Visual Identity in Niupepa Māori Nameplates and Title-Pages: From Traditional to Aspirational

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The first niupepa (Māori-language newspaper) appeared in 1842, and over the next 133 years was followed, often sporadically, by at least another 33 titles, some with English-language material but most in te reo Māori solely.¹ Produced by government officials, evangelists, and Māori tribal groups, these periodicals either struggled financially or were supported by the groups whose agenda they promulgated. Although one niupepa managed weekly editions, most appeared monthly. Some resembled early colonial newspapers, comprising perhaps four pages with advertisements making up the first page. Some were small in dimension, more like a journal in appearance. For example, Te Pipiwbarauroa, whose front cover image is the primary focus of the second half of this essay, was just 255 x 193 mm untrimmed.²

It would be easy for a casual observer to conclude that the niupepa were largely bereft of illustration. Besides, the paucity of images largely reflects what was happening in many settler papers, particularly in the nineteenth century. Certainly some niupepa never used illustrations and most pages do not contain them, and where they do appear they seldom relate to the actual articles. One area in which illustrations did appear is advertising: a few advertisers included small relief blocks when promoting their wares, such as ships, tools and stud stallions, which were no doubt selected from the printer’s existing collection of blocks.³ More individual illustrations, such as Smith and Caughey’s full-page

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¹ The majority of Māori-language newspapers have been digitized and placed on the online Niupepa Māori website (http://www.nzdl.org/). These stretch from 1842 to 1932. However, in some cases niupepa producers changed the title of their periodical, with the corpus listing each publication name separately. The corpus treats every name change as a separate newspaper. The online collection does not include all Māori periodicals. For example, the Presbyterian Church’s niupepa, Te Waka Karaitiana (1934–c.1960) is absent, and Te Ao Hou (1952–1975), which contains some Māori-language material, has its own website (http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/).
² Phil Parkinson & Penny Griffith, Books in Māori 1815–1900: Ngā Tāonga Reo Māori (Auckland: Reed Books, 2004), 814 [S42].
³ For example, Matthews, Baxters & Co.’s ‘List of Printing Material’ which included more than seven pages of blocks was probably not unusual for a commercial printer. In K. I. D. Maslen, Victorian Typefaces in Dunedin, New Zealand (Melbourne: Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, 1981), 24–31.
advertisement in *Te Korimako* (The Bellbird) in 1884 which depicted their Queen Street department store, were rare.\(^4\)

![Image of coat of arms]

The other area of the paper that often sported an illustration was the front page, with fourteen of the approximately thirty-four publications of the *niupepa* corpus, at least at some point in their lives, incorporating an illustrative block as part of the nameplate, and another seven as part of a cover page. The nameplate of early government newspapers, such as *Te Karere Maori* (The Māori Messenger) [Fig. 1], incorporated variants of the royal coat of arms above the title, although in the case of *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri* (The Māori Canoe of Ahuriri) [Fig. 2] a smaller version is positioned between the letters of the title itself.\(^5\)

![Figure 1: Nameplate illustration, Te Karere Maori (1855).](image1)

TE

**WAKA MAORI O AHURIKI.**

"KO TE TIK, KO TE POÑO, KO TE AROHA."

![Figure 2: Nameplate, Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri (1866).](image2)

The coat of arms was also utilised on many other printed government documents. At a time when governmental authority over Māori tribes was at times rather patchy, the coat of arms made publications “official” or provided the illusion of greater mana (power and authority). Māori also incorporated overt political

\(^4\) *Te Korimako*, August 15, 1884, 8.

\(^5\) For example, *Te Karere o Nui Tireni*, January 1, 1842, 1; *Te Karere Maori*, January 1, 1855, 1; *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi*, March 1, 1861, 1; *Te Karere Maori*, December 16, 1861, 1; *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri*, March 24, 1866, 1. *Te Waka Maori o Niu Turen*, January 5, 1872, 1. *Te Karere o Poneke*, although not officially a government paper, also sported the coat of arms.

\(^6\) *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri*, March 24, 1866, 1. The motto translates as “Virtue, Truth and Love.” Most likely the coat of arms is a separate block, while the words “Waka Maori o Ahuriri” in rustic typeface are made up of moveable type.
statements into their newspaper nameplates. *Huia Tangata Kotahi* (Join Together as One) promoted the Kotahitanga, a movement that established its own Māori parliament in an attempt to gain Māori autonomy. Its nameplate image [Fig. 3] shows two Māori men, one in the North Island, the other in the South Island, pulling the two islands together. At the centre of the image are huia and albatross feathers signifying peace and chiefly authority.

