

gender
work

Gender, Work and Fears of a 'Hybrid Race' in 1920s New Zealand

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'The Maori girl is something like her white sister and she has to advance with the times: that is what forces her to work for the Chinese – she is beginning to feel her feet'.¹ So said one of the participants in the New Zealand Committee of Inquiry into the Employment of Maoris on Market Gardens in 1929.² At the forefront of the Inquiry, ostensibly about the employment of Maori workers by the Chinese, was what one newspaper described as the 'Maori Girl Problem'.³ The Inquiry affords insight into the ways in which masculine fears of racial degradation through miscegenation – of a 'hybrid' Chinese/Maori race – operated within a hierarchy of race, gender and Iwi (tribal) interests.⁴ Concerns about the economic position of Maori were entwined with questions of sexual commerce.⁵ Analysis of the Inquiry serves to complicate the picture of New Zealand as a historically bicultural society, made up of Maori and Pakeha (white New Zealanders), by signalling the importance of the Chinese in debates about national belonging.⁶ While intimate relationships between Maori and Pakeha were accepted as unremarkable, perhaps inevitable and, to some, very desirable as a means of hastening assimilation, Maori men expressed a great deal of concern about relationships between Maori women and Chinese men. Maori women thus were at the centre of struggles between Maori men of different tribal affiliations, Pakeha employers, Chinese market gardeners, Anglican and Methodist interests and Pakeha women's groups. In the cacophony of voices lamenting the fact that they mingled with the Chinese, Maori women themselves went unheard.

The participation of Maori men in national politics contributed to a new articulation of what Dana Nelson has suggestively called 'National Manhood', in which Maori and white men combined to express fears about women's work and sexuality.⁷ Men with an interest in the Maori community were engaged in an effort to 'redraw the "interior frontiers"'⁸ of the New Zealand national community and, in doing so, marked out 'real' New Zealanders from outsiders. By the 1920s, the Maori population was burgeoning after a precipitous decline that reached its nadir in the late nineteenth century. From a low of 42,113 in 1900, by 1921 the population had reached 57,000. The economic base for this community lay in semi-subsistence agriculture on diminished lands or in unskilled or seasonal jobs in rural areas.⁹ The towns, and particularly the dominant urban centre of Auckland, offered new work opportunities for the few who ventured

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outside their tribal districts, including some Maori women who sought employment as the economic depression deepened in the 1920s.

In the first half of the twentieth century, New Zealand shared the racial anxieties of Australia and Canadian states such as Saskatchewan and British Columbia over the intermingling of Chinese workers, indigenous peoples and settlers.¹⁰ Through a study of American miscegenation cases, Peggy Pascoe has pointed out how 'race, understood as an indivisible essence that included not only biology but also culture, morality, and intelligence, was a compellingly significant factor in history and society'.¹¹ Renisa Mawani has revealed the ways in which, although British Columbia wished to build a homogeneous white province, the labour of white working-class men, Chinese men and Native and Japanese women and men, 'all of whom performed racially-specific and gendered tasks', proved 'indispensable' for the economic success of the British Columbian salmon export market. A desire to maximise profits prevailed over racial anxieties.¹² In contrast, Saskatchewan enacted legislation to prohibit white women from working for the Chinese, an initiative explored by Constance Backhouse.¹³ In 1901, the Australian Federal Parliament passed the Immigration Restriction Act that served to limit the immigration of Chinese people; an additional measure barred the wives and children of Chinese immigrants from joining their husbands after 1903.¹⁴ As Marilyn Lake has written, the Commonwealth of Australia was to be a 'white man's country'.¹⁵ New Zealand's restrictive legislation developed from 1881, when a ten-pound poll tax was placed on Chinese immigrants, a tax that was increased tenfold in 1896.¹⁶

In his study of Australian responses to the rise of Asia, David Walker has argued that from the 1920s, concern existed 'that "the prestige of the white man" was in decline and with it the power to control populations and maintain racial and sexual boundaries on strictly western terms'.¹⁷ Walker takes the American Lothrop Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy*, published in 1920, as emblematic of a stream of argument that people of mixed Asian and western parentage signified 'mongrelization, mongrel chaos' likely to lead to the collapse of civilisation.¹⁸ In the same year that Stoddard's book appeared, New Zealand introduced an Immigration Restriction Amendment Act that entitled people of British or Irish birth or descent free entry to New Zealand while denying Chinese the right of permanent residence. The Minister of Customs was given sole discretion over the entry of Chinese who were only given temporary resident permits. Those Chinese men who had already gained permanent residency were unable to apply to have their wives and children join them.¹⁹ By 1926, there were 447 Chinese women in New Zealand and 2,927 men.²⁰ The majority of single men worked in shops, laundries and market gardens and led very different lives from those of the 131 Chinese families established by the late 1920s.²¹

New Zealand shared with Australia a view of itself as a 'white man's country' but, unlike Australia where the Aboriginal people were assumed to be dying out and hence excluded from conceptions of the nation, in New Zealand the indigenous people, the Maori, were included in the definition of whiteness.²² The concept of Maori as sharing a common Aryan heritage with Britons was one vigorously promoted in late nineteenth-century New Zealand.²³ By 1929, the observation that 'a "White New Zealand" policy is universally accepted in the Dominion, and the fact is recognised abroad', seemed to have become a truism.²⁴ The complexity of race in New Zealand has been highlighted

in James Bennett's discussion of Maori as members of the 'White Tribe' – a key point in New Zealand's decision not to federate with Australia, where Aboriginal people were disenfranchised and written out of the vision of the nation.²⁵ New Zealand, Bennett argues, 'constructed Maori as racially homogenous with Pakeha'.²⁶ Such homogeneity had clear limits. 'Race' continued to be used as an index of 'civilisation' and the lure of becoming 'European' meant that in 1927, for example, Meri Monckton, Tamati Marino Raharuhi, Makarita Hinewai Kerehi and Rangiaho Kerehi applied and were 'declared to be Europeans', and hence able to access the benefits available to white New Zealanders.²⁷ Unlike many other settler societies, including Australia, New Zealand had no formal or official barriers to intermarriage between Maori and Pakeha, and such marriages were relatively common.²⁸

The dangers of assimilation inherent in intermarriage became of increasing concern to Maori leaders in the early twentieth century. Apirana Ngata, lawyer and politician from the Ngati Porou Iwi, took note in his student days of the dangers of 'race mixing'. 'Race intermixture', he wrote with regard to the Roman and British Empires, 'and utter neglect of race distinctions led to [the] disappearance of the sharp outlines of race morality'.²⁹ In the 1890s, Ngata warned his contemporaries, 'must we languish and die by the hearth of our *pakeha* lovers and husbands, that the mongrel race of the future may boast a long descent from the Gods of the Pacific, that there may be added to the all conquering, all devouring Anglo-Saxon, a fresh strain of blood?' Ngata's vision was of 'a Maori race . . . of a distinct and separate existence, but nonetheless subject to law and government, loyal to the flag that protects it'.³⁰ By 1905 he was a member of that government and, as he rose in stature in political circles, he had more opportunity to set the agenda for Maori issues.

