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STEREOTYPES OF MAORIS
HELD BY EUROPEANS

A STUDY BASED ON FOUR
NEWSPAPERS OF THE LIBERAL PERIOD

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of the requirements for the degree of
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AS</u>	<u>Auckland Star</u>
<u>FS</u>	<u>Feilding Star</u>
<u>MH</u>	<u>Manawatu Herald</u>
<u>NZH</u>	<u>New Zealand Herald</u>
Supplement	Refers to the additional number of pages in the Saturday editions of each of the two Auckland news- papers.

STEREOTYPES OF MAORIS HELD BY EUROPEANS.

A study based on four newspapers of the Liberal period.

I

The following study of the stereotyped attitudes and images which pakehas had of Maoris is based almost exclusively on newspapers within the Liberal period. That point should be made from the outset. It is relevant to note that surveys along somewhat similar lines have been conducted into the poetry and prose fiction of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. W. H. Pearson is an important name in this respect. He has reviewed the various racial characteristics and personality traits which have been attributed to Maoris by white New Zealanders - or at least by a small minority of them; namely pakeha novelists and short story writers. He has concluded that pakeha attitudes to Maoris can be broadly classed either as hostile or as patronizing.¹ At worst the pakeha is something of a racist - the European has every right to occupy the land of uncivilized heathens and the sooner the Maoris die out the better. At best the pakeha attitude is one of indulgence and paternalism - the Maori is 'really' only a child and must be tolerated and humoured.

1. W. H. Pearson, 'Attitudes to the Maori in some Pakeha Fiction', Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 67, No. 3, September 1958, p. 213.

Alternatively, the writer may argue that it is the pakehá's obligation to elevate the minority race; to redirect the Maori's initial socialization, as it were; to encourage an imitation of pakeha virtues and an avoidance of pakeha vices. William Baucke's book Where the White Man Treads across the Pathway of the Maori, 1905, manifests such arguments arising from the notion of the 'white man's burden'.

A stereotype which seems to be more prevalent in the literature of the twentieth century is the image of the Maori as a comic character. He is often portrayed as a simple, lovable child, although a good fighter when there is a war on.

Katherine Mansfield, in 1908, was the first writer of fiction to seriously portray the Maori as a symbolic character; that is, to find in him the virtues absent in the pakeha and to employ him as a criticism of the western way of life.

Herein would seem to be an echo of the noble savage sentiment, a view of the Maori found particularly in later nineteenth century literature. Joan Stevens notes that the belief that the Maori was doomed enabled writers to dignify the race - or at least individual members of it - by giving them tragic stature.²

E. H. McCormick sums up by saying that the Maori's usual fate is to be sentimentalized or exploited - for example, to be used as a peg on which to hang some sermon on the half-caste problem.³

2. J. Stevens, The New Zealand Novel, 1860-1965, p. 25.

3. E. H. McCormick, New Zealand Literature: A Survey, p. 94.

Prose fiction may in fact tell us rather less about what the writer honestly feels than about the prevailing literary style. Such criticism applies more directly to nineteenth century New Zealand poetry. It was influenced by the romantic and post-romantic styles, sentiment and symbolism. Consequently, when it came to writing about the Maori he was usually portrayed as a noble warrior or heroic savage, unsophisticated - in the sense of 'unspoilt' by western civilization - but fated to extinction through contact with that very culture. That image of the Maori was also explicable in terms of the geographical location of writers: they tended to be South Islanders and thus less in contact with Maori people, and perhaps more inclined to take a sentimentalized view.

At this stage we may note that the different pakeha attitudes and stereotypes of the Maori as exhibited in the literature of the period were quite definitely paralleled by the same and similar attitudes in the contemporary newspapers; European prejudices, distortions, attempts to encapsulate the inherent traits of another ethnic group manifested themselves through the media of mass information as they did through poetry and prose fiction.

Inevitably, the question arises as to what constitutes a stereotype. Social psychologists agree that it is basically a generalized picture of group members rather than a true image of individuals. Its central characteristic is the over-exaggeration of facts to form a belief or picture that is

essentially unjustified; a stereotype construction is more likely to be false than true because of the inevitable distortion of reality.⁴ If an attitude or belief is correct - or largely so - then it may be termed a valid generalization rather than a stereotype.⁵ We might derive the initial impression, for instance, that the Maoris of one particular locality tend to be heavier drinkers than the Europeans. Such an impression could well be verified by recourse to statistical data and objective analysis. However, the conclusion reached is not the same as branding the Maoris in general as an inebrious race, or one that is irresponsible in its use of liquor.

The stereotype so constructed is sustained by selective perception and selective forgetting.⁶ Evidence which conflicts with the stereotyped image is either rejected outright, or regarded as representing an exception to the general rule.⁷

Thus, another characteristic of the stereotype is its rigidity and tendency to persist in the face of all demands for modification which may be made by the objective facts and conditions.⁸ Yet this resistance is only relative: stereotypes

4. R. Gordon, Stereotypy of Imagery and Belief as an Ego Defence, p. 2.

5. G. W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, p. 189-192.

6. ibid., p. 196.

7. M. and C. W. Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology, p.654.

8. Gordon, Stereotypy, p. 2.

may fade away over time.⁹ The rate of modification is governed by cultural lag, slowness of ideological change, reluctance to part with the familiar.

Stereotypes serve a dual function: psychologically, they constitute a means of classification and simplification and are thus implicated in the whole cognitive process of rendering diverse information more intelligible. It is easier to relate to members of another group if one has set ideas about their character and likely behaviour patterns than if one has to treat them as individuals in their own right.¹⁰ In a circular kind of process stereotypes also function as a method of justifying our acceptance or rejection of a group¹¹ - reactions which themselves may directly spring from set attitudes towards members of those groups.

Inherent in both these functions are specific dangers: stereotypes may interfere with rational judgment and prevent differentiated thinking about a concept,¹² obstruct adjustment to new circumstances and justify actions which may be morally indefensible.

The criteria, then, for assessing whether attitudes are really stereotypes include: an over-generalization or exaggeration of fact; an essential falsity; an incorporation of favourable as well as unfavourable attitudes; a selective perception and

9. Allport, Prejudice, p. 202.

10. ibid., p. 190.

11. ibid., p. 192.

12. ibid., p. 190.

forgetting; a means of simplifying our thinking and rationalizing our actions; and relative rigidity and resistance to change.

Since the basic purpose of this article is to identify specific stereotypes and to explore their implications, no attempt has been made here to investigate theories explaining the actual origins of racial stereotypes or the manner in which they evolve. Suffice it to say that a matrix of interacting forces, rather than a single determinate, moulds the way we perceive members of an out-group. Thus, various psychological, social, cultural and historical factors would have to be evoked to explain those attitudes which pakehas have had towards the Maori at different times in New Zealand's history. In the 1850's and 1860's, for instance, unfavourable stereotypes appear to have been the norm: Maoris were habitually spoken of as barbarians, savages, or even niggers.¹³ By the late nineteenth century much more favourable attitudes were apparent. The change was probably related to the following factors.

During the wars of the 1860's and in the succeeding decades the pakeha had asserted his social, economic, political and cultural ascendancy over the Maori population. The latter was generally perceived as much less a military threat than formerly. The Maoris were clearly in a numerical minority and appeared to be inevitably headed for extinction. In such a situation there was not so great a 'necessity' for Europeans to have recourse to

13. A. D. Ward, 'The Origins of the Anglo-Maori Wars :A Reconsideration', The New Zealand Journal of History, vol. 1, No. 2, October 1967, p. 164.

unfavourable attitudes and stereotypes of the indigenous people: ' [Now that] the Maori is not the power in the land that he once was, we can look dispassionately on the aboriginal population...¹⁴' Other influences came into greater prominence than formerly: the romantic notion of the noble savage; feelings of guilt that governments and land courts, for instance, had not done full justice to the Maoris in the past; the concept of the 'white man's burden'; the brown-skinned man had to be worked into the society pakehas were building.

Yet the persistence of unfavourable stereotypes of Maoris in the 1890's and early 1900's suggests that a mere change in circumstances was by no means sufficient to effect any major alteration in Europeans' mental pictures of the minority race. Certainly, research in newspapers showed the same range of stereotypes persisted over time: those which appeared in the papers of the early twentieth century were discernible at the beginning of the 1890's.

One constantly recurring belief - in effect something of a stereotyped attitude - was that the Maori race occupied an inferior position in relation to the European. Almost inevitably the pakehas considered their own culture to be technologically superior to that of the Maoris and more advanced as regards institutions and ideologies - for example, democracy and the parliamentary system. Europeans also, of course, had access to a greater fund of knowledge. The West had a civilization; the Maoris remained in their primitive state. In so far as the Maori life-style inculcated undesirable traits - 'undesirable', of course, from the

14. AS, 9 April 1892, p. 2, c.1. (Supplement).

viewpoint of the middle class Victorian pakeha commentator - then western culture was superior because it helped to nurture 'better' qualities in the individual: self-reliance, sobriety, self-discipline and so on. In this sense the implication was that the European was morally superior to members of the indigenous races. Some pakehas believed that the white man was genetically superior to the Maori because he (the pakeha) inherited a more advanced intellect. Because that view posited the Maori as being inherently and unavoidably inferior it was more obviously racist than the notion of the Maori as socially and culturally subordinate to the dominant race through the force of historical circumstance as much as through anything else. However, there was little firm evidence - at least from the small selection of newspapers of the late nineteenth century - to suggest that the more extreme view predominated.

Not all pakehas agreed that western civilization was necessarily more advanced than the Maori life-style. Some argued that the Maori had been spoilt by civilization, that the town and its attendant vices had helped to destroy the noble savage. Alternatively, other writers held up certain aspects of Maori culture - methods of dealing out justice, for example - as a means of criticizing corresponding European practices.