![Figure 3: Nameplate illustration, Huia Tangata Kotahi (1893–95).](image)

Other publications attempted to appeal to their Māori readers through the use of distinctly Māori motifs. In pre-contact times, messengers may well have used canoe transport, and a number of publications utilized *waka* (canoe) as part of their name, and displayed a manned war canoe as part of their nameplate.

![Figure 4: Nameplate, Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani (1878–79) and Takitimu (1883).](image)
For example, the government’s *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* (The Maori Canoe of New Zealand, 1878–79) [Fig. 4] shows warriors paddling a waka before a steaming volcano. The same printing block was employed for *Takitimu* (1883)7 and *Te Waka Maori o Aotearoa* (The Māori Canoe of Aotearoa, 1884), although it appears from the truncated volcanic cloud that the words “Te Waka Maori” in blackletter typeface were cut out of the original printing block, and “Takitimu,” perhaps as moveable type, inserted. From the 1930s the Presbyterian Church used a design [Fig. 5] based on *Te Waka Maori*’s nameplate for its own *niupepa, Te Waka Karaitiana* (The Christian Canoe).8 Although the motifs of lake, *waka tauā*, and volcano are the same, it is clearly a different printing block.

![Figure 5: Nameplate, Te Waka Karaitiana (1934–c.1960).](image)

Another notable nameplate design [Fig. 6] is *Te Puke ki Hikurangi*’s small island replete with cloak-clad Māori, *waka* and moa. *Te Waka Maori* began as a government-funded publication and was always under Pākehā control, whereas *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* (the Mountain at Hikurangi) was financed by the Ngāti Kahungunu chief, Hāmuera Mahupuku. Despite the different controllers, both *niupepa* were trying to appeal to a wide Māori audience with nameplate illustrations harking back to an earlier pre-contact world. Although the scenes the images seek to portray sat beyond the living memory of most of their readers, they still remained significant cultural motifs.

While most *niupepa* front-pages appeared with a nameplate above columns of text, some sported a full-page cover, often with an illustration. For example, *Te Paki o Matariki* (The Pleiads, 1892–95) reveals the Māori King’s coat of arms, featuring “mystic designs” of the Io religion.9 Early editions of *He Hoa Māori* (A Māori friend, 1885–95) display full-page religious engravings, and some issues

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7 *Takitimu* was one of the ancestral migratory canoes on which Polynesians came to New Zealand.
8 This periodical is not part of the online corpus.
of the Anglican *Te Toa Takitini*\(^{10}\) (1921–32) reproduce photographs of mainly church and tribal activities.

![Figure 6: Nameplate, Te Puke ki Hikurangi (1897–1913).](image)

Illustrations were also a way of visually reinforcing the publication’s message. For example, *Ko Aotearoa* [Fig. 7], displays a Māori man in European clothing reading to seated compatriots, the foreground flanked by two Māori men in

![Figure 7: Cover illustration, Ko Aotearoa, or the Maori Recorder (1861).\(^{11}\)](image)

\(^{10}\)The name *Te Toa Takitini* derives from the Māori saying “Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini tuku toa,” (My strength is not that of a single warrior but of many.) See Mead & Grove, *Nga Pipoka*, 24.

\(^{11}\)Image courtesy of the Hocken Collections, Te Uare Hakena, University of Otago.
traditional garb holding a *tewhatewha* and *taiaha*, which are weapons, but also symbols of chiefly *mana*. Between them a banner proclaims, “He Aroha Te Atua” (God is Love). Charles Davis, an evangelist, and occasional government official with sympathies towards Māori autonomy, published a number of *niupepa* of which *Ko Aotearoa* was one. The content of the image not only reflects Davis’s religious interests, but also dominant discourses of the time on the importance of print and reading, and of civilisation. As Davis wrote in one of his earlier newspapers, “the printing press ... is a treasure that informs ignorant people; that points out wrong, and signals virtue; this is the treasure by which the Pākehā became great, and acquired their phenomenal knowledge.” The warriors give the image its distinctly Māori character, but it is worth noting that the only individual in exclusively European clothing (a sure sign of cultural progress) is standing with the book, projecting the authority of learned knowledge.

