrote simply for personal reasons: as a form of catharsis or as means to stay in touch with family and friends. Consequently, it is important not to forget that these are individual accounts and personal impressions, colored and influenced by each woman's own personality and life story. Nevertheless, as they are considered here as a part of a greater selection, they still function as representatives of a female settler colonial collective which was of course not entirely homogenous, but shared affecting and shaping experiences as a Pākehā community.

Susan McLean, wife of chief land purchase commissioner and Native Minister Sir Donald McLean, wrote to her husband in October 1851: "As I was sitting this afternoon at work […] in the kitchen I began to think of you and wonder if it was possible that you would be in such stormy weather, the thought of this made me feel in low spirits" (*My Hand Will Write* 273). This sentence might not be particularly striking, but it still encompasses the essence of the gender dichotomy in early New Zealand: women stayed at home, more or less within the domestic sphere, and dutifully fulfilled their chores, while their husbands were out, at best working close by, but often absent for longer periods of time, traveling for business or missionary purposes. In case of Donald and Susan McLean, the entire courtship as well as much of their short married life – Susan died in childbirth in 1852 only a year after their marriage – is commemorated in numerous letters, as Donald was often absent due to his work, travelling all over the country while Susan remained at home alone (cf. Porter and Macdonald, *My Hand Will Write* 503, and Ward n.p.).

Men who participated in the New Zealand goldrush sometimes left behind wife and children without any note of when they would be back. Elizabeth Curtis, mother of six children, seems to be sad but not complaining when she writes to her sister that "[i]t is about two months since Gersham [her husband] left. We do not know what he is doing as we have not heard from him" *(My Hand Will Write* 282). The letter does not say whether the father has seen the youngest child, which is barely two months

New Zealand, is included in the introductory Chapter 1.1.

old, before his departure. While some women were able to rely on brothers, older sons or neighbors, if they had any, the absence of husbands and fathers often meant that women had no choice but to rise to the occasion life presented to them. Even though Elizabeth apparently missed her husband, she otherwise seemed to be content with taking care of "a snug house […] and a small piece of land" (*My Hand Will Write* 282), as well as the children all by herself.

Susan McLean and Elizabeth Curtis are women from the respective opposite side of the social spectrum, who have only a bare minimum of features in common. Whereas the first was part of Wellington's settler colonial bourgeoisie, and her life is comparatively well document, the second only provides fragmented glimpses at her own historical figure through her preserved letters, moving in a more rural surrounding. Nevertheless, I consciously picked these two very different women as examples, as it illustrates that the phenomenon of absent men was a common occurrence in settler colonial New Zealand, irrespective of social standing and occupation. Women, or wives more precisely, were often left to attend to matters at home on their own, which of course included female prerogatives such as children and household tasks, but often also stretched to encompass matters concerning the running of farms or the overseeing or managing of family finances.

Even for the wealthier settlers, the colonial environment usually did not allow women to remain the aloof and leisured lady of the house. Grace Hirst was from a moderately wealthy middle-class family from Halifax, Yorkshire, and came out to New Zealand with her husband and seven children after their oldest son had preceded them to make a home for the family. While her husband was travelling around as a wool buyer, she and her daughters took up trading, and she "displayed entrepreneurial skill in identifying her market and converting unwanted goods into saleable items" (Dalziel, "Hirst" n.p.), contributing considerably to the success of the Hirst family. Despite her own striving with regard to work, in her letter to her sister back in England she pities the fact that "many here that have been brought up as ladies [...] have to toil and work" (*My Hand Will Write* 164). This obviously alludes to the circumstances in New Zealand which allowed barely any woman to remain an idle embellishment of husband and house, if for no other reason than simply because

servants were so rare that even the wealthier women had to take up part of the daily duties in their households themselves. Farmer's wife Jessie Campbell is amused at "how ignorant some of the ladies here are of the knowledge most necessary for settlers' wives" (*My Hand Will Write* 156), namely, how to maintain and run their own household without an array of servants. It appears that some women, and especially some of the ladies, have been oblivious to what life in the young colony would entail and that it would require different skills of them than the British drawing rooms they had left behind. Others, however, were very much aware of what to expect and did not take kindly to those they deemed unfit for the settler colonial enterprise. If Jane Maria Richmond (later Atkinson) speaks for her peers, the Victorian angel was not only rarely found in early New Zealand, but also not held in high regard by her colonial contemporaries. Writing to a friend in Germany in 1853, she states that she "feel[s] nothing but contempt for dozens of niminy-piminy little dolls of women who do nothing but go about the world shopping and looking smart" (*My Hand Will Write* 160; original emphasis). If we now think back to the research questions at the beginning of this chapter, this already shows that the role of white women in settler colonial New Zealand was clearly not that of a delicate, unproductive wife, enjoying ample amounts of leisure time. Jane Maria herself could be described as the archetypical settler colonial woman. Well-read, quick-witted, and hard-working, she came to New Zealand with her mother and brothers, eventually becoming the mainstay of the extended and extraordinarily successful family known as Richmond-Atkinson clan. They often referred to themselves as the 'Taranaki mob' (Taranaki being the region in the west of New Zealand's north island where they settled) and would become pivotal figures in the shaping of the young colony.[25]

In typical helpmeet fashion, women's life in New Zealand was usually governed by the never ceasing duties of running a household and maintaining a family, mostly by themselves or with little help. Jemima Martin, who came out with her husband and six children to farm near Auckland, recounts one of her days in a letter to her aunt Mrs. Bray: after providing them with something to eat and seeing

25 As already mentioned before, the importance and influence on early New Zealand by the Richmond-Atkinson family, and the fact that some women of the clan will reoccur over the course of this chapter and this dissertation as a whole made me include a short summary of important information and a family tree in the introduction as Chapter 1.1.1.

her husband and the children off to spent the forenoon together to honor the son's birthday, she "arranged a stew, made up the kitchen fire […][, s]et the loaf with yeast and away to sweep and dust the sitting room and little school room" (*My Hand Will Write* 162 // ms-paper-2136-2, letter dated May 7th, 1856). Before two o'clock, the loaf was ready, potatoes for dinner were peeled, four beds were made, two more rooms dusted, Sunday's clothes stored away, and the dirty laundry prepared for washing. Her afternoon continues much the same, so that even though she intended to "find a little time, if possible, to begin my purposed letter to you […] it was past bedtime before my work was brought to a close" (*My Hand Will Write* 162 // ms-paper-2136-2, letter dated May 7th, 1856). Likewise, 19-year-old Anna Heine, who is left alone to see to her siblings while her parents are away, summarizes in her diary: "As usual, we got up a little before six o'clock. First I did the housework and then I patched five parts of pants for the boys. […] In the afternoon I did some sewing. I also had to bake and put the butter in pound lots" (*My Hand Will Write* 175-176). Anna was the daughter of a German Lutheran missionary, the oldest of eight siblings but caring not only for her own brothers and sisters but also for other children living with the Heine's, and generally assisting her mother with any work which had to be done in and around the house. Jemima Martin and Anna Heine both exemplify the typical gender role attributed to and assumed by white New Zealand settler women: industrious, busy, capable, and (mostly) domestic. As Susan Macdonald points out, "[d]omestic concerns were more pressing and more immediate than they were for equivalent layers of society in the old world. All women were required to be competent in domestic tasks" (*Good Character* 193). Again, as already mentioned before, the settler colonial environment often meant that even for those who could have afforded them, servants were sparse, and household duties had to be completed by the women of the house themselves, sometimes supported by a maid or daughters still living under their roof, but frequently also by just themselves. And yet, adhering to the gender dichotomy enforced in settler colonial society, these tasks, even if they differed depending on age, position or profession, and marital status, all were very much female and often completed within the familiar domestic sphere.

The emphasis on gender differentiation as sign of civilization in the settler colonial society becomes especially clear when focusing on Māori in this context.

Clara Hazard wrote to the Secretary of Education in 1891, asking for the permission to give her fiancé a position as assistant at the Native School she was running has head teacher. Her request was declined on the grounds that "a family in which the wife's earnings are the principal means of support and the husband holds a position of dependence and of recognized subordination is not the model that the Government ought to assist in recommending to the Natives as an example" (*My Hand Will Write* 294). While settler colonialism allowed room for a woman to become head teacher to Māori students, gender dichotomy still held sway over society: a woman being more or less independent and making a living from a salary gained through a profession considered acceptable for a female, was tolerated. But a man depending on a woman was unthinkable, as this example shows. Traditional gender roles meant that dependence only worked one way: women depending on men. As the letter implies, the freedom some females enjoyed was relative, as the ideal, the propagated paradigm, and consequently, the role which should be presented to Māori was still that of loving wife, industrious helpmeet, and caring mother.

In early settler colonial New Zealand, the shortage of servants meant that the number of open positions always exceeded the number of available (European) household help. Even though "[s]ervants were scarce and hard to retain […] [and] [r]eliable and skilled help was rare and relatively expensive" (Macdonald, *Good Character* 192), Māori were rarely employed as servants due to their supposed unreliability. Exceptions to that were missionary households who saw it as their duty to 'civilize' the natives which included training and employing Māori women as servants and maids. However, letters by missionary wives such as Eliza White or Jane Williams indicate that their "girls" and "boys," as the natives in their care are usually condescendingly referred to, often come and go as they please and generally "make it difficult to keep all things to go agreeably" (*My Hand Will Write*155; cf. also *My Hand Will Write* 77-78, 79, 154). Others report rather favorably about how quickly Māori, especially Māori women, adapt the supposedly superior ways of the settlers. Sarah Pratt for example, who conducted a school as well as housekeeping since her husband Edward was not a reliable provider, writes in her journal: "Akena, the first Māori women we saw […], came to see us. Soon after this, she was the most civilized native we have seen. She had been living with white people for some time

and seems to like our way best. I hope she will teach her sisters." (msx-3895, n. p.; punctuation added to facilitate reading). Bearing in mind that they usually attributed the successful 'civilization' of the natives to their own work, the correspondence of Albin and Jemima Martins includes another letter to aunt Mrs. Bray, dated February 1854, where they likewise seem to be quite taken with 'their Māori': "...our natives are much more polite and civil than most of the English, or rather Irish settlers" (ms-paper-2136-2). All of these accounts illustrate on the one hand the conviction of their own superiority by the white settlers in New Zealand, as well as on the other hand, the settler colonial paradigm to eliminate the indigenous population by means of assimilation and, in their eyes, cultural elevation. This naturally included also the passing on of approved gender roles.

Despite her obviously biased and clearly colonial perspective, Sarah Selwyn is an attentive enough observer to comment on class differences (by English standards, that is) between the Māori girls she teaches and writes that

> they learnt to read and write and sew, both having deft fingers as most of their races had. Wabisane was a true lady in ways and mind. I should think Wasatrutru (my girl) was the quickest, but she was made of commoner clay. They both behaved very well as long as we had any note of them [sic]. (Selwyn 45)

Her observation and assessment of the girls, as patronizing as it might be, show one thing: even if there were distinctions between Māori girls to be made in terms of lady-likeness, the more important aspect is that they are made to behave in accordance with the settler colonial understanding of civilized conduct and the white New Zealand gender ideal. As wife of Bishop George Augustus Selwyn, Sarah was eager to support him in his mission and took her role as her husband's helpmeet very serious, even though her status and wealth allowed her more comforts than most other missionary or settler wives. Regardless of the arrogance and blunt white supremacy visible in their attitude towards Māori to a modern reader, these descriptions are often characterized not only by a feeling of their own superiority but by a certain fondness and sympathy towards the natives they encounter. Mary Ann Eleanor Petre, wife of a "prominent young member[...] of the New Zealand Company, the Hon. Henry William Petre" (Butterworth 513) and eventually mother

to sixteen children, recounts in her diary an outing with her lady friends. They come across a group of Māori and continue their way downhill together: “when we were nearly down saw Mrs. FitzGerald standing on the top looking down with horror. A great old Māori seeing this went back and gave her his hand [...] [and] most gently did this untutored savage in his blanket looped up on one shoulder lead civilization down the hill” (2003-228-05, p. 86; punctuation added). Again, the feeling of their own superiority is blatantly clear, and yet, Māori are looked upon with a certain, albeit condescending benevolence. While the tone of the descriptions of Māori men changes significantly during the time of the New Zealand Wars in the 1850s and 60s, Māori women, overall less mentioned in private correspondence as well as in newspapers, are often perceived as peculiar, exotic or inferior, but never as vicious or dangerous.

Regardless of colonial conflicts, social interaction and shared living spaces made relationships between Māori and Pākehā not unusual, even though most white settlers stuck to their own kind when searching for a spouse. The most common constellation was the marriage between settler men and native wives as well as extramarital affairs between white men and Māori female servants – which of course were highly frowned upon by the people of the Victorian Age. This ultimately meant that “[b]y the end of the century a sizeable portion of New Zealand's population traced a mixed ancestry” (Porter and Macdonald, *My Hand Will Write* 253). In view of settler colonial theory, this was seen as a legitimate way of “vanishing”[26] the indigenous population by absorbing Māori into the new 'we' of the settler colonial community. It seems that there was no bias or open discrimination towards the children coming from these relationships. The status and social standing of this first

26 The “vanishing native” is a persistent myth in popular culture even today. There is an ever-growing body of scholarly research on the topic, especially regarding North America. Brewton Berry published the article “The Myth of the Vanishing Indian” already in 1960; more recent works include *'All the Real Indians Died Off' and 20 Other Myths About Native Americans* by Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz and Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *Comparative Indigenous Studies*, edited by Mita Banerjee and particularly her chapter “The Myth on the 'Vanishing' Indian: Transnational Perspectives and Indigenous Lives,” and the Harvard University Pluralism Project also deals with the topic. In relation to that, Anishinaabe critic and writer Gerald Vizenor developed the concept of 'survivance' to express the connection between the survival of the Native American population and their continuing activism and resistance in order to transcend settler colonial victimization and elimination. On the topic of survivance, see Vizenor's *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance*, *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, John D. Miles' article “The Postindian Rhetoric of Gerald Vizenor,” or “Critical Storying: Power Through Survivance and Rhetorical Sovereignty” by Sundy Watanabe.

generation with mixed ancestry in New Zealand would be an interesting topic for future research, especially in comparison to the situation in other settler colonies such as Australia or North America and how they dealt with descendants of a mixed ancestry. It is important to bear in mind that the forced separation of Māori or half-caste children from their families and the phenomenon of 'stolen generations' which formed part of Australian and American settler colonial history did not occur in New Zealand. “Stolen Generation” was a term sparked by Professor Peter Read in his 1981 publication *The Stolen Generations: The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 183 to 1969*, originally referring exclusively to Aboriginal children who had been forcefully removed and separated from their families by the Australian government. However, the practice of taking the next generation of the native population away from their parents to be raised by the (generally white) government, or governmental approved (white) families or institutions was also common practice in North America, which allows this speaking term to be also applied in an American context. Margaret D. Jacobs compares this shared aspect of Australian and American history in *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940*, and Tony Buti draws a similar comparison in *The Systematic Removal of Indigenous Children from Their Families in Australia and Canada: The History – Similarities and Differences.* However, as Penelope Edmonds and Jane Carey point out, the time when white settlers began to spread out in New Zealand “coincided with the humanitarian turn in British imperial politics. There were increased calls [...] for a 'humane' or Christian colonization and the protection and civilization” (376) of native populations, which of course constitutes a profound difference to the attitude and approach during the early days of colonization in North America or Australia. The fact that the state-sanctioned abduction of Māori children was not part of New Zealand history by no means implies that here, the forced assimilation was less violent, intrusive, or strict in nature, but it employed different methods which potentially also had an influence on how children, and later adults with mixed ancestry were perceived and treated.

Returning the focus to white settler women, domesticity was essential to early New Zealand women. However, colonial life not rarely meant that the line between

domestic and public became blurry or had to be shifted ever so slightly in view of what was acceptable for women. Bethia Featherston married Doctor Isaac Earl Featherston in Scotland before the couple came to New Zealand where Isaac would become practicing physician, as well as superintendent of the Wellington province and first editor of the *Wellington Independent* (cf. Hamer n.p.). As her husband, a political opponent of Christopher William Richmond,[27] was preoccupied with his various professional interests, Bethia was often left alone to tend to matters at home. She was mother to twelve children and attested her husband a "rather antiquated idea about the Rights of Women […] [because he believes] the less a wife is seen or heard in public the more admirable is she in private" (*My Hand Will Write* 278). She wrote this as early as 1850, after having come out to New Zealand almost a decade earlier. This illustrates that, despite enforced gender dichotomy, the sociably acceptable role for women was changing in the colonial setting. For one thing, the circumstances of living in a colony enabled women to run their households with little interference of others. Aforementioned Jane Maria Atkinson writes to a friend that she considers herself "a much more respectable character than I was when I was a fine lady" (*My Hand Will Write* 160), even though she must toil all day. It is remarked that her mother Lely "cannot picture [her] […] washing scrubbing and cooking in real earnest" (Scholefield, vol. I, 492) and "seems rather disgusted at seeing [her] scrub about and look dirty" (*My Hand Will Write* 160). Also aforementioned Grace Hirst, from a similar background as Jane Maria, likewise seems to be very content, stating that she "should have nothing more to wish for" (*My Hand Will Write* 164), even though they "shall never get rich nor make a great dash" (*My Hand Will Write* 164). Both women came from moderately wealthy families which would probably have allowed them a more leisured life if they had stayed in Britain. However, they also both seem to enjoy the sense of autonomy that came with running a settler colonial household, regardless of its arduous nature, and both women turned themselves into major figures, not to say important providers, within their extended family networks.

27 William, as he was called by his family, was the brother of Jane Maria Atkinson, née Richmond, the central figure of the Richmond-Atkinson clan referred to before and discussed in more detail earlier in Chapter 1.1.1. Despite the fact that Featherston and Richmond often did not share their political stance on things, it still serves to illustrate that the Featherstons moved in the same, comparatively privileged group of the settler colonial elite steering the political, but also social development of the young colony.

Not everyone was as enthusiastic as the former two. Jane Bolland, living with her husband deacon William Bolland at a parsonage, writes to her parents that her "hands a very nearly double the size" (*My Hand Will Write* 158) since she came to New Zealand, and it is hard to say whether it is meant as a complaint or as a praise. Already mentioned Sarah Pratt laments quite openly to her sister Ellen Adams that "[i]t is said that the back is fitted to the burden but I feel so over-tasked that it is no comfort to me to remember this" (*My Hand Will Write* 162-163). Whereas some women thus understood settler colonial challenges as opportunities to be grasped, and soared in this environment, others clearly felt it to be a burden which weighted heavy on them. William Monkhouse even considers going back to England instead of bringing his wife May out to farm in New Zealand because "[h]ere her life would be what I cannot describe as other than monotonous drudgery and unwholesome loneliness. She would rarely see a woman at all, still more rarely a lady" (ms-papers-10570, p. 40). Apart from the 'drudgery' women like Jane Bolland or Sarah Pratt clearly did not cope well with, William Monkhouse's statement also hints towards another aspect of New Zealand settler colonial life for women: the vastness of the settler colony with its few small settlements, and hardly bigger towns, indeed meant that women, preoccupied with their daily work anyway, often had to do without female companionship. May Monkhouse, however, saw herself fit for the challenge and followed her fiancé, accompanied by her sister Polly and their two brothers Charlie and Harry Bell. They are, like the Richmond-Atkinson family, an example for the typical New Zealand immigration pattern of extended family coming out together or in close succession. In contrast to Australia, for example, where planned immigration schemes, once it had overcome its status as convict colony, were aimed at single women (cf. Edmonds and Carey 381), New Zealand immigration schemes encouraged the immigration of intact social micro-units like extended family and friends, often along with servants or employees (cf. Phillips, "History of Immigration" n.p.). As already alluded to earlier, this naturally affected the social fabric in New Zealand and induced a different social community than in fellow settler colonies such as the United States or Australia. Nevertheless, it was a small and often far-flung white settler community, and a considerable number of women were without the company of sisters, cousins, mothers, and aunts – or any other adult

female peers for that matter. Even though May Monkhouse bravely followed her husband and had a family network immigrating with her, she later seems to be slightly overwhelmed by her tasks, as she writes in a letter to her mother, dated February 2nd, 1890: “I fear […] I will be obliged to get a servant as I can't do as all the women about seem to do. It is wonderful to me how they manage” (ms-papers-6471-3, p. 173). This duality of being the respected, valued masters of their own household on the one hand, and the hard work, responsibility, and loneliness it entailed on the other hand, is a defining characteristic of the white New Zealand settler colonial female role. Evidently, it did not agree with all early settler colonial women in the same way, but it definitely affected the perception and definition of white New Zealand women.

Most of the women encountered in the letters and diaries, some more openly and consciously than others, rejoice in the fact that they are the masters of their own sphere of responsibility. John Godley, founder of the Canterbury settlement, came out with his wife Charlotte, who “[a]s the wife of one of the leading men in the new colony […] [,] exerted a gentle yet firm influence on those she met, always upholding what she believed to be proper standards of behaviour” (Hughes, “Godley”, n.p.). She is relatively well known as her correspondence to her mother from her time in New Zealand was published posthumously as *Letters from Early New Zealand*. As these letters indicate, Charlotte thinks she has “an underdeveloped talent for laundry-work” (Godley 313) and seems very happy about the plentiful work she has to complete day after day. In the same fashion, farmer's wife Jemima Martin comments that she turns into a “mistress of bread making [and] ironing shirts” (ms-papers-2136-2, letter dated 16 Aug. 1852 to her sister Mary Kempe), and Jane Maria Atkinson (née Richmond) deduces that she “was born to live here, certainly it fits [her] well” (Scholefield, vol. I, 147). White women in New Zealand often felt useful and a sense of purpose which they had not known before. Being useful was admired and often contrasted with the supposed uselessness of women in the old countries. In a letter addressed to Jemima Martin's daughter Mergellina, it says: “I have allowed several British maidens to look at the envelope, as the handwriting of a true colonial girl. A young lady who, with all the refinement of the highest culture, can also sew and scrub and bake and ride, yes and saddle her own

steed […] and shame their uselessness" (ms-papers-2136-2, letter dated 15 Jan 1873). This combination of lady-like refinement with distinctly practical abilities necessary in a settler colonial environment meant that a woman's value and reputation depended at least in equal parts, if not more, on her practicality and resolution as it did on her manners and outer appearance. It gave white settler women a new understanding of their own role and worth in their family, as well as in the community or society in general.

But also, men had to reconsider their position between public and domestic as the sparse community often meant that the domestic on occasion become just as much their sphere as their wives'. Jane Maria Atkinson notes that "[i]t is surprising how the life here develops talent of this sort in the men. Arthur nurses his wife when ill with all the care & tenderness, & has now undertaken the bread making & baking" (Scholefield, vol. I, 489), while her brother James Richmond "is a perfect *fid-fad* on a house, so over & above thorough & particular", making Maria believe that "his soul delights in scouring & brightening saucepans" (Scholefield, vol. I, 489), which was certainly written with a fair amount of humor but still hinted to men voluntarily participating in household chores. Illness of wives or childbearing without a doctor or a midwife to assist often meant that the domestic became a shared sphere if the occasion demanded it, just as the public sphere of entrepreneurial success, for example of farms or orchards, demanded women to leave the cocoon of protected domesticity if the settler colonial circumstances called for it.

Life in early New Zealand called for men and women alike to be resourceful, to be, in many respects, more self-sufficient, and to be reliable, strong partners (cf. Porter and Macdonald, *My Hand Will Write*, 146, 189, 256 and Coney et al., *Sunshine*, 176). What was necessary often had to be redefined in a settler colonial context which was characterized, at least in part, by privation. May Monkhouse "innocently mentioned a dust-pan and it was at once put down as needless luxury" (ms-papers-6471-2, p. 70). While this admittedly must have been a minor hurdle, Lizzie Heath, for example, "was thought to be acting the lady" (*My Hand Will Write* 362) for keeping to her bed an entire week after giving birth, since "people here [in New Zealand] think four days long enough" (*My Hand Will Write* 362). She had

immigrated as a widow with an infant son in 1867 to marry her second husband, a widower and trader, after the match was arranged by the groom's sister back in England. The colonial set-up meant that women often had children without any assistance, a midwife, or a doctor. Still they were expected to pick up their tasks again as soon as possible, because they were needed, and the families often could not afford to renounce their work force for long.

Harriet Gore Browne came to New Zealand in 1855 when her husband Thomas Gore Brown was appointed governor. She "possessed a shrewd political understanding" (Long n.p.), influencing her husband considerably, if her contemporaries were to be believed. Jane Maria Atkinson describes her as "remarkably energetic and clever, without being in the least strongminded, but on the contrary very feminine and lady-like" (Scholefield, vol. I, 641) and continues that "[s]he really governs the country as much as the Governor, for he does nothing […] without consulting her first" (Scholefield, vol. I, 641-642). In spite of that, or maybe exactly because thereof, Harriet is firmly convinced of women's role as helpmeet, wife, and mother. She muses that

> we poor women meet a greater pain and almost as great a danger as the guillotine with a pleasure unconcern, and up to the last moment finish up all our small affairs and wind up the several threads of our lives as methodically as if we were preparing for an expected entertainment. (*My Hand Will Write* 358 // Scholefield, vol. II, 98)

It was common that every pregnancy also bore the risk of losing either the child or the mother or both. Regardless of that grim outlook, women diligently completed their tasks, and even prepared to leave behind as little work as possible in case someone else would have to take over their position because they did not survive. This was certainly true for any settler colony and yet, the comparatively small numbers of settlers venturing out to New Zealand meant that white women in New Zealand were often even more isolated, the dangers of child birth enhanced due to a lack of available medical support in the rural areas, and there was a certain pressure to return as quickly as possible to their daily tasks, as the families were often not able to waive a working woman for long if the routines at a farm or estate were supposed to run smoothly.

As a result, and as the letters analyzed here show, capable women and wives were respected and valued in the settler colonial environment. They were important to the success of the endeavor – on a small scale regarding the running of farms and enterprises as well as in the grand scheme of the overall colonial aim. Concerning her two daughters who are in the right age to get married, Grace Hirst writes that Annis "can turn her hand to anything and she always so neat and tidy. Harriet is quite different; she is so strong and stout, works away, tears her dresses, laughs and mends them again and will get through an amazing lot of hard work" (*My Hand Will Write* 224). Both daughters have suitors and will, according to their mother, make good wives. As such, they would work alongside their husbands and, in their absence, ensure that farms or missionaries were running smoothly, and everything was in order while they patiently waited for their husbands' return. Stepping up and taking over responsibility and running things autonomously was just as normal as stepping back down, handing everything back over, and sliding back into their usual position as helpmeet once the men came back home. May Monkhouse writes to her brother with regard to the potential political career of her husband William that "[m]ost members [of parliament] leave their wives to do the diary work and milking" (ms-papers-6471-3, p. 205) – in other words, to run their estates and farms while they are away. Jane Maria Atkinson instructs her sister-in-law Mary Richmond during the conflicts in the early 1860s[28] "to write to [her] about any *business* that needs attention, as he [James, Mary's husband and Jane's brother] is like all the other males, far too much absorbed in public affairs to take the least notice of private ones" (Scholefield, vol. I, 572). This now begs the question if business can really be called a private, or in other words, domestic, matter or whether the settler colonial backdrop resulted in a situation where state politics was indeed a male prerogative, but business consequently had to be temporarily conducted and be overseen by women.

28 These conflicts were part of what was later termed the New Zealand Wars. The conflicts were caused by disputed land purchases on the New Zealand North Island. As white settlers took more and more of the land, Māori began to form an organized resistance and eventually the persisting tensions between Māori inhabitants and white settlers escalated into violence (cf. Keenan n.p.). Taranaki, the region where the Richmond-Atkinson clan had settled, was one of the main sites for armed conflict between Māori and British and colonial troops and caused a temporary relocation of parts of the clan (mostly women and children) to Auckland and Nelson where the situation was less agitated. The impact on the clan was profound, as "all but one of the […] houses [the extended group of families had previously lived in] were virtually destroyed" (Porter, "Jane Maria Atkinson" 27).

Evidently, if men were too absorbed in activities of a more important nature, it was acceptable for white settler colonial women to take charge temporarily. Mostly, the independence of white New Zealand women was temporal, in the early years of settlement even more so than later. If it turned into a lasting state, it was often out of necessity, as for example with widows who had to find ways to provide for themselves and often several children.

However, especially later in the century, some women pursued a life without familial obligations out of interest – and because they could. Employment as servant, teacher or governess was well-paid, and a respectable position for women. Sarah Greenwood had married a physician in England, and they came out in 1843 with eight children. In New Zealand, the Greenwood family grew to a total of fifteen, if one includes the parents in the counting. When her husband had to spend more time in Wellington, Sarah, assisted by her two oldest daughters, opened the boarding school Woodland's House for girls in Nelson. As she explains to her mother "in this country a good servant has her own way in great degree and is treated with much consideration, a well-educated and ladylike young woman is a treasure and appreciated as such" (*My Hand Will Write* 242; original emphasis // Stierstorfer 163-164 // ms-papers-0098-11). Likewise, Maria Nicholson describes her position as governess: "I have perfect liberty and am never interfered with so that my pride and vanity are both satisfied" (*My Hand Will Write* 425 // ms-1717). She had come out with a family to look after their children, eventually took up another position as governess and, in the end, when she had earned enough for her passage back, returned to England. Since female servants were always in high demand and low in numbers, they could expect good wages and the perspective of easily finding other employment if anything was not to their liking. Although most of them – true to the colonial gender ideal – eventually married and left their positions, some also turned to running their own businesses. Predominantly, these occupations were managing schools or boarding houses, keeping shops, or earning a living as seamstresses, dressmakers or laundry women. Again, these professions hardly challenged the gender-specific division of work and labor. Nevertheless, the fact that a slowly growing number of women made their own living, and could expect comparatively high wages and good living conditions compared to the United States or the United

Kingdom certainly added a twist to the settler colonial gender dichotomy.

A feature unique to New Zealand is that education for women was encouraged and access to higher education was available comparatively early. As Anne Else summarizes, "[p]rimary schooling became universally free and available from 1877. The first girls' secondary school opened in Dunedin in 1871, 15 years after the first boys' secondary school. […] Women were able to attend university once the University of Otago opened in 1871" (n.p.). Furthermore, the Education Act of 1877 "established free, secular and compulsory education. All children had to attend school between the ages of seven and thirteen, and were entitled to attend between five and 15" (Swarbrick n.p.). In the United Kingdom, school attendance did not become compulsory until 1880, and fees applied until a law reform in 1891 (cf. "The 1870 Education Act" n.p.). In the United States, compulsory school attendance was introduced in some states as early as the late 1860s, but for the United States as a whole, it took until the 1920s (cf. "State Compulsory School Attendance Law" n.p.). While some state universities in the United States "allowed women to enroll in their degree programs [by the end of the 19th century] […] [,] private institutions […] did not follow this pattern" (Madigan 12) and obtaining an actual degree was still considered the exception for American women. Only in 1869, the first female students were admitted to the University of London as the first university in Britain to do so, and it would take another decade until "women were allowed to take exams alongside men" (Dearnley n.p.). However, the differences in education were definitely most pronounced in primary and secondary education. In terms of university education, the United States, Britain, and New Zealand were considerably more alike, as the aforementioned graduation of Kate Edger was only in 1877, so not that far ahead of Britain in that respective.

