

# The Western and the New Zealand Wars

BRENDAN D SHERIDAN

There are multiple parallels between the 19th Century migrations into indigenous lands in the American West and Aotearoa. These include conflicts over land between incoming Europeans and indigenous nations, the complicated loyalties that arose during these conflicts, and later romanticisation of the time period. This paper examines two films set during the New Zealand Wars and compares these films to the American Western genre, in particular through the lenses of historical fiction and historiographic metafiction. These approaches provide insight into how the films depict events and why the way they are depicted is dependent upon historical context. These films, *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927) and *Utu* (1983), engage with similar subject matter and depict the same time period but portray history in radically different tones.

There are several representations of the New Zealand Wars (particularly the period of 1863-1870) in New Zealand cinema: *Rewi's Last Stand* (1925), *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927), *The Last Stand* (1940), *Pictures* (1980), *Utu* (1983), and *River Queen* (2005). This paper examines the two films that are Westerns, Rudall Hayward's *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927) and Geoff Murphy's *Utu* (1983). These films were chosen as they both draw inspiration from similar historical events and persons, as well as the written histories of James Cowan. Furthermore, these films can be examined through the lenses of historical fiction and what Linda Hutcheon terms historiographic metafiction.

Historical fiction and historiographic metafiction are two different methods for viewing the past. Historical fiction depicts the past according to a fixed historiography (though often according to a range of stereotypic narratives). Meanwhile, historiographic metafiction emerged from the postcolonial movement and reassesses previous conceptions of the past, as well as the impact of past events upon the present. *The Te Kooti Trail* stands as an example of historical fiction and *Utu* as an example of historiographic metafiction, in addition to both being Westerns.

The Western is a genre with clearly established conventions spanning settlers, journeys, and ranching to gunfights and "Indian wars". Many Westerns draw on the legacy of James Fenimore Cooper and his stories set in the frontier of the United States. Douglas Pye argues that in Cooper:

A current of romantic narrative, capable of inflection in more than one direction, meets other currents of thought associated particularly with the idea of the West and its significance for America, and this conjunction of romantic mode and complex thematic gave a shape to the western".

The American Old West has many parallels with the European (and predominantly Anglo-Protestant) settlement of Aotearoa, including contact with indigenous peoples and the conflicts which emerged. Kynan Gentry, Andrew Thompson, and John M. MacKenzie argue that the European settler battles against the Plains Indians were not dissimilar to the New Zealand Wars.

Unsurprisingly, there is a continuation of the Western's ideas in the films *The Te Kooti Trail* and *Utu*. While Aotearoa was not directionally focused, like the West, the romanticised un-Europeanised lands held appeal. That said, the conventions and ideas of such frontiers have varying

