

MAORI AND PAKEHA AT TE AROHA: THE CONTEXT: 1:
PAKEHA PERCEPTIONS OF MAORI

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MAORI AND PAKEHA AT TE AROHA: THE CONTEXT: 1: PAKEHA PERCEPTIONS OF MAORI

Abstract: *Interaction between Maori and Pakeha was unavoidable in the nineteenth century. Although Maori were commonly considered to be superior to other uncivilized races, in general the stereotyping of Maori was more negative than positive, for it was assumed that they needed to be raised to the level of Pakeha. Maori were seen as being capable of high achievements, but only if they abandoned their feckless and lazy ways along with their customs and superstitions; instead, they should adopt the best of Western civilization rather than the worst, as was believed to be all too common. Being somewhat child-like, they needing Pakeha guidance to attain their potential. An underlying fear remained that they were potentially dangerous, with their old savage ways lurking under the veneer of adopting European clothes and some European customs.*

Sometimes they were viewed as having too much influence on government policy, partly through the legacy of the Treaty of Waitangi and partly through the machinations of Pakeha Maori. Increasingly, as the often-admired 'old time' rangatira, died, the newer generation of lower class Maori were patronized or mocked for their poor English and assumed stupidity. Yet always there were some Pakeha who had good relations with Maori, meaning that intermarriage was neither unusual nor (openly at least) condemned.

UNAVOIDABLE INTERACTION

Maori were active participants in the Pakeha settlement of Hauraki and Te Aroha, willingly or otherwise. Some opposed either settlement itself or some aspects of it, but gradually were forced into a subordinate position. For their part, Pakeha had to take account of Maori because, despite expectations that they would gradually fade away in the face of a superior civilization, they did not. Many Pakeha found them a hindrance, and probably only a minority sympathized with their predicament of having to adjust so quickly to 'modern ways'. As Belich has pointed out, Maori had no real choice: 'economic interaction became economic gridlock, and in these circumstances resistance was almost impossible'.¹

¹ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A history of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century* (Auckland, 1996), p. 250.

Most of the examples of Pakeha attitudes recorded here are taken from the Hauraki district in the nineteenth century, and all the Pakeha cited invested in claims in the Te Aroha Mining District. A brief article entitled ‘The Model Maori’, published by the *Observer* in 1883, summarized most of the critical opinions Pakeha held about many Maori:

The model Maori of the present day is not our ideal native, as we see him represented in the fancy mercantile almanacs. Instead of the mat, plume, and spear of yore, the model Maori may be seen attired in a dirty pair of trousers, shirt in the same condition, and a battered felt hat, subjected to a variety of rough usages. A Maori hat is known anywhere. The model Maori smokes, so do his friends and relations, including his sisters and his cousins and his aunts. The model Maori is always hungry, like a Mongonui kingfisher. He never refuses an invitation to eat, and, with a little encouragement, will appear next day for the same purpose, accompanied by a few famished friends. He sometimes arises from sleep for a feed, if handy; and sea-side delicacies are always to his taste. The model Maori believed in nama (credit) as a fine institution – one of the best things in civilization. His acquisitive tendencies are so developed that he loses no opportunity of demanding compensation on all possible and impossible grounds. The model Maori cannot keep a secret. The model Maori plays cards, Jew’s-harps, and concertinas. The model Maori does not disdain to ask for things, but he has generally failed in acquiring a sense of gratitude for gifts. The model Maori is fond of shaking hands. The model Maori is rarely betrayed into intimacy with a lizard. The model Maori’s favourite animals are the horse and pig; his vegetable, the potato and corn; and his chief household property, a gun, a Bible, an axe, a flag, a knife, a pipe, a blanket, and a spade. The model Maori uses “gammon” [deception, hoax, or nonsense]² extensively. The model Maori’s English vocabulary comprises the expressions, “No fear,” “all the same,” “how much,” “you make the, etc,” and “too much of the,” etc. The model Maori is a great bounce [brag, swagger],³ but easily subdued; he maintains that he can beat a pakeha any day. The Maori youngster is deeply knowing – he knows what you have got in your pocket. The Model Maori leads an unprofitable, indolent life, and, at its close, his bones are duly scraped and deposited in their final resting-place with mourning and feasting by some other model Maoris.⁴

² *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Oxford, vol. 5, 1964), p. 502.

³ Eric Partridge, *Slang: To-day and yesterday* (London, 4 ed., 1970), p. 358.

⁴ ‘The Model Maori’, *Observer*, 6 January 1883, p. 264.

A SUPERIOR NATIVE RACE, BUT...

In 1880, Andrew Buchanan, son of John, a merchant who farmed near Paeroa,⁵ in a private letter described the Maori of the Ohinemuri district as

highly intelligent people. They are a well formed race and among some of their chief men are found those who seem born to rule; tall in person, stately in manners and dignified in address, altogether a race very superior in stature and mentality to any other uncivilized race on the globe.

Unfortunately, however, they are disappearing before the advance of the European very fast. Latest fashions in clothes, intoxicating liquor and the narcotic tobacco doing ravages more than disease itself.⁶

An editorial, headed 'Our Responsibility to the Maori', published in the *Te Aroha News* in 1908, considered that 'one of the very healthier signs of the times' was the interest both Maori and Pakeha were showing in the future of the former.

That we have an aboriginal race to be proud of we are agreed. Their political and religious, their industrial and social significance is amply proved, both by their own demand for a better political standing, and their demonstrated capacity for higher education and religious enlightenment, as well as by their desire for a better standard of living.

Those who best knew them considered the 'Maori personality' was 'vivid with insistent charm' and that they were capable of 'high achievement and grand destiny' by being incorporated 'into our national being, a stalwart comrade in our onward march'. The editorial writer was pleased to note the emphasis being placed 'upon the grand Gospel of Work', for without it Maori history would be 'but the unremembered legendary of a perishing race, and your metropolis a congeries of squalid and insanitary huts'.

⁵ See *Thames Star*, 15 November 1884, p. 2; Warden's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 14 May 1887, p. 2; *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 January 1889, p. 30, 6 August 1892, p. 36, 20 March 1902, p. 21; *Observer*, 6 August 1892, p. 1, 20 August 1892, p. 1, 17 September 1892, p. 3; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 13 May 1896, p. 2, 5 June 1901, p. 2, 21 August 1903, p. 2.

⁶ Andrew Buchanan to Emily and Lucy Greaves, 8 June 1880, printed in Lola C. Tye, *John and Margaret Buchanan* (Paeroa, 1988), p. 18.

But let us for our part remember that splendid as he is, our darker skinned compatriot is still in some respects a child, or rather a younger brother. While we bestir ourselves to afford him the training of the industrial arts, or her our Maori sister, education in all the gentle and wise accomplishments of women's service, while we do all these let us be aware of plucking down the house with our hands, by importing to them a taste for those follies and luxuries, the knowledge of which has come to them through us, and through us white men alone.⁷

Other Pakeha argued that they needed to be protected from acquiring a taste for Pakeha 'follies and luxuries'. Later that month, the local Methodist minister's sermon on 'Our Responsibilities to the Native Race' reminded his congregation that 'God had made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth' before repeating the accepted truism that

in the march of civilisation the Maori is still but a child. I grant that when once the drink evil is overcome, and a healthy ambition spurs him on, he is soon seen to possess splendid powers; but the rank and file of them – only a few decades removed from barbarism – are mere children and they demand our sympathy and our love, our patience and forbearance.

Pakeha 'found them a brave, noble, affectionate, hospitable people, amenable to the Gospel and to the gradual uplifting hand of civilisation', but alcohol threatened their future and should be kept from them.⁸ Many comparisons were drawn between Maori and children. A 'special commissioner' who visited Kerepehi, on the Piako River, in 1871, when discussions were being held about opening Ohinemuri to mining, made this point bluntly:

It seemed to me a wondrous pity that we pakehas could not invent a style of Government which would deal with these people kindly, but firmly, as one would a fractious child; and I never could relieve myself of a feeling of the ludicrous when I hear the potent language of a sovereign prince in the mouths of men who

⁷ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 21 July 1908, p. 2.

⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 30 July 1908, p. 3.

were always since I have known them willing to borrow a shilling or take a shout from me.⁹

In April 1878, a *New Zealand Herald* editorial claimed that Maori were ‘apt enough to take bad advice, especially when it seems to first sight to be to their own advantage’.¹⁰ Four days later, another considered that ‘the only difference in addressing natives and Europeans’ was that the former were ‘some what in the position of children’,¹¹ a comparison that recurred. A local historian wrote in the *Te Aroha News* in 1936 that none of the Hauraki tribes had been ‘really bad; from time to time they behaved like spoilt children, in any case an inherent characteristic of the Maori’.¹²

NOT TREATED AS EQUALS

Despite many commendable features, it was accepted that Maori were not on the same level as the British. The prize-winning ode written by a clergyman for the Te Aroha pageant held to celebrate Queen Victoria’s Jubilee in 1887 described the heroic pioneers arriving in New Zealand, ‘before whom shall the Maori kneel or flee’. And to emphasize the contrast between civilisation and barbarism, he wrote of settlers clearing the forests being ‘murdered by savage in many a bloody fray’.¹³ In 1912, a newspaper headlined an account of a Maori wife deserting her Pakeha husband to live with a Maori at Tui Pa at Te Aroha as ‘The Call of the Wild’.¹⁴

As an example of how they were not treated as equals, in 1909 the annual report of Matthew Paul, the mining inspector, mentioned that ‘a Native and the late Mr Adam Porter’ had first found gold at Te Aroha.¹⁵ Thus even Hone Werahiko, praised in his day by Pakeha as a superlative

⁹ Special Commissioner, ‘The Opening of Ohinemuri’, *New Zealand Herald*, 16 May 1871, p. 3.

¹⁰ Editorial, *New Zealand Herald*, 9 April 1878, p. 2.

¹¹ Editorial, *New Zealand Herald*, 13 April 1878, p. 2.

¹² C.T. Harris, ‘The Romance of the Upper Thames Valley: A Study in New Zealand Colonisation’, *Te Aroha News*, 6 April 1936, p. 8.

¹³ *Te Aroha News*, 2 July 1887, p. 2.

¹⁴ *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 August 1912, p. 31.

¹⁵ Matthew Paul to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 27 March 1909, *AJHR*, 1909, C-3, p. 25.

prospector with greater skills than most of his Pakeha peers,¹⁶ was not recalled by name, and although he was the discoverer, not his friend Porter,¹⁷ Paul gave the latter equal credit. As was usual when referring to Maori in the nineteenth century, at no stage was the honorific 'Mr' used for Werahiko. 'Esq' was solely restricted to Pakeha, as for instance in a list of the Maori and Pakeha who organized the Ohinemuri Races in March 1880.¹⁸ When the first train arrived at Paeroa, it broke a ribbon held across the track by 'Miss Shaw and a Native damsel';¹⁹ not only was the latter not given the title 'Miss', she was not even named, indicating her relative status. The 1905 report in the *Te Aroha News* that, 'in consequence of the death of a Maori girl, a tangi will be held at the Pa during the next few days',²⁰ also did not bother giving her name; presumably those Pakeha who would be interested in attending would already have known it.

After Himiona Haira was murdered at Te Aroha in 1881,²¹ an editorial had to point out that murder was murder, whatever the race of the victim. 'We must reply to the feeling very common, that because the murdered man was a Maori, the crime was of little consequence'.²² The Hamilton newspaper certainly did not concur with this 'very common' feeling, describing the murder as a 'dreadful tragedy'.²³ One Pakeha giving evidence at the trial of the alleged murderer 'deposed to hearing a strange noise in the night, as though someone was getting beaten, but thinking it was caused by the natives he took no notice of it'.²⁴ Clearly Maori squabbles were of no consequence to this Pakeha.

Maori status in Pakeha society was indicated at a large luncheon provided by Josiah Clifton Firth²⁵ near Matamata in 1880: 'The Maoris also came in, and took up their places at the lower tables'.²⁶ Eleven years later, William Archibald Murray, a former parliamentarian who had become a

¹⁶ See paper on his life.

¹⁷ See paper on his life.

¹⁸ *Thames Advertiser*, 6 March 1880, p. 2.

¹⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 21 December 1895, p. 2.

²⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 12 September 1905, p. 2.

²¹ See paper on the Te Aroha murder.

²² Editorial, *Thames Advertiser*, 3 March 1881, p. 2.

²³ *Waikato Times*, 15 February 1881, p. 2.

²⁴ *Waikato Times*, 16 April 1881, p. 2.

²⁵ See paper on the Battery Company.

²⁶ *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 March 1880, Supplement, p. 1.

large landowner in the Piako district and had invested in Waiorongomai mining,²⁷ included in an election address the need for Maori land to be acquired by the government for settlement, partly because ‘he would not like to see black landlords and white tenants’.²⁸

When Maori were willing to look after Pakeha children abandoned by their parents, Pakeha did not consider them competent to do so. For instance, in 1880, when a boy aged about 12 was turned out of his Auckland home by his brothers and his mother, an ‘idle, drunken prostitute’, he accepted the offer of a Maori woman to go with her to Miranda. There, Maori ‘had been very kind to him in their own way, but, as he was in want of good food and clothing’ and in a ‘very distressed condition’ when seen by a Pakeha, the authorities placed him in a training school.²⁹ A story from Te Aroha in 1911 with ‘all the characteristics of a novelist’s romance’ confirmed that Maori were not seen as appropriate people to bring up Pakeha children:

A white woman, it appears, visited the Kainga at Tui Pa about 11.30 p.m. on Sunday last. She knocked at the door of one of the huts and a Maori woman, responding to this call, was surprised to have a small specimen of humanity thrust into her arms. The stranger at the same time handed the Maori a sovereign and after remarking “Be kind to it,” she disappeared into the darkness. The strange gift was highly prized by the Maori who provided the baby with every comfort in Maori style. News of the advent of a white child to native quarters gradually, however, got noised abroad and the authorities, as represented by the police, intervened on Wednesday to prevent the little one being brought up after the manner of the Maori race.

With tears in her eyes and with pitiful sobs, the Maori foster-mother appealed to the police not to take the child away from her and she was allowed to retain it pending the discovery of the whereabouts and identity of the real mother. To the Maoris the mother was unknown but at length the police got on the track and found that on Sunday morning last – the same day on which the child had been discarded – a visitor to Te Aroha (a single woman) had been, unattended by any nurse or doctor, confined in one of the boarding houses in the town. This information was only secured on Thursday morning and the police interviewed their quarry just as she was preparing to leave Te Aroha for Auckland.

²⁷ See paper on his life.

²⁸ *Waikato Times*, 19 September 1891, p. 2.

²⁹ *Thames Star*, Magistrate’s Court, 28 May 1880, p. 2, 2 June 1880, p. 3.

The result that the little one accompanied its parent when the latter departed for Auckland, via Thames, later on in the day. So attached, however, had the Maori become to her temporary charge that she formed a third member of the departing party in the capacity of nurse.³⁰

What happened to the child afterwards is unknown, but it was unlikely that Pakeha opinion would have permitted it living with a woman who had been, briefly, his foster mother.

Maori women were commonly patronizingly described, as for instance in 1849, when George Sisson Cooper, then Sir George Grey's assistant private secretary as well as under-secretary to both the 'native' and defence departments,³¹ visited the Matamata district with him. He described the wife of a Pakeha Maori, Albert John Nicholas,³² as 'a very good looking native' with 'a clean and respectable appearance with a sweet, good humoured expression of countenance which are rarely to be met with in native women'.³³

Not even Pakeha Maori or philo-Maori considered Maori as being their equal. One Pakeha Maori, Daniel Tookey,³⁴ when asked at a land court hearing in 1892 whether a man named Purukuru was able to conduct business in it, replied: 'Not since I have known him, 30 years, not European business, he was of the usual amount of Maori intelligence, not strong, not weak'.³⁵ William Australia Graham, a self-proclaimed friend of Maori whose claims were accepted by Tainui leaders (as explained later), when appearing for Ngati Tahuna in this court announced that he would withdraw 'provided no European conducts for the other side', for by his

³⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 2 September 1911, p. 3.

³¹ G.S. Cooper, *Journal of an Expedition Overland from Auckland to Taranaki by way of Rotorua, Taupo, and the West Coast: Undertaken in the summer of 1849-50, by His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand* (Auckland, 1851), p. 2; *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, ed. G.H. Scholefield (Wellington, 1940), vol. 1, pp. 174-175.

³² See Richard L.H. Waugh, 'Albert John Nicholas of Hikutaia', *Ohinemuri Regional History Journal*, vol. 8 no. 1 (June 1971), p. 16-18.

³³ Cooper, p. 60.

³⁴ See paper entitled 'Maori and Pakeha at Te Aroha: The Context: 2: Maori in Hauraki in the Nineteenth Century'.

³⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28, p. 27.

withdrawing there would 'not be too much preponderance of intellect on one side'.³⁶

UNSOPHISTICATED CHILDREN OF NATURE

Under the sub-heading 'Native Simplicity', in 1875 a visiting journalist described naked bathing at Paeroa:

I have seen frequent complaints in the Auckland papers about men bathing early in the morning at the North Shore, but here the thing appears to go on all day. Within a stone's throw there is a group of children yelling and sporting about in the water, a full grown Maori is bathing opposite, and a young man has just stripped to swim his horse across the river. A woman fetches his clothes and saddle across in a canoe, and women, old and young, are watching events from the banks around. Of course to the pure all things are pure, and these unsophisticated children of Nature must be excused on the ground that they do not know any better.³⁷

QUAINT AND BARBARIC CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS

When travelling upriver from Te Aroha towards Matamata with Sir George Grey in 1849, George Sisson Cooper recorded the following incident:

We were highly amused this morning by a furious disturbance amongst the natives. We had, in the party which had been engaged in Auckland, one or two natives of Rotorua, one of whom named Tarawaru, was, though young, a man of some consequence amongst his own people; he had two younger brothers, named Wharekino and Matene, the former, a lad of about sixteen, being an extremely impudent young fellow, whose education had been completed by a residence of some months in Auckland. This young gentleman, it appears had grievously insulted Whakareho, who had lost, in the confusion yesterday afternoon, some of the paddles of his canoe, and on discovering the loss in the morning, said that whoever had been to blame should pay for the paddles. Upon this, Wharekino, who overheard him, said in a jeering tone, "Your beard shall be payment for the lost paddle," when immediately before the words were well out of his mouth, he received a blow on the side of the head and another on the arm,

³⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 24, pp. 81, 86.

³⁷ *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 February 1875, p. 7.

from a log of firewood which the insulted owner of the beard had taken up, which floored him on the spot. He jumped up and ran howling and blubbing to his big brother and the pakehas for protection. Then ensued a scene, which no pen can adequately describe, in which Tarawaru and Whakareko were the principal actors. The rage of each knew no bounds, and they both rushed up and down, each armed with a huge bludgeon, jabbering and gesticulating furiously, yet neither party liking to be the first to commit a breach of the peace. The principal point at issue, seemed to be whether the beard is a part of the body so sacred as to constitute what Wharekino had said, a curse, according to the old native custom. If it were, Whakareko was held to be justified in taking summary vengeance, but if, as Tarawaru contended, such were not the case, the bloodshed, war, and other direful calamities which would ensue were beyond the mind of man to conceive – the famous Rotorua war, which, ten years ago, caused such devastation among the Thames people, was nothing to the consequences, which, judging from his threats, would flow from this rash act. When they had gone on in this absurd manner for about half an hour, the dispute was put an end to by a word of interference from the Governor and Te Heuheu.³⁸

At Matamata ‘a number of sick people, principally children’, were brought to John Jermyn Symonds, Grey’s private secretary, who had ‘a great reputation’ amongst them as a doctor:³⁹

It was highly amusing to hear some of their ridiculous complaints. One old woman wanted a cure for blindness, for which Symonds recommended a pair of spectacles, but she went away rather disgusted at finding he had none to give her. They have all a most incomprehensible liking for that, to Europeans, most nauseous of all physics, castor oil; to the Maories however it is by no means “hard to take,” they invariably ask for it when they are unwell and when they get it swallow it with the greatest *gout*, cleaning the spoon of every particle and smacking their lips as though it were the pleasantest food imaginable.⁴⁰

The widow of a Thames solicitor recalled being at Paeroa in 1875 when Maori gave a ‘war dance and howled most dreadfully’. Although Pakeha feared the worst, it was merely a ‘happy new year’ message. ‘Of course, they

³⁸ Cooper, pp. 48, 50.