Despite these reservations the rather stereotyped notion of the Maori as being in some way inferior lay at the centre of New Zealand race relations in this period. Whenever the question arose as to how the Maoris were to be incorporated into the New

Zealand society, the solution suggested was always an assimilationist one - Maoris were to be absorbed into European culture. Since absorption inevitably entailed the destruction, or at least the undermining, of the indigenous customs and culture and the imposition of alien values and practices, the assimilation policy surely originated in the general premise that the pakeha way of life was superior (using that word in its various implications noted above).

We must note that though Maoris may have been considered inferior, they were not necessarily regarded as being incapable of attaining European 'status'; to talk of 'uplifting' the Maori race presupposed that Maoris could, in fact, 'rise' to a higher level of civilization.

This is an important qualification, and is itself a favourable attitude. In other words, the Maori was not fated to remain forever at an inferior level - he was different in degree but not in kind from the European, he had no serious limitations preventing him from attaining a more equal position with the pakeha. It was the environment of the Maori rather than his genetic make-up which was at fault: the pakeha had been 'trained to competition and individualism; the Maori [was] only emerging from communism.'¹⁵ The communal system "developed the finest race of savages the world has seen..." But [it] failed to give a sufficiently powerful incentive to individual exertion.'¹⁶

15. NZH, 6 July 1892, p. 6, c. 5. (Tense changed from present.)

16. NZH, 14 December 1907, p. 6, c. 6-7. Editor quoting
W. P. Reeves.

A comparison of such attitudes with the racism displayed by European settlers in South Africa will show how optimistic the pakeha belief in New Zealand was. The indigenous African - or more particularly the Hottentot and Bushman - differed in kind from the Boer; the inequalities of social dominion were an expression of the inequalities of endowment and from these there could be no appeal. The inherent and continued inferiority of the native was an irreversible and irremediable part of the natural order. The prevailing stereotype of the African as dirty, slothful, unintelligent and irresponsible served generally to preclude him from participation in training and educational facilities. Any such training could in fact be harmful if it led to illusions of equality or to unbearable conceit infecting others, provoking insubordination and disorder.¹⁷

In South Africa the unfavourable stereotype could be used to justify white discrimination against inferior racial groups - a discrimination which later developed into a full fledged policy of segregation.

It is interesting to compare this policy with that pursued in another multi-racial society - Fiji. From the late nineteenth century the Europeans and Fijians (and to a lesser extent the Indians) existed in a society based on cultural rather than racial distinctions between groups. The Europeans had a generally favourable stereotype of the indigenous people, sought to protect them and to preserve their social structure and culture.

17. P. L. van den Berghe, Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective, pp. 96-101.

Both policies - 'compartmentalization' of ethnicities in Fiji, segregation of racial groups in South Africa - were different from the policy of assimilation in New Zealand. What significance, then, can be attached to the nature of stereotypes in relation to the different policies pursued by Europeans in their bid to cohere the various groups into functioning multi-racial societies?

While conceding that a complex set of factors is involved, it is logical to assume that if policy-makers and influential figures shared stereotypes which tended to be favourable or 'enlightened', then the chance of pluralistic or integrationist societies evolving would be greater than the possibility of discriminatory and segregationist societies developing. (Plural societies are those which, ideally, contain a network of symbiotic connexions uniting different ethnic groups in a general relationship of mutual interdependence, respect and equality, recognizing the right of each group to maintain and cultivate its distinctive ways.¹⁸ In integrated societies elements of different cultures combine to form one distinctive culture with minimal attention paid to racial differences.)¹⁹

To put the above assumption another way: a dominant ethnic group would be more inclined to amalgamate with, or exist in a

18. A. J. Metge, 'Alternative Policy Patterns in Multi-racial Societies', Administration in New Zealand's Multi-racial Society, edited R. H. Brookes and I. H. Kawharu, pp. 51-53.

19. M. Banton, Race Relations, p. 73.

pluralistic relationship to, another ethnic group if the former conceived the latter as being composed of predominantly noble, courageous, intelligent members than if the prevailing stereotype pictured indigenous people as slothful, inferior, worthless natives. An assimilation policy can be partly explained by the mixture of favourable and unfavourable stereotypes. Thus the belief that Maoris were in some measure inferior to Europeans became interwoven with the view that they possessed certain qualities enabling them to ultimately achieve a more highly civilized status.

Research revealed that a *mélange* of favourable and unfavourable stereotypes appeared in the newspapers of the Liberal period - or at least the four surveyed. The assumption was made that since one of the few ways to make opinions known to a mass audience is through the Press, newspapers reflected to a considerable degree public opinion existing within the community. Moreover, if newspapers had not reflected the limitations and prejudices of at least a sizeable section of the public they would have lost their buyers - and their profits. In turn the newspapers probably helped to influence public opinion in the sense that by continually reviving stereotypes they served to reinforce them; at least that is one explanation for the continued existence of certain attitudes in pakeha society. As an aside we can say that 'public opinion' represents the judgments, attitudes and beliefs of a group of people at a particular time and place, with the important proviso that such people are

those who, because of their articulateness and/or because of their position of prestige and authority, are able to make their opinions known.²⁰

Related to the above points were two significant problems. First, particular newspapers did not necessarily reflect all the Maori stereotypes which were present in the total society; second, the kind of items the newspapers thought newsworthy were not the same in each case. Both problems arose from such factors as whether Maoris and pakehas were in immediate and regular contact, and whether affairs concerning Maoris were controversial issues in the local community.

With these aspects in mind, two areas in New Zealand were concentrated on: Auckland and Manawatu. Two papers were chosen in each region to serve as some sort of 'check' - to ascertain whether stereotypes had a community - or regional-wide distribution. The newspapers researched were: the Auckland Star, New Zealand Herald, and the Manawatu Herald and Feilding Star. The latter two papers were selected since complete copies of both the two principal Manawatu newspapers, the Manawatu Times and the Manawatu Evening Standard, are not extant for the 1890's. The study of the four papers over two separate periods - April 1892 to 31 March 1893, and April 1907 to 31 March 1908 - enabled a measure of historical perspective to be achieved. The dates were purely arbitrary, but the years coincided with the so-called Maori 'decline' in the one instance, and in the other, the beginnings of the Maori revival.

20. N. J. Powell, Anatomy of Public Opinion, p. 4.

Finally, most news items directly involving Maoris or affairs concerning Maoris were analysed in the following manner: by an attention-rating to determine how much information was devoted to the various aspects of Maori news; a 'favourability-continuum' classifying items as being favourable, unfavourable, neutral or ambiguous in a rather arbitrary fashion depending on the writer's or speaker's own attitudes as they were made manifest through emotive language and editorial distortion; and by a thematic aspect - that is, the main idea around which each article was centred (land, crime, health, politics, art, education, sport, and so on).²¹ The purpose of this analysis was to determine in a more adequate manner than would be possible through a cursory perusal the sort of issues which the papers considered newsworthy, and to ascertain whether distortion in news presentation was itself a means of discerning whether stereotyped attitudes were influencing writer opinion.

II

An examination of the news articles pertaining to Maoris and Maori affairs in the twelve-month period 1892-3 revealed the following pattern. Both Auckland newspapers contained more items on the theme of Maori land than on any other subject. That was not a surprising conclusion since expanding

21. This aspect of methodology was based on R. H. T. Thompson, 'Maori Affairs and the New Zealand Press', Part I, Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 62, No. 4, Dec. 1953, p. 366-83.

European settlement into the Waikato and King Country was an issue which greatly interested the Auckland people, particularly the editor and correspondents of the New Zealand Herald.

In both newspapers these items dealing with aspects of native land tended to be treated in a neutral kind of way - there was little emotive language, merely a recounting of the major facts connected with native land legislation, the activities of Native Land Courts and Maori land claims. There were, however, a substantial number of statements and attitudes in the New Zealand Herald which were unfavourable or ambiguous in tone. For instance, Maori-owned lands were often criticised as being unproductive and a wasted asset, paying no rates and perhaps constricting European settlement. Ambiguous statements usually consisted of disapproving references to the 'problem' of land still in Maori possession, coupled with fairly favourable remarks pertaining to Maoris who wished to sell their holdings or to subdivide them and adopt pakeha farming methods.

The Auckland Star, on the other hand, contained rather more articles with a favourable than an unfavourable element to them. There were references, for example, to Maoris in various localities who were quite willing to throw open their lands for European settlement, or to Native Land Courts which had not done full justice to the Maoris in the past. The fewer instances of unfavourable and ambiguous comment arose, perhaps, from the fact that the small number of editorials and letters present in the Star did not provide sufficient opportunities for more adverse

opinions to make themselves apparent. Both Auckland newspapers, however, contained a similar range of attitudes towards, and comments on, the various aspects of Maori land and landholding methods.

But neither paper evidenced any sustained objective account of the kind of role which land played in Maori culture; the whole matter of native land was approached from the point of view of pakeha necessity - Maoris possessed more of New Zealand than their needs warranted and the continued settlement and progress of the country depended upon Europeans acquiring the 'surplus' territories. Predictably enough, some of the most unfavourable attitudes and stereotypes exhibited by pakehas arose from this complex and rather emotional issue of the 'native land question'. These stereotypes will be examined later.

After land, articles relating to Maori crime constituted the next biggest category in the New Zealand Herald, and closely followed two other themes ('character', 'miscellaneous' items) in the Auckland Star.

The pattern in the Manawatu papers was slightly different. Items dealing with Maori crime represented the single biggest group in the Feilding Star, with those concerning land coming second. In the Manawatu Herald news items relating to accidents in which Maoris were involved just headed off articles touching on Maori crime; land as a major theme came fifth. Obviously, for these latter two papers the question of native land purchase and expanding European settlement were not the

pressing issues they were further north. Interestingly enough, however, the Feilding Star found it newsworthy to include several items characterised by the same unfavourable tone as those in the Auckland papers: Maori lands were lying idle and unproductive, and their owners escaped responsibility of rate-paying; some Maoris were obstructing survey parties in the Kawakawa and Kakariki districts. Most of the other references, treated in neutral fashion, were in connection with parliamentary consideration of the Native Land Purchase Bill and Native Land Validation of Titles Bill. The handful of articles in the Manawatu Herald were centred on the activities of Native Land Courts in Palmerston North and Foxton, and were handled in a fairly disinterested manner.

