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'Black and White Art':
The Depiction of Maori in Cartoons, 1900-1920.

Erika K. Custer

A thesis submitted for the partial fulfilment of
Post-Graduate Diploma of Arts (History)
at the University of Otago, Dunedin,
New Zealand.

October 1994.
The picture story,
which the critics disregard and scholars scarcely notice,
had great influence at all times,
perhaps even more than written literature.

Rodolphe Töpffer,
*Essay on Physiognomy*,
1845.
Acknowledgements

My supervisor Michael Reilly must be thanked for introducing me to the inspirational word-pictures of Roland Barthes and for telling me what 'deconstruct' really meant! He also allowed numerous free coffees throughout the year when the queues began outside his office.

David McDonald went above and beyond his librarian duties to do everything he could to make the cartoons as perfect as possible given my limited budget, and his gift for finding references from obscure descriptions came in handy on more than one occasion! I thank all of the Hocken Library staff for their help and enthusiasm.

I would also like to thank my flatmates and friends for putting up with someone who dealt with the stress by going on cleaning binges every now and again, thank you Alice (Alligator) Petersen, Graham (Cracker) Drinkwater, Sarah (Julia) Winters, and Michael (Mike) Baty. My friends also put up with me and offered advice and support (some of it was even mutual). In particular I would like to thank Michelle Knauf, Maree Rintoul, Melanie Wark, Neville Lee, Vernon Wybrow, Lynda Scott and Fiona Stuart for 'being there', especially the four who went through this 'dissertation stuff' with me!

My family are the hardest to thank, for their support spans two degrees and was given in a number of forms (some cashable). I thank the 'Kiwi Custers' from the bottom of my heart for their love and support. This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my grandmother, Rose Custer.

Erika K. Custer
October 1994.
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Glossary of Maori words

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haka</td>
<td>dance of challenge to a chant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hei-tiki</td>
<td>greenstone pendant in form of human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hongi</td>
<td>press noses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huia</td>
<td>bird, feathers used by rangatira class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwi</td>
<td>tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahu kuri</td>
<td>dogskin cloak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka pai</td>
<td>good, well done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kainga</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kete</td>
<td>a flax basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koroua</td>
<td>old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>korowai</td>
<td>tag cloak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koruru</td>
<td>carved face on house gable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotiate</td>
<td>lobe-shaped short club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kowhaiwhai</td>
<td>scroll pattern (usually on rafters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuia</td>
<td>old woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuri</td>
<td>native (extinct) dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana</td>
<td>power, respect, esteem others hold you in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mere</td>
<td>short club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moko</td>
<td>tattoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>fortified village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pari</td>
<td>bodice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patu</td>
<td>short club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peruperu</td>
<td>dance with weapons, contorting features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pikau</td>
<td>traditional style of carrying child on back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piupiu</td>
<td>flax skirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pou</td>
<td>a carved post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pukana</td>
<td>to stare wildly and defiantly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rangatira</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raupo</td>
<td>bullrush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taiaha</td>
<td>long club with tongue-like end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taihoa</td>
<td>wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamariki</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taniko</td>
<td>embroidered border, geometric pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapu</td>
<td>sacred, forbidden, spiritual significance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taonga</td>
<td>treasure, artefact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tauihu</td>
<td>bow figurehead of a canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taurapa</td>
<td>sternpost of a canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekoteko</td>
<td>carved figure on gable of house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tewhatewha</td>
<td>long axe-like club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipare</td>
<td>headband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toa</td>
<td>warrior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toki</td>
<td>axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urupa</td>
<td>burial grounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waka</td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakaika</td>
<td>short bone or wood club with figure carved on handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wero</td>
<td>challenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter One: Cartoons as a Time Capsule

It is important to reevaluate representations of Maori in the past, as these images helped shape and influence attitudes and stereotypes of the time as well as the prejudices and images of today. The cartoons studied here are those by Europeans for Europeans, illustrating Pakeha understandings of Maori located in social, historical, and cultural contexts.\(^1\) As the "barometer of the heat of popular feeling",\(^2\) cartoons necessarily reflect the dominant viewpoint with all of its contradictions, stereotypes and biases intact. Misrepresentation compounded by ignorance, arrogance, and ethnocentric attitudes were presented to readers and passed into general acceptance from the earliest period of European-Maori contact, thus media generalisations about the Maori furthered stereotypes already present at the turn of the century. As Bell says, "images can contribute markedly to the shaping of how peoples see, think about, and respond to people of other cultures and to the interrelationships between cultures."\(^3\)

Newspapers, a form of mass communication, both influenced and reflected the general public attitude to topical issues, and cartoons in particular had to reinforce a generally held viewpoint in order to be successful. Cartoons thus reflected society's norms and values, reinforcing stereotypical attitudes and expanding them in a self-perpetuating cycle. Cartoons capture a mood, a viewpoint, a general consensus and can thus be studied from the distance of time in a way many texts cannot.

A good cartoon often contains an astonishing amount of information. It frequently summarises ideas far more clearly and simply than do speeches and written material. It tells the modern reader a great deal about the ideas and assumptions of the people for whom it was drawn: what they took for granted and what they questioned; how they visualised people who held different ideas from their own...Thus it helps us to know what the past was really like.\(^4\)

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3. L. Bell, Colonial Constructs, p.7.
Cartoonists were not objective in their art; as popular imagery their cartoons reflected current opinions and stereotypes, therefore they took sides in any issue.\textsuperscript{5} This was particularly true for any topic that was controversial or political in any way. To be the object of attention in a cartoon was to be acknowledged as an important figure, a person the public would recognise even when reduced to caricature and motifs. Cartoons embellish and exaggerate political issues to the extreme, satirising and lampooning its victims, making the readers laugh and think simultaneously. “They are useful indicators of the public response to new information that is still being digested (a process they stimulate), but their full operational effectiveness relies on a set of cultural and historical assumptions implicit but not necessarily explicit in their imagery.”\textsuperscript{6}

With regard to the Maori cartoons perpetuate stereotypes of a lazy, drunk, thieving, stupid, overweight, dirty, immoral, pidgin-speaking, half-naked people: images that were common in the nineteenth century and quickly entered into the social, cultural and intellectual consciousness of the Pakeha. The image of the ‘typical’ Maori was strong in this period, taking on all of the characteristics - negative mainly - assigned to the Maori in general based on the minimum of research and understanding.\textsuperscript{7} ‘The Maori’ was used as a universal stereotypical term, despite the huge variety in the conditions Maori could be found in during this period: “It was from the worst manifestations of poverty, disease, and other social symptoms such as apathy and drunkenness that negative generalisations were taken and applied to the Maori people.”\textsuperscript{8}

The application of European values and mores to Maori society created further stereotypes of Maori as inferior, despite the inappropriate societal juxtaposition this involved. Such representations reflected colonial ideology - and, albeit unconsciously, its impact on Maori society - and reinforced images that would justify European presence and domination.\textsuperscript{9} Eurocentrism was a strong influence on all depictions of the Maori, devaluing an ancient yet dynamic culture and reinforcing the European stance as progressive and superior.


\textsuperscript{8} A. Ballara, \textit{Proud to be white?}, p.120.

\textsuperscript{9} L. Bell, \textit{Colonial Constructs}, p.5.
Paternalism was an inherent part of the European attitude towards Maori too, especially in viewing Maori as intellectual and social inferiors, needing guidance from the more advanced whites.

Because public discourse was the common currency by which people expressed themselves in public, its ideas, myths, narratives and metaphors had a pervasive hegemonic effect throughout New Zealand society. It was reported, supported and constantly reexpressed and recreated in the authoritative media of the newspapers...¹⁰

One aspect most cartoonists ignored was the impact Europeans had had on Maori society. The European presence upset the social, cultural and economic practices of the Maori people through the creation of landlessness and its related poverty, apathy, dislocation, and cultural loss, all of which led to the state Maori people as a whole were in at the turn of the century. Depopulation, through the impact of disease and European weaponry had reached its nadir in the 1890s, but by 1896 the Maori population was rising for the first time. To deny any European responsibility for this state was to turn once again to the stereotype of Maori as an inferior and 'dying' race, a refusal to believe that this was a ‘cause and effect’ development that the whites had initiated from their earliest contact with the Maori.¹¹ Internalising European stereotypes often led to Maori apathy, ill-health and drunkenness as they came to believe they were inherently inferior to the European, and land alienation and cultural devaluement aided this decline.¹²

European New Zealanders were groping for a national identity in this period, and in spite of simultaneous references to Maori as backward and inferior, Maoritanga was seized upon as something unique to New Zealand, a cultural appropriation common in colonies.¹³ Such a contradiction in attitude and approach was not questioned, it was both convenient and expedient for Pakeha to use Maoritanga in this way.

Thus Pakeha who were totally ignorant of and indifferent to Maori culture adopted and made use of Maori ceremonies of contact to amuse

¹¹A. Ballara, Proud to be white?, p.84.
¹²Ibid., p.93 and p.151.
¹³L. Bell, Colonial Constructs, p.150.
their European associates or identify themselves as New Zealanders in international company.\textsuperscript{14}

Two cartoons illustrate this cultural appropriation and identification on the international level. Both appeared in the \textit{New Zealand Free Lance} and were reproduced from the Melbourne \textit{Punch}. 'The Bereavement'\textsuperscript{15} refers to the death of New Zealand's Prime Minister, Sir Richard Seddon. New Zealand is represented by a grieving Maori woman in a korowai cloak and piupiu being comforted by 'Australia', a man in riding dress, a squatter image. Seddon lies in a waka surrounded by Maori motifs and covered by the Union Jack, and there is irony in the juxtaposition of such motifs and this symbol of the colonial state. There is intricate detail on the taurapa of the waka, and moko on the faces of the Maori men in the foreground. The whole image implies that Seddon was a man of great mana in New Zealand, particularly in Maoridom. It identifies Seddon as a New Zealander through these Maori images, reinforcing a sense of uniqueness and cultural depth. Seddon was a man with great mana in New Zealand at this time, but the extent to which he could be identified with Maoritanga and Maoridom is debatable given his attitude towards Maori land sales.

'Overshadowed'\textsuperscript{16} is a later cartoon which comments on the then New Zealand Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, and his impact at the Imperial Defence Conference. Ward wears a short korowai cloak over a layered piupiu, has a tipare around his head, two huge huia feathers in his hair, and holds a kotiate in his hand. The pose is reminiscent of European Classical sculptures, especially the emphasis on Ward's muscle tone. The Maori motifs are thus used to identify Ward as a New Zealander, as the country's leader and representative. He is an unique figure, and overshadows Australia, who is depicted as a bearded man in riding dress, obscure and insignificant. The use of the term 'Maoriland' also reinforces this identification of taha Maori with Ward, the word gels the imagery into a general statement about New Zealanders as a distinct cultural group in the British Empire. Ward gets adulation from Britain, represented here by the 'John Bill' figure, implying that such cultural appropriation marks a definite end to colonialism and is the sign of growing nationhood.

These two cartoons reflect how New Zealand was perceived by cartoonists, and hence the general public, abroad. There is clear use of Maori images to

\begin{footnotes}
\item[16] \textit{NZFL}, August 28, 1909.
\end{footnotes}
reinforce the unique identity New Zealanders were searching for in this period. The cartoons are also an indication of how successful Pakeha cultural manipulation was, as these cartoons were by Australian cartoonists for the Australian market.

In defining Maoritanga Pakeha began to create their own unique national identity, and "images of the Maori provided European New Zealanders with an exercise in self-analysis." A distinct New Zealand identity and "sense of nationhood" developed between 1890 and 1910, and contact with Maori and their culture deepened this development for Pakeha.