³⁹ Cooper, p. 2; Symonds’ biography in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1940), vol. 2, pp. 355-356, makes no mention of any medical skills.

⁴⁰ Cooper, p. 74.

expected money with which to drink our health. Mr Macdonald [her husband] gave them some, and they retired after more dancing and howling'.⁴¹

Some customs, such as the hongi, were seen as quaint. When two leading Thames residents made up after a long quarrel, the *Observer* wrote that 'the way these two gentlemen beslobbered each other (with complements) was equal to the hardest nose-rubbing by the most conservative native chiefs'.⁴² Their rituals were seen as interesting but crude, as illustrated in the *Thames Advertiser's* explanation of the 'etiquette' seen at a large gathering of Ngati Haua, Ngati Tamatera, Ngati Koi, Ngatipu, Ngati Maru, and Ngati Pau held at Whakatiwai, on the western side of the Firth of Thames, in 1874 to discuss land dealings and, in particular, whether the opening of Ohinemuri to mining could be prevented.

Daybreak this morning saw between 70 and 80 boats on their way across, with all sail set, making the most of a fair wind; and in less than three hours some of the fastest of them had arrived directly off the Whakatiwai settlement. They at once anchored in the offing, and waited the arrival of their less speedy companions. To have gone on shore at once in ones and twos would have been against all Maori etiquette. So nothing could be done but wait. The natives occasionally fired off a big gun to let us know that everything was ready, and that they had seen us.... Gradually the boats sail in one by one, some having struck sail and taken the oars for it, and now they close in, all making for the large war canoe which was to take the lead in the advance on the shore. Bang-bang goes the two big guns from the shore, accompanied by volleys from guns of smaller calibre, and all is alive on board the boats. Oars are taken in, and the men proceed to strip and tie shawls round their waists preparatory for action on shore. Guns are got ready, and taiahas and Maori spears are grasped, ready for a rush as soon as the boat shall touch the shore. Everything being ready, the war canoe paddles towards the beach, closely followed by the whole fleet of boats all crowded with people. Now the excitement begins. The people of the place having advanced towards the beach and shouts of "haere mai! haeri mai!" or welcome, resound from hundreds of voices, accompanied by waving of shawls and beckoning with the hands. The male portion of the shore party are also stripped to the waist, and in readiness to receive their visitors according to the most approved fashion, all more or less armed, those who could not sport guns

⁴¹ Mrs J.E. Macdonald, *Thames Reminiscences* (Thames, 1926), p. 30.

⁴² *Observer*, 7 January 1882, p. 261.

made up by seizing stakes, tent poles, or anything that came handy. The kai wero, or leader of the show, now advances to meet the approaching canoe. Along the beach he goes with stick in hand, which he will throw at the canoe as soon as she grounds. His duty is no sinecure, for as soon as ever he had delivered his shaft he must turn round and run with might and main for his own people, for he will be closely followed by the whole of the visitors or enemy, as the case may be, doing their utmost to catch him, and should he be overtaken, woe to him, for he will be struck down and trampled on by the crowd, who come thundering on behind, shouting like demons let loose. Nobody pities him, as he was known to be the fastest runner of the shore tribes, and he should not allow himself to be caught; in fact for the kai wero of an army to be caught is considered a disgrace, and forebodes defeat in battle – or rather it used to do; but these customs of the Maories are fast dying out through intercourse with Europeans. Now the kai wero approaches close to the edge of the water, and seeing the fleet close he lets go his dart; he turns and runs with all his might; but he is too late; hundreds of naked figures are already sprung from their boats, and are in hot pursuit; it is a long beach, and the kai wero has some distance to go yet – on they go over stones thickly studded with sharp oyster shells – what care they in their excitement – the swift ones rapidly gain on the runner, and at last, just before he has time to reach the ranks of his tribe who are crouched down to receive him, he is struck on the shoulder by young Hotene, of Te Kirikiri (one of the natives who competed in the running matches at Tararu), just in time. By this time the slower runners have closed in, and all crowd down directly in front of those of the other side waiting to receive them. At a given signal from one of their chiefs they all rise with a shout that strikes terror into the heart of a stranger to such scenes, and then follows a dance, in which the contortions and grimaces of the performers are almost frightening to witness, the ground literally shaking as they come down after their successive springs, all executed in the most correct time.⁴³

Afterwards, because some Pakeha complained of missing the landing of the visitors due to the late arrival steamer, James Mackay ‘got up an impromptu war dance for their entertainment amongst some of the Ngatipaoa people, and headed them himself; clearly Pakeha saw the performance as an ‘entertainment’, not a serious cultural experience.

Those who could not get a good view from the ground took advantage of the low native houses adjacent and purchased

⁴³ Special Correspondent, ‘Whakatiwai’, *Thames Advertiser*, 14 August 1874, p. 3.

themselves thereon. All the Maoris were stripped to the waist, and formed lines some five or six deep, kneeling. Mr Mackay, in shirt sleeves, with mere in hand, doing the M.C. business by walking quickly up and down in front of them, shaking his mere and uttering in quick succession the words Ti Ti Ti Ti Ti, when at the proper time the whole body sprung from the ground with a yell that caused one's blood to run cold, and then followed a scene almost impossible to describe, being a combination of yells, grimaces, stamping, and bending and twisting of the bodies into almost impossible shapes, the eyes at the same time appearing as if they would spring from their sockets, plainly showing to what a state of excitement they were getting themselves worked into. The whole, however, being conducted with such correct time – that were it not for the hideousness of the affair it would be a pleasant sight to gaze upon. Those who are interested in witnessing these kind of things must have enjoyed the exhibition very much; in fact, the frequent burst of applause proved how delighted they were.

Clearly the correspondent found the whole performance repugnant, and did not share his compatriots' enthusiasm for the exotic. He was later 'agreeably surprised' when he attended an evening service, conducted by two Anglican clergy, one a Maori. 'I could not help remarking the pleasing and peaceful expression upon the countenances of some of the young men whose faces only a short time before were rent and torn in going through the horrible performance got up for the delectation of their pakeha friends'. On the subsequent day a disturbance was 'caused by a Maori woman having been caught misconducting herself with a person other than her lawful spouse' and her relatives and others

had come, according to acknowledged Maori custom, to plunder or taua the offending party and nearly all connected with him. Several speeches on both sides were made, and the thing was squared by the guilty parties giving several native mats and a sword as payment, after which they all returned again apparently well satisfied. Maoris have a rather unique way of settling affairs of this sort. They require very little evidence, that of the informant generally being sufficient to establish a case, and those charged, in nine cases out of ten, up and plead guilty, trusting to the leniency of their judges, who, I am sorry to say, don't mete out justice according to the nature of the offence, but according to the ability of the parties to pay. Judgments of this kind, I need hardly say, do not have the effect of deterring others from following the examples set them, which was clearly proved yesterday, for an hour had scarcely elapsed before another couple were bowled out,

one of the offenders being a European. As the Maoris in this case could not well taua or plunder him, they determined to take it out by giving him a thrashing, and the injured party, who knew better how to use his feet than his hands, commenced kicking the offender. At one time it looked as if it would go hard with him, but some of the natives interfered and peace was at last restored.⁴⁴

Again, the quaintness, and ineffectiveness, of Maori custom was emphasized. Later, another example was reported for the information or amusement of Pakeha readers. This taua

was very nearly a repetition of what occurred yesterday, in fact, the performance gone through was exactly the same, but the reason for doing it happened this time to be different. Yesterday it was a case of crim-con [criminal connection]; now a curse is the cause. Some Maori chief had actually dared to curse his daughter-in-law. Now, had this young lady happened to be a slave or woman of no standing why no notice would be taken of it, but she is a chieftainness, and this insult must not pass unnoticed. So then the relatives are grinning, shouting and stamping, bent on satisfaction, which they were almost certain to get in some shape or form; but I shall not stay to see it out, as these little differences are getting to be of too frequent occurrence, and therefore monotonous.⁴⁵

Later during the meeting, which was held over several days, at an Assessor's Court, conducted by rangatira, Wi Koka was 'charged that he did most offensively curse one Honatana by saying that he would kill him, cook him, and eat him. Europeans may not be aware of the fact, but that is a pretty tall curse; in fact one of the worst on the list. The prisoner admitted the offence, but excused himself by saying that Hanatana had bewitched his son, and thus caused his death'. He was found guilty, and fined.⁴⁶

A highlight for visiting Pakeha was the performance of 'the grand war dance that everyone is so anxious to see'. His account highlighted the contrast in their appearances between Maori when they mingled with Pakeha in Thames and in their traditional performances:

⁴⁴ Special Correspondent, 'Whakatiwai', *Thames Advertiser*, 15 August 1874, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Special Correspondent, 'Whakatiwai', *Thames Advertiser*, 17 August 1874, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Special Correspondent, 'Whakatiwai', *Thames Advertiser*, 21 August 1874, p. 3.

Nearly all the male portion of the meeting are stripping to have this great go in. Guns of all sorts are brought out, rifles, double-barrel and single-barrel fowling-pieces, revolvers, Maori spears, taiahas, and in fact every available implement of warfare is seized upon, some few only contenting themselves with sticks, and in one or two instances we noticed that empty bottles were made to do service in lieu of more warlike weapons. Each hapu, or tribe, make their preparations separately at their own tents, and all are busy painting their faces, each one striving to make himself more hideous than their neighbour.... In vain one now looks for his companions of Shortland town, the grasping landlord, the pampered recipient of miners' rights, the intelligent young chief whom we occasionally at the bar of an hotel or over the billiard table, and who by their appearance we thought were quickly arriving at a state of civilization, all are there but unrecognizable now amongst that crowd of painted, frenzied savages.⁴⁷

The haka itself was not described, presumably because it was similar to what had occurred previously. The same newspaper gave details of a gathering held two years later, attended by about 600 Maori, near the Parawai house of Te Karauna Hou:⁴⁸

They were accompanied by a large number of European boats with crowds of excursionists, who were anxious to witness the Maori war dance. In the meantime arrangements for the reception had been made, and a vast crowd of white people, amongst whom were large numbers of ladies, had assembled on the ground. The arrangements were, to a person who had never seen such before, novel and extraordinary. Women and children, as well as men, were pressed into service. The warriors were decorated with feathers – indeed, we had almost written, clothed with feathers, for they had very little other clothing. Most of them were naked to the waist, around which a short shawl was tied, which scarcely reached below the thighs. Others had shirts, but no other garment, and we noticed one at least who had even still less clothing. These bold warriors were armed with fowling pieces, mostly double-barrelled. To the number of about 100, or thereabouts, they crouched on the ground with arms ready to give a volley to the approaching friends or foes. As the boats came round the bend into view, the flags which fluttered from the flagstaff were dipped in salute, and the women rushed forward in a great body, shouting their invitations and welcomes at the top

⁴⁷ Special Correspondent, 'Whakatiwai', *Thames Advertiser*, 17 August 1874, p. 3.

⁴⁸ See paper on his life.

of their voices. Then followed volleys of firearms from the crouched warriors.... As the boats approached still closer, Hemi Puru, carrying a stick, rushed towards the boats and flung the stick as a challenge, rushing back again to the firing party as speedily as possible. According to Maori usage it would have been bad for Hemi to be caught by any of the visitors, for they would have full liberty to give him a hammering, but he took care not to be caught. This was the “wero,” or challenge, but it was only the first. The boats were rushed to the bank, but before they reached it Hori Timu repeated the challenge in the same manner. Then the visitors frantically rushed ashore, and forming into a strong body, and, armed with sticks, oars, rudders, or whatever came to hand most conveniently, they rushed in a body towards the crouched warriors, uttering loud cries and brandishing their arms. After reaching them the visitors returned back to the landing, and crouched in their turn, when the hitherto patient hosts rushed towards the visitors in a similar manner, and then retired. This manoeuvre was repeated several times before the war dance set in. When this was going on the gestures and manners of the dancers were strikingly savage. Their eyes rolled horribly, they wielded their firearms fiercely, at the same time that their feet kept time to a sort of marching chorus, each throwing his whole weight on one foot. So good was the tramp which they made that the ground could be felt shaking.⁴⁹

Later, when Hauhau visitors arrived, they were first given food and presents ‘with the customary ceremonies’ before another challenge caused Hori Timu considerable pain:

The inevitable war dance followed, much against the desire of the visitors. They had requested the hosts not to challenge them, or “wero” them, as they had no weapons, and they were ashamed to appear armed only with sticks while the Thames natives were armed with guns. The Thames natives were, however, bound to have a dance at any cost, so attempting to take the visitors, or Hauhaus, by surprise, they sent Hori Timu to their tents to “wero” them. This he did in all the glory of a fleet runner and bold warrior, painted up the beau ideal of the Maori demigod, with no clothing to speak of. He evidently little expected what was in store for him, and became the victim of misplaced confidence. The Hauhaus got an inkling that the challenge was to be issued, so that instead of finding them quite unprepared, as Hori expected, they were all dressed or stripped in their tents ready to issue forth on the first challenge. Hori had, therefore, no sooner thrown his stick than several of the Hauhau party started in pursuit, and

⁴⁹ *Thames Advertiser*, 4 May 1876, p. 3.

captured him before he could reach his own lines. In the exercise of their prerogative they gave him a fearful thrashing. They pounded him, danced on him, bit him, and ill-used him to an alarming extent, one having actually bitten his wrist badly. At length one or two of the Hauhau chiefs covered his retreat, and he escaped to his friends, but it was evident that hot blood had arisen in consequence of the treatment he had received, but most of all probably in consequence of the disgrace which attaches to the party whose challenger is captured. In order to cover this disgrace, or return like for like, a few of the Thames natives, separating themselves from the main body, laid in ambush to capture the wero man who must be sent out by the Hauhau party, and they started in pursuit, attempting to cut off his retreat as soon as he had thrown his stick. He was wary and a fleet runner, and eluded pursuit, reaching his friends in safety. This was a second disgrace to the Thames party, and they became more furious in consequence. The only means by which they could recover their own sense of honour was the breaking and routing of their opponents, and this they determined to do, in order to retrieve their position. Accordingly, when they rushed up to their opponents, instead of stopping as soon as they reached the front line, they burst in on top of them endeavouring to drive them back, but, urged by the shouts of the chieftainess Emma to stand firm, the Hauhaus, although evidently surprised, and not prepared with suitable weapons to resist the onslaught ... held their ground manfully, and a melee ensued which is simply indescribable, even if the rules of common decency would permit it. None on either side had much clothing to start with, and before the row had concluded they had in many instances none at all.

To avert a real battle, finally 'some of the more intelligent and leading chiefs separated the belligerents, and each force retired to their tents in anything but an amiable spirit'. Over the following days, feelings calmed down, and disagreements were 'settled amicably', leading to 'singing and gesticulations', the message of the song being 'that there should be no split between them, that they were all one skin, one race, and one colour, and that they had all come together in the same canoe'. Later the remaining food and the expensive presents were distributed.⁵⁰

The journalist who recorded in such detail events that were foreign to many Pakeha was blunt in its response to Pakeha women being shocked as parts of the human body were exposed during a vigorous haka:

⁵⁰ *Thames Advertiser*, 9 May 1876, p. 3.

Some of the sights and exposures during the wild dance were so repulsive that several lady visitors who were present were forced to blush, and some fairly burst into tears. Had they remained at home, or gone in some other direction, their feelings would have been spared the shock which they experienced, but which they might have reasonably expected under the circumstances. What attraction lady visitors can discover in a camp of naked savages we cannot imagine.⁵¹

A Hamilton journalist was mostly unflattering when recording a welcome to a settlement near Matamata in 1885:

On the party approaching, about twenty women and children in gaudy attire came forward and executed that graceful ceremony known in aboriginal parlance as the “haeremai.” Among the fair performers were several ladies of advanced years, with decrepit limbs and shrunken visages, but years to all appearances only added vigour to their movements. They twirled and wriggled, skipped and shrieked, their eyes beaming with ferocious affection.⁵²

Maori skills at oratory were admired, up to a point, but Pakeha found too many made meetings tedious, as an observer commented about an important one held in 1874 about land transactions:

I think native speeches are more interesting to those who don't understand them than to those who do, for they are at least amused, and wonder what is going on, whilst those who understand all about it are wearied by a continued repetition, the same thing being said by almost every speaker as he stands up – at least until they get well into it, and managed to hit the right nail on the head.⁵³

Two years later, after listening to speeches at a meeting in Thames, a journalist repeated the same complaint:

In speech-making our coloured brethren excel, not only in the apparent earnestness of the individual speakers, but in the fact that each, great and small, insisted on having his say on the

⁵¹ *Thames Advertiser*, 6 May 1876, p. 2.

⁵² *Waikato Times*, 11 August 1885, p. 3.

⁵³ Special Correspondent, ‘Whakatiwai’, *Thames Advertiser*, 20 August 1874, p. 3.

subject irrespective of whether the sentiments or opinions which they expressed have been reiterated or refuted.⁵⁴

Three years later, when reporting the meeting of Hauraki tribes that was convened to discuss the shooting of Daldy McWilliams by Ngati Hako,⁵⁵ another journalist complained about the ‘nonsensical procrastination’ that delayed discussing the issues, and was also unimpressed with Maori singing. ‘After the usual cries of welcome and salutations, the natives of both sides relieved their feelings by a good weep over the shedding of blood. There succeeded a most doleful wailing chant by the Ngatihako, which I was informed was a Hauhau hymn’.⁵⁶ Meetings dragged on in a way that Pakeha found frustrating. The following day, the journalist anticipated that it would continue for another two days; ‘with plenty to eat the natives are never in a hurry’.⁵⁷ One day later, he reported that the meeting was ‘degenerating into a debate upon the title to the lands, and the question of ancestry (going back 300 years) is coming up for discussion. The main question (of the shooting) seems to be forgotten’.⁵⁸ Of a later meeting to discuss establishing a cemetery at Paeroa, ‘it was amusing to notice the cuteness displayed by the Maori, who, following the usual custom, carefully abstained from giving straightforward replied to the questions asked’.⁵⁹

A Pakeha who attended the prelude to a tangi, held in 1886 at Kirikiri, a few kilometres south of Thames, rather unsympathetically described the experience for the benefit of the many Pakeha ignorant of Maori customs:

We were met by groups of natives on all sides. Some were lounging idly about, others were carting firewood, and others were busy cooking “copper Maori” [hangi, or oven]⁶⁰ for supper. There was a kind of bustling negligent appearance about the whole thing highly suggestive of aboriginal usage and custom. Having got through the native “salutation business” to the best of our untutored abilities, as well as the indispensable “koro”

⁵⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 23 November 1876, p. 3.

⁵⁵ See paper on this incident.

⁵⁶ *Thames Star*, 8 September 1879, p. 2.

⁵⁷ *Thames Star*, 9 September 1879, p. 3.

⁵⁸ *Thames Star*, 10 September 1879, p. 2.

