

A Spanish Settler Writes in te reo Māori: Joseph Soler, Māori, and the Origins of the
Wine Industry in Colonial New Zealand

Abstract

In 1896, Joseph Soler, a Spanish settler who had arrived in New Zealand thirty years earlier, published a flyer containing instructions for cultivating grapes in te reo Māori, the language of the Indigenous people. Using this unique document as a starting point, this article explores the beginnings of commercial winemaking in colonial New Zealand in the context of the global expansion of the industry in the second half of the 19th century and first decades of the 20th through the career of one of its founders, Joseph Soler. It also examines the local context of settlement and dispossession of the Indigenous people into which Soler arrived, his relationship with Māori, and the yet to be explored question of the role they played in the beginnings of commercial winemaking in New Zealand.

Keywords

Wine, Grapes, New Zealand, Māori, Spain, Settler society

Main Text

In 1896, Joseph Soler, a Spaniard who had settled in Whanganui thirty years earlier and devoted himself to growing grapes and making wine, published this double-sided flyer, *Kupu tohutohu mo te mahi whakato tapahanga waina karepe*, (*Directions for propagating grapevines from cuttings*), written in te reo Māori, the language of the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. Beneath a drawing of a grape vine tied by wire onto wooden frames, the brief, dry text - 381 words in the English translation - explains:

Begin by loosening the ground so that it is suitable for planting cuttings from plants, and if it is not particularly rich then enhance it by mixing in some lime or some bones. When this has been turned through the soil, plant the cuttings in a line, with six inches between each planting, this work is done in the first year. In the second year, erect posts eight feet apart and to these fasten two wires as shown in the illustration above, with the lower wire two feet above the ground and the higher wire four feet above the ground. When that has been done, take up the cuttings that were planted and plant one at the base of each and every post, when the plants reach two feet high they should be tied to the lower wire, allowing the strong shoots of those plants to grow up to the higher wire, following the method shown at B. In the illustration above, a vine with four shoots is shown that has grown along the method shown at B, while other shoots should be pruned so that only a single bud remains, following the method shown at A, the idea being that the shoots that branch out beside those four shoots that fruit with grapes, in the way that is shown at C, while they may bear fruit, the grapes that fruit from the higher branches are superior. At the end of this year there will be four new shoots, these will

grow from the shoots that were pruned to leave just the single bud, if indeed those shoots survived, due to the fact that there will also perhaps be some that die, because in some vines, the sap of the vine flows strongly to shoots that have many buds, while the single buds are left behind. When a strong shoot emerges from those buds suitable for producing grapes, prune the branches that have grapes on them, leaving just the single bud, in the way shown at A.

If this method is followed each year, there will be a bountiful harvest every year. This is the best method for New Zealand. ⁱ

I came upon this document accidentally. I am a Canadian of European descent based in Toronto. The bulk of my research has been on the history of Spain from the 18th through 20th centuries. ⁱⁱ Over the last decade, I became increasingly interested in global history, and co-authored a book in this field, much of which is about Aotearoa New Zealand. ⁱⁱⁱ An invitation to join a project on the globalization of wine production brought these two tracks together. Exploring the role of Spaniards as global winemakers was a natural topic, and my recent work led me to ask whether Spaniards had played a part in the creation of the wine industry in the colony of New Zealand. When I discovered Soler's document in the Auckland War Memorial Museum ^{iv} and had it translated, I realized that this intriguing text raised many questions: Who was Joseph Soler? What role did he play in the winemaking industry in colonial New Zealand? Why did he write this document, and why did he publish it when he did? Did he write it directly in te reo Māori? Or did he have it translated? If so, by whom? Why create a guide to growing wine grapes in te reo Māori at all? What was the role of Māori in the beginnings of commercial

winemaking in colonial New Zealand? Following the lead provided by this document also provided the opportunity to contribute to the emerging literature about the late 19th century spread of commercial wine production in settler societies in the Americas, Africa, and Australasia - what Marcel Martel and I have called “settler vines”^v - and its implications for Indigenous peoples.

Soler’s document draws our attention to one of the “‘conflicting and subsumed histories’ that are produced out of the entanglements of empire and the subordination of indigenous communities under colonial rule”,^{vi} but the trail it opens up makes visible that Māori exercised greater agency than other Indigenous peoples entangled in settler vines, acting as independent suppliers of grapes to settler winemakers. It also shows that Nēpia Mahuika’s observation that “all New Zealand history is relevant to Māori and ... Māori are relevant in all New Zealand histories” applies to wine making.^{vii}

Although wine is a major industry in Aotearoa New Zealand today and there are at least six Māori-owned wineries,^{viii} there has been surprisingly little written about the history of the industry, and nothing about the roles played by Māori in it.^{ix} After a brief discussion of the recent historiography of the globalization of wine production in settler societies the second half of the 19th century, I will discuss the fraught context of colonial New Zealand where Joseph Soler settled and describe his four-decade career as a winemaker in Whanganui. I will then tease out - to the extent that it can be gleaned from solely settler sources - the nature of Soler’s relationship with Māori and the role they played in the beginnings of commercial winemaking in New Zealand.

Settler Societies, Wine, and Indigenous Peoples

Soler and New Zealand were part of a much larger phenomenon, as growing grapes and making wine accompanied the establishment of many European settler colonies. Only a few years after conquering Mexico and Peru, Spaniards were producing wine there, and Spanish wine making reached what is now the United States in the seventeenth century. There were abortive attempts to produce wine in Virginia in the seventeenth century,^x and the first governor of the Dutch East India Company's Cape Colony planted wine grapes just three years after the colony had been established. However, it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that commercial wine production became globalized, and only at the end of that century that production outside Europe attained significant levels.^{xi} This development was spurred by the mass migration of Europeans, especially those from Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, who brought their experience cultivating grapes and producing wine, as well as by the transfer of scientific knowledge through the publication of books on the subject.^{xii}

The writing on the history of wine has long been self-contained and Eurocentric,^{xiii} and until recently, this scholarship also failed to connect the development of the industry to the broader question of settler colonialism.^{xiv} This has begun to change. Australian historian Julie McIntyre has incorporated Aboriginals into her narratives of the creation and development of wine production there, especially in the first colony of New South Wales,^{xv} while Erica Hannickel has connected viticulture to the national and colonial project in the United States and Australia respectively.^{xvi} Chelsea Davis has compared wine discourse as a "civilizing tool" in South Australia and Cape Colony and, in another piece, has focussed on the centrality of what she calls "viticultural capitalists",

settlers enriched by the mineral revolution, in the development of the wine industry in those two colonies between 1850 and 1880. ^{xvii} In her recent book, Jennifer Reagan-Lefebvre makes the connection between the extension of commercial wine making and European, particularly British, imperialism explicit. The new centres of production were “a creation of European colonialism over the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries” and one that was “inextricably part of the painful histories of the devastation of indigenous populations”. ^{xviii} It was also part of a cultural project. Wine was “a means of subduing and controlling what they experienced as a strange and exotic land, of making its topography conform to a European model”.^{xix} (Rebecca J.H. Woods has made a similar argument about the role of sheep in colonial New Zealand.) ^{xx} Owen White’s study of the wine industry in Algeria, which became the fourth largest wine-producing region in the world in the early 20th century, similarly connects these developments to settler colonialism, in this case French. For White, “nothing symbolized the French presence more than the colony’s own vines”. Indigenous Algerians, Muslims who did not consume alcohol, were displaced from vast tracts of agricultural land and then turned into wage workers.^{xxi} For South Africa, economic historians Johan Fourie and Jan Greyling have demonstrated the centrality of slave labor to the wine industry of South Africa in the seventeenth through early nineteenth centuries while highlighting the ways in which it blocked innovation, while Paul Nugent has described the “forms of quasi-bonded labour that followed emancipation” . ^{xxii} Finally, in her book on the creation of the wine industry in California, Julia Ornelas-Higdon analyzes how that development involved Indigenous Californians, Mexican Californios, Chinese immigrants, and settlers from Europe and involved significant amounts of racialized violence. ^{xxiii} As we will see, Maori, who were being

subjected to violent dispossession from their land, were also engaged in grape cultivation and wine making, although, for a few decades at least, they had a role as independent producers rather than wage, bonded, or enslaved labourers.

