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NOTES

NOTES

The Notes have been constructed with an emphasis on clarity rather than brevity. Full bibliographical details for books and articles are provided for the first reference in each chapter. Where page numbers are not given, the reference is either bibliographical, or, alternatively, passim should be assumed.

The following abbreviations are employed for libraries and archives:

AR	Auckland Institute and Museum Library
DHo	Hocken Library, Dunedin
DP	Dunedin Public Library
NLR	National Library Records, Wellington
PP	Palmerston North Public Library
WArc	National Archives, Wellington
WMu	National Museum, Wellington
WTu	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

Other letters such as MA, IA, DM, etc., are technically file designations rather than abbreviations, except for PS which has been used as an abbreviation for certain Polynesian Society materials.

In correspondence, J. C. Andersen's name is abbreviated to JCA, with the oblique stroke (/) indicating 'to'.

The following abbreviations and short-forms are used for publications:

AJHR	<u>Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives</u>
JPS	<u>Journal of the Polynesian Society</u>
<u>Na To Hoa Aroha</u>	<u>Na To Hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend. The Correspondence Between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck 1925-50, ed. M.P.K. Sorrenson (three volumes, Auckland, 1986-88)</u>
<u>Nga Moteatea</u>	(See note below)
<u>NZJH</u>	<u>New Zealand Journal of History</u>
<u>NZJST</u>	<u>New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology</u>
<u>NZPD</u>	<u>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates</u>
<u>Trans</u>	<u>Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute (from vol. 65 (1934-35) Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand).</u>

Up to and including volume 50, the Transactions included in the title ‘for the year’, thus Transactions ... for the Year 1917, and the volume also carried the date of issue, which was, for volume 50, 15 July 1918. From volume 51, ‘for the year’ was eliminated, as volumes were not always issued every year. Some writers have in their reference notes given the ‘for the year’ date, but in this study the date of issue, or volume publication, is the one indicated in brackets after the volume number. Thus Transactions ... for the Year 1907, becomes Trans, vol. 40 (1908).

Nga Moteatea abbreviations:

<u>Nga Moteatea</u> , Part I (1928)	<u>Nga Moteatea: He Maramara Rere No Nga Waka Maha</u> , Part I, ed. A. T. Ngata (Wellington, 1928).
<u>Nga Moteatea</u> , Part II (1928)	<u>Nga Moteatea: He Maramara Rere No Nga Waka Maha</u> , Part II, ed. A. T. Ngata (Wellington, 1929).
<u>Nga Moteatea</u> , Part I (1959)	<u>Nga Moteatea: He Maramara Rere No Nga Waka Maha/The Songs: Scattered Pieces from Many Canoe Areas</u> , Part I, ed. A. T. Ngata [and Pei Te Hurinui] (Wellington, 1959).
<u>Nga Moteatea</u> , Part II (1961)	<u>Nga Moteatea: He Maramara Rere No Nga Waka Maha/The Songs: Scattered Pieces from Many Canoe Areas</u> , Part II, ed. A. T. Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui (Wellington, 1961).
<u>Nga Moteatea</u> , Part III (1970)	<u>Nga Moteatea: He Maramara Rere No Nga Waka Maha</u> , Part III, ed. A. T. Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui (Wellington, 1970).

The first collection of *Nga Moteatea/The Songs* was published by Sir George Grey: *Ko Nga Moteatea, Me Nga Hakirara o Nga Maori*, ed. Sir George Grey (Wellington, 1853). Other waiata/songs were included in later collections, and on an ad hoc basis in *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, and in works by such Pakeha scholars and collectors as Elsdon Best and James Cowan. Apirana Ngata decided to collect unpublished songs, revise and correct those already published (providing also the all-important tribal attributions about composition), make annotations to explain obscurities in expression and nomenclature. His earliest efforts were published as supplements to the periodical *Te Toa Takatini*, beginning in 1924. The first ninety were cumulated as *Nga Moteatea, Part I* (1928), and a further one hundred and ten as *Nga Moteatea, Part II* (1929). He also had in hand several hundred more songs, and completed the typescript for Part III in 1933, but publication did not proceed. As is explained in Chapter 6 of the present study, Ngata sought to publish Part III in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in the 1940s, but was manoeuvred instead into providing revisions and English translations of Part I. The first seventy-odd pages of the bilingual Part I appeared in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1944-45, and the series resumed in the same journal in 1953. This bilingual version of Part I was published in complete form in 1958, but the standard edition is the reissue, *Nga Moteatea, Part I* (1959). *Nga Moteatea, Part I* (1959) is essentially *Nga Moteatea, Part I* (1928) with revisions and corrections of the latter and an English translation of both text and notes, together with various prefatory material. The task of completing the translations was undertaken by Pei Te Hurinui Jones. A facsimile edition of *Nga Moteatea, Part I* (1959) issued in 1972 included an additional (though incomplete) introductory statement by Ngata which had been left with his papers.

Jones also completed translations for *Nga Moteatea, Part II* (1961), incorporating revisions Ngata had made to *Nga Moteatea, Part II* (1929).

Part III of *Nga Moteatea* began to appear in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1948, without translation. Again Pei Te Hurinui Jones completed the translations and notes left by Ngata, and the work was published as *Nga Moteatea, Part III* (1970).

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1. See Ranginui Walker, Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End (Auckland, 1990), pp. 222-25; K. Hazlehurst, Racial Conflict and Resolution in New Zealand (Canberra, 1988).
2. In an earlier draft, I attempted to develop the notion of 'cultural colonisation' - that is, a mode of colonisation which is active in the 'cultural' sphere. Not all my mentors felt warmly towards this construct and, acknowledging their wisdom, I have not included the phrase in the present version. It is, nevertheless, implicit in what follows. I have recently come across an essay which employs the concept of 'cultural colonialism': Kenneth Coutts-Smith, 'Some General Observations on the Problem of Cultural Colonialism', in The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art, ed. Susan Hiller (London, 1991), pp. 14-31. (The article had been previously published in 1976 and again in 1983.) 'Cultural colonisation' might be seen as the form of 'cultural colonialism' which is internal to settler societies. See also Coutts-Smith, ibid, p. 24; P. J. Gibbons, Review of Te Whenua, Te Iwi: The Land and the People, ed. Jock Phillips (Wellington, 1987), NZJH, vol. 23 (1989), pp. 98-99.
3. To use a phrase of E. P. Thompson's in a rather different context, 'I am seeking to rescue ... from the enormous condescension of posterity' not Johannes Andersen himself but a variety of cultural activities and artifacts which have been generally ignored or devalued by historians and critics of New Zealand culture, including newspaper articles, lectures to schoolchildren, stamps, coins, dust-jackets of books, as well as more substantial printed texts. One might call upon contemporary semiologists to affirm that all signs have importance, indeed significance. See for instance Roland Barthes' examples in Mythologies, including his analysis of the cover of Paris-Match in his essay 'Myth Today': Barthes, Mythologies, ed. and trans. Annette Lavers (first published in French 1957; English language edition 1972; Paladin paperback edition, St Albans, Herts, 1973), p. 116.
4. The Invention of Tradition, eds E. J. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Cambridge, 1983). See also Culture and Identity in New Zealand, eds. David Novitz and Bill Willmot (Wellington, 1989). For the semiotics of conquest, see Tzvetan Todorov, The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other (first published 1982: English language ed., New York, 1984). Significant works on colonial discourse and other relevant topics are referred to in later notes to this Preface and in notes to the main text of this study.
5. Peter Gibbons, 'Non-fiction', in The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English, ed. Terry Sturm (Auckland, 1991), pp. 25-104. The general field of enquiry in which both the essay on non-fiction and the present study are situated is set out in P. J. Gibbons, 'A Note on Writing, Identity, and Colonisation in Aotearoa', Sites, no. 13 (1986), pp. 32-38.
6. The essay on the early years of the Alexander Turnbull Library is A. G. Bagnall, 'A Troubled Childhood: "The Nucleus of a National Collection"', Turnbull Library Record, vol. 3 (1970), pp. 92-111. For the Royal Society of New Zealand, see C. A. Fleming, Science, Settlers and Scholars: The Centennial History of the Royal Society of New Zealand (Wellington, 1987).

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7. Publishing is discussed in Dennis McEldowney, 'Publishing, Patronage, Literary Magazines', in Oxford History of New Zealand Literature, ed. Sturm, pp. 543-600, and the extent and limitations of the research thus far can be seen in McEldowney's endnotes, ibid., pp. 731-34. Though some work has appeared in recent years, the most substantial work on the history of science is In Search of New Zealand's Scientific Heritage: Selected Papers from the History of Science in New Zealand Conference ..., eds M. E. Hoare and L. G. Bell (Wellington, 1984); and see also R. A. Galbreath, 'Colonisation, Science, and Conservation: The Development of Colonial Attitudes Toward the Native Life of New Zealand With Particular Reference to the Career of the Colonial Scientist Walter Lawry Buller (1838-1906)', D.Phil. thesis, University of Waikato, 1989. Until his history of the Polynesian Society appears in 1992, M.P.K. Sorrenson's Maori Origins and Migrations: The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends (Auckland, 1979), essentially intellectual history, remains the major exercise in the development of New Zealand anthropology. There is a brief retrospective section, from an archaeological perspective, in Janet Davidson, The Prehistory of New Zealand (Auckland, 1984), pp. 5-11; see also Unearthing New Zealand, eds M. Trotter and B. McCulloch (Wellington, 1989), pp. 7-18, 22-23.
8. Elsdon Craig, Man of the Mist: A Biography of Elsdon Best (Wellington, 1964); J. B. Condliffe, Te Rangi Hiroa: The Life of Sir Peter Buck (Christchurch, 1971).
9. J. D. Freeman, 'Henry Devenish Skinner: A Memoir' in Anthropology in the South Seas, eds J. D. Freeman and W. R. Geddes (New Plymouth, 1959), pp. 9-27; Peter Gathercole, 'Introduction', in H. D. Skinner, Comparatively Speaking: Studies in Pacific Material Culture 1921-1972 (Dunedin, 1974), pp. 11-17.
10. M.P.K. Sorrenson, in Na To Hoa Aroha, especially 'Introduction', vol. 1, pp. 9-40, and 'Epilogue', vol. 3, pp. 256-68.
11. A valuable study which builds upon intercultural studies of recent decades and suggests how such studies might be further extended, referring to contact between Maori and Europeans as well as other examples, is Norman Simms, Points of Contact: A Study of the Interplay and Intersection of Traditional and Non-traditional Literatures, Cultures, and Mentalities (New York, 1991).
12. Andersen's suitability as a focus for the exposition is, in my opinion, borne out by the study which follows. However, a number of other individuals might also have served the purpose, and several possible candidates - S. P. Smith, Elsdon Best, James Cowan, W. H. Skinner, H. D. Skinner, Roger Duff, for instance - are mentioned in the text. Since the present study was completed in full draft, K. R. Howe has published a biography of Edward Tregear which in the sections dealing with Tregear's scholarly interests in Maori and Polynesian matters makes some points that are broadly similar to certain ideas in this study, though without the general framework: see K. R. Howe, Singer In a Songless Land: A Life of Edward Tregear (Auckland, 1991).

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The biographical framework is, of course, not the only means of dealing with the kinds of historical materials and situations discussed in this study, and indeed it is likely that when the issues are more generally debated the biographical approach will often be eschewed in favour of other types of analysis. The biographical framework is, nevertheless, a profitable way of opening up the issues. Recent advances in historical biography have perhaps diminished the dislike many historians once had for biography. For those whose suspicions remain, I offer the following comment from the Introduction to a recent volume which is in its various contributions an object lesson in the strengths of the 'new' social history: 'In the end ... interior experiences must be linked to external events. Culture and society, superstructure and substructure, private and public realms must come together. One way is to turn the spotlight onto key figures whose individual actions were shaped by, and in turn shaped, the course of events, thereby integrating interior worlds and external circumstances.' [Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo], 'Introduction', in Colonial Chesapeake Society, eds. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), p. 42.

There is a sense, it may be added, in which I 'produce' Andersen, just as Andersen produced 'the Maori', though, as I hope this study makes clear, 'Andersen' is also a 'product' of colonial discourse, and a vehicle for that discourse. For those who would suggest that I am exploiting Andersen as he exploited 'the Maori', I take my stand with (or behind) the riposte of Mary Louise Pratt to Harold Fromm. 'Harold Fromm argues that [Pratt's] essay exemplifies a kind of academic colonization, a form of exploitation in which raw material ... is processed into prestige, money, and influence.' Pratt says the essay in question 'was an interventionist project, to be sure; however, the name for such interventions is not colonialism, it is critique - or, if you like, critical enquiry. They are attempts to change the culture one lives in.' Mary Louise Pratt, 'A Reply to Harold Fromm', in 'Race', Writing, and Difference, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr (Chicago, 1986), pp. 400-01. Pratt's essay, 'Scratches on the Face of the Country; or What Mr Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen', is in ibid., pp. 138-162.