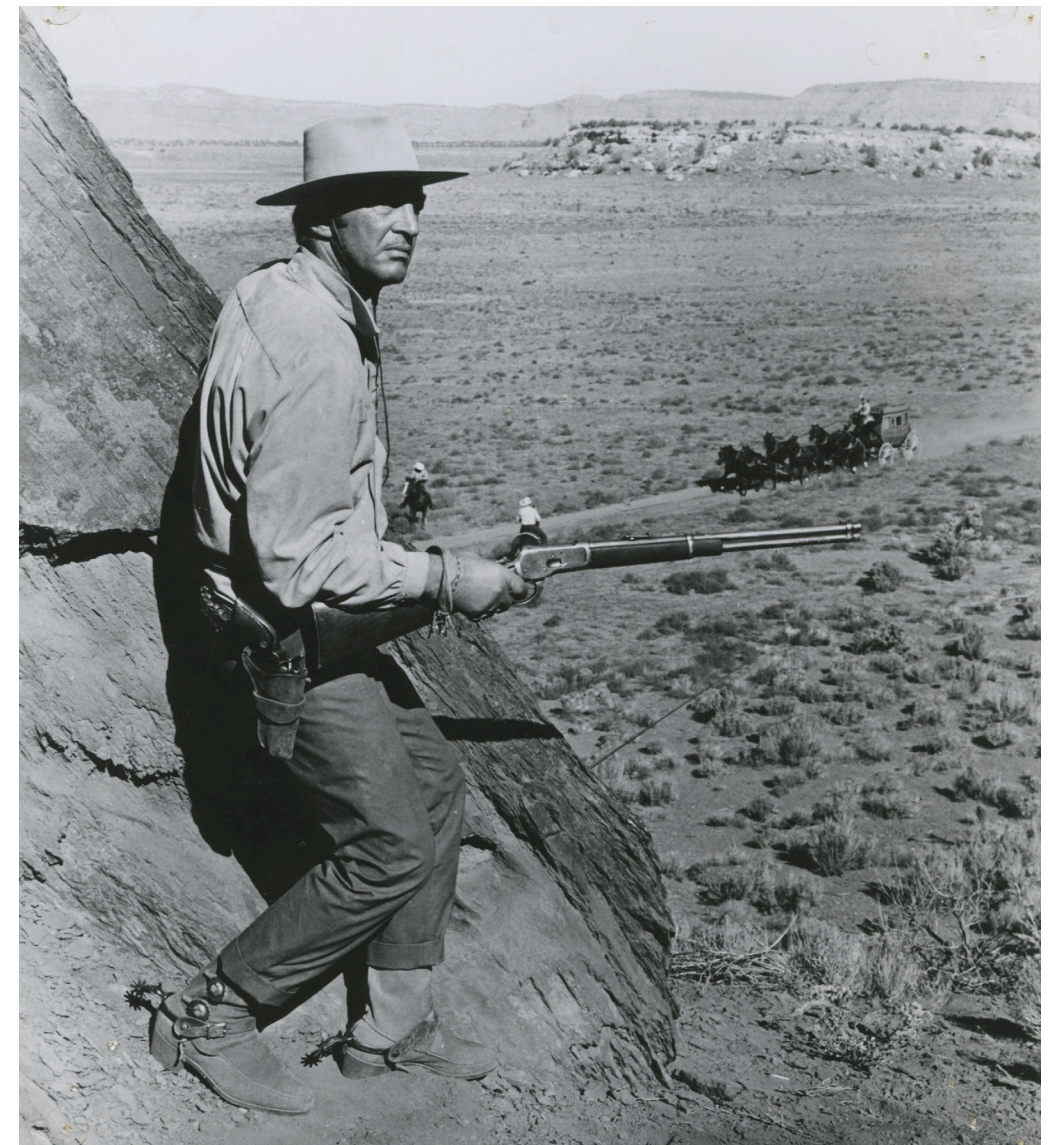


FIGURE 1. Dean Martin starred in *Rough Night in Jericho* (1967). The advertising campaign for this movie asked the question: "Who says they don't make Westerns like they used to?" Film still from a private collection ARC.

interpretations, as Pye also notes: “The life of the frontier was both ennobling, because it was close to nature, and primitive, at the farthest remove from civilization. The Indian could be both a child of nature, primitive but innocent, and the naked savage.” The dichotomy of the friendly natives and villainous savages was a commonly understood trope, as was the desire to turn Aotearoa into a ‘Pastoral Paradise’. Though the Western is a broad genre, it is in the sensationalist Westerns that the greatest influence on New Zealand popular culture is felt. Many of the Western ideas were disseminated in the form of novels in New Zealand, often featuring ‘Boys Own’ narratives featuring young men involved in exciting and dangerous experiences, extending later into film.

#### HISTORICAL FICTION WESTERNS

The sensationalism of wild west dime novels is where the New Zealand Western finds most commonality with the American embellished reality of the frontier, at least with regard to the New Zealand Wars.

In dime novels the western became increasingly extravagant and fantastic, although it was fed by actual events—the Indian wars, the adventures of outlaws and lawmen, the cattle drivers. Actual people became the basis of heroes of dime-novel sagas in a constant process of romanticizing actuality in the service of sentimental fiction and the adventure story.

The use of actual historical characters and specific events, either outright depictions or acting as inspiration, in New Zealand Wars Western Films reinforces the parallels with the American Western. However, while the American Western Film can feature wholly invented characters and plots, the New Zealand Wars Western Film is more akin to historical fiction.

Linda Hutcheon describes historical fiction as “that which is modelled on historiography to the extent that it is motivated and made operative by a notion of history as a shaping force”. This definition implies that for a work to be classified as historical fiction it must also be tied to historiography. In this sense some of the early twentieth century films by Rudall Hayward are historical fiction due to their adherence to James Cowan’s histories *The New Zealand Wars* volumes 1 and 2. Hayward’s later film *The Last Stand* (1940) even credited Cowan as that film’s “official historian” and uses a copy of Cowan’s history as a framing device.

This adherence to Cowan’s work is apparent in *The Te*



FIGURE 2. Detail from a poster for Rudall Hayward’s 1927 film *The Te Kooti Trail*. *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927) P03841. Poster Collection, Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision. Production Company: Whakatane Films.