Maori men had secure representation in Parliament since the introduction of four Maori seats in 1867.³¹ Maori women were enfranchised along with Pakeha women in September 1893, but there were important tribal differences in attitudes towards women's political participation and speaking rights. In 1894, Hone Heke, the Nga Puhī leader and member of the House of Representatives for Northern Maori, reported consulting the women in his electorate who perceived the right to stand for parliament as recognition of their freedom, even if they chose not to use it.³² In contrast, the chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa, Te Heuheu Tukino, argued that 'the Native people of this country' would not agree to the 1919 Women's Parliamentary Rights Act that enabled women to stand for parliament. He asserted in the Legislative Council that the bill, if passed, would lead to a good deal of trouble in the home, 'our women would be here in Parliament and we, the husbands, would be left at home to look after the children'. He was convinced that representation by a woman was

against the customs of the Maori people. It has been the custom of our people from the time of their ancestors down to the present day that the male should on all occasions and under all conditions be the leader, and be the channel through which the affairs of the people should be cared for; that he should think out what is best for the people and for the protection of the people. The male has always been the mastermind.³³

Tukino's voice was in the minority and with the success of the 1919 Women's Parliamentary Rights Act, all women were enabled to enter New Zealand's lower house, the House of Representatives, while entry to the Legislative Council remained denied to them until 1941. Rehutai Maihi, of the Nga Puhī Iwi, was the first Maori woman to

stand for parliament in 1935. Her lineage from a chiefly family allowed her a political voice, even though some men within the Maori community, just as in the Pakeha community, clung to the view that leadership was a male prerogative.³⁴ Her campaign was unsuccessful.

Apirana Ngata was a firm advocate for the equality of Maori and Pakeha men and advanced Maori interests in the debate over the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act of 1920. In seeking to protect the interests of Maori who might be residing outside New Zealand and wish to return, he claimed their equality with 'British-born Europeans' and expressed his sympathy with 'the first immigrant to this country – the British – in the attitude they take up with regard to the influx of Chinese and other Asiatics'.³⁵ The Act made it difficult for non-British immigrants to enter New Zealand and virtually impossible for non-Europeans. The small number of Chinese men in the country who were initially attracted to the goldfields of the 1860s often survived by market gardening: from 1908 they lost the right to naturalisation and they had no access to the various benefits that went with citizenship.³⁶ Maori and Chinese met in rural areas where the labour-intensive work of growing vegetables had been abandoned by white farmers who 'mostly preferred the less labour-intensive work of dairy farming and animal husbandry'.³⁷ Chinese market gardens ranged in size from individuals working an acre of land (0.4 hectare) to fourteen or more men working areas as large as 16.6 hectares. For Chinese immigrants who had limited English skills and were used to peasant farming in China, market gardening was a good option because it required limited capital outlay. About eighty market gardens were concentrated around the country's biggest city, Auckland, and there was another important concentration of gardens at Otaki, north of Wellington.³⁸

In the 1920s, Maori were a predominantly rural-based people, many of whom had been dispossessed of their lands.³⁹ They eked out livings on their diminished lands or worked as casual labourers in the rural economy. Work was often of a communal nature as groups travelled around rural areas in shearing gangs, for example. Seasonal work on market gardens – thinning carrots, parsnips and beetroot, and hoeing – might be undertaken in family groups, with children employed to 'frighten birds away'.⁴⁰ Women, men and children worked together (the husband apparently received the pay), sometimes postponing work on their own land in order to earn extra money.⁴¹ In order to prevent the growth of a landless proletariat, Ngata worked tirelessly during the 1920s in promoting land consolidation and the modernisation of farming in order to enable people to live off their own land.

In 1928, the recently knighted Apirana Ngata was appointed Minister of Native Affairs, the first such minister appointed from a Maori electorate and recognition of his outstanding reputation within both the Maori and Pakeha worlds. A man of wide interests, Ngata took the post, he said, in his own words, 'for the sake of the race'.⁴² Strengthened 'Race consciousness' based on 'tribal consciousness', he believed, was necessary for a 'new kind of fighting – war for continued existence under conditions imposed by the Pakeha'.⁴³ That year Ngata was reading, 'with great interest', George Pitt-Rivers's *The Clash of Culture and the Contact of Races*.⁴⁴ An analysis of miscegenation took up a substantial portion of the book. By constructing a *whakapapa* (genealogy) of a European/Maori family, Ngata found confirmation of Pitt-Rivers's view 'that the extinction of the Maori race, meaning the pure-bloods, is very near, being supplanted by a new race'.⁴⁵

Ngata was one of a select group of men educated at Te Aute College, which, under the leadership of the Revd John Thornton, became a training ground for elite Maori men in the late nineteenth century.⁴⁶ Backed by the Anglican establishment, the school promoted Christian values, academic learning and a commitment to regeneration of the Maori 'race' and culture among its pupils.⁴⁷ The first Maori university graduates were former Te Aute pupils and they were encouraged to enter the professions – Ngata trained in law – in order to lead the Maori world in the twentieth century. At the same time as the Pakeha women's movement was organising nationally and encouraging the 'New Women' to enter the professions,⁴⁸ the Te Aute College Students' Association was committed to the reform of wider Maori society. Te Aute men had a deep commitment to academic study, the exercise of a Christian masculinity and traditional male leadership in order to forward the interests of Maori.⁴⁹

Apirana Ngata's elevation to a cabinet post in government put him in a position to do more for his people. Surveying 'the general Maori position' in his July 1929 speech to the house, Ngata emphasised three key points: the need for assistance 'in districts where poverty and distress prevail'; the fact that the State provided no assistance to Maori to develop their lands; and the need for 'an enquiry into the problem of the employment of Maoris (especially girls) on Asiatics' market gardens'.⁵⁰ In the last aim, Ngata was responding to the concerns of Te Akarana Maori Association and the White New Zealand League.

The White New Zealand League had its origins in Pukekohe, an important potato-growing region, south of Auckland city. Farmers there became concerned that South Asians, Hindus in their terms, were leasing and buying land, hence entering into direct economic competition with white farmers. The White New Zealand League and the White Race League, founded at the same time, were a response to the economic difficulties of post-war society. 'These racial vigilante groups', Jacqueline Leckie has argued, 'looked back to the time before Indians had noticeably settled in New Zealand. This was a time that for many New Zealanders, from the perspective of the 1920s, was one when the Empire was still glorious and there was optimism about the society which they were trying to build'.⁵¹

Te Akarana Maori Association was founded in Auckland in July 1927 out of a desire to form an association of 'educated Maoris' in order to promote 'Maori welfare regardless of creed'. This group of men (the association initially did not admit women to membership) saw themselves at the vanguard of Maori society, a new elite that was responsible for upholding Maori culture and protecting it from untoward influences. Elected chairman and secretary of the association, Patrick Smyth had an Irish-born father and a high-born Nga Puhi mother. Smyth married a Pakeha woman in 1916 and, although very critical of many aspects of Maori life, he developed a passion for Maori language and traditions.⁵² George Graham, a Pakeha, and frequently the spokesperson for the association, had an accounting and legal background, and as a native agent, he often gave free advice to impoverished Maori families. Married in 1899 to Takurangi Kahupeka Hapi, he had a large family. After they separated in about 1912, George Graham went on to form successive liaisons with Te Wharetoroa Tiniruapeka and Mare Potatau. He took great interest in Maori culture, compiling manuscripts of oral traditions and artefacts. He was an active member of the Polynesian Society and a founder of the Anthropology and Maori race section of the Auckland Institute and Museum.⁵³ James Rukutai, one of the key activists over the Chinese market garden

issue, was involved with the Maori tennis movement, an initiative designed to bring Maori together.