⁵⁹ *Thames Star*, 21 February 1881, p. 2.

⁶⁰ An early Pakeha term: *The Dictionary of New Zealand English: A dictionary of New Zealandisms on historical principles*, ed. H.W. Orsman (Auckland, 1997), pp. 169-170.

[friendly address]⁶¹ we were formally introduced to the “house of mourning.” The body of the deceased was laid out in state becoming, I presume, to her rank and social importance. It was altogether a grimly grotesque exhibition. The body was decked out in black and white feathers, besides other trappings in which the sable and the gaudy were curiously blended. The coffin, with a name and date in accordance with European custom, was deposited alongside the body. On the opposite side of the body the husband and other relatives, presumably his and the deceased’s near relatives, were sitting chatting in an unconcerned manner. A nail-can with a smoky kind of fire was placed at the door of the whare to keep out the flies.

The tangi itself would not be held until all those expected had arrived ‘from other parts of the colony’. To feed the numbers anticipated they had ordered 1,000 loaves of bread, 20 sheep, and pigs ‘*ad libitum*. The “Scotch dredgy” or the Irishman’s “wake” is not a patch on that’. The writer noted that the tangi was not merely an example of ‘barbarism’, for at least ‘a good square meal is formulated, whereas, under the others the occasion is one simply for carousing’.⁶²

The tangi held in Cambridge in 1881 for the murdered Himiona Haira was described as ‘singular’ by the Hamilton newspaper:

Some hundreds, men, women, and children, crouched down on the grass and howled piteously for the best part of an hour. In their midst, the patriots of the tribes stood up in a posture of supplication, apparently invoking unseen vengeance on the perpetrator of the foul deed. A species of war dance was indulged in, while the assemblage was harangued by one of the chiefs.⁶³

A correspondent describing a lavish wedding in 1880 stressed the combination of old and new customs:

A MAORI WEDDING IN HIGH LIFE.
OLD CUSTOMS AND NEW.
MAORI SENTIMENTS AND PRACTICES

Festivities on the usual lavish scale are now taking place at the native settlement of Otautu, Hauraki, consequent on the

⁶¹ *Dictionary of New Zealand English*, p. 425.

⁶² *Thames Advertiser*, 5 June 1886, p. 2.

⁶³ *Waikato Times*, 22 February 1881, p. 2.

marriage of Peke, eldest son on Haora Tupaea,⁶⁴ chief of Ngatitamatera. This union has created a great deal of excitement amongst the natives, as it cements in wedlock two powerful tribes who are traditional enemies, and is further a union betwixt a Hauhau tribe and one holding to the Christian religion. The bride is a daughter of Wi Te Koha, Waimate, Bay of Islands, and belongs to [the] Ngapuhi tribe. On Thursday last, the immediate dependents of Haora, to the number of 100 or so, mustered to receive visitors, and during the whiling time your correspondent had ample opportunity to take stock of the preparations. Three large hangis, each made up of some half-ton of wood, and six or seven cubic feet of stone, kept twelve women at work in the culinary department, and about the same number were engaged in weaving flax food-baskets (kono), and it was evident from the number of slaughtered pigs, kits of kumeras, potatoes, &c, that they meant feasting extensively. The visitors (mostly Ngapuhi), to the number of eighty, arrived about mid-day in four large boats, and after the usual "Haeremais!" (welcome) and speech-making, a party of the visitors advanced in front of the villa residence of Haora, each carrying a bottle of rum as presents to Ngatitamatera. Time was when the presents took the better form of food, &c. A procession of men and women (fifty in all), and in single file, each carrying a basket, distributed the food to the visitors, said food being pork, kumeras, melons, biscuits, &c. Civilisation put in an appearance also in the form of a bottle of brandy or rum and a bucketful of tea to each group of seven or eight. When the feeding was over a lively conversation ensued, and it is worth of note, perhaps, that the conversation of the elderly turned largely on politics, whilst the young conversed almost entirely on racing, jumping, betting, and such like. The rangatiras present were decorated with huia feathers, and some wore hats made entirely of the feathers, but their clothing was European – none of them appearing in the real Maori costume.... The second day's proceedings began with a tangi in remembrance of Mere Potiki. Although these tangis have all the appearances of intense grief, it will ever be a mystery to the European how much is real or assumed. Even Captain Cook confessed his doubts about it, and so "ignorance is bliss." During the day the food allocated to the visitors was piled up in front of Haora's residence, and formed a huge heap of comestibles. The foundation consisted of several hundred kits of potatoes and kumeras, overlaid by the beef of two bullocks newly slaughtered from Haora's herd. About a ton of

⁶⁴ See *Daily Southern Cross*, 28 October 1873, p. 2; Ohinemuri Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 15 May 1878, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 29 August 1878, p. 2; *New Zealand Herald*, 1 May 1894, p. 5; *Auckland Star*, 10 May 1899, p. 5; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 14 November 1902, p. 2.

flour, boxes of biscuit, and bags of sugar formed the upper works, whilst a large cask of beer on each side stood for the ornamental. Feasting and liquoring went on briskly in the evening, and in the night a chosen party of men from Ngatitamatera, in little more than Nature's clothing, danced by torchlight several hakas. If such a weird and savage dance is worthy of any praise, the actors certainly deserve credit for the able way they went through the performance. One old rangatira lady became so enchanted and excited that she insisted on a repetition of the dance, or she threatened to leave the settlement with her followers. Several parties also joined in European dances, which they went through very creditably, music being supplied by several concertinas. Amongst several *mere pounamus* [greenstone clubs] I was shown a very fine one, to which special importance is attached by Ngatitamatera. Its owner told me that as much as £300 had been refused for it; that it was much coveted by Governor Hobson, who made several offers for it to his father, when he put in an appearance to interview the Governor in the early days; also, that a small gap on one edge was caused by neglecting a Maori custom (too vulgar to relate) when killing a woman with it. Up to the time your correspondent left the gathering there was no disorderly conduct visible; and great credit is due both to Haora and his able helpmate Rangituia for the strict way in which the meeting is carried on. There were no European visitors present, myself excepted, though there were several aliens with the different tribes, principally negro and negrito ['small Negroid people in the Malayo-Polynesian region'],⁶⁵ performing servile duties for the natives.

The performance will last for four or five days more, and will be varied by racing, games of agility, and other like amusements.⁶⁶

Such large gatherings were seen not merely as a waste of time 'which ought to be spent on reproductive work' but also as causing impoverishment because of the extravagant feasts provided by the hosts.⁶⁷ In 1891, commenting on a dispute over 'the removal of a couple of loads of gravel' from the Mako Mako quarry, the *Thames Star* believed it had 'proved a pretty expensive affair' for the hapu involved.

Upon such occasions the appetite of the native appears to increase surprisingly. In ordinary everyday life the cost of living is trifling. But when such an opportunity presents itself for a

⁶⁵ *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Oxford, 5 ed., 1964), p. 807.

⁶⁶ A Correspondent ['Te o Whaki'], *New Zealand Herald*, 24 March 1880, p. 5.

⁶⁷ *Thames Advertiser*, 4 June 1895, p. 3.

“feast” as that which has just occurred near Paeroa, he is suddenly transformed into a most voracious individual. He seems to become extremely ravenous, and devours his pig, bullock, or shark with a rapaciousness that is simply appalling. And those who assembled at Mako Mako were no exception to the rule. They were bent upon thoroughly enjoying themselves, and the consumption of “kai” was enormous. Te Moananui’s people alone were so insatiable that a bullock and twenty pigs had to be slaughtered for them every day, to say nothing of the hundreds of fish, sacks of kumeras, potatoes, &c, that were “put away” with an ease that must have excited the envy of many a delicate European onlooker. The whole affair only lasted a few days, yet it transpires that the cost of the “keep” of Te Moananui’s people alone totals the respectable sum of £450! Who is to pay for all this? Well, that is a delicate matter. Payment is never pleasant – even to a Maori. So let us draw the veil!⁶⁸

By the twentieth century, such gatherings were regarded as throwbacks to a romanticized past. There was ‘no more picturesque feature of our Dominion life than observing Maori meetings’, the *Te Aroha News* commented in 1909, when prophesying that as Maori were ‘more and more fully absorbed in our own race these picturesque meetings will become rarer’.⁶⁹ In contrast, one Maori festivity that was supported was the regatta at Ngaruawahia, which the *Te Aroha News*, like other newspapers, encouraged its readers to attend.⁷⁰

Pakeha insensitivity to Maori concerns was common. For instance, restrictions forbidding trespassing on tapu places were ignored, causing early problems at Thames, where miners walked across burial sites. To end the resultant conflicts, Maori removed the bones and these areas ceased to be tapu.⁷¹

‘SAVAGE’ CUSTOMS

Maori did not deny that cannibalism had occurred; for instance, when Sir George Grey’s party passed through Matamata in 1849, they were shown proof of its recent practice.⁷² A journalist who explored some of the

⁶⁸ *Thames star*, 5 May 1891, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 17 April 1909, p. 2.

⁷⁰ For example, *Te Aroha News*, 10 March 1900, p. 2.

⁷¹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 22 February 1868, p. 3.

⁷² Cooper, p. 78.

swamps near Te Aroha in 1881 recalled that, until recently, these 'trackless waters' were the domain of 'a few sad blood-thirsty savages, whose sole happiness was supplied by mutual extermination, and whose utmost limit of human sympathy was the absorption of a fellow-being's life with his body into another being's belly'.⁷³

Also in 1881, George Thomas Wilkinson,⁷⁴ the native agent for Hauraki, recorded how refusal to give up the old ways led to the death of a rangatira, which to him was an example of the attitudes holding Maori back:

A fatal accident happened to a Native of some rank named Hohepa Te Rauhihi,⁷⁵ who was thrown from his horse, and received injuries to his spine that proved fatal in a few days. Hohepa belonged to the Kiriwera section of Ngatitamatera, and was (with Tukukino)⁷⁶ a staunch opponent of all roads, railways, and such-like through Native districts. Had his influence during the last few years been exerted in favour of, instead of opposing, road-making, he would in all probability be alive at the present time, it being well known that it was to the notoriously bad state of the road (or track), at the place where the accident happened, that the mishap was attributable. Hohepa's people – like most Natives of their class, in proportion as they are opponents to our advancement in their midst, so do they also decline to accept favours at our hands – refused all offers of medical assistance, preferring to let the sufferer to take his chance, at best a poor one, with their rough Maori usage, which, as is well known, is seldom successful, that if once in a while (by accident or otherwise) a cure is effected, it bears more the semblance of a miracle than the result of treatment; and the Natives, in the simplicity (and duplicity) of their hearts, extol it as such.⁷⁷

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⁷³ Travelling Reporter, 'The Piako County', *Waikato Times*, 3 May 1881, p. 2.

⁷⁴ See paper on Mereia Wikiriwhi and George Thomas Wilkinson.

⁷⁵ See *Daily Southern Cross*, 19 October 1868, p. 3, 20 May 1870, p. 4, 21 August 1875, p. 2; *New Zealand Herald*, 6 November 1871, p. 2, 22 April 1876, p. 3, 26 April 1877, p. 3, 8 May 1877, p. 3; *Auckland Star*, 19 September 1874, p. 2; *Thames Star*, 12 December 1874, p. 2, 7 February 1878, p. 2, 8 November 1878, p. 1; *Thames Advertiser*, 4 April 1877, p. 3, 16 October 1877, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 13 July 1880, p. 2.

⁷⁶ See paper on Maori land in Hauraki.

⁷⁷ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 28 May 1881, *AJHR*, 1881, G-8, p. 9.

The murder in 1880 by a Maori of his unfaithful wife illustrated, to the *Thames Star*, ‘the horrible depravity of the uncivilized Maori’.⁷⁸ That such violence might be turned against Pakeha was a common fear, as Hampton Thorp, son of John, who had acquired the first Pakeha farm, ‘Belmont’, near the future Paeroa in 1842, recorded in his diary: ‘We just had to trust the Maoris but we kept them at a distance and showed no fear of them. They would come to us for medicines for their ailments’,⁷⁹ but clearly this interaction did not ease their fears. In 1913, Christopher James Parr, the future Sir James,⁸⁰ the son of Reuben, a settler in Waikato and then Waitoa,⁸¹ recalled and glorified the ‘good old days’ of his pioneering childhood:

The younger generation did not realize what the Maori trouble meant in the early days. As a boy of four or five years of age, he could remember that in the Waikato, the Maori trouble was very real, and was a serious menace day and night to the lives and property of the early settlers. The settlers carried their lives in their hands.⁸²

Some Pakeha Maori living with their Maori relatives kept an eye on threats to Pakeha. In 1901, one, Louis Dihars,⁸³ sought, unsuccessfully, a reward for ‘secret services rendered to the British forces during the Maori war’.⁸⁴ He had travelled from Matamata to Piako in 1864 to warn James

⁷⁸ *Thames Star*, 9 January 1880, p. 2.

⁷⁹ Extract from diary of Hampton Thorp, n.d., cited in Jessie Thorp, ‘The Thorp Family Come to New Zealand in 1840’, *Auckland-Waikato Historical Journal*, no. 38 (April 1981), p. 21.

⁸⁰ See G.W.A. Bush, ‘Christopher James Parr’, in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, 1901-1920 (Auckland, 1996), pp. 384-385.

⁸¹ See Travelling Reporter, ‘The Piako County’, *Waikato Times*, 3 May 1881, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 21 May 1887, p. 2, 30 December 1925, p. 1; *Observer*, 29 October 1904, p. 4, 9 January 1926, p. 4, 16 January 1926, p. 5, 9 August 1936, p. 5.

⁸² *Auckland Weekly News*, 16 October 1913, p. 20.

⁸³ See *Thames Star*, 7 October 1899, p. 4; Ronald W. Clifton, ‘Louis Dihars’, *Ohinemuri Regional History Journal*, n. 41 (September 1997), pp. 32-33; Peter Tremewan, ‘French Tupuna: French-Maori Families’, in *The French and the Maori* (Waikanae, 1992), pp. 126-130.

⁸⁴ ‘Public Petitions’, *AJHR*, 1901, I-1, p. 6.

Mackay that a party of Maori (probably Ngati Haua) had left Te Aroha intent on murdering him.⁸⁵ In 1867, Dihars was able to write, from an unnamed settlement in Ohinemuri, more reassuringly to the government:

From what I can see and learn in Conversation with the Natives of this place I am of opinion that the great majority of them are disposed to be peaceful. Some of them from here and from the Piako are about to visit Matutaera [King Tawhiao]⁸⁶ but I believe with no evil purpose....

There is some discontent amongst them on the subject of Chieftainship, which may result in a general submission to the law and principles of civilization.⁸⁷

At Thames during the 1870s, as a solicitor's widow recalled, there was fear of Maori uprisings: 'We were always feeling uncertain about the natives'.⁸⁸ There was some basis for such concerns, for a surveyor, Richard Todd, was killed near Pirongia in 1870.⁸⁹ Three years later, in May 1873, the murder of another surveyor, Timothy Sullivan, near Cambridge prompted 1,000 people to attend a meeting in Thames. During the speeches some rangatira filed onto the stage. 'The advent of the Maoris was viewed with mingled feelings by the meeting, evidenced by loud hissing and cries of "get them out," by loud laughter and loud cheers. This continued for some time, the laughter and cheers gradually getting the better of the signs of disapproval'.⁹⁰ Later that month, a Thames correspondent was unsure how seriously to take reports of unrest in Ohinemuri:

Strange news was brought in this morning by Mr C[harles] F[eatherstone] Mitchell,⁹¹ who, with his wife, have deserted the hotel they have been some time keeping at Paeroa. The situation is certainly an exposed one, and, not deeming it safe to remain there any longer with native disturbances threatening, Mr Mitchell packed up his goods and chattels and made his way to

⁸⁵ Public Petitions, Legislative Department, LE 1, 1901/7, ANZ-W.

⁸⁶ See, for instance, *Observer*, 29 September 1894, p. 13.

⁸⁷ Louis Dihars to Daniel Pollen, 21 April 1867, Agent General Auckland, ACFL 8170, 530/67, ANZ-A.

⁸⁸ Macdonald, p. 19.

⁸⁹ Janet Holm, *Caught Mapping: The life and times of New Zealand's early surveyors* (Christchurch, 2005), pp. 18-19.

⁹⁰ *Thames Advertiser*, 14 May 1873, p. 3.

⁹¹ See paper on the union.

Shortland. He is the bearer of anything but assuring intelligence, the burden of his take being a possible night attack on the Thames goldfield by the Ohinemuri natives. The subject had evidently been discussed by them. As soon as he arrived Mr Mitchell waited on Captain [William] Fraser, R[esident] M[agistrate],⁹² and advised him of what he knew; and, although such an attack is regarded as improbable in the extremest sense of the term, Captain Fraser deemed it to be his duty to transmit the intelligence to Wellington. At such a season as the present, when men's minds are prone to be disturbed by reports, reports of all kinds are not wanting. It is said that the Hikutaia native settlement has been deserted of nearly all but the old men, women, and children; scarcely a young man is to be seen here, and very few arms of any kind. Another report is to the effect of two Piako chiefs having withdrawn a large sum of money they had deposited in one of the Thames banks. The sum is stated at £1,500, and it was taken out in gold. With regard to a report of a Maori having presented a loaded gun at two gumdiggers at Hikutaia, I may state that I conversed with a gentleman from Hikutaia who happened to be near the spot at the time. The Maori was said to have just shot a pig, and this act my informant witnessed; but he did not see him threaten Europeans afterwards. However, the Maori is described as a most truculent-looking fellow, and the above circumstances may have occurred some time subsequent to the slaying of the pig, when the gentleman in question was not present. Affairs are certainly assuming a rather serious aspect, but forewarned should be forearmed.⁹³

The magistrate, in passing on Mitchell's claim to the Superintendent that Maori had been discussing attacking Thames and 'how the greatest amount of damage could be inflicted', commented: 'I think it all rot'.⁹⁴ The Superintendent agreed with his 'estimate of Mitchell's report', but informed the Colonial Secretary.⁹⁵ At the end of the month, it was reported that the native agent had visited Ohinemuri and found 'the district quiet, and the natives peaceably inclined, and not, so far as he could ascertain, to have entertained the slightest idea of a raid, midnight or other, on Shortland'.

⁹² See paper on Harry Kenrick.

⁹³ Thames Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 24 May 1873, p. 11.

⁹⁴ William Fraser to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 22 May 1873 (telegram), Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8180, 1443/73, ANZ-A.

⁹⁵ Superintendent, Auckland Province, to William Fraser, 22 May 1873 (telegram), Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8180, 1443/73, ANZ-A.

Nevertheless, surveying had been stopped.⁹⁶ As Mitchell had a turbulent relationship with both Maori and Pakeha,⁹⁷ it was generally believed that he had become over-excited.⁹⁸ He would later return to Ohinemuri,⁹⁹ and, despite his claims of sympathy for Maori being mistreated by government policy, would play an active role in James Mackay's reihana system of separating Maori from their land.¹⁰⁰

At the end of May 1873, a Thames correspondent deflated another fearful report:

A very absurd report was current to-day about the hostile attitude of the Parawai natives, and which was in part supported by a letter in to-night's *Star*, to the effect that a man in the employ of Mr Walker, who owns a small farm up the Kauaeranga Valley, had received orders from the natives to drive his cattle away or they would be killed, also that the natives asserted the Government had cheated them out of their land. The letter was quite alarming in tone, and concluded by advising the Thames people to "Take warning and be vigilant." Now I have taken some trouble to get at the fire from which all this smoke proceeds, and find it to be a very insignificant spark indeed – in fact, just a dispute arising out of a cattle trespass. Disputes on that score are frequent enough between the Parawai natives and the small settlers of the neighbourhood, and have from time to time led to impoundings and litigation. The case in point is merely the very latest of these little quarrels. Mr Walker's cows, it appears, managed to break through the fence of a Maori plantation, and, after doing some damage, were driven off by the incensed owners, who, as white men do when goats trespass on their gardens and munch all before them, looked fierce, and threatened dire

⁹⁶ Thames Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 31 May 1873, p. 7.