Kooti Trail. The main plot of the film transpires during the Colonial Government's pursuit of Te Kooti, the Māori dissident and prophet of the Ringatū movement. While colonial troops pursued Te Kooti across the Bay of Plenty in 1869, the prophet's forces besieged a mill operated by a French settler, Jean Guerrin, and his Māori wife Erihapeti. On taking the mill following Guerrin's death, Te Kooti has Erihapeti remarried to one of his followers, while a young Māori woman who was defiant towards Te Kooti is executed. Captain Gilbert Mair, on hearing of the attack rushes to free the mill, however he arrives too late. The film subsequently depicts Mair's later command of colonial forces in the pursuit of the prophet, including killing Peka te Makarini (Te Kooti's lieutenant) in battle.

The events of The Te Kooti Trail are directly discussed in Cowan's history, specifically chapter 30 of *The New Zealand Wars* volume 2, dubbed *The Hauhau Wars* (1864-1872). While the film does show some fictionalised situations, as noted below, it focuses on historical figures who were in the area at the time. Jean Guerrin, Te Kooti, Peka te Makarini, Gilbert Mair, and even the tragically fated young woman Monika, sister of Erihapeti, are based upon genuine historical figures.

The predominantly fictional figures included by Hayward are his "lost legion" of an Englishman, an Irishman, and a Frenchman serving under Mair's command. The love story between Monika and a warrior called Taranahi is also considered an addition by Hayward. Regardless, Hayward follows the events of Cowan's account quite accurately. The loss of the mill, the forced marriage between Guerrin's widow and Te Kooti's follower Rangihiroa and the killing of Monika are all events recorded by Cowan. The film is a direct representation of an historical account, framed by the perspective of a Pākehā historian, though it has been adapted into the form of a Western.

The Western is quite formulaic in its construction and its plots. David Lusted argues that there are seven basic Western Genre plots, though more than one can feature in a single narrative. For The Te Kooti Trail the plots of "The Cavalry (cavalry vs. indians)" and "The Marshal (lawman vs. outlaws)" clearly feature. In the film, Gilbert Mair is quite clearly the Marshal, while Te Kooti and his followers are outlaws. Westerns also include many standard character types in addition to the Marshal (two examples are friendly Natives, and the indigenous maiden), including different types of villains. "Villainy became as central as heroism...the worst villainy of all is overwhelmingly represented by savage Indians." However, for the New Zealand Wars Western these character types are reinterpreted to suit the setting,

for example the villains are clearly Māori, taking the place of Native Americans. Also, given the period of the New Zealand Wars depicted, it is not sufficient to only show some Māori as friendly natives, but also Māori who actively fight alongside the settlers and military.

Native allies of settlers are not without precedent in the American Western either. Such representation appeared in the American Western about 10 years prior to The Te Kooti Trail with William S Hart's *The Silent Man* (1917). In this film:

Although the Cheyenne are the villains...  
the Pawnee scouts are cited as friendly  
Indians...they even replace the more conventional cavalry as the last-minute rescuers of  
the railroad folk from the final mass attack of  
the Cheyenne

There is a very similar scene shown in The Te Kooti Trail with the Arawa men rallied by Gilbert Mair to battle against Te Kooti and his Ngai Tūhoe followers. To fit the time period, Māori are depicted simultaneously in the film as the indigenous villains and the cavalry.

The Te Kooti Trail is notably the first on-screen representation of Māori allied to the Crown during the New Zealand Wars. As stated above, they are the "cavalry" rallied by Gilbert Mair in the desperate attempt to save Guerrin's mill. The role the allied Māori play here is quite clear cut. As Alistair Fox describes the attack:

Te Kooti's attack on Geurrin's mill is modelled closely on the Indian attacks in Griffith's westerns, as is the pursuit of Taranahi when he rides off to seek help, and the suspense as to whether the colonial forces (the equivalent of the cavalry) will arrive in time to rescue the besieged defenders of the mill.

The scene is potentially a homage to *The Silent Man* with its similar scene where the Pawnee come racing to aid the beleaguered railway folk from the Cheyenne. However, in place of the Pawnee the soldiers are implied to be Ngāti Pukeko and in place of the Cheyenne are followers of Te Kooti.

Ngāti Pukeko's role in the film is the heroic cavalry riding (or in this case running) to the rescue. Given the nature of the film, it is unsurprising that they are reduced to background figures, as they fulfil the sole role of the cavalry. Typically, in Westerns the cavalry has little characterisation among the rank and file. However, often historiography omits details of

active participants, such as Māori allied with the Crown. Until the late 20th century, analysis of their service and motives outside of one or two individuals, was sparse.