13. See, for example, John Rangihau, 'Being Maori', in Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On - Aspects of Maoritanga, ed. Michael King (Wellington, 1975), pp. 232-33.
14. I should add that I view 'culture' as process rather than 'thing'. The difficulties of defining 'culture', made evident especially in A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn's Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), do not seem to have dissuaded scholars from making the attempt. A reasonable version is offered by James Axtell, The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America (first published 1981; Oxford University Press paperback edition, New York, 1982), p. 6. What 'Maori culture' may be is for those who identify themselves as Maori to define on occasions when definition is felt appropriate. Of course, it is true that non-Maori definitions of 'Maori culture' have influenced, very considerably, Maori views of their culture: see, for example, Allan Hanson, 'The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and its Logic', American Anthropologist, vol. 91 (1989), pp. 890-902. The extent of acculturation in central rituals is indicated in Anne Salmond, Hui: A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings (first published 1975; Auckland, 1976), chapter 3. Thus, I would agree with Clifford that 'identity, considered ethnographically, must always be mixed,

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- relational, and inventive'. James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), p. 10. See also Simms, Points of Contact, pp., 207-08.
15. See, for example, Michael King, Being Pakeha: An Encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance (Auckland, 1985), pp. 161-66. In a review critical of some of the ways Pakeha scholars have utilised Maori culture, Keri Kaa adds, 'But not all Maori feel the way I do.' Kaa, Review of Michael King, Maori: A Photographic and Social History (Auckland, 1983), New Zealand Listener, 24 September 1983, pp. 98-99.
 16. Apirana Ngata, 'Foreword', in Johannes C. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907), pp. vii-viii.
 17. Apirana T. Ngata, 'Tribal Organization', in The Maori People Today: A General Survey, ed. I.L.G. Sutherland (Wellington, 1940), p.177.
 18. Peter H. Buck, 'Foreword', in ibid., p.17.
 19. For the 1954 Hague Convention and subsequent conventions and recommendations, as well as responses in some countries, see Protection or Plunder? Safeguarding the Future of Our Cultural Heritage, eds Lyndel V. Prott and James Specht (Canberra, 1989).
 20. Aroha Mead, 'United Nations Working Group', Te Kete Korero [Education Review Office inhouse publication], (September/October 1990), unpaginated. (I am grateful to Margaret Stuart, Matangi, for drawing my attention to this article.)
 21. Atholl Anderson, When All the Moa Ovens Grew Cold: Nine Centuries of Changing Fortune for the Southern Maori (Dunedin, 1983), p.4.
 22. Anne Salmond, 'Towards a Local Anthropology', Sites, no. 13 (1986), p. 46. (This article was presented first as a paper at an anthropological conference in 1985.)
 23. Tipene O'Regan, 'Who Owns the Past? Change in Maori Perceptions of the Past', in From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Maori, ed. J. Wilson (Auckland, 1987), pp. 142, 145.
 24. New Zealand Film Archive/P. R. Hart, secretary NZHA, 1 August 1988 and 5 October 1988. (I am grateful to Dr Hart, History Department, University of Waikato, for providing copies of this correspondence.)

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25. Though not a member of the NZHA, I felt some personal disappointment over this matter, since I had not seen the films myself, but knew that Johannes Andersen appeared in them. After a couple of frustrating near-misses, I finally saw the films on 1 May 1990 at the Waikato Museum of Art and History, as part of a five-day 'Festival of Maori Film: Te Ao Hou: Te Ao Tawhiti'. The audience was predominantly Maori; the ancestors were fully and formally welcomed.

26. See Films By James McDonald of the Tangata Whenua: He Pito Whakaatu a Te Maori Na James McDonald 1919-1923 (Wellington, n.d.). See also He Pito Whakaatu a Nga Iwi Maori: Films of the Tangata Whenua, [eds Jonathon Dennis et al.] (Auckland, 1987), pp. 1-2.

27. See Mervyn McLean, 'The Archive of Maori and Pacific Music', Archifacts, new series, no. 2 (June 1977), pp. 26-30; McLean, 'Maori Resources in the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music', Archifacts, new series, nos. 4 and 5 (March 1978), pp. 82-89; Catalogue of the Maori Puposes Fund Board Recordings, ed. McLean (Auckland, 1983); McLean, 'Sound Archiving and Problems of Dissemination of Waiata', Oral History in New Zealand, vol. 2 (1989), pp. 13-19; McLean, 'The Archive of Maori and Pacific Music: Twenty Years On', Archifacts (April 1990), pp. 40-44.

28. Cultural and administrative matters seem, nevertheless, to have meant that Maori participation in the Dictionary was not all that had been envisaged by some Pakeha. The general editor comments: 'Maori history presents all the difficulties that arise from lack of research; it also presents problems which take their origin in the cultural gap separating New Zealand's two major populations. With a small number of exceptions the essays on Maori people are derived from documentary sources; they go back to European recorders or to Maori recorders who had acquired the new skill of literary It was hoped to draw upon Maori oral tradition Maori oral evidence for this period of New Zealand history may well be a rich storehouse, but it is not one upon which the Dictionary has been able to draw. Because these cultural differences also affected the selection of subjects, no confident claim can be made that the Maori entries are as representative as the Pakeha group. Some tribal sources did let the Dictionary know whom they considered significant; more did not A considerable number of the essays on Maori people have been written by members of staff.' W. H. Oliver, 'Introduction', in The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, ed. W. H. Oliver (Wellington, 1990-), vol. 1, p. ix. For the launching, see Waikato Weekender, 15 December 1990, p. 2.

29. Sidney Moko Mead, 'Nga Timunga Me Nga Paringa o Te Mana Maori: The Ebb and Flow of Mana Maori and the Changing Context of Maori Art', in Te Maori: Maori Art From New Zealand Collections, ed. Sidney Moko Mead (Auckland, 1984), p. 33.

30. See the untitled note by Margaret Orbell, Archifacts (April 1990), pp. 60-61.

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31. See for example James E. Ritchie, Working in the Maaori World ([Hamilton], 1990), pp. 23, 68. Ritchie's whole book, in its present form annotated 'Draft only', illuminates crosscultural issues through his own experiences.

32. See, for example, Alan Ward, A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand (Auckland, 1973), pp. 258-60, 308-15; Ross Galbreath, Walter Buller: The Reluctant Conservationist (Wellington, 1989), pp. 41-76, 130-40, 193-206, 216-44; Evelyn Stokes, A History of Tauranga County (Palmerston North, 1980), pp. 118-33.

33. Peter Hulme, Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797 (London, 1986).

34. Terry Goldie, Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures (Kingston, 1989). See also Leslie A. Fiedler, The Return of the Vanishing American (first published 1968; Paladin paperback edition, London, 1972).

35. See Rayna Green, 'The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe', Folklore, vol. 99 (1988), pp. 30-55. (I am grateful to Dr Norman Simms, Department of English, University of Waikato, for drawing my attention to this article.) See also Rayna Green, 'The Indian in Popular American Culture', in History of Indian-White Relations, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn, Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 4, general editor William C. Sturtevant (Washington, 1988), pp. 587-606; William K. Powers, 'The Indian Hobbyist Movement in North America', in ibid., pp. 557-61; Stewart Brand, 'Indians and the Counterculture, 1960s-1970s', in ibid., pp. 570-72; Leslie A. Fiedler, 'The Indian in Literature in English', in ibid., pp. 573-81; Michael T. Marsden and Jack G. Nachbar, 'The Indian in the Movies', in ibid., pp. 607-16.

36. 'Sour Note for Thousands?', New Zealand Herald, 21 September 1989, section 2, p. 3. It should be added that the use of Aborigine images on Australian currency is not just a recent phenomenon: see J.V.S. Megaw, 'Art as Identity: Aspects of Contemporary Aboriginal Art', in Art and Identity in Oceania, eds Allan Hanson and Louise Hanson (Honolulu, 1990), p. 285; Graeme Davidson, 'Cities and Ceremonies: Nationalism and Civic Ritual in Three New Lands', NZJH, vol. 24 (1990), pp. 115-16, note 61.

Notes for A Note on Orthography and Citation

1. Johannes C. Andersen, Maori String Figures (Wellington, 1927).
2. Joan Metge, In and Out of Touch: Whakamaa in Cross Cultural Context (Wellington, 1986); William Satchell, The Greenstone Door (first published 1914; Christchurch, 1935).
3. He Korero Pūrākāu Mo Ngā Taunahanahatanga a Ngā Tūpuna: Place Names of the Ancestors, A Maori Oral History Atlas, ed. Te Aue Davis (Wellington, 1990).
4. Ngā Tohu Pūmahara: The Survey Pegs of the Past, Understanding Maori Place Names, eds. Te Aue Davis, Tipene O'Regan, and John Wilson (Wellington, 1990), pp. 45-48.

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1. E. M. Bourke, A Little History of New Zealand Progressive From Discovery to 1880 (first published 1881; second edition, Melbourne, 1882), p. 94.
2. Ibid., p. 94.
3. Ibid., p. 96.
4. Ibid., p. [iv].
5. Hawke's Bay Herald, 11 March 1881, quoted in ibid., p. xv.
6. See Keith Sinclair, A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity (Wellington, 1986), pp. 31-76, 94-152, 177-94; Judith Bassett, 'A Thousand Miles of Loyalty: The Royal Tour of 1901', NZJH, vol. 21 (1987), pp. 125-38; P. J. Gibbons, 'The Climate of Opinion', in The Oxford History of New Zealand, eds W. H. Oliver and B. R. Williams (Oxford, 1982), pp. 308-10; Colin McGeorge, 'Learning About God's Own Country', New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, vol. 18 (1983), pp. 3-12.
7. See, for example, James Cowan, New Zealand, or, Ao-tea-roa ... Its Wealth and Resources, Scenery, Travel-Routes, Spas, and Sport (Wellington, 1907); New Zealand Government Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, New Zealand Lakes and Fiords: The Wonders of Western Otago (Wellington, 1906); C. N. Baeyertz, Guide to New Zealand: The Most Wonderful Scenic Country in the World ... (Wellington, 1912).
8. For the '1898 Pictorials', see Laurie Franks, All the Stamps of New Zealand (Wellington, 1977), pp. 26-29, and colour illustrations facing p. 54. For other emblems see Hamish Keith, New Zealand Yesterdays: A Look at Our Recent Past (Sydney, 1984), pp. 28-35.
9. For the royal visit of 1901, see Bassett, 'A Thousand Miles of Loyalty', pp. 125-38; for the international exhibition at Christchurch, see James Cowan, Official Record of the New Zealand International Exhibition ... (Wellington, 1910).
10. For the general context, see M. P. Lissington, New Zealand and the United States 1840-1944 (Wellington, 1972), pp. 13-15; G. P. Taylor, 'New Zealand, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and the 1908 Visit of the American Fleet', Australian Journal of Politics and History, vol. 15 (1969), pp. 55-76; Ian McGibbon, The Path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand 1840-1915 (Wellington, 1991), pp. 164-66.

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11. Auckland Weekly News, 13 August 1908, pp. 19-20.
12. Ibid., pp. 23-24.
13. Ibid., p.26.
14. Ibid., p. 19.
15. For the Maori welcome, see James R. Reckner, 'A Maori Welcome for the Fleet', Historical Review, vol. 37, no. 2 (November 1989), pp. 63-70.
16. Auckland Weekly News, 13 August 1908, p. 26.
17. For the general pressures placed on Maori communities, and their resistance, including resistance to the 'Dog Tax', see John A. Williams, Politics of the New Zealand Maori: Protest and Cooperation, 1891-1909 (Auckland, 1969).
18. For a general view of the phenomenon, see J.O.C. Phillips, 'Musings in Maoriland - Or Was there a Bulletin School in New Zealand?', Historical Studies, vol. 20 (1983), pp. 520-35; for music see John Mansfield Thomson, A Distant Music: The Life and Time of Alfred Hill 1870-1960 (Auckland, 1980), pp.57-65, 69, 72-83; for theatre see George Leitch, The Land of the Moa, ed. Adrian Kiernander (Wellington, 1990); for painters see Leonard 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 (Wellington, 1980), pp. 62-117; for photographers see William Main, Maori in Focus: A Selection of Photographs of the Maori from 1850-1914 (Wellington, 1976); Michael King, Maori: A Photographic and Social History (Auckland, 1983), pp. 2-3, 12-27; for intellectuals see M.P.K. Sorrenson, Maori Origins and Migrations: The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends (Auckland, 1979); for fiction see Bill Pearson, 'Attitudes to the Maori in Some Pakeha Fiction', in Bill Pearson, Fretful Sleepers and Other Essays (Auckland, 1974), pp. 46-53; for trademarks see Richard Wolfe, Well Made New Zealand: A Century of Trademarks (Auckland, 1989), pp. 38-41; for verse see MacD. P. Jackson, 'Poetry: Beginnings to 1945', in The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English, ed. Terry Sturm (Auckland, 1991), pp. 350, 355, 360-61; for school textbooks see Colin McGeorge, 'Race and the Maori in the New Zealand Primary School Curriculum since 1877', Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society Journal, vol. 10 (1981), pp. 13-23; for bank notes see R. P. Hargreaves, From Beads to Bank Notes (Dunedin, 1972), pp. 122, 131, 133.