⁹⁷ See *Thames Guardian and Mining Record*, 12 December 1871, p. 3, 12 January 1872, p. 3, advertisement, 10 July 1872, p. 2, 21 February 1872, pp. 2, 3, 19 July 1872; *Thames Advertiser*, 18 September 1872, p. 3, 19 September 1872, p. 3, 23 September 1872, p. 3, 10 October 1872, p. 3, 7 April 1873, p. 3, 15 April 1873, p. 2, 16 April 1873, p. 3, 30 April 1873, p. 3, 8 May 1873, p. 3, 14 May 1873, p. 3.

⁹⁸ See *Thames Advertiser*, 23 May 1873, p. 3, letter from C.F. Mitchell, 24 May 1873, p. 3, editorial, 28 May 1873, p. 2, letter from C.F. Mitchell, 29 May 1873, p. 3, 5 June 1873, p. 3.

⁹⁹ *Thames Advertiser*, 23 December 1874, p. 3, 4 February 1875, p. 3, 5 February 1875, p. 3, 4 March 1875, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ For example, *Thames Advertiser*, 24 August 1874, p. 3, 14 December 1874, p. 3, 6 February 1875, p. 3.

vengeance – not however to slay the cattle, but to send them to the law (pound) at Shortland. When, as at present, disturbances appear to be imminent, it is wise and proper to adopt every precaution against being taken by surprise, but it is also exceedingly reprehensible to distort facts, and so cause needless and unwholesome excitement, and perhaps sow the seeds of serious contention where otherwise none would have found congenial soil to germinate in. As a proof that the Parawai natives are not factiously inclined, and moreover sincerely desirous of living at peace with their white neighbours, I may state that they are going to subscribe funds for the purchase of wire fencing, to be used to strengthen the weak parts of the plantation enclosures where the cattle find ingress, and so prevent further disturbances and bickerings on that point. Although nothing like a scare has yet affected the Thames people, it is certain that the present aspect of native affairs is exciting a little apprehension, and probabilities are freely discussed. That the goldfield towns are open to attack is admitted, and also that such an event is exceedingly unlikely to happen; but as an attack comes within the bounds of possibilities, it is argued that we ought to be in a state of preparedness for it, which at present we are not.

There were calls for the government to arm the Volunteers adequately. ‘The Government is bitterly reproached for the apathy it displays in this important subject. Surrounded by a hostile native population we are to be allowed to be caught napping instead of being prepared for any and every emergency’.¹⁰¹

In 1877, when there was conflict between Ngati Hako and Ngati Rahiri,¹⁰² Henry Dunbar Johnson, then a newspaper correspondent,¹⁰³ somewhat sardonically described the unsettled minds of Paeroa settlers:

I do not know whether it is owing to the frightful weather we are getting at this season of the year that a nervous kind of feeling has been gradually creeping over some of the good folks at the Paeroa. For the last few nights groups of men were to be seen at some of the corners, engaged in a serious kind of whispered conversation. The nights being dark, I could not observe as to whether they had “white lips,” but I believe they must have had something akin to them. As I was standing near a group one night I managed to pick up the following conversation:- “Weal,

¹⁰¹ Thames Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 31 May 1873, p. 7.

¹⁰² See paper on this conflict.

¹⁰³ See paper on Lavinia and Henry Dunbar Johnson.

what is your opinion about things?" "My opinion is that we are in a very unprotected state – the Constabulary are leaving us, and we have no firearms to defend ourselves with. What is to hinder the Maoris from coming any night to massacre every man, woman, and child in the township?" "Weal, I doan't think they would do that; but still mon, I think they may have some other move on the boord than stopping roads to one another." "No doubt of it. They (the Maoris) want to make capital out of it. I believe the wretches would clear us all out of the place if they thought they were able." "Whist; whist." Here the conversation ended, or went into a kind of whispering, which I could not make out.

What these fears produced was a move to establish a corps of rifle volunteers. Johnson concluded that 'whatever may be brewing in Waikato', it was clear that the government had 'made a grave mistake in not locating, some time ago, at least 200 men at Te Aroha – men well used to the rifle and conversant with all kinds of farming operations'.¹⁰⁴

Six months later, when a surveyor's assistant, Daldy McWilliams, was shot and seriously wounded near Paeroa by Ngati Hako,¹⁰⁵ 'most intense and painful excitement' was caused in Thames. One newspaper commented that 'the wholesale murder of surveyors was a favorable pastime of our unsophisticated coloured brethren some years ago'.¹⁰⁶ 'Several settlers' living near the scene of the shooting brought their families into Paeroa and Thames.¹⁰⁷ In the Te Aroha and Waitoa districts, settlers became 'very uneasy' on receiving news of the 'outrage' and asked for arms and ammunition 'to enable them to protect themselves, wives, and children, no action apparently being taken by the government to that end'. They also offered to assist in capturing the offenders.¹⁰⁸ As the capture was delayed, Johnson reported that Ohinemuri settlers were 'becoming more and more dissatisfied'. Those living at a distance from Paeroa dreaded 'a raid being made upon their homes some night, and themselves and their families butchered. They are not inclined to plant crops for fear they will not be able to gather them in', and as many were doing military drill during most of the day their unattended cattle were 'running wild'.¹⁰⁹ The failure of the

¹⁰⁴ Ohinemuri Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 15 February 1877, p. 3.

¹⁰⁵ See paper on this incident.

¹⁰⁶ *Thames Star*, 30 August 1879, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ *Thames Advertiser*, 4 September 1879, p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ *Thames Advertiser*, 5 September 1879, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ Ohinemuri Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 19 September 1879, p. 3.

government to arrest the attackers immediately was seen by one editorial as a wasted opportunity to make ‘manifest to the native race that we were able to carry out the law, and could apprehend all offenders against it. That is the point which we desire to impress upon the Maoris’.¹¹⁰ In 1882, the Paeroa newspaper was appalled that the local Volunteer corps was being disbanded. ‘In our circumstances’, the disbanding of the only local armed force (apart from two policemen) was ‘as unwise and impolitic a measure as could be carried out’.¹¹¹

As late as 1898, a Waiorongomai correspondent reported that Maori had alarmed that small settlement:

We nearly had a war scare on Tuesday last when a party of Maoris, some of them carrying guns, rode into Waiorongomai and camped in the ti-tree near the school-house. It was suggested to send an urgent telegram ... to call out the Te Aroha Rifle Volunteers for our protection. It appears these Maoris came from Okoroire and camped in Waiorongomai only with the object of gum digging in this district.¹¹²

PRIMITIVE VILLAGE LIFE

In 1873 Lieutenant Colonel J.H.A. St John published a jaundiced account of village life in the Bay of Plenty, as recounted by ‘an old acquaintance who had started as a Maori trader at one of the villages’:¹¹³

We are a cleanly race outwardly, for old Hakaraia, our head chief, is supreme, and has issued orders that the *kainga* shall be kept clean; so, unlike most Maori villages, it would be difficult to find offal or refuse lying about in ours. Then constantly we go into the stream, and lather ourselves to a large extent; but this, or course, cannot be expected except through the summer. On the other hand, there are one or two little things, connected with the person, which make me doubt the absolute cleanliness of our fellow villagers. We are not very particular about our clothing, though on certain occasions most of us can turn out in riding trousers at 35s, shoes and coats; but our favourite costume by day or night is the blanket. When at work we use it as a kilt, and when walking, sitting, or lying down, we wrap ourselves up in it

¹¹⁰ Editorial, *Auckland Weekly News*, 29 September 1879, p. 12.

¹¹¹ *Hauraki Tribune*, n.d., cited in *Thames Advertiser*, 11 May 1882, p. 3.

¹¹² Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Te Aroha News*, 7 May 1898, p. 2.

¹¹³ J.H.A. St John, *Pakeha Rambles Through Maori Lands* (Wellington, 1873), p. 162.

as if it were a virtue. We do a good deal of sleeping in the day time, consequently we talk constantly the whole night through, and are up betimes. When we go to bed we make up a large fire in the *whare*, roll ourselves up, close every possible aperture, and grunt or smoke ourselves to sleep in an atmosphere which ... would give a goose the liver complaint. We work very hard – men, women, and children – in the sowing and reaping seasons; but these once passed, we have a holy repugnance to anything like labour. We like talking, we like sleeping, we like sitting down gazing into vacancy; we are fond of inane and indecent songs; we love gambling, and without the pipe, our lives would be a blank. There is one other weakness I have not alluded to because it does not come every day within our reach, but, when we see a chance of getting at *waipiro* [Author's Note: 'Lit. Stinking water; alias, spirits'], we don't stick at trifles.¹¹⁴

After noting that their 'favourite game at cards' was '*hipi*, a kind of brag, at which we play for pins and matches', he claimed that Maori were 'not highly developed' musically. Food was 'not very varied', the staple being fish, potatoes, and kumera, 'while luxuries are occasionally indulged in in the shape of rotten corn or eels stewed in shark oil. We have heaps of pigs, but we sell them, and are too lazy to milk our cows. We hoard up carefully any money we have, are precious sharp at a bargain, and are very distrustful of every one'.¹¹⁵ 'Among our chief nuisances are dogs - curs rather. They abound in our kainga, are inveterate thieves (and if we kill one there is the deuce of a shine), and growl, snap, and bark at all hours; they have made us pass many a sleepless night', which he described with passion.¹¹⁶ He also described how to enter a whare:

I dislocated every joint in my back bone before I properly understood the method of getting into a Maori *whare*. You first of all stoop down and bend forward, loosening your spinal process; then you put your right hip out of joint, advancing it into the *whare*, at the same time giving your neck a crick; you then make a violent shoot forward, and, if the *whare*'s high enough, spring up hear all your joints clicking back into their normal position.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ St John, pp. 166-167.

¹¹⁵ St John, p. 167.

¹¹⁶ St John, p. 169.

¹¹⁷ St John, pp. 169-170.

This anonymous trader gave a detailed account of sleeping in a large whare with many people and a fire but no ventilation; he awoke during the night 'with a choking sensation, perspiring at every pore, and panting for breath'.¹¹⁸ They were 'by no manner of means a moral people, though outwardly most religious', having daily morning and evening services and even more on Sunday. 'But, these religious attendances notwithstanding, our talk and morals are of the loosest, with the exception of the married women who are rarely known to break their vows'.¹¹⁹

These villagers were too lazy even to look after their road. 'If a tree falls across the track we go round it even though it entails a steep ascent; but we don't care; it's only our horses who suffer. Poor beasts! we saddle them at two years old, ride them at full split along the level, push them up the steepest hill, and never consider a sore back'. Maori were good riders, as he described.¹²⁰ He also described their haka:

A genuine war dance is enough to shock the feelings of any one, and I have seen more than one which would frighten the most enthusiastic praiser of the noble savage. The haka is of course in many cases as bad; but in many others it simply consists of songs relating to the deeds of departed ancestors, chorused with a series of guttural intonations and accompanied by contortions of the body, quiverings of the hand, and distortions of the features.

Although he had seen some impressive haka, in general the trader considered they provided a 'monotonous dreary sing-song recital'.¹²¹ And speeches by rangatira, while 'imposing', too often went on 'almost forever, and the dignity and grace of the speakers are forgotten in the excess of loquacity'.¹²² After praising the hangi as 'first-rate', he concluded that in general his life among Maori had been 'remote, melancholy, slow'.¹²³

Although Pakeha settlement resulted in significant changes to village life, the *Te Aroha News* considered that more improvements were required. In 1909 it was appalled at 'the terrible prevalence of the expectorating habit. It is simply shocking the way in which the natives disregard the

¹¹⁸ St John, p. 170.

¹¹⁹ St John, p. 170.

¹²⁰ St John, p. 171.

¹²¹ St John, p. 172.

¹²² St John, pp. 172-173.

¹²³ St John, pp. 173-174.

elementary rule about not expectorating in public places'. This habit coupled with the 'want of ventilation' in their housing impressed 'the European as highly detrimental to' their welfare.¹²⁴ During the influenza epidemic of 1918 it called for 'drastic reform' in how Maori were treated. The 'reluctance' to upset their 'customs and traditional habits' had left them 'particularly easy prey to every disease there is'. The sanitary conditions of their settlements were 'a serious menace' to all in the community, and leaving Maori 'free to adopt whatever European habits he likes' had often produced 'disastrous results'. Why should Maori be permitted 'to live in a hovel' and draw his water 'from any well or hole'? Pakeha would be to blame if these conditions continued. 'The time for sentimental nonsense that the Maori customs cannot be interfered with is past, long past', and 'immediate and effective measures' were needed 'to improve the sanitary conditions of Maori settlements'.¹²⁵

FAILING TO ATTAIN THE LEVEL OF PAKEHA CIVILIZATION

The *Thames Star* considered it to be 'beyond contradiction that the Pakeha and Maori ideas of right and wrong are two entirely different things'.¹²⁶ One magistrate, Henry William Northcroft,¹²⁷ claimed his experience with Maori in Hauraki and Waikato enabled him to detect those giving false evidence under oath. 'When a Maori or Half-caste has been taught his evidence and is stating what is untrue his face assumes a fixed dogged expression that can hardly be mistaken but if the mind is taken from the matter under discussion for a moment the features assume their natural appearance'.¹²⁸

Murders of unfaithful wives occurred in Pakeha society periodically, but when a Maori murdered his wife in 1880 his act was used to illustrate

¹²⁴ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 17 April 1909, p. 2.

¹²⁵ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 13 December 1918, p. 2.

¹²⁶ *Thames Star*, 2 September 1879, p. 2.

¹²⁷ See T.W. Gudgeon, *The Defenders of New Zealand* (Auckland, 1887), pp. 145-152; *New Zealand Graphic*, 20 February 1897, p. 218, 13 March 1897, p. 324; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 745; *New Zealand Herald*, 22 July 1909, p. 6; *Observer*, 14 August 1909, p. 5, 8 January 1910, p. 4, 15 January 1910, p. 17.

¹²⁸ H.W. Northcroft to Under-Secretary, Justice Department, 1 March 1888, Letterbook, p. 556, H.W. Northcroft Papers, ARC 2159, Te Awamutu Museum.

‘the horrible depravity of the uncivilized Maori’.¹²⁹ Also in that year, the *Thames Star* reported that two old Maori were accused of killing chiefs (and a horse) through witchcraft.

Notwithstanding the close intercourse with Europeans which the natives of this district enjoy, and their pretty general profession of Christianity, they are still all tinctured with the heathen superstitions of their ancestors, and even the more enlightened believe in the ridiculous doctrine of witchcraft.¹³⁰

An archdeacon regretted, in 1893, that a ‘great hindrance to spiritual growth’ in the form of Christianity was ‘scarcely disguised superstition’, especially in the belief in ‘makutu (witchcraft)’ and the resort to the ‘tohunga or medicine man’ in times of sickness. ‘Their utter disregard of all sanitary laws renders effective medical treatment quite impossible’, allied to the continued belief in those ‘worthless characters’, the tohunga. ‘Perhaps we have been expecting too much of a people who a little more than seventy years ago were steeped in the most abject superstition, and lived in an atmosphere impregnated with tapu’, which he described as ‘bondage’.¹³¹

When conflict with Pakeha turned into warfare in the 1860s, Maori turned to what was described by a missionary as the ‘new fanaticism’ of the Hauhau, with its jumble of Christian prayers and ‘senseless jargon’, a ‘childish attempt, emanating from a madman’, to create a new religion.¹³²

The *Thames Advertiser* was upset that, despite the government boasting ‘of having civilized the Maoris’ and the missionaries boasting that they had made them Christian, ‘probably not one percent of Maoris are legitimate, or are living in the married state’. It suspected that Maori objection to formal marriage was that it was ‘an inconvenient restraint on their lusts’. It was ‘a disgrace to New Zealand when it can be said that by far the largest proportion – perhaps three-quarters - of the real property in the colonies is owned by “bastards,” succeeded by their illegitimate

¹²⁹ *Thames Star*, 9 January 1880, p. 2.

¹³⁰ *Thames Star*, 20 August 1880, p. 2.

¹³¹ Archdeacon Edward Clarke, ‘The Present Condition of the Maories’, *Church Gazette*, March 1893, p. 37.

¹³² Rev. George Maunsell, ‘The Recovery of the Lapsed Maoris’, *Church Gazette*, March 1899, p. 50.

children', and that the succession cases heard in the land court perpetuated 'this very highest condition of immorality'.¹³³

ADAPTING SOME PAKEHA WAYS, NOT ALWAYS DESIRABLE ONES

In 1875, a correspondent visiting Ohinemuri found it 'amusing to notice the spasmodic efforts made' by some Maori to make money. 'Two young fellows have put up a small canvas tent near Paeroa, and have three bottles of spirits ornamenting the box which represents the counter'. Although they did not have a license, this was not an issue, as nobody had bought a drink from them, preferring to visit the hotel while the youths wondered why they were yet to make their fortune. 'Another fine and powerful framed Maori pulled a boat about in the river', charging sixpence for those who used his boat to go ashore from the government vessel. 'He was a very cheerful customer, and delighted in chaffing all those who will not patronize his boat'.¹³⁴ Following a series of thefts in 1888 from whare at Thames, it was regretted that Maori failed to use banks both to increase 'his capital by interest as well as a means of safety against the vile thief who prowls about by day and night in search of spoil'.¹³⁵ But increasingly Maori learnt how to cope with the new economy, as a Thames newspaper noted seven years later when commented on legislation concerning Maori land:

There has apparently always been an impression that the natives must be protected against themselves as if they were mentally of the capacity of children and should only be allowed to deal with their lands as children, and subject to all kinds of vexatious delays and restrictions. That some restrictions of a protective nature were needed at the first, is very probable, but we have changed all that. From a generation of familiar intercourse with the Pakeha the Maori is just about as able to hold his own in commercial transactions as is his white brother, indeed, sometimes he is more able, and succeeds in a bit of sharp practice worthy of a chancery lawyer.¹³⁶

¹³³ *Thames Advertiser*, 21 October 1886, p. 2.

¹³⁴ *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 February 1875, p. 7.

¹³⁵ *Thames Advertiser*, 8 November 1888, p. 3.

¹³⁶ Editorial, *Thames Advertiser*, 24 September 1895, p. 2.

In 1887, James Mackay published his thoughts on the impact of land purchases on both Maori and Pakeha. One aspect was their different methods of farming:

If Europeans and Natives are placed closely together on land, the result is invariably very unsatisfactory to both parties. Reserves ought therefore to be selected in as few and compact blocks as possible, and the nearer they can be grouped together the better; and in determining the area, it should be borne in mind that Native cultivations are not as a rule permanent in their nature, but are made and occupied for a few years only, and are continued in one place until the soil becomes impoverished, when a fresh clearing is made; consequently the area of uncultivated land adjacent to Native settlements is always considerable, but, as they own large numbers of horses, cattle, and pigs, these “commons” are of advantage to them. It is possible, but not probable, that in another generation the Natives, having become more civilized, may adopt European methods of husbandry, and so require more land for that purpose than at present.¹³⁷

It was commonly lamented that Maori learnt bad Pakeha ways. According to the *Observer*, ‘Maoris, like all aboriginals, are more apt in copying the vices of civilization than its virtues. Rum and lust follow on the heels of the Bible and Sunday-schools’.¹³⁸ In 1927, an early settler in the Waitoa district recalled that 50 years previously Maori ‘were scrupulously honest, and until spoiled by European associations could be trusted to any extent’.¹³⁹ The archdeacon previously cited wrote, in 1893, that Waikato Maori were ‘adopting many of the habits of their civilized neighbours’, including gambling. ‘This transition from barbarism to civilization, is a terrible ordeal as shown by the mortality in some districts, and also in the distraction from more important things calculated to promote their social and moral advancement’.¹⁴⁰ In 1895 the *Thames Advertiser* published a pessimistic editorial, ‘What To Do With the Maori’, based on an American

¹³⁷ James Mackay, *Our Dealings with Maori Lands; or, comments on European dealings for the purchase and lease of native lands, and the legislation thereon* (Auckland, 1887), p. 58.