Due to their Unitarian background, the influential Richmond-Atkinson clan encouraged, among many other things, female education. "My experience in the Colony shows me that the most solidly educated women are the most useful in every department of life, and that so-called 'feminine refinement' is fatal to female usefulness" (*My Hand Will Write* 400; original spelling and emphasis // Scholefield, vol. II, 301), Jane Maria Atkinson writes in 1870. That this was not the opinion of a

minority is visible in the opening of several secondary schools for girls in the 1870s and university graduations of several women by the 1880s. However, as established in Chapter 2.2, the granting of political rights just as the access to higher education was not the groundwork for an entirely new place or ideal of women in society, but rather the appreciation and fortification of the existing role as capable but mostly domestic caring wife and mother. Atkinson continues in her letter that studying medicine would surely not prevented her from marrying, "but it would have made me a ten times better wife and mother and respectable human being altogether" (*My Hand Will Write* 400 // Scholefield, vol. II, 301). Coming back to the earlier described idea of the New Woman, it now, after this reading of letters and diaries, becomes clear that there is indeed a New Zealand New Woman and what sets her slightly apart from her peers abroad.

Although they succeeded in claiming political rights, New Zealand women did not fundamentally challenge their place in society. Arguably, the greater freedoms (and burdens) of colonial life such as more independence or more authority in matters at home, made it unnecessary to rebel more fiercely against the ideal of mother and wife. In addition to that, the settler colonial backdrop fostered the need for this stability and security. Family was a safe and strong unit, one of the essential pillars of settler colonial life. Without a doubt, granting women the vote made a difference. It was the solidification of an utterly new appreciation of what women contributed to the community and what part they played in a successful future. That was indeed revolutionary but did not touch or unsettle the fundamental settler colonial order of family and society. While the classical New Woman merged suffragism and feminism into an inseparable unit, New Zealand saw a variation which allowed suffrage to gain the earliest victory in the world while at the same time maintaining a conservative approach to the rest of feminist thought. The (Pākehā or white New Zealand) New Women encountered in these letters and diaries often present perspectives which were quite progressive on various matters and often appear very independent, self-confident, sometimes almost bluntly modern. And yet, they hardly ever refuse, reject, or question the traditional gender role settler colonialism reserves for them. Ann Elizabeth Richmond (called Alla by her family) for example, who is at the time attending a boarding school in Switzerland and

studying multiple languages, expresses her "great desire […] to be a good housekeeper and learn to cook well. I wish they taught that sort of thing at schools" (Scholefield, vol. II, 380).

If we look back now to the questions stated at the beginning of this chapter, some answers have been found. How did gender dichotomy work within New Zealand society? By fostering and enhancing an educated, strong, but still mostly domestic, feminine female ideal. Usefulness was preferred to fine but idle ladyism, intelligence and practical skill was valued over beauty and appearance, delicacy way abandoned in favor of diligence. As visible in Jessie Campbell's and Jane Maria Richmond's commentary, decorative doll-wives were neither admired nor deemed useful in the settler colonial environment. The notes on their daily routines by Jemima Martin and Anne Heine illustrate that domestic competence was essential, as was practicality and vigor. The circumstance that colonial life occasionally led to a blending of spheres meant that in turn, the distinctive gender roles became even more sharply opposed to each other. If the distinction between male and female could no longer simply be attributed to the sphere they occupied, the other features which defined one role or the other became more important. Thus, femininity became such a key attribute but encompassed a slightly different meaning than, for example, in Britain, where feminine was always at least partly linked to passivity and idleness. While ladyism and being a lady was almost an invective in the settler colonial context, being *like* a lady while you toiled and managed an almost overbearing load of work, as for example hinted at by May Monkhouse or Sarah Pratt, was considered an admirable expression of femininity and womanly grace.

How did settler colonialism affect white New Zealand women? It affected them by granting them certain freedoms and a fair amount of independence, if we think of the letters by Charlotte Godley, Jemima Martin, Sarah Greenwood or Maria Nicholson, as long as this independence did not threaten to endanger the patriarchal order of society and the settler colonial ideal of family and devoted spouses. It was acceptable for women to be publicly visible, if one thinks of Bethia Featherston's remark, as long as women did not use this visibility to destabilize the settler colonial structure – which they evidently did not. It also meant that women were often alone,

as shown by Sarah McLean's or Elizabeth Curtis' letters, and had to manage without the support of a husband. Making a fortune and becoming rich was not the main motivation of most New Zealand settlers.[29] Rather, if we think of Grace Hirst, or again Elizabeth Curtis, they were content with more moderate achievements of an improved living situation and the prospect of prospering, which ultimately meant that women, even if they did well, rarely escaped the life of a working helpmeet.

What was white women's role in the settler colonial construct in New Zealand? An important component of their role in settler colonialism was their function as role models and teachers to and of Māori, especially Māori girls and women. In view of the documents by Eliza White, Jane Williams, Jemima Martin, and Sarah Selwyn, it becomes clear that they were essential to the pursuit of redefining the native understanding of gender, which ultimately worked towards the settler colonial aspiration of eliminating the native. If Clara Hazard would have been granted permission, it would have severely contradicted the reigning gender dichotomy, a settler colonial sign of civilization and cultural superiority, which she was supposed to pass on and install among her Māori students. A substantial part of the responsibility regarding the 'elevation' or 'civilization' of the native population was placed in white settler women's hands.

Above all, however, white women within the settler colonial system in New Zealand fulfilled the traditional role of wives, mothers, and hard-working helpmeets who worked alongside their fathers, husbands, and brothers towards building a sovereign settler colonial nation. They were respected for that, as Jane Maria Atkinson's lines or Grace Hirst's notes on her daughters show, and their contribution was equally valued to men's even though the tasks, duties, and chores sometimes breached the blurred lines of public and domestic sphere, albeit without contradicting

29 This excludes, of course, those settlers who came during, or, more precisely, because of the gold rushes. These men (and very few women) were a different crowd than the average settlers that came out to New Zealand, especially in those years before gold was found. While those settlers came with rather moderate expectations and the firm plan of staying, gold seekers often had no long-time plan of permanently settling in New Zealand (or elsewhere) and many of them left the country again, either because they had found gold, or because they wanted to try their luck somewhere else. For more detailed information of the New Zealand gold rushes and the people involved, consult Philip Ross May's *The West Coast Gold Rushes*, Douglas Fetherling's *The Gold Crusades: A Social History of Gold Rushes, 1849-1929*, *Diggers, Hatters & Whores: The Story of the New Zealand Gold Rushes* by Stevan Eldred-Grigg, or *Gold Rush: Tales & Traditions of the New Zealand Goldfields* by Gordon Ell.

the distinct gender role of loyal spouses. At a time where women in the United States and Britain wanted to escape the "narrowness of the traditionally female domestic sphere" (Köhler 5), white women in New Zealand embraced it to a certain degree as one of the features that emphasized their femininity. Susan Macdonald stresses that the "shortage of domestic help inhibited the growth of a non-domestic culture for women" (*Good Character* 193), but the writers of these letters and diaries also seem to have no great thirst for a life beyond their domestic, which was in the New Zealand settler colonial context apparently not as restrictive and constraining as in other parts of the Anglosphere. The "schizophrenic split" (Rakow 279; cf. also Köhler 275-276) women in the United States felt due to the discrepancy between what their supposedly satisfying role should be and the despondency they experienced at its obvious limitations was unknown to the New Zealand women encountered so far through their life-writing documents.

This chapter was also opened with the question what provoked the separation of suffragism and feminism and if this was a conscious split. The documents analyzed above in this chapter suggest that there was indeed a split between feminism and suffragism. I assume that for these women who were so immersed in the settler colonial gender dichotomy and still had to raise to the challenges presented to them by their lives' circumstances, the separation of one from the other was necessary, albeit not on purpose, in order to omit a violation of the fundamentals their settler colonial lives were built on. In addition to that, New Zealand was at the time a comparatively young nation which implies that the mechanisms of settler colonialism where still rather prominent and unconcealed at work – gender dichotomy being one of them.

The next chapter concerned with the public perception will of course examine the way gender dichotomy presents itself, too, but will pick up again and focus on the question if the partition of suffragism and feminism was made consciously and for tactical reasons or rather, as suggested, the consequence of a firm settler colonial setting, as this issue could not be fully answered in this chapter. Newspapers and magazines will give a less personal record of the time which might help with regard to that. Furthermore, I will try to include the perspective on Māori women a little

more. Their lack as source in this chapter is mainly due to the few written personal accounts by Māori at that time and, of course, the explained focus on white New Zealand women.

CHAPTER 3.2

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION

The observations and general remarks made in this chapter are all based on the extensive National Newspaper Collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library Wellington, most of them available on microfilm at the Wellington reading rooms, as well as online due to the vast amount of digitized primary source material accessible via *Papers Past*.[30] Direct quotations will be indicated as usual with the sources included in the bibliography, albeit listed separately under the heading 'Newspapers'.

While I focus on newspapers, other periodicals such as magazines or journals do not feature in my dissertation, mainly because, at first, New Zealand imported most periodicals from the United States or Britain, and New Zealand specific periodicals were very few until the turn of the century (cf. Schrader, "Magazines and Periodicals" n.p.), but J. Don Vann's and Rosemary T. VanArsdel's *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration* includes research on the New Zealand periodical landscape. A more recent anthology on British publications was compiled by Andrew King as *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, and Michelle J. Smith, Kristine Moruzi, and Clare Bradford edited *From Colonial to Modern: Transnational Girlhood in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literature, 1840-1940*, focusing particularly on the aspects of gender and femininity and the way these are addressed in magazines. Furthermore, the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz has established a research group on *Transnational Periodical Cultures* (TPC) to provide an interdisciplinary forum for the exploration of periodicals as "medium of cultural transfer and translation" ("About Transnational Periodical Cultures" n.p.). with Oliver Scheiding and Jutta Ernst focusing on American periodicals specifically. The comparison of New Zealand and American periodical cultures could be an interesting starting point for further research, especially in front of the settler colonial parallels between the two nations. For this dissertation, however, newspapers will be the chosen historical records to be consulted.

30 cf. natlib.govt.nz/collections/a-z/national-newspaper-collection and paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/

Newspapers in early New Zealand were mostly regional and local publications which appeared only weekly, if not even monthly or bi-monthly. Matters of nation-wide interest were reprinted across various publications in the young nation and international topics were often borrowed from Australian, American, or British newspapers. In today's time it appears bizarre that the competition who was to print the 'news' arriving with the papers aboard the ships from back home, being three months old by the time they reached New Zealand, was fierce, and the articles still considered new enough to be presented proudly to the settler colonial audience (cf. Derby n.p.). In the 1860s and 70s, new publications began to spread, some of them serving a readership beyond the imminent local community and the first daily newspapers established themselves in the growing cities, thanks to machine-powered presses and the invention of the telegraph, which allowed the news to spread faster and wider than before. For the rural areas which remained unable to receive daily publications, the bigger newspapers established a rural weekly edition which summarized the main events over the course of one week.

Once newspapers had grown beyond a simple local community informative leaflet, so-called 'ladies' columns' or 'ladies' pages', occasionally also headed 'ladies' gossip' or 'social sphere' made up part of the regular publications. Those ladies' columns were – unsurprisingly – concerned with what was deemed acceptable and interesting topics for the female readers, and filled, as the *New Zealand Times* puts it, "with matter of general interest to the fair sex" (vol. XXXVII, no. 6410, 29 October 1881): needlework and sewing, questions of fashion and dress, beauty tips, courtship and marriage, gossip concerning royalty and ordinary people alike, household matters, motherhood and children, and sometimes cooking or poetry. It was not unusual to have these pages conducted by female editors, who regularly contributed to one or multiple publications and often also answered the letters addressed to the ladies' section of the paper.

While the regular paper consisted of multiple pages, the part aimed at a specifically female readership usually varied between a single column up to an entire page. This difference in scope is common for the time, as is the clear cut and articulate difference between male and female subjects. While men read about public

topics such as politics, economical situations, governmental issues, and international developments, women supposedly preferred the private and somewhat trivial themes of domestic life and social gossip. Certainly, women were not forbidden to read the entire paper, and most of the educated class including politician's and clergy's wives, governesses, and teachers had a great interest in topics beyond the ladies' page, as the letters to the editor by numerous female readers show, but the simple division of the paper in a main part and one specifically for women enforces a certain understanding of fundamentally different and separate spheres, interests, and societal roles.

Regarding the importance settler colonial theory attributes to gender roles, suffrage becomes a crucial topic to examine in the early New Zealand context. In the previous chapter, I have focused predominantly on the aspect of gender dichotomy and the role ascribed and assumed for and by white women in early settler colonial New Zealand. In this chapter, I now want to focus on a New Zealand peculiarity of separated suffragism and feminism. Analyzing these newspaper articles will answer the question whether this was simple coincidence, or rather a direct result of a strong settler colonial ideology presiding throughout the Pākehā society of early New Zealand. Unsurprisingly, suffrage features in the papers from the 1850s onwards as a reoccurring, constant issue to be discussed, much like in the rest of the Anglosphere. Much the same as in Britain or North America, the opponents of suffrage claimed that entering into the world of politics would corrupt women, would have them "carry away […] some of the mud and dirt of political contact" (*Star*, no. 5797, 16 Feb. 1897), and would destroy the comfort and order which rested on the rule that "[t]he proper sphere of woman is the home, the proper place for her to reign is in the home circle" (*Star*, no. 5797, 16 Feb. 1897). Even further, they would be "a disturbing element in politics" (*Ashburton Guardian*, vol. VII, no. 2179, 22 July 1889) due to being "impulsive and easily swayed" (*Ashburton Guardian*, vol. VII, no. 2179, 22 July 1889). It is very much alike to the anti-suffragist arguments elsewhere. In U.S. newspapers, for example, it was declared that "woman cannot be coordinate. Her merits have full play only when she is in subordination. We see her natural defects the more plainly when she leaves her subordinate state" (T.M.S. n.p.), and therefore, women should not be given the right to vote.

In New Zealand, white suffragists in turn were quick to reassure opponents that women's "destiny is marriage – their chief function is maternity – their sphere is domestic and social life. This is their condition now, and political rights may well be settled in accordance with it" (*Otago Daily Times*, no. 1764, 26 Aug 1867). As illustrated in Chapter 2.2, many prominent women engaged in suffragism in New Zealand were almost ideal models of the traditional, settler colonial epitome of wife and mother. Reading the articles and comments from and about them in the newspapers elucidates the observation made in the previous chapter: while the (white) New Zealand New Woman challenged her lack of a political voice, she did not question her standing and function in society. On the contrary, pro-suffrage contributions in the papers almost all emphasize and exalt the image of domestic goddesses and thriving helpmeets. While the image of New Woman in newspapers and magazines of North America was a product of "men or […] women who had been approved by the predominantly male editorial staff" (Köhler 275), New Zealand saw prominent suffragists significantly shaping and influencing the image of the New Zealand New Woman through their letters and contributions. Furthermore, the periodical and magazine culture Köhler refers to in her study (cf. 275-277), which was crucial to the shaping of the American New Woman, did not exist in this form in New Zealand. Only few magazines were printed in New Zealand due to the small potential readership. For the better part of the late nineteenth century, many magazines and journals were imported from the United States or from Britain. This means that New Zealand women had access to the same texts and writings as American women, but they received these publications not until they were already several months old due to the time it took to ship them (cf. Derby n.p.). This naturally meant that the impact and influence of the same journal was quite different on the two sides of the Pacific. Consequently, the New Zealand newspapers, and the suffragist contributions published in them, carried greater weight regarding the shaping of the New Zealand New Woman. In the "Appeal to the Men of New Zealand", Femina praises the exemplary woman of New Zealand with her

> power and energy, her patient unflagging cheerfulness during the years of banishment to some back station in New Zealand, where she toils until the waste smiles around her, where she rears her poultry, grows her fruit and flowers –

> aye, and not unfrequently digs her potatoes and chops her wood, while she yet cheers her husband and teaches her children with anxious care. (*New Zealand Mail*, no. 329, 1 Jun 1878)

This description is, in essence, the exemplary helpmeet, advertised by one of the suffrage figureheads in New Zealand. Fellow suffragist Polly Plum assured that "ninety-nine women in a hundred […] prefer that vocation [of wife and mother] to any other" (*Daily Southern Cross*, vol. XXIV, no. 3568, 24 Dec 1868) and would never dare to question man as the stronger sex, since a "wise man […] occupies a higher eminence than any woman can do, no matter how gifted she may be" (*Daily Southern Cross*, vol. XXV, no. 3732, 5 Jul 1869). This demonstrates that icons of the New Zealand suffrage movement repeatedly and strongly supported a rather conservative female image. The only issue they identified false in their settler colonial idyll of loving mothers and happily married helpmeets was that they lacked the privilege of the political right to a say which they had earned through their contribution to the settler colonial cause – in their long-established role and function. Striking the same chord as those more prominent women, the *North Otago Times* printed a letter by 'Grandmother' stating that "women may go to the polls and silently and modestly deposit their votes […] [This would not] in any way interfere with the due respect and obedience to their husbands" (vol. XXXVI, no. 7473, 22 Sep 1892), emphasizing the same arguments as Polly Plum or Femina.

While the quiet conduct of women if they were to have the vote is stressed repeatedly (see also *New Zealand Herald*, vol. XXIX, no. 9034, 12 Nov 1892), the matter of femininity or rather non-masculinity features even more prominently. With regard to the firm grip traditional gender roles had on settler colonial New Zealand society, it was important to stress that even a debate on suffrage did not imply an advocacy for "anything masculine in the character and conduct of women, but of common sense and true womanly qualities" (Plum, *Auckland Star*, vol. II, no. 455, 26 Jun 1871). It was stressed that "women do not want to be men; they simply want to be *as free as men* legally" (Plum, *Daily Southern Cross*, vol. XXVII, no. 11337, 10 Jul 1871; original emphasis). Despite the desired legal equality, suffrage supporters thus were resolute and outspoken in their reassurance that women otherwise would contently remain in their assigned feminine role and did not seek to challenge settler

colonial gender dichotomy. An article in the *Evening Star* on a meeting with speeches by British suffragettes is to an almost comical degree concerned with the appearance of the women instead of what has actually been said:

> None of the ladies who spoke on this occasion […] looked in any way remarkable or peculiar. They were dressed like sensible, quiet women, whose whole minds where not devoted to their appearance, although they had due and proper regard to the fitness of things (no. 6389l, 7 Sep 1883).

Although this may cause a smirk on a modern reader's face, it nevertheless shows not only how essential it was that in New Zealand, women asking for the right to vote appeared in accordance with the declared gender ideal – feminine, sensible, not peculiar in any way – but also what an impact it had that suffragists repeatedly stressed their approval of the established gender dichotomy. It ultimately meant that they were perceived more favorably by the settler colonial public because they preserved and upheld the established definition of femininity.

According to an article in the Social Topic section of the *Otago Witness*, "clever women […] have too much sense to ape masculine manners […] [and] [s]trong-minded women are not masculine either, though they do advocate women's rights and yearn for Female Franchise" (no. 1998, 9 Jun 1892). As strong-mindedness is admittedly a debated feature in colonial girls and women which is often also attributed to the radical suffragists abroad, this article continues in stating that "'strong-minded' usually means 'large-minded'" (*Otago Witness*, no. 1998, 9 Jun 1892) and intelligence is a desired feature in the settler colonial female. Prime minister Julius Vogel states that "there are none of us who admire what are known as strong-minded females, or blue-stockings […] but there are few men who do not like to meet in the other sex with minds having ideas of their own" (*Daily Southern Cross*, vol. XXX, no. 5108, 6 Jan 1874). This differentiation between strong-minded, radical feminists, and intelligent, educated women able to meet men at eye-level but still adhering to their traditional position is a result of the settler colonial backdrop in New Zealand. According to Judith Aitken, "[t]he bitter opposition experienced by the suffragists in Britain was of a different and more resolute kind than that which faced New Zealand women. The colony's newspapers, if not sympathetic, were at least prepared to make lively use of the controversies which raged" (23). Thus, New

Zealand newspapers, in contrast to the media in Britain or the United States, often shone a more favorable or at least a more objective light on the subject of suffragism and the women involved in it.[31] This contributed to a climate which did not mark suffragists out as radicals trying to overthrow the established order of society, including the conservative, traditional understanding of gender roles.

Nevertheless, life in the young colony demanded of women to think for themselves and to support their families and husbands not only as a work hand, but as a kindred spirit in the settler colonial challenge they were facing. Polly Plum points out that "an industrious, hard-working, intelligent woman [is] likely to make a better helpmate to a man" than a "useless, mindless, inane, dressed-up doll" (*Daily Southern Cross*, vol. XXV, no. 3740, 14 Jul 1869). Intelligence is stressed repeatedly as not only a desired but required feature in a settler colonial wife and weights equally in importance, it seems, as industriousness and domestic capability and accomplishments. Additionally, colonial life often meant that women were left widowed or without a husband to support them and their children. Stressing that "a wife's sphere, whose husband is her breadwinner, is the care of her household" (*Daily Southern Cross*, vol. XXV, no. 3740, 14 Jul 1869), it is thus argued that "if a woman *must* work or has time and opportunity for work, […] there are very few positions she may not choose for her 'sphere', provided she has the requisite talent and suitability for that employment" (*Daily Southern Cross*, vol. XXV, no. 3740, 14 Jul 1869; original emphasis). So even though the settler colonial set-up fostered and enforced a traditional gender dichotomy between men and women, it also allowed room for women to become the masters of their own sphere – either in pursuing a vocation if they could provide a reasonable explanation of why they had or wanted to work, or in managing their households with little interference of others and a fair

31 In my opinion, this also could be an interesting starting point for further research on the exact nature of this split, what role newspapers played in the creation, preservation, and enforcement of it, and possibly, how this compares to the situation in other settler colonies. According to Angelika Köhler's *Ambivalent Desires*, the media were crucial to the creation and conservation of the New Woman as a cultural phenomenon in North America. Furthermore, Philippa Levine, for example, argues in "'So Few Prizes and So Many Blanks': Marriage and Feminism in Later Nineteenth-Century England" that the British suffrage movement did not feature an outrageously high number of single women or spinsters as it is often argued, but that it was *perceived* that way, not least because of the way the media reported on the movement. This again illustrates the pivotal role of newspapers – or the media more generally – in the development and fortification of social paradigms such as gender ideals.

share of responsibility on their shoulders. An article in *Marlborough Express* proclaimed that "[w]oman's work is recognized as at least equal to man's work, and her claim to a fair field and no favor […] is beginning to be generally accepted" (vol. XX, no. 208, 4 Sep. 1884). Thus, in both instances, either as a working woman where they could expect to be able to support themselves through honest and honorable work, or as wife and mother, they were valued and respected members of the settler colonial community.

Bearing that in mind, the articles and discussions in the papers reveal a characteristic feature of the suffrage efforts in New Zealand: having the right to vote was what they were advocating for, and this aim was not to be alloyed with other matters such as temperance or feminist thought. The enfranchisement of women was to be sought "irrespective of all other considerations" as it was "really a simple matter of political right" (*Evening Star*, no. 8813, 20 Apr 1892; see also *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, vol. XXVIII, no. 70, 1 Sep 1869). Like in the United States, temperance organizations were important driving forces regarding the rallying for suffrage. The WCTU was essential in giving a voice to women in New Zealand regarding political matters. And yet, temperance quickly seemed to vanish into the background in favor of pursuing suffrage as main goal. While the U.S. struggled with the intertwining of abolitionism, feminism, and suffragism which ultimately lead to organizations being splintered into smaller groups and units which rallied against each other instead of joining efforts due to differing prioritization and emphasis, New Zealand only saw temperance which quickly became a steppingstone and was superseded by suffrage as the main and more important goal.

It is hard to determine whether some of the women engaged in the movement might have considered the right to vote just as a first step leading to full emancipation and overall gender equality. However, the fact that key figures, such as Polly Plum or Femina, fully embrace their settler colonial, traditional role and seem to be genuinely convinced that "every girl hopes to be a wife" (*Daily Southern Cross*, vol. XXV, no. 3795, 18 Oct 1869; see also *Otago Witness*, no. 1998, 9 June 1892) support the impression that a split between suffrage and emancipatory ideas or even feminist thought was not a conscious or even tactical decision. Rather, the

newspaper accounts suggest that women, including the leading figures in the suffrage campaign, endorsed a strong gender dichotomy and very traditional gender roles as founding principles of the settler colonial society they were part of. Doubting this fundamental order was out of the question. As set forth in Chapter 2.2, granting suffrage was the appreciation and affirmation of the part women took in building a new nation as mothers and wives. What also speaks against a conscious split is the fact that they did not campaign for all women to have a vote, but for "those of them who are heads of houses, who pay taxes, who are allowed to be competent in the management of property" (*Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, vol. XXVIII, no. 70, 1 Sep 1869) – mainly women who had proven their worth in the settler colonial environment, and more often than not, had valid reasons like widowhood to aspire into positions otherwise reserved for men. The *Woodville Examiner* evaluated that the just demand of "female suffrage is making more rapid headway among the farmers than among any other class[32] […]. Evidently the majority of farmers believe that those who have done so much to make the homes of the land are also fit to have a voice in making its laws" (vol. VIII, no. 2031, 12 April 1893). This illustrates that granting female suffrage was, for the majority of New Zealand settlers, an acknowledgement and recognition of women's contribution to building homes and nation.

When female suffrage was granted – to all women, including Māori – in 1893, it was on the grounds that "the government of the country [was] [...] based on manhood suffrage in its most extended form – one man one vote" (*Evening Star*, no. 8434, 7 Feb 1891) and the awareness that New Zealand would rise "high in the estimation of the nations of the world if she [was] [...] the first to grant the franchise to women" (*Star*, no. 7421, 16 Nov 1892). Following the extension of suffrage to women, an article on how New Zealand is perceived by others is reprinted repeatedly by all major newspapers, stating: "New Zealand […] is in civilizations in the very foremost rank, and peopled by a race who socially, intellectually, and politically, have perhaps as little to learn from outside as any in the world" (*Wanganui Herald*,

32 As established in Chapter 2.1, class was not a dominant factor determining one's unchangeable position in settler colonial society due to birth or rank. 'Class' as mentioned here in this quote refers less to a tight hierarchical construct, and more to a non-judgmental or grading classification of settlers in accordance with their occupation.

vol. XXVII, no. 8281, 21 Sep 1893). This also shows that suffrage in the New Zealand context was less concerned with female emancipation, but rather with the process of nation building, national identity formation, and settler colonial self-understanding.

The white settler women of New Zealand were described as "strong and brave, with an amount of self-reliance and freedom of conventionalities eminently calculated to form a great nation" (Femina, *New Zealand Mail*, no. 329, 1 June 1878). However, this freedom of conventionalities did not imply abandonment or revision of the established role. Despite, or rather because of the fundamentally different role of men and women, married couples formed the smallest but most crucial unit in the settler colonial society which ultimately constitutes the foundation of families and community. Strong units of women and men embracing their respective position and fulfilling it to the best of their abilities ultimately provided a firm foundation for building a solid settler colonial nation. Consequently, having the right to vote was not a sign for particularly progressive ideas about gender equality, but rather a tool for building a country and fostering a distinct self-image. This might be the reason for another New Zealand peculiarity: marriage and family were considered safe havens in the challenging settler colonial environment. Mothers became "cult figure[s] […] She became by definition a moral redemptress, a figure of purity and chaste love, the home a place of refuge and moral elevation" (Olssen and Lévesque 6). With suffrage dissociated from feminism and therefore, leaving the basic societal order unchallenged, New Zealand men evidently were more inclined to support the cause. While it seemed that the suffragist movement in Great Britain was mostly supported by single women (cf. Levine 152-153) and bachelors, a commentator in the *New Zealand Herald* revels in the fact that in New Zealand, it was exactly the opposite: not only were the female figureheads of the suffrage campaign mostly wives and mothers, also "[a]t the late meeting, all the gentlemen who aided the ladies [and the suffrage cause] were, as far as I know, married. Indeed, most of the gentlemen who assisted the meeting with their presence were there with their wives" (vol. XXIX, no. 8932, 16 Jul 1892). Again, this also illustrates that the atmosphere and general tone in New Zealand papers was considerably more sympathetic or neutral than in the United States or Britain and fostered a different

image of the suffragists.

Regarding the United States, Angelika Köhler argues that the New Woman was in part a product of journalism (cf. 6, 73-75, 275) and I would have to agree that newspapers in New Zealand did indeed contribute to the development of the New Zealand New Woman. Like their American counterparts, they "were given certain areas of public action in which they *positioned themselves*, however, relative to the hierarchical pattern of male dominance" (275; original emphasis). However, Köhler's notion that the New Woman was a construct created and promoted by male editors and journalists does not transfer as easily to New Zealand. The newspapers analyzed in this dissertation rather suggest that the image of the New Woman in New Zealand was to a great degree shaped by the leading white settler New Women themselves, namely the suffragists and other women raising their voice via articles and letters to the editor. Furthermore, this turns back to the realization that in the United States, as well as in Britain, New Woman always encompassed not only suffragist aspirations, but also feminist thought and a critique of gender hierarchy and patriarchal structures. In New Zealand, however, New Womanhood called for a (new) appreciation of what women contribute *because* they fulfill their traditional role as mothers and wives to the best of their abilities. In embracing their function as helpmeet, they enjoyed greater respect and appreciation, as well as less limitations in some areas. Regarding Köhler's definition of the phenomenon, the white settler women of New Zealand therefore might not even be called New Woman in a stricter sense. And yet, in my eyes, the similarities they share connect them undeniably as kindred figures, as Köhler writes, referring to the two different patterns the New Woman follows in the American context:

> [b]oth images of the New Woman created alternatives to the traditional concepts of female life; however, their level of female autonomy and, consequently, their potential modernity depended on the question whether and to what degree they were still compatible with men's self-images (i.e. whether they were marriageable) […] These images could only partially succeed in constituting female independence since they arose from the traditional concept of manliness and were determined by a […] still hierarchical gender pattern (289)

So, and as this quote shows, despite their differences, American and New Zealand New Woman share two essential aspects: the New Woman, however modern, in the end must remain marriageable. And New Woman, despite her modern appearance, ultimately positions herself in relation to the established structures of men's dominance. So even though the past two chapters helped to establish the differentiation between the American and the New Zealand variety of the phenomenon, and pointed towards the closeness of the New Zealand ideal with the idea of the Colonial Helpmeet, I still see the essence of the New Woman at the core of it. Hence, I would like to stick with the term of New Zealand New Woman to express the kiwi particularity of white, confident, spirited, educated women, contented and firmly rooted in a conservative, traditional, domestic gender role which is affirmed and bolstered to a considerable extent by the women themselves[33].