Raj Vasil has provided one Maori perspective, in a quotation from an informant he identifies as Tahu: 'When I was a child, the New Zealand pound note had a water print of King Tawhiao on it. Today you get a bird. When I was a child, things Maori had a major place in New Zealand, even though mostly in a paternalistic way.' Vasil's gloss is that

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- 'Tahu believes that the representation of the Maori in the symbols of New Zealand today is much less than it was in the 1920s and 1930s.' Raj Vasil, What Do The Maori Want: New Maori Political Perspectives (Auckland, 1990), p. 44.
19. E. H. McCormick, Letters and Art in New Zealand (Wellington, 1940), p. 1.
 20. J.O.C. Phillips, 'Musings', pp. 527-28, 534.
 21. Keith Sinclair, The Native Born: The Origins of New Zealand Nationalism (Palmerston North, 1986), p. 10. Sinclair makes similar comments in A Destiny Apart, pp. 49-50: 'Basically, it was believed, a native literature would arise from and be inspired by the same process that was creating the new nation, that is, the experience of life in New Zealand. One aspect of it was the attempt, possibly without contemporary parallel in the other British settlement colonies, to base an English literature on Maori culture. Maori legends, such as that of Hinemoa and Tutanekai, were regarded as New Zealand, not just Maori stories Innumerable poems were written poeticising Maori traditions. This literary attempt to ransack Maori culture continued certainly up to the 1940s. The story of Tinirau and Tawhiri was, for instance, recounted in some student verse as late as 1941. The attempt failed.' The writer of the 'student verse', as the endnote demonstrates (*ibid*, p. 268, note 19), was Sinclair himself. No doubt Sinclair quickly saw the error of his ways; but the point is that Pakeha use of Maori culture was so widespread and conventional that even a clear-headed intellectual like Sinclair was tempted into youthful indiscretion. Exactly contemporaneously, Louise Henderson was suggesting that New Zealand artists 'may look at Maori patterns and find inspiration in their design Through this one may attain a national art'. Henderson, 'Embroidery as a Living Art', Art in New Zealand, vol. 14, no. 1 (September 1941), p. 38, quoted by Francis Pound, 'The Land, the Light, and Nationalist Myth in New Zealand Art', in Te Whenua, Te Iwi: The Land and the People, ed. Jock Phillips (Wellington, 1987), p. 59, note 4 (ellipsis as in Pound's quotation).
 22. McCormick, Letters and Art, pp. 124-25.
 23. Phillips, 'Musings', p. 534. He also observes of James Cowan that 'he wrote far too much'. *Ibid.*, p. 535. (It may not be out of place here for me to express a particular debt to Phillips's article. During 1983, I had discovered, among the papers kept by L. S. Andersen, Johannes Andersen's bound compilation of newspaper clippings and typescripts entitled 'Maori and Art' (this is discussed in Chapter 1, below), which broadened my understanding of what Andersen was attempting to accomplish, both personally and in wider cultural terms, in his pursuit of 'the Maori'. While I was trying to see this in a wider context, I came across Phillips's article, which confirmed the wider context, and, what is more, discussed Andersen's work alongside other examples. Quite apart from further insights which Phillips provided, it was most heartening to discover another historian finding historical significance in cultural productions generally slighted as being beyond serious attention.)

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24. Sinclair, Native Born, p. 10.
25. There is also the curious phenomenon noted by a British critic: '[I]t may be that a certain degree of schizophrenia has developed: it has become legitimate to study football, or war memorials, or the manipulation of the press, as an alternative to Shakespeare, Milton and Tennyson, but it is still frowned upon to write about third-rate poets like Bloomfield or Milman.' A. D. Harvey, Literature in History (London, 1988), pp. 8-9.
26. For example, 'discourse of power' is a subject entry in The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought, eds Alan Bulloch and Oliver Stallybrass (first published 1977; revised edition, London, 1988), pp. 232-33.
27. Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, ed. and trans. Colin Gordon et al. (Brighton, 1980), p. 69. See also Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, trans. Alan Sheridan (first published in French as Surveiller et Punir: Naissance de la Prison, 1975; Vintage paperback edition, New York, 1979), pp. 27-28.
28. Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language, trans. from the French by A. M. Sheridan Smith (first published as L'ordre du discours, 1971; Pantheon edition, New York, 1972), pp. 21-27, 117.
29. Edward Said, Orientalism (first published 1978; Routledge and Kegan Paul paperback edition, London, 1980), pp. 202-03. 'Although not addressed to colonial discourse in general, the best introduction to the topic is still the Introduction to ... Said's Orientalism'. Peter Hulme, Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797 (London, 1986), p. 267, note 2. Some of the critiques of Said's Orientalism have perhaps been provoked by Said's involvement in contemporary political as well as intellectual issues. There is a useful, sympathetic reconsideration of Orientalism in James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), pp. 255-76. Said's notion of 'Orientalism', Hulme's Colonial Encounter, and other recent literature on the broader cultural problematics, are discussed in Patricia Seed, 'Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse', Latin American Research Review, vol. 26 (1991), pp. 181-200. (I am grateful to Giselle Byrnes, postgraduate scholar, Department of History, University of Auckland, for drawing my attention to the latter article.)
30. Said, Orientalism, pp. 40, 181-90, 228-29, etc.
31. Ibid., p. 208.
32. See Hulme, Colonial Encounters for the discursive formulation of the 'New World'.

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33. Andrew Sharp, The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman (Oxford, 1968), p. 36.
34. See E. H. McCormick, Tasman and New Zealand: A Bibliographical Study (Wellington, 1959).
35. Daniel Defert, 'The Collection of the World: Accounts of Voyages from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries', Dialectical Anthropology, vol. 7 (1982), pp. 11-20. (I am grateful to Dr Norman Simms, Department of English, University of Waikato, for drawing my attention to this article.) For New Zealand, the classic statement was by George Grey, appointed governor in 1845, who 'soon perceived that I could neither successfully govern, nor hope to conciliate, a numerous and turbulent people, with whose language, manners, customs, religion, and modes of thought I was quite unacquainted'. He therefore collected proverbs, songs, myths and legends, no doubt partly out of personal interest, but initially to 'successfully govern': see George Grey, Polynesian Mythology & Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealanders as Furnished by Their Priests and Chiefs (first published in Maori language edition 1853; first published in English language edition 1855; London, 1906), pp. vii-xiv.
36. Bill Pearson, Rifled Sanctuaries: Some Views of the Pacific Islands in Western Literature to 1900 (Auckland, 1984), p. 81; Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific (London, 1960). The present study, which is an empirical exercise, does not deal in any detail with discursive theories, or how the imaginative dimensions of discourse relating to New Zealand may be deconstructed. Two important recent studies along these lines are Simon During, 'What Was the West? Some Relations Between Modernity, Colonisation and Writing', Sport, no. 4 (Autumn 1990), pp. 63-89; and Jonathon Lamb, 'The New Zealand Sublime', Meanjin, vol. 49 (1990), pp. 663-75.
37. Terry Goldie, Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literatures (Kingston, 1989), pp. 12-13.
38. Reporting the analysis of Bob Hodge (in his article, 'Aboriginal Myths and Australian Culture', Southern Review, vol. 19, no. 3 (November 1986), pp. 277-90), Craig Tapping writes: 'White culture traditionally appropriates the myths, fables, themes, and images of Aboriginal culture though the coffee table book exotic pictures and distorted text guarantee that whatever mythic power the tales may carry ... is lost, untranslated and unperceived because the conventions which govern such cross-cultural translations (appropriations) cannot contextualise the actual performance which are oral in their first language we ... read snippets wrenched from all contexts'. Tapping continues: 'The model coffee-table book purports to make accessible and to popularise otherwise inaccessible indigenous mythologies In order to popularise these timeless myths, however, the myths must be dislocated from their topology as performance pieces, and forcefully translated with the inflexible, verbal and mimetic modes of representation through which we, the intended alien "readers", have been taught to access, consume and privilege our own culture and its models of reality.' Craig Tapping, 'Oral Cultures and the

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Empire of Literature', in After Europe: Critical Theory and Post-Colonial Writing, eds Stephen Slemon and Helen Tiffin (Sydney, 1989), pp. 87-88.

39. A recently published set of essays provides a splendid typification of cultural imperialism: see The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art, ed. Susan Hiller (London, 1991). There remains, however, the distinction that, as is indicated below, the cultural borrowings in the settler society situation are constitutive for the settler society.
40. Compare James Belich, 'Hobson's Choice', NZJH, vol. 24 (1990), p. 207: '[Richard] Mulgan [in his book Maori, Pakeha and Democracy (Auckland, 1989)] acknowledges that Pakeha use Maori symbols to define themselves, but does not recognise that it may be this use of Maori culture as a crutch which makes Pakeha so reluctant to abandon the "one people" myth. Without Maori songs, legends, and motifs, without the haka in our rugby games, the koru on our aircraft, and the carvings in our museums, how could we tell the difference between ourselves and Australians?' The way in which Pakeha use of Maori culture is constitutive for the settler society is also hinted at in Angela Ballara, Proud to be White? A Survey of Pakeha Prejudice in New Zealand (Auckland, 1986), pp. 125-28.
41. Auckland Weekly News, 13 August 1908, p. 26.
42. See Ranginui Walker, Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End (Auckland, 1990), pp. 222-25. There is a major investigation by K. Hazlehurst, Racial Conflict and Resolution in New Zealand (Canberra, 1988). It may be noted here that in the Foucauldian analysis of discourse, resistance, dissent, and so forth are results of and thus symptoms of the exercise of power: see for example, Foucault, Power/Knowledge, ed. Gordon et al., pp. 82, 93, 98-99, 163-64, 255-58.
43. Ranginui Walker, Nga Tau Tohetohe: Years of Anger, ed. J. Amoamo (Auckland, 1987), pp. 138-40.
44. Ibid., pp. 223-25.
45. Ibid., p. 11.
46. Michael King, Being Pakeha: An Encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance (Auckland, 1985), pp. 141-43.
47. Ibid., p. 163.

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48. Ibid., p. 161.
49. Te Aue Davis, 'Te Taha Wairua', New Zealand Listener, 28 September 1985, p. 53. The article is a review of Margaret Orbell, The Natural World of the Maori (Auckland, 1985). (I am grateful to Mrs Noelene Jones, graduate student in History, University of Waikato, for drawing my attention to this article.)
50. Donna Awatere, Maori Sovereignty (Auckland, 1984), p. 60.
51. Auckland Star, 5 July 1989, p. A7.
52. See also, Anne Salmond, 'The Study of Traditional Maori Society: The State of the Art', JPS, vol. 92 (1983), pp. 291-331; S. M. Mead, 'Te Toi Mātauranga Māori Mo Nga Ra Kei Mua: Maori Studies Tomorrow', ibid., pp. 333-51; Te Uira Manihera, Ngoi Pewhairangi, John Rangihau, 'Foreword: Learning and Tapu', in Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On - Aspects of Maoritanga, ed. Michael King (Wellington, 1975), pp. 7-14. A spectacular example of Pakeha textualisation of traditional lore is S. Percy Smith's use of the material published as The Lore of the Whare-wānanga, ed. Smith (two volumes, New Plymouth, 1913 and 1915). Smith wrote to Elsdon Best in 1909: 'I have ... now a very ... important paper dictated to Whatahoro in 1863 by an old tohunga of Wairarapa At present I am wondering why this has not come out before. But the old man charges his hearers to keep it secret as it is tapu - We shall see later on.' As Sorrenson, who quotes the letter, adds, 'The fact that Whatahoro described the story as tapu made it seem all the more authentic, but Smith had no intention of keeping it secret. He published it as Part II of the Lore in 1915.' Sorrenson, Maori Origins and Migrations, p. 46. See also Keri Kaa, Review of Michael King, Maori: A Photographic and Social History (Auckland, 1983), New Zealand Listener, 24 September 1983, p. 99.
53. Hinewirangi [Kohu], Screaming Moko (Tauranga, 1986), pp. 28-29.
54. Tipene O'Regan, 'Who Owns the Past? Change in Maori Perceptions of the Past', in From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Maori, ed. J. Wilson (Auckland, 1987), pp. 143-44.
55. Wharehuia Hemara, 'Whakakautoro-Reaching Out', Turnbull Library Record, vol. 23 (1990), p. 34. See also Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal, 'Kia Tomo ai te Whare', ibid., pp. 29-33; Cushla Parekowhai and Rangitunoa Black, 'Bus Stop, Wet Day, She's There, I Say', Archifacts (April 1990), pp. 29-35; Dawn Danby, 'A Tale of Riwai's Belonging', ibid., pp. 36-38; R. J. Walker, 'Cultural Sensitivity to the Sanctity of Wananga (Knowledge)', Archifacts, 1986/2 (June 1986), pp. 72-76.
56. Goldie, Fear and Temptation, p. 10.