Now, one of the significant points arising from the above survey of the 1892-93 period was the attention devoted to items on crime and accidents. It is possible, for instance, that the readers of all four newspapers may have derived a somewhat distorted view of Maori affairs and Maoris generally if they were often confronted with news of Maori offences, particularly in the case of the New Zealand Herald where the majority of criminal items manifested a rather unfavourable tone. In other words, an emphasis on this theme could have reinforced stereotypes already existing among the readership; namely, the view of Maoris as being criminally inclined or socially irresponsible. Nevertheless, it must be conceded that many of the articles in all newspapers dealing with Maori crime were neutral in their presentation of

fact, and often so unimportant as to merit a very limited amount of space. Apart from some headlines like

'The Maoris and the Dog Tax;
Arrest of Five Arawa Chiefs'²²

there were very few examples of the words 'Maori' or 'native' being used in headings. Of course, whenever they did occur they drew attention to the fact that Maori people, not white New Zealanders, were involved. Moreover, the more sensational crimes, accidents and fatalities - murders, assaults, suicides - were usually the province of the pakeha, not the indigenous people.

At this point it is perhaps relevant to briefly discuss the aspect of sensationalism, the undue exploitation of readers' excitement and curiosity for its own sake and for the continued sale of the newspaper. In this, the second half of the twentieth century, we are all acquainted with the accusation that the popular press is not averse to manufacturing its own news, that newspapers seldom print the truth because truth is not a saleable commodity, that the news media are governed by the principle of good news being no news. Whether or not those criticisms are valid, the modern newspaper is certainly selective and emphatic in display. In contrast, the papers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were to a large degree sober recorders of fact. Most items appeared in small type with uniform treatment of all except major news stories. Small headlines, both in terms of letter-size and column-spread, served to keep items at a relatively low key. With space at a premium, it had to be

22. NZH, 14 April 1892, p. 5, c. 4.

used efficiently.

Other factors probably helped to counter any necessity for stories to be dealt with in a sensational fashion. A lack of competition from other forms of mass communication reduced the need for newspapers to bid for the attention of large audiences - although, of course, individual papers may well have faced rivals in their own field. It seems likely, too, that the slower pace of life and the fact that there were fewer 'diversions' meant people had more time to read the local newspaper. Thus large headlines and big type were not the essentials they are today when readers may have time only to glance at headings and skim through articles. Finally, undue exploitation of readers' curiosity would presumably have been disapproved of in the period under survey - the age of Victorianism. Certainly, one editor proclaimed that 'many appeals to the cravings of a sensational curiosity [should be] discouraged in the interests alike of the individual and of the community at large.'²³ Of course, the various technical and social aspects which helped to keep news items at a low key did not prevent writers' prejudices from manifesting themselves in editorials, letters and special news articles.

One final remark about the 1892-3 period before examining the news items 1907-8: in all four newspapers articles directly involving such themes as education, religion, sport and Maori art, culture and customs received little or no attention. The lack of editorial interest and the absence of newsworthy events probably helped to explain that last fact.

23. NZH, 20 April 1907, p. 4, c. 7. Editorial on 'Modern Journalism'.

By 1907, the changing trends within Maori society had effected some modifications in the pattern outlined above. An analysis of the articles pertaining to Maori affairs in the second of our twelve-month periods, 1907-8, disclosed something of the revival that was occurring after the low point in the 1890's. The newspapers could hardly avoid recording these early beginnings of the Maori renaissance with its accent on social reform since the changes were obviously newsworthy in themselves, and certain issues were quite controversial, for example, the activities of Rua in the Ureweras.

Accordingly, newspaper writers gave greater attention to such themes as education, vocation and health than they had done in the earlier period. For the most part these subjects were treated in either a neutral or favourable way: approval greeted the attempts of Maoris to become sheep or dairy farmers; praise was bestowed on Maori school children for their eagerness in their studies and for their generally clean schools; references were made to the enthusiasm displayed by Rotorua Maoris in their attempts to clean up their villages.

Those few examples illustrated two significant points. First, pakehas were more likely to commend Maoris when they adopted European values, practices and traditions - when they became more like pakehas themselves; second, the fact that pakehas found it necessary to single out such instances for favourable comment suggests either that they were deliberately reacting against the prejudices of fellow pakehas, or that they

were themselves exhibiting something of a stereotyped response: the kind of pleased attitude which a parent expresses when an otherwise wayward or retarded child performs much better than anticipated. Thus, a dairy-inspector was agreeably surprised when he visited a Maori farmer near Bulls - the shed was very clean and the milking machinery was in the best of order. 'This should be proof conclusive that a Maori farmer is just as clean, if not cleaner, than some of his European brothers.'²⁴ A few days later the East Coast Maoris were commended because the sanitation systems in their model villages were something better than the style in vogue in many European settlements of similar size.²⁵ Native schools came in for praise from the Minister for Education because there was no writing on the walls - an aspect which compared favourably with the situation in many European schools.²⁶ And a reporter at one particular Native Land Court sitting thought it worthy to make special mention of the Maoris' conduct: 'the behaviour of the natives is exceptionally good, not the slightest transgression of good deportment being visible.'²⁷

If the above examples and others like them were also attempts to counteract prevailing stereotypes, then we can infer that the latter pictured the Maori as a rather untidy, lazy, unclean fellow. However, these attitudes will be investigated in more detail at a later stage.

The number of articles on education, health, housing and vocation were fewer in all cases than those which fell into the

24. FS, 10 January 1908, p. 2, c. 6.

25. FS, 28 January 1908, p. 4, c. 7.

26. NZH, 29 January 1908, p. 4, c. 3-4.

27. AS, 10 August 1907, p. 6, c. 4.

category designated 'social'. In a general way, that term was used to cover various aspects of Maori affairs such as koreros to discuss grievances, meetings connected with particular events - the death of Te Whiti for instance - conferences on the conditions and future of the Maori people, special functions or gatherings - tangis, receptions for visitors. In the earlier period, 1892-3, the social theme tended to be one of the less significant categories, but by 1907 it had become either the second or third most important. The greater number of articles meant a higher proportion of those characterised by an unfavourable or ambiguous tone. Thus, one correspondent commented on the way Maoris 'gloated' over any ceremonial occasion and how they '[wandered] off into wild flights of oratorical symbolism....'²⁸ Another writer referred to the various protests Maoris had registered against the abrogation of their 'alleged' rights in the Treaty of Waitangi and then criticised a petition addressed to King Edward saying it was 'hardly worth while'.²⁹

Interestingly enough, articles on the various social aspects of Maori affairs, and on the more specific social themes such as education and health, tended to be less numerous than those items which came under the heading of 'character'. Most of the items included in this category were in the nature of race jokes usually picturing the Maori as an amusing fellow. In proportion to the other themes more such articles appeared in the two Manawatu newspapers than in the Auckland papers, and on the whole

28. AS, 4 May 1907, p. 6, c. 4. (Tense changed from present.)

29. FS, 18 March 1908, p. 2, c. 4-5. Editorial.

they tended to be more numerous than in the earlier period. (In the case of the Feilding Star that might have been expected, anyway, since the newspaper had changed from being a tri-weekly in the early 1890's to daily by 1907, thus increasing - in theory - the amount of news devoted to Maoris.)

The greatest attention, however, was again devoted to the aspect of Maori land. The Auckland Star, New Zealand Herald and now the Feilding Star contained more items on that theme than on any other. The situation in 1907-8 corresponded **fairly** closely to that of the earlier period: a similar range of pakeha attitudes and prejudices; the same arguments springing from the assumption that European needs outweighed Maori requirements; the same lack of any real attempt to consider the matter from the Maori viewpoint. Of course, many of the items were simply **disinterested** statements of facts - especially those in the Feilding Star - relating to the activities of land courts and commissions and to the passage of native land legislation - most importantly **the** Native Land Settlement Bill.

If the degree of attention given Maori land remained a consistent feature in this second of the two twelve-month periods, the fate of those categories labelled 'crime' and 'accidents' was a somewhat different proposition. Compared with the situation in 1892-3 when newspapers contained more items on crime than on many other categories of Maori news, the four papers of 1907-8 could find a greater volume of material relating to land, social, character and historical aspects, health and miscellaneous items than to criminal affairs. As

for accidents, the attention given them was such that the category fell from first to sixth place in the Manawatu Herald - a position similar to that occupied by the same category in the Auckland Star and Feilding Star. A neutral treatment with sober recording of facts was accorded the great majority of the accident news.

Finally, in no newspaper was there more than a handful of articles on such themes as liquor, sport, music, Maori relics or military affairs. The paucity of news directly relating to the Maoris and liquor was interesting because it appeared to throw into doubt the validity of at least one stereotype which pictured the Maoris as a race of inebriates. The lack of evidence to support any such contention suggests its essential falsity - a feature of stereotyped attitudes in general.

To round off this discussion on the different themes and the various degrees of attention accorded them in each of the two twelve-month periods we may note a significant point arising from the investigation of two newspapers rather than one in each region. In 1892-3 the Manawatu Herald apparently considered topics like accidents and liquor newsworthy whereas the Feilding Star did not. Thus, if we had concentrated on one paper, assuming it to have been representative of the region, we would have obtained a misleading view of the sort of items relating to Maoris which the subscribers were used to reading. It could, of course, be argued that these two local newspapers confined their reportage of news to their own limited geographical area - that is, around Foxton and Feilding. But that ignores the fact that

many of the accident and liquor items dealt with events which happened elsewhere in the Manawatu and in different parts of New Zealand.

Similarly, in the period 1907-8, the Feilding Star contained more news on Maori land than on any other single topic, whereas the Manawatu Herald included a mere half-dozen items - all fairly minor - in the news columns. Had we chosen just one paper - the Star - for research purposes, then the conclusion may well have been drawn that the 'native land question' was agitating a greater number of people in the Manawatu area than had been the case in the 1890's. However, the marked lack of comment on aspects concerning Maori land in the Herald suggests the need for caution when attempting to generalise about what different papers in the same region thought merited attention and what they considered was relatively unimportant.

