# 7. From Representational Ambivalence to Colonialism

## F.E. Maning's (fictional) Autobiography *Old New Zealand* (1863)

The last section reflected on increasingly ambivalent representations of global civility in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It considered how Mary Ann Parker and George Barrington's narratives registered the complications caused by the presence of convicts and slaves at the same time as their accounts were receptive towards selected aspects of Aboriginal culture. Similarly, Charles Colville Frankland was at once aggressively biased towards the Ottoman Empire and expressed admiration for both Sultan Mahmoud's reform efforts and the panoramic beauty of his dominions. Accordingly, these travel books contained contrastive representational strands, illustrating the ways in which stereotypes, reductive attitudes and simplistic conceptualisations of social, cultural or racial difference could be coeval with cross-cultural curiosity and admiration for the capabilities and selected achievements of those who are different. The present chapter proceeds from this conflicting relationship and addresses the transformation of global civility into a discourse of colonialism by discussing F.E. Maning's *Old New Zealand* (1863). Maning's text, a literary pastiche fusing elements from autobiography, ethnography, adventure-story, history and satire, is modelled on Laurence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*. Like Tristram, Maning's literary alter ego constantly loses the thread of his story by incorporating statements, stories and facts which are not at all connected to what he set out to do. Looking back to "'the good old times' – before Governors were invented, and law,

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and justice and all that"[1], Maning attempts to write the story of his life, which task is complicated by his propensity to digress as well as the incorporation of biased ethnographic material. In what follows, I will explore these different layers and complexities in order to establish how the text's reliance on Sterne's novel, the conventions of autobiography and the sometimes hostile, sometimes mocking, representation of the Maori illuminate and reflect the transition from global civility over representational ambivalence to colonialism.

The first part of this chapter analyses how Maning uses *Tristram Shandy* in order to familiarise his readers with the intricacies of life in nineteenth century New Zealand. But what appear to be humorous references to Sterne's idiosyncratic hero turn out to be contortive depictions of Maori culture aimed at drawing oneself larger than life. Whilst Tristram's digressive style entertains, and sometimes exasperates, his audience, Maning uses Sterne's register as a vehicle to lure his readers into his story only to pour scorn on the tribal communities he was intimately acquainted with. In addition to these more or less subtle attempts to entertain his readers at the Maori's expense, Maning also narrows the representational range of global civility by writing his autobiography and using New Zealand's natives as a screen onto which he projects the symptoms of his estrangement from their culture. The following section examines intertextual aspects in Maning's text that go beyond his use of Sterne. In an anecdotal digression, he introduces his readers to the concept of *tapu*, a Polynesian practice that rendered important persons, objects or resources untouchable whilst simultaneously protecting them or their culturally specific functions. Citing canonical literary texts, Maning reduces this complex Pacific texture into a risible instance of prohibitions and constraints aimed at entertaining European and settler audiences. The chapter then discusses his land purchases, which he turns into ridiculous affairs complicated by the natives' acquisitiveness. However, thanks to his tenacity, he keeps the upper hand in this prolonged affair and effectively excludes the Maori from the incipient land dealing business by drawing up a written contract in English. In so doing, he employs a cultural form alien to the Maori and at the same time ensures that they remain outside the legal universe of the European settlers who came to dominate New Zealand in the course of

1 F.E. Maning, 'Old New Zealand; A Tale of the Good Old Times,' in Alex Calder, ed., *Old New Zealand and other Writings*, 91-198, here 93. (All further references are to this edition).

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the nineteenth century. The penultimate section in this chapter draws attention to some disturbing epiphenomena of colonialism and discusses how the skewed representation of ethnographic knowledge places the Maori outside the realm of civilisation. The chapter then concludes by demonstrating that even sensationalist accounts of foreign cultures contain valuable information without which we would probably know much less about Europe's others. The chapter as a whole forms the last part of the long way we have come since setting out to the Ottoman Empire with Henry Blount in 1636, demonstrating that global civility slowly but surely disappeared as Britain tightened its imperial grip in the Victorian era.

But who was Frederick Edward Maning? Just as his text sits at the crossroads between different genres, Maning himself spent much of his life as an intermediary between cultures.[2] Born in Ireland in 1811, his family emigrated to Tasmania. In 1833 he arrived in New Zealand and lived as a *pakeha Maori*, an adopted member of a Maori tribe who conformed 'to the social patterns of his hosts.'[3] Maning's criss-crossing of cultural divides culminated in his marriage with a Maori woman with whom he had several children. However, after her death and the growing estrangement from his offspring, he turned away from Maori tribal culture in order to pursue a career in the settlers' institutions. In 1862, Maning published *History of the War in the North*, and a year later his best known work *Old New Zealand* followed. He sought political patronage and through these works he gained it: in 1865 he was appointed Judge of the Native Land Court and dispossessed Maori of their land.[4] After being diagnosed with cancer, he went to London where he died in 1883. The trajectory of his life-story, which is primarily set in liminal spaces but ends in the metropolis, helps us to understand how global civility transformed during the age of imperialism into a discourse of European, especially British, superiority. Yet this development's embeddedness in Shandean digressions calls for a careful and nuanced reading which starts where both Sterne and Maning start: with the problem of beginning.

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2 Joan FitzGerald, 'Images of the Self: Two Early New Zealand Autobiographies,' *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 23: 1 (1988), 16-41, here 36.

3 H. E. Maude, 'Beachcombers and Castaways,' *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 73: 3 (1964), 254-293, here 275.

4 Alex Calder, 'Maning's Tapu: Colonialism and Ethnography in *Old New Zealand*,' *Social Analysis* 39 (1996), 3-26, here 3.

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## 1. Intertextuality in *Old New Zealand*

### Inception Problems

Landing in New Zealand proves more difficult than Maning expected. From aboard ship, he 'saw the mountains of New Zealand appear above the sea' (94) and immediately starts preparing his disembarkation, which takes him two chapters to accomplish, however. [5] Just as Tristram Shandy cannot get himself born in the first two volumes of Sterne's novel, Maning constantly digresses and loses himself in unimportant details of his preparations. He is more than anxious to leave the vessel and excitedly tells his readers: 'As long as I am aboard ship I am cramped, and a mere slave to Greenwich time and can't get on' (96). However, getting on is not merely travelling further:

> I positively vow and protest to you, gentle and patient reader, that if ever I get safe on shore, I will do my best to give you satisfaction; let me get once on shore, and I am all right: but unless I get my feet on terra firma, how can I ever begin my tale of the good old times? (96)

For Maning's literary alter ego, getting on is tantamount to stepping outside the confines of European space-time in order to be able to commence his travels. Promising his readers 'satisfaction' by relating the 'the good old times', he insinuates that he holds special knowledge enabling him to deliver a little known chapter of New Zealand's history. This particular chapter relates the time before organised colonisation began to establish an infrastructure alien to the natives and their customs. And the place to commence it is the 'shore' or beach, which is both a transformative and improvisational space – in other words, a contact zone – and a realm outside European temporality.

Maning's frequent allusions to 'the good old times' throughout his book open up a divide between the colony's here and now and its past. A crucial turning point in New Zealand's history is the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), which established gubernatorial rule and marked the onset of organised colonisation. Although Maning wants to 'avoid dates' (94), his recurrent temporal distinction clearly revolves around this event: 'I always held a theory that time was of no account in New Zealand, and I do believe I was right up to the time of the arrival of the first Governor' (94). In this perspective, the country's past was pregnant with opportunity and adventure, and the *pakeha Maori* can characterise his point of departure – the ship – as western, known and temporally

5 Ibid., 7.

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rooted, whereas the beach and its hinterland are extraneous, atemporal and unexplored. By probing this territory, Maning offers us the exciting adventure-story he promised whilst representing the country for a western audience and the settlers who eventually followed him. Textualising the Maori and their country thus draws New Zealand into global cultural and commercial traffic at the same time as it marks the advent of European space-time.

In Maning's case, however, writing history is inextricably bound up with attempts at fixing his life-story in writing. He wants to 'forget the present, take courage, and talk about the past' (94). In order to do so, he 'must fairly get on shore, which […] was easier to do than to describe' (94). But how does one begin either history or autobiography if one cannot accomplish the seemingly simple task of disembarkation? Maning and Tristram face the same dilemma of creating a starting point for their stories, and thus their lives, proper: where Tristram finds that he 'should be born before [he] was christened'[6], Maning 'must turn back […] a little, for [he] perceive[s] [he is] not on shore yet' (95). Their frequent digressions, as well as their reflections on them, establish meta-fictional levels dealing with the technicalities of story-writing, which twists the narrative thread considerably. As a result, the chronological order and the reading experience are constantly interrupted and complicated by the authors' propensity to digress.

Tristram's birth, Maning's life and the history of New Zealand sometimes appear to be distant side shows when the as yet unborn or still embarked heroes commence their rambling speeches. For example, when Tristram reflects on the ingredients of his story he is neither afraid of taking inclusivity to extremes – 'I have begun the history of myself,' he writes, 'as *Horace* says, *ab Ovo*.'[7] – nor too modest to praise the innovative character of his work:

> [T]he machinery of my work is of a species by itself; two contrary motions are introduced into it, and reconciled, which were thought to be at variance with each other. In a word, my work is digressive, and it is progressive too, - and at the same time.[8]

Not only does Tristram aim at including in the novel every single incident in his life from his conception over his birth to the present day of writing, he also

6 Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. by Ian Campbell Ross (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 47.