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57. The dead do not sue; and since historians once customarily if not invariably wrote about people who were dead, the ethical aspects of their research and writing were not matters of great concern. As that attitude persists, it is perhaps necessary to note that the matter of authorisation is a *sine qua non* of much research; and many disciplines have complex ethical criteria which are applied to research and other activities. The literature is substantial, but see, for example, Allan Kellehear, 'Ethics and Social Research', in Doing Fieldwork: Eight Personal Accounts of Social Research, ed. John Perry (Geelong, 1989), pp. 61-72. Historians now engaged in oral history projects follow various authorisation procedures. These considerations do not apply just to research: in virtually all cultural activities there are protocols, sometimes (as with badges of rank and medals) legal sanctions. Copyright is recognised by signmakers, whether their signs are mercantile or cultural (including books by historians); but that a kind of copyright subsists in indigenous cultures has been largely overlooked by the colonisers. A useful discussion of some of the general issues may be found in Who Owns the Past? Papers from the Annual Symposium of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, ed. Isabel McBryde (Melbourne, 1985).
58. Compare Julie Marcus, 'The Journey Out to the Centre: The Cultural Appropriation of Ayers Rock', in Aboriginal Culture Today, ed. Anna Rutherford (Sydney, 1988), pp. 254-74. 'It is well-known', begins Marcus, 'that the term "Australian" referred originally to the indigenous peoples of Australia, not to the settlers of 1788 The transformation of meaning [to the settlers] has had important results for Aboriginal Australians - they have lost the identification of themselves with their country while through it, settler Australians have legitimated their own claims to Aboriginal land. The processes by which meanings are transformed within a political hierarchy, I refer to as cultural appropriation.' *Ibid.*, p. 254. Marcus then discusses John Williamson's folk-song, written in 1986, 'Raining on the Rock', which refers to Ayers Rock. 'The writer's intention', she adds, 'could well be to validate, legitimate or celebrate the power of Aboriginal law and ways. Yet there is no doubt that the claim that settler Australians can be "like Aborigines" is a very clear attempt to appropriate an identity which has now become a source of power'. *Ibid.*, p. 255. Though the uses of the term 'cultural appropriation' by Marcus and myself are not identical, and Marcus goes on to identify 'four sets of cosmologies' (*ibid.*, pp. 270-71) which structure her discussion, there are some similarities in approach. I was not aware of Marcus's article when I fashioned my own 'working definition'. Since writing this 'working definition', I have come across a similar use of the phrase: Hartmut Lutz, 'Cultural Appropriation as a Process of Displacing Peoples and History', Canadian Journal of Native Studies, vol. 10 (1990), pp. 167-82. 'What is at issue here', says Lutz, 'is the kind of appropriation which happens within a colonial structure, where one culture is dominant politically and economically over the other, and rules and exploits it. More specifically, it is the kind of appropriation in which aspects of the colonized culture are appropriated by the dominant one, while at the same time all traces of origin are neglected and displaced. It is a kind of appropriation that is selective, that disowns origin or authorship, and that is ahistorical in that it excludes from its discourse the historical context, especially, here, the history of Native/non-Native relations.' *Ibid.*, p. 168. Lutz provides several references to publications in Canada in 1989 and 1990 which indicate that some of the issues raised in the present study are current in parts of Canada. In his article, Lutz has 'chosen three different ideological uses found for the "Great Law of Peace" of the Haudenosaunee people by various European-derived social and political systems.' *Ibid.*, p. 169. However, one of Lutz's examples, the influence of Iroquois polity upon the

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Constitution of the United States, is highly controversial: see Elisabeth Tooker, 'The United States Constitution and the Iroquois League', in The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies, ed. James A. Clifton (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990), pp. 107-28. Lutz, loc. cit., p. 170, goes on to say: 'The Haudenosaunee example demonstrates a general colonial attitude characteristic of European and Euro-American dealings with the land and peoples of North America: both were treated as raw materials to be appropriated, exploited, transformed or consumed according to the colonizer's immediate interests. This is most obvious in terms of geographical dispossession, but appropriations of non-material aspects of Native cultures have long been overlooked, or dismissed as being inconsequential, or being of the past.' See also P. J. Gibbons, 'A Note on Writing, Identity, and Colonisation in Aotearoa', Sites, no. 13 (1986), pp. 32-38.

59. An alternative explanation might be that Maori disapproval of cultural appropriation arose only recently in the context of Maori cultural and ethnic assertiveness. Much research on such questions will have to be carried out. My own opinion, based on the testimony of a number of both Pakeha and Maori, is that the disapproval is not a recent phenomenon. On the idea that 'Maoritanga' is a recent '(re)invention', see Allan Hanson, 'The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and its Logic', American Anthropologist, vol. 91 (1989), pp. 890-902, especially 894-97. See also Steven Webster, 'Maori Studies and the Expert Definition of Maori Culture: A Critical History', Sites, no. 18 (Winter 1989), pp. 35-56. For another dimension of this debate see Haunani-Kay Trask, 'Natives and Anthropologists: The Colonial Struggle', The Contemporary Pacific, vol. 3 (1991), pp. 159-67; Roger M. Keesing, 'Reply to Trask', ibid., pp. 168-71. For the geographical 'separation' of Maori and Pakeha, and the postwar mingling, see Joan Metge, A New Maori Migration (London, 1964).
60. Walker, Nga Tau Tohetohe, p. 140.
61. Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, 'Contemporary Maori Death Customs', JPS, vol. 54 (1945), pp. 91-116; Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, 'The Study of Maori Life', ibid., pp. 235-37; Parora [sic, i.e. Paora] Temuera to Editor, JPS, vol. 55 (1946), pp. 82-84.
62. Ngata, quoted in Eric Ramsden, Sir Apirana Ngata and Maori Culture (Wellington, 1948), pp. 104-05.
63. Said, Orientalism, pp. 202-03.
64. Sinclair, Native Born, p. 2.
65. There is a brief outline of his life in P. J. Gibbons, Johannes C. Andersen and Catherine Andersen: A Biographical Sketch (Hamilton, 1985).

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66. A. G. Bagnall, 'A Troubled Childhood: "The Nucleus of a National Collection"', Turnbull Library Record, new series, vol. 3 (1970), p. 109.

67. The phrase is directly adapted from Richard White, Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980 (Sydney, 1981), but it has of course been used in several earlier studies of, especially, America, including, most notably, Edmundo O'Gorman, The Invention of America (1961).

68. New Zealand Numismatic Society, Transactions, vol. 3 (1941-47), p. 123.

69. New Zealand Numismatic Society, Transactions, vol. 3 (1941-47), p. 131.

70. See, for example, Gordon R. Williams, Thirty New Zealand Birds, text accompanying A Treasury of New Zealand Bird Song: The Voices of Thirty Birds Recorded in the Forests, Mountains, and Countryside by Kenneth and Jean Bigwood [sound recording] (Wellington, n.d.), p. 40, where he comments in reference to Andersen's Bird-song and New Zealand Song Birds (1926): 'Here we have a man with a knowledge of music, birds and Maori culture combining the three fields lucidly into one'.

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1. David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country (Cambridge, 1985), p. 42.
2. Under-secretary, Department of Lands and Survey/Chief Surveyor, Canterbury District, 19 November 1895 (WArc: IA 38, 1933/187/54 Part I).
3. AJHR, 1891, E-1A, p. 12.
4. Andersen, Old Christchurch in Picture and Story (Christchurch, 1949), p. 155.
5. The Jubilee Book of Canterbury Rhymes, ed. O.T.J. Alpers (Christchurch, 1900), p.155.
6. See A. E. C[urrie], letter in New Zealand Listener, 14 September 1962, p. 28. For Brown see: J. M. Brown, The Memoirs of John Macmillan Brown (Christchurch, 1974); H. F. von Haast, The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast (Wellington, 1948), pp. 767-70; for Alpers, O.T.J. Alpers, Cheerful Yesterdays (London, 1928); for both men, Arnold Wall, Long and Happy: An Autobiography (Wellington, 1965), pp. 97-99, 110-13.
7. Andersen's published verse, clippings pasted in booklet with inscription 'Keep this - latest 1903'; the by-line 'Johannes C. Andersen' is first used for 'The Cry of the Dishonoured', published in Christchurch Star, 23 April 1898, and in Canterbury Times, date not given (AR: Andersen Papers).
8. The three poems included were 'Rosebuds', 'Rondeau', and 'Moonrise': see Jubilee Book, ed. Alpers, pp. 119-21. The dinner guests are listed in Mary Colborne-Veel/O.T.J. Alpers, 5 December 1900 (WTu: MS Papers 86, folder 14).
9. JCA/E. Koch, Frit Denmark (Sydney), 27 November 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 153); Lotte Eskelund, 'Dansk Digter i New Zealand', Politiken, 4 February 1947 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 158C) (I am grateful to Lene Knight, Opoutere, for translating a section of this article); MS notes by Andersen, 'When we lived at Papanui ...' (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 155B); JCA/J. Lyng, 8 May 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder I).
10. See, for example, Andersen, The Lamp of Psyche (Melbourne, 1908), pp. 92-93, 95-97, 104-07. In these notes to his verse in the Lamp, Andersen provides summaries of major myths alluded to in the verse. The notes also include versions of Greek, Polynesian, and (in one case) British myths.

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11. The 'he' in 'he named his first child' is used advisedly. Catherine Andersen, née McHaffie, was the child of a Scots-English union, and without a Scandinavian background. No doubt she acquiesced in, and perhaps applauded, the choice of Hrolf for her first child. Sigurd was to have had two names, the second, Lawrence, chosen by his mother; but Johannes registered only Sigurd, and when singularity this became known years later, there was some family contention about the matter. Sigurd, often called 'Sig' or 'Siggie' by his father, called himself Laurie, and noted that he preferred to be so addressed when I talked with him on several occasions between 1983 and his death. Hrolf 'means' Slayer of Men; Sigurd, Slayer of Dragons. To the distress of his parents, so it is said, Hrolf for a period in adult life used the form Rolf, but he was Hrolf when I talked with him in 1983 and 1984. Johannes seems to have been just a little disappointed that Hrolf's first child bore the unexciting first names of John William. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 22 March 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 10).

12. Frederick Whelen/JCA, 28 August 1907 (WTu: MS AND 1902 J. C. Andersen, Rata Fire & The Saga of Sigurd 1902).

13. Michael Sanderson, From Irving to Olivier: A Social History of the Acting Profession in England, 1880-1983 (London, 1984), p. 332.

14. On New Zealand identity and literature in general in this period see J.O.C. Phillips, 'Musings in Maoriland - Or Was There a Bulletin School in New Zealand?', Historical Studies, vol. 20 (1983), pp. 520-35; Keith Sinclair, A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity (Wellington, 1986), pp. 31-60. Matters of identity surfaced specifically on celebratory occasions, such as the Canterbury Jubilee of 1900: as well as gold and silver medals for his collection of shells at the Jubilee Exhibition, Andersen may well have acquired a copy of a book organised by the Christchurch Branch of the New Zealand Natives' Association, Canterbury .. Old and New 1850-1900: A Souvenir of the Jubilee (Christchurch, 1900), which contained not only evocations and reminiscences of the 'Pilgrim Fathers' but also sections on 'The Maori' and on Canterbury flora and fauna. Local as well as imperial identity was also defined in the decorations and other pomp arranged for a royal visit to New Zealand, including Christchurch, in 1901: see Judith Bassett, 'A Thousand Miles of Loyalty: The Royal Tour of 1901', NZJH, vol. 21 (1987), pp. 125-38. Among the local volumes of verse purchased by Andersen may have been Roslyn [pseud. of Margaret A. Sinclair], The Huia's Homeland and Other Verses (London, 1897), the first eighty-odd pages of which were 'New Zealand Poems', on flora, fauna, landscape, and Maori themes (Andersen later corresponded with 'Roslyn'). The literature on the Sydney Bulletin is voluminous: see, for example, Russel Ward, The Australian Legend (first published 1958; Oxford University Press paperback edition, Melbourne, 1966), pp. 221-26; Geoffrey Serle, From Deserts the Prophets Come: The Creative Spirit in Australia 1788-1972 (Melbourne, 1973), pp. 60-69; Richard White, Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980 (Sydney, 1981), pp. 96-109. Andersen felt able to pronounce negatively on the poetic qualities of the Australian 'versifiers who have the widest public', notably 'Banjo' Paterson and Henry Lawson, in his article 'A Phase of Australian Poetry', Huia (1903), pp. 16-19.

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15. New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, vol. 1 (1899-1900), pp. 333, 851; vol. 2 (1900-01), p. 403; vol. 5 (1901-02), p. 8. [The New Zealand Illustrated Magazine contains twelve monthly issues for the first two volumes, each of which is paged continuously through the twelve issues. The twenty-fifth issue, October 1901, is numbered vol. 5, no. 1. It seems therefore there was a retrospective decision to include only six monthly issues in each volume.]
16. Andersen, 'Grandfather's Story', New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, vol. 5 (1901-02), pp. 208-13.
17. Ibid., p. 208.
18. Andersen, 'The Wooing of Hine-ao', New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, vol. 4 (1902), pp. 343-48.
19. Ibid., p. 343. See also PLATE I, below.
20. Ibid., p. 344.
21. Ibid., pp. 346-47.
22. Ibid., pp. 343-47.
23. Andersen lived for several years at New Brighton during the first decade of the century, and was for a time secretary-treasurer of the New Brighton Beautifying Association. His experience of 'sand-laden wind' is indicated in his article 'The Making of the New Brighton Beach', published in the New Brighton Monthly Magazine, vol. 1, no. 5 (March 1907), pp. 5-6. (I am grateful to Dr A. Thomson, Centre for Studies on New Zealand Science History, Christchurch, for providing photocopies of Andersen's articles in the New Brighton Monthly Magazine.) See also WTu: MS Papers 2017, J. C. Andersen [Newspaper Articles] Copies of 6 articles on New Brighton Tennis Club, Beautifying Association, beach and shells, originally published in NBMM, 1906-1907. The New Brighton sand also features in 'The House in the Dunes', which is included in Andersen, New Zealand Tales and Translations from the Danish (Wellington, 1927), pp. 140-53.
24. Andersen, 'The Love of Peti', New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, vol. 8 (1903), pp. 109-13.
25. Andersen, 'A Little New Zealand Anthology with Comments by the Way', New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, vol. 8 (1903), pp. 210-15.

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26. On the 'Rosebuds and Clematis' collection, Andersen wrote (in 1955) 'My first book' (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 155). Another early compilation is 'Rata-Fire', which includes many poems in typescript, others clipped from newspapers (undated and unsourced), with several on Maori subjects (WTu: MS AND 1902, J. C. Andersen, Rata-Fire & the Saga of Sigurd 1902).
27. The Sydney Bulletin, in a gloriously rude and unfavourable review, referred to the 'portrait of the author, with his proper Smirk' and concluded: 'The preliminary Smirk casts a baleful shadow over the whole of his premature volume'. Bulletin, 9 July 1903, clipping in Pat Lawlor's copy of Andersen's Songs Unsung, held in DHo collection.
28. New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, vol. 8 (1903), p. 306.
29. Andersen, Songs Unsung (Christchurch, 1903), p. 162.
30. Ibid., p. 1.
31. Ibid., pp. 2-4.
32. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
33. Ibid., p. 4.
34. Ibid., pp. 145-57.
35. Ibid., pp. 135-44. See PLATE II, below.
36. JCA/Editor, Evening Post '(or the Critic of "Songs Unsung")', 30 June 1903 (DP: ms in copy of Andersen's Songs Unsung held in McNab-New Zealand Room, catalogue no. Z 821 And. Andersen did not know the identity of the reviewer when he wrote his letter, which carries the minute, dated 2 July 1913, 'Mr Harding, As the reviewer of the book, you may be disposed to write to the author'. Andersen and Harding did correspond, probably as a result of Andersen's letter, and my copy of Andersen's Lamp of Psyche carries the inscription: 'R. Coupland Harding Esq./with compliments of/Johannes C. Andersen/Sept. '08'. They also met at some stage: see Andersen, 'Richard Coupland Harding, Typographer', in A History of Printing in New Zealand, 1830-1940, ed. R. A. McKay (Wellington, 1940), p. 236.