The association aimed to 'confer with public bodies' to assist Maori, to study Maori tradition, to 'studiously and energetically pursue questions of education and social life' and to 'act conscientiously and sympathetically in the relations obtaining between Maori and European in the "Storm and Stress" of the Maori during his present transition from the primitive stages to the enlightenment of civilisation afforded by the European'.⁵⁴ Ngata regarded the association as showing 'promise of doing good practical work' especially with 'not the best Maori material' – those who had drifted to the city, 'sold their lands, or who have otherwise dissociated themselves from their villages, young folk who have not waited for parental blessing, others attracted by the glamour of the city & drifted into relief works &c'.⁵⁵

Te Akarana Maori Association members were goaded into action by the press aspersions upon Maori masculinity. The following from 1929, was one example:

Unhampered by any 'colour bar', with every advantage of the European and additional privileges and protection under the law besides, with wealthy leaders and land aplenty, the Maori has failed in his first encounter with the despised Asiatic. His women folk perform menial tasks for Chinese and Hindu masters, while the men lounge in hotel bars between rare and spasmodic bursts of work. The Maori's head is turned by the foolish adulation we are wont to bestow upon him. The racial superiority of the Chinese over the Maori is demonstrated by the fact that the Chinese becomes the employer and the Maori the employee. The inferiority of the Maori is shown by his treatment of his women folk in sending them out to work for alien men. It is simply a modern instance of a superior race dominating an inferior one, as the Maoris once did the Morioris, the Normans the English . . . The Maori girls are not to blame if, seeing their elder sisters with lazy Maori husbands living in abject poverty, they choose to marry Chinese.⁵⁶

George Graham's reply was designed to appeal to the honour of white men, claiming that there were 'scores' of 'white girls and women' also involved with Asians. Te Akarana Maori Association also sought to interest white women in their cause because 'a great deal' was said to depend on Maori 'womenfolk' and Pakeha sisters were called upon to assist 'the Maori sisters'.⁵⁷

The 'Pakeha sisters' most interested in the issue of Maori women's work were those in the National Council of Women (NCW). The NCW was formed in 1896, inspired by the International Council of Women formed in Washington, DC in 1888. It became the largest and most influential women's organisation in New Zealand. The question of white women working for the Chinese had been on their agenda since July 1927, when an associate member sponsored a League of Nations proposal that the council 'should urge that heavy penalties be imposed upon Chinese who interfere with our girls in New Zealand and that the whole problem needs investigation by experts'. After 'considerable discussion' the members decided not to support the League of Nations. They did, however, pass a resolution to 'approach the government with a view to legislation being passed to prevent the employment of white girls by Chinese'.⁵⁸ This matter was also of concern to the New Zealand Society for the Protection of Women and Children.⁵⁹ The society was founded by prominent men and women in Auckland in 1893 with the object of protecting women and children from cruelty and seduction. At the same time as expressing concern about white women working for the Chinese, the NCW worked to support entry to New Zealand of the wives of Chinese men. They also sought to interest Chinese women in joining a branch of the organisation.⁶⁰ When the

formation of the Committee of Inquiry was announced, the NCW sought representation on it and protested that none of its members were women.⁶¹

National Council of Women representatives, including Dr Mildred Staley, met with Te Akarana Maori Association in July 1929. Dr Staley had trained in Britain and worked in India for nineteen years, in the Federated Malay States and in Fiji. A woman of strong opinions, she advocated keeping Chinese people out of New Zealand and, in an article in the *Sun* newspaper, called on Pakeha to 'assist the Maori in overcoming the Asiatic evil'. She continued, 'Chinese associations are dangerous, morally, spiritually and physically', adding that 'the Chinese are riddled with disease'.⁶² The *Sun* headline announced a 'Scathing Indictment of Asiatic Intrusion'. Patrick Smyth meanwhile called on civilised people to help the Maori 'now that Asiatic teeth are sinking into Maori vitality'.⁶³ The outraged Chinese Consul, Ou Tsin Shuing, demanded that the *Sun* newspaper publish his response to Dr Staley's 'offensive comments' on a 'law-abiding, industrious and moral people'. Staley's unsatisfactory reply caused further offence and George Graham leapt to Dr Staley's defence.⁶⁴ The front-page controversy seethed until overtaken by the announcement of an official inquiry.

The male members of Te Akarana Maori Association were concerned that degradation of the Maori race would occur through alliances between Chinese and Maori or Indian and Maori. 'The full-blooded Maori is not on the increase', warned Chief Andrew Ngawaka, an Anglican connected to many of the Northern Iwi. On a visit to Auckland he announced his disgust that Maori women were 'living and commingling with Hindus and Chinese', adding that the fact made him 'almost ashamed to acknowledge myself a Maori'. Ngawaka advocated setting aside a settlement in or near Auckland in order that Maori could 'multiply in accordance with their traditions'.⁶⁵ By the 1920s, the younger Maori generation was described in official publications as full of 'health and vigour' with 'poise and its self-confidence'. Maori women were said to be 'speeding up the process of Europeanisation in the home life and surroundings' producing 'full cradles' and taking 'greater care of infant life'.⁶⁶ Patrick Smyth regarded the employment of Maori girls after leaving school as 'a very serious question'. 'It was most essential', he suggested, for Te Akarana Maori Association 'to watch jealously the welfare of our young womenhood as on them rested the glorious duty of perpetuating the Race'.⁶⁷ The editor of the *Sun* supported Maori efforts, and particularly those of Te Akarana Maori Association, at 'social uplift':⁶⁸

There is something humiliating in the idea that members of a race which New Zealanders are inclined to accept as their equals should be reduced to squalid relationships with Chinese of a class that has no intellectual aspirations. Any drift that way should be checked at once by legislation to prevent Maori women from being employed under engagements that make them merely the chattels of their paymasters.⁶⁹

Te Akarana Maori Association wanted the government to take action on the employment of Maori girls in Chinese market gardens and they sought the cooperation of the Anti-Asiatic League in their campaign.⁷⁰ They reported strong support for their concern from the Revd Joughlin, a Methodist missionary in charge of Auckland's Chinese mission, who 'agreed that the Maori girls should be kept out of the Chinese gardens and strong opposition brought to bear on the matter'.⁷¹ The Maori Methodist Synod passed a resolution requesting the government to introduce a bill to prevent inter-marriage between 'Hindus and Maori' and many members expressed opposition to the mingling

of Maori women with the Chinese. Representing Te Akarana Maori Association at the Synod, George Graham argued that 'whenever there is a mixed marriage between any two people, a decline in the hygiene of those two people always accrues'. It was, he said, 'a well-known fact that in the cases of the Maori girls marrying Chinese there have never been any children'. Since Graham's own marriage to a Maori woman had resulted in seven children, he was clearly in favour of Maori/Pakeha alliances and did not see them as 'mixed marriages' – a reminder of the way in which Maori were, at times, viewed as one people with white New Zealanders. The Synod concurred with the view that while there was no objection to Maori marrying into the 'British race', they did object to 'Asiatic marriages'.⁷²