¹³⁸ *Observer*, 20 October 1883, p. 2.

¹³⁹ Recollections of Frederick Marychurch Strange, *Te Aroha News*, 12 October 1927, Supplement, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Archdeacon Edward Clarke, ‘The Present Condition of the Maories’, *Church Gazette*, March 1893, p. 37.

view that, because their ‘Indians’ were unable to lead civilized lives, they should be placed on reservations under government control whilst awaiting their inevitable extinction:

A lot of trouble has been taken in Thames to make the Maori into the Pakeha, but the result can not be said to be encouraging. The successes can almost be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The only satisfactory way of dealing with the Maori is to place him on reserves away from the white man, where he can live his life in his own fashion, away from the restraints of civilisation. The promiscuous mingling of the races has not improved either. The Maori has been very ready to adopt the worst features of our race without receiving much benefit from the example of our few virtues, and the inverse effect on our own people has been more deplorable still where the intermingling has been at all intimate. The Maori race is a very fine one in its own place and in its own way, but it is impossible for the brown and white man to run in pairs. We don't know which race has suffered most by the unnatural partnership....

The mistake all along has been in treating with the Maoris on equal terms and allowing them to remain possessors of such a surplusage of land. They are virtually a conquered race, and if they had been treated as such from the end of the war, it would have been better for all parties. No other race but ours would have treated a defeated and inferior race in such a Quixotic and unpractical manner as we have done.¹⁴¹

In contrast, in 1911 the *Te Aroha News* was more positive because the census had revealed a ‘great improvement in sanitation at Maori settlements’, with a subsequent reduction in deaths and a restriction of the work of ‘the abominable tohunga’.

The Maori had a good deal of excuse for not absorbing our civilization holus-bolus when we first tried to force it on him, and for accepting only that part which appealed to his vicious side. He jumped readily enough at civilization's evils, because they were so easy to assimilate and so palatable; but he cunningly winked the other eye when we talked of educational advantages, and placed a metaphorical thumb to an imaginary nose when the subject of hygiene was mooted.

Nowadays Maori were accepting the need for education, sanitation, and work. ‘The elements of proper knowledge, or more cleanly modes of life,

¹⁴¹ Editorial, *Thames Advertiser*, 27 February 1895, p. 2.

and of manual toil, are among those things which are helping to keep the Maori race extant in this country, and the more they are observed the better will be the chances of the survival of the most intelligent native race on Earth'.¹⁴²

IMPEDING PROGRESS

In 1876, the future pioneer storekeeper at Te Aroha, George Stewart O'Halloran,¹⁴³ included in his description of a journey from Thames to Tauranga a criticism of the delay in erecting the telegraph line beyond Komata to Ohinemuri. 'Surely the Government will not allow the country to suffer to the extent of several hundreds of pounds to please a few half-naked savages, who may choose to think themselves aggrieved by the wire being carried over their (to them) useless lands'.¹⁴⁴ Early in 1881, an unnamed Thames humourist, aware of the sympathy of the Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, for Maori and his opposition to the action taken against Te Whiti at Parihaka,¹⁴⁵ produced a mock petition to him:

1. That considering the unfairness of the criminal law in dealing with native criminals, and the disadvantages they labour under through being amenable to the same laws as Europeans, we would respectfully beg Your Excellency to proclaim that Maori criminals be exempt from the English law, and that they be allowed the unmolested privilege of plundering, murdering, and committing other criminal acts.
2. That it is with regret your petitioners recognise the great supremacy of mind and body possessed by the natives of these islands over themselves, and trust that they be allowed to frame a code of laws which shall be for the rule and guidance of the European population.
3. That, considering the infinitely greater value of the Maori, a reward should be paid to any native laying the head of a European before Your Excellency.
4. That, in consequence of the much more satisfactory system of agriculture in vogue among the natives, we would suggest that all cultivated areas should be handed back to their original owners,

¹⁴² Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 4 May 1911, p. 2.

¹⁴³ See chapter on his life.

¹⁴⁴ 'G.S. O'H[alloran]', 'Overland to Katikati and Tauranga', *Thames Advertiser*, 11 December 1876, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ See Dick Scott, *Ask that Mountain: The story of Parihaka* (Auckland, 1981).

as they can so much better put the ground in a state of cultivation than Europeans....

6. That, in case any native should object to a European constructing a road through his property, and should forbid the same, even though fair cash compensation were offered, he should be considered a benefactor to the colony at large, and should receive a substantial pension....

9. That Your Excellency should use every endeavour in your power to assist the Maoris in rendering themselves obstructive to British interests, and that you should be allowed an extra £7,000 a year to further the obstructive tendencies of the natives.

Other clauses asked for the floating of a £5 million loan to provide Maori with better housing, that they be provided with ‘an unlimited supply’ of warm clothing and blankets, that the ‘inspired sayings’ of Te Whiti be published and purchased by ‘every colonist in Australasia and Polynesia’ or be ‘liable to outlawry’, and that Gordon settle permanently at Parihaka, ‘where you will be in a position to better attend on the noble Prophet’.¹⁴⁶

UNFAIR BENEFITS AND TOO MUCH INFLUENCE

In 1879, a Waitoa resident criticized Sir George Grey for being too generous to ‘our poor *noble* brown brothers’.¹⁴⁷ Two years later, when Waihou settlers met to urge the government to build roads, ‘much stress was laid upon ... the unfairness of the Maori exemption from taxation as a bar to the general advance of the country’.¹⁴⁸ In 1894, the Piako County Council passed the following motion:

Native Lands. The Chairman moved that taking into consideration the trouble and expense of laying off only such Native Lands as are within 5 miles of the Roads and of which the Title has been ascertained by the Native Land Courts, the great difficulty in collection, the fact that only half Rates can be got and no Special Rates and after all that no Sale can take place except with consent of the Trust Commissioner – this Council should petition the Governor to exempt the Native Land in Piako County from Rating.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ *Thames Star*, 12 January 1881, p. 3.

¹⁴⁷ Letter from C., *Thames Star*, 23 September 1879, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ *Waikato Times*, 28 May 1881, p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ Piako County Council, Minutes of Meeting of 7 November 1894, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

The chairman had explained the costs involved in ascertaining the owners, ‘and at the end of all that the great difficulty there would be, in recovering money from the natives would be out of all proportion to the amount of rates that could possibly be collected’. He believed the county ‘would not lose a single farthing by having the whole of their native land exempted from rating’.¹⁵⁰ Under the Highway Boards Empowering Act of 1871, Maori land was rateable only if leased to settlers and traversed by roads. As Alan Ward has noted, most Maori landowners ‘were too heavily indebted to pay rates. A wider levy of rates would in fact have amounted to a compulsion to sell land – although settlers, observing heavy spending by Maori people when flush with cash, were unsympathetic’.¹⁵¹ In 1882 Maori-owned land within five miles of a highway became liable for rates,¹⁵² but the continued poverty of the owners continued to make payment difficult for both parties.

Miner’s rights were always unpopular with miners.¹⁵³ For example, the *Thames Star* suggested in 1880 that ‘our coloured brethren’ retrench by agreeing to the dropping of miner’s rights.¹⁵⁴ But commonly Pakeha Maori were blamed for Maori being unfairly acquisitive, especially in land dealings. In 1875, when Ohinemuri was opened to mining, a Mackaytown correspondent claimed that the difficulties delaying in opening the field by ‘obstructionists’ had been ‘created through the mischievous interference of those ----- pakeha Maories, who did all they could to keep the Ohinemuri closed until they had secured their own little pickings’. With the proclamation of the field, ‘all the opposition of a few Maories and their pakeha prompters can’t be allowed to override the conditions under which it has been opened’.¹⁵⁵ Twenty years later, the *Thames Advertiser*, in writing about the need to ‘settle the whole Maori difficulty’ once and for all, was ‘afraid that so many complications have sprung up in land and other matters that any speedy settlement of this racial question would not suit

¹⁵⁰ Piako County Council, *Waikato Times*, 30 November 1894, p. 3.

¹⁵¹ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial “amalgamation” in nineteenth century New Zealand* (Auckland, rev. ed., 1995), p. 269.

¹⁵² Ward, p. 283.

¹⁵³ For details, see paper on Maori and goldfields revenue.

¹⁵⁴ *Thames Star*, 8 July 1880, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Mackaytown Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 20 March 1875, p. 2.

the books of that numerous body of pakeha-maoris whose livelihood depends on keeping up the present state of muddle'.¹⁵⁶

Maori owning sufficient individual landed property were entitled to vote, but losing candidates complained when Maori votes contributed to their defeat. One example was when William Grey Nicholls was first elected to the Ohinemuri County Council,¹⁵⁷ and in national politics Frederick Alexander Whitaker¹⁵⁸ claimed in 1878 that his defeat by 41 votes in Waipa was due to 'Government influence of a most unwarrantable character.... Paid Maori officials polled the Maori vote in a block to swamp the European electors'.¹⁵⁹

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

On the rare occasions when Pakeha mentioned the Treaty of Waitangi, it was usually to criticize its legacy. A mining columnist, in complaining about payment of miner's rights to Maori, claimed that this, 'like many of the native questions that we hear so much about, is a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi, as we find that the treaty is to give the Maori everything he asks for while he gives nothing in return'.¹⁶⁰ In contrast, in 1909, the *Te Aroha News*, which supported temperance, used the treaty as an argument against a newspaper's support for letting the 'liquor traffic' into the King Country, but revealed amnesia about the acquisition of land:

No one knows better than our contemporary that the Treaty of Waitangi absolutely protects the natives in respect of their land; and it would sully the honour of the British Crown and lower the prestige of the Empire in the treaty were not carried out in its integrity. The New Zealand Government could not honourably have forced the opening up of Native Lands,

¹⁵⁶ Editorial, *Thames Advertiser*, 27 February 1895, p. 2.

¹⁵⁷ See paper on his life.

¹⁵⁸ See Auckland Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 18 June 1881, p. 3; *Observer*, 29 October 1881, p. 104; *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 January 1884, Supplement, pp. 1, 3; *New Zealand Herald*, 17 June 1884, p. 3, editorial, 13 June 1884, p. 4; *Waikato Times*, 11 June 1887, p. 2.

¹⁵⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 July 1878, p. 5.

¹⁶⁰ 'Obadiah', 'Shares and Mining', *Observer*, 7 April 1892, p. 9.

and Maori would not allow purchase of land in the King Country until liquor was banned.¹⁶¹

CONFLICTS OVER MONEY

The lives of Ngati Rahiri rangatira illustrated how Pakeha made sure that Maori owing money were forced to pay.¹⁶² There were complaints about Maori evading paying their debts. In 1880 the *Thames Star*, in one of its regular criticisms of Maori and their ways, gave an example of ‘the native cheek of some of the aboriginals’. Some Hauhau from Waikato, in trying to evade paying rent on a house they had lived in at Thames, attacked the landlord, who ‘injured his hand against the Maoris’ sharp teeth’. After the scuffle, they paid only half the rent due, and would have to be sued for the remainder.¹⁶³ Three months later it mocked some ‘dusky aboriginals’ who had to obtain money from ‘uncle’ [a pawnbroker]¹⁶⁴ to pay their boat fare.¹⁶⁵ A later local example prompted the *Thames Advertiser* to note the ‘adroitness with which the aboriginal native avoids the payment of debts, by disowning his property in favour of other dusky relations’.¹⁶⁶ One magistrate, Harry Kenrick,¹⁶⁷ declined a Te Aroha Maori’s offer of a horse to meet his debt: ‘He was more particular with Maoris than Europeans, as it was quite possible that defendant would offer his father’s, or his brother’s, or his friend’s horse’.¹⁶⁸ And in 1869, when informed by a bankrupt that he was owed money by Thames Maori, the chief justice commented: ‘I am afraid, as a rule, these would not be very valuable assets’, but ‘no doubt’ any amounts owed by ‘influential natives at Shortland would be perfectly safe’,¹⁶⁹ presumably because of their goldfields income.

According to a newspaper correspondent visiting Ohinemuri in 1875, once it had been ‘considered highly derogatory for even a European

¹⁶¹ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 16 November 1909, p. 2.

¹⁶² See papers on Mokena Hou and his family, Karauna Hou, Piahana Hou, Reha Aperahama, and Aihe Pepene.

¹⁶³ *Thames Star*, 14 April 1880, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ Partridge, *Slang*, p. 24.

¹⁶⁵ *Thames Star*, 12 July 1880, p. 2.

¹⁶⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 26 January 1889, p. 2.

¹⁶⁷ See paper on his life.

¹⁶⁸ Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 23 June 1883, p. 2.

¹⁶⁹ Supreme Court, *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 March 1869, p. 20.

shoeblick to clean the shoes of a Maori in the streets of Auckland, but time works wonders'. Now it was 'surprising' how many Pakeha in Ohinemuri were, 'directly or indirectly, paid by Maoris for labour done'. Maori landowners were fencing their land 'in European fashion', employing Pakeha to cut timber and erect fences.

The unpleasantness about working for Maoris is, that when the work is done the money is not forthcoming, and no one knows when it will come. The general custom is to give an order upon Mr Mackay, who gives an order upon the Native Office, and the money turns up some time, and the claim is registered against the land.¹⁷⁰

And so the land was lost.

PRONE TO DRUNKENESS

In 1868, a Thames reporter visited Ohinemuri, where Maori appeared 'to be frightfully unsettled. Their sole desire seems to be to obtain rum, and the Queenites [supporters of the Crown] appear to care very little what becomes of the land if their craving for drink can be satisfied. I might tell you of something worse', possibly a reference to women prostituting themselves for drink, 'but let us draw a veil on that. Here, in Shortland, on a Saturday afternoon, the drinking is something awful, and the Maories appear to be mad for rum, crowding about the public-houses, swearing and howling, and fighting like Bacchanalians'.¹⁷¹ In 1874, at an important meeting of Hauraki iwi, held across the firth from Thames, a correspondent noted 'a new edition or two in the shape of grog shanties, the evils of which were plainly visible during the whole of last night, as numerous drunken natives kept their spree up until nearly daylight, much to the annoyance of the peaceably inclined inhabitants of the tents'. To protect 'the sober portion of the community from being annoyed, and their property destroyed by the men elated and unruly', a Maori policeman had been posted at the entrance to one store selling alcohol 'directly after dark, which means drink has not been served to excess, and annoyances were infrequent. I hope the

¹⁷⁰ Special Correspondent, 'Ohinemuri', *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 February 1875, p. 7.

¹⁷¹ *Thames Advertiser*, 22 October 1868, reprinted in *Auckland Weekly News*, 31 October 1868, p. 5.

authorities here will do the same with regard to the other houses, and so let us get peace and quietness at night'.¹⁷²

Drunkenness continued to be a problem, prompting an 1883 editorial in the *Te Aroha News*,

The Maoris cannot, as a rule, stand beer and spirits, and if the way we pat ourselves on the backs, for having civilized and improved one of the finest savage races that ever lived, [and] it is not humbug, and we do not want them to drop off like rotten pears, something must be done to limit their drinking.¹⁷³

The same point was reiterated, with variations, 26 years later, when the newspaper approvingly quoted Richard John Seddon saying in 1895 that Maori 'should be treated as European children' and not given alcohol. Seddon's visit to the Urewera district, 'where civilisation has not yet reached', had introduced him to 'quite a different class' of Maori. The newspaper considered these words continued to be true, for Maori were still 'like children', and to force those living in the King County to accept the drink trade meant 'filching from the natives not only their land, but their peace, their health, their honour, and the lives of too many of them'.¹⁷⁴

A Mormon missionary, when staying overnight at Paeroa in 1883, was woken 'by drunken Maori men and women yelling and shrieking hideously. Instead of teaching this child of nature principles of morality, the Europeans deal out drink to them until they are beastly inebriated'.¹⁷⁵ John Richard Randerson, an outspoken teetotaler, sharebroker and moneylender,¹⁷⁶ even accused the government of paying for land with grog and provisions instead of money, thereby exterminating them through drink, a claim rejected by others as a 'wicked calumny'.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Special Correspondent, 'Whakatiwai', *Thames Advertiser*, 20 August 1874, p. 3.

¹⁷³ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 22 December 1883, p. 2.

¹⁷⁴ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 16 November 1909, p. 2.

¹⁷⁵ Diary of Alma Greenwood, entry for 21 January 1883, Brigham Young University Papers, MS 4292, folder 16, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁷⁶ See *Thames Advertiser*, 17 May 1878, p. 2, 12 June 1884, p. 2, 9 July 1885, p. 3; *Observer*, 4 August 1883, p. 15; *Waikato Times*, 9 February 1884, p. 2; for the temperance work of his family, see biography of Arthur Cyril Randerson in *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 706.

¹⁷⁷ *Thames Advertiser*, 27 March 1873, p. 3, 12 April 1873, p. 3, 19 April 1873, p. 2; *Auckland Weekly News*, 29 March 1873, p. 13, 5 April 1873, p. 15, 12 April 1873, p. 4.

The Methodists traditionally led the fight against the Demon Drink.¹⁷⁸ A Methodist sermon given in Te Aroha in 1908 argued that drink was ‘far more dangerous to an Aboriginal than to an Englishman’, for with ‘stronger animal passions, with less mental diversion, and much less restraint, his drinking soon passes into drunkenness’. The future of the race depended upon ‘the drink being kept from them’. Because Pakeha had introduced alcohol, they were ‘under the weightiest obligation to protect the Maori from destroying himself’. ‘Now we have not the ghost of a right to wipe out the native race of this Dominion, but the fatal facilities for obtaining one of the most dangerous commodities on earth is sounding the death knell of the Maori’. During 26 years of working among Maori, he had observed ‘the baneful effects of liquor’, and cited ‘an enlightened Maori Chief pleading with a Pakeha to keep the drink away. Leave the Maoris to themselves, let us keep them from European contamination, and they are a sober, well conducted people and don’t want the drink’. The clergyman’s conclusion was a plea ‘to save the remnant of a brave and interesting people from the scourge and thralldom of strong drink’.¹⁷⁹

‘Observer’ stated that ‘those who know anything of the Maoris know very well how necessary it is that there should be a third party – a sober European it should be – to witness all the signatures of these people with respect to money matters.... Only make a Maori half drunk, then you may get him to sign anything’. This comment was provoked by a case involving a promissory note, and the writer was glad that the magistrate, Kenrick, was defending Maori against this practice by insisting on signatures being witnessed.¹⁸⁰

NEED TO ACCEPT PAKEHA RULES OF BEHAVIOUR

Harry Kenrick was viewed favourably by Maori;¹⁸¹ for instance, after his death one rangatira, Rewi Mokena,¹⁸² referring to his having taken ‘a warm interest’ in their ‘welfare’.¹⁸³ Like other well-disposed Pakeha,

¹⁷⁸ See paper on drink.

¹⁷⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 30 July 1908, p. 3.

¹⁸⁰ Letter from ‘Observer’, *Thames Star*, 6 June 1881, p. 2.

¹⁸¹ See paper on his life.