The Struggle for Land in Colonial New Zealand, 1845-1872

Joseph Soler arrived in New Zealand in the final years of the conflicts that wracked the fledgling colony between 1845 and 1872. In a landmark 1986 book, James Belich described this complex series of conflicts between British and some Māori as “bitter and bloody struggles, as important to New Zealand as were the Civil Wars to England and the United States”.^{xxiv} Belich called them the New Zealand Wars and, although he did not coin the term, he gave it a new and lasting popularity. Vincent O’Malley, now their pre-eminent historian, has retained the name.^{xxv} Rather than a single war, they were “quite discrete episodes, spanning many years and often driven by local factors”. And rather than a straightforward clash between British forces and settlers on the one hand and Māori on the other, some Māori, with “their own wars to wage and their own reasons for fighting them... fought alongside the Crown”. Others still, did not fight at all. At the same time, the wars shared “certain recurring motifs” with the “tension between increasing Crown assertions of absolute sovereignty and Māori expectations of continuing chiefly authority” as an “overarching theme”. While land was a central issue, something much larger was at stake: “how Māori and Pākehā would live together”, whether New Zealand would “somehow [be] different” from other colonial contexts and that the promise of the Treaty of Waitangi, that “Māori land ownership would be scrupulously recognized and protected, that Māori rights to manage their own affairs would be acknowledged, and that Māori would play a full

part alongside the settlers in administering the affairs of the colony”, would be realized. ^{xxvi}

By the end of the wars, the Crown had imposed its understanding of the Treaty as “a straightforward cession of sovereignty, in which control of the country passed to the Pākehā”. ^{xxvii} Some 3.6 million acres of Māori land were confiscated under the 1863 New Zealand Settlements Act; even some Māori who had fought for the British or remained out of the conflict altogether lost land. Many Māori also lost their role as purveyors of agricultural products to the settlers. One of those products was grapes. ^{xxviii} Beyond the land, the idea of “unqualified exercise of Māori chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures” contained in the te reo Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi was ignored, and the Crown imposed assimilationist policies, including the creation of a native school system. ^{xxix}

Neither the name, not the cause of these wars, is accepted by everyone. Writing from a self-declared Māori perspective and employing “custom law concepts as a point of reference”, Danny Keenan calls them the Land Wars, “the term most preferred by Māori”. These wars differed from those Māori had fought for centuries before Europeans arrived: “the issues, of course, were vastly different, setting them apart from anything that had gone before. But for Māori the cause was invariably the same: ngā pakanga whenua, fighting over the land. ^{xxx} For Māori, sovereignty and land “were the same thing”. ^{xxxi}

Whanganui, where Soler settled, was one of the battlegrounds. The first episode lasted from July 1846 to July 1847. The conviction for treason and deportation to Van Diemen’s Land of five Whanganui Māori, one of whom, Hohepa Te Umuroa, died of tuberculosis while a prisoner, and the hanging of a sixth for

rebellion following their involvement in fighting in the Wellington region led Governor George Grey to station troops in Whanganui. This increased tensions further, and when a naval officer accidentally wounded a hereditary chief, a group of young Māori seeking satisfaction – or utu – killed the wife and three children of a settler family. Five were captured and all but one were executed. The only notable military engagement took place when Ngāti Hāua-te-rangi chief Te Mamaku threatened Whanganui town, but his forces dispersed after pushing British troops back into their stockade.^{xxxii}

The second round of conflict in Whanganui took place in 1864 and 1865, concluding only a year before Soler's arrival. An upsurge in settler immigration that, by 1858, had put the Pākehā population on a par with Māori, and a subsequent upsurge in demand for land had led to an increase in land confiscations. This was greatly facilitated by the December 1863 New Zealand Settlements Act which empowered the Governor in Council to confiscate the land of "any Native Tribe or Section of a Tribe or any considerable number thereof has since the first day of January 1863 been engaged in rebellion against Her Majesty's authority" and "set apart within any such District eligible sites for settlements for colonization".^{xxxiii}

Māori responded in two main ways. The first, in 1858, was Kingitanga, or Kingism: the creation of a Māori monarchy in central areas of the North Island as a way to "pre-empt the ongoing encroachment of the Crown on the Maori polity."^{xxxiv} The second was the emergence in 1862 of Pai Mārire (Good and Peaceful), "a syncretic faith combining elements of Judaism, the Old Testament and ancient Maori spiritual beliefs",^{xxxv} which King Matutaera, adopted in 1864. Settlers and officials saw the new faith as a threat that need to be destroyed and "a number of

incidents that were seen by many Pākehā as alarming and even barbaric” led to attempts to suppress it. ^{xxxvi}

The major encounter in Whanganui took place on Moutoa Island, about sixty kilometres upriver from the town, on 14 May 1864. As large crowds watched, lower Whanganui Māori led by “Haimona, Hiroti, Mete Kingi and others” defeated Pai Mārire converts led by Mātene Te Rangitauira attempting to reach the town, “not out of regard for Pākehā, but for the mana of their river”. ^{xxxvii} The grateful settler population subsequently erected New Zealand’s first Western war memorial whose dedication appears in te reo Māori on the front face and in English on the back: “To the memory of those brave men who fell at Moutoa... in defense of law and order against fanaticism and barbarism”.

In 1865 Governor George Gray declared that the war in Whanganui was over and that most Māori who had fought against the Crown would be pardoned. This was quickly followed by further sweeping land confiscations, and a new campaign that began in December 1865. Joseph Soler might have already arrived in Whanganui when the “ragged and exhausted troops” returned to the town in February 1866 “after an exhausting march around Mount Taranaki seeking out and destroying Māori villages and cultivations”. ^{xxxviii} He would certainly have been aware of the fighting from June 1868 to March 1869 known as Titokowaru’s war. The Māori leader even built an imposing pā – fort – at Taurangaika, only 25 kilometres from Whanganui that put the town itself under threat. In the end, his forces dispersed and the threat to the town disappeared, but Titokowaru himself escaped and would re-emerge in the late 1870s as part of a movement of non-violent resistance to land confiscation. ^{xxxix}

Grapes and Wine in Colonial New Zealand

Grapes had been grown and wine produced in New Zealand for decades before Soler arrived. As they had in many other colonial settings, missionaries led the way. As Paul Nugent writes, “[f]rom Quebec to Mexico, the cultivation of *vitis vinifera* was regarded as an exercise in taming nature and native populations alike”.^{xi} In French Algeria as well, missionaries were among the first to plant grapes, which they too promoted as a “civilizing” tool.^{xli}

The first known planting of grapes was by Anglican missionary and chief chaplain to the government of New South Wales, Samuel Marsden. During his second trip to New Zealand in 1819, he established a mission at Kerikeri in the Bay of Islands that included planting “about a hundred grape vines of various kinds” he had brought from Sydney. For Marsden, teaching “the civilising pursuits of agriculture and handicrafts” was a pre-requisite for converting Māori to Christianity.^{xlii} This belief in the “civilizing” capacity of wine was shared across the British imperial world. Wine enjoyed a “symbolic association with the antiquities of the Roman Empire, its biblical framing as the lifeblood of Christ, and its ties to the vague and imagined category of Europeanness [and] the cultivation, production, and consumption of wine was endowed with a higher purpose and promoted cultural improvement alongside colonization”.^{xliii} French missionaries from the Catholic Marist order, who arrived in New Zealand in 1839, also played an early role.^{xliv} Father John Lampila reached the Whanganui area in 1852, when he founded a mission at Kaiwhaiki, eighteen kilometres upriver from the town. He founded another mission, at Kauaeroa, forty-five kilometres further upriver, two years later. It declined following the Battle of Moutua in 1864, but the grape vines planted there survived for decades after.^{xlv}