The preoccupations of Te Akarana Maori Association made for lurid newspaper copy. 'Asiatic Menace: Women Living with Chinese' trumpeted the *Evening Post*.⁷³ Under the headline 'Asiatic Menace: Maori Racial Dilemma', the *Auckland Star* reported a meeting called by Te Akarana Maori Association in which representatives from the regions of Waikato, Thames, Kaipara and the North discussed the way in which 'Asiatic-Maori contact' was 'fast becoming a serious social problem'. 'The destiny of the Maori race was racial absorption', said one speaker, but 'absorption by an Asiatic element would be disastrous. Such half-castes were not wanted either by Maori people or by Europeans'. Of particular concern was the 'audacity of the Chinese' who were accused of using 'Maori agents', either to induce 'young women to leave their homes or [who] endeavoured to induce them to do so by offering tempting wages'.⁷⁴ And here tribal politics came into play. In his correspondence, Ngata noted there was 'a suggestion of procuration, that a couple of Maori women living in Auckland are making a business of getting young girls to town and putting them out with the Chinks or Hindus'; he wrote discreetly in Maori that a high-born Nga Puhī woman, 'Matire, sister of Hone Heke' (Matire Ngapua, also known as De La Croix), was said to be one of those involved.⁷⁵

Three men – Dr T. Hughes, Medical Officer of Health in Auckland, Mr W. Slaughter from the Auckland Labour Department and Tukere Te Anga, employed by the Native Department (and a cousin of the prominent woman Waikato leader Te Puea Herangi) – were appointed to undertake the Inquiry. They were to gauge the extent of Maori employment by 'Asiatics', and Maori payment, housing and sanitary conditions. More specifically, the Inquiry was charged with ascertaining 'how many female Maoris are living with Chinese or Hindus, whether lawfully married or not' and 'whether it is in the interests of public morality that the employment of Maori girls and women by Chinese and Hindus should be permitted to take place'.⁷⁶ Control of Maori women's labour became a key element in the inquiry.

In the north of New Zealand where there was a heavy concentration of Maori, work options for women included labour in the forestry nurseries, for the New Zealand Tobacco Company and 'to a very limited extent' work in northern hotels. Maori women were less likely to find work in Auckland hotels 'on account of colour'.⁷⁷ Some women found work in Chinese laundries, which 'paid very well indeed' but, according to Dr Mildred Staley, this raised the problem of 'spending the nights'.⁷⁸ A deaconess, Sister Ivy, ran a club for Maori girls on behalf of the Auckland Methodist Mission and thirty-seven of the women who attended had jobs, some in hotels, some as domestic servants in private homes or boarding houses.⁷⁹ William Goffe, a Maori interpreter and land purchase officer, believed that Maori women were attracted to work for the Chinese for

'pleasure and dress' and that they were being enticed into the work by Matire Ngapua (De La Croix) who told the girls that the 'Chinese were far preferable to either their own race or the European, because they were kinder and treated them better than most of them'.⁸⁰ Goffe saw this as a form of enticement into 'Maori slavery', but Mildred Staley confirmed that the Maori women found the Chinese men in the Otaki district to be 'very generous. The girls showed me beautiful rolls of silk that have been given them'.⁸¹ The young women also appreciated the Chinese willingness to advance money. Willie Yates reported that women often came to his house on a Saturday, 'to get some money for the pictures'.⁸²

Chinese and Maori people, according to one study, shared some cultural values: both communities put an emphasis on communal as opposed to individual welfare.⁸³ Although the housing provided for Maori workers was poor, it was not unlike other forms of rural accommodation, and the Chinese were generous with food. In fact, there appeared to be competition among different Maori groups to work for the Chinese. One witness to the Inquiry complained: 'the Orakei and Pupuke Maoris come along and will work for less money and therefore the local Maori cannot get fair money'.⁸⁴

Of greater concern to a number of Maori men was the fact that the Chinese preferred to employ Maori women and, according to James Rukutai in his evidence to the Inquiry, the Chinese had 'an ulterior motive'.⁸⁵ George Graham had made it his business to view Chinese gardens from the roadside and was convinced that Maori women were living 'under the same roof' as their Chinese employers. He knew of at least two 'young native women' who had 'got in trouble with Chinamen'. Young women were described as enticed to leave their homes to work for the Chinese and that the girls were 'not genuinely wanted for their cultivation work'. It was also well known, Graham suggested, that a Hindu shopkeeper would not give credit 'unless the girls there were compliant'. In total, Te Akarana Maori Association men told the Inquiry that there were '55 native girls living with Asiatics, of whom four or five seem to be with Hindus. Out of that total only about two are married'.⁸⁶ Mr Slaughter pointed out that it was evident that in many cases the girls themselves were 'parties to this relationship and refuse to break it up' and asked Te Akarana Maori Association men what they could do about that. The response was that Asians should be 'excluded from our midst'.⁸⁷

More tales of the lascivious behaviour of the Chinese came from Amo Hamitemiti. He described the Maori women going to work after lunch: 'the boss used to stand out by the gate and all those that kissed him he gave the best job. Those that did not let him kiss them get the hard work'. Hamitemiti suggested that the women were enticed by a cocktail containing gin and Long Ton, an extract of opium; indeed, he remarked that the women 'would do anything for a drink of that stuff'.⁸⁸ But Pakeha employers also preferred women employees to men. A Mr Malone told the Inquiry that he did not employ Maori men because they were 'too cunning and spoil the women. Maori women work well by themselves'; this, he thought, 'was probably the reason why Chinamen will not employ the men'.⁸⁹ A Mr Miller from the White New Zealand League claimed that the 'Asiatics' had 'some kind of hold on the Maoris': 'I have come to the conclusion that they are consorting with the Chinamen, and they can always get money from the Chinaman if they want it'.⁹⁰

The Chinese men interviewed by the committee employed both men and women. Andrew Chong, outdoor manager for Wai Jang market garden, told the Inquiry that their gardens employed male labour. While the men brought their wives to help them,

only the men were paid. When asked if he employed men or women, Ah Chee replied: 'it is females usually offering – generally elderly women. Sometimes an elderly woman may take a girl or two with her, but in preference we have not been wanting young women because they gad about too much and they do not stay at their work'.⁹¹ Ah Chee's testimony was at odds with the picture of lascivious Chinese men enticing young women into sexual as well as employment contracts.