7 Ibid., 8.

8 Ibid., 58.

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wants to do it in exciting new ways. But instead of either a narrative following the real course of events in his life or a relation of special occasions in it, he presents his readers with rampantly growing chains of associations, Lockean attempts at explaining the origins of ideas[9] and a huge number of subplots related to various characters in the text. In summary, whenever Tristram tries to give reasons for occurrences, and his idiosyncratic way of recounting them, he permits his mind to wander off to other, and still other, events.[10]

Arriving in New Zealand was clearly a shandean experience for Maning. Like Tristram, he is constantly distracted, frequently digresses and needs two whole chapters to land. Although the coast 'came closer and closer' (94), he ends up loquaciously elaborating on hearsay about New Zealand, the role of time and the differences between past and present until he lectures his readers on 'courage:'

> I have said 'plucked up courage', but that is not exactly my meaning. The fact is, kind reader, if you have followed me thus far, you are about to be rewarded for your perseverance. I am determined to make you as wise as I am myself on at least one important subject, and that is not saying a little, let me inform you, as I can hardly suppose you have made the discovery for yourself on so short an acquaintance. Falstaff, who was a very clever fellow, and whose word cannot be doubted, says – 'The better part of valour is discretion'. Now, that being the case, what in the name of Achilles, Hector, and Colonel Gold (he, I mean Achilles, was a rank coward, who went about knocking people on the head, being himself next thing to invulnerable, and who could not be hurt till he turned his back to the enemy. There is a deep moral in this same story about Achilles which perhaps, by the bye, I may explain to you) – what, I say again, in the name of everything valorous, can the worser part of valour be, if 'discretion' be the better? The fact is, my dear sir, I don't believe in courage at all, nor ever did; but there is something far better, which has carried me through many serious scrapes with eclat and safety; I mean the appearance of courage. (96-7)

Despite this lengthy detour, the narrator has neither exhausted the subject nor put across what he wanted to say:

9 Ibid., 70-1.

10 Calder, 'Maning's Tapu,' 7.

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> [B]ut the appearance of courage, or rather, as I deny the existence of the thing itself, that appearance which is thought to be courage, that is the thing will carry you through! – get you made K.C.B., Victoria Cross, and all that! [...] My secret is a very good secret; but one must of course do the thing properly; no matter of what kind the danger is, you must look it boldly in the face and keep your wits about you, and the more frightened you get the more determined you must be – to keep up appearances – and the half the danger is gone. So now, having corrected myself, as well as given some valuable advice, I shall start again for the shore by saying that I plucked up a very good appearance of courage and got on board the boat. (97)

These rambling passages do not convey essential information, nor do they represent Maning's disembarkation as a crucial step linking the social, ordered and western space of the ship with New Zealand's largely unexplored wilderness.[11] He rather uses the familiar register of Sterne's well-known novel to draw readers into his story. As we shall see, however, Maning's text is, unlike Sterne's, not a tour de force of spontaneous and hilarious story-telling, but an assertion of western authority over the Maori and their culture conveyed in apparently humorous language.

Maning's claimed objective in *Old New Zealand* is 'to place a few sketches of old Maori life on record before the remembrance of them has quite passed away' (92), clearly registering his sense that times and lives are changing after the arrival of western traders and settlers. Aiming at textualising, and thus historicising in the European sense, a primarily oral culture, Maning's account deprives the Maori, who have no power over this act of cultural translation, of the possibility of providing their own counterpoints in the resulting written record. Even as the Maori are perceived to be dying out, however, both historicisation and cultural translation wield their power subtly in this context, since *Old New Zealand* is based on Sterne's light-hearted, humorous and entertaining text. Maning uses the same rhetoric and paints a seemingly jaunty picture of travel and adventure, under the surface of which there is an ongoing, and at times violent, process of cultural displacement. Coupled with history, Maning's life-story promises an adventurer's tale set in the largely unknown waters of the South Pacific, but instead delivers linguistic colonialism by transposing *Tristram Shandy*'s textual and structural grid to the Antipodes

11 Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 241.

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in order to write New Zealand's history from a Western point of view. Of course, as both author and narrator Maning is the master and interpreter of what he repeatedly calls 'the good old times' without alluding to, or making explicit, his act of imposing western space-time on the Maori and their land by super-imposing a canonical text.

Most crucially, in contrast to Tristram, Maning's inception problem is not an integral constituent of the story, but an attempt of obfuscating the power relations between the representatives of orality and literacy, respectively. As such, it renders mutually enriching cross-cultural contacts – in other words, global civility – increasingly difficult to sustain and becomes the point of departure for Maning's idiosyncratic, but nonetheless effective, way to assert western dominance over New Zealand's native population.

## Autobiography and the Orality-Literacy-Divide

The digressive texts by Sterne and Maning challenge their readers' patience. Where Tristram does not manage to relate his birth in the novel's first two volumes, Maning's fictional alter ego needs two chapters to reach New Zealand's shores. Since their accounts do not establish a teleological narrative, they illustrate autobiography's generic ambiguities. Situated in a field of tension between historical accuracy and the art of story-telling, and complicated by the idiosyncracies of the human memory, both autobiography and fictional autobiography express a specifically modern desire spawned in the European Renaissance to narrate one's life. However, this desire is neither universal nor a cultural constant but rather 'a concern peculiar to Western man'[12] and the literate cultures from which he has emerged. Toying with narrative linearity, both Sterne and Maning question received cultural wisdom and its forms, as well as turn common expectations topsy-turvy.

Recording his life by modelling *Old New Zealand* on *Tristram Shandy*, Maning not only transposes specific cultural forms – the novel and (fictional) autobiography – to the vicissitudes of the contact zone, he also opens up a divide between orality and literacy.[13] Given the time and place of Maning's

12 Georges Gusdorf, 'Conditions and Limits of Autobiography,' in James Olney, ed., *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 28-48, here 33-4.

13 A succinct introduction to the tensions between orality and literacy can be found in: Paul Goetsch, 'Fingierte Mündlichkeit in der Erzählkunst entwickelter Schriftkulturen,' *Poetica. Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*. 17 (1985), 202-218. A full exposi-

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generic transposition, this variation on the nature-culture-paradigm is crucial to understanding both the consolidation of imperial visions and the discursive changes in, and the eventual disappearance of, global civility. Since mutually beneficial relations are only sustainable as long as one's awareness of self is coupled with disinterested recognitions of an other, they are difficult to maintain in a cultural form dedicated to the writing of a single life, be it factual or fictional. Whilst the sentimental novel, and Keate's cross-cultural adaptation of it, presupposes the sentimental hero's interest in a suffering or culturally different subject that is fully recognized as such, autobiography constantly refers back to itself and its subject matter in 'a kind of unavoidable optical illusion.'[14] Viewed in this light, Maning's text is doubly significant in that it is a (fictional) account of his life set in the South Pacific: cultural representations of this vast ocean often mute its agency and the subjectivity of its inhabitants.[15] Amplifying this muteness, even if only implicitly, by a more or less rigid mode of writing is not only conducive to the 'constitution of authority on the basis of the other's absence'[16], it also absorbs that which is culturally different into an alien sphere in an act of intellectual colonisation.[17] Thus, the orality-literacy-divide is not merely an epiphenomenon of the English settlers' presence in New Zealand, it is crucial to understanding how the Maori were textualised by Europeans without being able to even the scales.

In this respect, *Old New Zealand* raises several problems: it focuses on the single life of a settler rather than a mutually beneficial exchange, it textualises a primarily oral tribal community and, finally, it echoes a pre-existing canonical text, thereby incurring the cultural and power relations of the society from which *Tristram Shandy* has emerged. As a consequence, the Maori find themselves represented in both a medium and a genre which are not their own and 'that whites have brought from beyond the seas.'[18] Maning, though often satirising and mocking himself as well as the Maori, registers the serious extent to which literacy encroaches upon orality and the communities it has forged. When he remembers a Maori friend killed in a recent battle, he also

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tion of this topic is provided by: Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Techologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982).

14 Gusdorf, 'Conditions and Limits,' 41.

15 Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 21.

16 Ibid., 21.

17 Gusdorf, 'Conditions and Limits,' 29.

18 Ibid., 29

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illuminates the unilaterally transformative effects of the advent of western technologies:

> Now it is necessary to remark that this young chief was a man in advance of his times and people in many respects. He was the first of his tribe who could read and write; and, amongst other unusual things for a native to do, he kept a register of deaths and births, and a journal of any remarkable events which happened in the tribe. (162)

In Maning's opinion, the young chief's marks of distinction are the mastery of foreign cultural techniques and a readiness to conform to imported practices, such as the registration of 'remarkable events.' Adding that this behaviour was unusual among the Maori, Maning implicitly indicates how he takes western customs for granted and, in so doing, narrows the space for the representation of native habits considerably. The author's awareness of the sweeping socio-cultural changes inaugurated by the influx of European goods, techniques and technologies notwithstanding, underlying this favourable portrait is a socially normalised teleological vision of progress and transformation arising from asymmetrical colonial encounters in the nineteenth century. In this passage in particular, and in *Old New Zealand* in general, the native population largely exists in relation to the coloniser's culture rather than in a sphere of its own right. Both the orality-literacy-divide and the radical difference of the Maori from Britain's metropolitan culture render the incorporation of tribal communities and cultural alterity increasingly difficult.