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37. 'Maori Life in Aotea/Earlier form; in Verse/Rewritten in prose for publication' (AR: Andersen Papers).
38. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907).
39. 'Maori Life in Aotea' (AR: Andersen Papers).
40. G. Allhusen/JCA, 24 March 1904 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 13).
41. G. Allhusen/JCA, 1 August 1906 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 13). Andersen added dates to his manuscript at the end of some of the 'songs': 'Song IX' is dated 12 February 1905, by which time the epic exceeded 9000 lines, and the subsequent 'Song X' contains another 736 lines: 'Maori Life' (AR: Andersen Papers).
42. Edward Tregear, The Maori Race (Wanganui, 1904).
43. E. Tregear/JCA, 10 January 1905 (AR: Andersen Papers, letters to Andersen c. 1905-46, typescript version).
44. F. W. Hutton and James Drummond, The Animals of New Zealand: An Account of the Colony's Air-breathing Vertebrates (Christchurch, 1904).
45. JCA/Elsdon Best, 1 November 1905 (WTu: q MS BES 1901-33, E. Best Scrapbooks, vol. 3).
46. JCA/Elsdon best, 3 December 1905 (WTu: q MS BES 1901-33, E. Best Scrapbooks, vol. 3.). John White, The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions (six volumes, Wellington, 1887-90); F. E. Maning, Old New Zealand: A Tale of the Good Old Times (Auckland, 1863); Edward Tregear, The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary (Wellington, 1891). 'Colenso' is articles by William Colenso which appeared from time to time in Trans.
47. JCA/Best, 1 November 1905 (WTu: q MS BES 1901-33, E. Best Scrapbooks, vol. 3).
48. JCA/Best, 3 December 1905 (WTu: q MS BES 1901-33, E. Best Scrapbooks, vol. 3).

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49. Ibid. Emphasis added.
50. Ms note by Andersen, inserted in copy of The Canterbury Jubilee Industrial Exhibition, Christchurch ... 1900 (Christchurch, 1900), held AR.
51. Clipping in small booklet inscribed 'Ode/N.Z. International Exhibition/Jan '06' (AR: Andersen Papers, 'Exhibition Ode Andersen' [Binder's title]).
52. Alpers/JCA, 20 February 1906 (AR: Andersen Papers, 'Exhibition Ode Andersen').
53. J. Macmillan Brown, report to Chairman of Ode Committee, 20 March 1906, with E. W. Righton, Exhibition secretary/JCA, 7 April 1906; Report of Ode Committee, undated (AR: Andersen Papers, 'Exhibition Ode Andersen').
54. The congratulations, the criticisms, and the parodies are in mss and clippings in: AR: Andersen Papers, 'Exhibition Ode Andersen'.
55. James Cowan, Official Record of the New Zealand International Exhibition ... (Wellington, 1910), p. 85; Otago Witness, 7 November 1906, and 'The Dresser (By Celia)', unsourced and undated newspaper clipping (AR: Andersen papers, 'Exhibition Ode Andersen'); John Mansfield Thomson, A Distant Music: The Life and Times of Alfred Hill 1870-1960 (Auckland, 1980), pp. 97-101. Thomson suggests (*ibid.*, p. 99) that the performance was in the Exhibition Hall, but as Cowan, Official Record, p. 81, records, and as the photograph in Thomson's account confirms, the 'long main corridor had been arranged as a concert-hall'.
56. 'The argument', typescript (AR: Andersen Papers, 'Exhibition Ode Andersen').
57. Andersen, 'The Exhibition Ode', in Cowan, Official Record, pp. 83-84.
58. On this whole complex of ideas and policies, see R. A. Galbreath, 'Colonisation, Science, and Conservation: The Development of Colonial attitudes Toward the Native Life of New Zealand with Particular Reference to the Career of the Colonial Scientist Walter Lawry Buller (1838-1906)', DPhil. thesis, University of Waikato, 1989.
59. 'Writers on New Zealand Subjects Referred to in Footnotes', in Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907), p. [xiv] lists J.F.H. Wohlers, Memories of the Life ..., trans. John Houghton (first published as Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben in 1883; Dunedin, 1895), and Trans. Two articles which argued for inherent Maori decline appeared in the year 1882: J.F.H. Wohlers, 'On the Conversion and Civilization of the Maoris in the South

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- of New Zealand', Trans., vol. 14 (1882), pp. 123-34, especially p. 134; and Alfred K. Newman, 'A Study of the Causes Leading to the Extinction of the Maori', ibid., pp. 459-77.
60. Andersen noted on a copy of Baucke's letter: 'and in an article some time later W.B. wrote exactly the statements of the passage objected to!' New Zealand Herald, 21 April 1906, and ms pencil note by JCA (AR: Andersen Papers, 'Exhibition Ode Andersen'). Andersen may have been referring to a passage in Baucke's book (previously published as part of an article) which apparently argued for congenital incapacity of Maori rather than the disruptive influence of colonisation as reasons for Maori population decline: 'W.B.', Where the White Man Treads (Auckland, 1905), pp. 126-27.
 61. Alfred Hill/JCA, 26 June 1906 (AR: Andersen Papers, 'Exhibition Ode Andersen').
 62. New Zealand International Exhibition ... Commemorative Ode (Christchurch, 1906), p. 20. See PLATE III, below.
 63. Cowan, Official Record, p. 85.
 64. Andersen no doubt visited the International Exhibition on other occasions than the inaugural performance of his Ode at the grand opening, and was probably particularly interested in the major emphasis given to Maori through 'The Maori Pa. A Stockaded Village of the Olden Time' (Cowan, Official Record, p. 310), in association with which there were many performances by Maori groups: see Cowan, Official Record, pp. 308-48. Andersen certainly met James McDonald, artist and photographer, at the Exhibition - McDonald was officially involved in the organisation of the Maori portion of the Exhibition: in the manuscript of Maori Life in Ao-tea, Andersen added the ms note: 'McDonald says/teko-teko should be/pou-teko. He has it from Cowan (?) [sic]' (WTu: q MS 1922? P, J. C. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea). Andersen had time to make the correction in a footnote to the published work: see Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, p.32, note.
 Jennifer Shennan, The Maori Action Song: Waiata a Ringa, Waiata Kori, No Whea Tenei Ahua Hou? (Wellington, 1984), p. 23, says that 'The Committee in charge of the Maori section [of the Exhibition] included Peter Buck, Augustus Hamilton, Alexander Turnbull and Johannes Andersen.' I can find no record that Andersen was part of this committee. The Official Catalogue and Souvenir of the New Zealand International Exhibition 1906-1907 (Christchurch, 1906), p. 21, lists the 'Maori Committee' as H. W. Bishop, J.H.W. Uru, C. H. Hastings, A. H. Turnbull, 'Prof. McMillan' Brown, Hon. J. Carroll, Dr [T. M.] Hocken, T. Maude, J. F. Wachsmann, S. Percy Smith, and Augustus Hamilton.
 Given his recent enthusiasm for matters Maori, it is likely that Andersen also drew information on Maori from the displays at the Canterbury Museum which, like other major museums in New Zealand, gave considerable attention to Maori culture (treating it

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- virtually as if it were a 'dead' culture, and a source of artifacts in lieu of Egyptian obelisks, mummies &c): for what was available to a museum visitor at this time, see Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum (first published 1895; third edition, Christchurch, 1905), pp. 184-87, 202-18. See also Annie E. Coombes, 'Ethnography and the Formation of Natural and Cultural Identities', in The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art, ed. Susan Hiller (London, 1991), pp. 189-214.
65. Christchurch Press, 2 July 1907 ('The Maori in Art' [Binder's title], bound volume of newspaper clippings and typescript by Andersen entitled 'The Maori in Art', in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).
 66. A copy of the prospectus for Andersen's Maori Life in Ao-tea is enclosed in a copy of the book held by WTU, call no. 572.9931 1907 P. On p. 6 of the prospectus, there is a subscription form in which the date for orders at a lower price (12s.6d instead of 15s.0d) has been altered from 21 December 1906 to 21 January 1907. This may suggest that the prospectus was issued towards the end of 1906.
 67. Christchurch Press, 5 July 1907 ('Maori in Art').
 68. Christchurch Press, 9 July 1907 ('Maori in Art'). See PLATE IV, below.
 69. The Sketcher (Christchurch), August 1907 ('Maori in Art'). See PLATE V, below. The quotation in Gordon H. Brown, New Zealand Paintings 1900-1920: Traditions and Departures (Wellington, 1972), pp. 24-25, has probably been read by many people as a direct statement by Andersen. Brown's quotation, however, is taken from the caption to the cartoon in the Sketcher, and is not taken from any of Andersen's letters or lectures, though it does not misrepresent his views.
 70. J. Hight/JCA, 15 June 1906 (WTU: MS Papers 148, folder 116).
 71. JCA/A. J. Waldie, 6 November 1937 (WTU: MS Papers 148, folder 116). 'I am losing a lot of money on the book though half the edition of 800 is already sold'. JCA/Ernest Currie, 29 September 1908 (WTU: MS Papers 413, folder 7).
 72. Hight/JCA, 15 June 1906 (WTU: MS Papers 148, folder 116).
 73. 'I have burnt the rest of the letters, such as those with Whitcombes, also letters from various people which contain little of interest now.' Typescript card, 6 November 1953 (WTU: MS Papers 148, folder 116).

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74. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, p. 516.
75. Ibid., 64-97.
76. Ibid., p. 355.
77. Ibid., pp. 351-400.
78. Ibid., p. ix.
79. Ibid., p. 519. See PLATE VI, below.
80. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, p. 519.
81. See PLATE VII, below.
82. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, p. 518.
83. See PLATES VIII and IX, below.
84. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, frontispiece, plate facing p. 32, plate facing p. 321. See PLATE X, below.
85. Typescript preface with ms emendations in vol. 1 of page proofs of Maori Life in Ao-tea (WTu: 572.9931, J. C. Andersen, Maori Life in Aotea, page proofs).
86. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, p. v. See PLATE XI, below.
87. Ibid., p. x.
88. Ibid., p. xi.
89. Ibid., pp. ix-x.

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90. In his Old Christchurch, Andersen recorded: 'I attended evening lectures in English [at Canterbury College] Among the students I remember Alpers, Hight, Erskine, Ngata - none of them had yet acquired titles or risen to the eminence they afterwards attained'. Andersen, Old Christchurch, p. 155. Alpers became a justice of the Supreme Court; James Hight, a professor, and prominent in the higher echelons of the University of New Zealand, was knighted in 1947; J. A. Erskine became wealthy through scientific mining activities in Australia, and was a major benefactor of the University; Ngata was knighted in 1927. See W. J. Gardner, E. T. Beardsley, and T. E. Carter, A History of the University of Canterbury (Christchurch, 1973), especially p. 167 and notes on pp. 122, 155, 397.
91. Apirana Ngata, 'Foreword', in Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, pp. vii-viii. Ngata's ms is in WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116: except for the addition of a couple of dashes and commas, the printed and ms versions are exactly the same. Like Andersen, Ngata used the form 'pourtray'/'pourtrayal'.
92. Leonard Cockayne/JCA, 13 August 1907 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116); Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, p. xi.
93. Hight/JCA, 15 June 1906 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116).
94. Evening Post, 24 August 1907 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116).
95. Lyttelton Times, 17 August 1907 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116).
96. Register (Adelaide), 31 August 1907 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116).
97. Times Literary Supplement, 7 August 1908 (WTu: review pasted in back of copy of Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, call no. 572.9931 1907 P).
98. Christchurch Press, 25 July 1908 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116). Smith was commendatory also in a private letter to Andersen: 'It is a book that does you great credit'. S. P. Smith/JCA, 27 September 1908 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4). For Percy Smith's activities see M.P.K. Sorrenson, Maori Origins and Migrations: The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends (Auckland, 1979).
99. Times Literary Supplement, 7 August 1908 (WTu: review pasted in back of copy of Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, call no. 572.9931 1907 P).

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100. Evening Post, 24 August 1907 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116). A few months earlier 'Roslyn' had written to congratulate Andersen on his Exhibition Ode: 'We shall be glad to congratulate you again when your book [i.e. Maori Life in Ao-tea] appears - Have you learned much from the Maori at close quarters? Do you like him as much in the present as in the Past?' ('Roslyn' [M. A. Sinclair]/JCA, 2 [? November] 1906 (AR: Andersen Papers, 'Exhibition Ode Andersen [Binder's title]).

101. This is alluded to in a comment by Percy Smith. Andersen had written in response to Smith's review in the Christchurch Press, apparently asking for details of the errors, few though they were. 'As to the criticism of your book,' replied Smith, 'I could not remember the points now But one thing I do remember, if there is an obsolete name for bird, fish, &c &c, you seem to use it rather than the common one.' This was, of course, a consequence of working wholly from printed materials. S. P. Smith/JCA, 27 September 1908 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4).