Bruce Babington notes this lack of attention: “Mair’s kūpapa are, except for Taranahi, faceless”. These men are ignored in terms of characterisation, so context is required for the depiction of these characters. Babington uses the word kūpapa to describe these Māori allies, which is a term that has a complicated history. Danny Keenan notes that:

These days, amongst Māori, the connotation ‘kupapa’ is used in different contexts, and its meaning varies greatly, from ‘one who does not rise to the debate or fray’ (a neutral) to ‘one who crawls on all fours’ (a traitor).

The term’s varied usage can depend on regional location of Māori, and upon their hapū’s or iwi’s political stance during the New Zealand Wars, or even the speaker’s own perspective on Māori allying with settlers. These particular Māori soldiers, depicted later in the film, have received some scholarly attention in recent years, in particular in *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History* (2014) and in Ron Crosby’s *Kūpapa* (2015).

These soldiers are of the Te Arawa iwi who occupy areas of Rotorua and the Bay of Plenty with a history of supporting the Crown during the New Zealand Wars. They are a significant group as of all the allied Māori in the late stages of the New Zealand Wars (from 1868 to 1872), this unit were commanded by Pākehā officers. Te Arawa had supported the Crown ever since the Waikato campaign, but it was later from 1870 that they truly became distinctive from other allied Māori with the Arawa Flying Columns.

Following the battle of Ohinemutu in 1870, Donald McLean, the Native Affairs Minister, was convinced of their capability but had a differing approach to previous allied Māori divisions. In *Kūpapa*, Crosby explains:

McLean had also seen repeated reports of the difficulty Pākehā officers had had with more senior Te Arawa rangatira in particular. However, the performance of the young Te Arawa men in the field had been exemplary under two young Pākehā officers who were fluent in te reo, and who were able to inspire their men into amazing acts of courage and resilience.

The solution seemed to McLean to be to separate the younger fighting men of Te Arawa from their rangatira, and to have them led by those two young Pākehā officers. This was unusual as typically allied Māori incorporated their own traditional leadership structures. The two officers who had so impressed McLean were George Preece and Gilbert Mair, the impressively bearded officer of The Te Kooti Trail. The Arawa men were organised into mobile flying columns of 80-90 men, better kitted out than larger units of allied Māori, and with more modern weaponry.

While Ngāti Pukeko wear traditional dress in the rushed mobilization race to save Guerrin’s Mill, a later scene shows Te Arawa soldiers dressed in their recognisable attire of militia coats, caps, and kilts. The careful use of material culture is understandable given Hayward’s endeavour to provide a visual record of Aotearoa New Zealand’s past on screen, providing further historiography to the historical fiction. Even so, despite the effort at historical accuracy, little time is spent on character. Though the Ngāti Pukeko ‘cavalry’ has some reasoning under the conventions of genre, the same cannot be said for Te Arawa. Most of what the audience sees of the Arawa Flying Column in the Te Kooti Trail is of silent soldiers happy to follow Gilbert Mair into battle. Little is spent examining their own ideas or motivations, such as the difference of opinion among Te Arawa themselves on fighting alongside the Crown.

Keenan argues that participation of allied Māori “were probably only understood by those who participated.” In this sense, Hayward’s lack of character development is not unexpected considering the source material, James Cowan’s histories. As argued by Alistair Fox, Keith Grant and Hilary Radner: “In Cowan’s *The New Zealand Wars*...he reproduces the discourse of colonial imperialism, including its Darwinian assumption that colonisation entailed an inevitable march of progress towards civilisation”. It suits Hayward to simply present Te Arawa as being motivated by the ‘civilising’ goal of the colonial government. For allied Māori to have more nuanced motives in regards to their involvement, such as tribal prosperity or historical grudges, would complicate and potentially disrupt the historical narrative to which Hayward adhered.

In sum, the historical fiction Western is concerned with accuracy or at least presenting itself as accurate. The Te Kooti Trail links directly to historical events and to a noted historian. Even so, the narrative being presented is still highly slanted. While there was some small input from Māori involved in the Te Kooti Trail’s production and a preliminary screening was offered to Tūhoe elders to avoid offence,

their voices were still subject to Hayward and, by extension, Cowan. The depiction of Ngāti Pukeko, Ngai Tūhoe, and Te Arawa are narrowed by a predominantly Eurocentric view of history. Hayward adhered to the nation-making narratives of the early 20th century westerns, so it is unsurprising that in the 1980s Geoff Murphy instead followed the example of the post-modern western.