A Presbyterian missionary to the Chinese, the Revd Mawson, saw more prosaic concerns driving Maori women. He suggested that they went to work for the Chinese out of poverty. Maori women found employment very difficult to obtain. Sister Ivy, from the Methodist Mission, said the Chinese preferred to employ women because they worked for less than the men did. 'If there were no Chinese gardens I do not think many of these young girls (about 15 or so) would come to town'.⁹²

How extensive was Maori women's work for the Chinese? Figures presented to the committee indicated that approximately fifty-three Maori women in Auckland were living on the premises of Chinese market gardeners (not living *with* Chinese men as Te Akarana Maori Association had suggested). The extent of the Inquiry, therefore, seemed out of proportion to the numbers involved. Miscegenation, it seems, was the driving concern. The Inquiry heard evidence from a sociologist that, if Maori women 'of a lower morality and less racial pride' mixed freely with the Chinese, 'the result is not a lifting of those moral standards that as pakehas we try to give the Maori, but rather a lowering'. The offspring of relationships between Maori and Chinese would be 'a queer mixture, a mixture that from a sociological point of view is a menace to our population'. The sociologist continued: 'it is partly sentiment, I suppose, but we are going to lose the British outlook, partly national because we are going to lose that for which we are striving, – a pure Maori race'.⁹³ He hinted that dire political ramifications might follow if Maori and Chinese intermarried, since there were still sections of the Maori people who believed that one day 'the pakeha will be sent out of the country' by a 'gigantic wave' and this could blend with the Chinese nationalist point of view.⁹⁴ A further danger of miscegenation lay in land alienation. Mr Goffe pointed out that children born of Chinese fathers would be able to inherit Maori land. In his view, Maori blood would be tainted by any association with the Chinese.⁹⁵

Mr Slaughter, of the Labour Department, expressed his concern about the breeding of a 'mongrel' population. But to him and others, the solution was clear: 'if you allowed the Chinese to bring their wives here, you would have an increase in the Chinese . . . but not the mongrel'.⁹⁶ Mr Mawson and Sister Ivy agreed that the refusal to admit Chinese women was the root of the problem. 'I think', said Sister Ivy, 'that when these Chinese men come without their womenfolk there must be some immorality somewhere' but, she reminded the Inquiry, 'when you get into the backstreets of Auckland City it is infinitely worse to see what is going on among our white people'. The committee solicited opinion on whether or not Maori women should be prohibited from working in the gardens. Mr Slaughter betrayed his fears when he asked Sister Ivy: 'would prohibiting these girls working there separate them, or would it have a worse effect and get the Chinamen to run after the white girls?'⁹⁷

Sister Ivy's solution was straightforward and radical: to buy the women land. She was strongly opposed to prohibiting the women, 'many of whom are thorough ladies', from being employed. In their evidence to the Inquiry, representatives of the National Council of Women pointed out that economic necessity caused the Maori women's

move to the towns. Blanche Carnahan, president of the NCW and a well-known activist on women's issues, was firm in her view that employment was necessary for Maori girls. Ellen Melville, long-time feminist campaigner and popular Auckland city council member, wanted to know if anyone was enquiring as to why 'the girls leave the Maori villages', which seemed to her to be the crux of the matter. She and Carnahan suggested that Maori girls needed training of some sort; they proposed a domestic college, or training in small-scale farming such as bee-keeping or flower-growing.⁹⁸

Miriam Soljak, a political activist with the Auckland women's branch of the Labour Party, a fluent speaker of Maori and a former teacher in native schools, also stressed the economic conditions forcing Maori women into whatever work they could find. Having lost her own citizenship through marriage to a Dalmatian, which had led to her classification as an enemy alien during the First World War, Soljak was particularly sensitive to the rights conferred by citizenship.⁹⁹ She painted a picture of the difficulties Maori women faced in seeking work in the city, 'social ostracism' and being prey 'of any evil-minded man – European or otherwise – who happens to see her'. She reminded the Inquiry that 'Maori girls have equal rights of citizenship with their European sisters' and hence had the right to choose to work where and for whom they pleased.¹⁰⁰ Soljak suggested that there should be a hostel for Maori women where they could train as domestic workers, in home nursing and child welfare, but she recognised that not all women were temperamentally suited for domestic work. In her view, Maori women were natural gardeners and thus work for the New Zealand Tobacco Company would be preferable to factory employment. The Auckland women's branch of the Labour Party passed a resolution stating that Maori women faced an economic problem that could only be solved by 'a scheme which will assist these girls to attain their social and economic independence'. Any remedy, they suggested, 'must take into consideration the civic rights of both Maoris and Chinese'.¹⁰¹

No Maori women were among those giving testimony to the Inquiry, although the committee made a point of visiting and speaking with the Chinese market gardeners. Nor was there discussion in the Inquiry minutes about seeking Maori women's opinion and consequently others – white women and churchmen – spoke on their behalf. Perhaps the traditional prohibition of many Iwi against women speaking on the *marae* (the ceremonial gathering place in front of a meeting house) in public debate made women reticent or perhaps the impoverished women working in the market gardens had no time for official inquiries. Yet the most likely explanation seems to lie in the view expressed forthrightly by Ngata and implicitly by others, namely that the women represented 'not the best Maori material'.¹⁰² The women workers were regarded as a problem to be solved rather than as individuals who made considered decisions.

Some of the women workers apparently requested that the Revd A. J. Seamer, general superintendent of the Methodist Home Missions, speak on their behalf. The Maori women, he reported, had asked him to refute publicly the accusations that Maori women were employed by the Chinese for immoral purposes. Seamer was well known in Maori circles, having worked among Maori communities from 1897. He was fluent in Maori and tolerant of differing religious beliefs.¹⁰³ Although his mission was 'strongly opposed' to the mixing of Maori and Chinese from a 'sentimental and racial' standpoint, Seamer was an advocate of fair play. Most of the women in the market gardens were 'honest, hard-working women, struggling to earn sufficient to purchase the necessities of life for themselves and their dependents'. He regarded it as 'an absolute libel to say

the Maori women were more immoral than their sisters working in the cities'.¹⁰⁴ He also pointed out that there were very few 'half-caste' Maori-Chinese children and that most of them had been born in wedlock,¹⁰⁵ and commended the efforts of the Pukekohe Maori Komite in dealing with the issue.

The Maori Komite set conditions for the employment of Maori, including a scale of payment for digging potatoes, to be paid by Hindu and Chinese gardeners in Pukekohe. The Komite forbade the employment of Maori girls in the gardens, but had 'no objection to the employment of Maori women provided that they work with their husbands'. Traditional understandings of work as a communal enterprise with the men in charge took precedence over the needs of individual women to find work. A warden was appointed to ensure adherence to the conditions.¹⁰⁶ At Pukekohe, then, it seems that Maori men succeeded in limiting the participation of Maori women in the workforce as free agents.