¹⁸² See paper on his life.

¹⁸³ *Waikato Times*, 19 December 1886, p. 3.

Kenrick wanted them to adopt respectable Pakeha ways of behaviour, as revealed in his comment when hearing one criminal case:

He was sorry to learn from the constable's evidence that the natives still adhered to the old notion that they could do whatever they liked with their wives, and he advised defendant to rid himself of this idea as soon as possible, as Maori women had as much right to protection as their Pakeha sisters.¹⁸⁴

CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR

During the nineteenth century, only rarely did Maori steal from Pakeha or assault them, but when they did Pakeha disapproval was made very clear. The *Thames Star* reported in 1880 on one consequence of Maori landowners selling their land to the government:

We learn that one of the effects of the payment of the money to the natives of Ohinemuri by Mr [George Thomas] Wilkinson [land purchase officer] is that drinking to an extraordinary degree is being carried on. The unfortunate representative of the A[rmed] C[onstabulary] Force stationed at Paeroa has had cause to regret the increase of riches to native residents, for it appears on Wednesday some of them getting more waipiro [alcohol]¹⁸⁵ than was good for them, assaulted the individual in question, and had it not been for Mr [Hugh] McIlhone¹⁸⁶ and others he might have found himself in the river. Some of these larrikins with a copper-coloured skin should be taught a lesson, and made to respect the law, or at least those entrusted with the preservation of the peace and protection of life and property.¹⁸⁷

In fining three men for this offence, Kenrick 'wished the natives to understand that unruly conduct in the future would not be overlooked as in the past'.¹⁸⁸

LAZY AND FECKLESS

¹⁸⁴ Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 13 July 1881, p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ P.M. Ryan, *The New Dictionary of Modern Maori* (Auckland, 1974), p. 50.

¹⁸⁶ See paper on Maori and goldfields revenue.

¹⁸⁷ *Thames Star*, 17 September 1880, p. 2.

¹⁸⁸ Police Court, Paeroa, *Thames Star*, 23 September 1880, p. 2.

In late 1874, a journalist visiting Ohinemuri commented on ‘the very melancholy element’ of travelling upriver.

To see a splendid river, passing through a fine country for 70 miles, to reflect what use might be made of it, and to contrast that with the use which really is made of it, is a melancholy topic. That may be a utilitarian philosophy – a colonial utilitarianism – but it is true, and I do think not ignoble. To change wilderness or swamp into fertile seed-fields, is wholesome and noble work, and no worthy of the blessedness of civilization can see a territory lying waste without feeling that they are neglecting a duty by not cultivating it. Woe be to any weak people which comes between a strong race and its destiny! All history tells us that, and although we do not know much about destiny, which really means the mind of the Creator, still it is clear as the sun that the Europeans are to possess the valley.

He contrasted the ‘considerable difference between the appearance of at least the lower part of the river now and six years ago’, meaning the timber mills. ‘We are thankful for what we do see in the way of progress’. A couple of Pakeha farms close to the future Paeroa showed ‘considerable’ improvements.¹⁸⁹ Four years later, a Pakeha who visited Te Aroha in 1878 hoping to speculate in land ruminated on the contrast with Pakeha society:

After spending three days of the most rural character, enjoying the balmy atmosphere of rivers, glens, valleys, and mountains, and receiving the friendly hospitalities of the natives in all directions, one feels almost inclined to resign the boast of civilisation of the present century, with all its attendant anxieties, the competition of life, and the attendant responsibilities, and become a Maori.¹⁹⁰

Usually Pakeha frowned upon this relaxed lifestyle. The *Thames Advertiser* in mid-1874 noted crowds of Maori in the streets of Thames waiting for a big meeting to discuss land sales. ‘The natives do absolutely nothing from morning till night. On the fine days they sit in rows in the sunny places, and loaf about the bars of the public-houses’.¹⁹¹ Two decades later, the same newspaper deplored ‘The Maori of To-day’:

¹⁸⁹ Own Reporter, *Thames Advertiser*, 18 November 1874, p. 3.

¹⁹⁰ S[amuel] Stephenson, ‘A Visit to Te Aroha Hot Pools’, *Thames Advertiser*, 4 December 1878, p. 3.

¹⁹¹ *Thames Advertiser*. 13 June 1874, p. 2.

The average young Maori of today is most abominably lazy and thriftless, thinking only of what immediate pleasure he may obtain through horseracing, football, billiard playing and so on, and far too little of the future. Far too frequently the money which goes to the natives as the proceeds of land sold or leased by them is squandered in hotels and billiard rooms and on the racecourses.... In olden days the young men were set to work by their elders on the cultivation of the land, but in how many paha nowadays are the cultivation patches of any extent? Instead of steadily pursuing agricultural work, for which under proper direction the natives are peculiarly suited, we find the young and stalwart amongst the Maoris loafing around the townships, aping the follies and vices of the European, and leaving the work to be done by the old men and women folk.¹⁹²

James Mackay, the man most responsible for the major land purchases in Hauraki,¹⁹³ agreed, in 1902 telling a meeting of Ohinemuri rangatira that he was

disgusted with some of the rising generation of Maoris. They were idle, passing their time in cigarette smoking, billiard playing, football, drinking, etc. If any one died, and they wanted money to buy food for a cry over the deceased, they never thought of working for it, but immediately went to their various European tenants, and asked for six or at times two or three years rent in advance, and some of them subsequently disputed these advances, and said they were contrary to the Native Lands Act.... Instead of these able bodied young Maoris lolling about in billiard rooms and public houses, it would be more to their advantage if they set to work and fenced in their lands now laying idle, and cleared them of sweet briar and laid them down in grass to keep sheep and cattle. Also when they dug a crop of potatoes why not lay the land down in grass at once instead of leaving it to be overrun with docks and noxious weeds.

Before the Waikato War Maori 'were an industrious people and cultivated large areas, supplying Auckland with a great deal of wheat. Since the war they had become apathetic and only thought of selling land when they required cash or supplies'.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² *Thames Advertiser*, 4 June 1895, p. 3.

¹⁹³ See paper on Maori land in Hauraki.

¹⁹⁴ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 14 November 1902, p. 2.

A founder of Auckland, John Logan Campbell, agreed, writing in 1881 that, four decades previously, Maori had ‘planted great fields of maize and potatoes’ to sell. ‘It is to be regretted that in the present day the sale of their lands, and the money thus acquired, have converted an industrious into an idle people’. Campbell wished that Maori were still tillers of the soil. ‘Alas, lords of the soil, they now sell it instead, and idleness doth beget bad habits, and the race deteriorates and dwindles away’.¹⁹⁵

Edwin Walter Puckey, the native agent in Hauraki in the 1870s, referred to this issue several times in his annual reports, as in 1875, when he recorded the deaths of two prominent and wise rangatira. ‘The loss of men of this stamp is irreparable to the Native race, when so few have gifts which qualify them to take their place, or the perseverance and industry without which it is impossible to achieve any great success’.¹⁹⁶ Two years later, one section of his report was headed ‘Industrial Pursuits’:

I regret that I am not able to say on this head that the Natives here are any better than in some other parts of the colony in reference to their industry, for I do not believe they are. It is true there are a few exceptions, *i.e.*, there are a few who during the planting season will cultivate a sufficient area of land to maintain themselves and their families. Most of them, however, prefer a sort of hand-to-mouth existence, on the principle perhaps of “little eat, little care” – a principle which is better in theory than in practice.

He exempted the rangatira who owned the Thames goldfield from these strictures before giving an example of how laziness led to impoverishment:

There is a custom which, I think, has rather grown upon the Natives of late years than the contrary, and as it tends materially to impoverish them, and rob them of the result of such negative industry as they possess, might very properly, I think, be referred to under this head: I mean the custom of the *uhunga* – “wailing for the dead.” It appears to be a universally-accepted fact amongst them that they cannot be strong to cry unless there is not only a sufficiency but a superabundance of food provided; and they consider that it redounds to the glorification and credit of the departed and also of his or her deceased relatives, as well as proof

¹⁹⁵ John Logan Campbell, *Poenamo* (Auckland, 1973 [first published 1881]), pp. 84-85.

¹⁹⁶ E.W. Puckey to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 28 May 1875, *AJHR*, 1875, G-1B, p. 1.

of respect to their visitors, that a lavish supply should be made – not, as in days gone by, of food obtained and prepared by the Natives themselves, but of the imported luxuries of the wealthy pakeha.¹⁹⁷

Another two years later, he blamed ‘their communistic habits’ for preventing Maori from raising themselves socially, morally, or indeed economically. ‘I think it improbable that the Natives, as a people, will settle down to industrial habits whilst they have land left to hypothecate to settlers or storekeepers; it is so much easier for them to get needful supplies in that way than by raising crops for sale’.¹⁹⁸ In 1881, his successor described Hauraki Maori as having ‘no fixed occupations or pursuits whereby to employ their time and take up their attention’.¹⁹⁹

In 1909, a *Te Aroha News* editorial hoped a meeting being held at Waahi pa, at Huntly, would make more land available to Pakeha farmers. ‘If the Dominion is to come to its own as a substantial producing country the sooner it is sufficiently peopled with those who are anxious to bring it under cultivation the better’.²⁰⁰ Nearly two years later, it was pleased to see that the old disregard for ‘industry’ was changing and that Maori would ‘have to do some work’.²⁰¹

The deduction almost all Pakeha made from the assumption that Maori were lazy was that their land should be taken over by the more vigorous and competent new settlers. One editorial, published after Te Whiti’s Parihaka settlement in Taranaki was invaded by government forces, hoped that the land nearby would soon ‘be under the proper care of European farmers, and men whose ambition is to raise themselves above the sensual and brutalizing conditions so long enjoyed by the Maoris’.²⁰²

Commenting on methods of paying for Maori land, the *Te Aroha News* in 1909 stated that ‘everyone knows that handing over large sums of money

¹⁹⁷ E.W. Puckey to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 8 June 1877, *AJHR*, 1877, G-1, p. 4.

¹⁹⁸ E.W. Puckey to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 26 June 1879, *AJHR*, 1879, G-1, p. 14.

¹⁹⁹ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 28 May 1881, *AJHR*, 1881, G-8, p. 7.

²⁰⁰ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 17 April 1909, p. 2.

²⁰¹ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 4 May 1911, p. 2.

²⁰² Editorial, *Thames Star*, 31 December 1880, p. 2.

to the native has a demoralizing tendency. The money is quickly wasted in very questionable ways, and the natives get little permanent good from it'.²⁰³ Over 30 years later, a local historian wrote that Ngati Rahiri 'sold all their land, except the reserves made out to them in the Te Aroha block, and these were leased at so low a rate that the resultant income was insufficient' to support them.

In those days, when so much of the native land was changing hands and the Maoris consequently had plenty of money to spend and plenty of Europeans to persuade them to spend it in the most thriftless way, one of the greatest difficulties was to keep the hapus on the land, so that they did not neglect their agricultural pursuits. If they had money, they were inclined to do no work at all. If they had received a deposit and more was yet to come, they sometimes had enough to keep them in idleness until the next or final instalment was paid. Usually, however, they did just enough work to supply themselves with the bare necessities of existence. Industrious, then, up to a certain point, this improvident people did not think it worthwhile to consider the future. Moreover, they used to spend a great part of their time in the bush-clad ranges looking for kauri-gum and gold, from the proceeds of which they were able to buy food. This further enabled them to dispense with the growing of food.²⁰⁴

The *Te Aroha News* argued that nothing had changed by 1949. As elsewhere, there were Maori living in 'deplorable housing' at Te Aroha, and the cause of the Maori lower standard of living was obvious. As they had a Stone Age culture when Pakeha arrived, a 'need for protection and guidance of the race in the impact of the white man's ways was obvious and still is. But it is one thing to see the need; supplying it wisely and well is another. Racially the Maori is a child, and just as indulgence and petting spoil the child so was the Maori', who were not taught self-reliance, the only way to raise their standard of living. Although New Zealand had 'practically no colour prejudice', there was 'a strong and thoroughly justified prejudice against dirt, slovenliness and shiftlessness, all things which lower community standards'. Maori were attracted to the city for large wages, but what happened to this income? 'Taking no thought for the morrow wasn't so bad about 100 years ago, but just doesn't work well in 1949', and the

²⁰³ *Te Aroha News*. 3 July 1909, p. 2.

²⁰⁴ C.T. Harris, 'The Romance of the Upper Thames Valley: A Study in New Zealand Colonisation', *Te Aroha News*, 6 April 1936, p. 8.

editorial regretted the tragedy of the 'shiftless' behaviour of so many. The 'Maori problem' was not solved by government payments 'in perpetuity for the bed of the lake', the example given, but was 'a moral and spiritual problem, no less than the building of character and preparation for a just and equal partnership with the white man'.²⁰⁵ This concern about Maori happily lived in drunken squalor rather than working continued throughout the twentieth century.²⁰⁶

In a rare contrast, hard working and successful Maori were praised, as for example Hone Werahiko.²⁰⁷

PRONE TO EXTRAVAGENCE

Polynesian society required competitive displays of mana, even, in the extreme example of Easter Island, at the cost of permanent degradation of the environment and the impoverishment and even starvation of many of its inhabitants.²⁰⁸ Through rivalry for mana, hapu sold land to pay for lavish displays to visitors,²⁰⁹ despite many warnings against such behaviour being made by those who considered themselves friends of Maori. For instance, in 1891 James Mackay wrote about the Maori habit of always giving Pakeha visitors 'the best that the people could place before them':

I am well acquainted with the hospitality of the Maori people, and have very often experienced it; and would not like to see any diminution in their well-known generosity. I would, however, like to impress on the Maoris the desirability of giving up the wasteful expenditure of time, money, and provisions at tangis (crying over the dead) and meetings (frequently of no utility whatsoever) extending some times over several weeks; the Maoris, in order to gratify the vanity of their tribe, running into debt, impoverishing themselves in every way, and sometimes being reduced to a state of semi-starvation for months after the giving of the feast.²¹⁰

PATRONIZED AND MOCKED

²⁰⁵ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 22 November 1949, p. 4.

²⁰⁶ For example, editorials, *Te Aroha News*, 14 July 1953, p. 4, 13 June 1961, p. 4.

²⁰⁷ See paper on his life.

²⁰⁸ See John Flenley and Paul Bahn, *The Enigmas of Easter Island: Island on the edge* (Oxford, 2002), especially pp. 111-112, 144-145, 152, 174.

²⁰⁹ As noted by Belich, p. 259.

²¹⁰ *Auckland Weekly News*, 12 September 1891, p. 8.

In 1880, the *Thames Star* made fun of a Thames Maori scared by his first sight of a locomotive, referring to him as ‘the unsophisticated son of nature’.²¹¹ In the following year, it was amused by how a barber mocked a Maori customer:

An aboriginal stopped at a barber’s shop in Brown Street the other day. Whilst the barber was stropping his razor, the noble savage noticed a dog slink into the shop and stare at him fiercely. “What de matter with dat dog?” The barber answered, with an unconcerned air, “That dog is always here when Maoris are about, you see when I cut off an ear he eats it.”²¹²

Another example of an unsophisticated Maori was published in 1881, in Auckland. ‘A big Maori, named “Sixpence,” went about Cambridge the other day, knocking down every Pakeha whom he met. He explained to the magistrate that he was looking for a man whom he could not knock down; in fact he was simply experimenting’.²¹³

Sometimes newspapers included snippets suggesting that Maori were wise at their own, elementary, level. For instance, the *Te Aroha News* in 1921 published the following story:

A Maori who had apparently sized up the financial situation was heard to make some characteristic remarks during one of the recent monthly sittings at the Court. In commenting upon the remarkably few criminal cases which had to be dealt with, he came to the following conclusion: no money, no beer; no beer, no crime; no crime, no good to Court or lawyers.²¹⁴

Maori confusion over Pakeha goods made entertaining stories for the newspapers. When the Piako swamp was being drained in 1910, one of those ferrying stores to the contractors by canoe conveyed

an old Maori who told some quaint stories of his unsophisticated fellow Natives in the early days. When the first flour was taken to the district the Maoris ate large quantities of it dry, indulging afterwards in copious draughts of water. The results were even

²¹¹ *Thames Star*, 16 January 1880, p. 2.

²¹² *Thames Star*, 17 January 1881, p. 2.

²¹³ *Observer*, 6 August 1881, p. 539.

²¹⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 28 November 1921, p. 2.

more disastrous when the same experiment was tried with lime. On another occasion, the Maoris made themselves very ill by smoking ratline rope, which they had stolen from a ship, mistaking it for twist tobacco. A Native who secured a tin of kerosene, when that also was a novelty, was very anxious to eclipse a European lamp which he had seen. After a consultation with his fellows, it was decided to pour the unfamiliar liquid into a tin dish and set light to it. The result was unexpected and calamitous; the flames could not be confined to the tin dish, and soon the whole pa was ablaze, and several of the Natives were burned to death.²¹⁵

That some Maori had difficulty speaking correct English prompted the publication of mocking versions of pigeon English that newspapers allegedly recorded accurately. For instance, the *Te Aroha News*, during the influenza epidemic of 1918, printed the words of ‘a district Maori’:

Werry bad te influ. Lot of Maori got it. Te Maori don't know what he goin' to do. When he pad he go in te whare. Newer open te window, and te dog and all te utter pheller walk in and out. Newer get te disinfec. He no like to smell te disinfec, but he get to smell all te rubbish about te pah. I tink te Helt Board must get te nurse and te man to burn up all te rubbish about te pah, and look a'ter te Maori. Werra, I must go now and get some disinfec for myself.²¹⁶

Two weeks later, another example of painstakingly recorded dialect was printed in a column about precautions needed to avoid infection; perhaps it was the newspaper's concept of a public health notice to Maori?

Hemi called in at the office on Friday to see if we were still alive. “Good-day, Mistah Noospaper!” “Good-day, Hemi, not got the influenza?” “Oh, no, not yet, might be soon.” “How is the baby, Hemi?” “No good, he's dead.” “Very sorry to hear that; how is the Missus?” “Oh, he's orright, he's dead too. By gorry, te frooenza no tam good. Soon might be no Maori, he never ora die. Two week twenty-five dead. I terra you te Maori no rike te infectant, too much tink. When he get sick, he close him ora te window, then he rie down on te frore. Te dog, te cat ora te farrah walk bout, plenty dirt, he no never mind. Te Maori he no rike te medicine, that te way he die ora to same te try. Werra, good-bye I go get some euchceriptis, dat te ferra for te infrooenza. I say, you terra te Heft

²¹⁵ *Waikato Times*, n.d. [original lost], reprinted in *Te Aroha News*, 22 March 1910, p. 2.

²¹⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 22 November 1918, p. 2.

Pord ferra for him to burn ora te rubbish down te pa, make him oreap. Might be no infrooenza then. Good-bye.”²¹⁷

Pakeha were sometimes puzzled when Maori wrote in English. In 1876, for instance, when one leading Ngati Tamatera rangatira, Hohepa Kapene,²¹⁸ wrote to the *Thames Advertiser* ‘on behalf of all the chiefs of Ohinemuri’ the newspaper described his letter as ‘extremely foggy’ and decided that to publish it ‘would be useless’, as ‘it could not be understood by pakehas’.²¹⁹

When a 13-year-old Te Aroha schoolgirl went on a school trip to Rotorua in 1900, she recorded that the train stopped at Ngatira to let the train from Rotorua pass. ‘Here we saw a number of Maori children who danced the Haka dance for a few applies that were thrown to them by the passengers, who were very much amused at their antics’. At Whakarewarewa, the children ‘saw the Haka and Poi Poi dance, which amused us very much’.²²⁰ That Pakeha found such dances amusing was also illustrated by a report of Caledonian sports at Thames in 1868, when Taipari arranged for Maori ‘to perform a war dance and sing the songs peculiar to natives. The amusement afforded was intense. The people never ceased cheering’.²²¹

In 1898, a Thames resident informed the Sydney *Bulletin* about Wirope Hoterene Taipari’s volunteer corps:²²²

²¹⁷ ‘Hemi on the Flu’, *Te Aroha News*, 2 December 1918, p. 3.