Maning's account differs decisively from eighteenth century travel writing in this regard. Like Tristram, Maning takes great pleasure in relating anecdote after anecdote but he uses Sterne's familiar register in order to draw his readers into his story while at the same time asserting his authority on all things Maori in a seemingly humorous tone. In some instances, however, he is surprisingly sober and relates rituals, customs and the effects of cultural change rather matter-of-factly. Hence, in *Old New Zealand* we find 'a tranche of ethnographic chapters more or less distinct from the autobiographical-cum-fictive text which surrounds it.'[19] This split indicates the rise of Europe's hegemonic desires caused by the sizeable amount of scientific and technological innovations and their consequences for both cultural production and the processing of knowledge:

19 Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific*, 233.

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> This recurring separation of fact and fiction, history and romance, underlines the awkward accommodation of ethnographic material in nineteenth-century Pacific writing compared with the ease of its integration in eighteenth-century fictional travel writing. It can be understood as a symptom of anxiety about authority and authenticity, and as an attempt to allay that unease by self-consciously drawing upon and adding to the accumulating archive of knowledge about Oceania.[20]

Crisscrossing the Pacific in search of new knowledge, Enlightenment discoverers, and travellers generally, were almost always anxious because they were constantly confronted with natural and human novelties, as well as subjected to the unaccountability of the je-ne-sais-quoi of maritime long distance travel.[21] Initiating global networks of cultural and commercial exchange, discoverers like James Cook and Joseph Banks supplied the enlightened community in Europe, which consisted of natural historians, philosophers and cartographers, with hard earned-knowledge aimed at completing the great map of mankind. As a consequence, a global community bonded by civility and universal citizenship was not an unworldly chimera but an ideal to aspire to.[22] However, the difference between the age of reason and the subsequent age of imperialism, and the technological advancements it gave rise to, complicated the relationship between European self and native other considerably.

The restricted thematic focus of *Old New Zealand* as autobiography stands in marked contrast to Keate's *Account* and its fully-fledged sentimental rhetoric. Buttressed by science, technology, evolutionary discourse and its new temporalities, this gap grew wider and made it increasingly difficult for Europeans to conceive of themselves as on a par with Pacific islanders. On the basis of the supposed difference between themselves and extra-European peoples, learned white men and colonisers resorted to the knowledge that

20 Ibid.

21 Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, 12.

22 Immanuel Kant, 'To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch,' in *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays on Politics, History, and Morals*, transl., with introduction, by Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1983), 107-143, here 119: 'Because a (narrower or wider) community widely prevails among the Earth's peoples, a transgression of rights in *one* place in the world is felt *everywhere*; consequently, the idea of cosmopolitan right is not fantastic and exaggerated, but rather an amendment to the unwritten code of national and international rights, necessary to the public rights of men in general. Only such amendment allows us to flatter ourselves with the thought that we are making continual progress towards perpetual peace.'

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was accumulated out of scientific and commercial curiosity in the eighteenth century and turned it into a means of subjection by fusing it with the latest technological innovations. When Maning demands that 'we must either civilise or by mere contact exterminate' (138) the Maori, he not only relies on this consolidated knowledge-power base, he also anticipates the civilising missions that were yet to come. As one can see here, Maning's humorous account is merely the vehicle for publicising and advocating the violent conversion of the Maori. However, using Sterne as a means of translating the Maori was just the beginning.

## 2. Discursive Formations in global Circulation: Literature, Law and binary Modes of Representation

### Intertextuality beyond Sterne: The Cultural Translation of *tapu*

The je-ne-sais-quoi of maritime long distance travel subjected European travellers and explorers to an experience that was both enticing and unsettling: the unknown. Especially in the South Pacific they hardly ever knew what they were about to find and the peoples, customs and landscapes on the other side of the contact zone were more often than not radically different from all things European. But informed by enlightened curiosity and eager to enhance their knowledge, eighteenth century travellers set out and established mutually enriching cross-cultural relations with extra-European peoples, which were sustainable despite the presence of alien customs, objects and entities. However, these unknown, and in many ways unaccountable, aspects of contact situations became increasingly difficult to accommodate in European representations of cultural alterity as industrialisation gathered pace, scientific innovations reshaped lives and evolutionary discourse gave rise to new temporalities in the course of the nineteenth century. An exemplary analysis of the cultural translation of *tapu* in *Old New Zealand*, a concept that has influenced western notions of cultural difference in various and changing ways in encounters between Europe and Polynesia,[23] shows the extent to which *pakehas*, settlers and their metropolitan audiences were puzzled by 'this mysterious quality' (146) that evolves into a marker of difference between civil self and native other in Maning's translational representation.

23 Calder, 'Maning's Tapu,' 23.

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As a former *pakeha Maori*, Maning had the necessary knowledge to render native customs understandable to those without first-hand experience of Maori lifeways. His efforts result in various incidents of cultural translation akin to *Old New Zealand*'s autobiographical passages. Resorting to canonical or well-known texts, his representation of *tapu* widens the gulf between the literate settler culture of New Zealand and its native inhabitants' oral traditions. Accordingly, Maning's utilisation of ideologically charged textual artefacts on the colonial frontier is not merely an example of cultural circulation; it is an attempt to inscribe foreign practices, and the modes of their social reproduction, onto culturally differentially encoded peoples. In this context, *tapu* becomes a category through which Maning and his readers have coped with difference on the basis of the other's absence or silence. [24] Describing *tapu* in very general terms, Maning exploits this absence when he writes that 'everything absolutely was subject to its influence, and a more perplexing puzzle to new pakehas who were continually from ignorance infringing some of its rules, could not be well imagined' (146). Concentrating exclusively on *pakehas*, this characterisation heightens his readers' awareness of the seemingly fundamental difference between themselves and the Maori, which eventually opens out into an institutionally sustained, though culturally constructed, incommensurability.

Maning's explanation, then, aims not at viewing *tapu* in its indigenous cultural context, but represents it in relation to European social practices and thereby deforms it. A central concept in fictions of original social contracts,[25] the preservation of property becomes the centrepiece of his elaborations: 'It will be seen at once that this form of the *tapu* was a great preserver of property. The most valuable articles might, in ordinary circumstances, be left to its protection, in the absence of the owners, for any length of time' (147). Maning's first steps towards lifting his self-imposed obscurity after introducing the 'perplexing puzzle' appropriate the concept and transplant it into a European mindset. Here *tapu* becomes a screen onto which the author and his readers can project principles central to the societies from which they emerge, while at the same time muting its Maori context by not mentioning its original functions, such as rendering persons or resources inviolable in order to protect them. In so doing, Maning disregards customs into which he was initiated as *pakeha Maori*. But most crucially, neither in his explanations of

24 Ibid., 4.

25 Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, 134.

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*tapu*, nor in his subsequent cultural translation of it does he represent a native viewpoint; he rather chooses to interpret it as abstruse impediment to western notions of improvement and progress, which offers occasional comic relief for his metropolitan readers.

Every now and then, however, he hints at *tapu*'s original use, albeit in biased and reductive ways. Among the Maori, only women, slaves and youngsters carried provisions or prepared food, since male warriors, or *rangatira*, were *tapu* and thus spared from these everyday activities. The warriors were responsible for the preservation of their tribe through fighting and solely consigned to this task. Relating one of his many digressive anecdotes, Maning 'was once going on an excursion with a number of natives' (150), but 'there was no one who had a back! – as they expressed it – and consequently no one to carry our provisions into the canoe: all the lads, women, and slaves had gone off in the other canoe' (150). But one of the natives comes up with an idea: '"I'll tell you what we must do", said he, "we will not carry (*pikau*) the provisions we will *hiki* them." (*Hiki* is the word in Maori which describes the act of carrying an infant in the arms.)' (151). This is, then, the sought-after solution: 'And so, having thus evaded the law, we started our expedition' (151). However funny this incident may be, *tapu* appears primarily as obstructive to the uninitiated outsider rather than an expedient custom of Maori life. And what is more, despite Maning's allusion to those without 'a back', the comical aspects both override *tapu*'s intra-cultural significance and potentially invite ridicule from his European contemporaries entrenched in a complex sociocultural texture of teleological progress, industrial capitalism and global expansion. Maori customs are thus prone to being perceived as primitive and deficient, and Maning's earlier remarks on the settlers' two options of dealing with them – either civilisation or extermination (138) – loom large even in seemingly humorous situations.

Though apparently light-hearted and entertaining, Maning's anecdote consolidates the gulf between civilised self and native other, and for that matter between orality and literacy. His idiosyncratic use of literary genres and texts contribute to transformations of representations of global civility, in which even-handed exchanges are supplanted by restrictive uses of artistic conventions.

And his ethnographic passages, which circulate biased knowledge of Maori lifeways, gloss over the power differential between the author and his objects of scrutiny. But Maning further recalibrates and narrows the discursive range of global civility, when he explains as well as translates 'a

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most virulent kind" (152) of *tapu* – 'the *tapu* of those who handled the dead, or conveyed the body to its last resting place' (152-3) – by way of yet another digression.