102. The phrase about John White, and his comments about Percy Smith's writings and J. M. Brown's latest book, were added to the original preface: see typescript preface with ms emendations in vol. 1 of page proofs of Maori Life in Ao-tea (WTu: 572.9931, J. C. Andersen, Maori Life in Aotea, page proofs).

103. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, pp.x, xiv.

104. T. M. Hocken, A Bibliography of the Literature Relating to New Zealand (Wellington, 1909), p. 472.

105. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, p. x.

106. Register (Adelaide), 31 August 1907 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116).

107. Apirana Ngata/JCA, 6 September 1907 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116). AJHR, 1907, B-7, p. 70, Class XV, Department of Internal Affairs, vote no. 55, item 21, records £100 for copies of 'Life in Ao-tea'.

108. Whitcombe & Tombs/Manager, 'Tourist Department', 7 August 1907 (WArc: To 1, 1903/64); 'List of Books in Department's Library, Wellington' (WArc: To 1, 1910/224). This may be the copy I purchased from Smith's Bookshop Ltd, Wellington, in 1982: it is stamped on the back endpapers 'New Zealand Government/Department of Tourist and Health Resorts'.

109. G. J. Roberts/JCA, 3 May 1909 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 3).

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110. Gerald Allhusen, who had read verse mss by Andersen as well as Maori Life in Ao-tea, and had daily contact with Maori in Taranaki and then in Northland districts, commented: 'With all your powers of expression I can instinctively feel that you do not reach the heart of the matter. The atmosphere you create is exotic it seems as though the man of culture was forbidden to assimilate the atmosphere of the Maori It is no good trying to discover the Maori ideas in Te Aute College boys or any of the elect with a pakeha education. It is among the so called lower class of Maoris that you find it, the Maoris who work as bushmen or shearers.' Allhusen/JCA, 14 March 1909 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 13).

111. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, p. ix.

112. Ibid., p. 26.

113. Ibid., p. 41 (note for line 193), p. 49 (note for line 49), p. 75 (note for line 510), p. 112 (note for line 268), p. 144 (note for line 394), p. 147 (note for line 508), p. 149 (note for line 587), p. 186 (note for line 70), p. 193 (note for line 345), p. 199 (note for line 587), p. 186 (note for line 70), p. 193 (note for line 345), p. 199 (note for line 587), p. 204 (note for line 804), p. 215 (note for line 1264), p. 230 (note for line 147), p. 246 (note for line 339), p. 257 (note for line 807), p. 286 (note for line 379), p. 291 (note for line 2), p. 296 (note for line 222), etc. Andersen continued to search out mythological and literary parallels after Maori Life in Aotea was published. In a copy annotated by him, he added ms references to later articles (especially by Elsdon Best) published in Trans. and noted similar or contrasting passages in Homer's Iliad, in Milton, in Walter Scott's The Lady of the Lake, and so on. Judging by the handwriting, most of the annotations were made c. 1910, others in the 1920s or 1930s, a few in the 1950s. Some of these annotations were partly cut off when the pages were bound or rebound. (Copy in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland.)

114. Andersen, Lamp of Psyche, pp. 59, 102.

115. Ibid., pp. 89, 107.

116. Ibid., p. 1.

117. Christchurch Press, 7 March 1908 ('The Maori in Art' [Binder's title], bound volume of newspaper clippings and typescript by Andersen entitled 'The Maori in Art', in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).

118. Christchurch Press, 7 March 1908 ('Maori in Art').

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119. Christchurch Press, 7 March 1908 ('Maori in Art').
120. Christchurch Press, 7 March 1908 ('Maori in Art').
121. Christchurch Press, 7 March 1908 ('Maori in Art').
122. Wilhelm Dittmer, Te Tohunga: The Ancient Legends and Traditions of the Maoris, Orally Collected and Pictured (London, 1907).
123. Christchurch Press, 7 March 1908 ('Maori in Art').
124. Percy Smith/JCA, 16 March 1908 ('Maori in Art').
125. There is a ms list of people and newspapers to whom he sent copies of his article at the foot of the first page of the article in 'Maori in Art'.
126. New Zealand Herald, 23 March 1908; ms note by Andersen, "'N. Otago Daily Times" 19/3/08 quoted greater part of Essay' ('Maori in Art').
127. Evening Mail, 14 March 1908 ('Maori in Art'). The Evening Mail commentator was doubtless referring to Dittmer's Te Tohunga.
128. R. Herdman-Smith/JCA, 13 March 1908 ('Maori in Art').
129. Christchurch Star, 16 May 1908 ('Maori in Art'). See PLATE XII, below.
130. 'The year before, in 1908, Johannes Carl Andersen's Maori Fairy Tales was published by Whitcombe and Tombs of Christchurch, the first children's book issued by a company which over many decades was to make a significant contribution to indigenous publishing for New Zealand children. Andersen's volume, which drew on his ethnographic research into Maori legends, was significantly more authentic than the fairy tales contrived by [Mrs Ambrose E.] Moore [in her book Fairyland in New Zealand, A Story of Caves (1909)]'. Betty Gilderdale, 'Children's Literature', in The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English, ed. Terry Sturm (Auckland, 1990), p. 454. Gilderdale may have seen evidence which I have not sighted which leads her to term Maori Fairy Tales a 'children's book', but, to my mind, only the phrase 'fairy tales' in the title hints that it should be so denominated, and I do not believe that Andersen wrote the booklet primarily for children. Andersen did fancy himself as a story-teller for children, as a New Zealand Hans

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Andersen, and concocted whimsical fairy tales for them: letters Andersen wrote containing fairy tales to Gwen Fenwick were made available to me by Mrs Gwen Goodwin (née Fenwick) of Christchurch (photocopies of these letters are also with WTu: MS Papers 148). Two of these letters contain stories which Andersen later published in New Zealand Tales and Translations From the Danish, a volume clearly not intended primarily for children: JCA/Gwen Fenwick, undated but headed 'Parliamentary Library/Wellington/Sometime' and therefore c. 1915-1918; JCA/Fenwick, dated 'Christmastime, 1921'; Andersen, 'Fires on the hills', and 'Skovenklang', in Andersen, New Zealand Tales and Translations From the Danish (Wellington, 1927), pp. 39-47, 97-103.

131. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, pp. 53, 338-42, and note for line 142 on p. 338; George Grey, Polynesian Mythology & Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealanders As Furnished By Their Priests and Chiefs (first published 1855; London, 1906), pp. 135-48. In this period Andersen was using the second, 1885, edition of Polynesian Mythology: see Andersen, The Lure of New Zealand Book Collecting (Christchurch, 1936), p. 10.
132. Edward Tregear, Fairy Tales and Folk-lore of New Zealand and the South Seas (Wellington, 1891), pp. 9-15, 34-39.
133. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 29 November 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 9). Andersen in this letter mentions only 'Mary Polson, & Baverstock (I think)'. A. E. (Elizabeth) Abbott married C. F. Kelly and as A. Elizabeth Kelly was a noted portrait artist, awarded a CBE in 1938. See National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Centennial Art Catalogue, ed. A. H. McLintock (Wellington, 1940), pp. 20 (W. S. Baverstock), 47 (A. Elizabeth Kelly), 48 (C. F. Kelly); Gordon H. Brown, New Zealand Painting 1920-1940: Adaptation and Nationalism (Wellington, 1975), p. 78 (A. E. Kelly). H. McIntyre may have been Miss Hilda McIntyre, of Christchurch, a relative of Raymond McIntyre, the artist.
134. See PLATE XIII, below.
135. Canterbury Times, 10 February 1909 ('The Maori in Art' [Binder's title], bound volume of newspaper clippings and typescript by Andersen entitled 'The Maori in Art', in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).
136. Lyttelton Times, 4 August 1909 ('Maori in Art').
137. Lyttelton Times, 21 August 1908 ('Maori in Art').
138. Lyttelton Times, 21 August 1909 ('Maori in Art').

139. Lyttelton Times, 21 August 1909 ('Maori in Art').
140. Ms note by Andersen at foot of first page of copy of article, Lyttelton Times, 21 August 1909 ('Maori in Art').
141. Lyttelton Times, 25 June 1910 ('Maori in Art'). There is a hint that Andersen had been talking to one or more Christchurch artists about further book illustrations, too. 'You say you are getting illustrations for the Overworlds', wrote Gerald Allhusen in 1910. 'It is just possible that you may strike a balance between the two arts but it is a great risk you are taking.' Allhusen/JCA, 1 December 1910 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 13). The 'Overworlds' was part of the epic, and Andersen evidently had an idea of publication. It eventually appeared, unillustrated, as part of Andersen, Tura and the Fairies and The Overworlds and Tu (From Maori Legendary Lore) (Wellington, 1936), pp. 2[5]-63.
142. Christchurch Press, 25 June 1910 ('Maori in Art').
143. Lyttelton Times, 25 June 1910 ('Maori in Art').
144. Julie King, Sydney Lough Thompson: At Home and Abroad (Christchurch, 1990), pp. 39-40, 43 (note 49), does not indicate any influence from Andersen. But the coincidence of Andersen's advocacy of Maori subjects, his contact with Herdman-Smith and Thompson, and Thompson's exhibition of Maori paintings suggests that Andersen was at least a confirming influence even if not an initiatory one. Thompson's friendship with Andersen is borne out by a letter the former wrote in 1941: Thompson's daughter was hoping to do a thesis on art in New Zealand and Thompson wanted to know whether she could find the materials for such a subject in Wellington (a reasonable question to ask Andersen, with his knowledge of Wellington libraries and the Dominion Museum). The letter begins 'Dear Jack', rather than the formal 'Dear Mr Andersen'. Thompson/JCA, 11 August 1941 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 61).
145. For Walter Wright see Leonard 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 (Wellington, 1980), pp. 99, 107-09.
146. For the Wallworks, see G. H. Brown, New Zealand Painting 1920-1940: Adaptation and Nationalism, pp. 80-81.
147. His extensive researches into the history of Canterbury are evident in two series of articles, 'Early Canterbury' and 'The Birth of a Colony', published in the Lyttelton Times in 1906 and 1907. Andersen collected the 'pulls' or clippings and made them into a paste-up booklet entitled 'Birth of a Colony', adding ms reference annotations to identify his

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- sources. Andersen briefly reviewed place names in 'The Birth of a Colony', [Part III], Lyttelton Times, 17 November 1906. ('Birth of a Colony' [Binder's title], in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland.)
148. JCA/T.D.H. Burnett, 2 October 1908 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4).
 149. JCA/W. McHutcheson, 11 September 1908 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4). Emphasis in original.
 150. There are brief comments on Maori place names and Pakeha corruptions of them in Andersen, 'The Birth of a Colony', [Part VI], Lyttelton Times, 8 December 1906 ('Birth of a Colony' [Binder's title], in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).
 151. JCA/H. W. Dawson, 25 May 1908 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4).
 152. James West Stack, 'Sketch of the Traditional History of the South Island Maoris', Trans, vol. 10 (1878), pp. 57-92 (the use of nomenclature in taking possession of the land is discussed by Stack on p. 85); Stack, South Island Maoris: A Sketch of their History and Legendary Lore (Christchurch, 1898), p. 12 especially noting the historical significance of place names; Stack, 'Maori History of Banks Peninsula', in H. C. Jacobson, Tales of Banks Peninsula (Akaroa, 1884), pp. 1-55. For Stack, see Janet E. Murray, 'James West Stack', in The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, ed. W. H. Oliver (Wellington, 1990-), vol. 1, pp. 403-04. Stack, who retired to Britain in 1898, was vicar of various Christchurch parishes in the 1880s and 1890s when the Andersen family, including the young Johannes, were active and regular participants in the Anglican Church.
 153. The collecting of place names, and attempts to elucidate their 'meanings', was (and is) an important part of the process of colonisation, not simply in the work of surveyors placing European grids upon the landscape, but also in the accumulation of indigenous knowledge, and knowledge of the indigenes, by armchair topographers.
 154. James Cowan, 'Maori Place Names', New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, vol. 1 (1899-1900), pp. 647-56. Andersen corresponded with Roberts: JCA/W.H.S. Roberts, 4 September 1908 and 17 September 1908 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4). Later he regarded Roberts's work as unreliable. 'I was lucky enough to get [Toby Green's] annotations on one of Roberts' newspaper articles on names in Marlborough; and didn't he wipe the floor with him [:] his notes confirmed my suspicions about Roberts: his meanings are all to glory'. JCA/W. J. Elvy, 5 October 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-

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names, General, vol. 6). See also Andersen, Place-names of Banks Peninsula: A Topographical History (Wellington, 1927), p. 36.

155. See Cowan, Official Record, pp. 308-48.
156. JCA/Elsdon Best, 3 December 1905 (WTu: q MS BES, E. Best Scrapbooks, vol. 3).
157. Andersen, Place-names of Banks Peninsula, p. 73.
158. JCA/Apirana Ngata, 23 September 1908 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4).
159. 'Old Identity Book No. 1', 'Old Identity Book No. 2' (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences); History Notes: Pakeha and Maori [Binder's title](AR: Andersen Papers). 'Some Maori friends' is separately paged from the rest of History Notes, but I have given the cumulative or aggregate pagination in the notes that follow.
160. 'Old Identity Book No. 1', pp. 10-11 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences).
161. History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, p. 19 (AR: Andersen Papers).
162. 'Old Identity Book No. 1', p. 10 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences). Samuel Lee, A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand (London, 1820), was the first basic analysis of Maori language and the initial significant formulation of its orthography.
163. History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, p. 20 (AR: Andersen Papers).
164. His name is given here with the doubled 'a', Kaahu, as in Andersen's manuscript accounts of meeting Kaahu in 1908 and 1911. In a later, published reference Andersen spelled the name with a single 'a', and gave it both with and without a macron: Andersen, Maori Place-names (Wellington, 1942), pp. 384-385.
165. History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, pp. 20-22 (AR: Andersen Papers).