As for the two Auckland papers, they evidenced broadly similar coverages of the various themes already discussed. However, the apparent bias of the Herald's editor against the Liberal Government was probably responsible for the substantial number of editorials on the 'native land question' which appeared in 1892-3 and 1907-8; the alleged dilatoriness of the Government in finding a solution to the 'problem' of land 'locked up' by its Maori owners gave the editor occasional opportunities to criticise Liberal policy, thus providing additional items of news related to Maoris and matters involving Maoris. Since the point of editorial bias has been raised it is worth mentioning that all the newspapers - except the

Auckland Star - displayed various degrees of antipathy towards the Liberal Government. The Star tended to adopt a more considered attitude in its leader articles.

III

Having given some indication of the type of information which an analysis of relevant news items disclosed, and an occasional hint as to the sort of stereotyped attitudes that such evidence revealed, it is now appropriate to consider in some detail the actual stereotypes manifested by pakehas when writing or speaking about Maoris. It has already been pointed out that the evidence strongly indicated an absence of any major shift in stereotypes from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries; the same range and types of stereotypes persisted, similar comments appeared; perhaps there were more instances of favourable remarks. The gap of fourteen years or so between the two periods was probably too short for any significant changes in stereotypes to occur. Accordingly, the following survey examines the various stereotyped attitudes by presenting examples from each period.

The stereotypes are divided into two groups; those which constituted a favourable and those an unfavourable picture of the Maoris. That dichotomy is, however, a little unreal. Pakeha contemporaries might well have employed the stereotypes classified in this survey as 'favourable' in such a way as to justify quite unsympathetic attitudes towards the indigenous

race. Did, for example, Europeans respect the sort of generosity which was attributed to Maoris, or did they interpret it as a lavishness not to be emulated? Did they regard the comical, unsophisticated Maori as an appealing character, or as the distorted reflection of the noble, unaffected savage? Was the Maori viewed as an intelligent and capable person, or merely as a crafty and artful native? Was music seen as a valid Maori accomplishment, or as a gratuitous genetic gift running in Polynesian veins?

Those with a more pessimistic outlook might well maintain that there were no favourable stereotypes at all; that Maoris were judged by contemporary Europeans at the very least as unattractive relative to whites, and even possessing qualities which were unequivocally 'bad'. Undoubtedly, many of the opinions expressed about Maoris were censorious if nothing else; but it seems too harsh a judgment to deny that none of the attitudes revealed a basic sympathy for the minority race.

A few writers consciously refused to make use of stereotypes when talking about the Maoris: 'Like ourselves, [Maoris] have their faults and redeeming qualities, which command our admiration and esteem....³⁰ But many commentators on the Maori character did not appear to differentiate between individual members and the population as a whole.

Many of the Maoris were clearly thought of as naturally childlike, amusing, comical, unsophisticated, even simple-minded. These related characteristics were often manifested in the type of funny stories or anecdotes which editors used - mainly in the columns of local and general news - presumably

³⁰. NZH, 28 February 1893, p. 3, c. 8.

for their human-interest content and entertainment value. For instance, the Feilding Star recounted a story about a Hawera Maori who had neglected his horse to go drinking. Discovering later that the police had seized the horse, the Maori exclaimed "What for the policeman take the horse: he no get drunk? Why he not take the Maori? By Kori, tat no good."³¹ Another example concerned a Manawatu Maori who, when told that his business at a milk factory probably was not important, protested, "Py golly, ain't it... I tink it is; I want the 'bonedust' [money] for last year's milk."³² A Maori at Foxton remarked on the strenuous efforts of a boy trumpeter at a travelling show thus, "Py kolly I stink that kid he soon bust its boiler."³³ And a Taran^wki Maori condemned the Government for the amount of money it spent on imprisoning petty criminals. "De Gov'ment, he mad.... Some time me not give money, 2/6, for dog - he sendit me to prison, New Plymouth. I go the coach Hawera; den de train. I get de bed, the kai, the bath for seven days. By goree. That the way I know he fool, dat Gov'ment...."³⁴

Although none of the above stories were recounted with any real sense of malice or hostility, they - and others like them - are essentially examples of ethnic jokes. One of their obvious features is the stereotyped speech pattern. The broken and ungrammatical sentences, the confusion of pronouns, the attempts to pronounce colloquialisms such as 'by golly' constituted a

31. FS, 28 July 1892, p. 2, c. 4.

32. FS, 7 October 1907, p. 2, c. 5.

33. MH, 11 May 1907, p. 2, c. 6.

34. AS, 5 September 1907, p. 4, c. 8.

kind of Maori-English which European writers often attributed to Maoris. From one point of view the jokes served to create a picture of the Maori as a harmless, rather friendly fellow whose various comments unwittingly brought smiles to the pakeha onlookers. On the other hand, the anecdotes could well have helped to reinforce the stereotype of the Maori as a somewhat simple, perhaps ignorant person not quite on a level with the pakeha.

Sometimes the attempts by Maoris to emulate Europeans - to copy their style of dress, to imitate their habits and practices, to do things the pakeha way - brought wry amusement or critical comment from the European spectator. In such instances the Maoris were portrayed as gauche and unsophisticated. Those traits came through in the description of King Tawhiao's race meeting near Pukekawa, January 1893, where the punters were dressed in all the colours of the rainbow and the races run in an **unprofessional** manner - all the horses being flogged past the winning post, though they were a hundred yards behind the winner.³⁵ At another meeting near Orakei, January 1908, 'the element of happy-go-lucky haphazard ruled everything'. Jockeys cheerfully went another round when the bettors urged them to. The clerk of the course readily gave tips to all investors, and spectators, officials, owners and riders all became involved in heated disputes when protests were lodged.³⁶

35. NZH, 3 January 1893, p. 6, c. 5.

36. NZH, 20 January 1908, p. 7, c. 6.

In various cases Maoris endeavoured to dress in the height of European fashion, only to be lambasted by pakeha onlookers.

'Have the Maori women no taste - except what is in their mouths?' asked the Carterton Daily News, referring to the wahines' plaid garments, 'loud enough to cause a report in Wellington.'³⁷

It is only fair to note that Maoris were not always ridiculed for their attempts to copy pakeha dress. A reporter at a Waitangi meeting praised the well-dressed participants, many of whom had 'all the behaviour and bearing of well-bred English gentlemen...'³⁸

Another manifestation of the comical side of the Maori was his pragmatism: 'that eminently practical and keen-witted aboriginal' perceived the advantages of possessing two separate sets of religions so that he would be on the safe side with both the Christian and heathen deities.³⁹

Emerging from the above assortment of race jokes, vignettes of social gatherings and examples of imitative behaviour is a picture - in fact a caricature - of the Maori as someone akin to a country bumpkin, a rustic. The Maori appears to be assimilated into the dominant culture - he speaks its language, he enjoys similar entertainment and recreation, he wears European clothing, he shares its religion. But he is only partly assimilated: his English is broken and imperfect, his conduct of sport unprofessional, his sense of fashion deplorable, his religious adherence divided. He is still not sufficiently Europeanised;

37. MH, 19 March 1908, p. 2, c. 6.

38. NZH, 21 April 1892, p. 6, c. 3-4.

39. AS, 3 December 1892, p. 2, c. 3.

he has not quite made it; his 'socialization' into the dominant culture incomplete.

'In plain English the Maoris are like children, and need to be dealt with as such, in their own interest as well as ours.'⁴⁰ The conception of the Maori as childlike was related in the first instance to the above stereotype of him as unsophisticated, comical, amusing; and in the second place to the notion of the indigenous race as being in some way inferior to the pakeha. It elicited a patronising, paternal attitude from the European who spoke of the need for the Maori to learn the 'duties and responsibilities' of good citizenship, either through the means of 'gentleness and persuasion' or by coercive measures if necessary.⁴¹ The Maori had to be educated and trained to take upon himself the rights and privileges which accompanied 'civic adult age'; until he attained this status he was merely a 'civic minor'.⁴²

Other comments, however, stressed an appealing ingenuousness. Maoris at an East Coast native school, for instance, took up a novel method of administration with 'childlike enthusiasm'.⁴³ Examples of explicit statements pertaining to this particular characteristic - or supposed characteristic - of the Maori were not common. But we have already noted it was possible to infer from the sort of pleased or approving attitudes pakehas displayed

40. NZH, 4 March 1893, p. 9, c. 3-4. (Supplement).

41. NZH, 9 March 1893, p. 3, c. 7.

42. NZH, 1 November 1907, p. 4, c. 4. Editorial.

43. FS, 20 December 1907, p. 2, c. 7.

when Maoris exceeded their expectations that there existed in the background a certain conception of the Maori as a 'disadvantaged' or 'problem' child who deserved special mention when he 'made the grade', so to speak.

The patronising stance of some pakehas also manifested itself in references to the Maori as an 'interesting race'. The expression tended to be found in those passages where European writers were commenting on the dwindling numbers of Maoris. They were 'a fast diminishing but deeply interesting' people;⁴⁴ 'a peculiarly interesting race' who in a few generations would be little more than a name...';⁴⁵ a few last 'specimens' of a vanishing 'national entity'.⁴⁶ The phrase conveyed the impression of the Maori as something of a museum piece, a relic of a past age of noble savagery, an object of curiosity. However, the 'specimens' which remained should, if possible, be saved; one commentator prayed they would be 'preserved for all time'.⁴⁷

Presumably, the ones pakehas would wish to see 'preserved' would be the better 'specimens' - the more able and clever Maoris who could participate in the dominant culture and perceive the benefits of assimilation. A favourable view of the Maori (though

44. AS, 2 December 1892, p. 2, c. 3-4. Editorial.

45. AS, 9 April 1892, p. 2, c. 1. (Supplement).

46. NZH, 6 December 1907, p. 7, c. 2.

47. MH, 22 February 1908, p. 4, c. 4. Cardinal Moran at Tamatekapua.

not necessarily a stereotype) depicted the race as 'intelligent and quick';⁴⁸ 'bright intelligence was a trait of the [Maoris],⁴⁹ declared the principal of Te Aute College, and this could be accounted for by the fact that the Maori came originally from the same Aryan stock as the pakeha. This theory of the Maori's origin suggested a further favourable attitude; namely the willingness of at least some pakehas to be associated with the Maori in a kind of racial sense. Their common ancestry meant they also shared similar 'genetic' traits: a good intellect was one of them. In fact, once the language 'difficulty' had been overcome, the Maori was quite able to hold his own against the pakeha in intelligence and adaptability.⁵⁰

It would be difficult to state just how widespread this favourable attitude was. Yet we have already observed that the assimilation policy presupposed an ability on the Maori's part to adapt himself to a different culture and environment; if the assumption could not be made that the Maori possessed a certain degree of cleverness and aptitude then it was hardly worth the effort to persuade the race to change its habits, manners, practices and values.