*He Kupu Whakamarama* was first published in Nelson by the Reverend Frederick Bennett (Ngāti Whakaue) on 1 March 1898. Its cover page [Fig. 8] was minimalist in design, with the title sandwiched between several semi-circular segments. From the eleventh edition (1 January 1899) its primary name was changed to *Te Pipiwharauoroa* (*The Shining Cuckoo*), although retaining its original name as a secondary title, and featured a new illustrated cover page. From its eighteenth edition (1 August 1899), after Bennett’s shift to the parish work in the North Island, the newspaper was produced from Te Rau Kahikatea College, the Anglican Church’s training centre for Māori clergy, under the editorship of Rēweti Kōhere (Ngāti Porou). Although the newspaper continued as *Te Pipiwharauoroa* until 1913, it discontinued its distinctive title page from May 1900, replacing it with a textual masthead above a leading article. The remainder of this essay discusses the *niupepa*’s aquisition of its new name, and how the ideology of the young Anglican Māori men who ran the paper is reflected in the elements that make up the accompanying new cover image, before concluding with developments in the nameplates and covers of the succeeding Anglican *niupepa* titles.

The newspaper’s original title, *He Kupu Whakamarama*, translates as “Words of Explanation.” However, the word *whakamārama* possesses deeper shades of meaning: *mārama* refers to the qualities of light and clarity, but in the nineteenth century also denoted the civilization and religious grace that Māori were meant to be aspiring to, as opposed to the *pōuritanga* (darkness) and *kūaretanga* (ignorance) they were leaving behind. Thus the title reflected the paper’s primary aim, to

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12 *Ko Aotearoa* was an annual (1861 & 1862): the illustration only appears in the 1861 edition. It was bilingual with *The Maori Recorder* as its English name.

13 *Te Waka o te Iwi*, October 1857, 1. “[H]e taonga whakamohio tenei i te hunga e kuare ana, he kai whakaatu i te he, he kai tohutouhu i te tika ko te taonga tenei i nui ai te pakeha, i whiwhi ai ki te tini o ana whakaaro whakamiharo.” [All translations are by the author].
promote church affairs and scriptural knowledge.\textsuperscript{14} In its fifth issue (July 1898) the paper issued a request:

Sirs! I am seeking a good name for our bird. Something other than He Kupu Whakamarama, which we will keep. A name is being sought from North Island elders. It was the South Island that gave birth to it, so, the North Island will name our messenger, and it will be left for our bird to join the North and South Islands in chains of love. Send in your names.\textsuperscript{15}

Readers responded with a variety of suggestions, including “Rangiatea,”\textsuperscript{16} “Whetu o te Ata” (Morning Star), “Kotuku Kaiwhakaata” (White Heron that Illuminates), “Te Ika Roa a Maui” (The Long Fish of Māui) and “Kotuku Rerenga Tahi” (White Heron of a Single Flight).\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{14} He Kupu Whakamarama, November, 1898, 3; April, 1899, 6; June, 1899, 2.
\textsuperscript{15} He Kupu Whakamarama, July, 1898, 6. “E koro ma! kei te kimi ahau i tetahi ingoa pai mo ta tatou manu. Haunga ia te Kupu Whakamarama ka mau tonu hoki tera; engari ko tetahi atu ingoa pai. Kimihia mai he ingoa e nga kaumatua o te Aotearoa. Na te Waipounamu i whakawhanau, kati, ma te Aotearoa e whakaingoa ta tatou karere, kia waiho ai ma ta tatou manu e honohono nga mekameka o te aroha o te Aotearoa me te Waipounamu. Tukuna mai a koutou ingoa.”
\textsuperscript{16} Rangiātea is an Pacific island (Rai’atea in modern French Polynesia) that was retained in Māori folk memory after migration to New Zealand in the saying: “E kore au e ngaro; te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea” (I shall never be lost; the seed that was sown from Rangiātea). See Hirini Moko Mead and Neil Grove, Ngā Pīpeha a ngā Tipuna: The Sayings of the Ancestors (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2003), 30. Rangiātea was also the name of a large church built by Te Rauparaha at Ōtaki in the late 1840s. Patricia Burns, Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1983), 289–91.
\textsuperscript{17} He Kupu Whakamarama, September, 1898, 4, 5; November, 1898, 3, 4.
Despite names still coming in, as early as August 1898 a preference for “Te Pipiwharauroa” was already clear, and in the September issue the editor stated that the printing block for the cover had already been commissioned from a Christchurch firm.\(^{18}\) In December, the *niupepa* announced, “The illustration for the cover of the paper is completed. But the cost for making it comes to four pounds,” then requested that perhaps a chief might be willing to pay for it, or ministers could hold a collection.\(^{19}\) In January 1899 the newspaper officially revealed its new name along with its new cover.