The first person recorded to have produced wine in New Zealand was James Busby. He arrived as British Resident in 1833 and would be one of the drafters of the Treaty of Waitangi, the foundational document of modern Aotearoa New Zealand. Busby brought an interest in wine with him, and after taking up his post found time to plant vines on the grounds of his home. In his account of his voyage to New Zealand, French explorer Dumont d'Urville described his visit to Busby in May 1840 when he sampled "a light white wine very sparkling and delicious to taste, which I enjoyed very much".^{xlvi} By the mid-1840s, Busby was producing sufficient quantities of wine to supply the military.^{xlvi} The first commercial winery was established by Charles Levet in 1863, only three years before Soler arrived in the colony.^{xlvi}

As the target of these "civilizing" endeavours, Māori were involved with the cultivation of grapes in New Zealand from very early on. When he visited New Zealand on the *Beagle* in 1835, Charles Darwin observed them tending grapes at the mission at Waimate.^{xlix} But Māori also took up grape growing for their own purposes. Following one of his seven visits to New Zealand between 1814 and 1837, Samuel Marsden took the sons of some Māori leaders to his base in Parramatta, New South Wales so they could learn European methods of agriculture. After visiting "our orchards and vineyards", he reported to the London offices of the Church Missionary Society, these clearly forward-thinking young men were "astonished to see the fruits and anxious to promote the cultivation of them in their own country".¹

Māori in the Whanganui basin and elsewhere took advantage of the early inflow of settlers to sell them a variety of agricultural products, grapes among them. "Many Māori communities prospered economically during the 1840s and

1850s, supplying crucial produce and labor for the settler towns... Māori were” as Vincent O’Malley puts it, “in many ways driving New Zealand’s economy during this time”.^{li} Richard Woon, Whanganui’s Resident Magistrate in the 1870s, reported:

M[ā]ori along the Whanganui river had adopted a number of new horticultural practices in the post-contact period and engaged in successful trading relationships with settlers in the township of Wanganui. The full spectrum of crops raised included wheat, oats, potatoes, Indian corn, kumara, M[ā]ori breadfruit, pumpkins and melons. Large amounts of fruit were also harvested for trade purposes namely peaches, apples, figs, pears, quinces, *grapes* and gooseberries.^{lii}

Māori from upriver supplied grapes to Whanganui winemaker Andrew Tod.^{liii} Originally from Scotland, Tod had been engaged in “general business” and was also active in community life, serving as the local agent for the Art Union of Great Britain, secretary of the Royal Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts, and Treasurer of the Wanganui Philharmonic Society, as well as standing as a candidate for the Harbor Board.^{liv} As a story in the *North Otago Times* relates, it was a Māori initiative that drew Tod into wine making in the first place.

One day a native called at his store; and offered for sale a quantity of rich, well grown grapes, at the same time hinting that they would be found very suitable for conversion into wine. Mr. Tod bought the grapes, and while conducting experiments on a small scale, other Maoris visited him, and wished him to buy several tons of the fruit. This he did, and the manufacture has gone on since.^{lv}

By 1875, Tod was producing nineteen thirty-gallon casks, and at the 1880 Melbourne International Exhibition he exhibited “One Dozen Wine, from grapes grown by Natives at Manganuiotehao, on Wanganui River”.^{lvi}

The engagement with Tod was a final act. Following the massive influx of Europeans prompted by Premier Julius Vogel’s assisted immigration scheme that doubled the Pākehā population between 1870 and 1880, the Māori role as suppliers of agricultural products to the settlers was “breaking down”.^{lvii}

Joseph Soler, New Zealand Winemaker

Joseph Soler was born Josep Soler Gavalda in Constantí, in Catalonia, Spain, on March 2, 1840. The baptism registry lists his father, Feliu Soler, and both his grandfathers as farmers (*pagés*.) Constantí is in an important wine region, the Camp de Tarragona, and Soler’s father is described elsewhere as a winemaker.^{lviii} As Soler himself told a New Zealand parliamentary committee in 1890, he had “been growing vines in Tarragona, Spain before coming to this colony”.^{lix} According to a press report, his father gave him “permission and financial assistance to establish a vineyard in Australia”. Travelling first to London via Gibraltar, Soler then went to the colony of Victoria,^{lx} and from there to New Zealand. “When I arrived at Wanganui [sic], I saw that the climate was more suitable than that of Victoria. I returned to Victoria and obtained some vine-cuttings that I thought would be suitable for the climate of New Zealand. I came back with them to Wanganui [sic] and have been there ever since.”^{lxi}

Family lore includes some additional and colourful – although unverified – information. Soler first went to the United States in search of gold and ended up “working in security [as] a gunman”. From there he went to Australia, where he

made the money that allowed him to buy his land in Whanganui. He later had grape vines sent from Constantí and years later, when phylloxera devastated the vineyards of Catalonia, he sent some back so that they could combine “the indigenous varietals of the area with American vines to defeat the dreaded pest”.^{lxii}

Although in the 1860s and 1870s, migrants from Spain tended to avoid the remaining colonies of Cuba and the Philippines, where the dominance of plantation of agriculture left little room for aspiring farmers, in favour of places such as Algeria and the Río de la Plata where many such opportunities were available,^{lxiii} the distant British colony of New Zealand was a highly unusual, even eccentric, choice of destination. And while, as a Spaniard he was an anomaly in New Zealand, Soler remains fully representative of the crucial contribution of settlers from continental Europe to the creation of the wine industry there. The dedication of Dick Scott’s classic *Pioneers of New Zealand Wine* could not be more eloquent on this point: to “Joseph Soler, Spain; Israel Wendel, France; Heinrich Breidecker, Germany; Bartholomew Steinmetz; Luxembourg; Assid Abraham Corban, Lebanon, Charles Levet, England; Romeo Bragato, Italy; John Vella, Dalmatia”.^{lxiv} Soler, however, stood out from many other settler pioneer winemakers in having considerable prior experience in the industry.^{lxv}

Soler planted his first vineyard shortly after arriving in Whanganui, and his business life was one of uninterrupted success. Until the first vines matured, he made a living selling “fruit trees, vines, etc” from his Barcelona Nursery.^{lxvi} But rather than wait for his vines to bear fruit to start making wine, Soler turned to local Māori. “I bought seven canoe-loads of grapes from the Maoris [sic]... along the Wanganui River... They came from Jerusalem, where vines had been planted by the French missionaries... They cost me 2d. a pound”.^{lxvii} But this did not last long.

According to Dick Scott, “[w]here once he had bought seven canoe loads at one stopping place, at the Hiruharama [Jerusalem] mission station, now not even the offer of three pence a pound was producing results”.^{lxviii} As they had with Andrew Tod, Māori dealt with Soler as independent producers, not as waged or unfree laborers as did Indigenous peoples in other settler vine contexts.

Soler might have written his instructions on grape cultivation at this time. It is unclear what contact, if any, Soler had with Māori once he was growing his own grapes. There is no documentary evidence that he employed Māori, but the area on the other side of Bell Street from his residence and vineyards is known to have been somewhere where Māori lived, and Soler may have employed some of them.^{lxix} This would certainly explain why he published his instructions so long after he had stopped purchasing grapes from Māori.

Or, perhaps the motivation came from elsewhere. It could have been a response to Romeo Bragato’s *Report on the Prospects of Viticulture in New Zealand* which had been published the year before and which contains drawings very similar in style to the one in Soler’s document. Bragato (1859-1913), a Habsburg subject of Italian and Croatian descent who was working for the government of the colony of Victoria, had been invited by the government of New Zealand to study the industry’s prospects. He visited Whanganui, but due to bad weather he “could not inspect as many places as intended”, and his report does not even mention Soler.^{lxx}

Soler’s document is intriguing, but how rare is it? There are numerous 19th-century texts in te reo Māori. The first were religious ones produced by missionaries,^{lxxi} but the colonial government began publishing a newspaper in te reo Māori in 1842 and did so until 1877. Entanglement with colonial society also

meant that “[a]t times Māori were able to gain some control of texts for their own purposes, in order to conduct relationships with Pākehā (Europeans), to reinterpret religious truths, or to resist or mitigate the deleterious effects of colonialism”.^{lxxii} For example, the first Māori produced newspaper appeared in 1862. But *Kupu tohutohu mo te mahi whakato tapahanga waina karepe* falls outside these categories. It was produced by an individual Pākehā rather than a Church or government institution, and had a practical, economic purpose.