Two further points merit comment: first, the stereotype of the simple, unsophisticated native was quite at variance with the notion of the Maori as an intelligent person; second, a more distorted and popular - but less sympathetic - version

48. AS, 5 November 1892, p. 2, c. 3. (Supplement).

49. NZH, 27 December 1907, p. 6, c. 2.

50. NZH, 29 January 1908, p. 4, c. 3-4. Fowlds, Minister for Education, speaking on the native school system.

of the clever Maori was the picture of him as a shrewd, wily, even cunning fellow. That stereotype will be examined later.

If the Maori himself was 'interesting' and worthy of preservation, then so too were his art and crafts. Most of the articles about Maori carvings, canoe work, hakas, poi dances and singing were dealt with in a favourable tone. Writers often referred to the enthusiastic reception given Maori action songs or war dances by pakeha audiences, and spoke of the 'fine' examples of Maori implements or the beautifully executed pieces of carving and art work.

That was one of the few concessions made by Europeans to any aspect of Maori culture. (Another one was the odd comment about the desirability of retaining Maori place-names, and the rare instances of somebody advocating the teaching of the Maori language in schools.)⁵¹ In fact, a few pakehas made the criticism that Maoris were becoming too Europeanised, that they were allowing their culture to become corrupted by insidious western innovations such as the 'syncopated American two-step dance'.⁵² But these criticisms were usually associated with the view that the Maori culture was a tourist asset, a money-making attraction, particularly at Rotorua, and there was a danger that the 'Yankee tourist' would be disgusted 'to see the ancient poi gestured in time to a cakewalk';⁵³ in fact visitors expecting

51. E.g. FS, 28 February 1908, p. 2, c. 6. The director of Palmerston North's Technical School proposed to start classes in the Maori language.

52. FS, 29 February 1908, p. 2, c. 5.

53. *ibid.*

so much of the novel were already astonished at how the Maoris were so 'distressingly European in their ways....' ⁵⁴

The Maori was an interesting race, of course, precisely because it did possess a fine sense of the artistic. The Maori was not only an expert at the poi dance, but also had a 'native aptitude for music'.⁵⁵

The notion of the indigenous people as appreciators of the aesthetic and of 'the appropriate and beautiful in nature'⁵⁶ was one aspect of the belief that they were an 'emotional' race of people - not 'practical' or as 'rational' as the pakeha. Whether or not such a belief was widely held would be rather hard to determine - certainly it appeared to be somewhat in the nature of a stereotype. It explained, for example, why Maori pupils at Te Aute were good at the humanities but not so proficient in the sciences.⁵⁷ It accounted for the Maoris' impulsiveness - why, in matters affecting land, they were sometimes 'not tranquil enough to look at the consequences of their acts'.⁵⁸ It was closely related to the view of the Maori as a wild or 'untamed savage'.⁵⁹

54. NZH, 6 December 1907, p. 7, c. 2.

55. NZH, 12 April 1892, p. 3, c. 6-7.

56. AS, 14 May 1892, p. 2, c. 1. (Supplement).

57. FS, 21 December 1907, p. 2, c. 6.

58. NZH, 14 February 1893, p. 4, c. 6. Editorial.

59. MH, 3 October 1907, p. 4, c. 3. The writer was referring more especially to the Maoris of the early nineteenth century.

Ambiguity of pakeha attitude was the essential feature of this stereotype: there was no particular condemnation apparent in the picture of strong men at Te Whiti's tangi 'giving way to the emotions consuming them' (there was no affectation at this funeral);⁶⁰ but there was usually some degree of moral censure implicit in the view that Maoris were often heedless of the consequences of their actions.

Similar ambiguity characterised the picture of the Maori as living a carefree sort of existence. In a fairly sympathetic way his life was depicted as generally 'a happy one' with leisure time being spent in 'the rehearsal of hakas, and indulgence in many forms of games....'⁶¹ But in other contexts the Maori's happy-go-lucky temperament was commented on in a rather derogatory or censorious fashion. One correspondent, for example, referred to the easy-going Maoris at Otaki as 'happy niggers'.⁶² (As a short digression it is worth mentioning that that was one of the very few occasions when the term 'nigger' was used; although there were three or four instances where pakehas alluded to the Maoris as 'blacks'.)

If the happy-go-lucky native elicited rather ambivalent responses from the pakeha, then the sociable or hospitable Maori called forth more positive reactions. The cordiality and

60. NZH, 22 November 1907, p. 6, c. 7.

61. MH, 2 April 1907, p. 3, c. 1.

62. NZH, 12 April 1892, p. 3, c. 6-7.

generosity of the Maori were traits reflected in various items, particularly those describing the welcoming and entertaining of visitors. It was generally noted that politicians and other public figures were accorded enthusiastic receptions, that visitors to various Maori gatherings were given 'profuse hospitality', and that individuals were entertained in 'true Maori fashion'. Some writers made favourable comments on the liberality of Maoris to particular institutions: for example, Taupo Maoris opened a new church at Tokaanu debt-free, in February 1908. They contributed a lot of gifts amounting to 'no less a sum than £200'.⁶³

It should be noted, however, that these traits of generosity and hospitality cannot really be considered as constituting a stereotype of Maori conduct - they did not appear to be exaggerated or distorted pictures of group characteristics.

They did have their counterpart, however, in the image of the Maori as a fair-minded and able sportsman, a player whose performances in team activities generally invited commendation. This was true whether a Maori side won against a pakeha at rugby,⁶⁴ or whether a Maori team agreed amicably to a solution arising from a disputed tug-of-war contest,⁶⁵ or whether a particular individual had played exceptionally well. The Press, for instance, extolled the achievements of the well-known footballer John Taiaroa upon his death, January 1908. Maori

63. MH, 22 February 1908, p. 2, c. 6.

64. MH, 16 August 1892, p. 2, c. 6.

65. AS, 30 June 1892, p. 5, c. 1.

competitors were also big drawcards in the same way as they were popular as dancers and singers; thus, one of Napier's largest crowds turned out to witness the Maori sports events at the local carnival.⁶⁶

As one writer observed, 'The Maori has not yet lost his love for fighting either in fun or in earnest.'⁶⁷ But the transformation of the formerly aggressive warrior type native into the competitive Maori who engaged in friendly, fair-minded rivalry with his pakeha contemporary was a success for the assimilation policy. Here was one area of life where the Maori could compete on equal terms with the European; and the qualities which had enabled him to do so were presumably those of the brave, honourable warrior.

The several articles on Maori history dealing with military clashes between the races often depicted - in forms that appeared to be considerably stereotyped in nature - the Maori as a chivalrous and courageous fighter or a resourceful campaigner. His 'wonderful military skill' was exhibited in a plan of a Maori pa used in the Hone Heke war,⁶⁸ and his 'surpassing bravery' and 'plucky manner' manifested at the battle of Orakau.⁶⁹ The 'chivalrous character' of the Maori was strikingly illustrated by one warrior who refused a pakeha's offer of land after the Maoris had been defeated in Taranaki.⁷⁰

66. FS, 17 March 1908, p. 3, c. 3.

67. AS, 8 July 1892, p. 2, c. 5.

68. FS, 9 March 1908, p. 2, c. 6.

69. AS, 2 April 1892, p. 4, c. 7.

70. MH, 14 December 1907, p. 2, c. 7.

Maori chiefs were variously described as noble, courageous, renowned in war, chivalrous. Such traits ascribed to the Maori people in general and to individual members of the race, were obviously favourable; the Maori was definitely considered a good fighting man - and clearly there were real historical grounds for so believing. But some of the more exaggerated versions - for instance, the allusions to the 'great Hongis', 'pristine chivalry'⁷¹ - were a little too romanticised to be convincing - they were very much related to the notion of the Maori as a noble or splendid savage.

Explicit reference to this type of Maori was infrequent in the Manawatu papers, especially in the earlier period. When comments on the noble savage appeared in the Auckland newspapers they were mostly in the context of public speeches or editorials of 'lyrical' prose in which Maoris were being consciously praised. For example, Governor Glasgow, when opening a new addition to the Auckland Museum, proclaimed the Maori was perhaps 'the noblest race the British nation has come into contact with....'⁷² Similarly, in a leader article on mission work among the Waikato natives, the editor of the Auckland Star declared the Maori was 'the veritable prince of uncivilised races...';⁷³ while 'Zamiel' - taking up the argument that Maori place-names should be preserved - affirmed that 'the ancient Maori had a poetical soul in spite of his

71. NZH, 16 April 1892, p. 9, c. 3. (Supplement).

72. NZH, 31 October 1892, p. 5, c. 2.

73. AS, 2 December 1892, p. 2, c. 3-4. Editorial.

savagery, and a keen eye for the appropriate and beautiful in nature.....⁷⁴

One suspects these generalisations about the 'noble savage' were verbalised merely because they were 'respectable' or had become what could be described as literary conventions; that is, when Maoris were praised in the context of some audience it was natural they should be described as 'splendid' or 'noble'. In other words, did those writers who referred to the Maori as a 'noble savage' really believe the Maori possessed an essential nobility, or did they merely pay lip-service to this as some kind of mythical ideal? One is inclined to suspect the latter - especially when the writers who made the supposedly favourable comments ascribed quite unfavourable stereotypes to Maoris on other occasions. Moreover, such references could seldom be considered as really constituting gut reactions - and when dealing with stereotypes (which are basically non-rational mental constructs and intrinsically bound up with the emotions) it is often the unguarded comment and implicit attitudes which are more reliable as indicators to the speaker's or writer's true feelings than formal utterances. Thus the notion of noble savagery can basically be regarded as a sort of 'mythical' stereotype.