Bennett had already likened his newspaper to a bird, and it was the elderly Māori clergyman, Nikora Tautau, who had suggested the *pīpīwharauroa*, a native migratory bird, as the new name. As *Te Pīpīwharauroa* explained, the appearance of the *pīpīwharauroa* was a sign of warmth and summer, but was also an *oha* (relic) from the past, whose appearance informed the ancestors of the change of seasons. However, *Te Pīpīwharauroa*, the newspaper, would “awaken people, make their hearts healthy.” The link from warmth to knowledge and grace was an old one: as a Māori teacher wrote in 1861, “In the past we were ignorant: when the sun shone, then we were warm, that is, we knew the meaning of this word ‘warmth.’”\(^{20}\) Summer, which arrived with the *pīpīwharauroa*, was thus a metaphor for Christianity and knowledge. The newspaper quickly gained the nickname “Te Pipi,” and further metaphorical references to the real bird ensued, such as needing “berries” from subscribers to survive.\(^{21}\)

Although Bennett had been schooled at Nelson College, he was strongly aligned to his contemporaries, such as Āpirana Ngata, Te Rangihiroa (Peter Buck) and Reweti Kōhere, who attended the premier Māori boys school, Te Aute College. Old boys of Te Aute established the Te Aute College Students Association (TACSA) in 1897, which later became known as the Young Maori Party and the springboard for the parliamentary careers of Āpirana Ngata, Māui Pōmare and Te Rangihiroa. Bennett took an active part in the movement, attending some of its conferences.\(^{22}\) In the same issue as the new name and cover were announced, *Te Pīpīwharauroa* printed Reweti Kōhere’s report on TACSA’s conference in December 1899, and the editor later called on its readers for

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\(^{18}\) *He Kupu Whakamarama*, August, 1898, 7; October, 1898, 6. The newspaper does not identify the firm.

\(^{19}\) *He Kupu Whakamarama*, December, 1898, 6. “Kua oti te whakaahua mo waho o te pepa nei. Engari ko te utu tera e tae ki te wha pauna (£4) mo te hanganga.”

\(^{20}\) *Te Karere Maori*, December 16, 1861, 16. “I mua, e kuare ana matou; no te whitinga o te ra, katahi matou ka mahana, ara, ka mohio ki te tikanga o tena kupu o te mahana.”

\(^{21}\) *Te Pīpīwharauroa*, May, 1904, 1.

\(^{22}\) He also compiled the report for the 10th conference held at Rotorua. See *Nga Korero o te Hui Tekau o te Kotahitanga a nga Tamaki ki Te Aute Kareti i Tu ki Ohinemutu, Rotorua, Tihema 25, 1905, ki Hanuere 1, 1906* (Rotorua: Hot Lakes Chronicle, 1906), 1.
support: “this is our plea to the wider Māori race to really help this movement, even though its leaders are youths.”

Some historians have criticized the Te Aute reformers as assimilationist, asserting that TACSA wanted to abandon Māoritanga in favour of Pākehā cultural norms. Although there is some truth to this assessment, it is a little too harsh. Rather than wishing for Māori to disappear or be absorbed within mainstream Pākehā society, the reformers wanted Māori to adopt aspects of Pākehā culture as a means of racial survival. At a time when some commentators were predicting the demise of Māori as a people, TACSA's very existence as a Māori movement was predicated on Māori retaining a distinctive ethnic identity. The transformation that the young reformers sought was holistic: involving greater engagement with the economy through Māori land development, improved housing, sanitation and health, a deeper Christian commitment, sobriety, moral rectitude, adherence to marriage norms, and a rejection of tohunga and other “superstitions.” Unlike their fathers who had formed the Kotahitanga and sought Māori autonomy, TACSA believed that Māori leaders would be able to achieve greater benefits for their people through a deeper engagement with the state and its institutions.