²¹⁸ See Maori Land Court, Coromandel Minute Books no. 1, pp. 329-336; no. 3, pp. 140-141; Hauraki Minute Books no. 11, pp. 167-169; no. 15, p. 157; no. 16, pp. 143, 145, 149; no. 18, p. 189; no. 23, pp. 24-37, 46-48, 128-130, 135-136, 143; no. 32m pp. 147-149, 154, 168, 177-179, 184-185; no. 56, pp. 136-137, 143-149; no. 65, pp. 128-133; *Thames Advertiser*, 6 June 1873, p. 3, 24 August 1874, p. 3, 24 November 1874, p. 3, 3 December 1874, p. 3, 9 December 1874, p. 3, 16 January 1875, p. 3, 10 March 1875, p. 3, 14 April 1876, p. 3, 19 April 1876, p. 2, letter from Hohepa Kapene, 11 May 1876, p. 2, 25 April 1877, p. 3, 21 May 1886, p. 2.

²¹⁹ *Thames Advertiser*, 19 April 1876, p. 2.

²²⁰ Alvina Crombie, ‘School Excursion to Rotorua’, *Te Aroha News*, 3 March 1900, p. 3.

²²¹ Thames Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 11 January 1868, p. 22.

²²² See paper entitled ‘Maori and Pakeha at Te Aroha: The Contest: 2: Maori in Hauraki in the Nineteenth Century’.

Captain Taipari's favourite command was "pika peoneta" ("fix bayonets"), but he usually forgot "the words" to ensure the return of the bayonets into the sheaths, and as his subordinates' [Lieutenant Raika Whakarongotai²²³ and Ensign Matiu Poono]²²⁴ memories were no better, he would leave the contingent standing posed at "the charge" while he went to *korero* Major Cooper, and refresh his memory in the necessary direction. Taipari's father, old Hoterene, though very rich and blue-blooded, would come to the parade-ground without any boots and not much trousers to speak of, and, as he was bumble-footed, he cut a queer figure hopping about and ostentatiously inspecting his gaily-caparisoned son from various points of view. Captain Taipari often seemed disconcerted at the behaviour of his parent, but I don't think his feelings were ever so much hurt as they were on occasion when Governor Normanby inspected the corps and the old man "hirpled" up to the H. Ex., and pointing to the captain, quavered out: "Kapai! Tamaite Wiremu!" ("I ask you to admire my son, William.")²²⁵

The Maori kings were mocked for claiming royal status. A *Te Aroha* correspondent wrote, in 1885, that residents were 'still basking in the sunshine of royalty, his Maori majesty being yet resident among us' to use the hot baths for his rheumatic legs. 'He has derived much benefit from them, and though in the matter of his kingship he may be somewhat shaky on his pins, it is satisfactory to know that physically he will depart a sounder man than when he came'.²²⁶ Ten years later, the use of inverted commas indicated how the *Te Aroha News* viewed his successor: ' "King" Mahuta will pay a visit to Te Whiti, the Prophet of Parihaka'.²²⁷

DISLIKED BY SOME

²²³ See *New Zealand Herald*, 4 January 1871, p. 3; *Thames Advertiser*, 5 May 1877, p. 3, 25 December 1877, p. 3, 28 May 1884, p. 2, Magistrate's Court, 12 March 1888, p. 2; *Thames Star*, 12 August 1878, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 9 June 1888, p. 4.

²²⁴ See Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 291, 294-295; Coromandel Minute Book no. 4, pp. 330-332; Hauraki Minute Books no. 6, pp. 81-82, 386-387, 392-395, 400, 403-404, 465; no. 7, p. 32; no. 8, pp. 368-370, 442; no. 13, pp. 95, 98, 337-339; no. 14, pp. 1-2, 12-14, 52-53, 108-110; no. 21, pp. 199, 202, 204, 212-214, 125, 132, 145, 148; no. 56, pp. 336-337, 342, 345-346, 350-351, 363, 365, 374.

²²⁵ 'A Correspondent', *Bulletin*, n.d., reprinted in *Thames Star*, 19 November 1898, p. 2.

²²⁶ *Te Aroha* Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 10 September 1885, p. 3.

²²⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 18 July 1895, p. 2.

Dislike of Maori was blatant in some cases. In 1874, a Thames journalist ‘visited the collection of native specimens assembled’ at the meeting held to discuss opening Ohinemuri to mining held at ‘the artful dodger’s’, otherwise Taipari’s house. ‘I saw all the Maori lords resting on their bottoms, while their humble servants, the Caucasian race of God’s image, stood around, awaiting the pleasure of the noble animals’.²²⁸

In 1869, at an ‘important native meeting’ at Thames, rangatira complained ‘that the natives were frequently called “dogs” and “black niggers” in Shortland’. In response, the chairman, a prominent Pakeha, assured them that he had ‘never met more honest nor more honourable natives than those with whom I have had transactions in Hauraki’, and had met ‘very few’ better men amongst Pakeha. ‘It grieves me very much that men of that class are designated as “dogs” or “black niggers.” There is no language that I could use that would express my disapproval of such conduct or such expressions’.²²⁹ Despite such words of disapproval, these terms no doubt continued to be used by Pakeha but not reported in the press. An exception was in 1879, at the height of the alarm provoked by the shooting of Daldy McWilliams, when a letter about this ‘outrage’ mentioned that the government had ‘erected a polling booth for the niggers at Shortland’.²³⁰

An example of conflict provoked by name calling, which was typical in that the Maori stood up for himself, was heard in the Thames court in 1878. Ngarewa, possible the Wiremu Ngarewa who was involved in mining at Te Aroha and Waiorongomai in 1881 and 1882,²³¹ was charged with assaulting George C. Mitchell, ‘a lad about 15 years of age’. Mitchell had told the police that with some other schoolboys he had been returning from school when Ngarewa assaulted him ‘without any provocation’.

²²⁸ *Thames Exchange, Miners and Merchants Directory*, 12 December 1874, p. 3.

²²⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 23 October 1869, p. 19.

²³⁰ Letter from J.C. Williams, *Thames Star*, 30 August 1879, p. 3.

²³¹ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Miner’s Right no. 1734, issued 18 January 1881, Miners’ Rights Butt Book 1881, BBAV 115533/1h; Notices of Marking Out Claims, nos. 163, 354, BBAV 11557/1b; Licensed Holdings Grant Book 1880-1882, no. 31, BBAV 11549/1a; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 219, BBAV 11567/1a; Register of Licensed Holdings 1882-1887, BBAV 11500/9a; Plaintiff Book 1880-1898, 43/1882, BBAV 11547/1a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, no. 260, BBAV 11581/1a, ANZ-A.

He was near some small boys who were playing buttons, when one of them called the defendant, who was passing by, "Maori! Maori!" The Maori turned round and accused him of calling him names. There were several boys with him at the time, but they did not say or do anything to the Maori. The Maori ran after him and threw him on the ground, and hit him four times on the head with his fists. He did not throw anything at the defendant. A man named Maguire came along and took the Maori off him.

In response to questions from Ngarewa, Mitchell stated: 'You swore at me, but I did not say anything or throw any stones at you'. Another boy in Mitchell's group confirmed that 'some other boys' had called out:

The Maori came up to Mitchell and threatened to strike him, but Mitchell took up some mud and said he would throw it at him if he struck him, but he afterwards threw down the mud and ran away. The Maori chased him, tripped him, and held him down with one hand, while he struck him on the head with the other.

'Hawera, a native', perhaps the Thames miner who later participated in Te Aroha mining and in the same Waiorongomai claim,²³² then stated that "The white boys called out "Maori, Maori, b---- Maori," but he or defendant did not give any offence to the boys for their doing so. The defendant then ran after Mitchell, who picked up a stone and hit defendant on the shoulder. The boy afterwards fell down, and defendant picked him up'. Other Maori confirmed this version of events. Ngarewa said he had been on his way to the telegraph office when Mitchell called out 'B---- Maori boy'. When he 'turned round and told the boy to stop it', Mitchell 'picked up a stone and threw it at him, hitting him on the shoulder. He chased the boy to frighten him'. In giving judgment, the magistrate said the evidence was 'very conflicting, and that if he took Mitchell's story as the right one he should punish the defendant severely, but he did not think that defendant would have done as he did if there was not some cause for it, therefore he would dismiss the case'.²³³

²³² Thames Warden's Court, Claims Register 1868, no. 479, BACL 14397/2a; Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 1736, issued 18 January 1881, BBAV 11533/1h; Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 48, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, no. 264, BBAV 11581/1a, ANZ-A.

²³³ Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 31 July 1878, p. 3.

Land speculators, trying in 1880 to convince the government to permit them to purchase the Te Kawana Block, adjacent to the future Te Aroha township, argued that, as settlers ‘dislike and never agree with Maori neighbours’, the owners of this block should live on their land on the other side of the river, ‘where they can be of little annoyance to the settlers’.²³⁴ And Pakeha women certainly did not want to share hot pools with them, according to an 1893 report:

We hear that some of the lady visitors to Te Aroha of late, have been obliged to forego the use of the No. 2 bath as a Maori woman has been allowed by the authorities to take her bathtime therein. Possibly the dark-skinned lady may be quite as clean in her person as her white sisters, but that is not the question the management have to keep in mind. Europeans don’t like it, and should the circumstances become generally known it would certainly tend to reduce the number of visitors,

requiring making ‘other provisions’ for Maori.²³⁵

SYMPATHETICALLY VIEWED

A *Thames Star* journalist, before critically reporting an 1879 meeting of Maori, described most of the rangatira attending it as ‘fine intelligent looking men’.²³⁶ Seven years later, the *Thames Advertiser* was impressed that, when one man was fined for theft from another Maori, to be imprisoned if unable to pay, ‘no sooner was the judgment pronounced than the full amount was forthcoming from his friends – prosecutrix, witnesses, etc, included’. This action was the best possible example ‘of the romance in Maori life’, exemplifying the principle that ‘if one member of the tribe or hapu suffer his are the infirmities of the hapu as a whole’. As for the assumption that Europeans were ‘the superior race’, the newspaper pointed out that Pakeha had showed their superiority by providing the drink that led to the crime, and had the offender’s hapu not come to his aid ‘the

²³⁴ P.J. Perry and Thomas Spencer to Native Minister, 12 October 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

²³⁵ *Waikato Times*, 23 March 1893, p. 2.

²³⁶ *Thames Star*, 8 September 1879, p. 2.

“European superiority” would have been still further conspicuous in supplying him for at least six months with a felon’s den’.²³⁷

Their level of family commitment was admired, the *Te Aroha News* citing ‘an example of untiring energy and parental affection’ at Lake Waikaremoana that might make even a European ‘blush’. When his son drowned, a father ‘searched the river from daylight to dark, diving into the deepest holes and groping under ledges for a period of ten days, barely taking enough food to sustain him. When he found the body he carried it for nearly a mile’ to a settler’s house.²³⁸

Sympathy with Maori in times of family grief was indicated by Pakeha attendance at funerals, but appears to have been rarely expressed in other ways. In 1902 three Maori wrote to the *Ohinemuri Gazette* to express their gratitude to William Cullen, a Paeroa draper,²³⁹ for taking schoolboys to the funeral of ‘our late boy, Papaka Ngatete, who was one of the Paeroa senior scholars’. They stated that Cullen was ‘the first European that has acknowledged Native funerals. On this special occasion we feel very grateful to him for doing so, and his acknowledgment will never be forgotten’.²⁴⁰

Pakeha and Maori socialized from the earliest days of Pakeha settlement, for instance, drinking together in hotels.²⁴¹ Their children mixed at school; for example, in 1877 the Ohinemuri school committee resolved to establish a full time school at Paeroa as soon as possible ‘so that the native children can attend. They at present refuse to attend the “half-time” school’. The Native Minister had ‘promised to help, on condition that native children are allowed to attend’.²⁴²

Government methods of separating Maori from their land were sometimes criticized on moral grounds. ‘Old Settler’ claimed that the Native Department was destroying their self-reliance through providing them with flour and grog.²⁴³ And some Pakeha sympathized with poor Maori. One, who wanted to sell a (stolen) horse because ‘he wanted to buy food, as he had

²³⁷ *Thames Advertiser*, 23 December 1887, p. 2.

²³⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 25 January 1898, p. 2.

²³⁹ See *Ohinemuri Electoral Roll, 1900*, p. 21, Police Court, *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 23 January 1905, p. 3.

²⁴⁰ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 7 November 1902, p. 3.

²⁴¹ For example, Paeroa Magistrate’s Court, Notes of Evidence 1884-1892, Hearing of 13 April 1886, James Barrett v. Hunia Tamihana, ZAAP 13790/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁴² *Auckland Weekly News*, 10 March 1877, p. 8.

²⁴³ Letter from ‘Old Settler’, *Thames Advertiser*, 26 January 1876, p. 3.

only kumeras and fish', told a Pakeha that 'he was very hungry', whereupon he was given 'some dinner'.²⁴⁴

Some Pakeha became interested in Maori history and customs, but others did not share their enthusiasm. For instance, the *Observer* noted that William Eddowes, variously a biscuit maker, mining agent, and farmer,²⁴⁵ had 'developed a taste for wandering in native wilds, and is gaining a great knowledge of Maori lore.... What a hobby!'²⁴⁶ He was of such assistance to Ngati Paoa in bringing their land into cultivation that he was made an honorary rangatira.²⁴⁷ Edward George Britton Moss, lawyer and, briefly, Member of Parliament for Ohinemuri,²⁴⁸ was reputed to have 'a competent knowledge of the Maori language', and wrote on Maori customs.²⁴⁹ In particular, he studied Maori and Pacific Island canoes.²⁵⁰ In particular, he exposed serious defects in the government's ways of acquiring Maori land.²⁵¹

Two of the sons of one early settler, George Graham,²⁵² George Samuel and William Australia Graham, helped establish British hegemony in New Zealand, but at the same time sympathized with Maori. Their father pronounced himself, when attempting to convince Maori to open Ohinemuri to mining, to be 'the great friend of the Maoris, had got several out of prison, and would soon get the rest'.²⁵³ While there could have been an element of self-interest on this particular occasion, as a parliamentarian he

²⁴⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 7 June 1877, p. 3.

²⁴⁵ See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 482; *Observer*, 22 August 1896, p. 22, 5 March 1898, p. 7, 26 March 1898, p. 6, 8 May 1909, p. 16, 1 December 1926, p. 5; *Thames Advertiser*, 21 March 1898, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 27 October 1920, p. 2.

²⁴⁶ 'They Say', *Observer*, 4 November 1911, p. 7.

²⁴⁷ *Observer*, 17 March 1917, pp. 4, 5, 1 December 1926, p. 5, 12 October 1927, p. 12.

²⁴⁸ See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 846; *Observer*, 18 October 1902, p. 3, 18 November 1905, p. 3, 2 December 1905, p. 3, 16 December 1905, p. 4, 7 March 1908, pp. 5, 7, 14 March 1908, p. 5, 22 March 1913, p. 5, 18 March 1916, p. 4; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 7 December 1906, p. 2, 10 December 1906, p. 2; *New Zealand Herald*, 11 March 1916, p. 9.

²⁴⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 4 December 1902, p. 40.

²⁵⁰ Letter of E.G.B. Moss, *New Zealand Herald*, 10 February 1898, p. 3.

²⁵¹ E.G.B. Moss, 'Native Lands and their Incidents', *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 May 1888, p. 19, 26 May 1888, p. 3, 2 June 1888, p. 8; republished under that title as a pamphlet (Auckland, 1888).

²⁵² See *Auckland Star*, 19 February 1901, p. 8; *Observer*, 16 September 1905, p. 4.

²⁵³ *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 October 1867, p. 9.

was so opposed to the land wars that he was derisively called 'Maori Graham'. His potentially life-threatening interview with Wiremu Tamihana ended the Waikato War.²⁵⁴ Although George Samuel Graham fought against Maori in the Auckland Naval Volunteers during the 1860s,²⁵⁵ according to a columnist writing after his death he, like his father, 'had a kindly feeling towards the Maoris', believing 'that if the Europeans had understood the Maoris better the unhappy wars which arose between the two races would never have occurred'.²⁵⁶ William Australia Graham, who had accompanied his father to meet Wiremu Tamihana, became an expert on Tainui whakapapa and an adviser with, reputedly, a 'great influence' on Maori.²⁵⁷ According to the *Observer*, he believed that 'the two great races, the Red and the White', meaning Maori and Anglo-Saxon, were 'only to be found united in this country'. He described King Mahuta as 'rightful ruler of the mighty Tangata or Tartar race', who were more important than the Anglo-Saxons.²⁵⁸ He protested at the way Maori were forced to sell land to the Crown at nominal prices. 'There is no longer any fear of war with the natives, therefore there can no longer be any excuse for withholding from the natives the liberty to deal with their lands', and they should be assisted to do so. Laws concerning land acquisition should apply to Pakeha and Maori alike, and it was 'the duty of majorities in power to recognise the rights of minorities, not to trample upon them'. Crown traffic in Maori lands was 'Foul Trade, and derogatory to British Fair Play and Honour. It is confiscation dressed in a cloak'.²⁵⁹ Both sons made speeches of condolence at Tawhiao's funeral.²⁶⁰ George said he attended 'because Te Wherowhero, the father of Tawhiao, was kind to me when I was a boy', and had been his father's 'personal friend'.²⁶¹ The following year William accepted a request to assist Maori to fit into New Zealand society and to act as a mediator and,

²⁵⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 20 February 1901, p. 5; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 104.

²⁵⁵ Applications for Land Grants 1889-1892, no. 294, Lands and Survey Department, LS 66/3, ANZ-W.

²⁵⁶ 'Mercurio', 'Local Gossip', *Auckland Weekly News*, 21 December 1900, p. 7.

²⁵⁷ *Descriptive Handbook to the Waikato* (Hamilton, 1880), pp. 45-47; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 740; Memorandum by W.A. Graham, 6 December 1904, H.W. Northcroft Papers, ARC 2133, Te Awamutu Museum

²⁵⁸ *Observer*, 28 October 1905, p. 4.

²⁵⁹ Letter from W.A. Graham, *Waikato Times*, 28 June 1887, p. 3.

²⁶⁰ *Thames Advertiser*, 25 September 1894, p. 3.

²⁶¹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 29 September 1894, p. 36.

in his words, ‘at all times and places advocate their cause’.²⁶² He became the ‘favourite protégé’ of King Mahuta’s private secretary, and Mahuta ‘conferred on him a title signifying “man of equity; peacemaker; mediator” ’.²⁶³

INTERMARRIAGE AND INTERBREEDING

Intermarriage occurred on a small scale, as discussed in several case studies of people associated with Te Aroha mining, despite not being respectable in the eyes of some Pakeha. For instance, in Te Aroha in 1892 ‘Coachie’ was ‘trying hard for the running with the infant dusky beauty’, but the *Observer* Man wondered: ‘What will father say when he hears it?’²⁶⁴ Presumably it was the ‘dusky’ rather than the ‘infant’ that would upset the father.