Nevertheless, there was one aspect of this myth or ideal which found expression in the idea - essentially a sympathetic one - of the Maori as a kind of tragic figure who had

74. AS, 14 May 1892, p. 2, c. 1. (Supplement.)

degenerated not only because of fatal flaws in his character (indolence, addiction to alcohol, and so on) but also through his contact with the vices, or alternatively, the greater virtues, of the European civilisation. It is to the unfavourable stereotypes arising from and concomitant with the notion of degeneracy that we shall now turn.

IV

'The noble Maori in Auckland Bay now-a-days chiefly consists of an aged wahine smoking... hawking peaches or pipis [and] a degenerate native youth in a football jersey....'⁷⁵ Such was the sorry state to which the indigenous race had sunk - at least from the point of view of one pakeha onlooker.

The characteristic traits which Europeans attributed to the Maori and which were considered to represent the underlying cause of the Maori's attitudes to his land, property, liquor, health, and so on, were: laziness, lack of self-discipline and of self-reliance, extravagance, dishonesty; that is, all those features which were antithetical to the middle class Victorian European with his value system based on the work ethic, self-denial, individual effort, economy, scrupulousness. These latter characteristics probably constituted a favourable pakeha stereotype of himself. Many pakehas assumed that the root cause of the Maori's 'undesirable'

75. AS, 24 September 1892, p. 2, c. 2. (Supplement.)

Comment by 'Zamiel'.

traits lay in his environment - the indigenous culture and communal life-style - rather than **in** his actual heredity.

The Maoris' mode of living was quite in keeping with their 'easy, lazy, "happy-go-lucky" disposition';⁷⁶ they '[loved]' to sit and [preferred] to lie... the Maori [was] a born philosopher.⁷⁷ Of the Hawkes Bay tribes in particular one prejudiced pakeha claimed 'they [toiled] not, neither [did] they spin' and they occupied 'front seats at all the shows in town and country.'⁷⁸ Of the race in general he maintained that 'Dancing [was] the only thing a Maori [would] sweat at...'⁷⁹ The stereotype of a lazy Maori was still much in evidence in the newspapers of the early twentieth century. Thus the editor of the Manawatu Herald in commenting on Rua's adverse influence on his adherents, asserted that the Maoris welcomed anything which gave them an excuse for knocking off work.⁸⁰ Similarly, some missionary workers contended that the 'average Maori' rejoiced in keeping every other day in the week for a better purpose than ploughing.⁸¹ When speaking of matters concerning Maori land politicians often implied the Maori was slothful; Mr. Massey

76. AS, 9 April 1892, p. 2, c. 1. (Supplement.)

77. AS, 20 May 1892, p. 4, c. 2-3. (Tenses changed from present.)

78. NZH, 17 October 1892, p. 6, c. 4-5. (Tenses changed from present.)

79. NZH, 7 July 1892, p. 3, c. 6-8. (Tenses changed from present.)

80. MH, 25 July 1907, p. 2, c. 5-6. Editorial.

81. FS, 5 September 1907, p. 2, c. 6.

publicly stated so: the natives were 'dying off like sheep' precisely because they were 'lazy and idle.'⁸² Here was a good example of how the process of selective perception could sustain an unfavourable stereotype. Massey appeared to be ignoring the fact that for the past decade the Maori people had been increasing in numbers and that there were occasionally reports in the Press about hardworking Maoris and successful Maori farmers.

Because he was an idler, the Maori was also a procrastinator. That attitude was not usually stated explicitly; instead it came through indirectly when critics complained about the native land administration and Land Courts adhering to the policy of 'taihoa'. Europeans seemed to have got into the Maori way of delaying things, said the Chief Justice, Sir Robert Stout.⁸³

The aspect of indolence in the character of the Maori was coupled with a willingness to 'sacrifice his best interests to present enjoyment,'⁸⁴ a heedlessness of the future, an inability to postpone immediate gratification. To take one instance, the lack of self-discipline accounted for the fact that Maori maid-servants frequently ran away from their places of employment; their 'wild blood' rebelling against 'the constraints of civilisation' such as the need to order their activities according to a timetable. In this the Maori maid was like the members of 'most black races' who could not understand the

82. AS, 13 May 1907, p. 5, c. 5.

83. FS, 5 December 1907, p. 2, c. 5.

84. NZH, 21 February 1893, p. 4, c. 6-7. Editorial.

modern need of hurrying.⁸⁵

If the pakeha commentator condemned the Maori for extravagance - for demonstrating his lack of appreciation of money by spending it all on some big feast - then the writer also criticised him for showing too great a concern for money: Maoris, for example, insisted on having their interest as punctually paid as New Zealand's creditors in London did.⁸⁶

In fact, when it came to financial matters the Maori was more often than not portrayed as shrewd and business-like. Thus, one editor claimed the Maoris got more unearned increment than any other people ever had in the world, but they were always asking for more. Similarly, one writer, referring to the intentions of an English 'new-chum' to trade off some trinkets to the Maoris in return for land wondered how the 'exceedingly business-like aboriginal of today' would have handled him.⁸⁷

I have remarked earlier that the stereotype of the shrewd or wily Maori was a rather disparaging version of the intelligent and clever Maori. In the more pejorative version the Maori was seen as clever, but in a slightly dishonest kind of way; his cleverness was really a type of low cunning or artfulness. Not that the pakeha writers necessarily condemned him for that. Usually they expressed a wry amusement or perhaps a grudging admiration. For instance, remarking on the fact that some

85. AS, 3 April 1907, p. 9, c. 7.

86. NZH, 25 June 1892, p. 4, c. 6. Editorial.

87. AS, 12 November 1892, p. 2, c. 2. (Supplement.)

Hawkes Bay Maoris preferred giving short leases to Europeans so that they could clear the land and then leave it to the Maoris to work, a writer said the 'average Maori' was not quite 'the guileless and unsophisticated child of nature he was formerly deemed to be.'⁸⁸ This reaction against the stereotype of the Maori as simple and ignorant was echoed in another article about a Maori woman caught cheating in a competition at the Wairoa show: 'The unsophisticated Maori, male or female, is a species now practically extinct.'⁸⁹

Being shrewd and crafty, the Maori could also devise ways of avoiding work - and thus retain his old indolent habits: 'You [would not] find Mr. Maori looking far for [work] unless he [was] very hard pushed. He [was] too cunning for that.'⁹⁰ The Maori, in fact, was pictured as being too clever by half; the man who could get the better of a Maori was 'too smart to be trusted, for the average Maori [had] stored up a wonderful fund of 'cuteness.'⁹¹

It would not be too fanciful to suppose that the shrewd, indolent Maori was conceived as being akin to a precocious, lazy child who was perfectly capable of working but preferred to lounge around in pas and get the better of pakehas by underhand means. In this view the unfavourable stereotype was an expression

88. FS, 13 August 1907, p. 2, c. 6.

89. MH, 8 February 1908, p. 4, c. 4.

90. NZH, 27 April 1907, p. 1, c. 1. (Supplement; tenses changed from present.)

91. NZH, 11 March 1893, p. 9, c. 1. (Supplement; tense changed from present.)

of moral disapproval by the Maoris' 'betters'. In other words, the socialisation of the Maori was not yet complete - just as it was the case with the comical, unsophisticated Maori - he had not yet assumed the full duties and responsibilities of life in the wider culture; he preferred to indulge himself and reject restraint rather than direct his energies and talents to the task of improving himself and serving the society that was ready to assimilate him.

Worse still, those undesirable qualities the Maori possessed appeared to predispose him to social and moral irresponsibility. For one thing, he seemed to have a natural - if unfortunate - addiction to alcohol. At one Native Land Court meeting 'every man had a bottle held to his lips...', and 'thousands' of Maoris were 'drunkards.'⁹² Maoris were considered as being constitutionally unable to handle liquor in a responsible manner.⁹³ The pernicious influence of alcohol was sufficient to destroy even the finest Maori 'specimens.'⁹⁴ Maoris were inclined to drink any alcoholic substance and break prohibition laws with little conscience; in one South Auckland district they consumed 'green whisky, blue stone, and other vitriolic preparations....'⁹⁵

It will be observed from the footnotes that all these examples were from the early 1890's. Articles on Maoris and liquor in the 1907-8 period were infrequent - not sufficient to draw any valid conclusions as to whether there was a pop-

92. NZH, 6 December 1892, p. 4, c. 6. Editorial.

93. E.g. MH, 23 June 1892, p. 2, c. 7.

94. MH, 24 January 1893, p. 3, c. 1-2.

95. NZH, 7 July 1892, p. 3, c. 6-8.

ular pakeha stereotype of the Maori people as being a race of inebriates. Perhaps, though, Sir Robert Stout was voicing a common belief when he stated - at the end of our period - in an article headed 'Maori Decadence' that the Maori population had dwindled to half its number largely through indulgence in alcohol.⁹⁶

Europeans were also inclined to point out the Maoris' licentiousness. At the same Native Land Court meeting mentioned above, 'there was scarcely such a thing as chastity amongst the women.'⁹⁷ A Rotorua chaplain complained about the immoral atmosphere of the town with 'obscene hakas' in the streets and Maori people bathing in public.⁹⁸ Maoris near Bell Block, Taranaki, had indulged in 'hideous orgies' and 'drinking bouts.'⁹⁹

One writer, referring to the statistics of Maori population, attributed the probable cause for the low birth-rate to the amount of sexual immorality among the young Maoris before marriage.¹⁰⁰

96. FS, 1 April 1908, p. 4, c. 3.

97. NZH, 6 December 1892, p. 4, c. 6. Editorial.

98. NZH, 7 June 1892, p. 3, c. 7. Two letters from different correspondents appeared subsequently refuting the chaplain's allegations: 17 June 1892, p. 3, c. 8, and 24 June 1892, p. 3, c. 8.