Since personal accounts of Māori or on Māori women are scarce, the newspaper landscape of early New Zealand mirrors the settler colonial myth of the vanishing native[34]: Māori are only occasionally the subject of articles – with the exception of the time of the New Zealand Wars of course where reports on the latest developments and various Māori leaders were plentiful. Māori women, if they are mentioned at all, are often only the subject of amusing little anecdotes or short notes on the margins. Even though the numerous articles addressing the circumstance that "the Maori are vanishing with terrible rapidity" (*New Zealand Mail*, no. 628, 7 March 1884; see also *Southern Cross*, vol. 5, no. 29, 23 October 1897; *Evening Star*, no. 6556, 22 March 1884; *New Zealand Mail*, no. 630, 21 Mar. 1884; *New Zealand Herald*, vol. XV, no. 5263, 28 September 1878; *New Zealand Mail*, no. 106, 26 April 1873; *Daily Southern Cross*, vol. XVIII, no. 1525, 12 June 1862) are often mourning the supposed dying out of New Zealand natives, they all feed into the settler colonial mechanism of erasing the indigenous people of the land to make space for the new settlers. Regarding the female suffrage movement, it is interesting to see that New

33 Originally, I intended to use "Pākehā New Woman" as my term of choice. However, the controversy that could arise out of the difficult definition and linguistic history of "Pākehā" which I alluded to in footnote 2 in the introduction and later on in Chapter 4.2 of this thesis ultimately meant that, for this thesis, I had to settle on "New Zealand New Woman" instead. This requires, however, to make it very clear that this means predominantly and (mostly) exclusively *white* settler women.

34 The matter of the vanishing myth and Gerald Vizenor's interrelated theory of survivance have been discussed in the previous chapter; see footnote 26.

Zealand granted four seats to Māori men as early as 1867. While white men had to own property in order to qualify for a seat, Māori only had the meet the age restriction of being twenty-one or older. The situation for Māori women was different. As the Ministry for Women explains, "the Māori Representation Act 1867 provided for the establishment of four Māori seats; only men could stand for these. In 1876 the Municipal Corporations Act gave both men and women ratepayers the right to vote and stand for local government office" ("Māori Women and the Vote" n.p.). However, according to the Ministry, "[i]t is not known how many women exercised this right" ("Māori Women and the Vote" n.p.), hinting towards the fact that the number of women taking advantage of this right must have been exceptionally small. Also, as mentioned earlier, Māori women were engaged with the WCTU, as well as seeking the right to "stand as members of the Māori Parliament – Te Kotahitanga" ("Māori Women and the Vote" n.p.). Both of these goals – meaningful engagement with the Temperance cause as well as the right to stand as a member of Te Kotahitanga – were achieved, but only as the nineteenth century came to a close. It took until the mid of the twentieth century before Iriaka Ratana as the first Māori woman entered parliament in 1949 (cf. "Maori Women and the Vote" n.p., Coney et al., *Sunshine* 44-45, and MacDonald, "Iriaka Ratana" 548-549). With regard to the better part of the nineteenth century, however, it can be argued that Māori women were politically more or less invisible – at least from a white settler point of view. Even the efforts for the WCTU were tinged by the fact that, for Māori women, the pledge included not only renouncing the consummation of alcohol and tabaco, but also to refrain from getting the moko kauae, the sacred facial tattoo[35] (cf. Sly n.p.).

35 As Elizabeth Mountain Ellis explains in Sandra Coney's *Standing in the Sunshine*, "[m]oko is a word that encompasses all tattooing of the Maori. It was not an isolated art form. It was part of the whole fabric of Maori culture" (264). Receiving moko was a sacred and ritualized affair, as the tattoos represented a person's mana (cf. Higgins n.p.). While men sometimes had their entire head tattooed, the moko kauae or kauwae, the chin tattoo, was a privilege for Māori women of status. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw a continuous decline of moko among Māori as Pākehā society and missionaries had condemned it as a sign of heathenism. Lately, a small revival of traditional tattooing - though the traditional method is sometimes foregone in favor of modern needles - has been observed as part of the movement evolving around Māori cultural resilience, survival, and celebration of ancestral native history and Māori identity. For further information on moko and moko kauae, consult Ngahuia Te Awekotuku's *Mau Moko: the World of Māori Tattoo*, Michael King's *Moko: Maori tattooing in the 20th century*, as well as "The Tattooing of Maori Women: Te Kauae o nga Wahine Maori" by Elizabeth Mountain Ellis in Sarah Coney's *Standing in the Sunshine: a History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote* and Ngahuia Te Awekotuku's article "More than Skin Deep" in *Claiming the Stone / Naming the Bones: Cultural Property and the Negotiation of National and Ethnic Identity*, edited by Elazar Barkan and Ronald

This, of course, also served the purpose of absorbing a certain number of Māori into the newly formed settler colonial collective by modelling them into and after their own Pākehā ideals. The fact that Māori began to form units of their own under the umbrella of the WCTU from 1894 onward, after female suffrage was already gained, suggests that the focus of Māori women who joined the organization was predominantly temperance, and not an interest in suffrage activism that had been born out of the temperance movement. Furthermore, Māori women might have been less inclined to actively engage in the white women suffrage movement since society was at the time mostly segregated – not by law but simply due to the division of professions, living spaces, and social life (cf. Coney et al., *Sunshine* 11). In addition to that, Māori women traditionally had a voice in their communities and presumably channeled their political interests more into the formation of tribally based committees, and eventually, the Māori Parliament formed in 1892, instead of being a pariah to a predominantly white party. Again, as Māori women are not the focus of this dissertation, these are rather general observations serving the purpose of contrasting the situation to Pākehā women. The complex and often convoluted situation of native women in a settler colonial context has been and will continue to be the subject of scholarly debates and scholarly research focusing on native and indigenous studies. For this dissertation, however, they will remain peripheral.

In this third chapter, the way settler colonialism uses a strict gender dichotomy as a sign of superiority and civilization became clear. The proclamation of a specific, traditional woman's role in society in contrast to the quite different male role is one of the essential ordering principles in a settler colonial environment. As such, and as the analysis of the letters and diaries has shown, it is deeply ingrained in the settlers' minds and remains unquestioned at the core. It was interesting to observe that in this context, being a lady did not mean that a woman was born in a certain wealth or enjoyed the luxury of not having to work, but rather to preserve womanly qualities such as grace, dignity, and diligence, despite and in face of the challenges their everyday life in a young colony confronted them with (see also Polly Plum in the *Daily Southern Cross*, vol. XXV, no. 3739, 13 July 1869). While New Zealand saw and apparently valued capable women who wielded a certain self-confidence and

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self-reliance which on some occasions boarded on rather modern ideas of emancipation, the settler colonial context demanded that the (white) New Zealand New Woman unified strong opinions and independence with a very traditional organization of family and society.

The separation of feminism and suffragism thus was not a clever ploy or ingenious tactic of white women in New Zealand who had carefully overthought and designed the split but resulted from a deeply ingrained ideology. This settler colonial ideology they were part of and participated in did not allow for them to do anything but – unconsciously or not – to forsake feminist notions of gender equality and female liberation while, at the same time, having properly absorbed the idea of suffrage. As a consequence, women's domesticity echoes through settler colonialism. The female suffrage movement as well as its achievement in New Zealand did not mute this echo, but rather functioned as an amplifier for the image of the New Zealand New Woman: an educated, valued, and respected (white) woman with a strong sense of self-reliance and her own value within the settler colonial structure, but also with a clear commitment to femininity and domestic accomplishment – some might say, a more confident, more appreciated big sister to her forerunner, the colonial helpmeet.

CHAPTER 4

WHAT LITERATURE TEACHES US

ABOUT PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

Despite the "boom" of New Zealand fiction, (Barrowman vii) sparked in the mid-1980s by the publication of Keri Hulme's Booker Prize winning novel *The Bone People*, and more recent popularization of New Zealand by The *Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit* movies, New Zealand Literature remains a minor interest in the realm of scholarly research on post-colonial or settler colonial Anglophone literatures and cultures. Regardless of a continuously growing publishing industry, an increasing number of successful writers from New Zealand or foreign authors writing on it, and an expanding readership, the echo of C. K. Stead's 1981 complaint that "[o]ne of the problems […] is the smallness of the literary and intellectual community" ("Introduction" 11) still seems to linger on scholars' minds. Yet, New Zealand's presence at the Frankfurt Book Fair as the official guest of 2012 seems to prove that its literary diversity, richness, and originality finally can claim its niche in the global landscape of books and publishing. From early onward, a great number of female authors from New Zealand wrote about their home, and today, especially a flourishing and rapidly growing number of historical novels have a wide audience. According to Loren Teague, "New Zealand has been fortunate in that there are many historical accounts still surviving available to the public in library and museum archives" (Teague n.p.), which allows an exploitation of the material in fictitious stories. Her 2008 observation that New Zealand historical fiction is not yet internationally renowned could now – over a decade later – be challenged by not only New Zealand's attendance at the Frankfurt Book Fair but also by Eleanor Catton's historical novel *The Luminaries* winning the Booker Prize in 2013.

The reasons for the popularity of historical novels in New Zealand as well as elsewhere are numerous: following a fictional individual affected by historical events and circumstances makes the past more relatable and considerably more exciting than the dry facts and dates provided by a history textbook. While historians are concerned with the questions of what has happened and why, novelists and authors

rather ask, 'what was it like', or as Linda Kass formulates it: “Reading history allows us to understand what happened. Reading historical fiction allows us to be moved by what happened” (n.p.). This emotional component at the heart of historical fiction allows an audience to get as close as possible to past events without actually having been there and ensures a different learning experience than simply memorizing dates and facts from a textbook (cf. Rodwell 51, 231, 233 and de Groot 1-3). Having said that, I want to emphasize that historical novels, as well-researched as they might be, to me are always complementary and never substitute to historical non-fiction. And yet, through fiction, disregarded entities or discriminated minorities can conquer a gap in the historical hegemonic discourse. By these means people, locations, and events otherwise marginalized by history can be moved into focus and thus, provide a diversified, or even dissenting perspective on the past. Most importantly, however, regarding settler colonial theory, historical fiction can serve as a manifestation of narratives of nation building, and as an expression of national self-understanding. As an ongoing phenomenon, settler colonialism therefore must be traceable in fiction as well as in any other form of cultural expression. Consequently, the analysis of female characters in these works of fiction, especially in relation to the encounter of real historical figures experienced through letters and journals in the previous chapter, will allow a diagnosis of the condition and effects of settler colonialism in New Zealand to this very day.

The first part of this chapter will be concerned with early examples of New Zealand fiction, written at roughly the same time as the historical accounts encountered earlier. This will illustrate whether there is a discrepancy between the self-reflection of individuals and the official descriptions for anonymous outsiders or whether the settler colonial backdrop ensured that both presented the same image. While all four examples I will use in the first half of this chapter have been classified repeatedly as novels, I would argue that the works by Lady Martin, Lady Barker, and Ellen Ellis are rather pieces of life-writing than truly fictional works, and only the last one of my selection, namely Evans' *Over the Hills and Far Away*, is really strictly fictional. As life-writing is generally considered to be closer to reality than fiction and therefore, aligns literary studies more closely with historical scholarship, Chapter 4.1 also serves as smooth transition between historical writing (Chapter 3)

and historical fiction (Chapter 4.2), allowing to read the contents of archives and manuscript collections, and the novels of modern authors in continuity with each other. The second part of this chapter then will focus on recent historical novels, building a bridge to modern day, and focusing on the question if and how settler colonial mechanisms resonate in today's portrayal of women in historical fiction.

For this forth chapter, I consciously picked books qualifying as 'popular' novels instead of works belonging to a literary canon due to the fact that "[b]ecause popular fiction so closely addresses what its authors perceive to be the fundamental values and behavior (and often the wishes and needs) of their large readerships, it also provides rich insights […] into New Zealand society and history" (Sturm, "Popular Fiction" 497). So exactly because popular fiction is more preoccupied with addressing or reflecting back the principles of its audience, it allows a better insight into these values and fundamentals. In line with that, Diana Wallace also states that

> [t]he sheer number of historical novels published by women writers over the twentieth century is a testament to the importance of the form. The sales and public library borrowing figures indicate the wide readership for many of the popular historical novelists. Contrary to the usual dismissal of the 'popular', I believe this is a good reason for taking it seriously ("Introduction" 4)

Her acknowledgement of the significance of popular fiction, even if formerly often dismissed in the scholarly context, further reassured me in my decision to focus exactly on this particular kind of novels. In addition to that, as Gary Hermon explains, popular culture, and popular writing as part of it, can convey "*role models*. Society's standards for good and bad behavior or for the best selves that persons might be are acted out in our books [...] Sensitive to changing mores, popular culture is also a means by which society can *introduce new role models*" (10; emphasis as in original; see also Köhler 127). Hermon further points out that "much of popular culture [also] still serves to *criticize or put in perspective* various behavior and attitudes. The critique may not always be deep or broad when given expression in popular novels [...], but it is criticism nevertheless, and serves to increase the scrutiny of the real and the ideal" (13; emphasis as in original). Relating his observations on pop culture in general now to the context of this dissertation, engaging with popular

fiction should allow me to trace the New Zealand New Woman as a gender role model, to potentially provide an insight into the question if and how this role model might be adapted over time, and perhaps even criticize this role model.

The works employed are, for the most part, written by New Zealand female authors or women who have at least spent a considerable part of their life in the country. This ensures that, as white New Zealand authors, they are actively engaged in the process of nation-building and, consciously or unconsciously, contribute to the construction of a national identity based on the re-imagining and rewriting of New Zealand history in their novels.[36]

36 As some of the novels considered for this dissertation would have had to be shipped from Britain, or even from New Zealand, I decided against my antiquated preference of printed, hard-bound copies and opted for using kindle e-book editions. As there is no clear indication about how kindle e-books are to be referenced in in-text citation according to the MLA 8th edition, I will always give the kindle-edition specific position, as well as the print-corresponding information of part and chapter in the following format: (pos. [position] / [part] . [chapter]), for example (pos. 12/ 1.3), so position twelve in part one, chapter three. If there are no parts and only chapters, it will be reduced to (pos. [position] / [chapter]), for example (pos. 10/ 1) for position ten, chapter one. If a kindle-edition was used, but the exact page of the printed version is also indicated in accordance with the printed edition that was used for digitization, it will be given as (posi [position] / p. [page number]), such as (pos. 45/ p. 12), meaning position forty-five or page twelve in the printed edition. This will be done for any kindle-edition used in this dissertation.

CHAPTER 4.1

WHEN HISTORICAL WAS CONTEMPORARY

FICTION BACK IN THE DAY

> These Letters, their writer is aware, justly incur the reproach of egotism and triviality; at the same time she did not see how this was to be avoided, without lessening their value as the exact account of a lady's experience of the brighter and less practical side of colonization […]. They simply record the expeditions, adventures, and emergencies diversifying the daily life of the wife of a New Zealand sheep-farmer; and […] they may succeed in giving here in England an adequate impression of the delight and freedom of an existence so far removed from our own highly-wrought civilization (Barker vii).

With these words, the preface of Lady Barker's *Station Life in New Zealand*, first published in 1870, greets its obviously British audience. Neither this collection of letters, nor Lady Martin's 1884 account *Our Maoris* nor Ellen Ellis novel *Everything is Possible to Will* of 1882, nor Charlotte Evans' *Over the Hills and Far Away: A Story of New Zealand* of 1874 could be called historical fiction, mainly because they were written as contemporary pieces. The general rule that, in order to be rightfully called historical, "a novel must have been written at least fifty years after the events described or have been written by someone who was not alive at the time of those events" (Lee n.p.) obviously does not apply. It could even be argued that none of the first three is fiction in the strictest sense of the word, as all of them feature more or less overt autobiographical characteristics, making them more into personal reports and pieces of life-writing than true works of fiction. And yet, reading them today as a historical document which has been written and published with the clear intention not only to provide unembellished insights, but to entertain a curious audience, they will serve as a transitory element in this dissertation, building a bridge between the historical accounts of the previous third chapter and the purely fiction writing of Evans in this chapter, as well as the historical novels following in the Chapter 4.2 in which the authors approach their historical content only by research and not by experience.

As already explained in the superordinate Chapter 4, engaging with these pieces of life-writing will reveal how women are portrayed by their female peers in front of a reading audience. Considering that gender dichotomy is so pivotal to settler colonialism, I would assume that it is as traceable in these accounts as it was in the personal reminiscences and the newspapers of Chapter 3. What sets these writings apart from the historical accounts of the previous chapter is that they have been composed with the acknowledged intention to entertain a non-New Zealand crowd. As repeatedly stated before, letters and diaries were not intended for a broad audience, and the newspapers spoke to a national crowd. While newspapers thus worked as agents of settler colonial identity formation and nation building, these novels also served the purpose of transporting a particular image of New Zealandness into the world. Therefore, I will pay particular attention to the question whether there is a difference between the portrayal of white settler women to a New Zealand audience, as for example, in newspapers, in contrast to an international readership, as in the novels, which were mostly intended for an overseas market, given that New Zealand alone was too small to be a lucrative option for the publishing houses (cf. Sturm, “Popular Fiction” 493 and Brown, “Introduction to Charlotte Evans'” n.p.). With regard to that, it is particularly striking that two of three (auto-)biographical/(auto-)fictional writers[37] returned to Britain after their time in New Zealand.

Lady Mary Anne Barker was not the average settler colonial woman, as her title already suggests. She received the title through her first marriage and kept name and title even after marrying her second husband, with whom she set out to run a sheep station in New Zealand, possibly due to her intended writing career (cf. Kidman, “Lady Barker” 47-49) for which her title could have been an advantage. In stark contrast to most women encountered earlier in this dissertation, her life in the young colony was facilitated by an array of servants, maids, and farm hands which allowed the couple to lead a life characterized by field trips, camping adventures, and

37 The total of writers with their respective work is, of course, four in this chapter. The three that are mentioned here imply Lady Martin, Lady Barker, and Ellen Ellis whose work I have classified as (auto-)fictional life-writing rather than fiction. The fourth women writer, Evans, wrote contemporary romantical fiction without any life-writing link, which marks her as 'the odd one out' and thus, often excludes her from the inclusive group of three writers sometimes referred to. The reason to include her was my intention to not neglect entirely fictional work of the early settler colonial time, as I will explain in more length later in this chapter.

other leisure activities, if *Station Life in New Zealand* as her account is to be believed. While most settler colonial women were struggling to fit all the incidental work into the few hours of the day, Lady Barker's vivid descriptions of the native flora and fauna illustrate early New Zealand in much detail, but furthermore indicate that she spent an ample amount of her time discovering, exploring, and enjoying herself instead of cooking, washing, cleaning, and laboring. In addition to that, her residency in New Zealand was only temporary, and while most settlers came to stay, Lady Barker and her husband abandoned their sheep farming endeavor after three years and returned to England.

Her first novel *Station Life in New Zealand*, published in 1870, two years after her return, become a commercial success and was not only published in Britain to an adventure-hungry public craving stories from the far, exotic ends of the empire, but also translated into French and German for further publication in Europe, and was even published in New Zealand itself as well. Written in epistolary form, the novel is a collection of letters written home to a sister in England by the female protagonist who is quite obviously the author herself. Even though the letters and events presumably have been edited before publication, *Station Life* remains somewhere in-between a historical account and a piece of fiction, turning it into an intriguing example of (auto-)fictional life-writing. I would assume that Lady Barker writes about actual events which did happen during her time in New Zealand. However, it is hard to determine how much embellishments and creative alterations were made to the pure facts for the sake of creating an entertaining read. Yet, even though the division of fact and fiction is obviously fluid in this work, it still allows an interesting insight into women's place and perception as narrated by a contemporary. Naturally, the fact that Lady Barker could hardly be described as an ordinary woman of the young colony has to be kept in mind. In fact, I would argue that she was most likely among those females Mary Richmond, Jane Maria Atkinson, and their fellow settler women held in low regard for being incapable of the practical skills it took to successfully run a colonial household without the help of others. However, she was also not one of the “niminy-piminy little dolls” (*My Hand Will Write* 160) the colonial environment had no use for, but, according to her writing, an explorer who did not shy away from unconventional ventures. The twenty-five chapters of *Station*

Life include the retellings of snowstorms to be managed, camping disasters not to be repeated, the dangers of wild cattle hunting, the thrills of sailing excursions, and unfortunate falls from horseback, among other things. And she openly acknowledges her shortcomings regarding housekeeping matters, apparently well aware of the expectations and duties of a colonial wife: "...for it is sad to discover, after all my housekeeping experience, that I am still perfectly ignorant. Here it is necessary to know *how* everything should be done; it is not sufficient to give an order" (Barker 42; emphasis as in original). Through this statement, Lady Barker admits that she herself is lacking these essential competences. She affirms that settler colonial wives and mothers need to be considerably more practical and hands-on than women in Britain. Settler environment meant that most of the time there was no servant to order around and women had to be much more involved in the actual tasks than just overseeing others completing them.

In contrast to several of the women encountered in the third chapter who apparently strive on the independence and satisfaction of being the masters of their own sphere, Lady Barker clearly moved in a different social circle where the lack and "utter ignorance and inefficiency of their female servants" (42) was a constant concern for the ladies she engaged with. Settler colonial New Zealand was characterized by households having only few or no servants, whereas the same house would have employed a number of them in Britain. Consequently, Barker is "amazed how few servants are kept in the large and better class of houses" (43) and comments on the "rapidity with which a nice tidy young woman is snapped up as a wife" (43), leaving their employer once again bereft of capable female help. This, again, clearly proves the argument of an entirely classless society wrong, but also helps to illustrate the situation of working-class women in early New Zealand. While their options were limited in Britain, or Europe more general, they were always able to find suitable employment in the young colony. Servants, especially domestic help, was always short, which in turn meant that the women working as servants had better opportunities and perspectives in settler colonial New Zealand than they would have had in Britain. I would agree with Richard Hill who argues that

> New Zealand was seen not as an actual utopia for all, a society of equals, but as a colony offering equality of

> *opportunity* with great rewards for the hard-working and deserving. This egalitarian perception had been sustained by significant numbers of working people having indeed bettered themselves, especially compared to those they had left behind 'at Home.'(399; emphasis as in original)

This is particularly true for women. If one thinks back to the letters by Sarah Greenwood and Maria Nicholson in Chapter 3.1, good servants very highly sought after, treated well and respectfully, and were very much appreciated for what they did. As a consequence, women who would have been 'only' a servant of minor importance in Europe were even able to rise on the social ladder in the settler colonial environment where hard and honorable work weighted more heavily on a social scale than ancestral lineage and inherited privileges or rank. They could pick their husbands from several eligible bachelors with the prospect of a successful future and striving business or farm to provide for a family of their own and a fairly comfortable life. However, Lady Barker's description also shows that for the vast majority of white settler women in New Zealand, especially for those working as servants or maids, marriage and motherhood was still the main aspiration to aim for, regardless of the good prospects in employment, and that most of them gave up their positions eventually in favor of a life as wife and mother.

Descriptions of men and women spending their time differently and often in the company of their respective peers are found throughout *Station Life*, indicating the settler colonial order of strictly separate gender roles which evidently could also entail separate spheres, especially regarding the spending of leisure time. On one of their outings with friends, Lady Barker states that the “gentlemen considered themselves entitled to rest […] and smok[e], whilst [the] ladies sat a little apart and chatted” (29). Gender dichotomy, as depicted here, did not only encompass separate gender roles, it also was expressed through men and women spending their pause during a joint outing not mingling, but sticking to their respective gender group. While the men smoke – a masculine, manly occupation –, the women chatter – the respective, not to say stereotypical, female thing to do. Likewise, she recounts that, on a later occasion, she “took care of all the women and children whilst F- [her husband] and Mr. U- looked after the men” (150), again illustrating the practical realization of the gender dichotomy by men and women separating during a social

gathering. This clear division between men and women contributed to the concept of fundamentally different roles each occupied in front of a social and societal background. The need to adhere to one's role seems un-omittable. Even though Lady Barker's pride at her accomplishment of walking all day is obvious in her writing, she admits that “it does not sound a very orderly or feminine occupation” (175), indicating that despite the necessity of physically robust women in order to thrive in a colonial environment, the need to preserve and reiterate femininity, being one of the essentials regarding women's distinct role as already noticed in Chapter 3, was omnipresent.

Domesticity, or domestic skills, as the other central feature aside from femininity, is also a very pronounced topic in *Station Life*. Lady Barker recounts that she and her friends “[w]ere all equally ignorant of practical cookery, so the chief responsibility rested on my shoulders, and cost me some very anxious moment” (68). This is the exact match to Jessie Campbell's teasing remark that some ladies are, in her words, “perfectly ignorant” (*My Hand Will Write* 156) of the fundamentals a woman should be familiar with if she wants to succeed in a settler colony. Due to her own wealth and entitlement, Lady Barker of course has to be excluded from the community of average white women in New Zealand, but her descriptions nevertheless serve the purpose of drawing a clear picture of the country and young nation for her audience elsewhere: (white) New Zealand women are true to their traditional, mostly British-conform ideal, and define themselves with the help of the two pivotal cornerstones of femininity and domestic capability.[38]

Also in relation to domesticity, she observes that New Zealand “mothers are thoroughly domestic and devoted to their home duties, far more so than the generality of the same class at home” (Barker 58-59). Here, this 'class' Lady Barker refers to might actually be meant more in a British sense of a privileged upper class. As I have argued in Chapter 2.1, class was not as decisive a factor in New Zealand as

38 I consciously refrain from saying domesticity here, as this invokes associations with British and American nineteenth century concept of the Cult of Domesticity (cf. Keister and Southgate 229; see also Barbara Welter's essay “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860”). However, as established in the previous third chapter, 'domestic' in the New Zealand settler colonial context was not as homely, and not as restrictive or limiting as it was in Victorian Britain, or the United States, as the spheres were less clearly defined or separated due to the early settler colonial backdrop, which entailed a slight blurring of spheres.

it was in Britain due to less established and less steep hierarchies, the lack of leisured gentry, and a mostly working elite. Nevertheless, Lady Barker was very British, only a temporary guest to New Zealand, far from the average settler colonial experience, and interacting primarily with her own kind, so other privileged settlers, which I would be tempted to call adventure-visitors, as most of them only stayed temporarily in New Zealand, in contrast to permanent pioneer settlers like Jane Maria Atkinson, Jemima Martin or Anne Heine. Furthermore, she is writing to a British audience which is familiar and used to the class-related social order in Britain. Thus, when she talks about 'class' here, this does indeed carry the air of privilege and superiority. Therefore, these women Lady Barker refers to here, – female members of the settler colonial elite and other Ladies who might actually have had this title rather than just being called lady as a synonym for a refined, graceful woman – would have most likely been less engaged in practical child-rearing in Britain since an array of nannies, governesses, and teachers could and would have been employed to that end. In New Zealand, the scarcity of available servants of this kind often meant that even Ladies (with the actual title) and ladies (well-off women who would have had the financial means to employ others) raised their children themselves, or at least with less employed help than in Britain. She admits that an English woman "would look upon her colonial sister as very hard-working indeed" (59), acknowledging the overall more challenging life in a young colony, and complementing these vigorous white New Zealand settler women, as she describes them, on their diligence and zeal. She furthermore claims that "[t]here seems […] to be a greater amount of real domestic happiness out here than at home" (59). Although never overtly stated in the letters, I would argue that this observation serves primarily the purpose of romanticizing settler colonial life for the English audience as closer-to-nature, less artificial, focused-on-the-essentials alternative, and to idolize and foster the ideal image of settler colonial wives and mothers who delight in the morally superior joys of domestic harmony and marital bliss, gained through virtuousness and hard work.

Even though Lady Barker's own experience in settler colonial New Zealand differed from what most women were confronted with, she, too, – or at least her narrative voice in *Station Life* – felt a sense of content. She muses that "for the first time in my life, I have enough to do, and also the satisfaction of feeling that I am of

some little use to my fellow-creatures. A lady's influence out here appears to be very great, and capable of indefinite expansion" (105). While other settler wives such Sarah Pratt felt almost overburdened with their work instead of merely working to capacity for the first time, they all, Lady Barker as much as Jemima Martin or Jane Maria Atkinson, seem to revel in the realization of their own usefulness – either, like in Lady Barker's case, in a sense of elevating society through her influence, or, in the case of most women encountered in the letters and diaries of the previous chapter, by actively participating in the construction of a new society and a new home.

Women with a missionary background also enjoyed the sense of accomplishment which they, however, gained predominantly from their interaction with Māori. Mary Ann Martin, later Lady Martin, was part of the small elite governing early settler colonial New Zealand and moved in equally privileged circles as Lady Barker. However, in contrast to her, Martin spent her time not with leisure activities such as picnics or bush hikes, but fiercely working on her missionary goals and engaging in various social matters she took an interest in. After her husband William was appointed to a position in the New Zealand government and left Britain in 1841, she followed him eight months later as part of the group surrounding the first Anglican Bishop of New Zealand George Augusts Selwyn and his wife Sarah. Herself, Sarah Selwyn, and Caroline Abraham, wife to Charles Abraham who was to be appointed Bishop of Wellington later in life, were known as 'the three graces' in clerical circles (Porter, "Mary Ann Martin" 424). All three women were characterized by their strong social commitment and took an avid interest in their husbands' political and missionary engagements, voicing their opinions and concerns in a number of letters, journals and other written reminiscences today preserved in the historical archives of New Zealand. Regardless of the fact that she was invalid or semi-invalid all her life (cf. Dalziel, "Martin, Mary Ann" n.p. and Porter, "Mary Ann Martin" 424), Lady Martin did not fail to be an outstanding example of a loyal, supportive wife and helpmeet to her husband, while also being recognized in her own right as a highly influential, driving force behind the settler colonial effort.

On the voyage out, she became a fluent speaker of Māori and was unusually egalitarian in teaching Pākehā and Māori girls alike and establishing a hospital which

tended to both Pākehā and Māori in need of health service (cf. Porter, "Mary Ann Martin" 425 and Dalziel, "Martin, Mary Ann" n.p.). The Martins eventually left New Zealand after more than thirty years to retire in England in 1874. *Our Maoris* was published a decade later in 1884, giving an account of her time spent abroad and observations made by an attentive witness of the time. The publication was eventually initiated posthumously by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in order to show – in line with the idea of white supremacy at the time – that Māori, and by extension other native populations, could be elevated through Christian teaching. In her account, which is based on the diary she kept, Martin portrays her life and work in early settler colonial New Zealand, gives detailed insight into encounters with fellow settlers and Māori, and describes how Māori adjust to white or Pākehā religion, culture, and law. Although the intention of the work is almost self-explicable with regard to its publisher, it also is a log of the historical events, as the 1840s, 50s, and 60s were a time characterized by a lot of changes, upheavals, and re-evaluations for Māori and Pākehā alike.