In the context of the settler wine-producing world, however, Soler’s document appears to be unique. Philip Round has “never seen a North American indigenous language text concerning wine”.^{lxxiii} Owen White encountered nothing analogous in his work on Algeria.^{lxxiv} and Julia McIntyre did not “come across any instructions for wine grape cultivation written by white settlers in any Aboriginal Australian language”.^{lxxv}

In any case, as an experienced Spanish winemaker, Soler’s reliance on Māori-grown grapes was always going to be only temporary. By 1874, his vineyards were producing twenty-one varieties and he was producing seven different wines.^{lxxvi} In 1880, the *New Zealand Herald* proclaimed him its “New Zealander of the Year” for “his founding role in a great industry”.^{lxxvii} And it was after 1880 that his occupation in the local property rolls changed from “market gardener”, “nurseryman”, or “gardener” to what it remained for the rest of his life: “wine-maker”.^{lxxviii} In 1886, Soler was advertising six wines: “PORT...a good wholesome Wine... MANCANILLE SHERRY... of mild taste, and is a good flavored Wine... CONSTANTIA...a good, rich ... , flavored Wine. MUSCAT...a little sweet, and rich flavored. VERDEILHO... full bodied and good flavored. HOCK... light, and a little rough in flavor”. He also emphasized that his wines were “not fortified and free

from drugs of any kind".^{lxxix} By then he had undertaken a major innovation: the construction of a hothouse. A journalist who visited in October 1886 described it as "a double gabled building, 151 feet 6 inches in length, 38 feet wide, with a height of 14 feet to the ridge.... The rafters are 44 feet in length, and this expanse is covered with glass in plates of 28 x 10". There were already fourteen varieties planted there.^{lxxx}

Soler's most serious obstacle was the reluctance of the New Zealand government to permit private distilleries. He needed spirits to fortify his wines for travel but the only ones available were imports "made from potatoes and other wash".^{lxxxi} In 1886, he petitioned the House of Representatives to "permit me the use of a private still for distilling the spirits of wine required for my own use, or such relief as will enable me to purchase spirits of wine duty free, or such other relief as this Honourable house may deem fit". The current situation was holding him, and the colony's entire wine industry, back and even meant that New Zealand wine was being undersold in its home market by Australian wine.^{lxxxii}

The Public Petitions Committee referred Soler's request to the government which offered him relief from the duty, but only for use in wine intended for export. This did not address his problem, as he explained in a letter to the Treasurer, Sir Julius Vogel. Exporting his wine was not a possibility but he did "a considerable trade within the colony itself and as all my wines have to be sent to the large centres by water carriage these wines must be fortified, and the heavy duty presses hard upon me." Removal of the duty would allow him to expand the industry: "I would be prepared to select a piece of land up the Wanganui River when in a few years I would be in a position not only to supply New Zealand demands but would be able to compete with others from any part".^{lxxxiii}

Soler also managed to get an interview with the Premier, Robert Stout. We can only imagine the conversation between the “very unassuming Spaniard who has not yet mastered the difficulties of our pronunciation” and the formidable politician who would later spend twenty-seven years as Chief Justice of New Zealand.^{lxxxiv} Soler followed this meeting up with a letter in which he expressed his intention of “forming a company to foster not only this but also muscatel olives and other tropical fruits with the manufacture of first class cider... which are likely to decrease the drunkenness which now exists in this district and colony by doing away with the use of ardent spirits”.^{lxxxv} And he elaborated on this project in a letter to Vogel written the same day. The proposed company would: plant at least one hundred acres of vines “in the Wanganui district” within two years; produce at least one ton of raisins; share “all information in regards to the cultivation of grapes to persons who visited the vineyard with the intention of starting the industry”; and import skilled labor from Spain to bolster grape cultivation and wine making.^{lxxxvi}

This persistence led Governor General Gray to introduce the Wine-growers’ Distillation Bill (1888) “to give effect to Mr. Soler’s wants”.^{lxxxvii} The bill did not get beyond the first reading, and a revised one introduced the following year met the same fate.^{lxxxviii} Soler did not abandon the fight. “As requested by you”, he wrote to Premier Sir Harry Atkinson in March 1889, “I have now the honour to forward you one sample case of the various wines manufactured by me. I trust that you and also the members of your Government will thoroughly test the quality of these wines”. As well as attaching a copy of the original failed bill and a long newspaper clipping about his winery, Soler emphasized his “manifest success... at various exhibitions against all comers”. There was “no country in the world more suitable

for vine growing than the North Island of this colony” and the removal of the “heavy drawback of the duty on spirits of wine” would allow the industry to prosper. ^{lxxxix} Atkinson ordered a new “government bill” be prepared, but it met the same fate as its predecessors. It was revised yet again, although it remained “substantially the same as the Bill of 1888”, and this latest version was presented to the House in 1890. ^{xc}

In September 1890, the Committee on Flax and Other Industries of the House of Representatives called Soler as a witness. He was bullish about the prospects of the wine industry in New Zealand, but also adamant that it needed help. “All we want is for the Government to allow us to distil our own spirits of wine, to fortify our wines so as to ship them away to other parts of New Zealand. At the present time we have to pay too heavy a duty on the spirits of wine”. Soler could produce sufficiently strong wines without fortifying them, but this had serious economic consequences: “I have to wait seven years before I introduce the wines to the public. It requires age to create a body. There is considerable loss from evaporation within the casks. I have often wine nine years old and have to pay property-tax every year upon it”. The bill would allow him to “fortify the wines by the spirits [produced] from [his] own wines to put them into the market so much earlier”, something that would save him “six years in the property tax”. Soler supported the bill, although he thought that the proposal that the alcohol distilled to add to wine be 40 percent “is too large a proportion”. Permitting winemakers to fortify their product would “extend” the industry and “the Government will lose nothing by it”. He recognized that there was some possibility of “illicit distillation”, but the 100-pound fine included in the bill meant that “[i]t would not pay any one to do anything wrong”. ^{xci} Invoking his combined Spanish and local experience, he

concluded his testimony on high optimism for the future of the colony's wine industry if it received necessary support from the government. "I speak from practical knowledge. I have been making wine for twenty-one years in Wanganui, and for many years before that in Spain. In fact, I have been at it all my life". ^{xcii}

By 1894, "after fifteen years of incessant application", Soler had his distillery "where he distils his own spirits from the waste products". ^{xciii} Two years later the *Wanganui Herald* devoted a lengthy article to Soler, although one laced with racialized British beliefs about Spaniards as indolent and prideful aristocrats – *hidalgos* were a category of noble in the Basque Country which included many people of limited means - who shunned hard work.^{xciv} This "enterprising Spanish gentleman... instead of playing guitar and sighing for his native land, set himself to work to worthily replace it". His original Barcelona Nursery, "a name suggestive both of a Spanish Hidalgo and a grower of cabbage", had by this time become the Grand Canonga Vineyard, supposedly named after his birthplace. "Soler's wholesome, pleasant, and palatable [wines] range from a light digestive wine to the ruby-colored generous liquour, or sparkling beverages". The journalist was much taken with the healthiness both of the products, none of which "is 'doctored', 'fortified', 'faked up', 'touched, or interfered with in any way, by spirit or otherwise, to destroy its purity or wholesomeness or to render it more fiery or strong, or suitable to a vitiated palate, or an acquired taste", and of the production methods, which used wooden rollers in place of "the picturesque but dirty habit (common in Europe and the East of crushing the ripe grapes by treading them down with the bare feet." ^{xcv} In 1897, an interviewer attributed Soler's success to his pragmatism. Given that the vast majority of New Zealanders had no idea how good wine should taste, Soler catered to what "the colonial palate prefers... The natural

uneducated British taste, when it calls for wine, craves something that is red and sweet and strong.... as a businessman, he makes that wine. He does not theorize about educating the public as to what they ought to drink; he simply manufactures what they want to drink.”^{xcvi}