'What will my kind reader say,' he asks us, 'when I tell him that I myself once got *tapu'd* with this same horrible, horrible, most horrible, style of *tapu*?' (153-4). Echoing the ghost's words in the graveyard, Maning's question conjures up a line in *Hamlet* in order to highlight the extent of his 'excommunication' (154), which stems from finding 'a large skull rolling about in the water' (154) and burying it.[26] Like the eponymous hero in Shakespeare's play, he handles a skull immediately before its interment. And given that the Danish prince holds the former court jester Yorick's one in his hand, three literary texts converge in this instance: Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, which contains a subplot on an unfortunate parson called Yorick; Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, in which the protagonist muses on life's transience in the famous grave digger scene (V, i); and, of course, Maning's *Old New Zealand* which both utilises these canonical literary references and transposes them to the colonial frontier in the Antipodes. The result is a dense and multi-layered network of literary allusions from various periods which sustains and highlights Maning's ties with his readers, as well as unites them in a literate community, which is inaccessible for members of oral cultures. Although literary artefacts circulate on a global scale in this instance, the author does not bend their idioms, structures or themes to cross-cultural exigencies in order to forge bonds across cultural divides; instead, he uses them to consolidate his position as knowledgeable and reliable translator of Maori practices. It seems that even before we learn the details of his symbolic contamination we are clearly marked off from those who do not share our knowledge of the aforementioned texts.

After his act of transgression, Maning finds himself in the social wilderness. Not only do his native fellow travellers on this excursion suddenly shun him, they also inform the members of his household, all of them Maori (155), of his condition. As soon as he arrives at home, he finds it deserted and becomes aware of the social consequences of being *tapu*'d. However, despite his profound and intimate knowledge of all things Maori, and his time spent on the other side of the cultural divide, he chooses to represent his contaminated state in literary terms appealing to European readers rather than explaining

26 Alex Calder, ed., *Old New Zealand and other Writings* (London & New York: Leicester University Press, 2001), 206, note no. 8.

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*tapu* as native practice and condition central to New Zealand's tribal communities:

> I now began to suspect that this attempt of mine to look down the tapu would fail, and that I should remain excommunicated for some frightfully indefinite period. I began to think of Robinson Crusoe, and to wonder if I could hold out as well as he did. Then I looked hard at the leg of pork. The idea that I must cook for myself, brought home to me the fact more forcibly than anything else how I had 'fallen from my high estate' – cooking being the very last thing a rangatira can turn his hand to. But why should I have anything more to do with cooking? – was I not cast off and repudiated by the human race? (A horrible misanthropy was fast taking hold of me). Why should I not tear my leg of pork raw, like a wolf? 'I will run a muck!' – suddenly said I. 'I wonder how many I can kill before they "bag" me? I will kill, kill, kill! – but – I must have some supper. (155)

Full of farcical elements, this passage both ridicules *tapu* as an important Maori practice and renders its puzzling pervasiveness understandable through appeals to a pre-existing textual grid. Comparing his state to Crusoe's involuntary insularity and quoting John Dryden,[27] Maning appropriates the concept and transplants it into a cultural sphere alien to its origins, while at the same time signalling *tapu*'s radical difference by turning himself into a 'vaudeville cannibal.'[28] As such, he temporarily relinquishes his former semi-civil self – in other words, his liminal identity as *pakeha Maori* – and becomes the other of his own. This sensationalist transition aims at European audiences hungry for exotic hearsay and emphasises the dichotomously structured logic underlying *Old New Zealand*. As a consequence, Maning's transgression and its representation draw the readers' attention to the divides between self-other, nature-culture and orality-literacy, which only he has the knowledge, power and agency to transcend as often as he pleases. But most importantly, by rendering the Maori mute in his translation of integral constituents of their culture, Maning's text directly contributes to global civility's disintegration and its transformation into colonial discourse.

But how does the *pakeha Maori*-gone-savage fare in his seemingly splendid isolation? Hungry and without anyone to cook for him, he decides to light a fire and roast his pork. And before sitting down, he unsuccessfully attempts to

27 Ibid., note no. 10.

28 Calder, 'Maning's Tapu,' 19.

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decontaminate himself by conventional means. Just as the sleepwalking Lady Macbeth cannot wash Duncan's blood off her hands, Maning is unable to rid himself of *tapu*:

> I washed my hands six or seven times, scrubbing away and muttering with an intonation that would have been a fortune to a tragic actor. 'Out damned spot'; and so, after having washed and dried my hands, looked at them, returned, and washed again, again washed, and so on, several times, I sat down and demolished two days' allowance.[29] (155)

Maning frames his attempts at purification in Shakespearean terms and equates his behaviour with performativity. He performs being wild but counterbalances his transgressive side with gestures familiar to his readers.[30] When finally a native priest, a *tohunga*, arrives in order properly to restore him to community-life, Maning unwillingly submits and thus indirectly seems to recognise and ratify tribal laws and customs. But Maning being Maning, he somewhat angrily reinforces the division between orality and literacy in the very moment of restoration and reconciliation:

> In those days, when labouring under what Dickens calls the 'description of temporary insanity which arises from a sense of injury', I always involuntarily fell back upon my mother tongue, which in this case was perhaps fortunate, as my necromantic old friend did not understand the full force of my eloquence. (157)[31]

Maning's anger in this situation arises from both the *tohunga*'s order to remove his contaminated clothes and the fear of being flogged. He illustrates his anger by quoting Dickens's *Pickwick Papers* and emphasises the division between himself and the native priest through his mother tongue, thus not only reinforcing the gulf between orality and literacy but also demonstrating that he is capable of transcending the divide whenever he pleases.[32] But contrary to his expectations, he does not meet with 'western sanctions'[33] and the *tohunga* calmly asks him not to become angry. However, despite the priest's serenity and mastery of this crucial situation, Maning emerges as the more

29 Calder, ed., *Old New Zealand and other Writings*, 206, note no. 11.
30 Calder, 'Maning's Tapu,' 19.
31 Calder, ed., *Old New Zealand and other Writings*, 206, note no. 13
32 Ibid.
33 Calder, 'Maning's Tapu,' 22.

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powerful figure. Represented as outside Maning's 'mother tongue', the *tohunga* remains an object in the author's representation that is unable to assert his subjectivity in the sphere of western literacy to which he is neither invited nor admitted.

Maning's final disregard for the complexities of *tapu* prevents his translational digression from reaching its closure.[34] Although all his domestic implements were either broken or disposed of by the priest, Maning 'stole the knives, forks and spoons back again some time after, as he [the priest] had not broken them' (157). Even in this situation, which is designed to restore him to community-life, he exercises his authority by retrospectively dismantling the symbolic and material components of the decontamination ritual. The other, to whose social patterns he conformed as young *pakeha Maori*, emerges as merely an object for the gratification of the mature author's career aspirations: he textualises, translates and renders the Maori understandable for those who are either unwilling or unable to cross the cultural divide into Maori land. Literary citations and allusions are crucial in this context: their cultural sources become a means to consolidate Maning's own knowledge-power base. Whilst in the age of reason curious travellers used literature's idioms, themes and generic conventions to represent the actively lived ideal of global civility, cultural artefacts become part of consolidated visions of superiority in Britain's imperial nineteenth century.[35] The ways in which *Old New Zealand* appropriates the structure of *Tristram Shandy*, as well as Maning's translation of *tapu*, bear witness to this discursive change.

## Common Law, tribal Customs and the Appropriation of Land

As global civility gives way to discourses of colonialism and concomitant assertions of European superiority in the course of the nineteenth century, relations between *pakeha* and Maori became increasingly strained. Very often the Maori were primarily perceived as inherently belligerent by the colonisers, who had two options of dealing with them, one legal and institutional, another technical and potentially fatal, and both unfit for peaceful coexistence. Designed to formalise attitudes and claims to land between the two parties, the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) was among the colonisers' legal instru-

34 Ibid.

35 Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), 79-229.

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ments.[36] But, of course, both the English wording and European notions of property central to all contractual fictions[37] differed considerably from Maori traditions and customs. On the other hand, conflicts arising over issues such as land were neither clear-cut nor easy to win for the English. The Maori were equipped with firearms, too, and could rely on their thorough knowledge of the land – a fact that Maning details in his other well-known work, *History of the War in the North* (1862). Although the author constructs a binary logic in both his books,[38] he nevertheless provides us with a glimpse of the colonial frontier in nineteenth century New Zealand in which 'conditions of interdependence'[39] largely determined transactions between *pakeha* and Maori. Trying to purchase land from the natives, Maning not only encounters tribal complexities and Maori idiosyncrasies stemming from the desire to trade on favourable terms with the newcomers; he also invites readers to ponder the difficulties 'between old and new, Maori and pakeha'[40] and thus between orality and literacy in the legal context of land ownership.

In *Old New Zealand*, Maning represents the long-winded story of how he 'purchased a piece of land' (127) as an anecdotal digression interrupted by his extensive elaborations on *tapu*. The two resulting episodes resemble two land purchases, one in 1834 and another in 1839, respectively. Whilst the first one illustrates the pitfalls of written contractual agreements between the representatives of a technologically highly advanced literate culture on the one hand and the members of an oral tribal community on the other, the second one represents the mutual obligations when *pakeha* transcend cultural divides and become adopted members of a Maori tribe. Although Maning describes his land purchases 'in a skewed, sensational and dismissive way'[41], his readers nevertheless learn something about the difficulties of introducing common law traditions in zones of colonial interaction, the violence entailed in that wish and the refracted European records that do not allow for the inclusion of oral counterpoints or alternative versions of dominant narratives. Here, too, the orality-literacy-divide, as well as the overarching nature-

36 Alex Calder, 'Introduction,' in Calder, ed., *Old New Zealand and other Writings*, 1-14, here 9.

37 Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, 134.