The twenty-five chapters of *Our Maoris* are structured by topics but also give reference to the year or years in which the observations were made, for example the fifth chapter is titled "Native Schools. 1848", or the eleventh chapter is headed by "War and its Fruits. 1860-70." Each of the chapters then in turn reads like a separate anecdote, which of course provides deeper insight when read as part of the collection, but could also be read and understood separately by itself. Chapter six "Our Hospital. 1842-1856" begins with the following lines:

> This title sounds very grand, and may suggest a picture of a wooden or brick building with all sorts of comfortable appliances. Ours was rough and primitive: at first, it consisted of two or three rough huts and a blanket tent, but friends from England sent us some money, and we had a three-roomed house built. Our Waiheke people took the contract, and brought uprights and much raupo (bulrush) in their canoes. When it was finished, we and they looked at it with great admiration, for there were two windows and a door supplied by an English carpenter. There were two bed places in each room, raised a foot from the ground. Instead of mattresses we had fresh-cut fern, which could be renewed with each new patient. No fear of hospital fever clinging to the walls: the wind blew freely in through the open door. Kitchen physic

> came from our house: in those days we rarely could get beef, or fowls, or butter, and the Maoris would not eat mutton, nor did they like milk; rice, and sugar, bread and treacle, and sometimes pork was all we could supply (Martin 73).

This nicely illustrates the narrative tone and atmosphere Lady Martin uses in all other chapters as well. This particular chapter continues to recall special patients they tended to over the course of fourteen years, always colored by a Christian or missionary perspective on Māori, but overall with a benevolent interest and a sense of superiority less sharp or pronounced than with other authors of the same time. Also with regard to that as well as Lady Martin's own role in Pākehā-Māori relations, Frances Porter points out that the "term 'Our' [in the title of her book] is not insensitively possessive; the affection was mutual. Mary wrote of those she knew personally, for whom she was 'our' mother" ("Mary Ann Martin" 427). However, even though she displayed an attitude considerably less derogative than other white settler women or missionary wives regarding the native population and does speak very fondly in several passages of the book about her Māori friends, she is still a woman of her time, firmly convinced of the moral imperative to "raise" (Martin iv) the natives. In view of the challenging colonial life for women, she writes in "Chapter II: Waimate Natives. 1844" that

> a great amount of bodily fatigue and daily worry must fall on the missionary's wife in a wild country. She herself must wash and cook and bake till she has trained her raw material, and when the native helps have been at last taught to work, they need constant overlooking. If she has children, she must make clothes and mend for them, and teach and nurse them, and yet manage to find time to keep school and mix medicines, and listen to long stories from people to whom time is no object. (43-44)

This description makes one think of Lady Barker's remark on hard-working women in general, as well Jemima Martin's or Anne Heine's reports on their daily routines in Chapter 3.1, and show that never ceasing tasks and duties were a part of every settler colonial woman's life in New Zealand, missionary or not. Without exception, they all share the burden of having to complete most of their work without help of servants or others – albeit Lady Barker and Lady Martin, obviously, observed the toiling more in her fellow female settlers than participating actively in it themselves. While both women, or rather their husbands could afford to hire the

necessary employees to allow their wives a comfortable life and pay them well enough that the shortage of domestic servants was not too big a problem, the former, Lady Barker, used this luxury to spent her time exploring and enjoying herself, while the latter, Lady Martin, did not physically labor (which would have been impossible due to her poor health), but occupied herself nevertheless with more serious and less selfish matters, such as her hospital, the training of Māori girls in her household, offering hospitality to newly arrived missionaries, and so forth (cf. Dalziel, "Martin, Mary Ann" n.p., Porter, "Mary Ann Martin" 425-426, Kidman "Mary Anne Barker" 48, Hankin n.p.). This sets the two women apart, despite the fact that they both were very much alike regarding their title, the social circles they moved in, and the privileges they enjoyed. It also aligns Mary Ann Martin more closely with the women encountered through their personal reminiscences in Chapter 3.1, whereas Lady Barker remains the exceptional figure, more of an adventurous visitor rather than a fellow settler spirit.

It should be noted that, although she talks specifically about missionaries' wives, Mary Ann Martin was not married to a man of the church. Her husband William Martin was New Zealand's first Chief Justice, so rather a man of law and politics. Nevertheless, she moved in clerical circles, her closest friends were indeed missionary wives, and she herself, as already mentioned, also participated in many social engagements which were at the time mostly initiated, organized, managed, or sponsored by religious institutions. Thus, even though technically not being a missionary's wife herself, she had deep insight into their work and shared many of their obligations and commitments, having devoted herself to the Christian goal of 'elevating' New Zealand's native population.

Naturally, and as the title already suggests, *Our Maoris* is thus to a far greater extent concerned with the native population and the interaction of white settlers and Māori than *Station Life in New Zealand*. To today's audience, Lady Martin's pride at a Māori converted to Christianity stating that "he would never marry till he could get a wife who would be a Pakeha in all her habits" (128) sounds very supremacist and almost arrogant, even though she is undoubtedly fond of the man. While *Our Maoris* is filled with stories and anecdotes about young lads, Māori men, and groups of girls

or women trained or taught by missionaries and their wives, single Māori women are rarely depicted in more detail. Usually, they only feature in conjunction with their husbands or general families and the highest praise for a young woman is that she was "trained at St Stephen's […] [and is] a good wife and mother" (205), without elaborating too much on other features or characteristics. This indicates that Martin, even though she herself surely spent a fair amount of her time with Māori females, prefers to tell the readers about native men and their way to Christianity and civilization, and does not give women the same detailed attention. I would argue that this has less to do with any personal discrimination on her side, but can rather be attributed to the time and environment she was living and writing in. Māori girls and women were to be trained to be good wives and firm in their Christian faith, but the missionary structures were without a doubt mostly masculine, and women did not feature too dominantly in them. Having said that, white women were essential in New Zealand as clergymen's wives and mothers to their children, and contributed significantly to the missionary efforts – one only has to think of Sarah Selwyn, Eliza White, Jane Williams, and Sarah Pratt – but always as supporters and extensions of their husbands, brothers, or fathers, as it is also depicted in *Our Maoris*. Even if they were considered important in order to demonstrate the supposedly 'right' – or rather white or Pākehā – way of family life and social order to the reformed natives, and to help out in training Māori females, they remained subordinate to the men in charge. Although not outright mentioned in the novel, the underlying message is still that of settler colonial compliant gender dichotomy and an overall patriarchal social structure.

This explains Martin's exasperation when she is confronted with Māori gender division, in which women were not necessarily or in general subordinate to men. She writes that they "used every argument with the men in vain, and at last I cried out in despair, 'Why do *you men* listen to your wives in this way?" (67; emphasis as in original). Her question equally reveals three things: one, pre-contact Māori society, as it can be glimpsed through this brief description, was less patriarchal and women had apparently – at least in some respects – as much to say and decide as men. Two, to Martin this is entirely absurd, as she is firmly rooted in a Victorian understanding of women as less authoritative than men. Three, the settler colonial effort to redefine

Māori understanding of gender and the respective gender roles, one of the essential mechanisms to displace the native culture and replace it with the dominant settler colonial one, meant that Māori society, in terms of gender equality, regressed due to white settler interference. From a modern perspective one could now provocatively proclaim that Pākehā society might have been more dominant, but Māori society potentially was more advanced, at least in certain pivotal aspects, despite the missionary's firm conviction that Christianizing and westernizing Māori would 'raise' them.

While Martin herself had a political mind and strong opinions as visible in her letters, for example, concerned with the New Zealand Wars – criticizing her fellow settlers for the poor handling of the conflict and arguing in favor of Māori interests as illustrated in *Extracts of Letters on the War Question*[39] – she proclaims a very different stance in *Our Maoris*. Here, she explicitly states that a woman's place is "the tea-table and […] that women d[o] not meddle with politics" (165). Given the stark contrast to her own clearly voiced criticism and astutely crafted arguments in private correspondence (cf. *Letters from Bishop Selwyn and Others* and cf. Porter, "Mary Ann Martin" 424-428), I would argue that this hints to the fact that regardless of the autobiographical nature of the novel, it also served the purpose of transporting and endorsing certain ideals and convictions. Specifically, that women were without a doubt politically interested and rightfully so, but that it was not a woman's prerogative to publicly engage in political questions or debates. Discussions of such official business were to be reserved, if at all, for the private audience of one's own spouse or the small and intimate company a lady might assemble in her drawing room for tea. This evidently feeds into the ideal of the (white) New Zealand New Woman, as identified in Chapter 2.3: an intelligent, even politically versed and very capable woman who is refined enough to withhold any opinion in public and stands as a strong companion at the side of her husband, carefully watching over her household, and lovingly tending to her children.

Whereas the autobiographical nature of Lady Barkers' and Lady Martins'

39 According to Raewyn Dalziel, the New Zealand Wars marked a turning point for the Martins. In contrast to most European settlers, they argued in favor of the Māori side of the conflict and William Martin began to retrieve more into church affairs than politics. Feeling more and more isolated they eventually followed the Selwyns back to England (cf. "Martin, Mary Ann" n.p.).

writing is very evident, Ellen Ellis's work is, at first glance, the most fictional of the three discussed so far. Having been born a farmer's daughter who married a businessman and emigrated with him in 1859 to New Zealand, Ellis was more part of the average crowd setting out for the new colony in contrast to the two ladies discussed above. Her instructive and often feminist novel *Everything is Possible to Will*, intended for a mostly British, mostly female middle-class audience, was published in 1882 and is concerned with a range of social issues, such as the lack of education for girls and legal freedom of women, alcoholism and temperance, and, rather progressively, with the subject of family planning and birth control by the means of abstinence. The parallels between herself and the heroine of her novel can be hardly missed: an intelligent young woman named Zee marries a businessman; they set out together for New Zealand, and it is vividly described what toll the husband's alcoholism takes on his wife and the family life. Ellis's son, disapproving of the unfavorable depiction of his father in the novel, bought up and destroyed as many copies as possible after its publication (McLeod, “Ellen Ellis” 208). According to Vera Colebrook, the husband was indeed rather a social drinker and not the rampant alcoholic Ellis made him out to be for the sake of temperance endorsement in her novel (cf. Colebrook 55 and cf. Elliffe, “An Introduction to Ellen Ellis” n.p.). Nevertheless, the parallels to Ellis' own life cannot be denied which makes *Everything is Possible to Will* the third piece of (auto-)fictional life-writing discussed in this chapter.

After having read the novel, most readers will be unsurprised that Ellis was engaged with the Templars and other temperance organizations and possibly, through this connection, also became part of the suffrage movement, as a Mrs. Ellis is mentioned in the *Auckland Star* on July 5, 1892, as having been one of eight “eloquent female advocates” (“Women's Franchise”) for women's franchise. As the paper does not state her first name, it cannot be said with absolute certainty that this is indeed Ellen Ellis. However, her outspokenness and political awareness, as well as the feminist attitude she displays in the novel, make it easy to imagine her rallying for women's rights, she resided in Auckland at the time where this specific meeting was held, and other newspaper articles mention her, too. For example, the *New Zealand Herald* on June 28, 1892, lists the attendees of the latest meeting of the

Executive Committee of the Women's Franchise League, and “Ellis” is among them (cf. “Women's Franchise League), and again on July 20 of the same year, it is the *Auckland Star* who reports once more on a Mrs. Ellis speaking out at a meeting of the Women's Franchise League (cf. “Women's Franchise”). In accordance with the newspaper articles and unsurprisingly, given that she was the president of the Auckland branch of the Women's Franchise League, Amey Daldy, one of the leading figures of New Zealand suffragism and mentioned before in Chapter 2.2, was also present at a number of these meetings, which makes it highly likely that Ellis and Daldy knew each other. Rosalie Elliffe conducted an incomplete survey of newspaper articles or letters addressed to the editor that might be attributed to Ellis, on several social topics, suffrage and temperance only two of the subjects these articles are concerned with (cf. “Appendix III” n.p.) All of these accounts share a sharp, criticizing tone, and a rhetoric leaning towards radicalism. Although this, admittedly, does not necessarily say something about Ellis' autofictional writing, it nevertheless sketches the social and political environment she moved and engaged in, as well as her personal convictions, interests, and beliefs which she evidently was more than willing to proclaim and defend in public.

Everything is Possible to Will is more progressive than either *Our Maoris* or *Station Life* regarding women and their supposed place in society. It lacks the romantic quality the other two works bear as an undertone and plainly states that “the existing social relations between the sexes are as monstrous as if their interests were antagonistic, not identical – their purpose impure, not pure” (Ellis pos. 597/ p. 38). This illustrates Ellis' conviction that the current dependence and inferiority of women works against a supposedly natural balance of gender equality. She also laments that “[t]oo often the wife, in common with other treasures, loses value in possession, even though the oughts and crosses of married life make her incomparably more worthy of esteem than when, as a thoughtless young thing, the husbands first won her” (pos. 715/ p. 46-47). Thus, in Ellis' eyes, the fact that man “possess” women through marriage disturbs the gender equality nature has intended. Furthermore, this also means that wives, not least due to the imbalance of genders, are unjustly losing ground when they should be held in higher regard for what they provide and accomplish as wives.

While Barker's and Martin's work both bolster the settler colonial gender dichotomy through their depiction of woman's role and place, Ellis writes that "women who demand legal freedom, full and unconditional, for their sex, are just the most capable women, in every respect, who will bear favorable comparison with any duty-loving man" (pos. 1075/ p. 72), clearly supporting a quite different stance at first glance. She also criticizes openly the patriarchal structures which imply, "[b]olstered up in the belief insensibly fostered by social, education, and political advantages, that marriage entitles a man to do as he likes" (pos. 786/ p. 52). In other words, Ellis sees the fault in the erroneous preferential treatment of men in almost every aspect of life which eventually leads to the misconception that husbands may do as they please whereas their wives must obey their command. Reminiscent of Jane Maria Atkinson's advocacy for female education, Ellis also declares that the "majority of women are incapable of putting their thoughts in such logical sequence as shall command the public ear" (pos. 1055/ p. 70), meaning that women are unable to keep up with or participate in the rhetoric of public speaking and political debate, but not because they are not intelligent or interested enough, but because they, in contrast to men, are "[d]enied a liberal education" (pos. 1055/ p. 70).

This already shows that Ellis had a very progressive, often provocative opinion on various matters. Her liberal attitude encompassed also matters regarding Māori-Pākehā-relations, and in line with this rather unusual liberalism, she also ensured that her sons were taught Māori, and was an opponent of the New Zealand Wars (McLeod, "Ellen Ellis" 209-210). She furthermore displays a very differentiated understanding of Māori culture in the novel. Without judgement, she describes customs and differences between Māori and the settlers, claims that there is "room for both races in New Zealand" (pos. 3527/ p. 142), and does not fail to remark on the fact that Māori men and women seem to be equally governed by gender-specific roles and behavior, even though they admittedly differ from those enforced in white settler society in New Zealand (cf. pos. 1719-1759/ p. 116-119 and pos. 3312-3576/ p. 227-245). Thus, Ellis' emancipatory thought was concerned mostly with matters of gender, but also included other aspects of power imbalances and discrimination, as for example between settlers and native population.

And yet, for her, too, the nuclear unit of society is that of a family or, at least, a married couple. An older woman tells the female protagonist Zee “with much wifely wisdom […] to be hand, head, heart, love, duty, and delight to her husband, to anticipate his every word and whim” (pos. 786/ p. 51), endorsing a very conservative, almost anti-feminist idea of a woman's role within marriage. Even though Ellis proclaims that “[r]esponsibilities often change witless girls into reasonable women, women who prefer serge to satin rather than imperil their husband's reputation” (pos. 863/ p. 57), it is striking that regardless of the praise she has for “woman's nature to save, to conserve all good” (pos. 863/ p. 57), this is still phrased in conjunction with a husband. While she does argue for responsibilities to be transferred to wives, her argument is not that of equality here, but rather that a wife's loyalty would never allow her to compromise her husband. Thus, the fact remains that despite her advanced perspective on women and what they are denied in terms of law and education, even in *Everything is Possible to Will* women ultimately remain in their role as spouses and homemakers, as supplements to their husbands. In contrast to her otherwise feminist stance, her declaration that woman is to be a “help'meet' for all the walks in life, social, commercial, political, and religious” (pos. 1094/ p. 73) is almost oxymoronic. While the expansion of the original ideal to include commercial and political support to the husband is progressive, and she condemns the fact that a wife turns into a husband's “property, his slave, by marriage” (pos. 944/ p. 63), I would argue that Ellis is the most settler colonial out of the three women writers in this chapter. She even goes as far as blaming women themselves for their lack of rights and equality, because as “long as the generality of women are what they are, men are likely to treat them as toys, if nothing worse” (pos. 597/ p. 38). Thus, according to Ellis, if the majority of women behave as they do, men have no reason to see them as something other than dolls or embellishments.

In *Everything is Possible to Will*, she unites feminist thought and almost radical ideas, such as the rational limitation of one's family through abstinence, with the reaffirmation that “[t]he home is unquestionably her sphere” (pos. 1094/ p. 73), so an advocacy for domesticity. She demands a liberal education for girls, but on the grounds that it would enable woman to “be 'helpmeet' in any worthy sense, since she forms the youthful mind” (pos. 1104/ p. 73), thus not for woman's own sake, but in

order to fulfill her role as spouse and mother better. As Ellis seems oblivious to the incoherence this might provoke in today's audience of her novel, I would argue that the settler colonial gender dichotomy has become so intrinsic that for her, the requests for more gender equality displayed in her writing are unobstructedly compatible with the classic female role of supportive wife and loving mother.

True to this white New Zealand settler take on the idea of the New Woman, Ellis' protagonist Zee, once she has reached New Zealand in the novel, “cheerfully whipped up her burden [of making a life in the colony, with an alcoholic husband and no servants to assist her], and found it a light and easy load. A queen might have envied her active, merry life” (pos. 1643/ p. 110). As we have seen in Jemima Martin or Sarah Pratt, as well as in Lady Martin's and Lady Barker's descriptions of their fellow settler women, the burden that had to be shouldered by these women, was anything but light, marking Ellis' description out as a hyperbole she uses to stress the fact that Zee's unspoiled, pure nature and moral sublimity make it easy for her to face and bear the challenges life presents her with. An equal exaggeration for the same purpose is the description that “[m]any of Zee's happiest and most profitable hours were spent over the washtub. How unladylike!” (pos. 1672/ p. 112). The remark on unlady-like conduct links back to my discussion of the matter in Chapter 3.1, where it has been established that the New Zealand settler colonial setting provoked a necessary differentiation between being a lady – useless and sometimes even ridiculed by the white settler society in New Zealand– and being like a lady – an aspect of femininity which was one of the foundations of the settler colonial female gender role in New Zealand. Ellis can describe Zee as unlady-like, however, because the character is already elevated and divine due to her purity and natural female grace. In this particular context here, it is rather to be understood as another gibe towards the previously criticized artificiality of most, especially refined women (cf. pos. 422/ p. 25-26). The entire second chapter of the novel is preoccupied with Ellis' emphasis on the imperative of naturalness for women and the fierce criticism and condemnation of artificial refinement. She writes for example that “girls should aim at naturalness at all costs. Nature, even in its 'fall,' is better than art, because more God-like, and the grace which is born of inward beauty of character is divine” (pos. 422/ p. 25). She furthermore condemns that the “[a]rt-manufactured women stand

much on the parade of hollow dignity" (pos. 422/ p. 25). This, on the one hand, once again illustrates Ellis' rhetoric, but also shows her almost obsessive stressing of natural over artificial, particularly regarding girls or women, and their upbringing and behavior. In her eyes, the refinement especially women of the higher classes are subject to spoils women's natural grace and superiority, making them lesser beings than nature would have intended them to be.

Like in the two novels discussed before, *Everything is Possible to Will* glorifies the colonial life, but in contrast to Barker and Martin, Ellis enforces this exaltation by attaching criticism towards the United Kingdom: "Yes, and the freedom from the restraints and hateful conventionalities of the old-world life was to her [Zee] delightful" (pos. 1672/ p. 112). Martin and Barker who both returned to the 'old world' after their time in New Zealand and led privileged lives both in Britain and abroad, feed the image of the romantic exoticness of the colony without casting a critical glance at the circumstances in Europe. They benefited to a certain degree from the 'conventionalities' that Ellis can easily renounce as she had clearly more opportunities and options in the new colony. She, too, lets her protagonist remark on "how cheerfully and well the women of the upper circles worked, making poetry of their daily cares, nor dreamed of apologizing for being busy" (pos. 1759/ p. 119), indicating, like the others, that even the more privileged women of settler colonial New Zealand actively engaged in the daily completion of household chores and saw no need to hide or gloss over this hands-on aspect of their life. And while both Barker and Martin also seem to revel in their useful zealousness in their respective works, the remark made by someone like Ellis who does not belong to this social class bears more weight, especially since Barker and Martin eventually returned to a life of amenities, despite their delight in facing the challenge of living as a settler colonial wife – at least for a while, and with an easier burden and less worries than most.

Considering what letters and diaries revealed about the women in early New Zealand, it becomes clear that the novels of Barker, Martin, and even Ellis all embrace, if not emphasize, the settler colonial paradigm of separate, distinct gender roles and the image of unusually independent or outspoken women who are,

nevertheless, firmly rooted in their traditional function of married spouses, homemakers, and child-rearers. Acknowledging that both Martin and Barker belonged to a rather privileged group of women in New Zealand at the time, their accounts, one even in epistolary form, are still very reminiscent of the letters and journals analyzed before, sharing many observations and the overall tone of other settler colonial women. The notion that they romanticized some aspects of daily life for their intended British audience is hard to shake and yet, I would argue that this has more to do with the entitlement they enjoyed as ladies than with the actual intention of knowingly downplay or obscure facts.

The educational aspiration of Ellis's work sets her novel apart from the other two. Martin and Barker both use a first-person-perspective in their respective writing, purposefully diminishing a differentiation between the author and the narrative voice, but Ellis conceals the autobiographical nature of *Everything is Possible to Will* at least partially by putting the character Zee at the center of the story. While I expected her novel to be the least steeped in the gender dichotomy so essential to settler colonialism due to its reputation as feminist work, I was surprised to find hers the most settler colonial of the three. The fusion of the juxtapositions of domestic, loyal helpmeets and wives on the one hand, and women as legally free, liberally educated individuals on the other turn her novel into an ideal illustration of the white New Zealand settler colonial variety of the New Woman ideal. The fact that Ellis does not perceive her understanding of female domesticity to be at odds with her demand for more rights and freedoms for women shows how deeply immersed the settler colonial mechanisms are in the people and how this is pronounced and spread through the settlers themselves, but also through literature as a form of cultural expression.

As examples of life-writing, these three accounts serve their purpose as valuable primary sources, but they were also intended as steppingstone, allowing the transition from the historical sources of Chapter 3 towards a more fictional set of primary sources in Chapter 4. As I have explained in the introduction to the fourth chapter, these examples of (auto-)fictional life-writing allow me to read archival documents and historical records in continuity with fiction by modern authors.

However, as the next chapter will be concerned with a distinctly more fictional set of primary sources, I would have considered my analysis lacking if I had not included at least one novel in this chapter, too. What sets it apart from the first three works discussed here is evidently its character as a strictly fictional work without any life-writing link. What makes it different to the novels following in the next chapter is again the important aspect of time. Like *Station Life in New Zealand*, *Our Maoris*, and *Everything is Possible to Will*, Charlotte Evans' *Over the Hills and Far Away: A Story of New Zealand* is not a historical novel but was written as contemporary romance. It was published in 1874, the same year as *Station Life* and therefore, is included in this chapter of works where 'historical' alludes to the age of the piece of writing itself and not to the genre which is overall defined by a setting in the past.

Charlotte Evans came to New Zealand in her early twenties in 1864 with her parents and her sister. Her two older brothers had set out before the rest of the family to prepare everything and the family began farming in Oamaru, on the east coast of the South Island (cf. Brown, “Charlotte Lees Evans” n.p.). Like the Monkhouses or the Richmond-Atkinsons, Charlotte's family came out as a cluster of immigrants closely related by family connections and close friendships. She married Eyre Evans, an Irish immigrant and family friend who had made her father's acquaintance at Trinity College. Like her siblings and other relatives, who had joined them when they came out, she and her husband settled in close proximity to the parent's homestead. Even though most of her time was taken up “with caring for children and domestic matters” (cf. Brown, “Charlotte Lees Evans” n.p.), as experienced by most white settler colonial women encountered so far, writing soon became a professional interest of hers, which was encouraged and supported by her family. When Evans died at the age of 40 due to child-bed fever, *Over the Hills and Far Away: A Story of New Zealand* was one of two novels she had written, both first published “as magazine serials, appearing in book form in 1874” (Stevens 15). Evans' published works today comprise a total of three novels, three short stories, and a collection of poetry, which is a surprising amount of work, considering she was the mother of twelve children (three of them died in infancy, and the twelfth costed her her own life) and had to maintain a colonial farming household with all the duties this entailed (cf. Brown, “Charlotte Lees Evans” n.p.). The short stories, the third novel,

as well as the poetry, however, were published posthumously by her husband after her passing.

As expected, writing mode, themes, and overall atmosphere in her novel differs profoundly from the other three works analyzed earlier in this chapter. Where Barker and Martin are focused on describing in detail experiences, observations, and the settler colonial surrounding, and Ellis is preoccupied with the intended educational character of her writing, Evans' novel evolves solely around the melodramatic theatrics of courtship, marriage, and the underlying emphasis of piety and virtuousness. I found myself agreeing with Joan Stevens who lists Charlotte Evans as one of the exploiting early novelists (in contrast to the recording ones) and declared that "[i]t is only by courtesy of their settings that these [novels of Charlotte Evans] can be said to be New Zealand novels. The characters remain nostalgically English, stubbornly elegant and cultivated" (16). While Barker's and Martin's work might have glossed over some of the harsher aspects of settler colonialism, they preserved an overall realistic notion. Evans' writing, on the other hand, is highly contrived and very typical for the popular British sensational novels of the time. If we compare all four works with each other, I like to think of a constellation where Barker and Martin are almost like one unit, whereas Ellis and Evans are both a little further removed from them, but in quite different directions. Ellen Ellis' writing is somewhere in-between, and yet, somewhere different all-together. *Everything is Possible to Will* contains more fictional allure than either *Our Maoris* or *Station Life*, but the overall tone is instructive, moralizing, and admonitory. Ellis occasionally interrupts the plot of the story for entire pages on end which are instead filled with advice and warnings, delivered in an almost preaching manner. This, of course, creates a hugely different reading experience than when engaging with primarily narrative writing, be it life-writing like in Barker or Martin, or fiction, like in Evans. Evans, in turn, is the only purely fictional account, which obviously sets *Over the Hills and Far Away* apart from the other three (auto-)biographical or (auto-)fictional pieces of life-writing.

Nonetheless, if settler colonial mechanisms resonate in any form of cultural expression, Evans' *Over the Hills and Far Away* should also allow to trace them,

even if the novel is very British indeed. Consisting of thirty-three chapters and a preface, the novel tells the story of protagonist Lucy Cunningham, who, having finished her education, is fetched from Britain by her brother Louis to join him and their father in New Zealand where they have been farming for the past five years. The chapters two, three, four, six, and seven are composed as entries into Lucy's diary during her time on the ship on its way to New Zealand. She begins with an entry on July 27th:

> Yesterday, Louis and I went on board the "Flora Macdonald," at Gravesend, and to-day we sailed; so I suppose I ought immediately to commence a diary of the voyage. Every one, I am told, begins one on first setting out, but people say it is very hard to find something to record every day at sea. I shall learn by experience if this is true or not.
> To begin, then, with yesterday. It was rather a dull kind of day, and very hot, until in the middle of the day a breeze sprang up from the river. We dined in Gravesend, and went on board our ship just after the passengers who were already assembled had finished their dinner in the saloon. They were most of them on deck.
> Just as I stepped on board, a gust of wind blew off my hat. It was immediately captured and restored to me by a gentleman with a dark beard, who was standing near.
> As I took my hat from him, I distinctly heard him mutter to himself, "What beautiful hair!"
> I felt myself grow scarlet, and was thankful to turn away to hide my hot cheeks; for the little scene had been so dramatic that it almost seemed as if I had lost my hat on purpose, for the sake of effect! (Evans 14-15)

In contrast to this first-person account of Lucy, the first and fifth chapter, as well as all subsequent chapters of the novel after the seventh are told by an omniscient third person narrator, even though Lucy remains the protagonist of the story. What this passage also alludes to is that already during the voyage out, the first romantic entanglements and marriage plots begin to develop, as Lucy finds herself in-between two men: the handsome gentleman Clinton Meredith, and the mysterious doctor Rylston Dacre. She notes in her diary:

> This evening, Tuesday, August 2nd, most of the passengers were on deck about tea-time. It was a lovely evening, and a light wind, quite in our favour, was wafting us along swiftly and gently.

> I was playing backgammon with Mr. Meredith, who is certainly the handsomest man on board the “Flora.” Doctor Dacre was leaning over the bulwarks near us; he was lounging with that perfect grace with which some men can manage to do nothing — languor of the most fascinating kind, because it is only strength dormant (27-28).