## POST-MODERN WESTERNS

Following Hayward there were no cinematic depictions of the New Zealand Wars until the 1980s, potentially due to the availability of film funding. Because of a number of historical and social factors, the style of the Western that emerged shifted from being historical fiction to historiographic metafiction. Examples of these influential social events are the Māori Land March, the Māori Renaissance, the emergence of postmodern discourse, as well as international film trends such as the postmodern Western. These events challenged preconceived narratives in historical discourse, which coincided with the development of the historiographic metafiction model.

Historiographic metafiction is a postmodern approach to depictions of history. Hutcheon states that it “represents a challenging of the (related) conventional forms of fiction and history writing through its acknowledgement of their inescapable textuality”. This idea is apparent in on-screen representations of history which abandon direct depictions of events as they are, in favour of creating representations that are inspired by specific historical events. Such representations are arguably less interested in a historical truth and instead express a desire to present an ideological truth. They are also less likely to adhere to single overriding sources like Hayward did with Cowan. Hutcheon argues that:

Historiographic metafiction shows fiction to be historically conditioned and history to be discursively structured, and in the process manages to broaden the debate about the ideological implications of the Foucauldian conjunction of power and knowledge—for readers and for history itself as a discipline.

Such films are more likely to challenge previously pervasive ideas surrounding the New Zealand Wars, especially colonial constructs of European dominance and “civilising” influence on Māori. Previous narratives were challenged

through a greater nuance towards indigenous groups as represented on screen, a more prevalent use of non-European languages, and a further incorporation of indigenous cultures and practices on screen. They also offer a greater visibility of European women on screen or even depicting European officers in a different light to how they were previously portrayed.

This is not to say that the historiographic metafiction is an outright rejection of previous works, instead it reassesses existing conventions. As Hutcheon states: “Historiographic metafiction appears, then, willing to draw upon any signifying practices it can find operative in a society. It wants to challenge those discourses and yet to use them, even to milk them for all they are worth”. Therefore, even when aspects of the New Zealand Wars and Hayward’s depictions are being challenged, many features of the productions are maintained. Both Murphy and Hayward orientate their films around the same dynamic figures of Gilbert Mair and Te Kooti, as well as events in their lives. Cowan’s histories lead to Hayward’s films. Murphy then approaches the same source material as Hayward at a later stage, but incorporating the nuance offered by his Māori collaborators.

A key feature of this New Zealand Wars metafiction is the composite nature of events and characters, which is a departure from Hayward’s reliance in the historical record. The blending can be seen as a contrast between realist historiography and the more postmodern historiographic metafiction. Amy J. Elias explains:

Realist historiography desires a historical truth that is not Truth but that is still binding, a pragmatist, robust history of reasonable belief. Radical postmodernist historiography desires a Dionysian playground of language and a historical ground from which to declare the end of historical grounds.

The postmodern does not have the desire of its predecessors to show the events as they happened. Instead, such representations gauge the feeling of the period by commingling and blending key historical figures and events together.

Geoff Murphy produced just such a Dionysian playground of language and history in the 1983 film *Utu*. It is an anarchic, borderline parodic, nuanced Western. The film presents a greater degree of characterisation for Māori, likely as a result of many Māori having key positions in the production. Activist and director Merata Mita was appointed casting director, Pita Turei as stunt coordinator, Lee

Tamahori as second unit director, and the film had a *kau-matua* on site with Joe Malcom. The film also featured a widespread use of spoken Te Reo (by both Māori and Pākehā characters) joined with subtitles.

The film follows Te Wheke, a scout for the colonial troops, who arrives at his home village to find them slaughtered by cavalry in a raid, whereupon he swears vengeance. This leads to Te Wheke gathering a following to resist colonial rule, all the while pursued by the colonial militia under the command of the racist Colonel Elliot. His immediate pursuers, however, are the contemplative Lieutenant Scott and the erudite Corporal Wiremu. Following various engagements, including a settler's own vendetta against Te Wheke, the film ends with a trial in the bush by firelight where European protocol and *tikanga* are debated to determine who should execute Te Wheke for his crimes in pursuit of revenge.

In contrast to Hayward, Murphy does not base *Utu* around a single historical event, instead he is inspired by several. Most significantly are Rangiaowhia (1864), the killing of the missionary Carl Volkner by Kereopa Te Rau (1865), and the Bush Trial of Wi Heretaunga (1870), and most importantly the Pursuit of Te Kooti (1868-1872). Murphy's depiction of the New Zealand Wars also adds an additional Western plot: "The Revenge (the wronged man vs. the truly guilty)". In this case Te Kooti is the wronged man and Colonel Eliot is the truly guilty. The plot is obvious from the title, the Māori word "utu". In certain contexts, this word means revenge, vengeance, retaliation, payback, retribution, though it can also mean cost, price, wage, fee, payment, salary, reciprocity. Thus, a close reading of these definitions implies that the film is about revenge, but also the price of colonisation.