38 Calder, 'Introduction,' 10.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid., 7.

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culture-paradigm, are crucial to understanding the transactions between the *pakeha Maori* and his native interlocutors.

Maning's eagerness for land suffers several initial setbacks and is connected to European notions of property-ownership. A key-element of self-preservation, private property is guaranteed in western societies by the rule of law and occupies a central position in both fictions of social contracts and philosophical discussions surrounding them.[42] Especially when exposed to fragile forms of cross-cultural sociality, Europeans were acutely aware of the 'instinctive duty of self-preservation'[43] and the necessity of procuring the means to achieve it. Land was thus crucial to Maning but hard to obtain: the attitudes of Europeans and Maori to, and conceptualisations of, the ground they cultivated proved difficult to reconcile. Reflecting on his first land purchase, Maning illustrates the intricacies it precipitated:

> I really can't tell to the present day who I purchased the land from, for there were about fifty different claimants, every one of whom assured me that the other forty-nine were 'humbugs', and had no right whatever. (127)

This passage represents a skewed exchange in which Maning emphasises the cultural differences between himself and the Maori. Adding that there were many claims 'which had lain dormant until it was known the *pakeha* had his eye on the land' (127), he turns the natives into a collectively represented other driven by greed and acquisitiveness. As such, they have no voice and the author neither attempts to accommodate Maori notions of property nor explains the complex set of duties and relationships governing social interaction on the colonial frontier. In this regard, property and property-ownership emerge as divisive and buttress the constructed incommensurability between civil self and native other.

Relating the details of this transaction, which took about three months to complete, Maning widens the intercultural gap even further. Many of the natives' claims to the piece of land, such as one man's ancestor who lived there as 'a huge lizard' (127), or another's right to catch rats on it although there were none, must have seemed ludicrous to Maning's European contemporaries and could not be enshrined into their systems of law. But instead of relating native customs, the mutual dependence between *pakeha* and Maori or the relativity

42 Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, 134.

43 Ibid., 18

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of all social arrangements, he draws up a long list with Maori claims to the disputed piece of land until he relates the completion of the transaction:

> I then and there handed over to the assembled mob the price of the land, consisting of a great lot of blankets, muskets, tomahawks, tobacco, spades, axes, &c., &c.; and received in return a very dirty piece of paper with all their marks on it, I having written the terms of transfer on it in English to my own perfect satisfaction. (128/129)

Contending that the value of land in the Antipodes is 'chiefly imaginary' (129), Maning does not specify the price he paid. In lieu thereof he exploits the natives' desire – a desire that he helped to create as *pakeha Maori* trader – for European goods and silences them by simply chucking out 'a great lot' of popular items. And what is more, Maning strikes a treaty with members of a community he repeatedly represents as beyond civil society's reach.[44] Strictly speaking, as such they cannot enter into contractual agreements.[45] But despite the non-existence of legal representability, the Maori are roped into 'the discursive universe of the law'[46] by Maning because it suits his purposes. As a consequence, his breathtaking flexibility on selected issues secures his strong position as well as sustains the gap between the represented and the one doing the representing.

In this context, even-handed cross-cultural exchanges are difficult, if not impossible, to establish. Episodes such as Maning's first land purchase transform representations of global civility, which are based on benevolent curiosity and the self's recognition of the other's subjectivity and agency, through continued efforts at placing the Maori outside civilisation, law or literacy. And just as Maning translated *tapu* as practiced by an oral community for his European or settler audiences, he lays down the details of the land purchase in writing and thus in a cultural form alien to his Maori contemporaries. But

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44 Maning describes the Maori as living in 'a state of society wherein might was to a very great extent right, and where bodily strength and courage were almost the sole qualities for which a man was respected or valued' (133). Additionally, violence, according to Maning, seems to have been endemic in New Zealand: 'Now if there is one thing I hate more than another it is the raw-head-and-bloody-bones style of writing, and in these random reminiscences I shall avoid all particular mention of battles, massacres, and onslaughts, except there be something particularly characteristic of my friend the Maori in them' (122). He also repeats this claim on p. 166.

45 Calder, 'Introduction,' 9.

46 Ibid., 8

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form, in turn, determines content and in this respect, too, Maning's choice is divisive: for his 'own perfect satisfaction' he chooses English rather than a transliteration of Maori and, in so doing, reinforces the power differential between himself and those he calls 'the assembled mob.' Unable to seal the deal with their signatures, they can only leave 'their marks' on Maning's contract and are probably unaware of what exactly they ceded, sold or agreed to in the legal framework that only Europeans fully comprehend. Rooted in the divide between orality and literacy, this fictionalised micro-social incident has a macro-historical parallel: the war in the north, which Maning describes in his *History* (1862), broke out over differing interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840).[47] Both treaty-making and breaking and conditions of coercion, such as the dispossession of Maori from their land, contribute to the erection of social, cultural and material boundaries between the two sides as well as testify to thoroughgoing transformations in the possibility of a continuing discourse of global civility. As a consequence, its inclusive matrix of mutual recognition and hospitality is being broken down into a dichotomously structured pattern of misunderstanding and primitive accumulation.

Maning's second land purchase, on the other hand, is framed in Maori terms but works along similar lines as the first one. It does not, however, elaborate on the 'murky and competitive interdependence'[48] between *pakeha* and Maori, in which the natives were eager to purchase European weapons and the newcomers sought profitable markets for their goods. Instead, this episode represents its Antipodean objects as greedy and mocks elements of mutuality in cross-cultural arrangements. Relating the details of this transaction, Maning tells the story of how he became an adopted member of a Maori tribe:

> I consequently was therefore a part, and by no means an inconsiderable one, of the payment for my own land; but though now part and parcel of the property of the old rangatira aforementioned, a good deal of liberty was allowed me. The fact of my having become his pakeha made our respective relations and duties to each other about as follows […]. (174)

Here Maning turns his voluntary liminality retrospectively into heteronomous appropriation. The comprehensive list of obligations subsequent to this passage does not clarify his 'good deal of liberty,' but denigrates those he traded

47 Ibid., 5.

48 Ibid., 4.

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with as young *pakeha Maori*, ridicules an agreement he had consciously entered into and explicates the terms of trade in a mocking enumeration of unilateral constraints. Adding that it was the chief's duty to prevent Maning from being 'bullied or imposed upon by any one but [the chief] himself' (175), the author represents him as greedy opponent rather than native interlocutor. Most crucially, however, Maning does not tell his readers that the tribe of 'the old *rangatira*' was the very same one to which his Maori wife Moengaroa belonged.[49] Maning is thus more than anxious to impart the natives' unpleasant characteristics but reluctant to share knowledge of the family, obligations and networks he entered by way of this extended transaction.

At first sight determined by the old chief, this exchange is, however, a heavily biased account of deals struck between Europeans and natives in pre-Treaty New Zealand. Written many years after the actual events, *Old New Zealand* rewrites the improvisational features of the contact period for an exclusively European and settler audience, whose benefits Maning seeks. As such, the book both maps and contributes to the evaporation of global civility in nineteenth century contact zones, which were in the process of becoming colonial frontiers. Whilst Maning's representation of *tapu* deprives cultural translation of its restitutive potential,[50] his depiction of cross-cultural exchanges and contracts aim at securing European privileges by mocking native customs as well as misrepresenting them. In this regard, he exploits legal discourses for purposes that are diametrically opposed to fictions of social contracts. Where curious travellers of the eighteenth century actively lived a cosmopolitan ideal that Kant later theorised in *Towards Perpetual Peace* (1795), Maning disenfranchises the Maori first symbolically in his books and then materially as judge of the Native Land Court.

However, he is breathtakingly mobile and readily sides with the Maori whenever and if it suits his purposes. After his exasperating and long-winded land purchases, Maning 'received notice to appear before certain persons called "Land Commissioners", who were part and parcel of the new inventions which had come up soon after the arrival of the first governor, and which are still a trouble to the land' (129). In pre-Treaty New Zealand, Europeans adopted by Maori tribes acted as intermediaries[51] and were crucial

49 Ibid., 5.

50 Ashok Bery, *Cultural Translation and Postcolonial Poetry* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), 8-9.

51 FitzGerald, 'Images of the Self,' 36.

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in negotiating differences as well as important points of contact for both the landward and seaward sides of interaction. But this central intercultural position and its profitability came under threat when the Treaty established gubernatorial rule and introduced new institutions.[52] In this situation, Maning has to prove his title to the land and is threatened with 'forfeiture of the same' (129) if he fails to do so. Now he suddenly feels 'plague[d]' and emphasises his status as 'a regularly naturalised member of a strong tribe' (129). This personal makeover within a few lines from exasperated *pakeha* to proud *pakeha Maori* invites further scrutiny, since it is more than a literary ploy or a situational coping mechanism. It coincides with the transition from improvisational contact zone to regulated colonial frontier and not only demonstrates Maning's mastery of both worlds but first and foremost illustrates how 'flexible positional superiority'[53] mutes Europe's others in Britain's imperial nineteenth century. The vastness of the South Pacific[54], its islands and inhabitants do not figure prominently as noteworthy variables in either Maning or the authorities' strategies for New Zealand but are collectively reduced to the status of a disposable colonial quantity. This development mirrors both the transformation of global civility into colonial discourse and the trajectory of Maning's life, which rests on the consolidated power-knowledge of two worlds.