True to the typical romance pattern, the heroine finds herself confronted with a suitable, honorable admirer, but feels more pulled towards the devious opponent who, it seems, is hiding a dark secret in his past. Regardless of her split attraction though, she accepts Meredith's marriage proposal halfway around the world (cf. 68) and thus, steps ashore in New Zealand as a woman engaged to be married. However, the romantic complications of course continue once Lucy attempts to settle in at her father's house at the farm – her brother Louis living on the estate, but in his own home – and include not only Lucy, Louis, Dacre and Meredith, but also the Lennoxes, the family of a neighboring estate, whose daughters become good friends to Lucy, the secrets-harboring Keith sisters, one already in New Zealand, the other coming out with the same ship as Lucy, as well as the Winstanley and Prior families – in other words, the entirety of almost all the characters in the novel with few exceptions. Lucy's own romantic happiness is jeopardized when Clinton Meredith, despite their private betrothal, falls for Jeanie Lennox and begins to court her instead of Lucy. Already on one of their first meetings, he seems entirely besotted with Jeanie, his fiancé forgotten:

> Jeanie had mounted on to the top of a huge stone, and was balancing herself on its sharp summit with the most perfect grace, utterly regardless of Clinton's entreaties to her to come down before she fell. As her especial cavalier, he considered himself responsible for her welfare.
> 'Nonsense,' she said; 'I've often done it before. I shan't fall, I know.'
> She looked lovely as she spoke, in her frilled pink and white muslin dress, a great Dolly Varden hat swinging in one hand, and her high-piled rolls of golden hair—glossy, satin, smooth hair, without wave or flaw in its perfectly-arranged order.
> 'You little beauty!' Clinton said to himself under his breath. 'I'd no idea the colonies contained anything half so perfect!' (90-91)

Apart from the fact that this shows that in Evans' novel not only women, but

men, too, are helpless victims to attraction and charm, it also shows the omnipresent, all-commanding driving force behind any plot development: love interests, match-making, and marriage. Even though the reader is reassured of Lucy's superiority and Meredith's supposed awareness thereof through the declaration that “Jeanie was the prettiest of playthings – for a time – but she had not Lucy's intelligence and piquancy, or her power of keeping those in whose society she was interested and amused by her conversation” (132), the consequent love triangle pushes Lucy once again to search for a different man she can focus her attention and affection on, and ultimately, brings Dacre back into the realm of romantic interests. The novel is characterized by several (mostly romantic) sub-plots involving not only but also Lucy's brother and the Keith sisters, which ultimately all come together in the grand finale when all secrets are revealed, all grudges are forgiven, and all love triangles are resolved.

To a modern audience, the novel's tunnel vision of matchmaking and marriage as the sole cause and motivation behind any action and development in the character's lives might provoke, involuntarily, an almost comical appeal. Not only the women, even Lucy's father Mr. Cunningham seems to be overly concerned and invested in making sure his children are getting married, as he, for example, quickly “had begun to form fresh matrimonial prospects on his son's behalf” (287), after a previous option has been discarded. The almost obsessive focus on courtship and marriage also results in the bizarre situation that the first explanation jumping to Jeanie Lennox's and Mrs. Prior's mind – on separate occasions – upon learning that Rylston Dacre wants to leave New Zealand is that Lucy must have refused his proposal, as if this would be the only valid and thinkable explanation why a grown man of reasonable means who had declared his interests in traveling would decide to leave a young settler colony (cf. 254 and 283). In proper hysterical fashion, Jeanie of course “bursts into tears” (283) and is bewildered how Lucy could have done such a thing. Mrs. Prior, a minor character as she is already married, is more composed but she, too. “sank back mournfully on the sofa, and felt that her hopes were crushed” (254). Even if the extent to which it is discussed and spread out in the novel are not at all representative, the issue of marriage was a particularly important one in the settler colonial context. As established earlier in Chapter 2, and as illustrated by, for

example, Grace Hirst's letters on Annis and Harriet Hirst, or Lady Barker's description of how quickly female servants are snatched away as wives, and consequently, leave their positions, becoming someone's spouse was a very present topic in white settler women's daily lives in New Zealand. Even suffragists liberally declared that "[t]he aim of [...] every [...] girl is to be married" (*Otago Witness*, no. 1998, 9 June 1892, see also Daily Southern Cross, vol. XXV, no. 3795, 18 Oct 1869), as settler colonial society understood married couples and the nuclear family as the fundamental element and, as Barbara Brooks was already cited earlier, "key integrative institution of society" (3), on which the new settler colonial nation was to be founded. Thus, marriage could be understood as a settler colonial infused topic within Evans' novel, but it is a weak link.

Less strained is the connection to settler colonialism if one focuses on Lucy Cunningham who is a British heroine no doubt, but with settler colonial innuendos. Whereas New Zealand remains of little importance in general except for descriptions of landscape and, for example, short interludes describing exotic foods served at the dinner table (cf. 213), the novel acknowledges that "people in the colonies must be prepared to put their shoulder to the wheel on an emergency" (194). That this includes women is illustrated by the fact that Lucy decides to ride alone through unknown terrain in order to fetch a doctor for her severely ill friend (cf. 194-197). Though no such incident is actually recorded in the historical accounts I analyzed, this seems to be very much in line with what Jane Maria Atkinson or Jemima Martin might have done, too, had they found themselves in a similar situation. Likewise, Lady Barker's thirst for adventure as displayed in *Station Life* most likely would have meant she would even have enjoyed such a challenge. Thus, Lucy might be a mostly British character, but some concessions have been made nonetheless.

Even though she seems to spend her day mostly with leisure activities, it is remarked that Lucy's "relations hav[e], with unusual forethought, included the elements of housekeeping in her education to a more thorough extent than is usual […] among the young ladies of the present day" (108) and she feels appreciated due to "receiv[ing] many compliments, which gave her pleasure" (109) for this quality. This appreciation of woman's domestic skills certainly adds another settler colonial

touch and is faintly reminiscent of the matter of female usefulness discussed on Chapter 3.1. Linked to that is the surprisingly realistic comment that there are few women "scattered about among the different farms and stations" (107) and only slightly more "collected at the nearest township, ten miles or so away" (107). And in true settler colonial fashion, "they were almost all married, and for the most part too much occupied with the care of children and domestic matters to have time to spend in paying visits, especially country ones" (107). This is indeed very much in line with the descriptions and observations made by both, the historical documents of the third chapter, as well as the previously analyzed pieces of (auto-)biographical or (auto-)fictional life-writing. Therefore, it must be acknowledged that Evans at least alludes to the real circumstances in New Zealand as presented by her fellow writers, even if she does not linger on it too much.

The whole narrative is preoccupied with what I can only describe in Joan Stevens' words as "sentimentalised personal relationships" (Stevens 16) and focuses on superficialities such as looks, clothing, and picnics, instead of more serious topics such as Pākehā-Māori relations, and the civilizing or rather "Pākehā-zing" of the colony, as they are at least sensitively broached in *Station Life* and *Our Maoris*. Also, the novel certainly does not concern itself with questions of temperance, emancipation, or suffrage, as addressed in *Everything Is Possible to Will*. And yet, there are similarities between Evans' Lucy and Ellis' Zee, if examined more closely. Lucy Cunningham, like Zee, is elevated above the others due to her piety, morality, and overall goodness. She is not as exceptionally beautiful as, for example, Jeanie Lennox or Laura Keith (cf. 158-159), but is described as having

> [a] complexion more pale than rosy – not beautiful, yet not shallow; a mouth and nose of the same mediocre type; eyes not large, but bright and clear; and a broad, intelligent forehead. Her hair was, with the exception of her graceful, rounded figure, her one especial beauty (4)

and Laura Keith thoughts, upon seeing her on the ship to New Zealand, are: "A pretty baby face, with no character about it; nice hair; I should recognize her again by that more easily than by anything else" (9). This supposed lack of character is, of course, a misconception, considering that Lucy is depicted as superior in character and morals to all the other women throughout the novel. Nevertheless, it is explicitly

stated that “Lucy Cunningham was not beautiful [...]. She was merely a nice-looking girl, with a bright, intelligent expression” (158). Thus, in terms of beauty, Jeanie Lennox exceeds her as “the smallest, prettiest, most loving girl in her manners” (86) and “the prettiest of playthings” (132), as does Laura Keith who “is handsome – decidedly so” (9, but also 12, 29), “very much above the women around her” (29), and not only “was in face and figure unusually handsome, [but also] she knew how to dress herself to advantage” (45), wrapping several men in the novel around her finger due to her looks. Female dress is almost as repetitive a topic as marriage throughout the novel. The women's gowns, shawls, riding habits, and other clothes are described in exuberant detail (cf. for example 7-9, 120, 139, 143, 297). It is to be speculated that the women cited in Chapter 3.1, for the most part, did not own such a varied and fine wardrobe, and the lack of the topic in their accounts as well as in Barker's, Martin's, and Ellis' work already suggest that this is an artificial indulgence solely for the purpose of entertaining a British female audience. Evans at least points out that “[i]t was an understood thing […] in that part of the New Zealand colonies, that ladies were never to appear before a colonial audience in anything but demi-toilet” (143) as opposed to a full evening gown, but her characters still indulge in an assortment of garments which might have been part of Lady Martin's or Lady Barker's settler colonial closet but certainly not in Clara Hazard's, Eliza White's, or Lizzie Heath's. Fictional Lucy Cunningham may participate in this round dance of female fashion, but she is unquestionably and explicitly outdone by other characters in the novel in terms of beauty.

However, by depicting Lucy as less beautiful than others, Evans is able to emphasize that her additional features – “intelligence and piquancy,” (132) as well as virtuousness, and the ability to forgive – are even more important, more exceptional, and, above all mark her out as superior, even if slightly less beautiful. [40] This superiority aligns her to an extent with Ellen Ellis' protagonist Zee in *Everything is Possible to Will.* The slight difference is that Zee's superiority derives to a significant

40 Especially the repeated reference to Lucy's intelligence might again be considered an aspect influenced by the New Zealand background, as it has been a reoccurring aspect in both, letters and newspapers in Chapter 3. However, the overall exaltation of Lucy character inevitably means that she obtains such a superiority in comparison to the others that she is – at least to a modern reader – so artificially exceptional that she is not at all comparable or even representational for a group of people.

part from temperance as well as from her ethics, whereas Lucy's predominance rests solely on her piety and her internalized Christian values. Throughout the novel, her ability not to be tempted and to unfailingly bypass moral pitfalls results from her committed faith.

Rylston Dacre, for example, observes that Lucy “think[s] more of her friend's comfort than of her own” (209-2010), illustrating her compassionate nature. Despite the fact that “Jeanie Lennox is what the world would call the girl's [Lucy's] rival” (210), Lucy considers Jeanie's needs first and remains unfalteringly a loyal friend, even when Jeanie marries her fiancé Clinton Meredith. When Lucy learns about the fact that Rylston, whom she had more interest in than she cared to acknowledge, is already married and still proposed to her, she is shocked but quickly forgives him, regardless of her bruised heart, stating that “you [Rylston] have suffered... and you are sorry. Louis, stand back! If I forgive him, you can bear no grudge” (272). Again, it is depicted to be against her flawless nature to hold a grudge or be vengeful. In the end, when it turns out that Rylston would actually be free to marry Lucy, and in his haste tragically dies on his way to her – very melodramatically and over the course of almost three chapters – it is Lucy who finds and reassures him, “'I will come soon,' she said; 'and the Lord watch between thee and me while we are absent the one from the other!'” (329), staying at his side till the end even if “she could only kneel and pray” (329). As one of the closing paragraphs of the novel, this drives home the point that Lucy's piousness and virtuousness set her apart from the other characters, casting her in the light of a sublime, flawless, steadfast heroine, who, ironically, is the only one bereft of a happy ending to her romance.

Despite the aspects mentioned above, however, it cannot be denied that *Over the Hills and Far Away* provides considerably less evidence of settler colonial mechanisms than the other three works. Even if men and women are portrayed in distinctive different roles – the women all beautiful, well-mannered ladies (cf. 4, 7, 73, 86, 277, 310), the men in turn polite, respectful, handsome gentlemen (cf. 21, 82, 111, 115, 188, 280) – the fact remains that the novel lacks a proper New Zealand New Woman character. There is a slight settler colonial hiccup in the Lennox family constellation, but even that is just a weak imitation of the settler colonialism as it

surfaces in the other works: beautiful but childish Jeanie Lennox and her mother, “a matronly Jeanie, and much plainer, with only the germ of the beauty, in fact, which had developed so remarkably in her little daughter, but with no clearer head or stronger spirit” (92) both look towards Effie, the older sister, who “had grown up the plainest” (86) but had “by far the most strength of character and intellect” (86). She would have had the potential to become a New Zealand New Woman character, as the other two Lennox women “both looked up to Effie, went to her for advice when in any difficulty, and left her to do the thinking for all three, adopting her opinions readymade. Even Mr. Lennox scarcely exercised as much influence in the household as his elder daughter” (92-93). Thus, this self-reliance, intelligence, and accepted authority could have turned Effie into a New Zealand New Woman. And yet, her death in chapter twelve prevents any further development in one direction or another. Likewise, Lucy Cunningham has several features that could make her a settler colonial heroine, but ultimately draws short as her character is mostly undefined or in any way influenced by her surroundings. She does not display any form of evolving or shows signs of adjustment upon her arrival in New Zealand and is overall so exalted right from the beginning of the novel that she appears as entirely artificial character.

This brings me back to Joan Stevens and her earlier cited judgment that Evans' novel is inherently British, and not settler colonial. It is also the only primary source in the entire Chapter 4 of my dissertation that does not mention any Māori character at all. This enhances the impression that the plot could have been set in any colonial surrounding, given it provided farming settlers. For Charlotte Evans, the New Zealand setting was just the exotic cherry on top of the cake, figuratively speaking. I would argue that the reason for that is to be found in the intended audience, as well as the genre. Evans' focus and marked framework was that of romance which brought along certain expectations by British publishers as well as the potential audience. Of course, the intended readership for all the works discussed in this chapter was British, but (auto-)fictional life-writing attracted and aimed for a vastly different crowd than the sensation style Evans' writing belongs to. While Barker and Martin used New Zealand's exoticness as a feature to sell their work to the people hungry to hear about the fascinating life in the colonies, and Ellis wanted to educate

and reform British and New Zealand readers alike (even though, of course, the destruction of her books by her son prevented them to gain any large readership at all), Evans setting was just something to set *Over the Hills and Far Away* slightly, but not too far apart from the other sensational novels. They still all shared the general themes of romantic entanglements, the "domesticated gothic" (Brown, "Introduction to Charlotte Evans" n.p.), stolen or false identities, long-kept family secrets, insanity, adultery, murder, and therelike (cf. Sweet n.p.)[41] – topics they had to share because this was what the readers expected of them. If New Zealand would have been more than a fleeting landscape description in Evans' writing, the alienism it might have evoked could have put off readers and ultimately might have led to a flop in terms of sales.

Looking back on this chapter now, and returning to the initial question if settler colonialism can be traced, and if these accounts and their portrayal differ from the ones in Chapter 3, several conclusions can be drawn. In the (auto-)biographical or (auto-)fictional life-writing of Barker, Martin, and Ellis, the settler colonial paradigm of separate gender-specific roles and the female ideal of helpmeet, wife, and mother was very pronounced. In all three works, the characteristics of the (white) New Zealand New Woman as a forward-thinking, almost modern creature who is despite her progressiveness in many aspects still firmly rooted in her traditional role could be found. Neither Barker nor Martin are representative of the average farming settler woman, and yet, they both captured the same tone, and made similar observations and remarks as the women experienced through their personal writing in Chapter 3.1, and their respective works are also in line with atmosphere and image mirrored by the newspapers in Chapter 3.2. Against all expectations, Ellen Ellis proved to be feminist but also the most settler colonial of all regarding her portrayal of Zee and the New Zealand woman, exceeding both Barker and Martin with regard to a pronounced endorsement of educated, intelligent, legally and politically equal women, while at the same time, stressing and celebrating woman in her traditional role of wife and mother.

41 For a more detailed discussion of the sensation novel, its features, and its readers, consult "Sensation Novels" by P. D. Edwards in *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia*, *The Maniac in the Cellar: Sensation Novels of the 1860s* by Winifred Hughes, *The Nineteenth-Century Sensation Novel* by Lyn Pykett, or *Victorian Sensation Fiction* by Andrew Radford.

The novel of Charlotte Evans, on the other hand, only contained mere traces of settler colonialism. Her writing is distinctly British, and I would be tempted to argue that her novel could have been set in Australia, the United States, or any other colonial surrounding with only minimal changes. This illustrates that not all literature necessarily needs to reflect settler colonialism only because it has been written by an occupant of a settler colonial nation or because it has been set in a settler colony environment. I would claim that literature, factual or fictional, which does not engage with history, questions of (national) identity, or nation-building processes (for example, detective narratives, murder mysteries, or love stories), is always capable of lacking a distinct settler colonial air.

Life-writing, especially (auto-)fictional life-writing, interacts with the events, the place, and the surroundings, as the life that is written down is defined through and by these interactions. Fiction, on the other hand, particularly entirely artificial narratives as in Evans' case, are not obligated to make use of such synergies. In fact, the more escapist the narrative, the less the probability that there are interactions to be exploited. This by no means implies that romance as a genre never involves (auto-)fictional elements or settler colonial mechanisms or is always escapist. However, plots which focus so intensely and entirely on the characters and their emotional involvement with each other that they are mostly detached from their surrounding and only presented to the reader through this specific – one is tempted to say rose-colored – lens typical for romantic sensational fiction, make it exceptionally hard to include and to trace settler colonial mechanisms which become considerably more pronounced if they can be observed with reference to the country, in contrast with the metropolis, and in relation to the native population of the land. The entirety of *Over the Hills and Far Away* does not feature a single scene of ordinary daily tasks or occurrences which is not severely overshadowed by the characters' emotional condition and interpersonal relationships, as well as there are no general observations of the country, its inhabitants, or nature which are not imminently linked and for some reason necessary to be mentioned in relation with the melodramatic plot.

Albeit not intended, Charlotte Evans' novel undoubtedly is an illustration of the

fact that the long-standing (and only recently revoked) dismissal of women's historical fiction as escapist or baloney Wallace criticizes is not entirely without foundation (cf. “Preface” ix and “What Can Women's Historical Fiction Teach Us?” n.p.). Evans' writing certainly fulfills these criteria. Consequently, Charlotte Evans' novel in the context of this dissertation primarily served the purpose of giving an example for New Zealand-written romantic fiction of the 1870s, of functioning as a contrast to the (auto-)fictional life-writings discussed before, and of illustrating that not all literature without exception qualifies as a mirror for settler colonial structures. Historical fiction, however, of the kind which will be discussed in the following chapter, might qualify as popular literature, but would certainly not be described as sensational or escapist. Thus, I am convinced that it cannot be free of settler colonial traces, as it engages – almost per definition – with history. Like life-writing, historical fiction draws on real (and imagined) events, and gains part of its allure to the reader due to its ability to bring surroundings, places, and historical circumstances to life by making them emotionally perceptible through a narrative (cf. de Groot 1-3, Rodwell 231-233). Furthermore, as I have already explained in the superordinate Chapter 4, historical fiction, to a certain degree, always serves the purpose of reassuring, readjusting or questioning the founding myth of national identity, and contributes to the continuous process of forming a coherent national self-understanding.

If settler colonialism thus is a persisting, never-ending structure, as defined by Veracini and Wolfe, instead of a particular historical event, New Zealand's settler colonialism cannot have vanished, and therefore, needs to become visible when analyzing historical novels by white New Zealand authors. I would expect that the novels in the following Chapter 4.2 might feature settler colonial structures more subtly or clandestinely than the life-writing accounts of this part which were composed by women writers present for the settler colonial beginning of New Zealand. I would even speculate that the continuation of settler colonial mechanisms in literature written today might not even be a conscious act of the authors, but might rather be the result of an established, evolving settler colonial founding myth to reassert and adjust itself to today's understanding of national identity and its origins. In Chapter 4.2, I thus will analyze the novels of Dorothy Eden, Fiona Kidman, and

Tanya Moir to reveal whether settler colonial structures can be found within the text, to what extent they are still detectable in contrast to the (auto-)fictional life-writings of this chapter, and whether settler colonial mechanisms are absent in Rose Tremain because, as a British writer, she does not engage in the same way in the re-telling of New Zealand settler colonial history as the other Pākehā women writers.

CHAPTER 4.2

LOOKING BACK TO WALK FORWARD

HISTORICAL FICTION OF TODAY

So far, the point in time of writing has been almost identical for all primary sources consulted over the course of this dissertation. Now turning to contemporary writers, writing historical novels, adds a new aspect to the overarching dissertation theme of women's portrayal. Studying personal records, newspapers, and life-writing in form of autobiographical and autofictional novels has shown that settler colonialism evokes a contradictory gender ideal for women in order to not upset its own fundamentals. Considering that the ongoing nature as a structure is an essential of settler colonial theory, analyzing contemporary white New Zealand writers will allow to trace the settler colonial footprint in today's perspective on New Zealand history. In detecting whether these mechanisms are still at work or have by now ceased to exist, a meaningful approach to a settler colonial past and potential present can be found.

As I have set forth already in the introduction, as well as in the superordinate, fourth chapter, my selection of novels for this part was driven by the attempt to establish a common ground in order to facilitate comparative analysis. All of the novels – except for one – have been written by white New Zealand women writers. All of them – except for one, which is not the same as the first exception though – have been published in the twenty-first century. All of them, without exception, feature a central female character around which the narrative unfolds. All of them are set roughly at the same time as the historical accounts of Chapter 3 and the historical writing of Chapter 4.1, so predominantly in the second half of the nineteenth century with one that is set slightly earlier. And all of them take place in New Zealand, though some admittedly include the voyage out or time spent in Australia. Why I chose to include two novels that slightly push my rather tight prerequisites will be explained over the course of this chapter. I will begin with the novel which strains the rule for setting by being a little earlier than the rest, and also taking place in Australia as well as in New Zealand: Fiona Kidman's *The Captive Wife*, published in

2005. Afterwards, I will turn to Tanya Moir's *LaRochelle's Road* of 2011, before continuing with the only novel which has been written before 2001, namely *An Important Family* by Dorothy Eden, originally published as early as 1982. The final novel discussed in this chapter, *The Colour*, then will intentionally break with my focus on white New Zealand writers, for the author of this 2003 publication, Rose Tremain, is British. For all these novels, the primary focus is once again the question of how women are portrayed and if this portrayal is tainted by settler colonial mechanisms as we have observed them in letters, diaries, newspapers, and (auto-)fictional life-writing. Furthermore, I want to explore whether there has been a change not only to the life-writing accounts which have been written more than a century earlier, but also whether more recent changes can be observed in fiction, hence the inclusion of one novel written in the 1980s. And, finally, I assumed that the author being Pākehā (meaning a white New Zealander) plays a role when it comes to the re-imagining of a settler colonial past, and thus, want to verify this conjecture by including a non-Pākehā women writer to contrast her novel with the others.

Dame Fiona Kidman, one of New Zealand's most successful contemporary women writers, stated in an article for the *Journal of New Zealand Literature*:

> [T]here are no absolutes in history. I have to say that I think fact/fiction novels should represent facts fairly. Writers should do their homework and immerse themselves in their subject […]. But I also believe that for critics to assume that history books are the absolute truth is a supreme (and usually academic) arrogance. It is to use history in a dry demagogic fashion to prove *what* happened rather than *why*, and to what end. It is also to assume that historian's research is above question. Yet we all know that history is being re-written all the time, and the interpretative writer has as big a contribution to make as anyone else (Kidman, "In Search of a Character" 14).

I found myself agreeing, as historical fiction should be rooted in research and historical facts, but that fictional narratives can illustrate and illuminate historical circumstances just as well as factual texts can. Aforementioned publications by Diana Wallace, Jerome de Groot, Lisa Fletcher, or Ann Heilmann and Mark Llewellyn all illustrate that historical fiction has become an own field of research in recent years, not only concerned with the history behind fictional narratives, but with a whole variety of insights and outlooks that these fictional texts provide about the

time they are set in, the time they have been written in, and the time the audience engages with them (cf. Wallace “Difficulties, Discontinuities, and Differences” 211). A lot of scholarly interest also flourished in relation to other disciplines such as gender studies, native and indigenous studies, or cultural studies, as well as to theories of postmodernism, metafiction and metahistory. Whereas Hayden White argues as early as 1973 in *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* that historiography cannot be objective, Katherine Cooper and Emma Short in turn claim that “contemporary historical fiction now demonstrates more clearly than ever […] an acute awareness of this fact that history, by its very nature, is always already fictional, and that it is always subject to bias” (“Introduction: Histories and Heroines” 5). Consequently, and in line with Wallace's research, writers of historical fiction can provide an equally valuable perspective on aspects such as settler colonialism as historians might, even if they take on a different mode of providing information.

As a renowned editor, composer of poetry, and writer of creative non-fiction, plays and novels, Kidman has successfully assumed the role of 'interpretative writer' she describes in the excerpt of the article above. She has worked as librarian, journalist, radio producer, and scriptwriter, before turning to writing and teaching literature full time (cf. “About Fiona” n.p.). She has received a New Zealand Order of Merit, as well as an Order of the British Empire, both for her outstanding services for literature (cf. “Fiona Kidman” n.p.). Among her well-researched, fact-based historical novels are the New Zealand Book Award winner *The Book of Secrets*, and the bestseller *The Infinite Air*. For my analysis, however, I chose *The Captive Wife*, first published in 2005. The novel breathes life into the historical figures of Australian-born Betty Deaves, a fourteen-year-old girl who sails with her betrothed John Guard, an ex-convict-turned-whaler, to New Zealand to establish the first shore-whaling station there. John Guard remarks in his journal that he

> take[s] the girl [Betty] to sea with me because I worry that the Maoris might take her. A good thing she is not seasick. Some of the men don't like a woman on board. When they think I cannot hear they say that the ship is a henfrigate. But I am the master and I say what goes. When one of them speaks out of turn I smash his face with my fist and when they have

> nursed a sore jaw for a day or 2 the message gets through to them (Kidman, *The Captive Wife* pos. 1646/ 4.18)

Through his journal, John Guard is presented as authoritarian, violent, and jealous man who, despite his sexual desire and very adult interest in Betty, mostly refers to her patronizingly as "girl", inferior to him in every way, including age, experience, and power. He has to remind himself to call Betty his wife (cf. pos. 1636/ 4.18), although he sees the need for that primarily because his "men give [him] sidelong looks" (pos. 1636/ 4.18), and not because he actually perceives Betty as an equal or sees her any less as a subordinate.

The arrival of Betty and John Guard in New Zealand coincides with a time of Māori inter-tribal conflict which eventually will be known as Musket Wars, and they live under the protection of the famous rangatira Te Rauparaha,[42] a dominant historical figure in the early decades of nineteenth century New Zealand. Moving repeatedly back and forth between New Zealand and Australia, their ship is wrecked on the Taranaki coast during one of their journeys. Betty recounts:

> The children and I were asleep when the hull was ripped open. It happened so quickly: one moment we were peaceful, the next, on the floor, rocks slicing though the side of the ship as if it were sugar crust. It was around four in the morning; we were five miles south of the cape of Taranaki. […] The weather had worsened. The seas were furious and huge, sheets of white water bucketing down one after another. All we could do was huddle against the cliffs, hoping none of these immense waves would catch us and sweep us away (pos. 2296-2305/ 6.24).

Despite their perilous situation, Betty remains mostly level-headed, illustrating that she is not to be compared to the dependent, squeamish women of Sydney's better society described earlier in the novel. However, she does look to her husband for reassurance, relying on his evaluation of the situation (cf. 2324/ 6.24).

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42 'rangatira' is the Māori expression for chief or leader and Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa today is one of the most famous historical figures of early New Zealand history. He was involved in the early land sales to the New Zealand Company, and became one of the main protagonists of the Musket Wars, inter-tribal conflicts between Māori without any mayor Pākehā involvement, in the first half of the nineteenth century. As such, he is a reoccurring personality in numerous historical anthologies, encyclopedias, and textbooks. For detailed information on his life, consult *Te Rauparaha, a New Perspective* by Patricia Burns, *Ka Mate Ka Ora! The Spirit of Te Rauparaha* by Heni Collins, or search within the *Early New Zealand Electronic Text Centre – Te Pūhikotuhi o Aotearoa (NZETC)* for Te Rauparaha.

Soon after, Betty turns into the title-giving captive wife when the local natives, enemies of their protector Te Rauparaha, take her and her two children hostage. Following the violation of three Māori girls by men of John Guard's crew, Māori raid the camp of the castaways. Again, the audience perceives the events through Betty's memories as she recaps:

> The beach rang with the men's dying shouts, some bitter at their fate, other muttering prayers, and words of love for people far away. […] I […] felt a blow like a tree trunk falling on me. Above me stood a man with a raised tomahawk. A look of astonishment crossed his face. He glanced at his weapon as if there was something wrong with it. I touched my head, and felt a burning pain. My head was split, but not shattered as it might have been. Instead the tortoise-shell comb[43] in my wild and tangled hair had shielded my skull from the violence of the blow. Blood ran from a wound in my throat where the axe had grazed (pos. 2394-2403/ 6.24).

Even though the audience witnesses the events through Betty's eyes, Māori are not perceived as blood-thirsty savages. The conflict was provoked by the misbehavior of Guard's men, and even though Betty is naturally shocked at the brutality of the violent conflict she finds herself in, her perception of Māori is rather observant instead of judging, noticing sympathy in the eyes of her captors (cf. pos. 2423/ 6.24), and quietly succumbing to the ritual stampede which, Betty assumes, is meant to "strip[..] [them] of [their] whiteness" (pos. 2431/ 6.24) in order to incorporate them in the Māori community.

While his family is held captive, John Guard and five of his men are released so that they may collect a ransom at Sydney in order to secure the safe return of Betty and her children. However, John Guard is unwilling to pay, and thus, returns with military support instead. The naval ships send to Betty's rescue will engage in the first armed and bloody conflict between the British Crown and the Māori population who were independent from imperial rule until 1840. When Betty is eventually saved and returns to Sydney in 1834, she is first celebrated as a heroine

43 The remains of said comb are held by *Te Papa Tongarewa – Museum of New Zealand* in Wellington as part of the Historical Collection on the Guard family, which includes further items such as a green and white meat dish. Fiona Kidman carefully weaved several of the items of the collection such as the dish or the famous comb, into her fictional narrative. For further information on the *Te Papa* collection, visit collections.tepapa.govt.nz/agent/9854 online.

before her life among the “savage inhabitants of New Zealand” (pos. 563/ 2.6) comes under scrutiny.

The spinsterhood-facing governess Adeline Malcom, the second central female character of the novel and one of the few entirely fictitious people Kidman inserts in the historically documented story her narrative is based on, first meets Betty as one of her pupils when she is a teacher in Sydney. Adeline reluctantly becomes Betty's friend and confidante, mostly out of curiosity when the rumors begin to spread that the wife of Captain Jacky Guard was not as much a captive as people were once told but rather the lover of one of the Māori chiefs, and supposedly even bore dark-skinned twins. Adeline is depicted a much weaker, less independent woman than Betty, despite being her senior. She

> is constantly torn between one point of view and another. She would like to extend Christian charity but her expectations are so often failed when she encounters what she thinks of as the convict class (she only has to consider the lieutenant's cook and her surly rule in the kitchen). In her heart, she understands there is little point in asking the lieutenant in whose house she lives what he believes to be for the best. His target is always of the moment, chosen by his superiors (pos. 809/ 2.7)

The fact that she is easily swayed from her perspective or position fosters the impression of a woman entrenched in her role as men's subordinate. She assumes this role despite her own intelligence and education, never officially questioning the superiority of men's opinion, like that of the lieutenant, even though she is perfectly aware of him not being the most steadfast himself.