As mentioned above, Te Wheke and his quest for vengeance is inspired by Te Kooti, Kereopa Te Rau, and Wi Heretaunga. Meanwhile, in place of the middle aged and bearded Gilbert Mair of Hayward, there is the young, idealistic, and clean-shaven Lieutenant Scott (not unlike the treatment Disney gave John Smith in their 1995 film *Pocahontas*). Murphy is also willing to draw inspiration from the larger-than-life, but still historical officers G. S. Whitmore and Thomas McDonnell, whose accurate egocentrism construct Colonel Elliot. Through Elliot, the film introduces the bigoted officer character, a popular villain of post-Vietnam Westerns. The composite character of Colonel Eliot is particularly reminiscent of Richard Mulligan's bombastic performance as General Custer in *Little Big Man* (1970). As much as Elliot appears a caricature, his classism, paranoia, egotism and apoplexy all are qualities seen in either McDonnell or Whitmore. McDonnell displayed a melodramatic attitude

while campaigning and Whitmore was noted for a casual classist attitude.

As the depiction of colonial officers shows, Murphy's difference from Hayward is most apparent in tone. The tonal difference is especially acute towards Māori allied with the Crown. A poignant scene depicting the complicated circumstances of allied Māori and even the entire colonial experiment is presented beside a river while Te Wheke's pursuers are taking rest. A soldier, Henare, asks Wiremu: "Why do we fight tribe against tribe?...On and on it goes, and always the Pākehā sides with the ones who best advance his cause." Henare reflects on the conflict, seeing it as settlers taking advantage of internal disagreements. There is also a fatalistic view towards the conflict, because when Wiremu tells Henare to stop he simply responds "āpōpō" (tomorrow, at sometime in the future. The cynical impression of the conflict is also reflected in Wiremu's exchange with Scott: "Sir will these help to make a better world?" "[I doubt it]" "Then does it matter which side we're on?" The soldiers involved in the fighting are weary, under no illusions over who it benefits, but can see no other path. This is a significant departure from the smiling, affable Arawa Flying Column depicted by Hayward. Murphy instead presents the New Zealand Wars as a time of moral ambiguity, where soldiers expressed uncertainty over the rightness of their actions.

While the allied Māori in *Utu* are not identified as a specific historical group, their uniforms and location of action and the placement as serving under Pākehā officers also shows a clear evocation of the Arawa Flying Column. Three characters in the film exhibit a fuller elaboration of what it meant to be seen as *kūpapa*. Te Wheke, Henare, and Wiremu. Te Wheke is the ultimate disillusioned allied Māori. In the opening of the film, he is a scout for the militia, but the slaughter of his village turns him against the Crown. Henare is a character who openly questions his role in fighting alongside Pākehā and is disillusioned with his role in aiding the colonial experiment, questioning the nature of the fight of tribe against tribe. Wiremu is perhaps the most compelling figure, as when openly confronted about his role as a corporal in the flying column he acknowledges the damage done to his people but responds that he swore an oath of loyalty.

Murphy's difference in tone from Hayward does not change the fact that he too draws from James Cowan's works. The entire final scene of *Utu* is a reworking of Cowan's story of The Bush Trial, which inspired the film. The film shows familiar points, while also defying their prior depictions. This creates what Hutcheon terms an "attraction/repulsion" with convention in the film.