Judith Binney has argued that ‘intermarriage predominated in a “colonist” form, where the wife was the indigenous partner. It would continue to do so, as Maori women offered men access to property, as well as “fair dalliance” ’.²⁶⁵ This argument ignores the realities of genuine love, as illustrated in the chapter on Maori and Pakeha in Hauraki in the nineteenth century. Angela Wanhalla’s study *Matters of the Heart*, which makes little mention of relationships in Hauraki, notes that scholars have ceased to view inter-racial marriage ‘as a pragmatic political alliance engaged in for the purpose of material gain, to a recognition that physical attractiveness, desire and love are also part of the story’. From the early colonial period into the twentieth century ‘mutual desire, emotional connection and sentiment’ underpinned relationships.²⁶⁶

The *Te Aroha News*, responding to ‘serious developments in South Africa’ in 1911, generalized contentedly, if unscientifically, about intermarriage in New Zealand compared with other countries:

²⁶² *Waikato Times*, 24 December 1895, p. 2.

²⁶³ *Observer*, 1 August 1903, p. 4; *New Zealand Herald*, 10 May 1916, p. 5.

²⁶⁴ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 23 September 1892, p. 17.

²⁶⁵ Judith Binney, ‘“In-Between” Lives: Studies from within a Colonial Society’, in *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand’s pasts*, ed. Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney (Dunedin, 2006), p. 105.

²⁶⁶ Angela Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart: A history of interracial marriage in New Zealand* (Auckland, 2013), p. 166.

New Zealand is in the happy position that it can, in the course of time, absorb its coloured race. The fusion of the Pakeha and the Maori has been attended by the happiest results. In New Zealand we find that the brown blood, after a generation of intermarriage, practically disappears. In the United States the fusion of white and black has not been attended by happy results – at least not for the whites. The black blood is predominant. It never dies out....

The race problem in South Africa threatens to be a replica of the United States. It is a question that will take some solving. New Zealand, free from race troubles, can afford to look on.²⁶⁷

One native agent, Wilkinson, who personally exerted himself in the interbreeding of the races,²⁶⁸ agreed that the ‘two races’ would live harmoniously in time, as in his 1889 report:

History has shown us that the mingling of these two races, with their different qualities and peculiarities, is not always accomplished without considerable trouble and clashing of interests – brought about principally by the attempted amalgamation of elements that are of a rather incongruous nature – until time, and the preponderance of the good over the bad of each, has caused them to mix harmoniously together.²⁶⁹

HOW SHOULD MAORI BE TREATED?

The first editorial of the *Thames Advertiser* informed its readers: ‘We shall always advocate fair dealings with the Maoris. Their rights must be respected, however antagonistic to the immediate interests of the Europeans. Time and patience will solve all difficulties, and in the meantime the precious metal will not disappear, nor the virgin soil lose fertility’.²⁷⁰ This reads a little grudgingly: Maori were an unavoidable, irritating, fact, owned the land sought for mining and agriculture, and therefore could not be ignored, but in time....

According to Harry Roberts Burt, who in 1887 claimed to have been ‘closely associated’ with them for 40 years, ‘the more you do for a native the

²⁶⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 1 June 1911, p. 2.

²⁶⁸ See paper on Merea Wikiriwhi and George Thomas Wilkinson.

²⁶⁹ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 20 June 1889, *AJHR*, 1889, G-3, p. 4.

²⁷⁰ Editorial, *Thames Advertiser*, 11 April 1868, p. 2.

less he thinks of you, and the less you do for him the more he respects you'.²⁷¹ His view may have been jaundiced by difficulties in getting Maori to meet their debts to him and rows caused by his efforts to acquire their land.²⁷² Burt was an unreliable witness because of his and his wife's fraudulent acquisition of Maori land.²⁷³ Those seeking to obtain something from Maori were warned by another early settler amongst them, Edward Wood,²⁷⁴ that 'the more anxious you are to get a pig or a piece of land, the more likely you won't get it'.²⁷⁵

Maori skills were seen as appropriate for manual, repetitive, work. For example, William Australia Graham, an enthusiast for establishing sugar beet, stated that 'the careful culture necessary' for success 'was just such work as would suit our Maori neighbours'.²⁷⁶ In 1880, when Maori in Ohinemuri sought work, the county council forwarded their letter to the Native Minister 'with a strong recommendation that "these loyal natives be employed" '.²⁷⁷ As noted in the chapters on Maori Te Aroha and the opening of the Aroha Block, using Maori to make roads was one successful way of convincing them to permit roads being made through their districts.

THE LANGUAGE ADMIRER

Whereas Maori attempts to speak English sometimes provoked mirth or condescension, the Maori language was seen by at least some Pakeha as beautiful and worthy of retention. In 1898, when describing a train trip to the Ngaruawahia regatta, the *Te Aroha News* noted that 'no two of the

²⁷¹ Letter from H.R. Burt, *Waikato Times*, 3 September 1887, p. 2.

²⁷² See H.D. Johnson to E.H. Power, 12 September 1877, Thames Registrar of Births Deaths and Marriages, Inwards Correspondence, BACL 1346/1, ANZ-A; 'Return of all Persons Interested in the Passing of the Native Land Administration Act Repeal Bill', *Journals and Appendix to the Journals of the Legislative Council of New Zealand*, 1888, Appendix No. 2, pp. 12, 14; *Waikato Times*, 8 November 1887, p. 2, 1 December 1887, p. 2, 26 October 1889, p. 2; letter from H.R. Burt, *Auckland Weekly News*, 12 November 1887, pp. 13-14; *New Zealand Police Gazette*, 23 May 1888, p. 97.

²⁷³ See Judith Binney, ' "In-Between" Lives', pp. 113-114, 116; Supreme Court, *New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 1906, p. 6.

²⁷⁴ See paper on Lavinia and Henry Dunbar Johnson.

²⁷⁵ Letter from Edward Wood, *Auckland Weekly News*, 14 November 1868, p. 22.

²⁷⁶ *Waikato Times*, 14 November 1895, p. 4.

²⁷⁷ *Thames Star*, 3 June 1880, p. 2.

applicants' for information 'pronounced this, one of the most beautiful of Maori names, alike, one well-known resident in particular delivering it with a most appalling twist'.²⁷⁸ This newspaper noted, in 1930, that a speaker at a teachers' summer school at New Plymouth considered 'one of the tragedies of the civilization of the Maoris was that many of them did not consider their own language even remotely worthy of interest'. He 'advocated greater attention to the Maori language in Native Schools', adding that it seemed that the language 'would be saved by Europeans and not by Maoris'.²⁷⁹

TWO WAIORONGOMAI MEN VISIT MAORI SETTLEMENTS

In January 1884, the two Lawlor brothers, George James²⁸⁰ and Henry Charles Thomas,²⁸¹ walked to Rotorua from Waiorongomai, where both invested in mining and Charles was an amalgamator in the battery.²⁸² As recorded in the former's diary, on their second day, when heading towards Tauranga,

through not being in walking trim we only got as far as the Wairoa River, the Maoris there very kindly placed an old flour mill at our disposal, and invited us to stay, they called us to share their supper with them, which consisted of boiled fish and potatoes, of which they gave us a piled up dish, and expected us to eat it all, then they gave us tea and bread. Shortly afterwards we had a bathe in the river, with E Wi (William) our host, which refreshed us very much after the long dusty tramp we had, about 20 miles. In the evening a lot of young men and women came into the mill and spent a couple of hours in doing tricks with string

²⁷⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 17 March 1898, p. 2.

²⁷⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 3 February 1930, p. 4.

²⁸⁰ See *King Country Chronicle*, 8 March 1913, p. 5.

²⁸¹ See *Thames Star*, 25 November 1887, p. 4, 21 March 1896, p. 3.

²⁸² Shareholdings: *George James Lawlor*: Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 188, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A; *Henry Charles Thomas Lawlor*, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 257, BBAV 11567/1a; Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 25, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 20 January 1881, p. 110, 16 November 1882, p. 1732.

gymnastics etc, they then went quietly home and we slept soundly till morning.²⁸³

On the following day this friendly contact continued:

Had breakfast with the Maoris who thought they could not do enough for us, we then had a bathe, and took a look around the place. I was amused with the way women wash their clothes, they took their washing to a small stream, across which they placed a broad board, they then wet and thoroughly soaped the garment and put it on the board, and commenced to beat it with a stick about 18 inches long by 3/4 of an inch thick, after every half dozen or so blows they would turn it over and resume striking it as before, they generally sing a mournful ditty during the process. If, as on this occasion, it was a good drying day, they put on the clothes just dried and wash the ones they had on.²⁸⁴

At Awa Hou, seven miles from Ohinemutu, they spent the night with the teacher at the native school, who 'seems to get on well with the Maories, they never steal from him though they do from anyone else that they can'.²⁸⁵ At Wairoa, near Lake Tarawera, 'we went direct to the Terrace Hotel and we were besieged by a swarm of Maoris just like Arabs each wanting to render some service to get money, we soon showed them we were not scared and treated them quite coolly'.²⁸⁶ They were conducted across the lake to the pink and white terraces by six 'stalwart young Maoris', Aparā, the captain, and guide Kate Middlemas, 'the brave woman that wears the Humane Society's Medal for saving the life of an old man who was drowning'. She spoke English 'very well, and kept us in fits of laughter'.²⁸⁷ The following morning, Lawlor recorded what they considered an entertaining slice of Maori life:

We were awoke by a great noise of Maoris, on looking out we saw a middle aged woman coming along the street treading very heavily and giving a polka step or two every now and again, and

²⁸³ G.J. Lawlor, Diary, entry for 19 January 1884, printed in Louise Buckingham, *The Three Worlds of Anne and Henry Lawlor: India: Scotland: New Zealand* (Wellington, 2006), p. 123.

²⁸⁴ Lawlor, Diary, entry for 20 January 1884, p. 123.

²⁸⁵ Lawlor, Diary, entry for 23 January 1884, p. 125.

²⁸⁶ Lawlor, Diary, entry for 24 January 1884, pp. 125-126.

²⁸⁷ Lawlor, Diary, entry for 25 January 1884, p. 126.

brandishing a stick, all the time she was yelling at the top of her voice. We ascertained that a wrong had been done on of her relations and she was going to have a taua [war party]²⁸⁸ at the settlement so we went over to see the fun. The old woman by this time was walking up and down alongside a path, at a very brisk pace, treading so heavily that we could feel the ground shaking, she was gesticulating wildly and dance the polka step occasionally, then bursting out into song, when she had to turn she popped around so quickly you would think she expected to catch somebody behind her. All this time the Maoris of the village sat around listening to what she was saying. Charlie asked one of them what utu (money) she was trying to extort, did she expect to get £20. He said she was trying to obtain all she could, but if the Maoris said she must take £10 that she would have to be satisfied. Just as we left we saw the defendant start on his travels, like the woman, to have his say.²⁸⁹

Once again, Maori were viewed as somewhat exotic, certainly different, sometimes admirable, and occasionally potentially threatening.

AN ADMIRER MAORI

In reporting the Christmas party Wirope Hoterene Taipari provided for Maori in 1869, a journalist congratulated 'Mr Taipari on his successful entertainment',²⁹⁰ a use of the honorific that was almost unique. When the Prince of Wales' birthday was celebrated in 1880, the commanding officer of the Thames Volunteers praised him as 'a loyal and true native.... If there were many other Maoris like him in the place it would advance as quickly as any pakeha could wish, in fact, there would be very little native difficulty'.²⁹¹ At his tangi in 1897 his son-in-law, Hamiora Mangakahia,²⁹²

²⁸⁸ Ryan, *The New Dictionary of Modern Maori* (Auckland, 1974), p. 43.

²⁸⁹ Lawlor, Diary, entry for 26 January 1884, p. 128.

²⁹⁰ Thames Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 2 January 1869, p. 22.

²⁹¹ *Thames Advertiser*, 10 November 1880, p. 3.

²⁹² See Maori Land Court, Coromandel Minute Books no. 2, pp. 262, 335-336; no. 3, p. 156; Hauraki Minute Books no. 13, pp. 19-22; no. 14, pp. 113-114; no. 16, pp. 101, 113; no. 18, pp. 95, 191; no. 40, pp. 102-103, 141-146, 150-153, 157-158, 166, 275; no. 65, p. 133; letter from Hamiora Mangakahia, *Waikato Times*, 17 February 1881, p. 2; Cambridge Magistrate's Court, 8 January 1887, p. 2; *Waikato Argus*, 26 March 1898, p. 2; Angela Ballara, 'Hamiora Mangakahia', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 2 (Wellington, 1992), pp. 307-308.

who had fought on the side of the Crown during the land wars,²⁹³ welcomed Pakeha mourners:

In the days of trouble, when discontent and dissension were rife in this district, his strong hand held the balance of factions and the olive branch of peace. When war broke out in other parts, he kept it from our doors, he and his father. When this district was suffering from poverty, when thousands of your population lacked employment, he opened the Thames to them. He may, from his grave claim to be the founder of your township, of the mining industry, whose fame has gone abroad to the world. It was his wise, far-seeing policy that had, among other fruits, the happy and harmonious union of the two races from end to end of Hauraki. And so we claim him your father and benefactor, and our chieftain ... and we take this opportunity of thanking the Premier and Government of the colony for their messages of condolence and the mark of respect they showed the dead by according him a military funeral. And we thank the citizens of the Thames who have so heartily supported that idea. The dead may well [lay] claim to the gratitude, albeit small, of the colony; for he was a faithful servant of the Queen, and might have rendered her good service in the Volunteer Force had there been occasion, and he was obedient to the laws that embodies for Maori and English alike the majesty and might of the British Empire.... We will abide by his teaching. We will seek as far as we are able peaceful settlement of all troubles.... We wish you health and prosperity. May God grant between us peace and harmonious intercourse.²⁹⁴

James Mackay outlined how Taipari had ensured that peace was preserved in Hauraki. In the 1860s, 'so great was Taipari's influence that if a Maori committed an offence against European laws he could be immediately arrested, an act which could not at that time have been done in any other part of the colony'. After explaining Taipari's role in opening Thames to mining, he expressed his pleasure at seeing 'so many Europeans present paying respect to his memory'.²⁹⁵

OLD- AND NEW-STYLE MAORI

²⁹³ Declaration by Hamiora Mangahakia, June 1914, Maori War, Army Department, AD 32, MW 1415, ANZ-W; *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 May 1913, p. 21;

²⁹⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 22 March 1897, p. 2.

²⁹⁵ *Thames Advertiser*, 22 March 1897, p. 3.

In 1885, the doctor who was paid by the government to treat Maori in Hauraki wrote that, looking back over the past 11 years,

one cannot but be struck with the great progress of the Native population in the upward march of civilization. Some young men of the rising generation are bidding fair to become well education, even after a European model; while in morals they might serve as examples to be copied with advantage by many of their white brethren.²⁹⁶

In 1890, a reporter who attended the races at the Maori village of Kirikiri, near Thames, described the ‘different classes of Maoris’ he observed:

There was the ancient of days, tattooed on lips and face, croning together, pipe in mouth. These conservatives ignore and detest the English language. Next comes the younger generation, who understand English fairly well, can make themselves understood if they like, but often don’t like. There are again fashionable Maoris who regard the old school with contempt, and talk English much better than the average European, because they speak grammatically. They are the Europeanized school, who would out Pakeha the Pakeha. Catch them with tattooed lips? No fear. Again the costumes are varied in cut, style, and colour. Even the eldest have advanced upon their forefathers and the characteristic native mat has disappeared. It gave place to the blanket, and the blanket in turn has succumbed to the woollen wrappers. On the other hand – and mark you, such extremes themselves are indicative of numbers – several Maori ladies on the course were attired in well fitting dresses and a trifle loud – but in perfect European style. They of course speak English, not only fluently but eloquently and correctly. Then there are the voluptuous – busted, demi-semi-casted blonde-brunette belle with jet black languishing eyes, and face all wreathed in smiles. She of course pattered English pertly and prettily. But the elite are several young Maoris and half-castes who have had a high school education – they are of fine physique, amiable and jolly, but with all do not err on the side of undervaluing themselves.²⁹⁷

The *Te Aroha News* took up the same theme when referring to a large Maori gathering at Waahi pa at Huntly in 1909:

²⁹⁶ M.H. Payne to Under-Secretary, Native Department, *AJHR*, 1885, G-2A, p. 3.

²⁹⁷ Special Reporter, ‘The Kiri Kiri Races’, *Thames Advertiser*, 17 March 1890, p. 3.

Here indeed one may behold that curious vision, a recently civilized people in all the stages of advancement which lie between shoeless feet, and ill-fitting attire, and well-cut European clothing. Here the ancient tribesman, with curious gestures, or the younger tribeswoman with the vivid scarf and black felt hat will arise and air their views, not without much fervour, emphasized by some expectoration. And here too the well-dressed native will deliver his address quite in the style of an English gentleman.²⁹⁸

CONCLUSION

An editorial entitled 'A Word for the Maori', published in the *Te Aroha News* in 1935, assessed the impact of Pakeha settlement on a possibly idealized Maori past, and indicated that in Te Aroha the newer generation was not coping as well as had been hoped. It was prompted by the arrest of a Maori girl for stealing clothes from washing lines because her family could not afford to buy them.

This confession brings a new aspect to the case, and gives rise to the oft-repeated allegation that the Maori has, since his contact with the pakeha, lost all his manliness and has deteriorated into a spineless parasite with a very little sense of honour, and a strong disinclination to perform honest work. We prefer not to be so unkind, and make bold to assert that if there has been any undermining of the Maori character it has been directly due to the white man's influence, and lack of understanding of native habits, traditions and outlook. The Maori of old, in spite of his bloodthirsty nature in war, was ever a clean fighter, and treachery such as we know it was unheard of. Visitors in the early days formed the greatest admiration for his intelligence, his uprightness, his integrity, and his inborn love of the beautiful. He was vigorously industrious, and showed his cunning in the artistic construction of his whares and the intricate formation of his palisades and defensive works. His tohungas lavished the greatest care and artistry in decorating their dwellings, gateways and store houses with carvings, which have been the admiration of everyone who inspects them. His paha were clean and neatly planned, and bodily ills were practically unknown. Compare the Maori of old with his modern survival. He is neither European nor Maori, but a kind of half-way proposition who, while endeavouring to catch up and carve out his destiny with the facilities provided him by the white man's legislation, has still the

²⁹⁸ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 17 April 1909, p. 2.

communal outlook of generations. Thus do we find most of our Maori neighbours on a common level which, aggravated by years of depression, has sunk almost to that of his slaves in the days of his conquest. Missionaries of 100 years ago and less claim that after adopting Christianity, the Maori became an industrious, peace-loving individual who, on account of his powerful physique and his healthy intellect, was a particularly charming and happy fellow. Where has he drifted to? Engulfed in the intricate maze of the white man's laws and code of etiquette, he is bewildered and often cannot see the strength of those measures introduced for his well-being. Rebuff and derision have served to deprive him to a great extent of his simple, friendly attitude, and thus his independence is also carried away. Through years of studying "the superior race" he has assimilated both good and bad habits, many of which he has had difficulty in distinguishing one from the other, and he has suffered in consequence.... Here we find the descendents of a noble race, living in hovels of clods and corrugated iron, eking out a miserable existence from a few acres (the remnant of a wide family heritage) and smiling on his children when they return with a few pitiful pieces of clothing filched from a Pakeha's back yard. The case is indescribably a pathetic one, and surely calls for a greater sympathy and consideration for the descendents of a landless race, from whose former possessions we now derive our national wealth.²⁹⁹

As Alan Ward has commented, 'to a settler population deeply in competition with Maori and prejudiced against their race and culture, the short-coming of the Maori always gained more attention than their constructive achievements'.³⁰⁰ He was referring to the 1860s, but such an attitude continued throughout that century and the next, and throughout New Zealand.

²⁹⁹ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 1 April 1935, p. 4.

³⁰⁰ Ward, p. 121.