Whereas Adeline Malcom is entirely Kidman's invention, the historical figures of John and Elizabeth Guard, or Betty as she is mostly referred to in the novel, and the incident of her abduction and rescue have been exploited in other fictional narratives, as well as they have been subject to reference books as for example Robert McNab's *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840*, *Fatal Necessity: British Intervention in New Zealand, 1830–1847* by Peter Adams, or Trevor Bentley's *Captured By Maori: White Female Captives, Sex & Racism On The Nineteenth Century New Zealand Frontier*. Kidman, however, is the first New Zealand woman writer to dedicate an entire novel to Elizabeth Guard and,

more importantly, tell the story from her perspective.

The Captive Wife is organized in nine parts, containing a total of forty, sometimes very brief chapters which enclose different formats as well as different points of view. Entries in John Guards personal journal make up part of or entire chapters throughout the novel, which opens its first chapter with the heading "Journal of John Guard: Whaler, Freed Convict" (pos. 46/ 1.1). The following entry is dated on 1826 with New South Wales as indicated location and tells of how John Guard, a man of low morals and imperious personality, first met Betty when she is just a girl:

> Today I took the young girl Betsy Parker to collect oysters. She is a beautiful girl. Her hair shines and her teeth can split an apple in one bite. She is just on 12 years, the niece of Charlotte Pugh. I had a great need to get out of my house for there are children underfoot everywhere and I am the father of none of them. I got myself a house of my own in Cambridge Street, that part of Sydney known as the Rocks. […] I took on Charlotte Pugh thinking she wd do for me in a useful way. I pay her enough but she is always off with men of 1 kind or another, there are children bawling all over the place. She's a good-looking woman, is Charlotte, or she was when I took her on. I fancied her appearance, tell the truth, even though she had a man [sic] (pos. 46/ 1.1).

Here, as well as in other journal entries, John Guard's writing provides his perspective on events, but more importantly, also presents an insight into his motives and motivations which ultimately cast him as a questionable character with an authoritarian, rigid air, more feared than respected by his men and contemporaries, and, for modern readers, a slightly disturbing sexual interest in a girl that easily could be his daughter.

His journal entries alternate with letters, mostly written to or by Adeline Malcom, who is often called Adie. The correspondence includes letters between her and her brother Perceval (Percy) Malcom, (Chapter 3 and 5), as well as letters sent by Perceval to Adeline's employer Lieutenant Gerald Roddick (Chapter 13) and to John Guard (Chapter 36), and by Gerald Roddick to Adeline (Chapter 25) and Percy (Chapter 30). Through the letters, the audience's impression of Adeline as an occasionally bitter, but very correct, neat, slightly uppish spinster with a romantic interest in her employer Gerald Roddick, the widower of her late friend Emmeline, is

vindicated. She writes to her brother that

> [i]t is now some years since you have seen fit to reply to my letters, but it is my duty as ever, each month, to write you an account of my life here in Sydney. It has been a difficult few weeks, and I am sure you will have it in your heart to take pity on me, for I have lost my dear good friend Mrs Emmeline Roddick, whom I loved as my life. As you know, I have lived in the Roddick home for close to three years, as the governess of Mathilde and little Austen. Emmeline became weaker and weaker with the chest complaint for which there is no cure, an evil scourge that respects neither gentle folk nor criminals, though no doubt a great deal of it has been carried here on the convict ships. She had become as a sister to me, albeit a younger sister, for there was a difference of several years in our ages. Lieutenant Roddick […] [t]he poor fellow, he's always been a devilish sort of man, if I may use such coarse language, but he has a merry way with him when he is happy. I do not wish to sound improper, but I would describe him as a handsome man (pos. 520-533/ 1.5).

As the letter illustrates, properness is among Adeline's core values and her interest in her late friend's husband is a romantic and chaste fantasy instead of a truly physical or even sexual reality. Furthermore, it also shows that she feels superior and is keenly aware of the supposed difference between herself and the people she engages with in contrast to what she often refers to as the "convict class." Over the course of the novel, however, and due to her commencing friendship with Betty, the almost naïve view of the world Adeline displays early in the novel, and her well-mannered, but shy and timid behavior eventually gives way to a more realistic perspective, and a woman who rebels ever so slightly by standing loyally at Betty's side instead of simply obliging her brother's or Gerald Roddick's wishes and directions (cf. pos. 3033-3105/ 7.30).The rest of Kidman's story is told mostly from Adeline's or Betty's perspective, turning the novel into a multi-format, multi-faceted narration of events, told in non-chronological order. By introducing Adeline, Kidman can contrast two very different women with each other and emphasizes the personal, not factual view of things. Through the remark that "Mrs. Guard *changed* her story" (pos. 818/ 2.7; emphasis as in original), Kidman stresses the unreliability of the narrating voice and acknowledges almost metatextually, that she, too, as an author, fills in blanks that cannot be validated by any historical source. Furthermore, by

having Betty state that she would like to confide in Adeline with a story different to the one that "my husband will have me tell [the newspapers]" (pos. 862/ 2.8), Kidman also illustrates that even historical accounts such as newspaper articles, which are also part of the novel, might only give one particular point of view which does not necessarily provide an accurate description of real events – in addition to emphasizing the power relations between husband and wife, where he tells her what she has to say. Regarding the time frame of *The Captive Wife* and its setting, I must admit that the story is set in the 1820s and 30s, almost too early with regard to the role white women played in settler colonial New Zealand and definitely more than a decade before any of my other primary sources. According to Hamish Dalley, "Betty was the first European woman known to have settled in the South Island" (71) and a considerable part of the novel takes place in Australia instead. However, since Australia has a settler colonial history as well and with regard to the New Zealand author, I still considered the inclusion of this novel important, as Betty feels New Zealand is her home, stating that she "had come to love the country as if I had been born to it" (Kidman, *The Captive Wife* pos. 2286/ 6.24), musing that "much of my life might still be fulfilled if I were to go to New Zealand again" (pos. 4005/ 9.39), and concluding the story with the satisfied thought that "[m]y bones will be laid in this soil" (pos. 4024/ 9.40). I am convinced that, at least in terms of settler colonial structures and regarding women's place and role, the novel provides valuable insights, as the historical Elizabeth Guard is conventionally known as the first white New Zealand settler woman, and the fictional exploitation of such a key figure, almost a foremother in terms of national identity formation and the process of sovereign nation-building, is prone to engaging richly with New Zealand settler colonial heritage.

In view of this dissertation's focus on the portrayal of white settler women in New Zealand, and what I have established so far over the course of the previous three chapters, the research questions I now focus on in analyzing Kidman's novel, as well as the following three, are: does settler colonialism still echo in the portrayal of white women in historical novels by New Zealand woman writers and how does it affect the characters? Is there such a thing as a New Zealand New Woman, and can she be found in these fictional narratives? And are the fictional characters of these

novels reminiscent of the narrative voices in Chapter 3 and the women encountered through their reminiscences in Chapter 2?

The first meeting of Adeline Malcom and Betty Guard (or Betsy Deaves as she is called early in the novel) in a stuffy classroom in the second chapter juxtapositions them drastically. Adeline, the middle-aged spinster, is frustrated at being “a governess again, exactly as when she left the shores of England” (pos. 173/ 1.2) because her brother got married once they had reached Sydney. In contrast to Betty, Adeline is obviously uncomfortable at any physical reference to femininity:

> 'You forgot. Yes, Betsy Deaves, you forget a great deal of what I say to you. What goes on in that head of yours when I'm talking?'
> The girl stares back at Miss Malcom as if she is her jailer. 'My name is Elizabeth Parker.'
> 'I have you here as Betsy Deaves. I don't think you know who you are.' She feels inclined to slap the girl, give her a smart knock with her pointer, only Betsy, or Elizabeth, call her who you will, suddenly looks larger and stronger than Miss Malcom had realised. The wild notion that she could be attacked, here in Sydney, in this pit of iniquity, is not beyond the imagination. Betsy […] has dark eyes that roam the room when she is spoken to, as if she is a captive bird looking for an open window […]. Betsy wears a brown cotton shift that fits too snugly over her well-developed breasts. Miss Malcome worries that the girl will come too close to her, that she might brush against her with her ripe young body. Miss Malcome has not seen her own body unclothed from top to bottom for twenty years and there is something too immediate and intimate about Betsy's physical presence that alarms her. (pos. 188-196/ 1.2)

Despite the fact that Adeline is her teacher, the power imbalance during their first encounter in the novel is very much in favor of Betty who appears more mature than her age and considerably more self-confident than Adeline who feels intimidated and mocked by the girl. Adeline's worry and alarm are starkly contrasted by Betty's “physical presence” and the image of a captive bird, waiting to escape the confines of her current situation. Betty, on the other hand, is presented as an impertinent, precocious teenaged girl with an almost uncanny awareness of her own sexuality who feels very much superior to her teacher:

> If she [Adie] sees Elizabeth smile again, she may not be able

> to refrain from striking her across the cheek, slapping that look off her face. She might even be able to convince the principal that the girl is inciting the younger children to wickedness, especially the boys, who are bent on impressing her.
> Betsy, or Elizabeth, stares straight at Miss Malcom […] 'My father, as you know, is dead,' says Betsy steadily, 'and my mother is not coming with me [to New Zealand].'
> 'You have a position to go to? A maid perhaps?'
> 'No, I might have a maid of my own, I'm to be wed in the morning. Don't you wish you were me, Miss Malcom?' (pos. 220-228/ 1.2)

Especially the taunting question if Adeline is envious or would like to be in Betty's place enforces the impression that regardless of her younger years, Betty is clearly the superior of the two with no empathy or respect for her teacher. Even though the power imbalance between them remains when they encounter each other again later on, it is then less pronounced. The fact that Adeline becomes a confidant and friend to Betty ultimately make her look upon her former teacher with more sympathetic eyes, although Betty still plays with her and feels pity for her (cf. pos. 1210-1240/ 3.11 and pos. 3716-3769/ 8.36).

As a woman, Betty is described as “tall and dark, handsome some say […] [with] a strong chin for a woman […] [and] scorching eyes that men might die for” (pos. 590/ 2.6). She is aware and remarks herself on the fact that she belongs with the people of very low social standing and not to “the smart people” (pos. 600/ 2.6) in the better part of town, despite the fact that she is invited to dinner parties and banquets after her return to entertain the Australian social elite with her story. The novel portrays how the circumstances and events of her life shape “that fiery girl with a mind […] of her own” (pos. 3979/ 9.39) into a mature and resilient woman. Upon her return to Australia, she has left Jack Guard to join Adeline at her brother Percy's estate. When her husband arrives to take her back, she first refuses, and then it is she who goes to seek him out. Jack recounts the moment in his diary:

> She stepped aside from my embrace and closed the door behind her.
> Betty I said. I heard myself croaking, not able to bring out the words I wanted to say.
> What do you want of me Jacky she said.
> I want you to love me I said helpless as a woman.

> She looked puzzled. But I have always done that.
> [...] She gave me a look then which told me she knew of Charlotte [her aunt who he had an affair with in Betty's absence]. At that moment I thought no woman could know me like Betty does.
> I shook my head. It was not like that. I have no love for your aunt.
> Doesn't that make it worse she said.
> I thought she was trying to make a fool out of me as if our trouble was all to do with me. What surprised me was that she was not in tears. Once she wd have wept and begun to plead with me. But something in her had changed. For a moment I thought I saw the eyes of Granny Pugh [Betty's resilient grandmother who disapproved of Jack Guard] looking at me. That frightened me [sic] (pos. 3838-3846/ 8.37).

In the end, it is not so much Jack who takes Betty back, but rather the other way round. As this passage illustrates, Betty has evolved from the pleading, inferior girl Jack Guard first took with him into a woman who now meets him at eye level. She is now neither led or dominated by spur-of-the-moment emotions, nor remaining the subordinate party in their relationship. The fact that Jack is scared by Betty's reminiscence of her own grandmother, a woman not bound to a male superior figure, indicates the shift in authority and power between a suddenly "helpless" husband and a now self-reliant wife. In addition to that, the perspective Betty now has on Jack as a man she no longer wants as her husband (cf. pos. 3806/ 8.36) but rationally decides to stay with regardless, is a stark contrast to the idolized man she first described him as when she was a girl. These lines in Jack Guard's journal almost take on the mantle of a synopsis of the developments, summarizing Betty's conscious shift from inferior, admiring girl to disenchanted, mature woman, who has been scared by what happened, but came out a stronger individual who now holds sway – at least to a certain extend and within the confines of a patriarchal, settler colonial environment.

In spite of their obvious differences, Betty Guard and Adeline Malcom have something in common: both are forced to rely on the men in their lives, unable to make free, autonomous decisions. Whereas Betty is bound and defined by her relation to her husband whom she first has become afraid of (cf. pos. 600/ 2.6) and later stays with because their power imbalance has shifted somewhat to her advantage, Adeline is dependent on her employer Gerald Roddick, or her brother if

she loses her position. This dependency plays into the settler colonial order of fundamentally different roles – the men to rule and protect, the women to support and obey. The statement that “a wife is an asset to any man” (pos. 492/ 1.4) from the novel summarizes the essence of the settler colonial gender relation in a single sentence: first and foremost, married couples and families are the aspired constellation to life in, by men and women alike. More importantly however, women are valued as aids to their husband, supporting them as spouses by providing a respectable frame for sexual desires, bearing and raising children, running the household, and possibly also by assisting in establishing valuable contacts and being a presentable host of social gatherings. Nevertheless, women remain an asset, a supplement to their husbands, which is defined solely in relation to the man at their side.

John Guard very bluntly acknowledges that he “need[s] someone to put in a garden and cook [his] dinners and wash [his] clothes” (pos. 981/ 2.9), illustrating that wives were mostly needed for their practical skills, and the relief they could bring to a man's daily life. Upon taking Betty with him, he explains to her the “duties of a wife that perhaps you have not learned at school” (pos. 1528/ 3.15), indicating that girls' school attendance is not for their own benefit but a means to prepare them for their role as someone's helpmeet, even if the more delicate aspects of an adult relationship are, of course, left unexplained – it is still the Georgian era in Britain after all. According to John Guard, the first duty is “obedience. That should not be hard for I will not ask more of you than I should. Besides it is a lawful command that wives render obedience to their husbands” (pos. 1528/ 3.15). Furthermore, “a wife must be faithful in bed” (pos. 1537/ 3.15) and owes her husband love. Again, this illustrates the power imbalance between men and women, and reinforces two divergent roles – in a marriage as well as in society in general.

The fact that Betty, despite all her unconventionality and supposed strength, is described as “proud but obedient” (pos. 1787/ 4.20) turns her into the ideal predecessor of the female characters which will be encountered in the other novels. Regardless of her realization that her husband “could have been [her] father, and a father was what [she] lacked” (pos. 2342/ 6.24), and who basically bargained with a

Māori to receive a cask of gunpowder in exchange for offering him Betty as companion for one night following her rescue, she decides to stay with him, because "forgiving is what I have chosen to do. My husband could not have known that, in offering me up in rage, he gave me the first true choice of my life. I will not explain or defend myself" (pos. 3877/ 8.37). This passage reveals several things. For one, Betty's character attains a sense of defiance by refusing to explain her decision while at the same time regaining some moral superiority by choosing to forgive. Additionally, it emphasizes the fact that, for the most part, women did not get a choice in their own lives and the turns they might take. Moreover, however, it confirms how a changed, matured Betty succumbs to the societal paradigm that a woman's worth is ultimately tied to her status as wife and mother. In view of that it appears almost ironical that Betty technically never married her husband in front of a minister (cf. pos. 3134/ 7.31). While this would have been an outrageous scandal in the United Kingdom at the time, and most likely would have caused an almost equal stir in North America, the Australian social fabric apparently prevented an appalled uproar. According to Christina Stachurski, convicts and ex-convicts significantly outnumbered any other group of settlers well into the 1830s in Australia, and in combination with a strong Irish influence, who were weary of British rule and superiority, developed emancipatory tendencies also meant that the inclination was more towards aligning with the mores and established modes of behavior of the former criminals (cf. xvii-xviii). Consequently, the fact that Betty's and John's union had not been sanctioned by the church remained uncommented by their contemporaries. The fact that they committed to a marriage-like relationship which even entailed children and refer to each other as husband and wife evidently qualifies them in their own eyes, and presumably in the eyes of the Australian public as married couple. By returning to her husband, Betty secures her own (somewhat elevated) status as married woman, in contrast to the significantly less secure and powerful option of female outcast without a male partner to determine her status and standing. Ultimately, the circumstance that she, who has broken with all things considered decent or appropriate by the white settler colonial society by living among Māori and supposedly enjoying her time there, returns to the fold of her former, mostly conventional life represents the predominance of the settler colonial

order over any romantic or exotic alternative thereof.

Albeit being a minor character and firmly situated in Australia, Maude Malcom, wife to Perceval Malcom and Adie's sister-in-law, should not be neglected in a consideration of female portrayals. She constitutes the only truly powerful woman encountered over the course of the novel who considers "herself […] her husband's saviour" (pos. 1864/ 5.21), and has a firm grasp on him, thinking that "she cannot believe that he can be so undisciplined […] though she believes she is getting him in hand" (pos. 1881/ 5.21). When she first appears in the novel, she is introduced as

> a shrewd woman who, following the recovery from the difficult business of providing heirs, has learnt to keep the most excellent account of all the ingoing and outgoings on the property. […] Those who meet Maude are surprised. They expect to find a large firm woman, with her hands firmly on her husband's purse strings (it has been rumoured that she once turned up at an auction and forbade her husband to bid another penny on the sheep she considered inferior in quality). What they find is a small woman, not more than five foot one, with a smooth complexion that make her age difficult to guess, dressed in flowing pale muslin gowns. She never goes out of doors without a hat and veil, so that there is about her an air of misty uncertainty, a fragility that is beguiling (pos. 1864-1871/ 5.21).

This description of Maude establishes three important aspects right from the start: being married and bearing children is among Maude's chief functions; within their marriage, it seems that Maude assumes to role of the superior partner; and despite her clear dominance from an inside perspective, Maude still seeks to maintain an air of fragility and femininity, putting great effort into her outer appearance and dress to fulfill the established gender role. There is no doubt that she is the one in charge at the Malcom estate, at least behind closed doors, and a very perceptive and clever observer who does not miss much (cf. pos. 1900/ 5.21 and pos. 1928/ 5.21). Her husband "wonders at the steeliness of such milky fingers [...], the way they hold a horse in check, and how he once saw her crack the neck of a chicken" (pos. 1937/ 5.21), proving that despite her lady-like behavior and the fact that she does have servants, she is very much capable to fulfill the necessities of a farm wife. However, even she is only able to wield her power as the wife of her husband and, true to the

doctrine of delicacy and femininity, claims that her son “is really too active for [her] to manage on [her] own in the evenings” (pos. 1909/ 5.21). As she seems very capable of managing her husband and his dealings with Adeline, Betty, and later Lieutenant Roddick and Jack Guard, it appears to be more of a pretense for the sake of conserving a feminine image in accordance with the ideal of the time instead of a true lack of energy or authority to oversee her own son. While she is Australian and has never set foot into New Zealand, this still speaks for the settler colonial climate which apparently encourages a certain kind of women who cannot entirely yield to the passivity and unquestioned submissiveness attributed elsewhere to the ideal woman.

An aspect prominently featured throughout the novel is the question of race and white supremacy. As this is not the focus of my dissertation, I will only include this briefly and in relation to the close intertwining of race and gender in settler colonial theory. Nevertheless, I am convinced that *The Captive Wife* would be an excellent historical novel for further research focusing on white (settler) supremacy, settler-native-relations, and representations of Māori culture in popular fiction. During a dinner conversation at Government House in Sydney, the violence used against Māori during the rescue mission is arrogantly brushed off: “it was a good thing to teach the New Zealanders a thing or two and if a few of them had been shot it would remind them that the British people were to be respected” (pos. 737/ 2.7). 'New Zealanders' here obviously refers to Māori. The exact time when the linguistic shift from New Zealander being a native inhabitant of New Zealand to being a person irrespective of ethnic or cultural affiliation who resides or has been born in New Zealand has been hard to pinpoint and remains the subject of scholarly debates to this very day. The change was most likely connected to an increasing number of white settlers arriving in New Zealand, as well as the awareness of a developing national identity independent from the British 'home country' in the late nineteenth century. Likewise, it is hard to tell when 'Pākehā' became common parlance. The origin of the word is usually explained as having derived from 'pakepakeha' or 'pakehakeha,' the Māori expression for “strange spirits with white skins” (Fischer 524) which are part of Māori mythology. Today, the usage of Pākehā, meaning a light-skinned European, or person of European decent, in contrast to Māori, the

indigenous people of New Zealand, is a common, un-stigmatized way of referring to New Zealand people. Irrespective of the lexicographic and socio-linguistic history of the not entirely uncontroversial term, and the aforementioned sensitivity of the subject[44], it is interesting to observe that "New Zealand may be the only settler society where Europeans call themselves [until today] by the name the natives gave them" (Fischer 95). For a detailed discussion of both, the origin, as well as the development of the terms Pākehā and Māori, see "Pakeha" and "Maori" in the *New Zealand English Dictionary: A Dictionary of New Zealandisms on Historical Principles* by H.W. Orsman, "Origins of the Words Pakeha and Maori" by Sidney J. Baker, published 1945 by *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, "Maori and Pakeha" by Ormond Wilson, published by the same journal in 1963, or, for a broader historical approach, consult James Belich's *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesia*.

Historically, the incident, sometimes referred to as the *Harriet* affair, named after the ship which was wrecked on the New Zealand coast and led to the captivity of Betty Guard and her children, was heavily criticized and even caused a committee of the House of Commons to condemn the excessive force used against the Māori population in 1835 (cf. "Betty Guard" n.p. and cf. Grady n.p.). Aside from the historical figures of Elizabeth and John Guard, Kidman also incorporated another real historical character in her novel: William Barrett Marshall, a surgeon with the British navy, who published his experiences aboard the ship under the title *A Personal Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand in His Majesty's Ship Alligator, 1834* in 1836. His book is based on his diaries he kept during the time and clearly serves the purpose of supporting missionary goals, as it opens with the note:

> The profits (if any) arising from the sale of this volume, will be handed over to the church missionary society for the immediate extension of their mission in New Zealand to the three tribes at Cape Egmont, who were sufferers by the military proceedings detailed in the second part of the narrative (ii).

This note equally confirms Marshall's affiliation with the church missionary society, as well as his conviction that there was a misdemeanor from the British

44 See footnotes 2 in the introduction and 33 in Chapter 3.2 regarding the same matter.

towards Māori who are openly acknowledged as "sufferers" here. His narrative is laced with white supremacist beliefs, and the understanding that natives had to be raised to the superior civilization of the English, which was a common notion at the time. However, and despite his objectified and condescending portrayal of the 'primitive' native population in dire need of Christian enlightenment, his account of the second visit, and the rescue of Elizabeth Guard and her children reads as a harsh criticism of the way Māori were treated, openly and fiercely condemning the violence and insensitive handling of the matter by the British.[45] As a character in Kidman's novel, Marshall states that it was a massacre, and calls John Guard "naught but a murderer" (Kidman, *The Captive Wife* pos. 746/ 2.7). However, his perspective is swiftly and coldly relegated, and he is rudely asked whether he "had been led astray by the natives of New Zealand" (pos. 755/ 2.7). The dismissal of the incident and the harsh treatment of the critically speaking surgeon creates the image of a white elite which feels superior and unimpeachable not only due to their privileged situation as part of the inner government circle, but also simply because of the color of their skin and the predominance of Britishness over any native culture. This naturally goes hand in hand with the settler colonial aim to displace native populations, either by genocide or forced assimilation.

In the same fashion, one of the ladies during this dinner points out that "the evidence suggests that some white men will mix with dark-skinned women. But it would be against the natural inclination of brown or black men to associate with white women" (pos. 746/ 2.7). Apart from the obvious racist and supremacist nature of this statement, I would assume that she wants to express that the refined and civilized nature of white women has no appeal to the primitive tastes of non-white men, and – what to her seems to go without saying – that white women in reverse would never be attracted to them. It shows that white men are excused to engage with native women, even if it is something which should be omitted, but the reversed situation would be judged if not condemned much more harshly. The double standard for men and women again connects with the gender dichotomy which depicts men and women as fundamentally different, and men as the privileged, superior party.

45 William Barrett Marshall's account is available online via *NZETC - New Zealand Electronic Text Collection - Te Pūhikotuhi o Aotearoa.*

Equally derogative, Maude thinks Betty "looked *native*, as if she had no shame" (pos. 1964/ 5.22; emphasis as in original) when she turns up on the Malcom estate in search of Adie. By having Maude equalizing native-ness with shamefulness, Kidman on the one hand is able to distance herself as author entirely from any racist or supremacist attitude, while at the same time depicting the narrow-mindedness of a typical white, married, refined settler wife, as portrayed in the novel. This flawed sense of superiority deriving from a supremacist mind-set is turned back on Maude in the chapter though when Betty casually remarks that her grandfather used to farm the lands which now are the foundation of the Malcom's wealth (cf. pos. 1972/ 5.22), efficiently marking herself out as part of the white elite and almost evoking the notion that Maude benefits from a legacy which could have been Betty's instead.

Only Betty and very few other white characters are depicted as not looking down on Māori. Even before her capture, Betty enjoys the company of Māori women living with the whalers Jack employs when she resides in New Zealand, and even relies on a kuia,[46] when she gives birth to her first child (cf. pos. 1805-1813/ 4.20). She muses that "it was on account of these [Māori] women who helped me that my way of looking at things began to change" (pos. 2036/ 5.22), indicating that female companionship seems to transcend racial boundaries. Furthermore, when she is taken captive, it is again the women who come to her aid, emphasizing that "[t]here is something to be said for the kindness of women to one another at the worst possible hour. The woman threw a cloak over my body, and in that instant, I was saved" (pos. 2421/ 6.24). This again suggests that at least in Betty's case, the camaraderie among women overrules the racial confines which would separate them, and it is primarily through the interaction with the female Māori that Betty learns about the rules and structures of the life in the pā[47] (cf. pos. 2617-2716/ 7.27). But even here she is defined by her affiliation with a man: "Now that I was Oaoiti's wife, I became part of the tribe, a special woman" (pos. 2937/ 7.29). Even if she has already begun to adapt to and be absorbed into Māori society, it takes a man to make her a proper member of

46 A kuia is a wise woman or female elder. For a more detailed discussion of the concept and what role kuia played and continue to play in Māori communities, see "Matriarchs and Grandmothers: Kuia" by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku and Mamae Tuanewa Takerei in Sandra Coney's *Standing in the Sunshine,* or Annemarie Gillies and Shirley Barnett's article "Māori Kuia in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Perceptions of Marae and How Marae Affects their Health."

47 A pā is, according to the Te Ara glossary, "fortified refuge or settlement" (n.p.), but is often also used to refer to villages and Māori settlements in general.

this new-found community. Nevertheless, she confesses to Adie that “in captivity I had thought myself free and [...] in freedom I already felt myself captive again” (pos. 3499/ 7.33). This alludes to fact that regardless of limitations she might have experienced during her time among Māori, she still felt less restricted and constrained than she apparently does in (white) Australian society, also indicating that the definition of freedom or boundaries is fluid and always subject to individual sentiments and perceptions. Her stay with the Māori marks her mental shift from girl to womanhood in the novel, and casts an observant, but biased view on Māori life and culture, as it is only experienced through Betty's white settler eyes. Her final decision to leave the Māori chief Oaoiti, the man she loves, behind to return to a husband that she had been given to “by [her] family when [she] was a young girl” (pos. 2954/ 7.29) again creates the impression that settler colonial structures and intrinsic patriarchy overrule female personal inclinations or preferences.

Fiona Kidman depicts in her historical novel a female main character who is not a white New Zealand woman just yet, but who satisfies all the prerequisites to eventually turn into one. Betty's story is substantially influenced and governed by a pronounced gender division, clearly defined expectations of what a woman's place and role should be, and the overall patriarchal structure of public and private life. At the same time, Betty herself displays a keen understanding of the power relations around and including her, an awareness of rational necessities in opposition to emotional desires or dreams, a sensitive perceptiveness to Māori culture and customs, and an independent, quick mind, as well as a personal opinion she is wise enough to not always declare openly, depending on the company she is in. All these characteristics are of course connected to her position as the novel's protagonist, but they also allow imagining Betty as a woman who could have befriended Elizabeth Curtis or Anne Heine, Mary Ann Martin or Ellen Ellis, and also fictional Hester Peterson or Harriet Blackstone, who will be discussed in the following. Thus, I do not want to attribute her with the title of being the proverbial foremother of the New Zealand New Woman, but her salience as the first white woman settling permanently in New Zealand cannot be missed. Her portrayal by Fiona Kidman contributes to the national self-understanding in terms of ancestry and founding legends, and thus, plays a role in coming to terms with a settler colonial past and present. The fact that

the novel aligns with the portrayals in the following novels validate my claim that Kidman's work, too, echoes settler colonialism, but I admit it is not as accurately attributable to New Zealand as, for example in Tanya Moir.

While the insight of *The Captive Wife* into New Zealand settler colonialism is admittedly limited, primarily due to its early setting, Tanya Moir's 2011 novel *LaRochelle's Road* features the heyday of settler expansion in New Zealand with the Petersons, a fictional family from London, arriving in New Zealand in 1867 at its core. Southland-born novelist Moir admits to having invented all her characters but points out her historical inspirations and sources for many elements used in the story in the Author's Note and Acknowledgments in the back of the book. The main plot is quickly summarized: Daniel and Letitia Peterson set out with their two adolescent children Hester and Robert to make their luck in the young colony, hoping to grow grass seed. Their enthusiasm falters when they are confronted with a foreign land, rough living conditions, and quickly shattered hopes and dreams. While the parents fail and Letitia even commits suicide, their children both manage to find their way and eventually become a part of this new world.

The novel spans one hundred fifteen chapters grouped unequally in five parts and has Hester at the center of attention but without making her a first-person narrator. The audience gets occasional glimpses into her thoughts through passages she writes into her diary. At first, she is hopeful, reassured by her parents' confidence and assurance, but eventually, she becomes more critical of both, her own position in life, as well as her father's authority:

> *It had not occurred to me, until I overheard M. Delacroix* [a neighbor] *mention it, that Father too might be a fool. Now I consider it, it seems likely enough our neighbour is right, for our success on La Rochelle's Road seems very doubtful.*
> Hester puts down her pen. She rereads the words as they dry in the evening breeze, the ink setting quickly, black on white.
> […]
> Hester finds she has no further stomach for composition. Her last words alarm her. She slides the journal back into its pillowcase and places it, carefully, at the bottom of the sea chest, where she hopes to keep its pages safe from mice and spies. (Moir pos. 625-631/ 2.5)

Beginning to think critically of one's own parents and their decisions

traditionally marks the transition from trusting, naïve child to adult with the ability to form own opinions. For Hester, as the passage above shows, this development is something she is uneasy with at first. Throughout the novel, her diary entries serve the purpose to provide an even deeper insight into Hester's motives and thoughts.