99. FS, 21 May 1892, p. 2, c. 4.

100. NZH, 19 October 1892, p. 6, c. 2-3.

Lack of self-discipline and self-restraint were the apparent causes for the Maoris' dissoluteness, compounded, of course, by their laziness and the inherently degrading conditions of the pa. However, beyond those examples already cited, there were relatively few direct comments on the Maoris' immorality. In neither period was there any real evidence to suggest that pakehas considered the Maori as a sexual threat to the white women. In fact, there was one instance of a magistrate who - when convicting a pakeha man for his assault on two Maori girls - said the accused's conduct compared unfavourably with the treatment accorded white women by natives in days when the latter preponderated in numbers.¹⁰¹

Presumably the Maoris' **indolence and** lack of self-respect was also responsible for his dirtiness and untidiness. One disgusted visitor to a Maori settlement, Kihikihi, claimed the place 'reeked with Maori filth, and every dilapidated tenement held its swarm of natives.'¹⁰² It was apparently well known that Maoris often left railway carriages in a filthy condition.¹⁰³ There were allusions to pakeha parents who refused to send their children to native schools because of their unhygienic state; one member of the Hawkes Bay Education Board claimed that sanitary conditions were practically non-existent.¹⁰⁴ The unkempt appearance of Rua's followers drew unfavourable responses

101. AS, 18 April 1907, p. 4, c. 5.

102. NZH, 7 July 1892, p. 3, c. 6-8.

103. FS, 27 June 1907, p. 2, c. 6.

104. NZH, 15 October 1907, p. 5, c. 3.

from most reporters.¹⁰⁵ The fact that some pakehas expressed pleasure and surprise when they came across Maori farmers and others who kept their buildings and implements clean and tidy suggested that their (the pakehas') stereotypes had predisposed them to expect the opposite.

The Maoris' dishonesty and shrewdness inevitably gave rise to criminal or at least unscrupulous behaviour. Sometimes the notion of the thieving Maori was implicit in the kind of statements Europeans made; occasionally it was expressed more openly; for example, attempts to demand exorbitant prices from tourists at Rotorua, or in the upper Wanganui River, or to obstruct surveying and road-making ventures were pictured as a blackmailing of law-abiding pakehas. We must be cautious in assuming that the stereotype of the thieving Maori was a common one. The fairly small number of news articles pertaining to Maori crime in 1907-8 gave little reason for supposing it was, especially since most of the items received a neutral treatment.

A stereotype related to the image of the Maori as socially and morally irresponsible was the notion of the indigenous group holding large areas of land irresponsibly. Because the two Auckland papers dwelt more on this theme than did the Manawatu newspapers the unfavourable attitudes and stereotypes were probably more prevalent in the northern than in the southern region.

105. E.g. FS, 25 October 1907, p. 2, c. 6. Rua had ordered his followers' hair and minds 'to run wild.'

Because the Maori was lazy and shiftless he owned land he refused to make productive and profitable. It followed that these vast areas of ground were wasted on the Maori people - they should be compelled to part with the areas they did not cultivate themselves and sell them to industrious Europeans. Often the rationalisation was made that to do so would be in the interests not only of the pakeha, but also of the Maoris since they would be obliged to assimilate the pakeha values if they were to survive on the reserves of land left them.

For the most part Maoris did nothing to discourage noxious weeds and roaming animals ('hordes of dogs', 'droves of pigs') so that their properties became a menace to the others surrounding them. The Maori dogs - 'useless curs' - were especially regarded as constituting a pest to neighbouring pakeha farmers - and the impression was conveyed that the Maoris were - by extension - nuisances themselves.

Resentment was often expressed over the fact that Maoris paid no rates or taxes on their land, yet they did not hesitate to accept the benefits derived from the presence of European settlement: roads, railways and bridges. Maoris reaped the rewards of hardworking and thrifty pakehas (for example, they were the real beneficiaries of the unearned increment) but they contributed nothing in return. Indeed the pakehas' efforts directly aggravated the Maoris' condition in the sense that landowners were encouraged to continue in their indolent ways while they watched the value of their land rise.

One writer did point out that the Maoris were entitled to the unearned increment since they had provided the land in the first place. However, most writers agreed the Maoris had more land than they knew what to do with. Many were concerned with the 'obstacle' to European expansion constituted by the King Movement in the Waikato. In 1892-3 the King Country was monopolised 'by a few lazy, thriftless Maoris whose minds [were] filled with foolish, fanatical theories.'¹⁰⁶ Many pakehas would have agreed - both in 1892-3 and 1907-8 - that 'the time [had] come when a mere handful of natives [could] no longer be allowed to stem the progress of civilisation and industrial development'.¹⁰⁷

Pakehas tended to regard Maori landlordism as one of the greatest 'evils' or 'problems' in the whole matter of the 'Maori land question'. Farmers' unions passed motions condemning legislation which sought to further extend leaseholding tenure of Maori land.¹⁰⁸ The Maori landlords in the Native Townships along the Main Trunk Line charged pakehas high rents but provided no funds for the improvement of townships or to help in municipal undertakings.¹⁰⁹ The editor of the New Zealand Herald urged the Government to ensure that never again would any European township or railway be laid out on Maori-owned lands. He was comparing the progress of Taihape (a free

106. NZH, 18 February 1893, p. 9, c. 5-6. (Supplement; tense changed from present.)

107. NZH, 25 February 1893, p. 9, c. 6. (Supplement; tenses changed from present.)

108. E.g. FS, 16 May 1907, p. 4, c. 3.

109. NZH, 26 December 1907, p. 6, c. 5-6.

township and potentially a great inland city) with the depressed state of Te Kuiti - which would have been the Hamilton of the King Country if it had not been 'under the thumb of a native landlordry' ready to pluck the European settlers bare at the expiration of their leases.¹¹⁰

Here, then was a stereotype of a lazy, greedy Maori who benefited from the improvements made by his pakeha tenants but who contributed nothing in return. In this way he was adding insult to injury - since his own land with its noxious weeds and unfenced-in dogs was often a menace to the neighbouring pakeha.

On the other hand, there is one point worth mentioning; namely, it was occasionally stated - in both the 1892-3 and 1907-8 periods - that the Maoris were quite willing to sell their land and participate in western civilisation, but were thwarted in their attempts to do so by the Government, by the native land legislation, by the system of native land purchase and by the slow proceedings of Native Land Courts. Thus, it was not so much the Maoris who constituted a problem, but the obstruction of a Government heedless of the desires and ambitions of the Auckland people. Those kind of attitudes - which appeared mostly in the New Zealand Herald - persisted from the 1890's to the early twentieth century.

The various elements in the notions of the Maori as morally

110. NZH, 19 December 1907, p. 4, c. 5-6. Editorial.

and socially irresponsible and as holding land in an irresponsible way, combined to produce a typical unfavourable stereotype which portrayed the Maori as depraved, partially civilised at best and doomed to extinction if he did not adopt pakeha values - especially the work ethic. One final aspect of this stereotype manifested itself in the view that Maoris were credulous, ignorant and superstitious, retaining many of the pagan beliefs and fears of their forebears. 'The fear of witchcraft and faith in the priest [were] so deeply rooted in the Maori mind that it [would] not leave it for many generations.'¹¹¹ An apparent revival of witchcraft (for example, at Tauranga, 1892) was seen as proof of the Maoris' relapse into barbarism. The stereotype of the credulous, superstitious Maori was still in evidence in the period 1907-8. The discussion of the Tohunga Suppression Bill in Parliament, 1907, elicited various remarks about the hold which 'evil' tohungas had over the fears of ignorant Maoris.¹¹² The Bill made it an offence to practise on the credulity of Maori people. The activities of tohungas in the neighbourhood of Foxton were reported with unfavourable comments in the Manawatu Herald.¹¹³ Rua was also portrayed as a tohunga opposed to the civilising influences of the pakeha and holding sway over the credulous beliefs of his followers - these Maoris were 'extremely ignorant and superstitious' mainly because they

111. NZH, 19 November 1892, p. 3, c. 7. (Tenses changed from present.)

112. E.g. FS, 20 July 1907, p. 4, c. 2.

113. E.g. MH, 7 November 1907, p. 2, c. 5.

had been isolated from Europeans.¹¹⁴

The tohunga, however, was just one element in the Maoris' environment that was a pernicious influence. The environment as a whole - that is, the Maoris' culture and especially their communal life-style - had a degrading influence on the indigenous population. It was greatly to blame for the 'undesirable' traits possessed by the Maori and which in turn expressed themselves through various forms of social and moral irresponsibility. The communal system 'failed to give a sufficiently powerful incentive to individual exertion. "Why should the industrious share profits with the lazy?"'¹¹⁵

It was a vicious circle: the communal life-style encouraged laziness and lack of self-discipline - these traits meant the Maori was not disposed to improve the sanitation and general living conditions of his pa - and the filthy condition of the pa gave rise to debilitating diseases which further undermined the Maori's morale and any efforts he may have made to improve his plight. The stereotype of the crowded, unsanitary pa with its inherently corrupting conditions lay behind the suggestion that Maori girls should be employed in domestic service with European families to acquire good housekeeping sense; for Maori men who returned to the pa from pakeha society with a good education, merely went 'back to the mat' since there was 'no such thing as a well-ordered home [nor] any incentive to

114. MH, 26 October 1907, p. 4, c. 3.

115. NZH, 14 December 1907, p. 6, c. 6-7. Editorial.

improve on the condition of things....¹¹⁶

The salvation of the Maori race lay in the breaking up of the tribal and communal system and in the Maori showing willingness to engage in hard, honest work. If the communal system were done away with each Maori would have to share the labour, and they might make good settlers.¹¹⁷ The only way to keep the native alive and to make him develop was hard, sound work. Anything that conducted to keep a class or tribe in the community in idleness was a menace to the state.¹¹⁸

There was, then, no compromise possible. The unfavourable stereotypes would persist until the Maori had shown himself fully capable of subscribing to the European work ethic; and until he unequivocally demonstrated his ability to participate in the dominant culture on an equal footing with the pakeha, the favourable stereotypes of him would not be sufficient to allow of his being accepted as a person in his own right.