Some of the cartoons studied here will reflect this dichotomy regarding the Maori and their culture. This is one of the many benefits in using cartoons rather than paintings - or other similar 'high' art forms - to develop a general understanding of attitudes to the Maori in this period. Paintings and drawings should not be seen as necessarily reflecting prevailing, or at least commonly held, attitudes to the Maori amongst Europeans. Popular attitudes can probably be gauged more reliably from the popular visual imagery of cartoons and advertisements. These frequently tell a different and often unpleasant story. It is not difficult to find thoroughly offensive cartoons featuring the Maori.

Cartoons are thus a vital part of any interpretation of image and representation of the Maori because they combine accepted stereotypes, exaggeration, oversimplification and generalisations that can be analysed by the modern reader in order to find trends in opinion and reasons for such depictions.

There was little sympathy for a people caught between two cultures, especially when Maori culture was struggling with appropriation by Pakeha, while Maori were subject to ridicule, abuse, and alienation, searching for a niche in their own land. There was also little acknowledgement of the rights of the Maori or of the abuses they were subject to. The images and stereotypes perpetuated by the mass media and in particular the popular imagery of cartoons helped shape public attitudes and a general Pakeha mindset in turn made the

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19 Ibid., p.122; L. Bell, Colonial Constructs, pp. 149 and 152. Bell calls this process "indigenisation".
20 L. Bell, The Maori in European Art : A survey of the representation of the Maori by European artists from the time of Captain Cook to the present day, New Zealand Art Series, AH and AW Reed, Wellington, 1980, p.125.
images acceptable. The association of negative stereotypical characteristics with Maori also reflected the continuing power of morality myths in this period, especially the judgement of Maori through purely European criteria such as dress, education and land use.

Cartoons are but one result of this general attitude, other examples are the race jokes and anecdotes so popular in this era. Pat Lawlor's *Maori Tales* paperback series combined short jokes, 'comic' tales and cartoons about Maori, and were popular in the 1920s. J.C. Fussell's 'Private Tikitanu' represents the 'coon' style of humour that evolved out of contemporary stereotypes of Maori, and was one of the few to ridicule the Maori war effort through this fictional character. Similar developments can be found in literature, with Maori perpetually cast as the idiot or comic relief. "The reiteration of this kind of image...can only perpetuate an outlook which is not only outmoded but antithetical to good race relations and likely to influence perceptions of current events." The race-related anecdote was particularly popular in newspapers, especially in the columns alongside cartoons - some even spawned cartoons - or other stories with comic content.

In cartoons regarding Maori this period was marked in particular by two main themes: white demands for the sale of more Maori land and the rise of the Young Maori Party. Both of these developments influenced the general public image of the Maori and created a greater awareness of things Maori. The following chapters will explore cartoons of this period thematically. Chapter two will explore the cartoons related to politics and politicians, the development of motifs to identify the Maori MPs and Maori-related legislation, and in particular the identification of the 'taihoa' policy with Carroll and the Liberals. Chapter three will examine how cartoons depicted Maori land issues and Maori rights. Chapter four will discuss the cartoons of this period that dealt with social, health and general thematic images of the Maori.

Initially an attempt was made to create a balance of opinion and images in the cartoons studied and shown in this study but this effort was hindered by the fact that the images were fundamentally negative in tone, thus any manipulation would have developed a false impression. The newspapers chosen for this study are the *New Zealand Herald*, the *New Zealand Free Lance*, and the *New Zealand Truth*. They were chosen for their availability, the extent to which they covered the period from 1900 to 1920, and the fact that all three consistently employed cartoonists in this period. They are also representative of

Hon. James Carroll
(The Silver-tongued Native Min-
ister)
Good-natured—except when he talks.
Respectable—except now and then.
Most frequent—concerning the Native.
Skillful—well—with his Snowball.

The Hon. Jas. Carroll
(The Native Minister)
Tim Kara, called "Tired Tim."
To the man about town is that plain.
He knows and plays the political game;
His eloquent speeches have earned him
haste.
From near and far the Maoi Repair
will nudge round Tim Kara's grooves.
But, though, at times he seems inspired,
"Tim" too often is dog-gone tired.

Overshadowed. (A Skit from Melbourne "Punch.")
John Bull: "That's a fine cartoon—a fine fellow. He does not even
wonder who that may be sitting back there in the shade?"
attitude and opinion in two main provinces in this period, the former is an Auckland paper and the latter pair are Wellington publications. Ultimately the cartoons reproduced here reflect the general tone of cartoons from 1900 to 1920, without any reworking in an effort to find an anachronistic political correctness regarding images of Maori.
Chapter Two: Political Cartoons

This chapter will explore the representation of Maori politicians in cartoons from 1900 to 1920, a popular theme at this time. There was little change in the tone and direction of these cartoons, they continually emphasised the dual influence of European education and Maoritanga on these men, and the public was never allowed to forget that James Carroll, Henare Kaihau and the Young Maori Party members were Maori first. The cartoon images attest that these men were talented and eloquent politicians, making their mark on New Zealand political history. The cartoons studied here reflect a preoccupation with the amount of influence Maori politicians had over government policy, in particular any concessions to the Maori. The cartoons play more on recognisable motifs and caricature than overtly racist slurs, however there is an underlying air of Eurocentrism in many of the political cartoons. The sheer volume of cartoons produced on the Maori members highlights their visibility and general popularity with contemporaries.

Before 1900 the Maori members were often shadowy figures who made little impact on the House. Many had spoken English poorly and few had gained widespread popularity or notoriety (both important to inspire a cartoon image). Cartoonists were quick to seize any idiosyncrasy of a politician, and no less so for a Maori member. Racial overtones are apparent in every cartoon, especially in the caricatures and poems produced by the New Zealand Truth and the New Zealand Free Lance. The Maori members of parliament had a common goal, to better the lot of the Maori, particularly in terms of health, housing, land, and general welfare. This goal, the means by which they achieved better standards, and the heightened public interest in all things Maori made these men particularly visible at this time. They put forward legislation to develop their aims, and the agenda in their policies was well known. All Maori members of parliament had to balance the political aims of their respective parties with the needs of their iwi and electorate, and Carroll was the only Maori with a general seat at this time. Any hesitancy was sure to result in argument in the House, editorial outbursts and political cartoons lampooning their actions. “They are


bicultural, and being so, are torn by loyalty to the wellspring of their own culture, and connection by occupation to the power-brokers of the colonising culture.”

To openly want to better the Maori lot was to invite attack from land-hungry settlers and become the butt of cartoon imagery, which was particularly pro-settler in the Liberal era. To be a success in the Pakeha world while retaining a sense of Maoritanga was to invite patronising praise and representation and a sense of never quite achieving everything. The political tightrope the Maori members walked was thus a delicate balance of issues, aims and policies, and cartoonists were quick to illustrate any controversy or sensitive topic surrounding these men.

In 1893 James Carroll became the first Maori to take a general seat, and he was to be the representative for Waipu (later Gisborne) for twenty-six years. Carroll was also the first Maori Acting Prime Minister, a role he took on twice in the absence of Joseph Ward. In political cartoons James Carroll was invariably identified by an ubiquitous pipe, huia feather and hat in cartoons. The use of the huia feather motif was common to many cartoons regarding Maori in general, and reflects a ‘general’ knowledge of its significance amongst Pakeha, despite its appearance on any Maori. The huia feather was a traditional symbol of mana, rank and power, worn in pre-European times by the rangatira chief class alone. Pakeha artists applied the motif to all Maori, making what was once symbolic and traditional common. The feather was also a recurring feature in paintings and photographs in this period. Because Carroll’s ‘taihoa’ land policy, an attempt to control and contain Maori land sales, was quickly identified as a Liberal policy, despite the government’s on-going commitment to land sales, many cartoons reinforce a popular perception of the Liberals as being pro-Maori.

The New Zealand Truth and the New Zealand Free Lance were fond of caricatures and poems on politicians and prominent citizens of the day. Those found referring to Carroll emphasise his eloquence and general popularity, and his tired demeanour as a reflection of his work ethics. In the Truth his ‘dog-goned tired’ state is seen as an indication of his hard work. In the Free Lance, however, the same demeanour is commented on in a backhanded compliment, ‘He mayn’t die of hard work,/Yet no duty he’ll shirk’. In identifying Carroll’s work ethics the ‘poets’ suggest the converse, that Maori are lazy natives, although in the Truth Carroll is considered to have escaped this trait. The poems also emphasise his Maori side, he is always called ‘Timi Kara’, the writer never lets that inherent part of his character slip from the reader’s mind. Despite this

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4 New Zealand Truth, July 27, 1907; NZT, February 26, 1910; NZFL, Christmas Annual, 1911.
emphasis Carroll is well-dressed in the cartoons, a man of consequence and standing in the community. Perhaps above all else these images reflect the dichotomy Carroll presented to so many in this period: a leader with a foot in each culture.

One myth that needs to be addressed is the idea that Carroll was, as a man who shifted between two ethnic identities, using whichever identification was appropriate to the company he was in. This is incorrect, and the cartoons used here illustrate this clearly. Raeburn Lange perpetuated this body of misguided thought when he stated that “he was regarded as a Maori by the Maori, and as a Pakeha by the Pakeha.”

Carroll’s ‘Maoriness’ never escaped the public eye, it was not a persona he could put on or take off, it was always an issue in any contemporary discussion of his policies, especially as depicted in cartoons. To be a political success Carroll had to follow Liberal policy while slowly developing his aims to better Maori welfare. He continually encouraged Maori to gain success in the European world by combining Maori and Pakeha beliefs and practices, as he had.

He also encouraged Maori to utilise their lands, to consolidate blocks of land so that farming could be a viable enterprise and land alienation could be slowed.

In order to analyse political cartoons there must be an awareness and understanding of the legislation Carroll was identified with by contemporaries and cartoonists. Early in his political career, while still representing Eastern Maori, there had been questions regarding his suitability for a Cabinet post, in particular any office that dealt with land issues.

By 1900 Carroll was formulating Maori policy as the Minister for Native Affairs and was closely linked to all legislation dealing with Maori land until 1912. In 1900 Carroll put forward two pieces of legislation on Maori policy, both concerned with Maori land, health and welfare. The Maori Councils Act created localised councils run by tribal committees to deal with Maori health, housing, welfare and development. Carroll’s aim was to encourage local iwi to take responsibility for themselves with government funding, rather than having the unsuccessful Pakeha local body councils continue to run such schemes. The Act was also intended to strengthen the role of traditional leaders and create a new focus for development

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and action in kainga and marae. Maori reacted positively to the idea, and in 1901 Maui Pomare was appointed Maori Health Officer, with Peter Buck assisting. In order to improve Maori health and living conditions they visited local councils to reinforce health messages and burnt all whare made of raupo which were in poor condition. Wi Repa and other Maori doctors were also employed to take the health message to their iwi and surrounding districts. Sanitation was a huge issue, and the Young Maori Party members - mainly graduates from Te Aute College in Hawkes Bay - learnt that in order to achieve success they had to work with traditional leaders, not in competition with them. However, by 1906 the limited power given to the Maori Councils and the lack of adequate funding had stifled any progress, and by 1910 few councils existed.

The second piece of legislation, the Maori Lands Administration Act created Maori-dominated land councils to administer Maori land and encouraged leasing rather than land sales to develop revenue. Maori land title was also to be established through these councils rather than the Native Land Court system which had accelerated land alienation in the late nineteenth century. This Act was also an attempt to get traditional tribal leaders into positions of influence in Pakeha institutions to reinforce their power and to lay the foundations of cooperation and need-related development. The issue of Maori leasing their land was highly contentious, many Pakeha thought it was beneath them to lease from Maori; it was considered worse than the emotionally-charged issues of absenteeism, squatting and land-amassing put together. There were also fears that this policy would end land sales altogether; Europeans believed that Maori would see leasing land as a way to earn money without effort. They resented being tenants to the Maori, and having to pay a market rental for the land rather than buying at the cheaper wholesale rate set in the past. As Ballara noted, "it seemed that to seek the most advantageous commercial terms was somehow disgraceful in a Maori, and could only be tolerated in civilised capitalists."