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166. History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, p. 19 (AR: Andersen Papers).

167. Andersen, Place-names of Banks Peninsula, p. 36. See also map of 'Otawiri' drawn by Andersen, with his ms note: 'Information obtained from Tu-tu-taua and his son Tamaperi, of Little River, at Kaiapoi, 25 November 1908'. (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4).

168. 'Old Identity Book No. 1', p. 54 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, Old identities and old occurrences).

169. History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, p. 20 (AR: Andersen Papers).

170. The words of the waiata Hana Pohio had sung at Temuka Andersen took down 'as near as I could get it from dictation'. He sent the words to T. E. Green of Tuahiwi, Kaiapoi, and to Gerald Allhusen. The latter provided a translation, the former gave Andersen his own version of the waiata, and a translation, with copious notes. Andersen sent the version he had transcribed together with Green's translation and notes (but not Allhusen's translation, it would seem), to Percy Smith, editor of the Polynesian Society Journal, in which 'Waiata. Sung by Hana Pohio, wife of J. C. Rickus, of Te Muka' was published in 1912, with the attribution 'communicated by Mr J. C. Andersen of Christchurch'. See JPS, vol. 21 (1912), pp. 93-95; Allhusen/JCA, 29 January 1910; T. E. Green/JCA, December 1909 and July 1910, 'Old Identity Book No. 1' (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences). The genealogies from Rickus were not published, but appear to be the genealogies in Andersen's handwriting held by the Turnbull Library: see WTu: MS [n.d.], [J. C. Andersen], [Native Genealogies]. 'Toby Green was an old Kaiapoi Maori with white blood in him, and he was the repository of most of the lore of the Kaiapoi Ngaitahu', Andersen explained in 1942. 'I once got a genealogy from a Temuka half-caste [Rickus] who lived with the Maori, and as it contained some Kaiapoi names I sent a copy of it, without saying where I had got it, to Toby Green for verification. He wrote and told me where I had got it, and he said it was incorrect in a little particular'. JCA/W. J. Elvy, 5 October 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 6).

171. C. C. Nutting, Fiji-New Zealand Expedition: Narrative and Preliminary Report of a Scientific Expedition from the University of Iowa to the South Seas, University of Iowa Studies in Natural History, vol. 10, no. 5 (Iowa City, 1924), pp. 213-14.

172. Christchurch, N.Z. The Savage Club. Ladies' Night. 23 August 1911. Ake Ake Kia Kaha (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116).

173. Ibid.

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174. Merivale Schoolroom. Monday, Sept. 11th, 1911 Gipsy Revellers. Nga Rangatira Maori. Poi Dances. Hakas. Canoe Songs (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116).

175. Peter Buck/JCA, 2 November 1922 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 15).

176. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 14 July 1930 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 5).

177. For a survey of 'playing Indian', the generic version, see Rayna Green, 'The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe', Folklore, vol. 99 (1988), pp. 30-55. Besides other examples of 'playing Maori' given in the present study, see Janet McLeod, Little Plays From Maori Legend (Christchurch, 1934), which includes 'illustrations & notes on staging, costume [and] scenery' by Leslie Lockerbie and 'Make-up etc.' by William J. A. Brittenden; McLeod, Plays Maori and Pakeha (two volumes, Wellington, 1939).

178. The 'Lament' was composed by Iwikau, the brother of Te Heuheu Tukino (Mananui). Just the year before the 'Fragment' was performed in Christchurch, Mananui's remains had been reburied in a specially constructed vault. The significance of the death of Mananui, the full version of the 'Lament', and important events associated with Mananui's reburial are set out in John Te H. Grace, Tuwharetoa: The History of the Maori People of the Taupo District (Wellington, 1959), pp. 239-45. In Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959), p. 191, the composition of the 'Lament' is attributed 'According to some accounts' to Pohewa, daughter of Mananui, 'According to other accounts' to Iwikau. The special status of this lament, together with two related laments, is brought out by Apirana Ngata: 'In the lament by Iwikau for his elder brother ... the language used is of a sacerdotal character; they were, of course, a priestly family of great renown The song should be examined carefully as the expressions used deserve the deepest study These three songs are considered to be of the highest order on account of the dignity of expressions used, which seem as if they were being addressed to the gods themselves before the sacred shrine. The keen student should study the language used in these three songs carefully; he will be well rewarded, and he could then at least say that he had scaled the heights in respect to his own language. He would also have reason to boast of his Maori culture.' Ngata, 'Preface', first published in Maori in Nga Moteatea, Part II (1929), translated, probably by Pei Te Hurinui Jones, and republished in Nga Moteatea, Part II (1961), p. xxxi. In the 'Fragment' performed by Pakeha in 1911, the song is trivialized, and truncated; and (the programme says) after the lament has been sung, 'the Home Rangatira declares that this is no time for sorrow, and he leads them in a cheerful song with chorus'. Merivale Schoolroom. Monday, Sept. 11th, 1911 ... Gipsy Revellers. Nga Rangatira Maori. Poi Dances. Hakas. Canoe Songs (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 116).

179. Lyttelton Times, 16 December 1910 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences).

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180. Lyttelton Times, 16 December 1910 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences).
181. Lyttelton Times, 16 December 1910 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences).
182. W. A. Taylor, Lore and History of the South Island Maori (Christchurch, 1950), p. 64, says: 'The road from Lyttelton [to Rapaki] is good and almost level, and the three miles cannot be considered too severe even for persons of mature years.' For Rapaki see Arthur Couch, Rapaki Remembered: History and Reminiscence (Christchurch, 1987).
183. History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, p. 26 (AR: Andersen Papers). The quotations on Andersen's visit to Rapaki are taken from this account, except as otherwise noted, but there is a very similar account in 'Old Identity Book No. 2' (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences).
184. A description of a first sight of Rapaki 'a-slumber in the afternoon sun', within a few years of Andersen's visit, is given by James Cowan, Maori Folk Tales of the Port Hills (first published 1923; second edition, Christchurch, 1954), p. 38.
185. 'Old Identity Book No. 2', entry for 19 April 1911 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences).
186. History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, pp. 26, 28 (AR: Andersen Papers).
187. History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, p. 27 (AR: Andersen Papers).
188. In 1923, Andersen indicated to a correspondent his own reliance on Stack's work: most of the information 'we' have on Maori occupation of Canterbury, says Andersen, is from Stack's South Island Maoris, his Kaiapohia, his outline in Jacobson's Banks Peninsula, and his paper in the Transactions. JCA/J. Halket Millar, 24 May 1923 (NLR: Box 5214, folder 181 Med-Mit). See Stack, 'Sketch of the Traditional History of the South Island Maoris', Trans, vol. 10 (1878), pp. 57-92; Stack, 'Maori History of Banks Peninsula', in Jacobson, Tales of Banks Peninsula, pp. 1-55. There is a brief version in Stack, 'The Sacking of Kaiapohia', in W.T.L. Travers, The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha (Christchurch, 1906), pp. 178-190 (Stack first published this latter material in Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege (Christchurch, 1893)). Atholl Anderson, When All the Moa Ovens Grew Cold: Nine Centuries of Changing Fortune for the Southern Maori (Dunedin, 1983), pp. 38-42, 46, draws attention, especially on pp. 41-42, to questions about Stack's rendering of traditions.

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189. History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, pp. 27-29 (AR: Andersen Papers).
190. History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, pp. 27-28 (AR: Andersen Papers).
191. I have been unable to establish precisely which of the Ellison family Andersen refers to in his notes, but believe it was likely to have been Hoani Matapura Ellison. There are brief comments on the notable brotherhood in T. A. Pybus, Maori and Missionary: Early Christian Missions in the South Island of New Zealand (Wellington, 1954), pp. 169-70.
192. Hare Kokoro of Temuka is referred to in Taylor, Lore and History, p. 92.
193. History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, pp. 28-29 (AR: Andersen Papers).
194. 'Old Identity Book No. 2', entry for 19 April 1911 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences). 'In addition to the petition [asking for a 'final settlement' of Ngai Tahu claims, presented to the House of Representatives], the Natives had printed the report of a Joint Committee made in the year 1888, and also two reports made by Mr Mackay, known as the Native Commissioner, in the year 1891.' AJHR, 1910, I-3B, p. 3. The reports are those in AJHR, 1888, I-8; AJHR, 1889, I-10; AJHR, 1891, G-7 and G-7A. It is not clear whether what was printed by Ngai Tahu was the full parliamentary paper in each case, with all the tables, enclosures, and minutes of evidence, or just the Joint Committee's report and Alexander Mackay's reports - for the latter items, see AJHR, 1891, G-7, pp. 1-7, and G-7A in toto. The printed materials Ellison gave Andersen also included an address by J. H. Hosking, K.C., retained by Ngai Tahu as counsel in presenting the petition before the Native Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. As Andersen noted, this address was printed in AJHR, 1910, I-3B, pp. 3-21. Either Hosking's prepared address was printed with the parliamentary papers, or extracts from them, that the petitioners presented to the House of Representatives, or Ellison included in the materials he gave to Andersen a copy of I-3B of 1910.
195. While apparently not punitive parents, according to their children, Johannes and Catherine Andersen did at times physically chastise Hrolf and Sigurd. On a blank, unnumbered page at the back of 'Rosebuds and Clematis' in a childish hand which is apparently Hrolf's, is this inscription: 'little sigurd sis [says] muo-o-o/when he gets a smak/mum sis beuiet [be quiet] now/when dad comes home/mum tells dad/Mrs Hrolf Andersen' (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 155).
196. History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, pp. 29-30 (AR: Andersen Papers).
197. Andersen certainly had some previous knowledge of the complex land transactions in the area: see Andersen, 'The Birth of a Colony', [Part I], Lyttelton Times, 3 November 1906,

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- [Part IV], Lyttelton Times, 24 November 1906, [Part V], Lyttelton Times, 1 December 1906, [Part VI], Lyttelton Times, 8 December 1906 ('Birth of a Colony' [Binder's title], in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).
198. 'Old Identity Book No. 2', entries for 19 April, 20 April, and 21 April 1991 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences).
 199. Lyttelton Times, 21 April 1911 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences). Appearing before the Native Affairs Committee in 1910, Tame Parata said: 'the old chiefs were induced to part with their land, because they looked upon it that the Government officials were upright and responsible men, and would keep their promises to them, and would not attempt to mislead them. But unfortunately, since that time those Maoris who sold their land, and their descendants after them, have found out that those promises ... have been entirely false and unreliable.' AJHR, 1910, I-3B, p. 32. Compare the (interpreted) speech by Tame Parata in Parliament in the same year: 'I ask, who was it that trampled upon and broke these promises? It was not the Maoris, but it was the Europeans who broke the promises which had been solemnly made by them to the Maori owners at the time of the sale I say that you cannot be rangatiras when you trample upon and break your own word.' NZPD, vol. 150 (1910), p. 304. Andersen would have had access to the published debates of the most recent session of Parliament, though it does not follow that he drew inspiration from Parata's words.
 200. Lyttelton Times, 1 April 1911 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences).
 201. For example, Alexander Mackay, in 1887: '[The Natives] found, as the country got occupied by the Europeans, they became gradually restricted to narrower limits, until they no longer possessed the freedom adapted to their mode of life. Every year as the settlement of the country progressed the privilege of roaming in any direction they pleased in search of food-supplies became more limited. Their means of obtaining subsistence in this way was also lessened through the settlers destroying, for pastime or other purposes, the birds which constituted their food, or, for purposes of improvement, draining the swamps, lagoons, and watercourses from which they obtained their supplies of fish. Their ordinary subsistence failing them through these causes, and lacking the energy and ability of supplementing their means of livelihood by labour, they led a life of misery and semi-starvation on the few acres set aside for them.' AJHR, 1888, I-8, p. 64. And, Mackay once more: 'The fishery easements have for the most part been rendered comparatively worthless through the acclimatisation societies' stocking of many of the streams and lakes with imported fish. These fish are protected by special legislation; consequently the Natives are debarred from using nets for catching the whitebait in season, nor can they catch eels or other native fish in these streams, for fear of transgressing the law.' *Ibid.*, p. 68. The prohibitions made by Pakeha farmers on hunting weka are referred to in several statements by Ngai Tahu: see for example comments by Rawiri te Maire, Tahitu, Hemi Paki, Tamati Toko, and others, recorded in AJHR, 1891, G-7, pp. 47-49, 51-53, 57.

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202. Lyttelton Times, 16 December 1910 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences).
203. See WArc: IA 38, 1933/187/54 Part I.
204. Andersen was to receive £75.0s.0d for his work: John Hardcastle/JCA, 31 January 1910 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 103).
205. John Hardcastle/JCA, 9 March 1912 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 103). Andersen, Jubilee History of South Canterbury (Christchurch, 1916).
206. Hardcastle/JCA, 14 June 1910 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 103).
207. Whitcombe and Tombs/JCA, 12 October 1915; Whitcombe and Tombs/JCA, 18 October 1915 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 100).
208. John Hardcastle/JCA, 31 January 1910 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 103).
209. Hardcastle/JCA, 23 January 1915 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 103).
210. Andersen, Jubilee History of South Canterbury, pp. 419, 553-54, 559.
211. Ibid., pp. 19, 27, 28-29.
212. Ibid., pp. 47-55.
213. Ibid., pp. 42-43.
214. Ibid., p. 34.
215. Ibid., pp. 35-36.
216. Ibid., p. 37.