V

The most obvious conclusion arising from the above survey is that there existed a complex pattern of unfavourable and favourable European attitudes - many of which were hardened into

116. FS, 17 April 1907, p. 2, c.3.

117. AS, 24 April 1907, p. 3, c. 4. Mr. Massey's view.

118. NZH, 15 April 1907, p. 6, c. 5-6. Mr. McNab, Minister for Lands. His comments addressed to a meeting of settlers at Raglan were greeted with hearty applause.

stereotyped form. The view that the Maori lacked self-restraint, or that he was lazy, impulsive and irresponsible, were manifestly unfavourable attitudes. But the notion that he was able to 'better' himself - that in effect he could modify his character and change his habits - was a favourable attitude. The assumption that he had the ability to 'rise' to and participate in a higher level of civilisation was not often called into question. Yet the belief that the Maori 'needed' to elevate himself above his own culture was in essence a totally unsympathetic idea since it presupposed the Maori life-style and the Maori himself were in some way inferior to the European. And as we have seen the pakeha made very few concessions to the subordinate culture.

Fundamentally, then, the favourable stereotype of the Maori was really an opinion about his capacity to become less of a Maori; he could become a member of and take part in a more advanced culture but only by developing into a brown-skinned pakeha. Thus Europeans expressed approval when Maoris aimed at social reform and individual betterment as a means of increasing their responsibilities in society, or when they appeared to be adopting pakeha manners and customs in a successful fashion. Such satisfaction arose, of course, from the belief that Maoris were abandoning their old 'objectionable' ways and transforming themselves into something akin to white New Zealanders.

In this way the assimilation policy contained a central contradiction. It assumed the Maori would become extinct if he remained in his present state of existence, and, therefore,

the only way he could be saved was to be incorporated into the European culture. Yet by so doing the Maori lost much of his separate identity. The destruction of the communal basis of his society entailed the erosion of the indigenous culture, its values, customs and traditions. In order to be 'preserved' his culture had largely to be destroyed; but that destruction also meant an end to his sense of being a Maori. Thus, although not every European commentator was convinced that the indigenous race was inevitably on the path to extinction - one writer, discussing the 1891 census, affirmed it was not correct the Maori population was decreasing¹¹⁹ - wholehearted support for the assimilative process meant the pakeha was in effect consigning the Maori to substantially the same fate.

In 1907-8 the dilemma was crystallized by the Maoris at Te Whiti's settlement of Parihaka. The old prophet had attempted to adopt certain European customs, sanitation laws for example, while conserving some measure of Maori culture. The result was that the older generation adhered to the so-called 'communistic' basis of society and its attendant values. Te Whiti's 'eloquence and his ethics... embodied a scorn of modern civilisation and money grubbing....'¹²⁰ But with the prophet's death in November 1907, his followers were confronted with the possibility of their being evicted by members of the younger generation of Maoris

119. MH, 2 March 1893, p. 2, c. 5.

120. FS, 18 November 1907, p. 3, c. 3.

who had assimilated the different values of pakeha society; the old order had to give place to the new.¹²¹

Thus Te Whiti had seemingly failed in his endeavour to resist the assimilation of his race into the dominant one. In this same period that other prophet - in the Urewera country - Rua, witnessed a similar weakening of influence over his followers. Both these men, like the leaders of the King Movement earlier, had tried to offer some alternative ways of life to the demands made by pakehas. Hence it was not surprising that when commenting on these instances of opposition to the assimilation policy, European writers often displayed critical or equivocal attitudes which were themselves sometimes indicative of unfavourable stereotypes. One writer to the Auckland Star referred to the 'evil part' which the King Movement had played in the history of New Zealand.¹²² Another claimed that the 'sullen obstinacy' of the Waikato chiefs such as King Tawhiao had defeated the 'best wishes' of men like Sir George Grey and Sir Donald McLean.¹²³ Rua was accused of encouraging such transgressions among his followers as indolence, mistrust of the pakeha, stopping of children going to school - thus hindering its assimilative processes - non-cultivation of the land, huddling in camps and selling of property in order to get money for their fanatical leader.¹²⁴ There could not be two governments in

121. FS, 25 November 1907, p. 4, c. 5.

122. AS, 16 May 1892, p. 2, c. 4.

123. AS, 4 January 1893, p. 3, c. 8.

124. FS, 18 September 1907, p. 2, c. 6.

New Zealand, the Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, informed the 'notorious' Maori prophet, and Rua would have to desist in his attempts to block pakeha efforts to better the conditions of the Maori.¹²⁵ References in all four newspapers to Te Whiti, the man, were mostly favourable, although one Taranaki paper, reported in the Manawatu Herald, denounced 'Te Whiti-ism' as 'the curse of the past'.¹²⁶ As an aside, it is worth pointing out that this mention of a different view from a newspaper outside the two regions in which papers were researched illustrates the danger of relying on only a few sources to give a representative sampling of attitudes and beliefs throughout an entire community.

The few examples of pakeha reactions noted in the above paragraphs illustrate the fact that Maori movements and people who seemed to be directly thwarting the processes of assimilation elicited rather unfavourable responses from the European on-lookers. For example, the stereotype of the lazy, ignorant Maori often appeared to be distorting the various reports of Rua's activities and it was obvious that the events had been selectively perceived and therefore exaggerated. It has already been shown that when Maoris demonstrated they were adopting various aspects of the dominant culture the pakeha response was usually quite the reverse: commendations and favourable attitudes were the norm.

The ultimate objective of the assimilation policy was to

125. FS, 24 March 1908, p. 4, c. 3.

126. MH, 7 December 1907, p. 2, c. 5-6. The Taranaki newspaper was the New Plymouth News.

instil into the Maori the duties, responsibilities, rights and privileges exercised by the pakeha so that the Maori could participate in the dominant society on an equal basis with the European; the Maori had to become the same sort of person as the pakeha. In this sense, the process of assimilation was also one of socialization. The Maori - so often seen as a childlike person or a 'civic minor' - had to redirect his energies from apparently wasteful and sinful activities to responsible and mature purposes. His more 'worthy' qualities - his quick intelligence, alertness, fair-mindedness, courage and generosity - could be employed to help overcome his more serious flaws.

In short, the assimilation policy was really governed by an inability on the part of the pakeha to sanction differences to exist between the two ethnic groups. Perhaps this was related to the Europeans' consciousness of the fact that they were building a new society and everyone in it had to perform their fair share of work; there could be no slacking by one sizable part of the population while the other section bore the burden of expansion and settlement. Alternatively - although this is probably another facet of the same basic attitude - the pakeha may well have regarded the subordinate culture as posing a threat to himself and his puritan work ethic; the presence of the seemingly more easy-going life-style of the indigene was an implicit invitation to the hard-pressed pioneer. The European sought to obviate any such temptation by eliminating the differences between the ethnic groups; in other words, by ensuring that the western life-style was really the dominant -

indeed only - culture. The unfavourable stereotype of the Maori, or more correctly of his communal mode of existence, was not only a contributing factor to the determination of that policy, but was also a means of justifying such a pursuit.

Some qualification must be given the above statement regarding the threat represented by Maori culture. Sociological research has demonstrated that unfavourable stereotypes of out-groups tend to break down when members of both groups are co-operating in a combined effort to attain some common objective.¹²⁷ Hence, in those instances where Maoris worked alongside, and pooled their resources, with pakehas - on outback farms, or timber-milling ventures, for example - the attitudes of both were more likely to have been favourable than not. But such attitudes - not being part of that public opinion voiced by people with some standing in the community - would not have appeared often in the newspapers. Nevertheless, there were at least a few specific pointers to harmonious race relations existing in local districts; in the report, for instance, of white settlers entertaining Maoris at the small Manawatu settlement of Mokau in recognition of the hospitality which Maoris had shown the settlers the previous Christmas.¹²⁸

Having suggested that newspapers did not necessarily reflect the whole range of attitudes and stereotypes existing within society, it is pertinent to note that the papers afforded little

127. Sherif and Sherif, Social Psychology, pp. 318-331.

128. MH, 16 January 1908, p. 2, c. 7.

enlightenment as to what sort of stereotypes Maoris held of Europeans. Since this thesis is centred around certain aspects of race relations it would indeed be relevant to ascertain the attitudes Maoris had towards the dominant ethnic group. Obviously, however, there were limitations as to the amount and type of information the media of mass communication could provide for research purposes.

There were different kinds of limitations for the various facets of literature, but as a final point it is worth remarking that the works of fiction and the repositories of fact, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both reflected many similar stereotypes existing in the wider community. Novels and essays and short stories, like the various newspaper accounts, contained hostile and patronizing attitudes, and these appeared to be widespread. The comic, unsophisticated Maoris and the artful, shrewd Maori were two specific stereotypes which seemed to have general currency. The sentimentalized view of the indigenous people as noble savages - a theme particularly played upon in the poetry of the period - encapsulated the often conflicting and equivocal attitudes expressed by Europeans: the notion of the Maori as courageous, intelligent and generous on the one hand, and on the other, the belief that he was primitive and therefore in some way inferior. In a similarly ambivalent way Maoris might be condemned because they did not exhibit the same traits and qualities as Europeans, yet certain aspects of the indigenous culture might be praised because they appeared more ideal than the corresponding pakeha practices - methods of meting out

justice, or of conducting business, or of handling ceremonial occasions. In short, there were at least a few pakehas who had doubts as to whether the assimilation policy was indeed the most desirable course by which to unite the different ethnic groups into one multi-racial society.

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- IV. Secondary Published Material.
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