The continuation of the myth that Maori were lazy, had thousands of acres of fertile land, never developed their land and were keen to exploit Pakeha farmers and settlers was thus an important factor in arguments against the land policies developed by Carroll. The image of 'idle Maori land' was strong enough to

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12 A. Ballara, *Proud to be white?*, p.58.
14 A. Ballara, *Proud to be white?*, p.76.
First Knight of Nga Tangata Miro
An orator fluent and flowery!
"He mayn't do of hard work,
No, no duty he'll shirk,
For Sir Timi" is te reo heart of Maori.
develop a Pakeha backlash, despite the limited quality of the land left in Maori hands.

That Maori used the land in different ways, and had a completely alien work "pace and rhythm"\(^{16}\) was interpreted as idle laziness by Europeans and served as an excuse to alienate much of their tribal land in order that it be put to more industrious, and therefore 'better', use. In 1905 the Maori Land Settlement Act transformed the land councils into Pakeha-dominated land boards, and this hastened Maori land alienation.\(^{17}\) This turnaround reflected the amount of pressure European dissatisfaction with Carroll's 'taihoa' policies could muster, and the extent to which land was still a political (and voting) issue in New Zealand.\(^{18}\) The 'taihoa' policy had been supported by the Liberals in an effort to develop closer settlement of lands, thereby saving government expenditure on new roads and railways into new areas until there was both demand and need for them.\(^{19}\) White land hunger grew at a faster pace than Maori land sales, leading to frustration and repeated calls for a freehold land sale approach by the government.\(^{20}\) This was the context in which the following cartoons were produced, illustrating the general Pakeha attitude to Carroll's policies and the question of Maori land.

The *New Zealand Herald* ran a series of cartoons by Trevor Lloyd, who was their primary cartoonist, identifying Carroll with the 'taihoa' policy and other expressions of pro-Maori sentiment in legislation. The cartoon entitled 'Still There'\(^{21}\) has Carroll squatting (literally - and through his 'taihoa' policy - figuratively) on what is perceived to be 'idle native lands', the Taranaki-Waikato-Bay of Plenty landbelt. As this included some of the most fertile land in New Zealand which was still largely unalienated, the image is highly political, even explosive. Carroll is dressed in ragged clothes, a thistle grows between his ankles, and he is about to light his pipe. All of these images reinforce the common Pakeha belief that the Maori were lazy and ready to sit on their lands without work or effort, that they were like the land, wild and as yet untamed. The sparkle in Carroll's eye, and the fact that he is looking directly at the reader, imply that Carroll knew exactly what his policies were doing. Since the picture had been used four years before, the editor clearly felt that the situation had changed very little.


\(^{17}\) M. Sheehan, *Maori and Pakeha*, p.15.


\(^{19}\) A. Ballara, *Proud to be white?*, p.77.


\(^{21}\) *New Zealand Herald*, May 1, 1909.
Five months later 'A Modern Canute'\textsuperscript{22} was printed in the \textit{Herald}, again reinforcing the fear that Carroll was making policies that would have the effect of putting a stop to Pakeha settlement. In this cartoon Carroll is wearing even more ragged and patched clothing, a notable deterioration on the May cartoon. He has lost his pipe but the huia feather, representing and implying power and control, remains visible. There is more emphasis on a generous waistline and his hands are raised dramatically, reminiscent of a magician's pose, emphasising the mysterious spiritual connection Maori had with the land. Also, Carroll's eyes are wide and challenging, his expression is defiant, much like a warrior doing pukana in a wero, daring a response. The presence of a wild pig emphasises the savage and dirty stereotypes that still clung, in the European mindset, to Maori. The black footsteps Carroll has left are of the \textit{Robinson Crusoe} genre: Carroll is a simple and savage 'Man Friday'. The sheer number of white settlers in the cartoon indicates that Carroll's policies are causing chaos and hardship, and that eventually the tide of settlement will wash over him and Maori land.

In 1911 the elections sparked a further series of cartoons in the \textit{New Zealand Herald} by Trevor Lloyd. In particular Lloyd identified the Liberals as pro-Maori, an image which could have swayed voters in this critical election, it was so pervasive and emotive. The 1911 election was reduced to the issue of land policy, as both parties had parallel agendas elsewhere. The leasehold question was the downfall of the Liberals, and the Reform party, led by William Massey, played on the land question whenever possible. 'Will she weather it?'\textsuperscript{23} was the first of three waka cartoons regarding the Liberals. The extensive detail on the waka in these cartoons reflects a general knowledge of canoe design, particularly the taurapa design. The tauihu of the waka is reduced to comic imagery, the face is distraught at the direction in which the Liberals are going. Carroll is at the bow, yelling directions for Ward, the then Prime Minster, at the stern with a paddle, to follow. The image implies that Carroll is directing all Liberal policy, even so far as navigating the Liberals into treacherous and possibly deadly waters. The departure of Fowlds, the Minister of Education and Customs, who resigned and became a Social Democrat in this election, over the side makes it apparent that not all Liberal members were completely happy with this course of direction, as does the drawing of a MP halfway over the side. The cartoon also reinforces the knighthoods given to Ward and Carroll, and the baronetcies awarded to the former, by the King, but the raggedness of the flags perhaps illustrates a departure from the stance that had led to such decoration. The subtle lettering on the

\textsuperscript{22} NZH, October 23, 1909.
\textsuperscript{23} NZH, September 16, 1911.
taurapa implies that the reason the Liberals lost direction was the move away from Seddon's policies, and the lack of a similarly charismatic and talented leader to maintain their popularity.

'The Assault on Taihoa Pah [sic]' makes a closer connection between Carroll, the 'taihoa' policy and the native and crown lands which were perceived as lying idle. The Liberals are seen as backward, pro-Maori and anti-freehold. Carroll is attacking a farmer-settler, the backers of the Reform party, with a deadly taiaha while the Liberal Cabinet wave tomahawks and perform a haka. The Liberals are clearly shocked at the extent of the challenge from William Massey's Reform Party and the settler-farmers. The cartoon is emotive and totally biased against the government. It plays on common fears regarding the availability of land and the number of Maori development policies the Liberals had put forward, despite the fact that these were small in scale compared to those given to Pakeha settlers and often less than successful due to the lack of funding and resources given to them.

Apirana Ngata, Maui Pomare and Peter Buck entered parliament in an attempt to change things for the better for Maori. All had been involved in the Maori Councils Act, Pomare and Buck were medical officers for Maori health and Ngata was organising inspector. All three men felt the disappointing fate of this legislation was directly linked to a lack of political influence with like-minded politicians and thus the only remedy was to stand for parliament themselves.

Apirana Ngata was the most highly qualified member of the House when he became the Eastern Maori representative in 1905, with three degrees to his credit. Carroll's attempts to slow the pace of Maori land sales, his infamous 'taihoa' policy, were strengthened by the presence of Ngata, Maui Pomare, and Peter Buck in the House. Carroll and Ngata, in particular, were challenged time and again for their depth of Maoritanga and their commitment to improving conditions for Maori. Pomare was more inclined to see Maori in European terms, a reflection of his education and religion, and was a firm believer in assimilation policies. All of these men believed, to various degrees, that Maori would have to combine taha Maori with European knowledge in order to do well in New Zealand. They saw their seats in parliament as a means of physically

24 NZH, December 2, 1911.
26 M. Sheehan, Maori and Pakeha, p.16 ; J.A. Williams, Politics, pp.155-6.
influencing the fate of the Maori people for the better, providing role models and linking the aims of their elders with political power in order to create change.27

Apirana Ngata quickly gained cartoon exposure as a politician. One cartoon, ‘A Chance for Apirana’, mocks Ngata’s efforts to preserve traditional waiata, known as moteatea, which were eventually published in three volumes as Nga Moteatea. The waiata are examples of Maori imagery and metaphor, illustrating the poetry and beauty of te reo Maori. They are also a treasure trove of Maori traditions and history, rich in traditional form. In ‘A Chance for Apirana’28 Ngata is dressed in a piupiu, holds a mere, and has the ever-present huia feathers in his hair. His earring is flying wildly as he yells and gesticulates into the phonograph recording Maori waiata. The cartoon patronises Ngata’s actions, implying that the songs are savage bygones and simply an attempt for Ngata to gain attention. There is also a juxtaposition of a ‘traditional’ Maori with the latest in European technology, the former a product of a savage era and the latter the product of civilisation.

In the New Zealand Truth Ngata features twice in the caricature and poem format.29 As in the Carroll-parodies, the poems and images have common elements. Ngata was a ‘scholar’, an eloquent and gifted speaker, and always keen to debate a point: ‘At repartee neat/...And damned hard to beat.’ The later poem notes that he has as much standing in European circles as Maori, ‘Te Maori and Pakeha unite to cry “Hurrah!”’, and again this parallels the poems on Carroll. Both caricatures emphasise Ngata’s neat dress and his verbal talent (exemplified by the pieces of paper), illustrating how civilised and educated he is. He is a man who by his very stance demanded attention and the later cartoon illustrates how comfortable Ngata was as a speaker.

Between 1907 and 1909 Ngata, a trained lawyer, and Sir Robert Stout, the Chief Justice, investigated Maori land and the problems inherent in this issue. In 1909 the commission’s recommendations led to the Native Land Act, which set aside £50,000 for the development of Maori land, a funding programme that had been sorely needed for some time. Before this time Maori farmers had had three options, they could either sell blocks of land in order to fund the development of their land, not develop land at all, or sell most of it if the cost of development proved too high. The commission’s report also noted that multiple titles had stunted development growth and hindered early Maori attempts to gain

28 NZFL, September 15, 1906.
29 NZT, August 24, 1907; NZT, July 13, 1918.
Mr. A. T. Ngata, M.H.R.
(Eastern Maori.)

A scholar is Ngata, a member smarter, a committee man. When he's a starter he is a regular tartar. He is planned hard to beat. An authority on Native lands, a barrier to the natives' rights. His name to the Maori cause he always stands. And fights the Maori fights.

Mr. A. T. Ngata, M.H.R.
(Eastern Maori Representative.) A Maori M.P. and a learned scholar. He, in the Progressive ranks he is a power and dignity cause that's good and human. No brotherhood without the fee. He's never been known to cower. The 10 Maori and Pakelna unitedcry "Hurrah!" in honor of Apirana Turupa.

Mr. Ngata is to ask the Native Minister whether he will make provision for securing phonograph records of Maori songs, as tunes were in danger of being irretrievably lost.

Perhaps Mr. Ngata could supply the supply.
The Chief justice is surprised with the manner in which the request for settlement.

**NO MORE TAIHOA.**

The way in which the Native land matters are put off is disgraceful. No wonder the Maoris are disgusted.—Fide Sir Robert Stout on the Native Land Commission.

Sir Robert: Chief justice, I must have no more delay with the coming, while I'm in charge here.
organisation and financial aid. The Native Land Act also set aside £50,000 for the purchase, survey and roading of Maori lands, thereby reflecting the dualistic approach the Liberals took in this period - improving the social factors affecting the Maori while maintaining land sales.