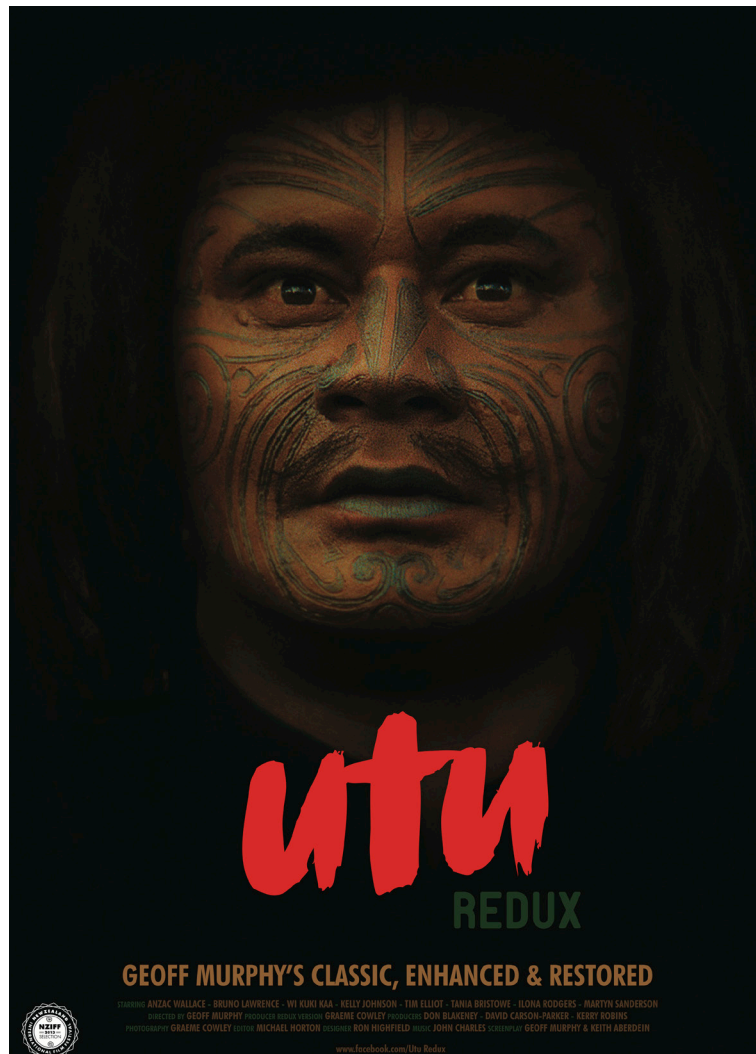


FIGURE 3. Utu Redux poster image courtesy of the Aotearoa New Zealand Film Heritage trust. Utu Redux Poster (2013) P234170. Poster Collection, Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision. Production Company: Kiwi Film Productions Ltd

Perhaps this contradictory attraction/repulsion to structure and pattern explains the predominance of the parodic use of certain familiar and overtly conventionally plotted forms in American fiction, for instance that of the Western: *Little Big Man*.

The repulsion of typical narratives is also demonstrated by *Utu*'s liberal use of parody. Dramatic lines and actions by the cultured and destructive revenger Te Wheke are often undercut by comments from his men. In particular is the scene where Te Wheke and his men capture a supply wagon. While digging through the goods, one of Te Wheke's men cuts open a sack of flour, buries his face in it and exclaims "Look! I'm a Pākehā!"

The film strikes a balance between humour and drama. As noted above, multiple features enable comparison between Murphy's film and *Little Big Man*. There is the idealistic culturally aware young man who is serving in the colonial forces under a bigoted and moronic commanding officer. Additionally, the portrayal of indigenous peoples is far more complex and sympathetic than earlier Westerns in the 20th Century. The humour and parody on display in both films are part of the goal to reassess previous historical narratives. Hutcheon argues that:

Historiographic metafiction...use parody not only to restore history and memory in the face of distortions of the "history of forgetting", but also, at the same time, to put into question the authority of any act of writing by locating the discourses of both history and fiction within an ever-expanding intertextual network that mocks any notion of either single origin or simple causality.

Restoring history and engaging with intertextuality is of particular relevance in examining *Utu* through the lens of the historiographic metafiction. While any film is a product of its time, and the stylistic and narrative choices of Hayward do reflect the 1920s, *Utu* is also actively aware of its time of construction.

The struggle over the land is an ongoing issue within Aotearoa, something which historiographic metafiction asserts. Merata Mita stated in an interview: "What's manifested in this film is what's happening today." *Utu* actively highlights the struggle for land in the film, a subject that is absent in *The Te Kooti Trail*. Te Wheke's declarative statement "This is our land" echoes the comparatively recent events of Dame Whina Cooper's Land Hikoi (1975) and



the occupation of Bastion Point (1977). His line: “Could we put 10000 warriors on the streets of Auckland for just one hour?” is also reminiscent of the protests endemic during the period. The film’s discourse is not just located in the past, like the Te Kooti Trail, but also in its present. It acknowledges the struggle for Māori as an ongoing issue to be addressed and confronted, rather than something to be consigned to history.