In the same fashion, the letters Hester writes to her friend Lucy Fitzjohn whom she had to leave behind in England, also serve the purpose of letting the audience participate in Hester's mulling over events, people, the weather, and future outlooks. On February 24th, 1867, she writes, for example, about the "first social engagement at the cottage" (pos. 374/ 1.15), which means that their neighbors were invited over for tea:

> The womenfolk had a pleasant enough time of it, generally finding sufficient matter to talk of, though we had little enough in common, but for the coincidence of our current location. Mrs. Sutherland is a woman of Mother's age, more or less, who arrived with her husband and two young sons upon their own dray, drawn by their very own horse […].
> Mrs. Bénichou, it is to be presumed, attends a different Church. Although she and her husband were born in the Colony, her English is not proficient […] [T]o me Mrs. Bénichou seemed a nice young woman, plain, simple, and hard-working. […]
> Mrs. Delacroix, of course, you know of, and she remains as she is, a Tricoteuse by nature if not by birth.
> But the best. Lucy, I have left until last; – let me now tell you of Miss Halloran! I suspect she is not a Churchgoer. Her age is difficult to guess; – she might be two, or twenty, years my senior. (pos. 380-396/ 1.15)

The letter continues to describe Mary Halloran in even more detail than the other women. In having Hester write to a friend unfamiliar with place and people, Moir is able to introduce another narrative level into the novel thanks to which an audience does not only get information firsthand from Hester through her diary, or through the descriptions of a third-person narrator, but also by having one of the characters retell and evaluate its own experiences. This passage further illustrates two other aspects: that this meeting of neighbors was clearly a gender-divided – women occupying themselves with women, and men spending their time with the other men respectively – and that the white settler women of early settler colonial New Zealand were a diversified group, these particular ones not even considering themselves peers

– or at least Hester does not perceive them as such. While the first one falls in line with the settler colonial paradigm of separate gender roles, the second works as an example for the heterogeneity of white settler women. Regardless of their initial differences however, those turning into New Zealand New Women would eventually come to share a distinct set of features and not just their location, as Hester points out in this letter.

Another narrative perspective is introduced when Hester discovers the journal of the artist Etienne LaRochelle, the former owner of the house the Petersons bought, and she begins to read clandestinely of his adventure and amorous entanglement with a Māori woman. Her own life's story becomes intertwined with his past and the journal turns into the medium which serves as a reflection of her own coming-of-age and coming to terms with a life in a new place. Over the course of Hester's reading, one learns that LaRochelle was an artist who came a little more than a decade before the Peterson's to New Zealand, that his journal encompasses a log of his journey across the Southern Alps with his Māori guide Teone, and how LaRochelle falls in love with Hine, one of Teone's wives. His journal entries are often elevated, romantic descriptions, and hint towards a personality determined by its emotions rather than by rational thought:

> At first I thought this country rather tame and undramatic. But there is a sea-wildness to it, a wind-gnawed desolation to its highlands, and a deep magic slumbering in its valleys, where all things grow with a fierce hunger. 'Ah,' you will say, 'it is like Cornwall'; – and so it is. But it feels both younger and more ancient, a primaeval land, where enchantment is not a thing of the past, but yet to rouse and work itself fully (pos. 1734/ 4.1)

LaRochelle's enthusiasm, as it is also visible in these lines, slowly but surely allow Hester to see her new home without the bias of a constant comparison of how it differs to the beloved British scenery she used to be more familiar with. As LaRochelle was an artist, the journal naturally includes sketches of mostly Hine, but also of other contemporaries of LaRochelle, as well as New Zealand landscapes, which, in a very visual sense, further help Hester to acquire a new perspective. Additionally, Hester discovers letters or drafts of letters he intended to send home to his mother and fiancé in the final pages of the journal which suggest that he planned

on returning home. However, it is eventually revealed that he drowned in a stream nearby, causing his Māori lover Hine to live down by the beach, waiting for his bones to come home (pos. 2786/ 5.10).

Over the course of the developing story, several female characters make an appearance, often in a stark contrast to one another. In Hester, the audience finds a classical heroine who struggles at first but eventually succeeds, transforming from an innocent British girl into a young, strong settler colonial woman. Her anger at being displaced by her father's decision to come to New Zealand is reminiscent of Adeline Malcom's frustration at the same lack of say in one's own life. She writes in her diary: “It is his fault […] We should not have come here” (pos. 1025/ 2.26). Her mother Letitia, in comparison, seems not angry but rather quietly overburdened. The defiance she first displays, for example with regard to bread baking, “an operation that does not agree with her temper” (pos. 156/ 1.4; cf. also pos. 349/ 1.14) as her daughter observes which puts her in opposition to the bread-baking mistresses Jemima Martin and Anne Heine of Chapter 3.1, turns into an overwhelming tiredness. Hester writes to Lucy on the matter:

> Mother was quite concerned at first, but seems to have resigned herself to the situation; – in any case, we no longer discuss it. She talks so little, now, that her old friend would not know her. I think she has exhausted herself these last few months; – sometimes it seems she barely knows who we are, she is so tired (pos. 718/ 2.10).

This clearly illustrates the toll settler colonial life takes on Letitia, physically as well as mentally. As the obedient and supportive wife, she followed her husband's decision without hesitation. Disenchanted she thinks back that “he promised her a life of luxury by the sea. He told her it would be the making of the children. She believed him, of course. She always did” (pos. 224/ 1.6). The way Letitia is depicted, as a very feminine, industrious woman, fiercely anchored in her female sphere of household tasks and child-rearing, never questioning her husband's authority or disobeying his directions, and always subordinating her own dreams would make her the ideal helpmeet – at first glance. Yet, her suicide at the end of the novel's second part provokes the impression that her “attitude of devotion” (pos. 662/ 2.7) to her husband did not work out in combination with the rough conditions of settler colonial

life. It appears that this environment demands a self-reliance and strength which Letitia, potentially because she did not choose herself to come out, lacked.

Aforementioned Mary Halloran, a fellow settler and neighbor to the Peterson's, eventually moves into Letitia's place by becoming Daniel's housekeeper and lover. Having supposedly been born in New Zealand, she has “nothing accusatory in her gaze” (pos. 1190/ 3.4) as Letitia did, and quickly takes over as the head of the house when Daniel is out. Blind to his own daughter's efforts,

> he [Daniel] wonders if anything at all would get done without [Mary]. [She] makes no fuss. She moves with a quiet economy, swift and sure [...] She has perfected that skill of not drawing the eye, of performing her tasks beneath men's notice. She makes herself invisible, part of the kitchen furniture, just as if she has always been here. (pos. 1182/ 3.4)

As this description shows, she, too, fits into the image of the helpmeet, but is far more efficient than Letitia, obviously better suited to the settler colonial life, and able to make her own decisions. Although neither Daniel nor Mary seem to actively pursue each other, it is doubtlessly her decision to move in and her choice to share his bed, turning her into the aggressor and him into the passively accepting party. The animosity between her and Hester, provoked by the matter of course with which she carves out her place in the Peterson's household and the feeling of inferiority she evokes in Hester by pointing out her weaknesses (cf. pos. 1166/ 3.3 and pos. 1151/ 3.1), eventually turns into beginning camaraderie which is cut short when Hester leaves her father's house in order to pursue her own life.

Hester's transition into adulthood is tightly linked with accounts of life-writing in the book. The moment when she finds the letters from her friend Lucy which her father had kept from her marks the turning point in her development from an overwhelmed girl trying to figure out her place in this new surrounding into a self-reliant woman who leaves the security of her father's home to make her own way. Reading LaRochelle's journal marks her journey towards this point and serves as the initial medium of connection with the country. However, she is a lucidly settler colonial heroine. Diligent and hard-working, she “likes the tiredness that comes at the end of the work, the slowness it brings to her limbs, and the heaviness of her body, sinking down, towards sleep” (pos. 1990/ 4.12). Furthermore, she “feels shame

for her slovenly kitchen, as well as her unearned leisure" (pos. 1453/ 3.18). And despite her declaration that "[s]he has no wish to be anyone's servant" (pos. 1797/ 4.4), she "thinks she could cry with frustration" (pos. 2388/ 4.22) at the prospect of ending up as a spinster. Again, the ultimate aspiration is to get married, even if she has a clear opinion and wants to make the decision to whom herself. Her brother's declaration "You can't go back, you know [...] We're too big for that old life now. We won't fit into it anymore" (pos. 2573/ 5.4) marks both siblings out as having shed their Britishness and having irreversibly become part of settler colonial New Zealand.

It is an interesting twist that Robert Peterson has arrived at this point by becoming intimately involved with Hine, LaRochelle's Māori lover. The only explanation of Māori culture in the novel is delivered through Hester reading LaRochelle's journal entries, describing his journey with Māori guide Teone and Hine, and what they teach him about their customs and beliefs. The absence of other Māori characters in the novel arguably could be read as the settler colonial myth of a vanishing native, especially since George Karupoti and his son Tommy are the only other Māori characters we encounter, but I would rather attribute this to the fact that the novel unfolds around Hester as the protagonist. As a critical reader, one cannot perceive any intention of actively omitting Māori inclusion in the narrative, especially considering the importance attributed to Hine. George Karupoti is a neighbor of the Petersons, "dressed [...] in the manner of any other farmer" (pos. 641/ 2.6.) and Tommy, equally unobtrusive as is father, becomes a close friend to Robert. They eventually take Hester's brother in when he turns his back on his father, and both have apparently mostly assimilated to the white New Zealand settlers around them, as they life without a tribe affiliation in a European-style house and much like their Pākehā neighbors. Traditionally, Māori lived communally and, as Ben Schrader explains,

> in family-based kāinga (villages) or pā. They slept in rectangular wharepuni (sleeping houses), which were made of timber, rushes, tree ferns and bark, with a thatched roof and earth floors. Other traditional buildings included pātaka (storehouses), kāuta (cooking houses) and wharenui (meeting houses) ("Māori Housing" n.p.).

While they began to incorporate European elements such as glass windows or doors, most Māori remained in these traditional dwellings until the closing of the nineteenth century. The two Karupoti men in Moir's novel, however, live together in a small settler farmhouse. Although Tommy refers to Hine as aunt, it is not specified whether that is an actual relationship by blood, or whether it is just a term extended to a female member of Māori kin, belonging to the same hapū, whānau, or iwi.[48]

The first time Hester and her mother come across Hine, she is described as exotic and aloof: "the woman has a face which commands her full attention. Her bones are sharp, her eyes cold and black. She has a tattoo on her lip and chin.[49] Letitia's stare seems to cause her no discomfort. She passes them by in silence, with no greater regard than if they were stones" (pos. 658/ 2.6). This air of exoticness prevails throughout the novel, fostered by LaRochelle's descriptions of her which are always very physical and sensual (cf. pos. 1255/ 3.9), and portray her as a proud and strong individual (cf. pos. 1691/ 3.28), even though Teone brings her along as mokai.[50] The fact that she is cast as independent and free of any man commanding, protecting, or leading her sets her apart from the white female characters, and defies settler colonial gender dichotomy as well as the settler colonial aspiration to eliminate the native. And yet, the fact that she is only perceived through Pākehā eyes and the complete absence of other Māori – except for the assimilated George and Tommy – create an atmosphere clearly focusing on the white settler colonial perspective. However, the authority or power and importance Hine has in this story, especially for Robert Peterson's development, constitutes a slight shift in historical novels regarding Māori in terms of a settler colonial present.

Considering my analysis so far, it becomes clear that *LaRochelle's Road*

48 The concepts of hapū and iwi have been explained in Chapter 2.3, of this dissertation. 'whānau' is the smallest social unit, meaning an extended family. Thus, iwi contains several hapū which in turn include several whānau. For a more detailed discussion, consult once again *He Hinātore ki te Ao Māori: A Glimpse Into the Māori World, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, "A View of the Maori Family: Whanau, Hapu, Iwi" by Donna M Tai Tokerau Durie-Hall in Sandra Coney's *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, and Angela Ballara's *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c. 1769 to c. 1945*.

49 The sacred moko kauae, also discussed earlier in this dissertation in Chapter 3.2.

50 'mokai' is a Māori expression for a slave or un-free individual. The expression, and slavery in Māori society more generally has been briefly discusses in Chapter 2.3 of this dissertation. For a detailed discussion of the topic, again Hazel Petrie's *Outcasts of the Gods? The Struggle Over Slavery in Māori New Zealand* is a useful source of information.

presents several female characters who are all affected by settler colonial structures. With regard to Hester Peterson, the novel's heroine, the development could almost be described as a typical coming-of-age arch. However, the character matures in a distinctly settler colonial environment and fashion. Even though she ceases to be British and embraces New Zealand as her new home with everything that entails, and even though she completes her transformation into a young woman who dares to make her own decisions and find her own way, she ultimately finds her place by attaching herself to Matthew Halloran, Mary Halloran's younger brother and her secret love interest (cf. pos. 2786-2813/ 5.10-5.11). This is of course the unexpected positive resolve of the romantic subplot of the novel, but at the same time makes Hester even more settler colonial. If she would have remained alone in the novel's finale, it could have been speculated whether her independence and autonomy gained through leaving her father behind, as well as abandoning the domestic confinements of her home, would have become a more lasting state. This way, however, Hester seems to follow the female pattern Polly Plum and her peers outlined: (white) New Zealand women want to be acknowledged and valued, New Zealand women are able to stand their own ground and make their own decisions, New Zealand women have what it takes to prevail in a settler colonial environment. And yet, white settler women in New Zealand ultimately will become someone's spouse, the ideal settler colonial helpmeet and mother. Mary Halloran is the prime example. She is capable, efficient, and resistant. She does not question Daniel's authority and easily commits to domestic expectations, even though the fact that she has her own opinions and is very much capable of taking care of things by herself is evident in her interactions and conversations with Hester. Tanya Moir thus provides a prime example for the resonating nature of settler colonial structures. Plot- and character-wise, the novel fulfills the expectations of a modern audience effortlessly, but it also serves as a fictional blueprint for the established image of the historical New Zealand New Woman: self-reliant, intelligent, hardworking, but at the same time feminine, domestic, and motherly.

If I now turn to *An Important Family* by Dorothy Eden, published originally in 1982, two decades before Kidman's and Moir's novels, there is one aspect that a modern reader immediately notices, especially in opposition to Kidman's and Moir's

novels, and the three life-writing accounts of the previous chapter: Māori characters are painstakingly absent. A Māori boy living and working on the fictional farm in the novel remains a minor and mostly flat character. By literary standards, a time span of forty years to today stretches the definition of 'contemporary' slightly, but by including this novel, I hoped to reveal whether the continuity of settler colonialism is constituted differently in fictional works over time. Dorothy Eden eventually emigrated to Britain but spent the first half of her life New Zealand, and made a living as short-story writer and novelist. *An Important Family* is characterized by a distinctly Gothic atmosphere and feels notably less grounded in historical research than the novels by Kidman and Moir.

Spanning twenty-four chapters, the story develops around Kate O'Connor, a young Irish-born governess and lady-companion who joins her new employers Sir John and Lady Iris Devenish with their daughter Celina on the way to the new colony. Also part of this group is the Lodden family who is to work as servants and farmhands at the sheep farm John Devenish has bought. Especially the Devenish women appear to be entirely unsuitable for the endeavor but must bow to John's vision of a settler colonial success. Iris Devenish is described as “abnormally nervous” (Ellis pos. 1746/ 9), “a small fragile woman, like a moth, or a white mouse” (pos. 116/ 1), and “[a] poor anxious lady […] whom one had to protect (pos. 221/ 2). At first glance, Celina seems to be merely a younger version of her mother, as she is described by Kate as follows:

> That young Lady, Miss Celina Devenish, was a fascinating enigma. Dressed in a childish fashion in a sprigged muslin with a sash around her infinitely slim waist, she looked no more than twelve years old. She had come into the room meekly, her eyes downcast, the dark lashes lying on her pale cheeks. She had seemed almost as gentle and colourless as her mother, sketching a curtsy to Kate, and then sitting down in a huddled fashion, as if she were modestly trying to conceal her budding breasts. […] Her looks didn't seem to be anything to be vain about, and she did curl up as if she would like to be invisible. But her hair was striking, an extremely pale blonde, almost silver, and luxuriant. That would make men look at her (pos. 394/ 3).

However, Kate soon realizes that Celina's demure and shy behavior is an act,

and that Celina has merely “waited for a suitable occasion to display her dramatic and deliberate transformation from waif to witch” (pos. 1203/ 7). The fact that she uses her beauty and child-like appearance to seduce a man Kate had hopes of becoming involved with foster the impression of an almost Lolita-like character, and even her father describes her as “impetuous, and inclined to behave recklessly” (pos. 590/ 4), which, once Celina displays her true nature, seems to be an understatement. Eden's mother-daughter duo resembles Jeanie Lennox and her mother in *Over the Hills and far Away* who are equally unsuited for life on a New Zealand farm, although the Lennoxes lack the aristocratic air of the female Devenishs, and Jeanie is distinctly less uncanny than Celina.

Sir John Devenish himself calls his wife and daughter “drawing-room women” (pos. 105/ 1) and it quickly becomes clear that the family also left England due to Celina who is “[s]o flawed that her parents were prepared to transport her across the world to find an innocent and gullible husband for her, before there had been some great scandal” (pos. 1203/ 7). This secret surrounding Celina and the Devenish's departure functions as distinctly gothic element in the novel, and the uncovering of it marks the peak of the narrative's suspense. On their voyage out, they all meet Tabitha Pugh, a middle-aged “very observant lady with a shrewd and kindly interest in her fellow travelers” (pos. 683/ 5) who travels to New Zealand to take care of her adolescent nephew after the parents have died in a flood. She will eventually take over the position as housekeeper at the Devenish farm and become a confidante to Kate.

It is commented several times by female characters on the circumstance that they did not have say in the decision to go abroad. Iris Devenish remarks to her daughter: “Your father has decided, and we women must obey” (pos. 414/ 3). Likewise, Mary Lodden, a “strong responsible woman obediently accompanying her mate on his chosen way” (pos. 330/ 2), points out that “[w]e women weren't particularly asked what we thought” (pos. 241/ 2). This is reminiscent of Letitia Peterson in *LaRochelle's Road* and also applies to a certain extent to Harriet Gore Brown from Chapter 3.1 or Mary Ann Martin from Chapter 4.1 who both doubtlessly seemed to have enjoyed their stay, but in the end came out because they dutifully

followed their husbands. The contrary could be observed for some of the other women encountered in Chapter 3.1, like for example May Monkhouse or Grace Hirst, who consciously and knowingly signed up for a settler colonial life. In Eden's novel, the only two women voluntarily setting out are Kate, who applies to her position knowing where it will lead her, and Miss Pugh, who feels obliged to take care of her nephew. As for the other female characters, however, this fictional narrative, too, presents abiding, obedient women to decision-making men setting the tone. Tellingly, Emily, Mary's daughter "thought that women were happy always to do as their husbands wanted" (pos. 241/ 2), indicating that this gender dichotomy and power relation is passed on to children from an early age on, ensuring that the next generation of girls will grow up to continue this social structure unquestioningly.

In comparison to the previous works of fiction, Eden stresses much more the general kind of women desired or needed, or openly describes the exemplary pioneer or settler woman: "Those women make bread in camp ovens and turn a sod cottage into a home, and have their babies without the help of a doctor" (pos. 738/ 5) comments a fellow passenger aboard the ship. As Lady Iris is the typical embellishing doll-wife quite unable to physically work, it is repeatedly stressed that "most women here [in New Zealand] are hard-working and have no servants" (pos. 970/ 5), and Kate, in contrast to Lady Iris, is considered "an ideal wife, strong, resourceful, capable, and immensely charming" (pos. 1054/ 6). It is also stated that "[i]t's a place for strong, self-reliant pioneer women. Not for hothouse plants" (pos. 3625/ 20) and, in the same manner, that "[t]his is a country where women don't sit about fanning themselves and sipping tea. They work. Being a lady might be fine enough back home, but here it seems to me she's a bit useless, a bit of a burden" (pos. 3809-3822/ 21). Especially the last statement would have been something that I would have easily accepted as a quote by Jane Maria Atkinson or Jessie Campbell who expressed similar attitudes in their respective letters. By repeatedly commenting on the ideal settler colonial woman in her novel, Eden, on the one hand, reinforces this gender role, and, on the other hand, also never fails to position her fictional characters in relation to this ideal. During a garden party, settler colonial lady Ada Collins remarks: "Yes, I believe we women were just brought out here to be slaves [...] Starching and ironing His Honour's shirts, brushing his lapels. Well, I quite like

it, you know. Makes one indispensable" (pos. 3223/ 18). She could be seen as the fictional reflection of historical examples such as Charlotte Godley or again, Jane Maria Atkinson, as it is said that she would not have been of much importance in England, but in the early settler colonial environment, she rises to be one of the key figures of social life (cf. pos. 979/ 6), wielding great influence due to the settler colonial success of her husband and herself. Ada Collins' apparent satisfaction in being useful and appreciated is very reminiscent of equal commentary by Atkinson and her peers, as well as by Barker and Martin in their autobiographical life-writing accounts.

This repeated reference to how women are or should be is only occasionally contrasted with the evident comparison to men. On another gathering, for example, "a butler carr[ies] a silver tray with sherry or whisky for the gentlemen, and two maid servants [...] bea[r] crystal glasses of fruit cup for the ladies" (pos. 1131/ 7). Not only do men and women have different tastes in drinks, they are even served by the respective male or female servant to complete the meticulous separation of male and female sphere. However, even without commenting on the role or ideal of men to the same amount, it still enforces a strong, fiercely pronounced gender dichotomy. Regarding the importance of femininity and domesticity in both, the life-writing accounts of the previous chapter, as well as the historical novels mentioned in this section, I found Eden's novel to be the most irritating one for a modern reader, as marriage is the ultimate, and often single goal of all of Eden's unmarried female characters. It is clearly exceeded by Charlotte Evan's *Over the Hills and Far Away* in this respect, but I would argue it is only more bearable because it lacks the overstated melodramatics, and excessive emphasis of women's beauty and female wardrobes. The only woman or girl contented without a male superior or suitor is Miss Pugh – and that might be partly due to the wisdom and serenity of age. Even Kate who is mostly presented as self-confident and intelligent woman is genuinely concerned to end up as a spinster, as "she had had two chances of marriages snatched from her" (pos. 1787/ 9) already. Regardless of the fact that there are "several suitable occupations for a person of [her] intellect" (pos. 2976/ 16) in the young colony, she turns into a love-struck, bedazzled female when John Devenish – entirely inappropriately as he is her employer and married – seems to take an interest in her.

When the novel reads that "[a]lthough he had made her feel like a chastened schoolgirl, he was smiling with that tenderness that completely disarmed her. She wanted only to please him" (pos. 3763/ 21), one almost wants to shake Kate to turn her back into the young woman who is "a bit rebellious, a bit inclined to reckless behaviour, a bit of a dreamer, and who dearly likes to dance" (pos. 2948/ 16). The attention of John Devenish transforms Kate from a confident reasonably self-confident female protagonist into a pitiful, other-directed travesty of her former self.

What is even more striking is that Kate, like the characters of the other novels, yields to the paradigm of strong, capable, but domestic, married woman which settler colonial society seems to enforce, but unlike Hester Peterson or Betty Guard, she does not make a decision to do so. With regard to Kate, the audience is presented with a female protagonist who ends up less self-determined than she started out, for she needs to be saved from the precarious situation with John Devenish by another man, who has conveniently been an educated, well-mannered, successful suitor of hers before and turns out to be her ideal match for a happily ever after. While the audience can observe Hester Peterson, Betty Guard, and even Adeline Malcom completing a process of personal evolution and, in the end, making active, autonomous decisions, Kate seems to regress, becoming less sovereign, and is almost passively pushed into her happiness. Considering now that *An Important Family* was written more than twenty years before *LaRochelle's Road* and *The Captive Wife*, I would argue that readers' expectations have changed, and, as a consequence, the settler colonial undercurrent of fiction has become more clandestine and subtle. In order to appeal to a modern audience, Moir and Kidman portray the development and personal progress of their female characters, even if they still end up in the female, domestic bliss which encourages strong associations with the initial settler colonial ideal. Eden, on the other hand, presents female characters who are not empowered in any way and almost comically romanticizes their strive for domestic fulfillment. This is much closer to the pronounced, overt settler colonialism present in Martin's and Barker's works, even though their life-writing is to a considerably smaller extend concerned with romance, and to a greater extend concerned with New Zealand itself. Eden's writing furthermore arouses the impression of a slightly modernized, less exaggerated, and more New Zealand oriented version of the formula employed in

Charlotte Evan's fiction. I would argue that Evans' as well as Eden's novels are first and foremost romances, and New Zealand-specific or historical only as a second, minor attribute. In contrast to that, Moir's and Kidman's writing is primarily historical fiction and New Zealand-focused, and any other genre-affiliation or further specification is subordinate to that.

I would dare to conclude that in the past two decades, the scholarly surge in native and indigenous studies, gender studies, as well as postcolonial and settler colonial studies has led to a shift in perspective which has transcended well into the mainstream, and thus, is reflected in the different portrayals and tone of recent popular historical novels. In addition to that, the surge of the historical novel as a favorite of a historically interested, but critical crowd has changed the demands historical fiction has to meet today. Research that is almost scholarly in scope and depth has become a common way of approaching their topics among successful authors of historical fiction. The fact that Eden severely neglects and only superficially mentions aspects of Māori culture in contrast to two novels that at least acknowledge, and, in Kidman's case, elaborate at length and in depth on it, proves that the initial settler colonial aspiration to 'vanish' the natives of New Zealand had to be adapted. Regarding gender, which was my declared focus, a shift is to be observed, too, although it is decidedly less pronounced. The settler colonial mechanism of a strong gender dichotomy prevails in the lines of historical fiction. Although it could be claimed that this is done for the sake of historical accuracy, it leaves the lingering feeling that settler colonialism does indeed echo to this very day in New Zealand society, and consequently in its cultural forms of expression such as literature.

This is closely linked with Angelika Köhler's observation that the image of the New Woman in the United States was not only mirrored, but itself a product of journalism and literature. In *Ambivalent Desires*, Köhler explains how this “female role model […] was supposed to guide a vast majority of American women through a time of social transition” (72), and that magazines, as well as literature, were paramount to the creation and enforcement of said ideal. My dissertation has not been concerned with the question whether the media were the initial creator of the

ideal which they then dictated to their audiences, or whether they picked up on an ideal they observed in society and just popularized, maybe influenced it, as Köhler's study is. Yet, irrespective of the role model's origin, I agree with Köhler that the New Woman – and any other role model for that matter – is always spread, emphasized, and enforced by the news media as well as by literature of any form, which is why I am analyzing newspapers and fiction as part of my research.

In the American context, Köhler identifies two patterns of how literature portrays New Women: "*the woman of action* […] and *the woman artist*" (287; emphasis as in original). She further elaborates that "the innovative potential of these female images may […] be called limited; yet […], they carry a highly modern significance since both figures create fundamental challenges to the traditional nineteenth-century concept of separate spheres" (287). With regard to my analysis of New Zealand authors and the fictional characters they create, I found that neither pattern truly applies – possibly due to the difference between the magazine culture and popular fiction Köhler used for her study and my very specific focus on historical fiction. While the woman artist is entirely absent in Eden, Kidman, and Moir, even the woman of action does not seem to properly fit regarding the women characters discussed earlier. Neither Kate O'Connor, nor Hester Peterson, nor Betty Guard or Adeline Malcom technically leave the "small-town atmosphere of [their] [...] childhood" (288) to reinvent themselves in anonymous, large cities. Furthermore, none of those women "suppresses her female qualities" (289), wants to be like a man, or has a particular appreciation of money and professional success which Köhler identifies as specific features (cf. 288).

However, the woman of action of Köhler's study is not completely different to the (white) New Zealand New Woman presented in the historical novels of this dissertation. These characters, too, refuse, at least at first, their "traditional place on the pedestal" (288) and even though the move from rural home to city is not accurate, Kate, Hester, Betty, and Adeline do break free and dare to move to a place (and future) unknown. Thus, there are undeniable parallels between one of the American New Woman patterns Köhler identifies and the fictional women analyzed in this chapter. The difference, I would argue, arises out of two aspects: first, Köhler

focuses on popular literature, but historical fiction does present a very particular sub-category; second, and more importantly, I conclude, as explained earlier in this dissertation already, that the New Woman in America and the New Woman in New Zealand are related, but distinct, non-identical gender images, influenced and shaped by each nation's social frame and the respective media and literary influence. Admittedly, both are settler colonial, but New Zealand and North America feature quite different settlement histories, timelines, and groups of settlers. David Hackett Fischer contrasts and compares these similarities and differences in *Fairness and Freedom: A History of Two Open Societies, New Zealand and the United States*. Especially the chapters "Settler Societies" (pp. 31-67), and "Immigrants, Voluntary and Assisted" (pp. 205-227), illustrate the fine distinctions between who the people were that formed the respective new settler colonial nation, and consequently, how this affected the social fabric and practices. This ultimately leads to a non-congruent image of the New Woman. Therefore, I claim that New Zealand features a variety of Köhler's woman of action which is not quite the same as the one in American literature. In the end, and that is a feature shared with the American New Woman and aligning them as two varieties of one phenomenon, the New Zealand New Woman always remains "marriageable" (cf. Köhler 289), a suitable potential spouse, mother, and helpmeet, and their level of autonomy or independence is always careful to remain compatible with the settler colonial gender division and the overall patriarchal order of things.

In line with the overall observations made in *Ambivalent Desires*, the proposition remains that settler colonialism still resonates in contemporary New Zealand writers. To validate this, I decided to include one more novel in this chapter which is also set in early settler colonial New Zealand and presents a female protagonist but has been written by a British women writer. If New Zealand authors, consciously or unconsciously, participate in the continuing structures of settler colonialism because they are part of the settler nation whose process of national identity formation they help shaping through their fiction, the echoes of it would have to be absent in an author not part of the settler colonial community.

London-born Dame Rose Tremain is a former Chancellor of the University of

East Anglia and an acclaimed English novelist. She, too, like Fiona Kidman, was granted her title due to her outstanding services for literature and has won multiple awards for several of the more than twenty works she has published so far. Her historical novel *The Colour*, first published in 2003, is set at the same time as Moir's *LaRochelle's Road* and unfolds around the first New Zealand gold rush. The newlyweds Joseph and Harriet Blackstone venture out to New Zealand, Joseph's widowed mother Lilian in tow, in search of a better life. Making a start in the foreign land proves to be harder than anticipated, and when Joseph finds gold in a nearby creek, he is seized by the dream of finding 'the color' and sets of for the diggings on the other side of the Southern Alps, leaving Harriet and Lilian behind.