The elements within Te Pipiwharauroa's cover illustration [Fig. 9] reflect some of these concerns, both consciously and subliminally. In introducing the image the niupepa interpreted it to its readers thus:

People, supporters, and readers of our paper, here is Te Pipiwharauroa in its new clothes sent to your marae. Look down. On the marae are Māori, but they aren't our ancestors. They are from this generation, and their appearance, activity and clothes are Pākehā. Some of them are reading. One has the Bible, going over the Scripture, reading the Book of Life. One is reading his book, maybe the Pipiwharauroa? It would be better if a real Maori was seen, a Māori appearance, everything Māori. But one should not forget to look up. Look at the Pipiwharauroa coming down. People, provide some fruits for it; give it a place to land; turn your ear to listen

23 Te Pipiwharauroa, January, 1899, 6. “… he inoi hoki ta matou ki te iwi Maori nui kia kaha ratou te awhina i tenei Kotahitanga, ahakoa he tamariki nga kai-whakatere.”
25 Te Pipiwharauroa, October, 1900, 10.
26 Tohunga translates both as “expert” and “priest.” By the late nineteenth century, it often meant religious practitioners who undertook faith-based healing.
to its song. It is a bird of great value. Cherish its Words of Explanation. And so, goodbye! \(^{27}\)

\[\text{Figure 9: Cover illustration, Te Pipiwharauroa (January 1899-April 1900).}\]

\textit{Te Pipiwharauroa} was ostensibly the Māori-language periodical of the Anglican Church, so it is not unreasonable that the two people in the family group reading would have the Bible and the Church’s newspaper in their hands. Readers are invited to cherish the bird/newspaper, symbolising the “warmth” of Christian knowledge, and still calling out “its Words of Explanation.” The fact they are reading, in good clothes, and not working suggests that this may be a Sunday. The scene presented has a hybrid quality, i.e. the figures wear Pākehā clothes but are depicted in a Māori setting. The statement, “It would be better if a real Maori was seen, a Māori appearance, everything Māori” disturbs the message, but the writer may be reflecting on readers’ previous experiences with Māori newspapers, such as \textit{Te Waka Maori} and \textit{Te Puke ki Hikurangi}, in which more “traditional” images projected Māori identity. However, he notes that the people are “from this generation,” one in which engagement with the Pākehā world was inevitable.

The central component of the illustration is a rectangle, exhibiting pictorial manifestations of the new order the TACSA reformers sought to create. Outside the rectangle we see flax and ferns, plants of the swamp and forest representative of the darkness and disorder of the old world left behind. Its internal space is inhabited by what appears to be a single family. The couple positioned on the right appear older. Although the details are indistinct, the man standing in the doorway of the house, although perhaps bearded, looks younger. The young woman sitting reading in front of the house evokes the movement’s call for the education of girls, and the young girl resting upon the family dog completes a scene of domesticity that the Te Aute reformers aspired for all Māori people. The land is mostly bare, as if it has been cleared for farming. This image was produced at the turn of the century, pre-dating the mass Māori urbanisation, a phenomenon that TACSA neither promoted nor predicted. When Reweti Köhere, the second editor, theorised several years later on how Māori should ideally live in a series of articles entitled “The Model Village,” he visualized modernization or reform as occurring within the sort of rural space reflected in the portrayed image.²⁸

The family are sitting outside a whare whakairo, a carved house, beside a cabbage tree. The whare was problematic for the reformers. It could be the scene of communal sleeping after a tribal gathering, which was considered not only potentially unhealthy, but also a possible temptation for illicit fornication. However, the whare was also a symbol not only of Māori cultural identity, but also of tribal mana. Āpirana Ngata, as TACSA’s travelling secretary, visited marae at this time, often suggesting alterations to whare, such as windows and chimneys, and later in his career promoted a revival in whare whakairo construction in order to engender tribal pride.²⁹ The whare in the illustration makes explicit the cultural identity shared not just by the figures in the illustration, but by both the editor and the readership at large.

Apart from its impressions, we know little of the actual printing block itself and its manufacture.³⁰ It is possible that the image was copied from a photograph, as photographs of Māori sitting or standing in front of whare, either smaller sleeping buildings or larger meeting houses, are not uncommon. However, these nineteenth and early twentieth-century photographs tend to show their Māori subjects looking directly at the camera rather than absorbed in some other activity.³¹

³⁰ The niupepa shifted from Nelson to Te Raukahikatea in Gisborne, with the first issue from its new in August 1899. Te Rau came under the authority of Archbishop of Waiapu. Unfortunately the diocesan records, including those relating to the Māori niupepa, were largely destroyed in the Napier earthquake in 1931.
³¹ For example, see *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand* [Auckland Provincial District] (Christchurch:
Besides, many photographs betray the reality of the poverty endured by many Māori families, and the poor state of their housing at this period. The cover image, with its clean lines, demonstrates a more stylized, romantic idealism, incorporating the modernist Te Aute ideals of productivity, respectability, education and God’s word, while still retaining an unmistakably Māori guise.