Once in court, however, where he would later preside over cases himself, Maning continues his strategic identification with his Maori side. After a speech of several hours' length, he finds that he is charged 'at the rate of one farthing and one twentieth per word' (129). Feeling cornered and ill-treated, Maning resorts to a curious inversion of earlier attempts at cultural translation: whilst he explained *tapu*'s puzzling qualities as a learned connoisseur to European readers, he employs his cultural sophistication in this case to demonstrate the absurdity not of Maori but of European customs. 'Oh, Cicero! Oh, Demosthenes! Oh, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Sheridan! Oh, Daniel O'Connell! what would have become of you, if such a stopper had been clapt on your jawing tackle?' (129). Given his self-conscious loquacity – 'I can't help being too prolix, perhaps, when describing it.' (130) – we may infer that he was among those whose lucrative pre-Treaty arrangements were disturbed by the new order. His immediate identification with the Maori in this situation and

52 Calder, Introduction,' 5.

53 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (1978; rpt. London: Penguin, 1995), 7.

54 Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific*, 1.

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his later dispossession of them as judge of the Native Land Court may reflect the likely changes of a long life under the protean fortunes on the periphery of one's own culture, but the significance of his life-story runs deeper and reflects the shifting circumstances of New Zealand as a colony as well as illustrates the tremendous rise in European colonial ambitions in the course of the nineteenth century. The complex texture of, and the tensions within, Maning's life thus exemplify the intertwined European-Pacific histories and the evaporation of global civility as practiced in the age of reason.

## 3. Ethnographic Knowledge and Cultural Change

### The Circulation of Knowledge and the Non-integration of Europe's Others

In the course of the nineteenth century, Europeans imported their discursive systems, such as law and literature, into New Zealand and othered the Maori by casting them out of civility and into the non-literate wilderness of orality. Beyond the reach of both literacy and civilisation, New Zealand's native population was collectively objectified and deprived of its history by the influx of alien customs, goods and institutions. Where commerce and enlightened curiosity carried the potential to engender mutually improving exchanges across cultural divides in the eighteenth century, colonial protagonists of the nineteenth confidently wielded their power and were fully aware of the impacts of their presence. Maning himself describes his native fellow-citizens in terms suggesting cultural uprooting – 'The fact is they are just now between two tides.' (145) – and expresses confidence in the evolutionary enforcement of western social organisation under the colonisers' continued auspices when he writes that 'it is a maxim of mine that "laws, if not *made*, will *grow*"'(145). In such a climate of cultural displacement, discourses of global civility in general and native customs in particular are difficult to accommodate in the European master-narrative of civilising missions. Thus, Maning's ethnographic descriptions are in keeping with the overall pattern of his account, in which literary form and content – that is, autobiography and a network of intertextual references – as well as legal tools, such as contracts, underpin first the symbolic and eventually the material disenfranchisement of the Maori.

Describing Maori mourning rituals, he reinforces the division between civil self and native other on several levels instead of rationalising or assessing them within the parameters of their socio-cultural sphere. On the sidelines of a lengthy native gathering, Maning takes a stroll and discovers 'lying on a clean

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mat, which was spread on the ground, [a chopped-off] head' (120). Before he provides his readers with information on this unusual item's presence, however, Maning immediately turns his attention to 'a crowd of women' (120) surrounding the mat:

> A number of women were standing in a row before it, screaming, wailing, and quivering their hands about in a most extraordinary manner, and cutting themselves dreadfully with sharp flints and shells. One old woman, in the centre of the group, was one clot of blood from head to feet, and large clots of coagulated blood lay on the ground where she stood. (120/121)

Adding that '[t]he sight was absolutely horrible'(121) and detailing minutely which body parts the woman cut, Maning exploits the ritual's otherness and turns it into a disturbing and sensationalist spectacle. In so doing, he not only denies her subjectivity but also objectifies both her body and grief in yet another illegitimate appropriation of native customs. And he finishes the descriptive part of this passage by turning the woman into an 'old creature' and essentialising her otherness by asserting that 'a more hideous object could scarcely be conceived' (121). Whilst this episode differs from many other instances in that Maning individualises his object of scrutiny, it nevertheless widens the gulf between his target audience and the colonisers on the one hand and the Maori on the other.

However, the former *pakeha Maori* does not stop here. He demonstrates his mastery of the subject-matter first by emphasising the seemingly savage aspects of the ritual proper and then by ridiculing its status 'in these degenerate times' (121), which are clearly marked off from his fictionalised and somewhat nostalgic version of pre-Treaty New Zealand. When he conjures up 'some degenerate hussey' who has 'no notion of cutting herself up properly as she ought to do' (121), his rather sudden change of tone indicates a transition from ethnographic survey to mockery. Since *Old New Zealand*'s structure is modelled on Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, thematic innovations, radically new plots and sudden changes of tone are not surprising. But where Sterne's often comic and always self-conscious hero playfully offers his life-story as a stylistic experiment, Maning uses the novel's fragmentary, digressive and anecdotal design to impose dichotomously structured levels of representation on which global civility and discursive accommodation of cultural alterity give way to a version of colonialism built on essentialised and ontologically stable specimens of savagery. In a constant interplay between specific micro-social events and their placement within the larger frame of colonialism, native customs,

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habits and traditions, and by implication Maning's acquaintance with them, do not appear as valuable ethnographic knowledge but become the material from which he forges his second career. Even the old Maori woman and her 'dirge-like wail' (121) fit this pattern.

When Maning finally reveals the story behind the disembodied head, he chooses to depict his native fellow citizens as warlike and blood-thirsty savages who unfeelingly kill their relatives. It turns out that two brothers were flying from their enemies when one of them was severely injured:

> [T]he wounded man cried to the brother 'Do not leave my head a plaything for the foe'. There was no time for deliberation. The brother did not deliberate; a few slashes with the tomahawk saved his brother's head, and he escaped with it in his hand, dried it, and brought it home; and the old woman was the mother. (121; emphasis in original)

Sacrosanct in European societies, intra-familial relations emerge as fundamentally different among the Maori, and Maning's casual tone neither furthers his audience's understanding of them nor contributes positively to culture-specific analyses of the brothers' situation. Not only does he draw on and play with received stereotypes of extra-European peoples as innately different or belligerent, his explanation offers constructed, and thus culturally relative, differences that he retrospectively essentialised in spite of their situational fluidity in the contact zone. Given evolving evolutionary discourses, and social Darwinism as their corollary, nineteenth century readers of Maning's account must have been horrified by instances such as this one and inevitably conceived of themselves as superior to Maning's refracted representations. Even though he is knowledgeable in all things Maori, he does not share his expertise with his readers and glosses over the complexities of tribal rivalry as well as differences in social and family organisation by depicting violence as endemic and intrinsic in Maori life. By the same token, the brother's deed and the mother's mourning as represented by Maning do not invite ethnographic curiosity; they rather provoke reactions of disgust and put Europe's others into a vulnerable position by exposing their decontextualised behaviour to 'the civilizing mission of colonialism.'[55]

Most importantly, however, the tale of the head sheds light on the ugly side of contact situations and it is not the only one around which Maning structures one of his many digressions. Strolling about while the gathering

55 Ibid., 10.

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continues, he discovers 'a company of natives' (119) who, on closer inspection, turn out to be wooden crosses ornamented with heads. He mistakes them for 'magnates or "personages" of some kind' (119) and approaches them only to discover that '[t]*he head has no body under it*' (120; emphasis in original). When suddenly another *pakeha* comes along he enlightens Maning as to what the heads are intended for: they are commodities valued by Europeans (120). A little later, Maning informs his readers that '[a]ll the heads on the hill were heads of enemies, and several of them are now in museums in Europe' (122). He also comments briefly 'on the state of the head market' and admits that 'the skippers of many of the colonial trading schooners were always ready to deal with a man who had "a real good head"' (122).

These two episodes on' [l]*oose notions about heads*' (107) in Maning's version of pre-Treaty New Zealand change the terms of global civility and their cross-cultural practice. Attached to an elaborate and detailed description of native peace talks, his digressions appear to be ethnographic surveys of specific customs couched in a melange of mocking and seemingly factual language. On this level, Maning misrepresents native family relationships, mourning rituals and Maori forms of social organisation. In keeping with the dichotomously structured epistemological grid of *Old New Zealand*, his stories about those heads disseminate sensationalist pieces of information as well as decontextualised examples of Maori behaviour. When we learn towards the end of Maning's elaborations in a manner expressive of his usual mockery that he originally intended to avoid all instances of bloodshed 'except there be something characteristic of my friend the Maori in them' (122), we can see how far Maning's fictional alter ego has travelled from his Antipodean beginnings as *pakeha Maori* and are suggestively invited to mistake his simplistic representation for New Zealand's cultural reality. The many anecdotes in his book may have a true core, but frequently both his knowledge and experience are presented in a sensationalist way and reveal more about his career-related desires and the settlers' presence in New Zealand than its native inhabitants. In the case of the heads, the latter aspect is particularly important and adds a material level to Maning's discursive disenfranchisement of the Maori: not only are the natives' bodies objectified, they become objects of European consumption and display. As such, the Maori are no longer recognisable as human beings and are entirely at the disposal of a perverted hunger for exotic items. In this process, *intra-* and *inter-*cultural commodification intersect and converge: some Maori sell the heads of their peers (120) and Europeans purchase them as they colonise, subject and eventually dominate all of New Zealand. When

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human beings, who conceive of themselves as civilised, consume their others, global civility is disfigured beyond recognition and history has already paved the way for Europe's rise to colonial power, exploitation and cruelty, which are fundamentally different from the 'cosmopolitan civic exchange[s]'[56] some enlightened explorers initiated in the eighteenth century.