The first of three parts of the novel, organized in nine, nine, and eight chapters respectively, opens with the Blackstone family already having arrived in New Zealand in 1864 and having bought land on which a small cob house is now their home. It quickly becomes clear that their marriage was not a love match but a rational decision bearing advantages for both of them, and Joseph thinks that “here was a woman he would grow to love” (Tremain 13) eventually. Like Kidman's Adeline Malcom, Harriet used to be a governess, and just as with Moir's Letitia Peterson, her new husband promised her a better future:

> She didn't know him [Joseph Blackstone] yet. She saw – what she had known from the first but had not particularly minded – that he was an ordinary man. She knew that they had almost passed each other by. And then, for no reason that she could determine, he had come back, hurried back in a stumbling way one autumn evening, as though he'd suddenly remembered what it was he wanted to say or do, as though part of him had been missing when he first met her and then he had rediscovered it.
> He wooed her with dreams of escape. She sat on the hearth rug with her head on his knee and he described to her the paradise he would create on the other side of the world. […] [S]he saw how sick of her life as governess she was, how weary of owning nothing and going nowhere and spending her days by other people's meagre fires (13-14).

This description equally reveals that there is no predominantly romantic attachment between Joseph and Harriet, but that they rather are each other's means to escape the confines and bleakness of their current situation. Yet, it also indicates that

both, Joseph as much as Harriet see a chance to eventually fall in love with the other once they are building a live together. Furthermore, it is also the first indication towards the fact that Harriet craves a certain independence, wanting to have something for herself instead of being an addition in other people's lives. Nevertheless, in this scene, Harriet is clearly assuming a traditionally female role by being "wooed," and even physically, almost symbolically, positioning herself at her husband's feet, letting him be the one to care for her.

Her mother-in-law Lilian is resentful for being displaced, but like many other female characters encountered before, she did not have much of a choice but to accompany her son, as she is fully dependent on him as a widow of unsubstantial means. The animosity between the two women recedes over joined laboring hours to whip the farm and the household into shape. Especially after Joseph leaves in search of gold, the two women form a hesitant friendship, and Harriet observes that Lilian begins to dress herself less and less in fine clothes and bonnets which used to be her preferred choices. Instead, the widow-turned-settler

> wore smocks now, and sacking aprons, and pushed her grey hair into a net under a crumpled linen hat to keep off the sun. She said that she was 'getting quite attached to the pigs' and even her struggles with the smoky range seemed to vex her less than they had done. (160)

The change of clothes is the visible reflection of the less material adaptation to her new surrounding and transformation into a new, less British and more New Zealand person. The reward both women feel at making things work resembles the repeatedly aforementioned feeling of usefulness and yet, they are the first two female characters that gain this satisfaction without being a man's helpmeet.[51]

Regarding the representation of Māori, Tremain includes a very complex subplot centering around Pare, the Māori nurse of young Edwin Orchard, the son of Toby and Dorothy who life on the estate next to the Blackstones. Rich with Māori mysticism, this narrative string alternates with the rest of the story throughout the

51 Fictional characters that is, as a few historical women of Chapter 3.1, for example Elizabeth Curtis, are on their own, too. However, all the women explicitly commenting on the matter of usefulness in letters cited earlier in this dissertation are, in fact, married, and their newly acquired feeling of purpose mainly derives from the duties and responsibilities they take over as settler colonial wife and mother.

novel. Even though it is sometimes hard to follow the unfamiliar imagery and allegory, it contributes to an impression of receiving a deep glimpse into a complex and diversified cultural alternative world to the white settler reality of Harriet's journey. It does remain a secondary strand of the plot in the novel dominated by a Pākehā female character but preserves the atmosphere of a respectful handling of Māori history, and pays tribute to the historically unavoidable intertwining of Māori and Pākehā.

The closest we come to a traditional settler colonial constellation of husband and wife in *The Colour* is the portrayal of the Orchard family. Their vast property constitutes the closest neighbor for the Blackstones, and the Orchards are the picture-perfect example of settler colonial success. Having set out with substantial financial means thanks to Dorothy's inheritance, they now reside in a comfortable house, and can enjoy a life without hardships due to an immensely successful investment in land and livestock as the foundation of their striving sheep run. The only “rebellious” (43) thing about Dorothy is her short hair; otherwise, she is the lady of the house, overseeing servants, and being able to spend her time with crafting Christmas decorations and making candles (cf. 37). Being emphatic and affectionate, she dotes on her son Edwin, has a loving relationship with her husband whom she adores, and also possesses the resources and the temperament to happily extend a welcoming hand and support to Harriet as new arrival. Her sphere is undoubtedly domestic, even though the couple seems to understand itself as a strong union which succeeds together (cf. 36-52). When Harriet and Dorothy sit down together in front of a fire, the fundamental differences between the two women become clear:

> 'No,' said Dorothy, 'Take my word for it. We are not strong enough for rivers and stars. We think we are at first, but we are not. […] What do I mean? I mean that inevitably we make a small world in the midst of a big one. For a small world is all that we know how to make.'
> Harriet was silent. Here in this room was indeed a comfortable little piece of England reassembled. It was pretty and welcoming and outside were English trees moving in the dark.
> 'But then,' she said, 'we are not tested.'
> 'Now it is my turn to ask what you mean.'
> 'Well, I am not sure I know what I mean. But when I am

> working in my vegetable garden, on my own, and I look up at the mountains, that is where I long to go.'
> Dorothy Orchard ran her hands through her cropped hair. She looked at Harriet, at her muddied skirts and her slender feet in their brown boots, and tried to guess her age. 'The mountains, as you call them, the Southern Alps are as fearful in their way as anything in the world. I've heard them called 'the stairway to hell'. If you don't want your children to lose a mother, then stay away from the Alps.' (46-47)

Whereas Harriet seems to have a longing for freedom, the unconventional, maybe even for danger, Dorothy is the exact opposite: maybe slightly unconventional, given her short hair and settler colonial location, but overall a domestic, feminine figure whose efforts are invested into creating a comfortable nest for her family. In contrast to Harriet, the limits of a "small world" are not confinements to her, but secure boundaries within which she can safely and purposefully move, fulfilling her responsibilities of settler colonial wife and mother. Convinced that women are "not strong enough," Dorothy concerns herself with what she deems within her strength and ability: domestically recreating the safety and homeliness of a familiar British life and place withing the foreign environment – the conquest of which clearly is her husband's task. However, Dorothy Orchard as an exception set aside, the novel's plot is otherwise driven by ambiguous role models and the blurring of gender dichotomy rather than by a clear definition thereof.

Harriet is the only protagonist in these four novels who succeeds entirely on her own. When her husband declares that he will leave to try his luck on the gold fields, Harriet quietly "imagine[s] what her days and nights would be like without Joseph. She saw in not much time that she wouldn't mind his absence at all" (123) and when they stay in a hotel in town for a night before she sees him off, she even contemplates in the spur of a moment "how easy it would be to pick […] up [Joseph's gun] and put it against Joseph's head and muffle the shot with a pillow" (127). Being alone and on her own clearly does not frighten Harriet. On the contrary, she seems to long to be free of her husband sooner rather than later. However, she still feels a sense of obligation as his wife (cf. 172, 195-196) and displays a certain loyalty, despite the pragmatic nature of their marriage and her emotional unaffectedness, even when confronted with her husband crying (cf. 254-255).

Whereas Joseph seems to embark on a downward spiral when he leaves his house and purchased land, Harriet begins to strive as if their separate lives work like two sides of a scale.

The concept of marriage, an almost omnipresent theme in Kidman, Moir, and Eden, is presented as a hindrance for Harriet by Tremain, her husband more burden than responsible companion, and an obstacle in her personal development. In the end, Harriet excels her husband: she not only makes it to the gold fields which are considered unsuitable terrain for women in order to track down Joseph, she also makes the find her husband has frantically searched for. Before she can offer him his share, a flood catastrophe destroys the gold diggings and camps, and Joseph, assuming Harriet dead, uses the bit of gold he has to sail back to England. Harriet inquires after him at the Shipping Office, declaring that "she didn't know whether she was a widow or not. She explained that she had money [from the substantial amount of gold she found] to give to her husband, if he were still alive, if only she could find him" (358). Upon receiving the information that Joseph has left New Zealand – and her – for good, she finally walks free. She returns to "the land on the Okuku flats which Joseph Blackstone had bought for £ 1 an acre and where, now that he was on the other side of the world, she would build her house" (366), and a home for the baby of her Chinese lover which she is carrying. In stark contrast to the other female characters, Harriet feels relieved to finally be on her own. The only feature connecting her to Kate, Betty, Adeline, and Hester is her longing for motherhood. And yet, for the others, this desire is inextricably linked with the domestic life of a wife and the comfort of a providing husband, while Harriet confidently and contented faces the future of being a single mother to a half-Chinese child born out of wedlock in the rural remoteness of a scarcely settled young colony.

In *The Captive Wife*, Betty, but also Adie, even if it remains a wish rather than reality, seek to be someone's significant other. Likewise, Hester and, to a lesser extent but still, Mary Halloran in *LaRochelle's Road* both hinge their own worth and satisfaction on being or becoming a man's companion. *An Important Family* has a whole assortment of female characters – Kate, Iris and Celina Devenish, Mary and Emily Lodden, Ada Collins – who all strive to reach the status of married woman or

significantly define themselves due to their state as someone's wife. In stark contrast to that, *The Colour*'s Harriet Blackstone committed to a marriage of convenience without ever feeling this sense of achievement the others seem to cultivate and was relieved if not rejoiced when she realizes she is free of her husband. She also is the one female character who entirely abandons even any pretense of domesticity for a significant part of the novel when she first travels difficult terrain in search for her husband, and then sets up a tent in the wilderness next to the creek where she wants to wash gold without anyone around. Betty, Hester, and Kate all display a reasonable amount of self-agency, and, true to the New Zealand New Woman ideal, an occasional breach of the classical domestic sphere thanks to the settler colonial environment, but they all preserve a distinct sense of femininity and domestic capability. Of course, Harriet has proven her domestic skill earlier in the novel, too, but her aspiration towards domesticity is absolutely limited to the necessities required if you are to raise a child by yourself, whereas femininity never seems to be a great concern of hers. In absence of a male counterpart, the already diluted gender dichotomy experienced over the course of the novel would ceases entirely.

In view of these fundamental differences between Tremain's novel and the other three, the assumption that novelists' own belonging to the settler colonial nation or not plays a role in how they depict settler history in their historical fiction proves to be right. Because historical novels contribute to the founding myths of national identity and contribute to an ongoing process of nation building by recounting the past in a certain light, they inevitably fall victim to the re-affirmation and re-telling of settler colonial structures and mechanisms. Indeed, I felt that *The Captive Wife*, and *LaRochelle's Road* were remarkably close to the (auto-)fiction life-writing of Barker and Martin in terms of tone, atmosphere, and themes. As such, they are all in line with the impressions gained through the letters and private documents of Chapter 3.1, and confirm the average portrayal of New Zealand New Woman in the various sources employed for this dissertation are almost congruent with minor deviations or adjustments. *An Important Family*, like its older counterpart *Over the Hills and Far Away*, evades this harmonious continuance to a certain extent due to the aforementioned primary focus on the romance genre to which everything else has to be subordinate. However, even if both, Evans' and Eden's novels are perceived as

less realistic or more escapist, they at least did not present female characters who would break with the settler colonial ideal. If anything, they are more conservative, more British, or more pious, emphasizing an even more conservative female role model which is distinctly less New Zealand-specific, but certainly does not threaten or overthrow the slightly more progressive idea of the New Zealand New Woman.

Furthermore, the fact that Tremain's *The Colour* is free of the settler colonially shaped New Zealand New Woman indicates that, as a structure, settler colonialism does indeed still influence the way white New Zealanders make sense of who they are and where they come from. It is hard to tell whether this is a conscious or unconscious act by the authors, and a precise answer to this question most likely would require extensive psychological research and field studies, but I would assume that it is done mostly unconsciously because the settler colonial past is so intrinsic to New Zealand society. By employing in part the same historical sources I have explored in Chapter 3, it is almost un-omittable for white New Zealand authors to not re-tell and reinvigorate settler colonial structures and principles. However, the fact that there was a noticeable change in the historical portrayal regarding Māori over the course of the past two-and-a-half centuries, or rather that historical novels in recent years have developed such an affinity for historiography and fact-based, realistic (in the historical sense) narrative bears the promise that efforts made by scholars, critics, politicians, and even popular culture to acknowledge a (settler) colonial past may pave the way for a continuing development towards an inclusive, respectful dialogue in the future.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

WHITE WOMEN IN NEW ZEALAND SETTLER COLONIAL HISTORY

When I began my doctoral research, I was unsure what my studies would reveal. Having engaged only superficially with the historical portrayal of New Zealand women, my expectation was to find out about outrageously progressive women in a starkly modern society. Considering that New Zealand was the first country to grant women full suffrage and today preserves the image of a multi-cultural nation which has a large number of influential females in high political offices, I surmised my research would trace the development from early settler colony onwards and be able to pinpoint where the progressiveness derived from. However, I soon realized I would have to revoke these expectations and approach my sources open-mindedly and ready to overthrow any preconception I might have had.

I knew I wanted to write a gender studies-oriented dissertation, as women's movements, female perspectives, and questions of gender-related roles and ideals have been a consistent and reoccurring theme over the course of my entire time as tertiary student. And yet, I eventually settled on settler colonialism as my theoretical anchor, not because I had changed my mind, but because I was convinced that this would be a more challenging – and hopefully in the end a more fruitful – environment for my research. Furthermore, the interest I took in gender roles and their function within a society immediately connected to the matter of maleness and femaleness in settler colonial theory. Especially because a lot of settler colonial research naturally focuses on native populations, and native women, I saw my chance for a meaningful contribution by centering my dissertation in opposition to that on white settler women and their place within these structures, as the role of white women in the overall settler colonial endeavor in New Zealand has been neglected in scholarly research so far.

Gender is a crucial aspect in the organization of almost any society. In a settler colonial one, the division and opposition of male and female, men and women, is part of the essence through which settlers define themselves. As I have shown in

Chapter 2.1, in the context of gender, settler colonial mechanisms materialize in several ways. First, and most visibly, a strong gender dichotomy is enforced because it is understood as a sign of supremacy, civilization, and a superior culture. Then, the native population's understanding of gender, and of what is female and male, must be redefined. This serves two purposes, for it equally contributes to the elimination of the native culture, a central paradigm of settler colonialism, and furthermore, it helps to absorb a certain amount of the native inhabitants into the settler colonial community, once they have bowed to, accepted, and properly assimilated to the supposedly superior settler ways. Closely tied to this is another aspect, namely biological assimilation. Again, the inclusion of a minor number of natives into the settler colonial society in the end ensures, in accordance with the logic of elimination (cf. Wolfe 387, 390, 401), that the native population and culture ceases to exist and thus, makes more room for settler colonial expansionism. Finally, settler colonialism also entails that there is an awareness for the importance of women within the settler colonial venture, an understanding that women are essential, and that the overall success of the endeavor rests to some extent on female shoulders. These were consequently the mechanisms I wanted to explore, and analyze how they affected, influenced, and shaped the portrayal of white women in a New Zealand context.

Of course, the historical fact that New Zealand was the first nation to grant women the right to vote on the same grounds as men remains, and thus, must be addressed. While the centenary of female suffrage in New Zealand led to a surge in scholarly interest and publications, their focus was mostly political and rarely went beyond that and more into the social structures which defined and shaped the image of white settler women. In Chapter 2.2, I came to the conclusion that the three essential factors setting the New Zealand suffrage movement apart from the ones in the United Kingdom or the United States were the time when it took place, how New Zealand suffragists operated, and who they were able to win over as supporters. It is a misconception that New Zealand had a late start just to win the earliest victory. Even though their efficiency can hardly be rivalled by North America or the United Kingdom, at the core of their success lay a New Zealand peculiarity: the traditional, conservative role of women as homemakers, wives, and mothers – pivotal to settler colonial gender dichotomy of course – remained unquestioned. Whereas suffragism

and feminism were inseparable like Siamese twins in other parts of the world, I was surprised to observe that New Zealand saw a splitting of the two. The first was fiercely embraced and successfully achieved, while the other was rejected. Elsewhere, striving for the right to vote was inseparable from striving for a new female ideal, a new understanding of womanhood. White women in New Zealand, however, did never challenge or question their traditional role, they just attributed a new value to it. This paramount difference meant that the suffrage movement in New Zealand despite its obvious success and in contrast to first impressions neither had a late start, nor was it exceptionally progressive, nor was the society more advanced in terms of gender equality. The settler colonial structures ensured that the nuclear unit of married couple and family on which the society was built on, and which relied significantly on a distinct, clear-cut gender dichotomy, remained intact, and guaranteed that the settler colonial female role model continued unquestioned. Asking for suffrage and granting women the vote was an appreciation of women's contribution to the settler colonial success – as helpmeets. It did not endanger or destabilize the fundamentals of traditional gender roles. If anything, it reinforced these roles, and, in consequence, the gender dichotomy settler colonialism relies on.

Due to the importance I attribute to gender roles and role models in this dissertation, I felt that an overview over the changing definitions thereof and the propagated ideals was in place to put the settler colonial specifics into context. In Chapter 2.3, I examined the phenomena of the Colonial Helpmeet, the Victorian Angel of the House, the Girl of the Period, the Gibson Girl and, of course, the New Woman. Whereas the Gibson Girl and the Girl of the Period can be mostly neglected in the context of my research, the Victorian Angel, and, even more, the Colonial Helpmeet are gender ideals which easily correlate with the previously identified gender-related settler colonial structures. However, the most important role model for my research was the phenomenon of the New Woman which emerged at a crucial time regarding New Zealand historical and political development. My dissertation builds upon Angelika Köhler's *Ambivalent Desires*, a study of the New Woman in the United States, which provides detailed information on how this gender ideal was created by the media and affected American writers. Reading my analysis against Köhler's research confirmed my conviction that the image in America differed from

the one encountered in the New Zealand context. I want to stress that Köhler is concerned with the preservation and enforcement of said gender ideal by the media and literature, elaborating on what role these two cultural ampliphones play in the process, while I focus on white New Zealand settler women and how they perceived and portrayed each other as interpreters of this gender ideal. In my dissertation, literature and newspapers functioned as a tool I used for a gender-based social study and not as the subject of my research. Despite this divergence, Köhler still illustrates that even though (mostly male) editors and journalists might have intended to put forward a slightly altered image, women identifying themselves as New Woman in the United States were equally involved in feminism and suffragism. In contrast to that, New Zealand New Women were, as already stated, convinced of suffragism and that they should be entitled to have a say in official and political matters, but they were not as engaged in feminist thought as their American counterparts. On the contrary, they themselves embraced and preserved a very traditional and conservative female ideal which relied on the paradigms of domestic abilities and femininity. Consequently, it is safe to say that the American New Woman and the New Zealand New Woman shared important features, such as the (title-giving) ambivalent desires Köhler identifies – at least to a certain degree, the fact that they both were measured by the standard if they remained marriageable, and that they, regardless of their progressiveness, ultimately positioned themselves in relation to the established hierarchy of men's supremacy. But it is even more important to not neglect the fact that the American and New Zealand variety of the New Woman differed profoundly from each other in other aspects, as the two patterns Köhler identifies in the New Woman's depiction are unsuitable in the New Zealand context or would have to be adapted slightly, feminism and female emancipation were topics only superficially touched in New Zealand whereas they were vital and important subjects in the American framework, and that figureheads and exemplary New Women in New Zealand themselves unified political progressiveness with a fierce, traditional understanding and esteem for the domestic and feminine.

With this understanding in mind, I turned to studying the correspondence and personal writings of white settler women in early New Zealand as well as the newspapers of the time, and was surprised to not only find my assumption

concerning a peculiar kind of New Woman in the New Zealand context confirmed, but to observe how they unified progressive thought and self-reliance with an aspired ideal which should have felt like a limitation to them. I would argue that the rupture between suffragism and feminism was not made consciously by these women. Rather, it seems to have been the un-omittable result of the settler colonial reality they were confronted with and part of. Their life in a young colony required them to develop and maintain certain qualities or skills, to rise to expectations and challenges which should have provoked a drastic change of the female gender ideal. Yet, the fact that they were firmly rooted in the settler colonial framework meant that they clung fiercely to a pronounced gender differentiation, and, in consequence, to a mostly traditional role. From a modern perspective, this appears as a contradiction in terms, but it is a stringent observation made in diaries, letters, journals, and newspapers alike. The white New Zealand New Woman as she is reflected in the personal reminiscences of early settler colonial women, as well as in the newspapers of the time, was a creature which displayed modern attitudes to matters such as female education or suffrage but demanded changes not on the grounds of a new image or role for women, or liberal approaches to equality and emancipation, but as an estimation, appreciation, and acknowledgement of what women contribute and provide in the role ascribed to them in the settler colonial context. They balanced the necessary cultivation of a certain independence, and occasional breach or blurring of the spheres' boundary with a reinforced, augmented emphasis on femininity and domestic accomplishment.

This impression was fully confirmed by the life-writing (auto-)fiction of Lady Mary Ann Martin, Lady Mary Anne Barker, and Ellen Ellis. I felt that my research benefitted greatly from the reciprocal effects of counterbalancing historical documents, with life-writing novels, and historical fiction of contemporary authors. During my research *Station Life in New Zealand*, *Our Maoris*, and *Everything is Possible to Will* did not only feel like a smooth and helpful transition from one kind of primary source to the next, they also function as a bridge within this dissertation from one to the other. If we understand life-writing in accordance with Marlene Kadar not only as genre, but also as critical practice, the pieces of life-writing encountered as letters and diaries can be read in continuity with the life-writing

novels of Martin, Barker, and Ellis, and eventually with the historical fiction of Dorothy Eden, Fiona Kidman, and Tanya Moir. In comparison with the correspondence and personal journals, the early (auto-)biographical/(auto-)fictional novels were even more pronounced in their emphasis of femininity, domesticity, and proper lady-like conduct. Especially in the case of Lady Martin and Ellen Ellis, it became clear that literature as a form of cultural expression does not only reflect settler colonial mechanisms but cannot help to even enhance gender dichotomy: Martin was a resolute and very political individual in her correspondence but chose to proclaim overtly that women should not meddle with politics in her novel. Likewise, Ellis is often referred to as a feminist author, but I found her to be the most settler colonial writer of the three who unifies progressive ideas on various social matters with the firm conviction that women's sphere is and shall remain domestic.

Including Charlotte Evans and her sensational romance *Over the Hills and Far Away: A Story of New Zealand* proved to be a disappointment regarding the mirroring of settler colonialism as it can be observed in the other works of Chapter 4.1. However, the absence of it also revealed an aspect which would otherwise have gone amiss: not all literature by white New Zealand authors necessarily includes traces of settler colonial structures. Writing – factual or fictional – which is ignorant or at least not noticeably connected to history, questions of identity, processes of identity formation, and aspects of nation building, as for example escapist romance, fails to echo or enforce settler colonial specific structures. Life-writing on the other hand is per definition always tied to aspects of identity and history, and therefore, allows the exploitation of its distinctly settler colonial features.

By introducing historical fiction by contemporary writers in Chapter 4.2, I wanted to add a final dimension to my research. All primary sources so far had been mostly consistent in their display of settler colonial gender dichotomy, and consequently, in portraying women – as independent and self-reliant as they might have been – ultimately in the traditional role of helpmeet, wife, mother, caretaker, and domestic angel. Like life-writing, historical fiction, as the name already implies, also engages with history, and due to its nature often functions as a medium to give a voice and attention to figures otherwise neglected in the historical canon. Hence,

historical fiction contributes to the continuous process of re-affirming, adjusting, and re-telling parts or aspects of a people's founding myth, influencing the way their audiences, and by extension, the mainstream makes sense of national identity, narratives of origin, and questions of belonging. If we think of settler colonialism as an ongoing phenomenon, its structures must still be present in today's historical fiction by white New Zealand authors. Thus, in analyzing *An Important Family*, *The Captive Wife*, and *LaRochelle's Road,* I suspected to find similar portrayals and a reaffirmation of the traditional female ideal.

Although the gender dichotomy was less pronounced, all three novels presented female characters which were in some cases almost eerily reminiscent of the women encountered in the letters and early novels discussed before. This confirmed on the one hand that settler colonialism does indeed still echo in New Zealand literature and society and, on the other hand, that New Zealand writers, as settler colonial descendants participate – consciously or unconsciously – in the process of telling and re-telling foundation myths of settler colonial nation building and the construction of national identity. In connection to that, it was also interesting to observe that in *The Captive Wife* – the novel set slightly too early for true New Zealand settler colonial observations, and furthermore, with a plot often playing out on the other side of the Tasman Sea – the white people, especially the privileged elite in Australia, understands itself as firmly and thoroughly British, not Australian (yet). This is of course connected to the very early setting, as well as the slightly different situation of Australia in contrast to New Zealand. However, it emphasized the fact that in the other novels by contemporary writers, there was a gradual but noticeable shift in the characters from being a British immigrant or expatriate to becoming a New Zealand settler. Even in Martin and Barker, who themselves remained British and both returned to the United Kingdom eventually, this adjustment of the formerly British around them settling into a new cultural identity - with a British heritage, of course, but slowly and gradually shifting away from it – is acknowledged, too, albeit more subtly, less pronounced, and definitely less lionized.

To fortify my conclusion that the observed resonance of settler colonial structures in historical fiction is linked to the white New Zealand authors, I included

The Colour by Rose Tremain, a British author, in the selection of historical novels analyzed in this dissertation. As expected, her female characters differed considerably from the others due to a lack of settler colonial gender idealism. Whereas Kidman, Moir, and Eden all pay respect to gender dichotomy, separate spheres, and a settler colonial female ideal, Tremain's story is almost the exact opposite, overthrowing ideas of spheres or gendered role models entirely, and rather living to a considerable amount of refuting these exact notions. I would not go as far as claiming that a foreign author cannot engage in settler colonially tainted, fictional re-telling of the past at all, but I am convinced that Pākehā authors, so white New Zealanders decending from the European and American settlers, are more predestined regarding this matter. Having said that, I would also not want to exclude the possibility that a Pākehā author might refrain from reinforcing settler colonial mechanisms, if aware of them, but again, this would, according to my analysis, constitute the exception which proves the rule.

What I found reassuring is that the depiction of Māori characters has changed significantly in the thirty to forty years between Dorothy Eden's *An Important Family* and the other three historical novels by contemporary authors that have all been written in the 2000s. Although Māori have not been considered in detail over the course of this dissertation as white settler women were the declared focus, I am convinced that the surge in scholarly research, political attention, and public awareness regarding Māori culture, history, and heritage has ultimately had an impact on the present, and thus, has changed the way New Zealanders now look back and make sense of their settler colonial past and present. This is ultimately traceable also in the historical fiction of modern authors who make an effort to edit the founding myths of national identity. Therefore, continuous interest and attention to women – Māori and Pākehā – and gender as social construct should have an equal impact on the dismantling of past settler colonial structures, pave the way for an inclusive, conciliating dialogue in the present, and open the door to a future in which equality might have succeeded in overruling settler colonial paradigms.

Engaging with settler colonial theory means to doubt deeply ingrained, conventional tales out of which the concept of national identity is build. This

questioning of something that is supposed to be solid, and a reliable vector allowing individuals to find their own identity and place in relation to it, is inevitably unsettling, as it upsets the vexingly fragile construct of national self-understanding. However, the reason for it is not the utter demolishing or unravelling of who one is as a people, but rather the attempt to provide a more solid foundation for defining a national identity. The less fictional and the more real these fundamentals become, the more solid and encompassing the future definition will be regarding what being Pākehā, being Māori, and being kiwi actually means. Acknowledging and coping with a past which is not defined solely by bravery, courageousness, and good deeds is the inevitable first step towards a learning process that ultimately allows to omit missteps in the future. With this argument, I want to add to the continuous scholarly enterprise of analyzing, discerning, and understanding the structures and mechanisms of settler colonialism past to present in relation to gender, or more specifically, regarding women's role.

Returning now the statement at the beginning that white women's role in settler colonialism is far less understood, this dissertation now has made some aspects clearer. In early New Zealand, they are equal, full partners in the overall settler colonial venture. Even though their part is distinctly different – thanks to the importance and weight gender dichotomy and 'proper' gender roles were attributed with – it is as important as men's. They are the mothers to the next generation of settlers, and, consequently, also parent to the fledgling sense of developing national identity. Without wives and mothers, the endeavor of a quickly evolving and advancing settler colonial state would be doomed to fail. White settler women demonstrate that the exemplary woman in early New Zealand was a progressive, and yet feminine helpmeet, essential in keeping farms, estates, and household running and prospering. She was also a strong, self-reliant woman, who possessed the feminine refinement and the necessary intelligence of knowing the difference between being an idle, unproductive, and effectively useless lady, and acting like a lady, cultivating femininity and admirable female features, and unifying them with the necessary domestic skill and vigor. Furthermore, she was also a role model to Maori women, being the living example of the aspired ideal, and supporting missionary and settler ambitions through their own contributions to the civilizing

efforts. Even though the colonial maternalism Margaret Jacobs identifies in North America and Australia (cf. “Maternal Colonialism” 453-476), so the role white women played in the systematic removal of native children from their families and homes, did not materialize in such a form in New Zealand, the households of missionary wives, and Māori boarding schools also acted in similar fashion. Just because it never reached the same amplitude, dimension or violence as in the United States or Australia, it did not act as a lesser agent of white supremacy and settler colonial agency, and was, to a greater extent, exercised by women. Thus, white settler women are as responsible as white settler men for enforcing settler colonial ideology. Their sphere of activity and influence was a different one than men's, and, as a consequence, they might be perceived as smaller, more docile party in the grander scheme of settler colonialism. However, this dissertation hints to the fact that they were, in fact, more equal regarding their importance to settler colonial structures as they were in any other area, socially or politically.

Analyzing the portrayal of white settler women in personal reminiscences, historical newspapers, (auto-)fictional life-writing, and historical fiction by contemporary New Zealand authors over the course of this dissertation proved to be an interesting scholarly journey. As Lorenzo Veracini argues, settler colonialism is a structure, not an event, and therefore, reconciliation should be a practice, not a process (cf. “Introducing” 3, 9). In essence, the latter is a more rigid concept, a tool or series of actions which ensure the completion of a task or the achievment of a specific result, which then can be filed away as an issue solved. The former, however, especially in this settler colonial context, constitutes a more adaptable application of a belief or idea, a progessional development, almost animated in its adjustable nature, and something to be nurtured and cultivated over the course of time. I hope to have made a useful contribution to the on-going scholarly effort of providing the groundwork for a meaningful future in which a differentiated understanding of where people come from can be the foundation for reconciliation that is, indeed, an active, never ceasing practice.

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