While resisting the pressure to prohibit Maori women from working for the Chinese, the Inquiry endorsed a resolution of the Maori members of the Anglican synod that called for the repatriation of women and girls of the Ngapuhi Iwi 'who have drifted into the city and suburban areas and seek employment in market gardens'. These women were said to have 'land interests and remunerative occupations to return to'.¹⁰⁷ Maori men reasserted tribal control to bring women back from 'the gay life and gaudy colours' that attracted them to city life.¹⁰⁸ Te Akarana Maori Association resolved to provide accommodation for girls in town that would prevent them from drifting towards the gardens and that would counter town attractions with 'rational amusements'.¹⁰⁹

Te Akarana Maori Association did not, however, have the last word. In August 1930, Mere Newton, President of the Tamaki Maori Women's Welfare League, wrote to Apirana Ngata.¹¹⁰ In view of the poverty of the Maori people, the women protested against any plan to prohibit their work in Chinese gardens by arguing that their view 'should be considered before any academic decision be arrived at by any Akarana Maori Association which is practically two people, one being pure pakeha'. The League suggested monitoring the behaviour of the working women through the appointment of educated Maori women as 'Welfare or Patrol Officers', who would inspect the gardens regularly 'from a Health or Moral point of view'.¹¹¹ Their recommendation, in effect, replaced the paternalism of Te Akarana Maori Association with maternal surveillance by older, more affluent, women.

The behaviour of young women, lured away from traditional communities, concerned Maori elders. The concern was not just about their independence wrought through earning an individual wage from the Chinese; it was also about the traditional expectations of families and male honour. The wider community could exercise control in a rural context where Maori values prevailed and were understood. Such control was much more difficult in urban areas since towns presented individuals, like Witarina Harris born in Ohinemutu in 1906, with new options. Witarina's family lived near the busy Papaïouru *marae* and her mother was a person of *mana* (authority) in the Ngati Whakaue community. Witarina had been chosen by her grandfather to marry the oldest son of another family: 'it would have been a binding of our two families, strengthening the mana of both'. But she fell in love with the younger brother and they wished to get married. Witarina's mother wouldn't have it: "you turned his older brother down! Now you want to marry the youngest brother. Grow up. Over my dead

body. You can't reject the older brother and then ask for the youngest!" So I dropped him flat'. Soon afterwards she left Rotorua for the city of Wellington. In 1932, she married a Pakeha without asking her mother.¹¹²

Maori manhood was under threat from the freedom that young women found in the cities. It was also under threat from the 'degradation' many Maori saw as inherent in Chinese–Maori alliances. The Report of the Committee of Inquiry made the danger clear:

The indiscriminate intermingling of the lower types of races – i.e., Maoris, Chinese, and Hindus – will ... have an effect that must eventually cause deterioration not only in the family and national life of the Maori race, but also in the national life of this country, by the introduction of a hybrid race, the successful absorption of which is problematical. There is also a very real danger that in so far as the offspring of Chinese fathers are concerned such miscegenation may eventually result in the submergency [*sic*] of the Maori race similar to what has occurred in Hawaii.¹¹³

The Committee appended details of a 1911 paper from the Universal Races Congress by a Professor Earle Finch of Wilberforce University entitled 'The Effects of Miscegenation' detailing the decline of the Native Hawaiian population. 'It is not surprising', the professor argued, 'that racial miscegenation often produces an inferior population'.¹¹⁴ In order to protect young Maori women, the committee suggested that those under twenty-one should be prohibited from working in market gardens 'controlled by Asiatics' without supervision. The report recommended a number of measures to improve the conditions of work and accommodation for rural workers. It also recommended a more stringent test for the admission of the Chinese and that the government statistician should collect information as to the marriages of Maori and Chinese or 'other Asiatics' and of the birth of Maori children to Asian fathers. It called for more agricultural education for Maori, for the consolidation of Maori land, the revival of ancient Maori arts and crafts and 'the domestic training of Maori girls'.¹¹⁵

In seeking to promote 'race consciousness', Apirana Ngata upheld a view of white New Zealand that encompassed Maori, but excluded the Chinese and the Indian. In arguing for Maori land schemes in 1934, he repeated the Maori proverb, 'divorce the Maori from the land and you make of him a slave'. Landholding was constitutive of Maori masculinity. He continued, 'we do not want Maori slaves wandering about New Zealand mating with the Chinese and the Hindus – people who are alright in their own country, but, in white New Zealand and white Australia, are undesirable'.¹¹⁶ The cultivation of 'race pride', a goal upheld by Maori men in positions of authority, required stemming race contamination by those thought to be lascivious and morally bankrupt. If Chinese men could not be banished from New Zealand, then control had to be asserted over Maori women. Middle-class men engaged in the preservation of Maori society were engaged in the construction of, in Stoler's terms, 'bourgeois sensibilities' by conjuring up 'the supposed moral bankruptcy of culturally dissonant populations, distinguishing them from the interests of those who ruled'.¹¹⁷

Maori men wanted to limit the independence of Maori women to earn an individual wage and, while white women's groups supported Maori women's right to work, both groups opposed sexual liaisons between Maori and Chinese. Maori women sought to work for the Chinese since they could not 'compete with the pakeha girls in ordinary employment'.¹¹⁸ The young Maori women, said to prefer the bright lights and pleasures of the city and the generosity of the Chinese to the 'poverty and distress of the pa',¹¹⁹

were challenging and subverting traditional notions of race, hierarchy and power. A small number fell in love with Chinese men and founded families that continued in market gardening for generations.¹²⁰ By casting their lot with men they found to be on the margins of New Zealand society, they offended a group of elite Maori men who, in their assertion of national manhood, subscribed to ideas of 'purity of race'.

Much more was at stake in the Inquiry than the issue of suitable employment: ideas about racial integrity abounded. The freedom of young Maori women to enter sexual liaisons became the focus of a debate over tradition and modernity. The desire to restore tradition manifested itself through the suggestion of repatriation of girls to their tribal districts where they could be controlled by the authority of family and Iwi. Repatriation on a much larger scale was suggested for the Chinese by some members of Te Akarana Maori Association. When one S. George wrote to the *New Zealand Herald* and suggested that 'colour prejudice and racial hatred' against Asians were entirely inappropriate for Maori since they themselves originated in south-east Asia,¹²¹ George Graham was quick to reply that the matter was not one of prejudice but rather 'the laudable assertion of racial pride'. That Maori were 'Aryan and not Mongolian [was] a scientific fact'. Maori wished only to preserve themselves from 'Asiatic submergence' as would the Pakeha 'if his own domestic circle was invaded by Asiatics seeking wives'.¹²² 'We Maoris', wrote Keira Newton, 'do not want to provide wives for Asiatics, any more than you [Pakeha] would desire to provide womenfolk from your family for that purpose'. Assimilation with the European was one thing, but 'Asiatic' miscegenation would lead to 'racial degradation'. Newton wished to keep Asians out of New Zealand and 'unload the thousands we already have'.¹²³

New Zealand did not, as Saskatchewan did, enact legislation to prevent the employment of 'white' women by Chinese men.¹²⁴ But, in the case of the Inquiry, we can see how whiteness was constructed to incorporate Maori and to exclude Asians, and how this was enabled by explicitly gendered constructs. Te Akarana Maori Association, members of whom were themselves products or producers of a 'hybrid' Maori-Pakeha 'race', supported Maori inclusion in white 'civilisation' and saw the association of Maori women with the Chinese as an impediment to this aim and a threat to their own status as leaders in the Maori community. In order to build a united New Zealand nation that included both Maori and Pakeha, the Maori members of Te Akarana Maori Association were engaged in denying their singularity – and hence asserting their equality with Pakeha – while at the same time emphasising the particularity and difference of the Chinese. In their eyes, the strategy of building a bi-cultural New Zealand nation relied on the maintenance of Maori masculine honour through policing a minority of 'dangerous' young women who, by choosing their own domestic arrangements, had the potential to undermine a fragile and contested hierarchy of 'racial purity'.