Stylistically Te Pipiwharauroa’s first cover is more elegant, while its replacement, particularly the lettering that surrounds it, appears quite crude in comparison. It is not known to what degree Bennett cared about the aesthetics of the original cover, or even whether this was something designed by the printer. Certainly Māori Anglicans have tended to relish the beauty of Māori carving and other imagery within churches, and leaders such as Ngata and Kōhere both promoted haka, but the prevailing attitude among the TACSA men to non-Māori culture appears to be more aligned with evangelical simplicity. They disapproved of drinking, cards, dancing, and sports on Sunday, and they might not have been overly concerned with the lack of sophistication in the new cover: the motifs displayed of simple virtuous Māori Christians reflected the message that they were trying to promulgate.

Figure 10: Nameplate, Te Pipiwharauroa (from May 1900).

Te Pipiwharauroa abandoned its cover image rather abruptly and adopted a plain text nameplate [Fig. 10]. No reason was given for the change, but since the niupepa ran on a minimal budget, expending the first page on a cover may have been seen as wasteful of space better utilised with “words of explanation.” The engraved block may have become damaged, or the new editor, Rēweti Kōhere, may have thought the image had lost any impact that it might have had. Besides, the niupepa had little money to purchase a new one, even if it had wanted to.

Notwithstanding its new look, *Te Pipiwharauroa* retained its bird metaphor until its demise due to lack of financial support in 1913. Its successor, the smaller scale *Te Kopara* (The Bellbird) ran from 1913 to 1921, with a plain cover featuring a triangular design under the title. That *Te Kopara* used the same Bradley typeface in its nameplate titles as the “new” *Te Pipiwharauroa* nameplate suggests that the same moveable type was used for both rather than a single block. *Te Kopara* ended in 1921 when the Te Rau Kahikatea Press was sold, and the Anglican *niupepa* shifted to Napier under the Reverend Frederick Bennett, the initiator of *He Kupu Whakamarama* but now Assistant Superintendent to the Anglican Church’s Hawkes Bay Māori mission. His new newspaper, *Te Toa Takitini* (1921–31), utilised the same Bradley type for its nameplate for several years, indicating that this, at least, had been passed to the new editor. It then featured a succession of text nameplates comprising different fonts, and decorative borders and rules.

Publishing of *niupepa* was never done for commercial gain. There was always a social or political discourse that editors and their controllers were seeking to promulgate to their readers. Many Māori-language newspapers did not use a pictorial design as a front cover page, or as part of their nameplate, but where they do appear, they are clearly attempting to visually reinforce the textual messages of the newspaper, or to appeal to the readership in some way: the government placed the royal coat of arms on its early newspapers to give authority and gravitas; *Ko Aotearoa’s* man reading exemplifies the need for civilization and knowledge; *Huia Tangata Kotahi*’s two men pulling the islands of New Zealand together supported the *niupepa*’s message of Māori political unity; and *Te Waka Māori* and *Te Puke ki Hikurangi*’s pre-contact scenes are an attempt to align the paper with Māori markers of ethnicity and identity. *Te Pipiwharauroa*’s newspaper design represents the ideals of young Māori men who belonged both to the Anglican Church and the Te Aute College Students Association. The movement sought to improve Māori communities by acculturating Pākehā customs to face the modern world: as the *niupepa* stated, the people portrayed in the picture were from that time. The TACSA, however, sought more than just material advancement. As the bird and Bible-reading motifs of this image demonstrate, the young reformers also desired the moral and spiritual renewal of Māori society.

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32 *Te Pipiwharauroa*, July, 1913, 1.
33 *Te Kopara*, 30 July 1921, 3; *Te Toa Takitini* 31 August 1921, 1.
34 These nameplates are likely to have been assembled with materials available to the printer. Nameplate typefaces included Times, Gotish and Cooper styles. The decorative borders and rules vary over time, including swastika rules sandwiching the *niupepa*’s nameplate in its final issues.