Soler had become sufficiently important to earn an entry in the 1897 *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*. In addition to his original property, “two-and-three-quarter acres” in Bell Street, Wanganui, he owned “fifty acres at Westmere, of which five acres are laid down in vines, eight acres are planted in orchard, and the balance is in grass”. He produced six tons of grapes in his glasshouse and another fifteen tons in open fields. The “large eight-roomed house... built on concrete foundations” that stood in front of his premises was a symbol of the prosperity that “many years of hard work and careful management” had brought this “enterprising and successful colonist”.^{xcvii}

Like so many other settlers, Soler had his eyes on Māori land. In 1899, the *New Zealand Illustrated Sporting & Dramatic Review* reported that “Mr. Joseph Soler, who already has a big acreage in vines, has applied for 568 acres of land on the Wanganui River, *just thrown open*. He proposes to make vineyards on this land if his application is granted.” Soler had to settle for only 200 acres on Kaukatea Road, Number 3 Line, about XX kilometres from the town and by late 1900 “a considerable area ha[d] been planted”.^{xcviii}

The phrase “just thrown open” obscures the powerful process of dispossession that had been taking place since the end of the wars and the institution of the Native Land Court in 1865. In 1840, when colonization had barely begun, Māori communities controlled 26.6 million acres. By 1901, they were left with less than three 3 million. Over the same time period, their population had

declined by more than half, and they were outnumbered by the Pākehā seventeen to one in 1901.^{xcix} Whanganui was no exception. Between 1870 and 1900, the Crown purchased 1,279,299 acres, about half of the land in the region. According to the 2015 *Whanganui Land Report* of the Waitangi Tribunal, “[g]overnments, convinced of the need to acquire land for economic development, introduced legislation that strengthened the Crown’s arm as the sole purchasing power. Each time this occurred, there was a corresponding push to acquire the land remaining in Māori ownership, moving ever further into the interior of the Whanganui district.”^c

The Land Court held its sessions in Whanganui, forcing upriver Māori to come to town to register their claims. No longer owning land in the town, they had no recourse but to camp out on the foreshore in difficult conditions. In the foreground of a photograph taken in the mid 1880s,^{ci} we see a Māori encampment and a number of waka on Pākaitore, “a critical site used as a trading post as well as a temporary fishing village between Whanganui Hapū and Iwi, and neighbouring Iwi [that] encompassed the entire bank of the river in present day Whanganui township”.^{cii}

In 1881, the *Wanganui Chronicle* commented on the “great anxiety” felt by the townspeople about an upcoming session of the Land Court and recalled “a few facts which appear to have been altogether forgotten or thrust out of sight as inconvenient.” There had last been a “large gathering” of Māori in the town when the court had met two years earlier, with men, women and children camping on the riverbank in what the paper described as parlous conditions and, it reported, generated “loud and frequent complaints from persons of all classes of the community that the encampment had grown to be an intolerable nuisance.” When

they were blamed for an outbreak of fever, Māori “were highly indignant at what had been said of them and declared that they would not visit the town again”.^{ciii}

The rejection of the Māori petition to have the court sessions moved upriver as “it would be more convenient for them and more economical.... there would be less risk of disturbances, and less temptation to drink; and that they could obtain better shelter and a more plentiful supply of firewood” led the paper to call on “those who benefit” from the meetings of the court and the money that Māori spend in the town to take steps to “have a reserve made in some convenient locality, and should also see that at least some rough sort of shelter is provided.”^{civ} Fourteen years later, little if anything had changed as the *Wanganui Herald* denounced the conditions endured by Māori compelled to come to town to attend the Land Court.^{cv} With his Bell Street residence only a short walk from the where Māori set up camp, Soler could not have avoided being aware of the situation, and almost certainly went to observe himself.

In 1906, the year of Soler’s death, the Whanganui Chamber of Commerce requested that the Minister for Native Affairs and the Aotea Māori Council consider making land along a 79-kilometre stretch of the Whanaganui River between the town and Pipiriki available “so that some of the numerous ... suitable sites along the banks of the river such as old native clearings... could be utilized with security of tenure by fruit growers without interfering with the scenery.” The Aotea Māori Council was one of seven Māori Land Councils created under the Maori Lands Administration Act 1900 with the goal of “reduc[ing] Māori protest at the loss of land.” Each Council had between five and seven members, with “a Māori majority but a European chair”. In 1905, the year before this meeting of the Whanganui Chamber of Commerce, “they were reconstituted as boards with a membership

reduced to three, only one of whom had to be Māori. From 1913 the boards required just two members – the judge and registrar of the Land Court. From 1928 Māori Land Boards could exercise all the powers of the legal owners of the land. In 1952, in recognition of the Māori effort during the Second World War, the boards were disestablished, and decision-making returned to tribes and communities. By this time more than 90 per cent of Māori land had been alienated. ^{cvi}

With steamboats now serving the river, the government having shown its interest in developing fruit canning, and a land purchase officer having been appointed, the time was right for this request. The inability of “Europeans who desired to take up land for fruit growing purposes... to secure a satisfactory tenure” had been a major obstacle. Soler himself “had tried to secure land for that purpose but had been unable to arrange suitable terms”. ^{cvi}

Despite Soler’s best efforts, Whanganui was destined not to remain a centre of commercial wine making, and it is not one of Aotearoa New Zealand’s wine regions today. Soler’s own well-established business did not long survive his death in 1906 as his sons quickly abandoned wine making for sheep farming. ^{cvi} Soler did make a lasting and important contribution to wine production in New Zealand, however. In 1888, he brought his nephew Antonio José Vidal, or Anthony Joseph Vidal as he became, to Whanganui. (In the family’s oral history, Vidal brought vines from Constantí with him.) ^{cix} After working with his uncle until 1900, Vidal made failed attempts to strike out on his own in Whanganui and Palmerston North before purchasing an old racing stable in Hastings in Hawke’s Bay in 1905. There he became a pioneer in what is now one of the country’s major wine producing regions. Vidal’s winery still exists and is considered one of the oldest continually functioning wineries in the country. ^{cx}

Conclusion

This article began with a brief set of instructions about how to cultivate grapes written in te reo Māori, a rare, possibly unique, document that provides an entry point into the beginnings of commercial winemaking in colonial New Zealand and the hidden entanglement of Māori with settler vines. We have seen that the person who put his name to it was Joseph Soler, a Spaniard who arrived in Whanganui, New Zealand in 1866 and pioneered commercial winemaking in the colony during the forty years he lived there. We have also seen that his arrival coincided with the final years of the New Zealand Wars which made possible the mass dispossession of Māori from their land. However, while those wars raged, and for a few years after they ended, Māori created and sustained a place in the colonial economy supplying agricultural products to the burgeoning settler population. This included grapes, which they sold to Soler, at least until he his own vines started producing.

As part of settler colonial agriculture, the cultivation of grapes and the production of wine, in New Zealand as elsewhere, was premised on the dispossession of Indigenous peoples and their incorporation into these activities. In New Zealand, as the trail that starts with this document reveals, Māori participated in the nascent winemaking industry as independent suppliers of grapes rather than as wage or unfree laborers, as was the case of other Indigenous peoples entangled in settler vines. This relationship is what probably led Joseph Soler to write *Kupu tohutohu mo te mahi whakato tapahanga waina karepe*, but by the time he sent it to the printer in 1896, that moment was long past. Joseph Soler had witnessed its passing and left testimony to its existence even as he himself played a small role in bringing it to an end.