The cartoon ‘No more taihoa’ illustrates the dichotomy in the Native Land Commission’s agenda. On the one hand, Stout and Ngata had to discover how much land remained in Maori hands and, on the other, why it remained undeveloped to such a large extent. The Maori in this cartoon is of the ‘old time’ stereotype, complete with moko. This was a popular image in cartoons and other forms of representation; notable painting parallels include Goldie’s ‘All ‘e same t’e Pakeha’. In the cartoon native land matters are depicted as a fish, something to be carved up and dealt with. Both statements imply that Stout will give the Maori a fair hearing, Ngata is not mentioned at all, his influence in the Commission seems to be downplayed. This feature was reinforced by a later cartoon, ‘The Chief Justice’, where Stout’s Easter egg contains a Maori representing the Native Land Commission. The Maori wears two huia feathers in his tipare, an earring and a moko, all common motifs and yet there is no reference to Ngata’s part in the Commission.

Henare Kaihau was the Western Maori MP until 1911 and cartoon images of him remained constant, he was always fat and had a huia feather in his hat or hair. In the New Zealand Truth poem Kaihau’s weight was the punchline, implying that he was both lethargic and none too bright: ‘What a giant he would be,/Intellectually you see,/If only he kept his brains beneath his vest.’ In 1910 J.C. Blomfield drew on contemporary stereotypes of Maori as alcoholics to undermine Kaihau’s condemnation of the introduction of alcohol to the King Country. The cartoon has all Maori addicted to liquor and implies that its introduction is part of the civilisation process, rather than the evil Kaihau views it as. Later in 1910 Blomfield again mocked Kaihau in a cartoon based on deliberately literal interpretation of a spider simile Kaihau used in parliament to describe his progress into the political sphere, twisting Kaihau’s image into another insult about his weight. In reinforcing this image of a fat Maori, Blomfield is also drawing on general stereotypes and imagery of Maori as a lazy, gluttonous and stupid character, qualities believed to be an inherent part of their

30 A. Ballara, Proud to be white?; p.79; I. Grant, The Unauthorized Version, p.106; M.P.K. Sorrenson, Maori and European, p.18; M. Sheehan, Maori and Pakeha, p.25.
31 NZFL, December 14, 1907.
32 NZFL, April, 18, 1908.
33 NZT, September 14, 1907.
34 NZFL, June 18, 1910.
35 NZFL, September 10, 1910.
HENARE KAIHAU'S CLIMB.

Mr. Henare Kaihau, M.P., in the House, the other night likened himself to a spider climbing up its little thread to the regions above.

Voice from Aloft: Quick, quick, get out the landing-net, or he'll pull down the whole show.

Mr. H. Kalha, M.H.R.
(Western Mag.,)

He represents the Maori of the West.
To keep awake he always does his best.
What a giant he would be,
Intellectually you see,
If he only kept his brains beneath his vest.

NZFL, September 10, 1910
NZT, September 14, 1907
racial makeup. Such irreverent parody denied the poetry inherent in Maori speech and imagination.

Doctor Maui Pomare was also lampooned for his size in cartoons in this period, thus the 'fat Maori' stereotype was maintained and Pomare was always regarded as a Maori in spite of his philosophical differences with the Young Maori Party members. The New Zealand Truth poem reinforced not only Pomare's weight but his assimilationist approach, noted in the phrase, 'he's a Maori example/Of one of the fair dinkum b'hoys'. Pomare was a well-known Anglophile, and early in his medical career he had alienated Maori, especially elders, by implying that Maori were backward and primitive. As time wore on, Pomare and his medical assistant Buck learnt to involve elders in decision-making, showing them improvements in health care and housing that would aid growth and development without detracting from traditional beliefs and practices. Pomare and Buck's public health programmes were developed in the early 1900s in an attempt to better Maori welfare through information and improved living standards. They believed that in order to thrive Maori would have to combine European technology such as drainage with aspects of traditional Maori life. "It took Maori reformers working within a Maori context to arouse interest in health reforms as a solution." Pomare continued to alienate traditional Maori leaders throughout his career due to his belief that Maori should assimilate and individualise their land titles, a clear reflection that Maori MPs were not usually traditional leaders or representative of all Maori opinion, contrary to contemporary belief. He was very popular amongst Pakeha however, despite being mocked in cartoon imagery, and clearly enjoyed his role in society, some of which meant he was able to further Maori welfare with this support. In the New Zealand Free Lance in 1912 a cartoonlet noted the ambiguous role Pomare had in the Reform Government. Pomare is dressed in a jester's suit, having just been appointed member of the Executive Council representing the Native Race. The jester image implies that the appointment is a necessary but not politically powerful or important role. It also makes a mockery of Maori as Pomare's views were neither representative of mainstream Maori political thought nor likely to create any need for compromise (unlike in the Liberal government). The cartoon also notes

36 NZT, April 10, 1920.
37 R. Walker, Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou, p.180
38 Ibid.
41 A.C. Walsh, Maori and European, p.15.
42 NZFL, November 23, 1912.
his nickname amongst his European contemporaries, 'Pom'. There is emphasis on Pomare's size, but the huia feather, the ubiquitous motif in most cartoon images of Maori, is significantly absent.

The last four cartoons in this section all relate to the Reform government and the change of policy regarding Maori land after the 1911 election. Reform practice was to continue land sales and to gain greater support from the farmer-settler groups. Cartoonists were quick to seize on this theme and parody Reform policies.

The position of Native Minister once more reverted to a Pakeha after twelve years of Carroll's influence and efforts at constructive change. William Herries played on the financial aspect of land sales, encouraging Maori to think of the quick gains to be made; he ignored the development policies Carroll made famous. The cartoon 'Codlin's the friend - not Short' illustrates a general Pakeha amusement at Maori pidgin speech and is both patronising and arrogant. The caption implies that Herries is a quack selling false promises and lies in return for quick gains. Herries sells trinkets to the Maori, simultaneously criticising the policies of Carroll as separatist while playing on stereotypes of Maori as stupid. The Maori woman is one of two archetypal images used in this period, in a mixture of European and Maori dress, the ubiquitous pipe, and the baby held in the traditional pikau manner, standing in front of a whare. The cartoon makes the Maori look naive and backward, and easily swayed by men in authority. Because they are perceived as childlike in their simplicity Europeans had to speak in pidgin to be understood. It clearly reflects the different approach the Reform government had to land sales and the reason for the backlash that culminated in the Liberals being ousted from power in 1911.

The New Zealand Truth printed two cartoons which paid particular attention to the change in Maori land policy under Reform. 'Europeanising the Maori' noted that Maori were being swayed into sales by the bottle and the pound, implying devious and underhand tactics. The cartoon also accepts that Reform's policies would benefit the rich and often absentee landowners who bought for profit rather than development. The rich landowner is identified by his top-hat, the cartoon motif for this group. The cartoon emphasises the fact that both Maori and settlers were losing as a result of this policy while the rich continued to accumulate land and wealth, and is critical of this development. In 'Timi's Joyride' the fat rich land shark is more closely identified as a crony of Massey's. The poem warns of sure ruin and disaster if Maori land continues to be

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43 NZFL, March 1, 1913.
44 NZT, March 15, 1913.
45 NZT, July 25, 1914.
"CODLIN'S THE FRIEND—NOT SHORT."

Hon. Mr. Harries: Kapau the Government. Why do you follow? You must buy. Plenty nice things, also from the Ministers over there and his Government no bully good. You buy a from me every time.
Timi's Joy Ride.

Oh, for a joy-ride in a grand old car—
Reform's legislation's removed the old bar,
'Twas Time and Wodehouse, the Roast—
Their Guardian Angels are smiling quite sweet.

He'll shake them from their tryst with their native land,
'Tis true, but Time and Wodehouse, the Roast—
We sigh for the fall of Timi and Co.—
We sigh for their bump into the abyss!

A. H. C."
sold at such a rate, 'Reform's legislation's removed the old bar'. The Maori are innocent and happy figures, driving to their doom by way of European influence and technology, 'Oh, for a joy-ride in a grand motah car'. The poem also implies that the Maori were swindled out of their land by people they trusted, namely, the politicians with their agenda-based policies, 'their Guardian Angels are smiling quite sweet'. The cartoon and poem indicate that the government are the accepted 'guardians' of the Maori and are abusing their powers in an attempt to satisfy land shark interests without creating any form of safety net for the Maori: 'Ah, when they've parted with their native land,/The wiles of such saints they'll then understand;/We sigh for the faith of Timi and Cis-/And wait for their bump into the abyss!'. It also links the loss of land with the decline in Maori health, and notes that this policy could result in further problems. Both of these cartoons are more sympathetic to the fate of the Maori under such policies, a new trend in the representation of Maori in cartoons.

In 1912 the Reform government passed the Native Land Amendment Act which allowed for land exchanges so that Pakeha could gain Maori land while still leaving the Maori with some sort of landed base, a belated attempt to guarantee that Maori would not become a burden on the state. The land remained in Maori title even though it was not a traditional block. This Act also created 'brown Pakeha': if a Maori had standard 4 education and enough land or skills to support himself, he could legally be declared a European. This law was supported by assimilationists who saw it as the next step in civilisation and progress for the Maori. The cartoon 'The New Pakeha' parodies this legislation as the 'whitewash' it was, an attempt to hasten assimilation and increase land sales, without regard for the Maori. The poked tongue of the koruru mocks Herries and Massey as they attempt to make a Pakeha out of a Maori. The woman quoting Goldie's title reinforces the sense that in becoming more like the Pakeha, the Maori are losing their unique identity. In 1913 the Native Land Amendment Act dissolved all land trusts established under the Maori Land Boards, a development that had slowed land sales and was part of Carroll's 'taihoa' policy, and also revitalised the Native Land Court system in an effort to increase land sales. 'The New Pakeha' clearly illustrates the lengths to which the Reform government was thought to be willing to go to in order to maintain a certain level of Maori land sales.

All four of these cartoons clearly note a dramatic change in government policy, and they argue that such policies are not for the good of New Zealand as a whole and would only benefit land sharks in the end. There is an expression of

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46 NZH, October 19, 1912.
THE NEW PAKEHA.—THE GOVERNMENT APPLIES THE WHITEWASH BRUSH.

The Native Land Amendment Bill, introduced by the Hon. W. H. Herries last week, provides that, if a native, under certain conditions, applies to the Native Land Court for recognition of his title, he shall, if the Court considers it expedient, have his case heard in the presence of a European justice of the peace. For the purpose of maintaining order and decency, he shall be subject to all the regulations applicable to a European in respect of a European, though his legal rights as a Maori will be preserved to him.
sympathy for the Maori who have been swindled out of traditional lands. This seems to be a new tone and feature in cartoons regarding Maori and reflecting the extent to which contemporary observers acknowledged the affects of land alienation and its related problems, especially on Maori health and welfare.

The political visibility of Maori in this period is clear from the cartoon images explored thus far. Contemporary observers saw these men as important figures in New Zealand society and followed their careers with interest. Some gained great respect from Pakeha and Maori alike. Few cartoons, for example, lampoon Ngata to the extent they do Pomare and Kaihau, they emphasise in the political poems the respect and standing Ngata has in the political and public arenas. Maori politicians influenced political policy to an unprecedented degree in this period, but clearly had to play down some aims in order to retain political standing in their parties. Personal concerns with Maori land, welfare, health and housing drove these men, particularly the Young Maori Party members, into politics in order to gain a voice and enough power in a European institution to engineer change. Cartoonists quickly established personal motifs for each Maori politician, based in part on familiar racial imagery of the past, which readers recognised at a glance. Such images were vital in their perpetuation and extension of Maori stereotypes while simultaneously reflecting the changes within Maoridom itself as observed and reflected by Pakeha cartoonists.
Chapter Three: Landed Issues and Images

Between 1900 and 1920 5.3 million acres of Maori land was sold and taken, by 1911 alone the Liberals had sold three million acres: an indication of the limited success of Carroll’s ‘taihoa’ policy. By 1920 4.7 million acres remained in Maori hands, 7.2% of New Zealand. Of this total, 750,000 acres were undevelopable due to the terrain and 750,000 acres were already leased to Pakeha, thus Maori had 3.2 million acres left to develop and dwell on. By 1920 4.7 million acres remained in Maori hands, 7.2% of New Zealand. Pacific Pioneers, 1907-1920, p. 25. Throughout this period there were cries from the farmer-settler groups for increased land sales or even confiscation, reflecting the firm belief amongst contemporaries that Maori still had the best land and were not entitled to it. There was particular demand for the land in the Taranaki-Waikato-Bay of Plenty belt, perceived to be the most fertile land in New Zealand. Cartoon images reflect the stereotype of the fat, idle, Maori landowner, blocking European progress and development. This viewpoint was strengthened by farmer-settler “belief that the Maori would not need his land much longer [which in turn] made easier the unabashed determination to secure it for Pakeha settlement.” Any government policy regarding Maori land was viewed suspiciously and increasingly legislation began to reflect the political expediency of increasing Maori land sales.