Notes

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1. Mr Slaughter, Evidence to the Committee of Inquiry into the Employment of Maoris on Market Gardens (CIEMMG), H1 11685, Archives New Zealand, Wellington (ANZ).

2. 'Maoris' is now spelt 'Maori' since there is no 's' in the Maori language, but contemporaries, both Maori and Pakeha (White New Zealanders), used the English plural form freely.
3. *New Zealand Herald*, 10 September 1929, p. 12.
4. For analysis of these issues in South Africa, see Timothy Keegan, 'Gender, Degeneration and Sexual Danger: Imagining Race and Class in South Africa, ca. 1912', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27 (2001), pp. 459–77.
5. See Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), esp. p. 182.
6. On the problems of viewing race relations as bicultural, see Daniel R. Mandell, 'Shifting Boundaries of Race and Ethnicity: Indian–Black Intermarriage in Southern New England, 1760–1880', *Journal of American History* 85 (1998), pp. 466–501.
7. Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).
8. Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 7.
9. Bronwyn Labrum, 'Family Needs and Family Desires: Discretionary State Welfare in New Zealand, 1920–1970' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2000), p. 53.
10. See Brian Moloughney and John Stenhouse, "'Drug-Besotten, Sin-Begotten Fiends of Filth": New Zealanders and the Oriental Other, 1850–1920', *New Zealand Journal of History* 33 (1999), pp. 43–64.
11. Peggy Pascoe, 'Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of "Race" in Twentieth-Century America', *Journal of American History* 83 (1996), pp. 44–69, here p. 48.
12. Renisa Mawani, 'The "Savage Indian" and the "Foreign Plague": Mapping Racial Categories and Legal Geographies of Race in British Columbia, 1871–1925' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2001), p. 218.
13. Constance Backhouse, 'The White Women's Labor Laws: Anti-Chinese Racism in Early Twentieth-Century Canada', *Law and History Review* 14 (1996), pp. 315–68.
14. Kate Walsh, *The Changing Face of Australia: A Century of Immigration 1901–2000* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2001), pp. 40–42.
15. Marilyn Lake, 'The White Man under Siege: New Histories of Race in the Nineteenth Century and the Advent of White Australia', *History Workshop Journal* 58 (2004), pp. 41–62, here p. 56.
16. Manying Ip, *Home Away from Home: Life Stories of Chinese Women in New Zealand* (Auckland: New Women's Press, 1990), p. 178.
17. David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850–1939* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1999), p. 181.
18. Walker, *Anxious Nation*, p. 181.
19. Ip, *Home Away from Home*, p. 178.
20. Charles P. Sedgwick, 'The Politics of Survival: A Social History of the Chinese in New Zealand' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Canterbury, 1982), p. 636.
21. Sedgwick, 'The Politics of Survival', p. 324.
22. Lake, 'The White Man under Siege', p. 57.
23. See Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 74–7.
24. T. D. H. Hall, 'N. Z. and Asiatic Immigration', in Apirana Ngata et al., *New Zealand Affairs* (Christchurch: The New Zealand Institute of Public Relations, 1929), pp. 81–100, here p. 81.
25. James Bennett, 'Maori as Honorary Members of the White Tribe', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 29 (2001), pp. 33–54.
26. Bennett, 'Maori as Honorary Members of the White Tribe', p. 37.
27. *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, G–8, 1927. Maori were assumed to have land and hence were discriminated against in the payment of means-tested pensions, for example. See Elizabeth Hanson, *The Politics of Social Security: The 1938 Act and Some Later Developments* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1980), pp. 162–4.
28. See Patricia Grimshaw, Marilyn Lake, Ann McGrath and Marian Quartly, *Creating a Nation* (Melbourne: McPhee Gribble, 1994), pp. 287–8.
29. M. P. K. Sorrenson (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Na To Hoa Aroha = From Your Dear Friend: The Correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck 1925–50*, vol. 1 (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986), pp. 9–49, here p. 17.
30. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 1, p. 17, emphasis in the original.

31. Raewyn Dalziel, 'The Politics of Settlement', in W. H. Oliver with B. R. Williams (eds), *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 87–111, here p. 102.
32. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD)*, vol. 83, 1894, p. 569.
33. *NZPD*, vol. 185, 1919, p. 6.
34. Janet McCallum, 'Rehutai Maihi, 1895–1967', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 7 April 2006, <<http://www.wnzb.govt.nz>>. Api Mahuika has noted that customary prohibitions against women speaking on the *marae* (the ceremonial gathering place in front of a meeting house) did not apply in the Ngati Porou Iwi. See Api Mahuika, 'Leadership: Inherited and Achieved', in Michael King (ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (rev. edn; Auckland: Reed, 1992), pp. 42–63, here p. 48.
35. *NZPD*, vol. 187, 1920, pp. 908–9.
36. Manying Ip, 'Maori–Chinese Encounters: Indigene–Immigrant Interaction in New Zealand', *Asian Studies Review* 27 (2003), pp. 227–52, here p. 233.
37. Ip, 'Maori–Chinese Encounters', p. 229.
38. Sedgwick, 'The Politics of Survival', p. 318.
39. See e.g., Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand* (1973; repr. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995).
40. Evidence of W. Hapi and Amo Hamitemiti, CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ.
41. Evidence of Andrew Chong, CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ. P. W. Hohepa, *A Maori Community in Northland* (1964; repr. Wellington: Reed, 1970), p. 73, describes such patterns of work for a later period.
42. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 1, p. 157.
43. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 1, p. 209.
44. Apirana Ngata to Peter Buck, 1 August 1928, in Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 1, p. 123. The work to which Ngata was referring is George Pitt-Rivers, *The Clash of Culture and the Contact of Races: An Anthropological and Psychological Study of the Laws of Racial Adaptability, with Special Reference to the Depopulation of the Pacific and the Government of Subject Races* (London: Routledge, 1927).
45. Ngata to Buck, 1 August 1928, in Sorrenson (ed.) *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 1, pp. 126–7.
46. There is little scholarly work on Maori masculinity, though see Brendan Hokowhitu, 'Tackling Maori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport', *The Contemporary Pacific* 16 (2004), pp. 259–84.
47. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 1, p. 13.
48. Roberta Nicholls, *The Women's Parliament: The National Council of the Women of New Zealand, 1896–1920* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1996).
49. Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) of the Ngati-Mutunga Iwi, who trained as a doctor, became a distinguished anthropologist. He became director of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii and took a Chair in Anthropology at Yale University. During his work in the Pacific, Buck wrote to Ngata about his views of Samoans (mentally backward) and Tongans (mentally alert). His correspondence suggests the creation of a hierarchy of Polynesian manhood. See e.g., Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 1, p. 72.
50. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 1, p. 235. For Ngata's full address see *NZPD*, vol. 221, 1929, pp. 483–92.
51. Jacqueline Leckie, 'In Defence of Race and Empire: The White New Zealand League at Pukekohe', *New Zealand Journal of History* 19 (1985), pp. 103–29, here p. 128.
52. Steven Oliver, 'Patrick Smyth', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 4, 1921–1940 (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998), pp. 484–5.
53. Jennifer Curnow and Edward Rahiri Graham, 'George Samuel Graham, 1874–1952', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 4, 1921–1940, pp. 203–4.
54. Minute Book of Te Akarana Maori Association (TAMA), 1927–1933, MS 2002/113, Auckland Memorial Museum Library (AMML).
55. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 1, p. 67.
56. *Auckland Star*, 5 August 1929, p. 6.
57. TAMA, 18 November 1927, MS 120, AMML. A motion to admit women to the general committee did not succeed: TAMA, 18 April 1929. The sentiments about womanhood were expressed during a meeting with the National Council of Women, TAMA, 25 July 1929.
58. TAMA, 14 July 1927, Associate Members of the NCW, Auckland, Minutes, 26 April 1926 – 12 April 1937, MS 879, AMML.
59. Minutes, 28 November 1927, Executive and General Minutes, NCW, Auckland, August 1926 – June 1933, MS 879, AMML.
60. Minutes, 14 July; 8 September 1927; 12 September; 10 October 1929, Associate Members' Association, NCW, 16 April 1926–12 April 1937, MS 879, AMML.