-
- ⁱ *Kupu tohutohu mo te mahi whakato tapahanga waina karepe* (Whanganui, 1896). Translated from te reo Māori by Ross Calman.
- ⁱⁱ Most recently: The Sword of Luchana. Baldomero Espartero and the Making of Modern Spain, 1793-1879, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021 and Historia Social del Téo, Madrid: La Catarata, 2024
- ⁱⁱⁱ Cothran, and Shubert, *The Edwin Fox*
- ^{iv} <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/collection/object/1184768>
- ^v Shubert and Martel, "Settler Vines: Rethinking the History of Wine Production", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association/Revue de la Société historique du Canada*, Volume 33, numéro 2, 2023, p. 1-9
- ^{vi} Ballantyne and Paterson, "Indigenous Textual Cultures, the Politics of Difference and the Dynamism of Practice", 5. On entangled histories, see Werner and Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity"
- ^{vii} Mahuika, "New Zealand History is Māori History", 5.
- ^{viii} In 2023, Aotearoa New Zealand was the thirteenth largest wine producing country in the world and wine was the country's sixth most important export. <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/wine-producing-countries;> <https://sommelierschoiceawards.com/en/blog/interviews-3373/new-zealand-wine-a-dynamic-trade-organization-in-a-dynamic-wine-producing-nation-935.htm>
- ^{ix} Peter J. Howland of Massey University has started a study of Māori involvement with winemaking from the early 19th century to the contemporary Māori winemakers. Email to the author, 25 September 2023.
- ^x Hannickel, 'Cultivation and Control', 286.
- ^{xi} Anderson and Pinilla, eds, *Wine Globalization*, 4); Simpson, *Creating Wine*.
- ^{xii} Shubert and Martel, "Settler Vines", 2
- ^{xiii} Simpson, *Creating Wine*; Phillips, *9000 Years of Wine*
- ^{xiv} Wolfe, "Settler colonialism", 387-88; Shoemaker, "A Typology of Colonialism",
- ^{xv} McIntyre, *Hunter Wine*; McIntyre, Brady and Barnes, "'They are among the Best Workers'", 45-66
- ^{xvi} Hannickel, "Cultivation and Control", 283-299
- ^{xvii} Davis, "The Contradictions of 'Civilizing' Consumption"; "All that Glitters Is Wine?", 59-88
- ^{xviii} Reagan-Lefebvre, *Imperial Wine*, 13-15
- ^{xix} Reagan-Lefebvre, *Imperial Wine*, 240
- ^{xx} Woods, *The Herds Shot Round the World*
- ^{xxi} White, *The Blood of the Colony*, 3
- ^{xxii} Fourie and Greyling, "A tale of two vineyards ". See also Nugent, *Race, Taste, and the Grape*, 319
- ^{xxiii} Ornelas-Higdon, *The Grapes of Conquest*
- ^{xxiv} Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*. Belich also created a five-part television series by the same name in 1998.
- ^{xxv} O'Malley, *Voices from the New Zealand Wars / He Reo nō ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, loc. 71-82., 117-120. See also his *The New Zealand Wars / Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, and *Difficult Histories: the New Zealand Wars*, a project led by O'Malley and Joanna Kidman: <https://www.difficulthistories.nz/>
- ^{xxvi} O'Malley, *Voices*, loc. 71-82., 117-120
- ^{xxvii} O'Malley, *Voices*, loc. 93-94
- ^{xxviii} O'Malley, *Voices*, loc. 101-105
- ^{xxix} "Rangatiratanga", Independent Māori Statutory Board; O'Malley, *New Zealand Wars*, 341-344
- ^{xxx} Keenan, *Wars Without End. Ngā Pakanga Whenua o Mua*, loc. 118-119
- ^{xxxi} *Wars Without End*, loc. 17

-
- xxxiii O'Malley, *Voices*, loc. 994-1000.
- xxxiiii New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 (27 Victoriae 1863 No 8),
- xxxiv Hill, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy*, 33-34. According to the website of the Taainui iwi: "The King Movement is the unifying korowai of Māori. Kiingitanga was established in 1858 to unite all tribes under the leadership of Pootatau Te Wherowhero. Its primary goals were to cease the sale of land to Paakehaa, stop inter-tribal warfare, and provide a springboard for the preservation of Māori culture in the face of Paakehaa colonisation." <https://waikatotainui.com/about-us/kiingitanga/>
- xxxv Keenan, *Wars Without End*, loc 810
- xxxvi "Māori King movement origins", *New Zealand History*, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/the-maori-king-movement>; O'Malley, *New Zealand Wars*, 210-213
- xxxvii Keenan, *Wars Without End*, loc 812. See also O'Malley, *New Zealand Wars*, 215-219
- xxxviii Keenan, *Wars Without End*, loc 806, 824
- xxxix Keenan, *Wars Without End*, loc 825-840; O'Malley, *New Zealand Wars*, 268-292
- xl Nugent, *Race, Taste, and the Grape*, 10
- xli White, *Blood of the Colony*, 96
- xliv Cited in Howland, "From 'civilising' Māori to fruit-driven exuberance. See also Howland, "Drinking the divine".
- 4
- xliv Davis, The Contradictions of 'Civilizing' Consumption", 29-30
- xliv Thorpy, *Wine in New Zealand*, 25-27; Stewart, *Chancers and Visionaries*, 64-79
- xliv "River Settlements", *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/whanganui-places/page-6>; Ian Church, "Lampila, Jean", <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/111/lampila-jean>; Young, *Woven by Water*, 108
- xlvi Cited in Thorpy, *Wine*, pp. 19-20
- xlvi Campbell, "James Busby: New Zealand's wine pioneer"; Scott, *Winemakers*, 12-19. Cited in Howland, "From 'civilising' Māori". Busby also wrote books on the subject. James Busby, *A Treatise on the Culture of the Vine and the Art of Making Wine*, (Sydney: R. Howe, 1825); *A Manual of Plain Directions for Planting and Cultivating Vineyards and for Making Wine in New South Wales*. (Sydney: R. Mansfield, 1830); *Journal of a Tour Through Some of the Vineyards of Spain and France* (Sydney: Stephen and Stokes, 1833)
- xlvi Howland, "From 'civilising' Māori"
- xliv Darwin, *The Voyage of the H.M.S. Beagle*, 23 December 1835. Like so many Europeans, Darwin ignored Māori agriculture and craftsmanship: "All this is very surprising when it is considered that five years ago nothing but the fern flourished here. Moreover, native workmanship, taught by the missionaries, has effected this change; the lesson of the missionary is the enchanter's wand."
- l Cited in Thorpy, *Wine*, p. 21
- li O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars*, 108. On Māori engagement in flour milling and coastal shipping in this period and its subsequent decline, see Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry*.
- lii Cited in Bayley, *Aspects of the Economic History*, 71-72. Emphasis added.
- liii Smart, "Early wine maker", Smart Radio Talks, Whanganui Library; *Whanganui Chronicle*, 17 August 1874
- liv *Wanganui Herald*, 5 February 1869, 18 April 1871, 21 May 1872, 26 January 1877.
- lv *North Otago Times*, 3 April 1876.
- lvi *Taranaki Herald*, 23 June 1875; Melbourne International Exhibition, *The Official Catalogue of the Exhibits*, 77
- lvii Bayley, *Aspects*, 72
- lviii Parroquia de Constantí, Llibre IV de bautismes, 1825-1844, 329, Arxiu Municipal de Constantí, <https://arxiuenlinia.ahat.cat/Document/0000003217#imatge-329>; Grau i Puig, *Nosaltres*, 32; Moreno-Almárcegui, "Demographic reconstruction", pp. 171-203.