‘A Block to Progress’ was a response to the 1909 Stout-Ngata Commission report, which put North Island Maori land holdings at 7.4 million acres. The Maori are reduced to a single fat old man in European clothes blocking the land from white settlers. The Maori sports the ubiquitous huia feather in his hat and an earring, but he is also well-dressed by European standards, implying that he is both wealthy and idle, benefitting from the land without working on it. This myth, that Maori traditionally did little or nothing to cultivate their land was still popular well into this century, an age-old excuse to take Maori land. The Christian work ethic coloured Pakeha interpretation of Maori seasonal work patterns, all but ignoring the continuation of traditional schedules. Maori worked on the land when it was necessary, tending to crops, storing food for winter and hui or tangi. The Maori also had land that they would not develop, such as urupa, places of tapu and mythological significance, and historical sites. The cartoon image of a well-dressed Maori man leaning on a barrier - and

1 M. Sheehan, Maori and Pakeha, p.25.
3 NZFL, November 6, 1909.
4 A. Ballara, Proud to be white?, p.21.
Sir James Carroll sums up the situation of landlordism.

"Maori lands are to be taken compulsorily if necessary."

"All right, Mr. Patea! I don't intend to let you get one more than you can think up against me!"

A "Block to Progress."

Intending settler: "Can nothing be done to move this settlement?"
figuratively his Maoritanga - to impede white settlement is a reflection of a pervasive and highly political belief amongst the general Pakeha public.

'The Future of the Maori'\(^5\) was a belated response to the 1907 Native Land Settlement Act, which had established public tender and auction of Maori land and lease procedures. In particular, the Act established a 10% deposit rate on leased land, with set instalments to pay the total within ten years. The added incentive was to pay all monies within five years and keep the land. However, the lease rates were seen as ruinous and beneficial only to the Maori, whom many believed would become landlords in order to maintain an idle existence. Such beliefs continued despite the fact that Maori for the "most were semi-subsistence farmers who earned some money from land rents, from itinerant work on the roads, from cutting flax or scrub and, in the far North, from working in the gumfields."\(^6\)

In this period the issues of 'idle Maori land' and Maori landlordism were the most influential arguments used against Maori land retention.\(^7\) Pakeha occupation of Maori land was seen as 'inevitable'\(^8\) by most whites, but Liberal policy, both the 'taihoa' and closer settlement schemes, was seen as impediments to immediate land sales. Arguments for freehold were prolific, "because no self-respecting settler wanted a Maori landlord."\(^9\) 'The Future of the Maori' illustrates the extent to which Pakeha felt Maori were the only beneficiaries from the legislation. In the cartoon the Maori live in the sumptuous 'Taihoa Palace', while the Pakeha live in simple cottages. The Maori wear top hats and suits (but not shoes) while the farmer-tenants wear patched trousers. The top hat was a common motif used by cartoonists to identify the rich in this period, and its use in this cartoon reveals the depth of Pakeha antipathy to such people. The emphasis on shoes (and their lack) reinforces a sense of incomplete civilisation, the Maori have become rich but are still savages. The flying machines imply that the Maori are learning to use modern (and Western) technologies, but a more subtle implication is that under the legislation they are birds of prey, and the Pakeha farmers are the victims. The hyperbole inherent in the 'Taihoa Palace' structure reiterates the depth of general feeling against Maori landlordism. The smiles on the koruru reinforce a sense of Maori satisfaction with the government's policies and their leisurely life is emphasised by the pipe in the mouth of the main koruru and the expensive cigar smoked by the central Maori.

\(^5\) NZH, September 10, 1910.
\(^6\) A.C. Walsh, *Maori and European*, p.4
\(^7\) A. Ballara, *Proud to be white?*, p.76.
\(^8\) I.F. Grant, *The Unauthorized Version*, p.74.
figure. The bird saying ‘kapai’ also indicates how good this situation is for Maori. The ubiquitous huia feather and the kete for the rent identify the figures as Maori despite their dress, implying that these are all that is left of traditional Maori life, all else has been lost to materialism. Such a characteristic was welcome in a Pakeha, but abhorred in a Maori, particularly if the gains were from white pockets.

This feature is part of a Pakeha backlash against Europeanised Maori in this period. It is paralleled in painting themes from the 1890s on when koroua and kuia were painted in a frenzy of activity to record their moko and taonga in the mistaken belief that the Maori were dying out. Charles Goldie and Gottfried Lindauer were particularly prolific in the area of Maori portraits. Such recorded images emphasised traditional clothing and were a subtle slight to those Maori who had wholeheartedly taken on European ways and dress, for the traditional figures were seen as ‘true’ Maori.

This attitude is reflected in the cartoon titled ‘Contempt’. The cartoon mocks the foppish European dress of some modern Maori, obviously at ease in such clothing and wealthy enough to fund it. But the cartoon also emphasises the functionality of traditional Maori garb, including the deadly taiaha in comparison with the fragile cane the modern Maori holds. The traditional Maori figure sports a huia feather, the modern man does not, implying he is less well acquainted with his culture and has less rank in Maoridom. The savage kuri of traditional times is contrasted with the lapdog of the modern man, brushed and docile. The pipe, an ubiquitous motif in depictions of Maori, is compared to the modern cigarette. This cartoon implies that modern Maori have lost their unique individuality and cultural depth in becoming ‘brown Pakeha’, the dream of assimilationists into this century. It could also be taken as a joke at the expense of either Peter Buck or Maui Pomare, as both took some pride in their European dress, especially Pomare who had more status in European circles than Maori. The contemporary photograph of Pomare standing beside a whare is an example of how accurate the cartoon image is in its detailed portrayal of the modern Maori in his layers of clothes as compared to the simplicity of traditional garb.

‘Clear the Road!’ gives illustration to the view that the land issue was dragging on while settlers waited, with increasing impatience, for some sort of

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11 Observer, 1908.
12 M. Sheehan, Maori and Pakeha, p.16.
13 NZFL, September 10, 1910.
CLEAR THE ROAD!

The Settler: Now then, you fellows, while you're arguing about the land you're keeping me waiting. I want to get to work.
agreement. The Maori figure bears strong resemblance to the depiction of Henare Kaihau in ‘Henare Kaihau’s Climb’ in the last chapter, and it is not clear if J.C. Blomfield meant to identify Kaihau in particular with blocking Maori land sales, or simply used him to represent Maori in general. Yet again Kaihau is seen as fat, he wears a piupiu and a huia feather, and has bare feet. He also has a handkerchief around his neck, and the whole impression is one of casual or even lazy dress, again differing from ‘Henare Kaihau’s Climb’ where Kaihau wears a three-piece suit and shoes. The half-Maori half-European dress also implies that Kaihau has some status in both Maori and European circles, thus his political agenda must be influenced by his Maoriness. The Maori is clearly negotiating with Sir Joseph Ward, who looks conciliatory and even slightly intimidated. The sign ‘To Maori Waste Land’ reinforces the attitude that Maori simply have too much land, that it is left idle and going to waste while political negotiations continued. The wheat and grass seed sacks in the settler’s cart imply that he is ready and willing to develop the land and the presence of European buildings and haystacks so close to the Maori fence emphasises the perceived need for more land for Pakeha settlement and expansion.

‘Maori Lands’ refers to the 1908 Public Works Act, which included clauses on the compulsory acquisition of land for roading or railway development. Compensation was set at government valuation but Maori land still in customary or traditional title was not compensated for as no title had been established in a Land Court and this loophole had not been addressed in the legislation. Some local councils abused the Act in order to gain control of Maori land in their district. In the cartoon Maori are reduced to ‘Hone’, an obese Maori man with two huia feathers standing upright in his hair (as though in fright) having his pukou carved by Ward for settler-farmers. The text implies that the legislation is fair and not an attempt to ‘rob’ the Maori of their land, yet government valuation was also open to abuse in this period, hindering adequate compensation for compulsory land sales. The image also loosely implies cannibalistic tendencies, a pictorial link to the ongoing myth that Maori frequently ate human flesh in the past. The image reflects the pervasive quality of this myth, which ignored the ceremonial and traditional qualities of this practice as well as the limited times it was performed, such as after battle to gain the mana of a fallen enemy. The sheer size of both Hone’s stomach and Ward’s knife are reminders of the land still in Maori hands at this time, and the small plates the farmers carry imply that they only want a small portion of that land. The whole cartoon reflects a general belief that the Maori still held too much

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14 NZFL, November 20, 1910.
land and legislation such as the Public Works Act would remedy the situation fairly.

'Sir James Carroll'\textsuperscript{15} presents a new stance on the Maori land question, a small measure of recognition for the \textit{real} land situation. Carroll identified land amassing by Pakeha as the main obstacle to fair and equitable land sales. In 1911 the Maori in fact still owned 7.1 million acres, or 10-11\% of New Zealand, but at least 750,000 acres were undevelopable and much of the land was already in leasehold to Pakeha farmer-settlers. This is the first cartoon reference found that acknowledged that some Pakeha had benefited from private land sales and were in fact the largest landowners in New Zealand, not the Maori as previously thought. The cartoon clearly sees Maori as cultivators and workers, in shirtsleeves at work on the land. The huia feathers are again used to identify the small figure as Maori and the white landowner is caricature personified, a fat, well-dressed, cigar-smoking figure with racing binoculars, cane and top-hat. Carroll exaggerated the small acreage left to the Maori but the cartoon itself is recognition that fellow Pakeha had begun to see that the land situation was not as black and white as at first perceived.

'The Great Musical Revival'\textsuperscript{16} is included in this study because it has an interesting parallel in the 1990s. The cartoon uses motifs to depict representative figures for each major region in New Zealand, including a Maori warrior doing a haka over Rotorua and small dark figures running all over the Bay of Plenty and East Coast. The warrior holds a taiaha and dressed only in a piupiu. The identification of Maori with Rotorua and the East Coast is thus established through recognisable motifs and taonga, and the use of small black pigmies reinforces a 'native' presence. The cartoon has strong similarities with a modern postcard sold in tourist-oriented shops. Rotorua is identified in the postcard by a woman in a piupiu and a pari, swinging a poi. She also has a taniko headband with a distinctive huia feather in it. The perpetuation of these images, seemingly traditional yet made inaccurate in this case by the inclusion of the huia feather and a bikini-like bodice, is thus maintained even to the present day. The postcard seems even worse though, for it is actually attempting \textit{some} degree of accuracy, including the translation of New Zealand as 'Aotearoa', thereby alienating South Island Maori interpretations and extending the word beyond its original use. It is clear that stereotyped motifs are still in use in New Zealand today, and that awareness of the most basic Maori terminology is not widespread enough to end this sort of mistake, which in itself is an insult to Maori.

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{NZFL}, July 8, 1911.
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{NZH}, July 8, 1911.
Cartoons regarding land issues reflect the highly political nature of this topic for contemporaries. Increasingly settlers and farmers were gaining a political voice in this period and Carroll's carefully-established 'taihoa' policies were crumbling as land sales rose in response to Pakeha demand. The Native Land Amendment Acts explored in the last chapter with regard to 'The New Pakeha' effectively crushed what remained of Carroll's 'taihoa' policies and accelerated Maori land sale and alienation to new heights.