## CONCLUSION

The representation of the Western in relation to the New Zealand Wars bears close parallels to the depiction of the West in American cinema. Whether it is the early twentieth century narratives of nation making or late twentieth century post-modern and post-colonial representations reassessing interpretations of the past. Films like *The Te Kooti Trail* are westerns depicting colonisation as a bold enterprise with villainous opponents, that exemplify civilising lands perceived as untamed. Meanwhile *Utu* pays closer attention to the cost of colonisation and the “civilising” enterprise, noting the divisions it creates and the damage inflicted on indigenous peoples.

With both films showing ties to trends in American Westerns, a possible future Western set during the New Zealand Wars might follow suit. Though what form it might take is difficult to predict. Westerns typically still adhere to the post-modern ideas that emerged in the 1970s, though there is still space in the New Zealand Wars Westerns to better represent women as active agents and not passive participants in the period. Historical figures such as Hēni Te Kiri Karamū would be ideal inspiration for a heroine in a future revisiting of the period. While the Western is a genre that can often romanticise the past, ever since the 1960s it has also challenged preconceptions of history. The genre can better reach audiences than dusty tomes, and there are still many prevalent ideas of Aotearoa New Zealand history that deserve to be challenged.

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## ENDNOTES

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2. Hutcheon, 129.
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4. Kynan Gentry, Andrew Thompson, and John M. MacKenzie, *History, Heritage, and Colonialism: Historical Consciousness, Britishness, and Cultural Identity in New Zealand, 1870-1940*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015, 93.
5. Pye, "The Western, 192.
6. Lawrence Jones, "The Novel," in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, 2nd edition, ed. Terry Sturm, (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998), 112.
7. Jones, "The Novel," 117.
8. Pye, "The Western", 192-193.
9. Hutcheon, 113.
10. Rudall Hayward, *The Last Stand (New Zealand Wars Films: 1940)*.
11. James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Volume II: The Hauhau Wars*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1983, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cow02NewZ.html>. Accessed 10 June 2017, 318-319.
12. It almost sounds like the start to a joke, an Englishman, an Irishman, and a Frenchman all walk into a colonial campaign, though accounts do confirm settlers from across Europe fought in the New Zealand Wars. Page 238 of Belich's *The New Zealand Wars* also notes the presence of Americans, Greeks, and even Ghurkas.
13. Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, 318-319.
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15. Lusted, *The Western*, 49.
16. Lusted, *The Western*, 139
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19. Danny Keenan, *Wars Without End: The Land Wars in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, (Auckland: Penguin, 2009), 233.
20. Ron Crosby, *Kūpapa: The Bitter Legacy of Māori Alliances with Crown*, (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2015), 402.
21. Crosby, *Kūpapa*, 402.
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28. Geoff Murphy, *A Life on Film*, (Auckland: HarperCollins, 2015), 133-134.
29. Hutcheon, *Poetics of Postmodernism*, 129.
30. Hutcheon, *Poetics of Postmodernism*, 120.
31. Hutcheon, *Poetics of Postmodernism*, 133.
32. Amy J. Elias, "Metahistorical Romance, the Historical Sublime, and Dialogic History," *Rethinking History* 9, no. 2/3, (June/September 2005): 163.
33. Murphy, 220-222.
34. *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index*, ed. John C. Moorfield, 3rd ed. (Auckland: Longman/Pearson Education New Zealand, 2011), s.v. "Utu."
35. Mike Gabriel and Eric Goldberg, *Pocahontas*, (1995; Los Angeles, CA: Walt Disney Pictures, 1995), VHS.
36. Arthur Penn, *Little Big Man*, (1970; Los Angeles, CA: Cinema Center Films, 2000), DVD.
37. McDonnell's paranoia and melodramatic behaviour is clearly noted in the writing of James Belich, as is the classist and egocentric nature of Whitmore.
38. Crosby notes on page 327 in *Kūpapa* that McDonnell once kissed his sword by moonlight swearing vengeance against the Ngāti Ruahine leader Riwha Titokowaru.
39. On page 239 of *The New Zealand Wars*, Belich diplomatically describes him as a man of "unattractive character".
40. Geoff Murphy, *Utu*, (1983; Auckland: Utu Productions, 1990), VHS.
41. Tomorrow, meaning in the future.
42. Utu.
43. Utu.
44. Utu.
45. Utu.
46. Hutcheon, *Poetics of Postmodernism*, 133.
47. Utu.
48. Hutcheon, *Poetics of Postmodernism*, 129.
49. Gaylene Preston, *Making Utu*, (1982; Wellington: Gaylene Preston Productions, 2003), DVD.
50. Utu.
51. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Steven Oliver, first published in 1990. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, s.v. "Te Kiri Karamū, Hēni," <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t43/te-kiri-karamu-heni> (accessed 9 September 2021).