-
- lix Flax and Other Industries Committee (Report of the) on The Wine and Fruit Industry, *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (hereafter cited as *AJHR*), 1890, Session I, I-06b, 15.
- lx *Whanganui Chronicle*, 16 May 1894.
- lxi *AJHR*, 1890, Session I, I-06b, p. 15. Scott, *Pioneers*, i.
- lxii Personal communication, Oriol Nicolau i Tell to Adrian Shubert, 14 April 2023.
- lxiii García Balañá, "'The Empire is No Longer a Social Unit'"
- lxiv Scott, *Pioneers*. Scott does not include Jean Désiré Féraud from France, who pioneered winemaking in Central Otago in the 1860s.
<https://www.montechristowinery.co.nz/about/>
- lxv Howland, "From "civilizing" Māori to fruit-driven exuberance", 12-13
- lxvi It takes a minimum of three years after a vine is planted for it to produce grapes that can be used to make wine.
- lxvii *AJHR*, 1890, I, I-06b, p. 16
- lxviii Scott, *Pioneers*, 49.
- lxix Personal communication from Scott Flutey, Heritage Advisor for the Whanganui District Council, 7 May 2024.
- lxx Bragato, *Report*, 10
- lxxi The first te reo Māori version of excerpts from the Bible was published in Sydney in 1827. Seven years later a 16-page edition of Ephesians and Philippians was published in New Zealand. On the translation of the Christian Bible into Indigenous languages, see Stanley, "Religious Print in Settler Australia and Oceania", Carey, Lancelot Threkold", and Korpan, "Scriptural Relations".
- lxxii Paterson, "Māori Literary Practices", 80. See also Derby, "A History of Māori Literary Success"
- lxxiii Personal communication with author, 7 May 2022
- lxxiv Personal communication with author, 12 September 2024
- lxxv Personal communication with author, 16 September 2024. She added that the "closest to a cross-cultural exchange related to winegrowing in Australia is a tiny sliver of evidence: an Aboriginal man naming a place where wine grapes are grown in his language and English".
- lxxvi *Wanganui Herald*, 9 June 1874; Dalley, "Wine - Migrant groups"; "Wine making in Wanganui", *Wanganui Chronicle*, 17 August 1874
- lxxvii *New Zealand Herald*, 9 October 1880
- lxxviii Property Rolls, Whanganui Library
- lxxix *Manawatu Standard*, 20 February 1886
- lxxx *The Yeoman*, 8 October 1886
- lxxxi *The Yeoman*, 8 October 1886
- lxxxii See also Reports of the Public Petitions Committee, *AJHR*, 1886 Session I, p. 10
- lxxxiii Joseph Soler to Sir Julius Vogel, 30 September 1886, R24685968, NANZ
- lxxxiv Quotation from undated article from the *Evening Post* included in Papers relating to Winegrowers Distillation Bill; Petition and letters from Joseph Soler, Wanganui, 1886, R24685968, NANZ.
- lxxxv Joseph Soler to Robert Stout, 1 June 1887, R24685968, NANZ.
- lxxxvi Joseph Soler to Sir Julius Vogel, 1 June 1887, R24685968, NANZ
- lxxxvii "Distillation Act Bill", 24 July 1890, R24685968, NANZ
- lxxxviii "Distillation Act Bill", 24 July 1890, R24685968, NANZ
- lxxxix Joseph Soler to Sir Harry Atkinson, 9 March 1889, R24685968, NANZ
- xc "The Distillation Act Amendment. Bill", R24685968, NANZ
- xc *AJHR*, 1890, Session I, I-06, pp. 15-16
- xcii *AJHR*, 1890, Session I, I-06, p. 22.
- xciii *Whanganui Chronicle*, 16 May 1894; *Wanganui Herald*, 11 January 1894
- xciv On British attitudes towards Spaniards, see Robertson, *Los curiosos impertinentes*, and Lawrence, *Anglo-Hispania beyond the Black Legend*

-
- xv *Wanganui Herald*, 17 May 1882
- xvii Cited in Scott, *Pioneers*, 50
- xviii *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, 1432-33
- xviii *New Zealand Illustrated Sporting & Dramatic Review*, 6 July 1899, 29 November 1900. Emphasis added. See also his advertisement in the 9 May 1901 issue of the same magazine.
- xix Mein Smith, *A Concise History*, 75, 89
- c *He whiritaunoka*, 1471
- ci Wanganui, 1/2-011830-F, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
- cii *Pāikatore*, 28. See also Harris, *Hikoi*
- ciii *Wanganui Chronicle*, 13 July 1881
- civ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 13 July 1881
- cv *Wanganui Herald*, 29 July 1895. "With only small and flimsy tents to protect them from the stormy and chilly weather to which they are exposed, it may be imagined how wretched is the lot of those who are compelled to put up with such inadequate shelter at such a time of year. It is bad enough for adults to be thus exposed, but what must it be for the unfortunate children who have accompanied their parents to Wanganui... That many of them will contract pulmonary complaints which will end fatally, there can be no doubt, as it is impossible for any human being to undergo such exposure without suffering seriously in health."
- cvi "Administering Māori Land"
- cvi "Chamber of Commerce", *Wanganui Herald*, 8 March 1906
- cvi According to Dick Scott, in 1900, "the Department of Agriculture warned settlers throughout the west coast that all the area from New Plymouth to Wellington was unsuited to viticulture". Scott, *Pioneers*, 51
- cix Oriol Nicolau i Tell to Adrian Shubert, 14 April 2023.
- cx Scott, *Pioneers*, 51, 103; <https://vidal.co.nz/our-story/>. Gibb, *Wines of New Zealand*

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible by an Insight Development Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I want to thank Josep Espill of the Municipal Archive of Constantí (Spain) for his help locating Josep Soler in the local records; Scott Flutey, Heritage Advisor for the Whanganui District Council, for sharing his vast knowledge of the history of Whanganui; Alan Durston, Carolyn Podruchny, Phillip Round, Owen White, Julia McIntyre, and Paul Nugent for answering my questions, and Benjamin Bryce, Boyd Cothran, Peter J. Howland, Marcel Martel, Jasmine Retana, and the anonymous readers for *Global Food History* for their comments on earlier versions of this article.

References

Archives

Alexander Heritage Library, Whanganui, NZ
Arxiu Municipal de Constantí (Spain)
National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington, NZ

Published Sources

Books and Articles

Anderson, Kym and Pinilla, Vicente, eds, *Wine Globalization: A New Comparative History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018

Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, Wellington, George Didsbury, Government Printer, 1890

Ballantyne, Tony and Paterson, Lachy, "Indigenous Textual Cultures, the Politics of Difference and the Dynamism of Practice", in Ballantyne, Tony, Paterson, Lachy, and Wanhalla, Angela, eds., *Indigenous Textual Cultures. Reading and Writing in the Age of Global Empire*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2020

Bayley, Nicholas, *Aspects of the Economic History of Whanganui Maori in the Whanganui, Inquiry District (Wai 903), 1880-2000*, Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, September 2007

Belich, James *The New Zealand Wars: And the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986

Bragato, Romeo, *Report on the Prospects of Viticulture in New Zealand*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1895

Campbell, Bob, "James Busby: New Zealand's wine pioneer", *The Real Review* (June 7, 2021)

Carey, Hilary, "Lancelot Threlkeld, Biraban, and the Colonial Bible in Australia", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2010;52(2):447–478.

Cothran, Boyd and Shubert, Adrian, *The Edwin Fox. How an Ordinary Sailing Ship Connected the World in the Age of Globalization, 1850–1914*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2023

Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Wellington: The Cyclopedia Company, Ltd, 1897

Darwin, Charles, *The Voyage of the H.M.S. Beagle*, London: John Murray, 1913

Davis, Chelsea, "The Contradictions of 'Civilizing' Consumption: Colonial Wine and Race in Britain's Nineteenth-Century Imperial Project", *Global Food History*, 2024, vol. 10, No. 1, 28-51, <https://doi.org/10.1080/20549547.2023.2269361>

_____, "All that Glitters Is Wine? Viticultural Capitalists and the Creation of Britain's Colonial Wine Industry", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, Volume 33, numéro 2, 2023

Fourie, Johan and Greyling, Jan, "A tale of two vineyards", *Substack*, 18 August 2023, <https://johanfourie.substack.com/p/a-tale-of-two-vineyards>

García Balañá, Albert, "'The Empire is No Longer a Social Unit': Declining Imperial Expectations and Transatlantic Crises in Metropolitan Spain, 1859-1909," in Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson, eds, *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Decline*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012, 92-103

Gibb, Rebecca, *Wines of New Zealand*, Oxford: Infinite Ideas Limited, 2018

Grau Pujo, Josep Maria, Puig i Tarrech, Roser, *Nosaltres també fórem emigrants*, Constantí: Ajuntament de Constantí, 2009