Maori landlordism and perceived 'idle Maori land' were uniting themes for Pakeha in the land debate. No Pakeha farmer-settler wanted a Maori landlord and all wanted as much land for a little as possible. The establishment of public auction and tender ended private alienation and established land valuation at a fairer level for Maori. However, legislation was often quite broad and loopholes were found and abused by local councils, land sharks and settlers alike. The cartoons depicting the Maori land issue are predominantly one-sided, only one noted that Pakeha landlordism and amassing actually outnumbered any Maori figures. Increasingly the Liberal government was forced by political pressure to amend its 'taihoa' policy and the Reform government quickly dismantled many of the safeguards Carroll had built into his land policies. By 1920 the Maori had less than 3.2 million acres left, but demand for more land sales had not abated to any extent. The image and myth of idle and wasted Maori land remained strong beyond the period of concern in this study, and the cartoons analysed here clearly reflect this preoccupation with Maori landholdings.
So Mitchelltown is going to be called Glentui. Is it? Very peculiar. There doesn't seem to be much vision. Why Wellington shouldn't be called Gisborne. That's Scotch and Maori too. Then there is Berhampore—that's too Indian. Why not Dub-warra; that's good Irish and Maori. Kelburne is ridiculous. Why not Ngahuehe, or Blaghester, or Orudhester? Good old Ascot, or something! Thorndon has achieved its usefulness. Waibuka for a pipe's end. Kilburne? Ridiculous. Why not Wharepuka? Minimus? What's the matter with Upington? Is it too British? What's the matter with something simple like Borangui or Cletomani? The people are boundless and the ideas without end.

NZFL, August 18, 1906

The Mitchelltown Massacre.

Says: Ye blethering colonials, call me a Southerner?

Home: By corry, you tell a lie. I'm a Maori. Outsider (with memories of the boxing tournament) a freak!
Chapter Four: Women, War and Disease

This chapter will analyse the cartoons that depict the Maori in more general situations, including the image of Maori woman, war, and health issues. There will be some overlap of themes, motifs and the general stereotyping of Maori explored in earlier chapters. This reflects the uniformity of cartoon images regarding Maori at this time, images that clearly build on established stereotypes Pakeha accepted and perpetuated in every written medium. The general themes explored in this chapter also emphasise how acceptable it was to use Maori as a cartoon image. The cartoons are not simply a result of visible Maori politicians, government policy regarding Maori, or a similar development; they are a normal and frequent image.

'The Mitchelltown Massacre'\(^1\) explores the problem of naming settlements, particularly when it was felt that the name needed to reflect the ethnic identification of the local population. The cartoon text itself perpetuates the image of a pidgin-speaking moko-wearing barefoot Maori arguing, in a highly pedantic manner, over the merging of Maori and Scottish in the name 'Glentui'. The Scot is similarly reduced to cultural motifs, he is dressed in a kilt, complete with sporran, and has a thick accent. The Maori also wears a small huia feather and his trousers are patched, a contrast to the immaculate Scot. The 'by corry' speech is used to identify him even more clearly as a Maori figure, although in this cartoon both main figures are mocked for their linguistic variations. The Englishman intervenes in the quarrel, implying that the English are more civilised and clear-headed than either of these ethnic groups. The blurb beside the cartoon is more explosive than the picture, as it reduces the town-naming exercise to a ridiculous level, and uses some dubious Maori words, such as 'Dub-warra', to reinforce the idiocy of such a plan.

'The Only McNab He Knew'\(^2\) also refers to a name change and again 'by corry' is used to emphasis the backwardness and pidgin quality of Maori speech. 'Hone', the archetypal Maori, sports a piupiu, pipe, earring and huia feather, all common and recognisable Maori motifs. 'Hone' is also an 'old-time' Maori with some European add-ons, he has been 'corrupted' by European civilisation, particularly regarding alcohol. The jacket actually gives him some dignity in a cartoon that was meant to mock Maori, and he holds a stick rather than a taiaha,

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\(^1\) NZFL, August 18, 1906.
\(^2\) NZFL, June 6, 1908.
To the Rev. Mr. Milne: I wonder where this mountain justice is that the people talk so much about?

His Friend: I guess it's sitting on the rock there.

THE ONLY McNAB HE KNEW.

From Monday, 25th May, 1908, the name of "Waitaka" Flag Station will be changed to "MNAB" by order of the Post Office.

Done: By golly, what good of whiting advertisement any more?
a visual link to a bygone era. 'McNab' was both the name of a whisky and the name of the Minister for Lands and Agriculture, Robert McNab. Waikaka in Southland was renamed McNab in honour of the Minister's father, Alexander McNab, a farmer and landowner in the area. The cartoon mocks the impact of liquor on the Maori and its insidious nature. It also mocks the fact that McNab is a small and insignificant town and therefore such an advertisement is wasted. J.C. Blomfield developed this theme in a cartoon already analysed in chapter two, mocking Henare Kahiwa’s condemnation of the introduction of alcohol to the King Country. The introduction of alcohol took a terrible toll on Maori health, and Blomfield’s 'McNab' cartoon emphasised the common belief that Maori were prone to drunkenness and debauchery. The moral judgement inherent in this cartoon\(^3\) denies any Pakeha responsibility for Maori alcoholism and reinforces an image of Maori as inferior and half-civilised.\(^4\)

Maori women were infrequently used in cartoons, and the images found regarding them were based around the stereotype of a morally lax temptress, attractive and exotic in her very nature.\(^5\) 'Up in the Maori Country'\(^6\) linked Maori women with tempting religious men, a theme that harks back to Thomas Kendall’s fall from grace while working for the Church Missionary Society in the early 1820s. The theme quickly entered the public mindset, a destructive and erroneous stereotype based on misinformation and misguided moral judgements that was accepted at face value and perpetuated throughout the media in this period. In 'Up in the Maori Country' the woman is identified as Maori by two huia feathers set at a jaunty angle in her hair, and subtle shading on her extremities. It is not clear whether or not she is wearing any upper body clothing, but if she is, it has a plunging neckline. The woman is also showing what would have been seen by contemporaries as an obscene amount of skin, both arms and legs below the knee are bare. Her hair is also loose and wild, images that reinforce the moral statement being made, she is 'fast', a woman of little or no morals. The cleric is 'Mr Milde', he is dressed in stereotypical church fashion while his friend is in more relaxed garb. There is a joke implicit in the innocence of the churchman, he could fall from grace and become a hypocrite. The woman is sitting comfortably on the rocks, in a pose that is not in the least demure. The whole cartoon judges Maori women as common, loose and tempting for

\(^3\) NZFL, June 18, 1910.
\(^5\) Ibid., p.107.
\(^6\) NZFL, August 11, 1900.
THE ANGLICANS AND TERPSICHORE.

He could not but feel that if they were going to invite Union to come out here from Home and take missions in this diocese and tell them they had dancing associated with the church, there might as well be a vat of little pigs for them to come.—The Rev. E. J. Newby at the Anglican School.

The Food Shepherd. (Caught In The Act.)
MERRY CHRISTMAS
TO ALL.

CHRISTMAS Menu 1909

Soup of Best Wishes

Joints

Jelly Holiday Joint
Round of Good Cheer

Roast Sirloin & Pudding

SWEETS

Good Fellowship Pie

No-worry Custard

Loveapples with Cream of Health

BEVERAGES

Wine of Happiness

Champagne of Enjoyment

KIA ORA! GOOD LUCK TO YOU.

NZFL Christmas Annual 1909
European men, they were “understood and morally assessed by the standards of appropriate femininity which were applied to Pakeha women.”

‘The Anglicans and Terpsichore’ also emphasised the ‘temptress’ image Maori women had been given at this time. The blurb notes that a cleric has condemned church dances in New Zealand and the practice is clearly identified with Maori, in particular Maori women. ‘Terpsichore’ refers to the muse of dancing, and one of the pictures the ‘Good Shepherd’ has on his mantle shows a Maori woman holding a poi, obviously involved in some sort of performance. The several pictures of Maori women are a clear reflection of the attraction perceived to be felt by such men. These pictures recall the mildly pornographic or erotic forms of postcards made of native women and men around this time in order to satisfy the desires of white male tourists. The five pictures are of Maori women in various poses, four reinforce a sense of Maori identification by the use of huia feather and cloak motifs. The fifth image is of women bathing in the Rotorua hot pools, an exotic and sensual image. Clearly the cleric is tempted by, and attracted to, Maori women and is debating the wisdom of visiting New Zealand at all in light of such temptation.

‘Kia Ora!’ is one of two cartoons regarding Maori women found in the Free Lance Christmas Annual, a general issue published annually by the paper and full of Christmas jokes, tales and mockery. This cartoon features a Maori woman in a kahu kuri (dog skin cloak) sporting a hei-tiki, huia feather, moko and holding an intricately carved wakaika. The border of the cartoon mimics kowhaiwhai patterns and pou carvings. Compared to ‘Up in the Maori Country’ this woman is made more obviously Maori in her facial features, thus the various Maori motifs reinforce her identity as Maori, rather than creating it. The cartoon was used to reinforce Christmas wishes and festive cheer, thus the Maori image is almost secondary to this agenda. The cartoon implies a good relationship between Maori and Pakeha through the phrases ‘good fellowship’, ‘prosperity’ and ‘good cheer’. It also reinforces the hospitality and generosity of the Maori, “the most widely recognised of the positively valued features of Maori culture.”

‘Merry Christmas to All’ reinforces another recognisable feature of Maori culture, the hongi. This second cartoon from the Free Lance Christmas Annual implies that the hongi is both shocking in its body contact and that it smacks of

8 NZFL, July 13, 1907.
9 NZFL, Christmas Annual, 1909.
11 NZFL, Christmas Annual, 1913.
MERRY CHRISTMAS TO ALL

N2FL, Christmas Annual, 1913
more than just a gesture of greeting or farewell. The Maori woman wears a taniko cloak, a tipare with a huia feather stuck in it and stereotypical Polynesian features. The Pakeha man is similarly reduced to stereotypical motifs, as he is nattily dressed and wears a monocle. The shock so vividly displayed by what appears to be their respective spouses emphasises a sense of disapproval, particularly at the obvious enjoyment of the two doing the hongi. The Maori man wears a kahu kuri, two huia feathers and an earring. He holds a mere and there is a suggestion that he has a moko. The carved figure strengthens the sense of shock, its tongue is pointed mockingly at the reader and the mouth is smiling in approval. Maori culture and Maori in general are at once frightening and fascinating, and the cartoon reiterates a sense of the foreign (and tempting) that is inherent in Maori culture to the Pakeha mind and again casts the Maori woman as exotic and tempting to Pakeha men.

The next three cartoons explore the image of Maori and war, and two also contain further images of Maori women. ‘The Hon. Wi Pere’ resulted from a speech Wiremu Pere made regarding Maori military training and the need to widen the age pool for such training. In 1909 compulsory military training was introduced for Pakeha men under twenty-five. Pere also advocated instruction for women, citing Maori women as ready to fight as a natural response to war. J.C. Blomfield identified every Maori in this cartoon through use of the huia feather and piupiu motifs. Some also carry mere and taiaha, but the Maori woman and Kaikau carry toki, a nineteenth century weapon used by toa. Emphasis is put on the defiance of the Maori in battle, they pukana at the enemy and poke their tongues. The cartoon mocks Pere’s speech, especially the idea of women in war and the ‘sport’ analogy Pere uses. The mockery of women can perhaps be linked to a comment on the actions of British suffragettes who were employing various violent methods to gain exposure for their cause at this time, often leading to clashes with the police and arrests. The images also seem to represent early twentieth century notions of Maori fighting styles and attitudes. Above all else however, ‘The Hon. Wi Pere’ laughs at the idea of Maori warfare and perpetuates the stereotype of Maori as a race always at war, overcome with ‘war fever’, cutthroat and keen for blood, and Wi Pere is cast as some sort of old-fashioned hold-over. It is surprising that no similar cartoons were found regarding Maui Pomare during World War I since he was instrumental in pushing through legislation to conscript Maori in 1917. One possible explanation is that any lampooning of Pomare’s actions could have been viewed as anti-war

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12 NZFL, October 22, 1910.
THE MAORI IN LOVE AND WAR: THE STRIKING CHANGE OF A CENTURY.