## The Materiality of Cultural Change

Though often sensationalist, refracted and skewed, Maning's account nevertheless provides a window into pre-Treaty New Zealand and 'remains the central witness of the nation's border period.'[57] For any attempt of restoring complexity to cross-cultural encounters such witnesses are invaluable. However, texts like Maning's, which were written with an identifiable personal agenda in mind, call for careful readings and contextualisations if they are to reveal specific histories from within the epistemic structures to which they belong. Maning's representation of the mourning Maori woman, for example, exploits her otherness but is simultaneously a fountain 'of inevitably tainted knowledge'[58] about New Zealand's native population. Thus, *Old New Zealand* is complicit with colonial exploitation – symbolic as well as material – yet at the same time recorded colonialism's 'dispersed and differential impact'[59] across both time and space.

Despite their historical complexities, colonial and post-colonial constellations in the Pacific arena are often subject to totalising explanations in literary and historical scholarship. According to these simplified narratives, European colonisation went either smoothly and caused the disintegration of indigenous societies or they overemphasise native resistance and resilience.[60] Having examined *Old New Zealand*'s use of literary genres, its strategic employment of selected discursive formations and Maning's contorted specimens of native customs, I will turn to this text again in order to propose an alternative assessment by focussing on the breadth, depth and scale of cultural

56 Elizabeth Cook, *Epistolary Bodies: Gender and Genre in the Eighteenth-Century Republic of Letters* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 29.

57 Simon During, 'What was the West? Some Relations between Modernity, Colonialism and Writing,' *Meanjin* 48: 4 (1989), 759-776, here 772.

58 Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific*, 21

59 Ibid., 11

60 Ibid., 10.

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change in contact situations. The basis for this analysis will be Maning's remarkable account of 'a general breaking up of old habits of life' (187) in New Zealand. I will analyse both the advent of European settlers and the changes they inaugurated as 'the specific activities and relationships of real men' that 'mean something very much more active, more complicated and more contradictory than developed metaphorical notion[s] of'[61] centre-periphery models commonly suggest or the dichotomous structure of Maning's account seems to invite. At issue here are his survey of historical settlement patterns and his skewed depiction of the old *rangatira* as a residual cultural phenomenon, respectively.

The former *pakeha Maori* organises these two intertwined yet distinct episodes around an object that Europeans brought with them: the musket.[62] Transposed to the Antipodes, it crossed the beach and acquired an almost fatal attractiveness for the Maori and considerable force in the transformations spurred by the newcomers. In addition to the 'flood of new ideas, new wants and ambitions' (171), the introduction of European weaponry changed the localities of Maori habitations from cultivations around fortified hilltops to huts adjacent to swamps. There, they grew flax to exchange it for firearms, ammunition and iron but were at the same time exposed to the detrimental effects of the swamps' damp air (185-6). In this respect, the musket as single object, and skills associated with its operation, initiated tremendous alterations in the socio-economic bases of Maori life.

We can characterise this protracted process as thoroughgoing refashioning of New Zealand's material culture towards the setting of new limits and the exertion of as yet unknown pressures.[63] However, this shift of the cultural

61 Raymond Wiliams, 'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory,' in Vincent B. Leitch et al., eds., *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, 2nd ed. (London & New York: Norton, 2010), 1420-1437, here 1425.

62 Between 1818 and 1833 the so-called 'musket-wars' changed New Zealand considerably and had ramifications for the country's social and cultural fabric beyond these dates. According to Maning, '[t]he first grand cause of the decrease of the natives since the arrival of the Europeans is the musket' (184).

63 Compare Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific*, 14: 'The important general point is that Pacific societies were colonized slowly and unevenly, and never entirely succumbed to western good, values and practices which inevitably were modified when they crossed the beach.' Furthermore, see Williams, p. 1426: 'We have to revalue "determination" towards the setting of limits and the exertion of pressure, and away from a predicted, prefigured and controlled content.'

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goalposts had ramifications for global civility, too. Whilst in other arenas of Pacific travel even-handed cross-cultural cooperation (Keate) or pressing domestic concerns (Barrington & Parker) were predominant features of the respective contact zones, in nineteenth century New Zealand commercial interests, acquisitiveness and western assumptions of superiority overrode cooperative aspects found in travel accounts of the previous century. Coupled with emerging evolutionary discourses and fuelled by misguided appetites for exotic artefacts, interaction between the Maori and the ever-growing number of settlers turned eventually into a one-sided redefinition of the country's material conditions of life. Maning himself characterises the changes in some detail:

> Now when the natives became generally armed with the musket they at once abandoned the hills [and] erected a new kind of fortification adapted to the capabilities of the new weapon. This was their destruction. There in mere swamps they built their oven-like houses, where the water even in summer sprung with the pressure of the foot, and where in winter the houses were often completely flooded. There, lying on the spongy soil, on beds of rushes which rotted under them – in little, low, dens of houses or kennels, heated like ovens at night and dripping with damp in the day – full of noxious exhalations from the damp soil, and impossible to ventilate – they were cut off by disease in a manner absolutely frightful. (185; emphasis in original)

What he conceals from his readers in this situation, however, is his own involvement in this process. *Pakeha maori* were traders, who, although they inhabited liminal spaces between settler and Maori cultures, sought markets for their goods and came to stay.[64] Even though Maning entered New Zealand towards the end of the musket wars and at a time when 'some fifty years of European contact had already effected vast changes in Maori culture,'[65] he nevertheless played an active role in furthering these changes and by profiting from lucrative pre-Treaty arrangements.

In his role as a trader, he could observe how western guns changed lives for good. As soon as the first tribe, the Ngapuhi in the Hokianga,[66] obtained the new commodity others were forced to relinquish both spear and tomahawk

64 Calder, 'Introduction,' 2: According to Alex Calder, 'the fantasy of difference between invasive colonist and natural settler' is hard to sustain.

65 FitzGerald, 'Images of the Self,' 20.

66 Calder, 'Introduction,' 2.

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as a matter of sheer survival: 'for if they did not procure [muskets] extermination was their doom by the hands of those of their countrymen who had' (186). In addition to the change of residence, which, according to Maning, was 'universal' (185), the influx of muskets was followed by 'hardship, over-labour, exposure, and half-starvation' (186) in the natives' struggle to produce enough tradable flax. And with the intensification of trade the increasing number of settlers introduced European diseases, which also contributed to depopulation.[67] But whilst the advent of the musket and its transformative agency impacted profoundly on New Zealand's native population, the changes it effected do not square with the fatal-impact hypothesis, the idea that Pacific societies disintegrated rapidly after first contacts had been established.[68] Resorting to monocausal explanations and attributing cultural change solely to the natives' fatal attraction to western goods and practices is tantamount to depriving Europe's others of their agency and history. Undoubtedly, the power differential between coloniser and colonised is an integral constituent in the history of European expansion and the arrival of western travellers, traders and settlers in many cases developed into radical inequality, with consequences ranging from exploitation and armed conflict to enslavement and genocide. However, the colonisers' arrival 'neither constitutes nor reconstitutes the whole'[69] of a culture's history and often met with resistance. It is tempting to read colonial history simply as flow of power emanating unilaterally from an imperial centre to peripheral zones, and the dichotomous logic of Maning's account is conducive to such a view. However, this is a narrative inextricably intertwined with the age of high imperialism and lead to different results in different parts of the globe. And despite their scale, the changes effected in New Zealand were complex and drawn out over a relatively long period of time.

Especially in pre-Treaty New Zealand, a time when individual arrangements rather than gubernatorial rule determined the terms of exchange, trade must have been extremely profitable for those who could supply weapons, ammunition, gun-powder and highly-valued iron (186-7). In those days, the Maori largely governed the modalities of inter-cultural relationships by se-

67 Calder, ed., *Old New Zealand and other Writings*, 209, note no. 17

68 Edmond, *Representing the South* Pacific, 10.

69 Ibid., 14.

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lecting and purchasing the goods they needed and wanted.[70] Thus, the geographical and historical details of specific cross-cultural encounters are indispensable and illustrate the importance of Raymond William's call for inquiries into 'the specific activities and relationships of real men'[71] as well as emphasise the procedural dynamics rather than static constellations of contact zones. Published nearly three decades after the events it describes, and written with career-related intentions in mind, *Old New Zealand* circulates a very different picture sustained and fuelled not only by its author's goals but also by the increased scale and pace of colonisation. However, these shifts are not merely epiphenomenal, since they are intertwined with New Zealand's transition from a largely adventure-filled and improvisational sphere between cultures to a settled colony ruled by Europeans. The increasing ambivalence in representations of cultural alterity, which was followed by the evaporation of global civility in the course of the nineteenth century, is rooted in this transformation.