Hannickel, Erica, "Cultivation and Control: Grape Growing as Expansion in Nineteenth-century United States and Australia" *Comparative American Studies*, 8(4), December 2010, 283-299

Harris, Aroha, *Hikoi: Forty Years of Māori Protest*, Wellington: Huia Pub, 2006

Hill, Richard S., *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: Crown Māori Relations in New Zealand Aotearoa, 1900-1950*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004

Howland, Peter J., "From 'civilising' Māori to fruit-driven exuberance", in Howland, ed., *Social, Cultural and Economic Impacts of Wine in New Zealand*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2014)

Howland, P. J. (2019). Drinking the divine: fine wine, religion, and the socio-political in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Journal of Wine Research*, 30(4), 275–293. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09571264.2019.1654442>

Independent Māori Statutory Board, "Rangatiratanga", <https://www.imsb.maori.nz/maori-wellbeing-in-tamaki-makaurau/rangatiratanga/>

Korpan, Roxanne L., "Scriptural Relations: Colonial Formations of Anishinaabemowin Bibles in Nineteenth-Century Canada", *Material Religion*, 17(2), 147–176. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17432200.2021.1897279>

Lawrence, Mark, *Anglo-Hispania beyond the Black Legend*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023

McIntyre, Julie, *Hunter Wine: A history*, Sydney: New South, 2018

McIntyre, J., Brady, M., & Barnes, J. (2019). "They are among the Best Workers, Learning the Ways of a Vineyard Quickly": Aboriginal People, Drinking, and Labor in the Early Australian Wine Industry. *Global Food History*, 5(1–2), 45–66.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/20549547.2019.1569442>

Mahuika, Nēipa "New Zealand History is Māori History: tikanga as the ethical foundation of historical scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History* 49, no. 1, 2015: 5-30

Manatū Taonga — Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Origins of the Māori King Movement", URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/the-maori-king-movement>, updated 28-May-2024

Mein Smith, Philippa, *A Concise History of New Zealand*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012

Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880 Opened 1st October, *The Official Catalogue of the Exhibits*, Melbourne, M'Carron, Bird and Co, 1880

Moreno-Almárcegui, Antonio, et al. "Demographic reconstruction of the *Camp de Tarragona* area (Spain), 1547-1877", *Annales de démographie historique*, 131, no. 1, 2016, pp. 171-203

New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 (27 Victoriae 1863 No 8),
http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/nzsa186327v1863n8377/

Nugent, Paul, *Race, Taste and the Grape. South African Wine from a Global Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024

O'Malley, Vincent, *Voices from the New Zealand Wars | He Reo nō ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2021

_____, *The New Zealand Wars | Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019

Ornelas-Higdon, Julia, *The Grapes of Conquest. Race, Labor, and the Industrialization of California Wine, 1769–1920*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2023

Pākaitore Historic Reserve Board, *Pākaitore. A History*, Whanganui: Pākaitore Historic Reserve Board, 2020

Petrie, Hazel, *Chiefs of Industry: Māori Tribal Enterprise in Early Colonial New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006

Phillips, Rod, *9000 Years of Wine: A World History*, Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 2017

Reagan-Lefebvre, Jennifer, *Imperial Wine: How the British Empire Made Wine's New World* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2022

Robertson, Ian, *Los curiosos impertinentes: viajeros ingleses por España desde la accesión de Carlos III hasta 1855*, Madrid: CSIC, 1988

Scott, Dick, *Pioneers of New Zealand Wine*, Auckland, Reed Books/Southern Cross, 2002

Shoemaker, Nancy, "A Typology of Colonialism", *Perspectives on History*, October 2015, <https://www.historians.org/research-and-publications/perspectives-on-history/october-2015/a-typology-of-colonialism>

Shubert, Adrian and Martel, Marcel, "Settler Vines: Rethinking the History of Wine Production", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, Volume 33, número 2, 2023, 1-10

Simpson, James *Creating Wine. The Emergence of a World Industry, 1840-1914* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011

Soler, Joseph, *Kupu tohutohu mo te mahi whakato tapahanga waina karepe* Whanganui: 1896)

Stanley, Timothy, "Religious Print in Settler Australia and Oceania", *Religions*, 12 (2021), 1-14

Stewart, Keith, *Chancers and Visionaries. A History of New Zealand Wine*, (Auckland: Wine Appreciation Guild, 2010

Taonui, Rawiri, "Te ture – Māori and legislation - Administering Māori land", *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-ture-maori-and-legislation/page-4> (accessed 2 July 2024)

Thorpy, Frank, *Wine in New Zealand*, (Auckland: Collins Bros and Co., 1971

Waitangi Tribunal, *He whiritaunoka: the Whanganui land report*, Lower Hutt: Legislation Direct, 2015

Werner, Michael and Zimmermann, Bénédicte, "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity", *History and Theory*, 45 (1), February 2006, 30-50

White, Owen, *The Blood of the Colony. Wine and the Rise and Fall of French Algeria*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2021

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8(4), 387–409. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240>

Woods, Rebecca J.H., *The Herds Shot Round the World. Native Breeds and the British Empire, 1800–1900* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017

Young, David, *Woven by Water: Histories from the Whanganui River*, Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1998

Periodicals

Manawatu Standard

New Zealand Illustrated Sporting & Dramatic Review

North Otago Times

Taranaki Herald

Wanganui Chronicle

Wanganui Herald

The Yeoman

Figure

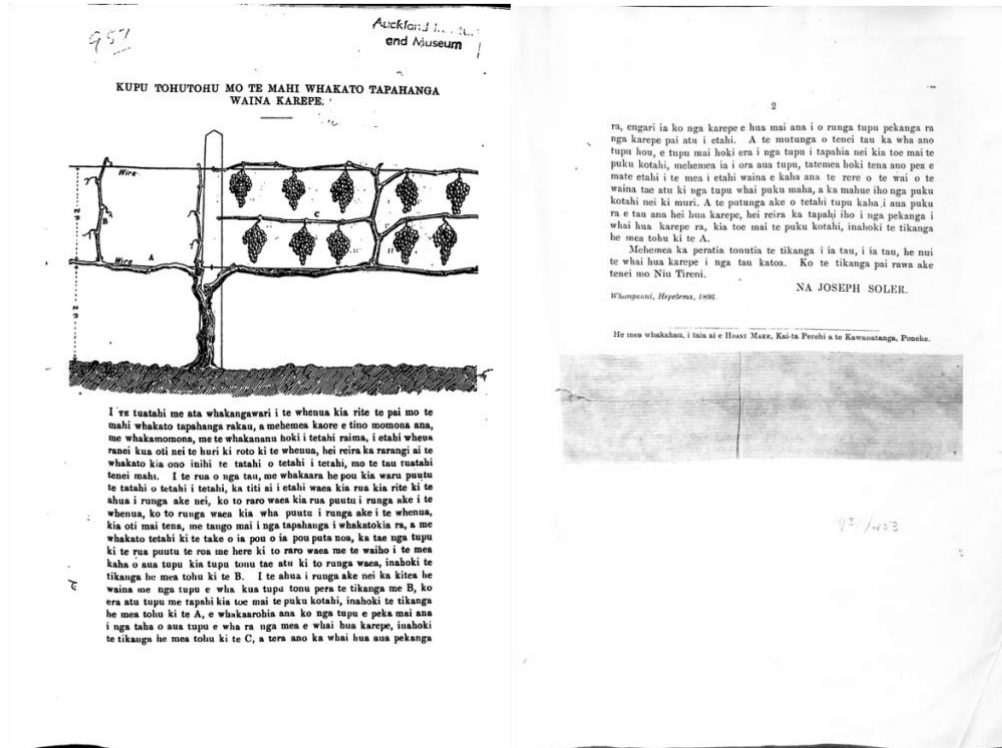


Figure caption

Kupu tohutohu mo te mahi whakato tapahanga waina karepe, (Directions for propagating grapevines from cuttings), Auckland War Memorial Museum. Translated from te reo Māori by Ross Calman.