In 1850 the Maori Christian, in loving marriage, met his sweetheart at the good fork to eat his tribal enemies.
In 1915 the Maori Johnny Kerry has suddenly turned lance “Good boy,” as he intends to fight for the Empire at Gallipoli.

W. A. B.

N.Z.E.A., Christmas Annual, 1915
and unpatriotic, as the comment in this cartoon is clearly against violence and bloodshed.

'The Maori in Love and War'\(^{13}\), in contrast to the previous cartoon, gives the traditional Maori figures dignity while mocking their modern counterparts. The 1815 figures are dressed in common and recognisable Maori motifs: the korowai cloak, huia feathers, hei-tiki, earrings, and piupiu. These are reinforced by the presence of the waka, taiaha and tewhatewha. The Union Jack separating the 1815 and 1915 sketches notes the arrival of the Europeans and implies colonisation. The 1915 figures are drawn in strict racial caricature, with protruding lips, flat noses, sunken and narrow eyes. The feathers in the 'fashionably dressed fiancee's’ hat parody traditional huia feathers, and the pattern and shape of her skirt similarly mock the piupiu. The idea of a Maori woman dressed in such a modern and fashionable manner juxtaposed with the racial caricature suggests the cartoonist is portraying this image as a form of joke. The 1915 man is the typical Maori male, 'Honi Komate'. He is overloaded with the paraphernalia of European warfare, including a gun and knife. 'The Maori in Love and War' emphasises traditional Maori participation in war and notes how different Maori have become in one hundred years of European contact. Despite the plethora of Maori motifs in the 1815 panel, the traditional Maori figures are given a great sense of nobility that is distinctly lacking in the 1915 side. The cartoon implies that this dignity has been lost and that Maori involvement in the 'fight for Empire at Gallipoli' is a perfect example of that loss. The Union Jack motif emphasised that the warrior is fighting for the British Empire, a tribute to the values of King and Country. In fighting in the war the virtues assigned to Maori warfare in this cartoon therefore become part of the Empire, creating pride and identity for New Zealanders.

The third cartoon on the war theme, 'The Maoris at Gallipoli'\(^{14}\), strengthens the image of Maori as an inherently war-like race, but in contrast to the last cartoon the Maori figures retain a sense of traditional warfare styles. The central Maori soldier 'Wiremu' is doing a peruperu to scare the Turks. His eyes are bulging, his tongue protruding and he wears huia feathers in his hair. He is also holding his gun as if it is a taiaha and is barefoot. 'Wiremu' is a combination of 'savage warrior' and modern soldier, more at ease in the role than 'Honi Komate' in the last cartoon, but he is still reduced to racial stereotyping. He is defiant and challenging, and the Turkish figures are clearly stunned and overwhelmed by this display, as they are surrendering. The Turks are also

\(^{13}\) NZFL, Christmas Annual, 1915.  
\(^{14}\) NZFL, December 23, 1915.
subject to stereotyping, they are reduced to ethnic motifs, especially their facial shaping, hats and shoes. This cartoon praises and yet still patronises the efforts of the Pioneer Battalion at Gallipoli, where the Maori “distinguished themselves in bitter, hand-to-hand, trench fighting.” Rather surprisingly only these three cartoons were found regarding Maori and war, despite the fact that “at Gallipoli and in France the Maori troops gained a reputation for bravery.”

‘The Passing of the Maori’ is the first in a series of cartoons gathered on images of Maori health and welfare. The cartoon depicts three Maori on a busy city street, the object of Pakeha attention and consternation. The Maori woman carries her child on her back in the traditional pikau style. She has a moko, bare feet and a cloak. Both she and the Maori man smoke pipes. He also has a moko, the ubiquitous huia feather, earring and piupiu. The cartoons implies that the Maori are becoming museum pieces, a window to a lost culture and people. There is a defiance to the Maori figures, implying that they resent being treated as specimens. Even as late as 1906, when ‘The Passing of the Maori’ was published, Pakeha thought the Maori were a dying race. The number of Pakeha gawking at the Maori figures reflects the lack of Pakeha-driven intervention in this decline, and the pipes reinforce a sense of Pakeha culpability, noting that the Maori had been introduced to many harmful substances through contact with Europeans. The Free Lance reporter writing notes pokes fun at the journalism style of the paper but also reiterates the idea that Pakeha were recording Maori culture in the ongoing belief that Maori would soon die out. “What was being expressed by some Europeans was not a reflection of reality, but of wishful thinking.”

‘The Maori Population’ strengthens the realisation that until 1911 it was still widely believed that the Maori would die out. The census recorded a consistent increase in births over deaths, but as Ian Pool has pointed out, errors and problems in census applications meant that the Maori population was probably already in recovery in 1896. The text reflects a certain awareness of te reo Maori, especially in the use of the Maori equivalent of ‘is that so?’, ‘ne’, as a tag question. The pidgin ‘py korry’ and mixed speech emphasises a sense of Maori still being uncivilised and uneducated. The Maori man wears European clothes and no visible motifs apart from facial shading and a pendant hanging from his waistcoat to identify him as Maori. The woman has similar shading,

16 M.P.K. Sorrenson, Maori and European, p.23.
17 NZFL, Christmas Annual, 1906.
18 A. Ballara, Proud to be white?, p.87.
19 NZFL, August 26, 1911.
The Maori Population, according to the Census, is now 49,350, an increase of 1617 since the previous Census of 1906.

Press Item.

Home: 'By Koror, mere, we all right, we!
Plenty tamairoa, now, in 1906. The Census.
Another Ruse to Rake in the Rhino.

The country's in a ferment and a flume.
And the doctors are 'wakin' of it fine.
Round the vaccine plots there isn't any room.
While the nurses are pinched up the string.
For they say that the smallpox's in the country and town.
And the scared ones—they are takin' off the town.
There are reachin' for their stuff—but it's just a bloomin' bluff.
And the population's being just dead brown.

There's the nervous dear who wants her's done with gas.
And the tart who likes a very young one.
Who will tell her as he pricks the pretty base
"You must stick again, my dear," in tender tones.
For the country's bustin' full of this era pox.
And the place is goin' on the bloomin' posh.
And the doctors will it pain
When they are for people on
But Mabie Drebels' lights it good.

The man the thing most jars is Square Deal Bill.
For in agonised fancy he can see
What will happen if the Fox send
Writest 'ill
To his very limited majority.
And the booster rambling round upon
The spine.
Quite a lot of new fumillers he can see.
They come to him in full cry
And the people he will cry
And they very specially to those
as he.

The very cows are feelin' very bad.
And are mornin' and a-paintin' for their calf.
If the blasted thing was not so very bad.
And it would make a 'Captain' come out
And laugh.
Why the very morning paper has
Smallpox!
And its Constant Reader gets some awful shocks.
When on turning every page.
He discovers, wild with rage.
That the Govern't is conspirein' with
the docs.
carries her child in pikau fashion, is barefoot, stooped and smoking, the latter two images reinforcing a sense of ill-health. The figures present an image of a race that is slowly adapting and changing, they are in European dress therefore they have accepted some of the trappings of civilisation. The whole cartoon implies that the Maori population recovery was engineered by the Maori for the Maori, and this reflects the impact the reforms, particularly those of the Young Maori Party, were thought to have had on Maori health and welfare.21

'Parliament Still Wrestling'22 develops the theme of Maori and disease, illustrating an awareness of the impact European diseases had had on the Maori, "an immunologically inexperienced population."23 Peter Buck advocated the education of Maori nurses to spread European health care practices throughout Maori districts, and also vaccination against small pox. He is identified as Maori through the huia feather and piupiu motifs in this cartoon. The vaccination issue is clearly controversial, and Buck was challenged in his beliefs by figures suggesting that vaccination was overrated. Buck's arguments proved to be tragically prophetic, for from April 1913 to February 1914 a small pox epidemic swept across the Auckland and Northland provinces.24 A mass vaccination drive began and Maori travel was restricted in an effort to stop the spread of the disease. The small cartoon regarding Maori nurses implies that the only problem with such nurses is a difficulty in pronouncing their names, reinforcing the idea that Pakeha could not be bothered to make the effort.

'Another Ruse'25 attacks the reports of a small pox epidemic as exaggerated and a trick by doctors to 'rake' in hefty fees. The poem mocks the scare as an attempt by the pro-vaccination groups to encourage pandemonium and take attention away from the government's support of such groups: 'the Guv'ment is conspiring with the docs'. The poem also notes that 'Square Deal Bill' Massey and his 'very limited majority' could have problems if such claims are substantiated, thus the scare is a political controversy. The use of a Maori carving to illustrate the ravaging effects small pox could have and its use as a scare-mongering tool identifies the disease with Maoridom. The papers in the pocket of the 'Penny Press' figure imply that the Medical Association has paid to get

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22 NZFL, October 7, 1911.
23 I. Pool, Te Iwi Maori, p.63.
25 NZT, July 19, 1913.
reports of an epidemic in the papers and encourage panic in the general population, they are 'being just done brown.'

'Representations'\textsuperscript{26} was published the same day as 'Another Ruse' and explicitly identifies the small pox epidemic with Maori. It also implies that the Maori were being irresponsible with the disease and were spreading it by travelling to well-populated areas and major events, such as the Trentham races. The two figures are identified as Maori by a single huia feather and facial shading. They are obviously reasonably wealthy as one sports a watch and chain, although this image is perhaps overdone in an effort to associate Maori with leisurely (and idle) pastimes. The text strengthens a sense of Maori irresponsibility: 'I get the vaccination nex' Saturday'. The pidgin speech implies stupidity as well, and they blame small pox for making their horse come last, acknowledging an awareness of the disease and its presence in their community.

'The N.Z. Grand National'\textsuperscript{27} builds on the images established in 'Representations'. The Maori figures are again at the races and have yet to be vaccinated. They are borrowing vaccination certificates in order to travel, an illegal act as only vaccinated Maori were permitted to travel. The men are again identified as Maori by facial shading and huia feathers, plus they are smoking. Their stereotyped and fashionable dress reiterates an awareness of their wealth and depth of conspicuous consumption. 'Where did it come from?', on the same page and theme, questions the source of the small pox epidemic. New Zealand is represented by a Maori man in an All Black rugby uniform and a kiwi, while Australia is a boy in quaint nineteenth century dress and a kangaroo. The cartoon image of Australia indicates that the cartoonist had no easily recognisable image to play on in this period, and perhaps also implies that Australians had changed very little, in the New Zealand mindset, and was still strongly linked to England. Clearly the medical authorities were uncertain as to the origin of the disease, and inter-Tasman antagonisms were aroused by the suspicion that the disease could have travelled from Australia, particularly the idea that the Maori rugby team had brought it back after a tour there. The Maori figure is only identified as such by facial shading and his stereotypically Polynesian features; there are none of the common motifs to otherwise identify him by.