However, when there were only a few *pakeha Maori* traders in the Hokianga 'the manoeuvrable and "double-faced" Maning knew that the power to define boundaries lay elsewhere.'[72] He and the traders who arrived before him had to adapt to Maori social patterns and were drawn into tribal rivalries and infighting. According to Maning,

> for a long period before the arrival of the Europeans […] the natives at last believed that a constant state of warfare was the natural condition of life, and their sentiments, feelings, and maxims became gradually formed on this belief. Nothing was so valuable or respectable as strength and courage, and to acquire property by war and plunder more honourable and also more desirable than by labour. Cannibalism was glorious. The island was a pandemonium. (184)

This state worked in the traders' favour. Tribal rivalries and power struggles provided profitable markets for them and the about seventy Europeans, who lived in the Hokianga at the time of Maning's arrival, were important points

70 Ibid.: 'Some [goods] were assimilated; others were simply ignored.' Compare also: Calder, Introduction, 4: 'There were about seventy Europeans' in the area where Maning lived 'alongside a Maori population numbering several thousand.'

71 Williams, 'Base and Superstructure,' 1425.

72 Calder, 'Introduction,' 4.

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of contact for several thousand Maori warriors.[73] But Maning's record turns his former native interlocutors and peers from customers into 'Savages in the Tropical Seas:'[74] seasoning this passage with a reference to cannibalism, he retrospectively shifts the centre of gravity of his early years in New Zealand away from the interactional dynamics of the contact zone to essentialised differences and contorted representations of Europe's others. Instead of a space pregnant with commercial opportunities for young adventurers, New Zealand becomes 'a pandemonium' for the mature Maning, whose textual authority rests on, and coincides with, the West's rising influence and power on a global scale.

In the context of global civility's transformation, then, New Zealand's 'times of constant war' (182) suggest the incommensurability of Maori and settler cultures. Coupled with the natives' emotional brutalisation, 'war and plunder' become the primary means to acquire property. Once again, differential regimes of property-ownership emerge as divisive in Maning's account and corroborate its dichotomous logic. This savage state of affairs must have appeared antithetical to Europeans, for their societies are founded upon the acquisition and preservation of property under the rule of law.[75] But as their numbers gradually increased, the settlers could assert the material consequences of their contractual tradition more forcefully. And the cannibalistic pandemonium evoked by Maning not only places the Maori beyond the reach of civilisation, but also invites civilising missions to draw them into the sphere of western social organisation.[76] Europeans could try to achieve this through agreements, violence or the attractiveness certain goods radiated. However,

73 Ibid.

74 Charles Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, ed. by Harvey Peter Sucksmith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 201.

75 Lamb, *Preserving the* Self, Ch.1: 17-48.

76 In *Old New Zealand* Maning frequently distinguishes between pre-Treaty New Zealand on the one hand, and the country's existence under British rule on the other. However, he never mentions missionary activity in the Antipodes and attributes socio-cultural changes mainly to the influx of new weapons and western goods. But Patrick Brantlinger has drawn attention to the fact that missionaries believed in the necessity of civilising the Maori from the 1790s onwards. Hence, Maning's characterisation of New Zealand as 'a pandemonium' in this particular situation may very well have been influenced by missionary zealots who 'believed they were intervening, not in tropical edens but in some of the darkest, most diabolical places in the world.' Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800-1930* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 142.

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within a framework of assumed superiority, which superseded global civility and was consolidated by increasingly sophisticated technology and weaponry, Europeans inevitably changed Maori culture and were even ready to crush native resistance by force.[77]

Unfortunately, Maning does not tell us very much about native resistance in *Old New Zealand*. But, if read in conjunction with and measured against the historical survey of settlement patterns, his sensationalist representation of the old *rangatira*, who adopted him, provides a window into native reactions to the influx of European people, goods and commodities.[78] And since Maning's 'old friend had a great hatred for the musket' (177) and 'had passed his whole life […] in a scene of battle, murder, and blood-thirsty atrocities of the most horrific description' (179), he simultaneously represents continuity and discontinuity vis-à-vis ongoing changes. In contrast to other warriors, he never relinquished either spear or tomahawk and thus emerges both as cultural residue and specific focus of resistance to cultural transformation.[79] In this regard, the old *rangatira* balances the large-scale changes in Maning's account as well as illustrates that colonisation can proceed 'slowly and unevenly.'[80]Accordingly, cultural changes in the contact zone, such as the appearance and subsequent transformation of global civility, evolve over time and call for careful analyses attentive to spatio-temporal specificities. By following Maning's representation of the Maori warrior, then, we can try to plumb the individual depth rather than the general scope of *pakeha* and Maori interaction.

The trajectory of this encounter moved slowly but surely towards a *pakeha* way of life. Maning's initial exclamation – 'AH! those good old times, when I first came to New Zealand, we shall never see their like again.' (93) – is doubly relevant here. On the one hand, it reminds us of the Treaty's potential disruption of lucrative arrangements between *pakeha* traders and their Maori hosts; on the other, it draws attention to the effects of the settlers' continued presence on individual and collective Maori identities that either changed or

77 Compare Maning's other, less well-known work 'History of the War in the North' (1862) in Calder, ed., *Old New Zealand and other Writings*, 17-87.

78 Calder, ed., *Old New Zealand and other Writings*, 208, note no. 9

79 In keeping with the overall pattern of his account, Maning's almost pervasive mockery does not spare the old warrior. The author tells us how the *rangatira* incidentally kills his brother-in-law (178) and his father (178-9), respectively.

80 Edmond, *Preserving the Self*, 14.

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vanished altogether. As an eminent warrior, the old *rangatira* seems to have been particularly affected:

> [T]he old 'martialist' would draw on the sand the plan of the battle he was criticising and describing; and, in the course of time I began to perceive that, before the introduction of the musket, the art of war had been brought to great perfection by the natives: and that, when large numbers were engaged in a pitched battle, the order of battle resembled, in a most striking manner, some of the most approved orders of battle of the ancients. Since the introduction of firearms the natives have entirely altered their tactics, and adopted a system better adapted to the new weapon and the nature of the country. (177)

Whilst the warrior, to whose family network Maning belonged, was not opposed to western goods as such, he categorically refused to adapt to firearms.[81] But to read him as either anachronistic impersonation or caricature of native warriors would, although his character contains elements of both, be simplistic. He is rather an important bearer of his tribe's collective memory and offers Maning comparative insights into Maori history. Even within the author's European intellectual horizon, elements of which he frequently employs to depreciate his others throughout *Old New Zealand*, the 'great perfection' of war in the pre-contact period as well as its resemblance of ancient 'orders of battle' are valuable and noteworthy pieces of information from within the natives' oral traditions. As time wore on and cross-cultural interaction intensified, however, the Maori were subject to large-scale transformations as both Maning and the *rangatira* relate: the natives experienced, first on their own terms, later on the settlers' ones, that changes in a society's material culture are followed by changes in its social fabric. Hence, Karl Marx's famous and somewhat provocative question – '[I]s Achilles possible with powder and lead?'[82] – not only neatly summarises in general, yet precise, fashion the historical rootedness of socio-economic formations, it also

81 Compare Maning, 176: According to him, *pakeha* traders were 'in those glorious old times considered to be geese who laid golden eggs.' The warrior Maning describes is not exempt from this general trend.

82 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 'Grundrisse,' in Vincent B. Leitch et al., eds., *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, 2nd ed. (London & New York: Norton, 2010), 661-662, here 661.

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illustrates the modalities of particular exchanges in contact zones like New Zealand.

As trade began to thrive, the old *rangatira* 'was always grumbling that the young men thought of nothing but trading' (180). A fighter dedicated to traditional weapons, who frequently spoke 'of those numerous battles, onslaughts, massacres, or stormings, in which all the active part of his life had been spent' (177), the old warrior clearly belongs to the time prior to the musket's general acceptance. From his complaints, we can infer that he was alienated from his structure of feeling,[83] for it depended on, and was bound up with, differential material conditions. But through his presence in Maning's account, we get a glimpse of how individuals were affected first by the arrival of Europeans and their goods, and subsequently by concerted and institutionalised efforts at colonisation. And the author's representation of him as both remorseless and 'unfeeling' (180) puts him right into the centre of New Zealand's supposedly uncivilised state of nature in pre-contact times as well as heightens the contrast between Maning's target audience and the Maori. This particular perspective, however, allows us to recognise him simultaneously as resilient individual and as member of a society in transformation. Hence, we can see how cultural change, especially in contact situations, restructures individuals and their relationships with one another. General histories predicated upon European agency and native passivity thus fail to account for the complicated and multi-layered texture of cross-cultural encounters. Accordingly, nuanced approaches to the specific forms of interaction, such as Maning's individualised representation of the warrior and the general patterns within which they appear, are neither attempts to deny colonialism's asymmetrical power relations nor are they tantamount to writing revisionist histories. Instead, they try to arrive at thorough and precise historical contextualisations of global civility and its evaporation in the imperial nineteenth century.

83 Donna Landry, 'Saddle Time,' *Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts* 46: 3 (2004), 441 – 458, here 444.

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