61. Minutes, 23 September 1929, Executive and General Minutes, National Council of Women, Auckland, August 1926–June 1933, MS 879, AMML.
62. *Sun*, 26 July 1929, p. 1. On Staley see *Mirror*, 1 July 1927, p. 41.
63. *Sun*, 26 July 1929, p. 1.
64. *Sun*, 27 August 1929, p. 1 and 23 August 1929, p. 1.
65. *Sun*, 12 June 1929, p. 1.
66. 'Maori Conference at Putiki', *AJHR*, 1928, G–8, p. 2.
67. TAMA, 18 July 1929, MS 120/M99, AMML.
68. *Sun*, 12 June 1929, p. 1.
69. *Sun*, 17 June 1929, p. 8.
70. TAMA, Minutes of an Extraordinary Meeting, 4 August 1927, MS 2002/113, AMML.
71. TAMA, 25 August 1927, MS 2002/113, AMML.
72. Report of meeting deputation to the Maori Methodist Synod, 23 September 1927, MS 2002/113, AMML.
73. 'Maoris in Market Gardens', *Evening Post*, 13 July 1929, L1 10/3/268, ANZ.
74. *Auckland Star*, 13 July 1929, L1 10/3/268, 'Maoris in Market Gardens', ANZ.
75. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 1, p. 235. Whatever Ngata's motivation for this imputation, it was a view repeated by others in the course of the Inquiry. Matire Ngapua married John Rankin in 1896. She was the sister of Hone Heke Ngapua, MHR (Member of the House of Representatives) for Northern Maori from 1893 to 1911. Angela Ballara, 'Hone Heke Rankin', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 4, 1921–1940, p. 419.
76. 'Maori Hygiene', CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ.
77. Evidence of Mr Grieve, CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 26.
78. Evidence of Dr Mildred Staley, CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 58.
79. Evidence of Sister Ivy, CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 43. See Margaret Tennant, 'Pakeha Deaconesses and the New Zealand Methodist Mission to Maori, 1893–1940', *Journal of Religious History* 23 (1999), pp. 309–26.
80. Evidence of Mr Goffe, CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 46.
81. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 57.
82. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 109.
83. Ip, 'Maori–Chinese Encounters', p. 230.
84. Evidence of Wirepaheta Raka, CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 119.
85. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 13.
86. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, pp. 12–21.
87. Evidence of George Graham, CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 17.
88. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, pp. 66–7.
89. Mr Malone, CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 63.
90. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 84.
91. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 5.
92. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 42.
93. Evidence of Mr Dale, CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 52.
94. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 53.
95. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 58.
96. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 19.
97. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 34; 42–3.
98. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, pp. 71–5.
99. Jessica Heine, 'Colonial Anxieties and the Construction of Identities: the Employment of Maori Women in Chinese Market Gardens, Auckland, 1929', Unpublished masters, University of Waikato, 2006. See also Dorothy Page, 'Miriam Bridelia Soljak', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 4, pp. 486–7.
100. CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ, p. 28.
101. *Auckland Star*, 6 September 1929, p. 12.
102. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 1, p. 67.
103. Ruawai D. Rakena, 'Arthur John Seamer', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 4, pp. 467–8.
104. Undated clipping, CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ; *New Zealand Herald*, 18 October 1929, p. 12.
105. Press clipping, *New Zealand Herald*, 4 November 1929, CIEMMG, H1 11685, ANZ.
106. Unattributed clipping, 30 October 1929, CIEMMG, L1 10/2/268, ANZ.
107. Unattributed clipping, 10 November 1929, CIEMMG, L1 10/3/268, ANZ; *AJHR*, 1929, G–11, p. 6.
108. Labour Inspector to the Department of Labour, 22 July 1929, CIEMMG, L1 10/3/268, ANZ.
109. Unattributed clipping, ? July 1929, CIEMMG, L1 10/3/268, ANZ.

110. Apart from this letter, and an article in the *Auckland Star*, 11 June 1931, which indicated that the League was assisting unemployed women, nothing more is known of this organisation except that it preceded the important national Maori Women's Welfare League, founded in 1951. See Barbara Brookes, 'Nostalgia for "innocent homely pleasures": The 1964 New Zealand Controversy over *Washday at the Pa*', *Gender & History* 9 (1997), pp. 242–61.
111. Mere Newton to Apirana Ngata, 8 August 1930, L1 10/3/268, ANZ.
112. Patricia Grace, Irihapeti Ramsden and Jonathan Dennis, *The Silent Migration: Ngati Poneke Young Maori Club 1937–1948: Stories of Urban Migration* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2001), pp. 14–28, here p. 27.
113. *AJHR*, 1929, G–11, p. 4.
114. *AJHR*, 1929, G–11, p. 6.
115. *AJHR*, 1929, G–11, p. 6.
116. *NZPD*, vol. 240, 18 September–10 November 1934, pp. 1181–2.
117. Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, p. 10.
118. Inspector to the Department of Labour, 22 July 1929, L1 10/3/268, ANZ.
119. Inspector to the Department of Labour, 22 July 1929, L1 10/3/268, ANZ.
120. Manying Ip, 'Evolving Maori–Chinese Interactions: From Warmth to Wariness', Asia in New Zealand Symposium, University of Otago, 6 February 2005, cited with the permission of the author.
121. Letter from S. George, *New Zealand Herald*, 4 November 1929, p. 14.
122. Letter from George Graham, *New Zealand Herald*, 6 November 1929, p. 14.
123. Letter from Keira Newton, *New Zealand Herald*, 14 November 1929, p. 14.
124. Backhouse, 'The White Women's Labor Laws'.