'A Maori'\textsuperscript{28} is the only cartoon found regarding small pox to explicitly state that the Maori were deliberately spreading the disease through irresponsible unvaccinated travel. The line 'me help kill pakeha' seems violently anti-Pakeha, and no doubt shocked contemporary readers, but the comment also reinforces the

\textsuperscript{26}NZFL, July 19, 1913.
\textsuperscript{27}NZFL, July 26, 1913.
\textsuperscript{28}NZFL, August 16, 1913.
A Maori, with his face covered with a repulsive pustular rash, attempted to board a train, but was prevented in accordance with the present regulations. The Maori then took a pound note out of his pocket, rubbed it over his features, put it into his pocket, and remarked vindictively:

"All right, me help kill pakeha."

Representations were made by the Health Dept to the effect that Maoris should be refused admission to the Trentham races —

Tame : Pt Kori, Wi, your horse it come last.
Wi : Yes, I think it get the vaccination so her Saturday.
Tame:

De Vere : Here Brown, Here is that pound I’ve owed you for the last three years,
Brown : Ain’t you got a sovereign on yer no, don’t worry, then, old chap, some other time I will do.

NZFL, August 16, 1913
At least one instance has been reported to the Health Officers of unvaccinated Mavis in the North of Auckland district travelling upon a certificate borrowed from vaccinated friends.

"I go to the races yesterday, you take it the ticket to go the football tomorrow."

WHERE DID IT COME FROM?

"You gave it to me!"

"You're another."

Doctor Cumplon, Federal Director of Quarantine, and other quarantine authorities, have arrived at a definite conclusion that the epidemic of smallpox which has been introduced into Sydney came from New Zealand.

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sense that the disease was particularly lethal for the Maori, as he was clearly identified as ill in the report. The doctor, 'De Vere', is trying to get rid of a one pound note after reports that a Maori rubbed a note over his small pox sores. His friend, 'Brown', has also read the reports and is just as keen not to receive the note, despite the longevity of the loan. This cartoon was the last found that developed a link between Maori and disease, despite a 1913 typhoid fever epidemic in Waikato and an influenza pandemic in 1918 when up the Maori death toll was up to seven times the Pakeha numbers.29

'Christmas in the Kainga'30 is included in this study as it illustrates the extent to which stereotypes of Maori as dirty, animalistic, and savage in their very existence were still popular: an echo of nineteenth century paintings of pa scenes. The scene is one of chaos and mess, animals eat with humans, there are no food utensils and there is an overabundance of food. The scene implies that the Maori are living well off land sales, but have yet to conform to European standards of hygiene. They wear European clothes, and the Maori man wears a top-hat, an image that links this scene to the cartoon 'The Future of the Maori' in chapter three. The images reinforce an impression of Maori as half-modernised and half-savage, rich in European terms but still clinging to traditional ways. A small child sits in the foreground facing the reader, unnoticed and visibly distraught. A bottle of liquor rests beside the man's bare foot and his taiaha is rested against his knee while he eats. 'Christmas in the Kainga' reiterates the idea that Maori continued to live in squalid and overcrowded conditions with poor hygiene and sanitation practices, despite the best efforts of Pakeha. Unfortunately there is some truth to the image, but it was Maori reformers who were bringing change to the kainga, few Pakeha could be bothered with Maori health reform and welfare. Such living conditions made the Maori more susceptible to disease and ill-health and were the very circumstances that Maui Pomare and Peter Buck tried to address in their roles as Maori Health Officers.

The general image of the Maori in this period as seen through cartoons clearly maintains a degree of Eurocentrism and condescension. Maori are still primarily identified as half-civilised, backward, dirty and immoral. The dearth of cartoons depicting Maori after 1915 can be seen as an indication of the lower commitment the Reform government maintained in them, despite the presence of Pomare in the Cabinet, and possibly the waning of contemporary interest in the race. The Maori war effort is only referred to three times in this period despite contemporary recognition of their bravery and achievements, and these

30 NZH, December 24, 1913.
CHRISTMAS IN THE PACIFIC: A RIGHT ROYAL FEAST

NZH, December 24, 1913
newspapers represent two main provinces of opinion and interest. The representation of Maori in cartoons at this time can arguably be seen as a reflection of contemporary interest and awareness of Maoridom, despite limited recognition of the problems that needed to be addressed regarding Maori health and welfare.
Chapter Five: Conclusion

The cartoons studied here play on recognisable Maori motifs to identify their characters, illustrating the extent to which contemporaries perceived these images to be of Maori origin. In perpetuating the use of such motifs to represent Maori, cartoon imagery extended and reinforced contemporary stereotypes in particular, the image of Maori as lazy, fat, stupid, dirty, half-civilised, drunk and wasteful with their landed resources. That Maori appeared so regularly in cartoons is an indication of both interest in them by Pakeha and the political nature of Maori-related issues in this period. The newspaper was the dominant medium of information at this time, thus the views and images found in these publications helped strengthen generally-held stereotypes in the public mindset. The reduction of the Maori to a motif-ridden cartoon image was based on bias, misinformation and Eurocentrism, particularly in the form of morality myths, judging the Maori by their criteria and standards.

The political cartoons studied in chapter two illustrated the controversy surrounding the Maori MPs and any Maori-initiated legislation at this time. James Carroll, Apirana Ngata, Henare Kaihau and Maui Pomare in particular were lampooned in the cartoon medium. Their visibility made them easy victims because they were well-known and liked. Recognisable motifs could be built around a basic image, such as Carroll’s pipe and Kaihau and Pomare’s size. Carroll’s ‘taihoa’ policy created an atmosphere conducive to cartoon-inspiration because it was controversial and therefore ‘made good copy’. These men were also amongst the first Maori MPs to unite over a political aim and follow it through into legislation and application, making many Pakeha suspicious of their political agenda. The white settler-farmer backlash against Carroll’s policy and the legislation developed by the Reform government are also amply illustrated, an indication of their equally visible and contentious nature. The sheer number of political cartoons depicting Maori MPs is therefore a consequence of their heightened visibility arising from contemporary interest in their race and an awareness of their political aims of bettering Maori.

The land issue was a vital theme in cartoon imagery regarding the Maori. Until the Reform government began to dismantle Carroll’s ‘taihoa’ policy there was little acknowledgement of the implications land alienation had for the Maori, especially with regard to their health and general welfare. Cartoons illustrating the land question during the Liberal era were opposed to Carroll’s
"taihoa" policy, seeing it as an attempt to stop what was inevitable: white settlement of Maori lands. Contemporaries strongly believed that the Maori were literally sitting on most of the best land in New Zealand, especially the largely unalienated Taranaki-Waikato-Bay of Plenty landbelt, despite the Stout-Ngata report on the limited quality of land still in Maori hands. By 1920 the growing Maori population had less than 3.7 million acres of developable land left in their possession, and at least 5.3 million acres had been sold or taken since 1900. These figures reflect the limit to which Carroll's policy was successful and the extent to which land demands continued to be met in this period.

The cartoon image of the Maori land-owner was one of a fat, lazy man, often in either European dress (and then depicted as wealthy through various motifs) or wearing a jacket to separate this image from that of the romanticised 'old-time' Maori figures. He was cunning and clearly benefiting from his landed base, while the white settler-farmer was represented by clean-cut men who looked ready and willing to develop the land along European lines, but were held back by misguided Maori land protection schemes. The implication that Maori did not develop their land along European lines and therefore deserved to lose them was particularly apparent in cartoons from this period, perpetuating Eurocentric beliefs and furthering excuses for a strong land-sale policy. The idea of a Maori landlord was clearly repugnant to contemporaries and was viewed as a scheme that would further Maori wealth and laziness while hurting the Pakeha farmer. The question of freehold eventually created a large enough backlash to put the Reform party into government in 1912. The myth of millions of acres of fertile land lying idle remained a strong influence on Pakeha thought in this and the inter-war period, and continued to direct government land policies towards further land-sales.

Cartoon images of Maori women, Maori at war and health issues reflected the diversity and complexity of attitudes Pakeha maintained towards the Maori at this time. Maori women continued to be depicted as exotic figures who were 'loose' women by European standards and a clear attraction to Pakeha men. There was also an emphasis on the health of Maori women through the numerous images of Maori women smoking, an issue of considerable concern as the Maori population had reached its nadir in the 1890s. There was an awareness that Europeans had had some part in this decline. The issue of Maori health was highly controversial at this time. The outbreak of small pox and the alleged responses of Maori, especially the rumoured suggestions that Maori were deliberately acting irresponsibly when exposed to the disease, prompted several cartoon images. This imagery stressed the apparent wealth of irresponsible Maori
characters as much as their perceived stupidity. These images perpetuated stereotypes of Maori as too wealthy for their own good, uneducated, lazy, fat, and totally without conscience.

Maori and warfare was an interesting theme in this period as the cartoon imagery noted the traditional aspects of warfare but also emphasised the modern Maori soldier as a product of one hundred years of British contact. This juxtaposition of traditional and modern images reflected a contemporary preoccupation with stereotypes of Maori warfare, especially the dignity of toa, and the general belief that Maori were traditionally a bloodthirsty race. There was also an ambivalence inherent in these images, a sense of pride in their achievements, regret at their cultural losses, and yet a need to emphasise their savageness.

The drop-off in cartoons regarding Maori began in late 1915, possibly because contemporaries were more concerned with the war in Europe than events at home. There is also some indication that the attitude of the Reform government meant Maori issues were less controversial and therefore less newsworthy, both factors that inspired cartoon imagery. However, there were other forms of publications from this era devoted to images of the Maori. These widened the scope of the racial joke, extending and reinforcing the stereotyping of Maori.

The first publication was J.C. Fussell’s 'Private Tikitanu'. This character evolved during the war and spawned at least two publications that combined anecdotes, 'war letters', and cartoons. The stereotypical Maori character wrote and spoke pidgin English, was stupid in a way perceived to be comic by contemporaries, and developed stories through his 'war letters' downplaying the serious side of war. This last feature in particular can be seen as a form of comic-relief for New Zealanders anxious about loved ones fighting in Europe. The Germans were reduced to comic and pathetic figures, and the propaganda myth that the war would be both short and a sweet victory for the allies was played upon. The letters often referred to contemporary reports of the actions of the Pioneer Battalion, explaining Maori accomplishments as 'flukes' or the result of 'gags' that had gone wrong.

Pat Lawlor's Maori Tales paperbacks were published in the 1920s combining anecdotes, 'comic' tales and cartoons, many by the cartoonists whose work featured in this study. This series of collections reinforced, in particular, the 'comic' characteristics perceived to be innately Maori: they were naive and stupid figures full of pidgin speech and fun. Both this style of humour and that represented by J.C. Fussell's work are products of their time. To a modern reader
they seem seriously unfunny, even offensive. However, it is also apparent that some of these jokes are the kind of jokes Maori might tell about themselves, with depths misunderstood by Pakeha in their relay. Maori humour would often send up both Pakeha and Maori, but this gentle playfulness and self-mockery was often lost in an attempt by Pakeha cartoonists to create a sharp and ‘witty’ joke: they ended up reinforcing the colonists’ sense of racial superiority. The popularity of these two collections using Maori themes points to the continuing use of Maori-related imagery in contemporary and interwar publications.

Finally, in defining Maori characteristics, even through misapplied criteria, Pakeha were evolving a sense of national self. As they developed more of a New Zealand identity in this period Maori motifs were increasingly seen as cultural items that could be appropriated for this purpose. Such appropriation was made possible through the cartoonists’ use of stereotypical Maori images and characteristics: Pakeha were able to recognise and quickly adopt such features. The stereotypes, exaggeration, oversimplification and generalisations inherent in cartoon imagery of Maori also enhanced pre-existing prejudices, particularly for example, over the question of Maori land holdings. Cartoons reflected a popular opinion regarding current issues, therefore the cartoon imagery of Maori is an accurate indication of commonly held contemporary beliefs and biases, and must be considered in any interpretation of representation of the Maori.
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