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217. This heke is a major episode of Ngai Tahu history in the second half of the nineteenth century: see Buddy Mikaere, Te Maiharoa and the Promised Land (Auckland, 1988), pp. 69-120. J. C. Rickus, to whom Andersen had talked at both Kaiapoi in 1908 and Temuka in 1909, son-in-law to Horomonia Pohio by his marriage to Hana Pohio, was drawn into the dramatic events during the eviction of Maori: see ibid., p. 112. Perhaps Andersen did not wish to offend his Pakeha sponsors.
218. Andersen, Jubilee History of South Canterbury, pp. 37-39.
219. Ibid., p. 39. This is an interesting statement, given the Pakeha predilection, not least in Canterbury, to honour colonial explorers. However, in the New Zealand Official Year Book, 1909, p. 802 (the statement appears in subsequent years also), there is the following, in reference to the Westland Land District: 'There are several beautiful allegorical legends connected with their [Maori] sojourn and wanderings in various parts of the district. A coincidence holds with regard to the minerals most precious to the Maoris and Europeans - viz., that the first finds of greenstone and gold were made in the same locality - at Pounamu - and that each in its time induced adventurers to dare the unknown, and led to the exploration of various transinsular routes, for there is not a single subalpine pass through the main range that was not known and used in the ancient days by the Maoris. They passed the information on to the whites, who have subsequently used these crossings.' A recent perspective which accords Maori due honour for their knowledge, and indicates Pakeha use of this knowledge, is Barry Brailsford, Greenstone Trails: The Maori Search for Pounamu (Wellington, 1984). Harry Evison, 'Maori Claims to High Country Lands', FMC Bulletin, no. 92 (December 1987), pp. 7-8, writes that the view of A. P. Harper, Pioneer Work in the Alps of New Zealand (London, 1896), that Maori 'could have had little knowledge' of the high country, 'is so often repeated today that it may well be still the predominant opinion among non-Maoris'. Evison refers to Andersen in this article. Andersen commented to A. H. Reed in 1934: 'recently in Christchurch when one of the Alpine Climbers wrote something in the Press about Arthur Pass, saying that Dobson had learned of it from the Maori, a daughter of [Arthur] Dobson wrote to say that this was incorrect, that her father had made the discovery independently of the Maori. This I knew personally was not correct, as Dobson had told me he had learned it from the Maori'. JCA/A. H. Reed, 7 November 1934 (NLR: Box 5210). See also Andersen, 'Maoris and the West Coast. How the Maoris Crossed the Alps', in Youth Hostel Association of New Zealand, Handbook of Westland & Peninsula for Use of Trampers (Christchurch, 1933), pp. 20-22. The maps referred to in the text above as having been redrawn by Andersen are on pp. 38-39 of Jubilee History of South Canterbury.
220. Andersen, Jubilee History of South Canterbury, pp. 40-42.
221. G. Allhusen/JCA, 17 April 1913, 24 August 1913, 19 October 1913 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 13).
222. James Hight to Andersen, 11 February 1915 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 14).

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223. Andersen's move to Wellington seems to have been the ultimate consequence of failure to advance his career in the Lands Department. His close friend, John Bendely, slightly his superior in length of service, had left Christchurch to become Chief Clerk in the Lands Department Office in Auckland, and the Chief Clerk's job in Christchurch was filled by a clerk from Auckland (AJHR, 1912, C-1, p. xiii). Andersen applied unsuccessfully for the 'Second Clerkship' at Auckland in 1912, and in March 1914 was unsuccessful in a bid for the Chief Clerk's position in Dunedin, though later in 1914 he was Acting Chief Clerk for Westland. (WArc: IA 38, 1938/187/54 Part I). He was also required to leave his work as secretary to the Selwyn Plantation Board. The position in the Parliamentary Library seems to have been jacked up through F.M.B. Fisher, a member of parliament, at that time a cabinet minister, and, usefully, an old friend of Andersen's (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 14).
224. The place names research was published in Place-names of Banks Peninsula (1927) (WArc: IA 1, 126/8/18; WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 35). The epic reached print as 'The Overworlds and Tu' in Andersen, Tura and the Fairies, pp. [25]-63.
225. W. A. Taylor (1882-1952) published Lore and History of the South Island Maori (Christchurch, 1952); Banks Peninsula: Picturesque and Historic (first edition, Christchurch, 1937; second edition, Christchurch, 1948); Maori Art (Leeston, 1946); Pictographs and Moa Hunters (Leeston, 1949); and Waihora: Maori Associations With Lakes Ellesmere (Leeston, 1944). The last three titles were reprints of newspaper articles in the Ellesmere Guardian, and Taylor wrote frequently in local newspapers: see, for example, David Macmillan, By-ways Of History and Medicine (With Special Reference to Canterbury, New Zealand) (Christchurch, 1946), pp. 262, 300-01. W. H. Ross published Te Kooti Rikirangi: General and Prophet (Auckland, 1966), having earlier published newspaper articles on the subject. T. W. Downes (1868-1938), for a period on the Council of the Polynesian Society, and an important member of the Wanganui Philosophical Society during its few active years, published two books and many articles: see Andersen, 'Obituary. Thomas William Downes', JPS, vol. 47 (1938), pp. 134-35. W. J. Elvy, (1875-?), surveyor, for more than twenty years secretary to the Hundalee Scenic Board, Kaikoura district, published many articles in newspapers, from some of which he produced Kaikoura Coast: Maori History, Traditions and Place-names (Christchurch, 1949), and Kei Puta te Wairau: A History of Marlborough in Maori Times (Christchurch, 1958). G. M. Henderson (1876-1947), schoolteacher and inspector of schools, prepared for publication The Antecedents and Early Life of Valentine Savage Known As Taina (Wellington, 1948). Louis J. Vangioni (d. 1951) pursued an antiquarian interest in Maori topics around Akaroa, and some of his findings were posthumously published as Vangioni, Old Maori Place Names Round Akaroa Harbour, ed. D.J.C. Pringle (Akaroa, 1967). Vangioni apparently kept in close contact with Canterbury Museum: I own a copy of James W. Stack, Koro (Christchurch, 1909), which includes a presentation plate to Vangioni from Canterbury Museum staff, and a letter from Roger Duff, then acting-director. H.A.H. Insull (1906-), schoolteacher, published not only school textbooks but also Marlborough Place Names (Wellington, 1952), a reprint of many earlier newspaper articles. G. L. Pearce published several books, one of which was The Story of the Maori People (first edition, Auckland, 1968; revised edition, Auckland, 1980). J.B.W. Robertson, medical practitioner, published material in the JPS, but more especially through the Te Awamutu Historical Society, of

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which he was an active member for more than fifty years, including a period as founder-editor of the Society's Journal, 1966-1976.

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1. See New Zealand Parliamentary Record 1840-1949 ed. Guy H. Scholefield (Wellington, 1950), p. 173.
2. See E. H. McCormick, Alexander Turnbull: His Life, His Circle, His Collections (Wellington, 1974), pp. 235-38, 260-61, 266-67, 273-74.
3. McCormick, Alexander Turnbull, pp. 257-58. See PLATE XIV, below.
4. There is not much evidence that Andersen met Turnbull; but he claimed that Turnbull himself gave him a copy of his bookplate, which implies a meeting: JCA/Kinsey, 27 October 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8).
5. See C. A. Fleming, Science, Settlers, and Scholars: The Centennial History of the Royal Society of New Zealand (Wellington, 1987), pp. 104-05.
6. See Michael E. Hoare, Reform in New Zealand Science 1880-1926 (Melbourne, 1977), pp. 20-27; Hoare, 'The Board of Science and Art 1913-1930: a Precursor to the DSIR', in In Search of New Zealand's Scientific Heritage: Selected Papers from the History of Science in New Zealand Conference ..., eds. Michael E. Hoare and L. G. Bell (Wellington, 1984), pp. 25-48.
7. See W. A. Glue, History of the Government Printing Office (Wellington, 1966), pp. 83-107.
8. AJHR, 1919, H-22, p. 11.
9. Though there had been correspondence between Best and Andersen as early as 1905, as noted previously in this study, there is no record of their meeting before Andersen went to Wellington in 1915. In an article published in 1925, Andersen wrote of Best: 'It is in his role as collector that I have known him, during the last ten years only'. Andersen, 'Elsdon Best, F.N.Z. Inst. Ethnologist and the Best Living Authority on the Maori', New Zealand Life with the N.Z. Forest Magazine, vol. 4, no.3 (July 1925), p. 4. When he refashioned this article as his tribute to Best in the memorial issue of the JPS in 1932, Andersen wrote: 'It is in his role as collector that I have known him personally during the last fifteen years only'. JPS, vol. 41 (1932), p. 35. There is a very slight discrepancy in these statements but they suggest that Andersen could claim personal acquaintance with Best from about 1915 or 1916, which is near enough for our purposes.

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10. Elsdon Best, The Stone Implements of the Maori (Wellington, 1912); Best, Maori Storehouses and Kindred Structures (Wellington, 1916); AJHR, 1915, H-33, p. 5.
11. '[Best] is enjoying life now that the bulk of his work is in print (thanks to the Maori Board) and knows that no one can now tamper with it and "edit" it when he is gone.' JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 27 August 1926 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 1). See also Johannes Andersen, 'Editor's Preface', in Elsdon Best, Forest Lore of the Maori (first published 1942; Wellington, 1977), p. viii.
12. See for example JCA/Henry Hill, 8 April 1931, which refers to the rejection of one of Andersen's 'scientific' papers (WTu: MS Papers 172, folder 34).
13. This attitude is particularly compactly expressed in a letter to Sir Joseph Kinsey in 1929. 'Did you get a copy of Raymond Firth's "Primitive Economics of the N.Z. Maori"? - a good book by a young N.Z. writer who has gone home to study anthropology. The only trouble is that he imbibes ideas, implanted by anthropologists at home, that only scientists are able to interpret these things; laymen cannot be taken into account; yet all their researches are and must be based on the information gathered & supplied by laymen - such as Elsdon Best & S. Percy Smith Scientists are often puerile; I have had a good deal to do with them. We shall be reviewing Firth's book in the next number of the Journal probably, animadverting, for one thing, on his use of unnecessary technical terms.' JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 7 August 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4).
14. Andersen was elected a new member of the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury on 3 July 1907: see Trans, vol. 40 (1908), p. 571. He read his first paper before the Canterbury Institute on 6 November 1907: see ibid., p. 573. It was published as 'Metre', Trans, vol. 40 (1908), pp. 466-85. Other papers published by Andersen in Trans included: 'A Natural Classification of English Poetry', Trans, vol. 41 (1909), pp. 410-18; 'Development of Four-syllabled Metrical Unit in the Australian Modification of the English Ballad', ibid., pp. 418-21; 'Classification of Verse', Trans, vol. 42 (1910), pp. 481-533; 'The Verse-unit', Trans, vol. 43 (1911), pp. 606-55. His papers on birdsong are listed in another footnote, below.
15. Andersen first appears on the roll of members of the Wellington Philosophical Society in 1916 (see Trans, vol. 49 (1917), p. 585), but probably attended meetings from the time of his arrival in Wellington in 1915.
16. See Best, 'Maori and Maruiwi: Notes on the Original Inhabitants of New Zealand ...', Trans, vol. 48 (1916), pp. 435-47. (Best's paper on 'Maori Voyagers and their Vessels: How the Maori Explored the Pacific Ocean, and Laid Down the Sea Roads for All Time', printed immediately following 'Maori and Maruiwi', was delivered to the Auckland Institute: see Trans, vol. 48 (1916), pp. 447-63).

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17. Andersen, 'New Zealand Bird-song: Further Notes', Trans, vol. 49 (1917), pp. 519-30. Previous papers were: 'New Zealand Bird-song', Trans, vol. 41 (1909), pp. 422-28; 'New Zealand Bird-song', Trans, vol. 43 (1911), pp. 656-69; 'New Zealand Bird-song: Further Notes', Trans, vol. 45 (1913), pp. 387-97; 'New Zealand Bird-song: Further Notes', Trans, vol. 47 (1915), pp. 593-99.

18. Andersen, 'New Zealand Bird-song: Further Notes', Trans, vol. 49 (1917), pp. 519-20; George Grey, Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race as Furnished by Their Priests and Chiefs (first published in Maori language edition 1853; first published in English language edition 1855; Auckland, 1885).

19. JCA/Ngata, 23 September 1908 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4); James Cowan, Official Record of the New Zealand International Exhibition ... (Wellington, 1910), pp. 332-48, describes some of the performances at the Exhibition; 'Waiata. Sung by Hana Pohio, wife of J. C. Rickus, of Te Muka', JPS, vol. 21 (1912), pp. 93-95; 'Old Identity Book No. 1', pp. 58-59 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences); History Notes: Pakeha and Maori, pp. 28-29 (AR: Andersen papers).

20. Andersen, 'The Verse-unit', Trans, vol., vol. 43 (1911), pp. 609-10.

21. Andersen, 'Further Notes on New Zealand Bird-song: Kapiti Island', Trans, vol. 50 (1918), pp. 282-95.

22. JCA/J. A. Thomson, 19 February 1916 [?=1917] (WMu: R. A. Falla Papers). (I am grateful to Dr Ross Galbreath for providing a copy of this letter.) I have assumed that the letter dated 19 February 1916 is misdated for 19 February 1917. In his paper, 'New Zealand Bird-song: Further Notes', Trans, vol. 49 (1917), p. 522, Andersen refers to hearing this at Pangatotara, Motueka Valley, in January 1916. In his next paper, 'Further Notes on New Zealand Bird-song: Kapiti Island', Trans, vol. 50 (1918), pp. 282-95, all his Kapiti references are to January 1917. It is difficult to believe that Andersen visited Kapiti in the holiday period of 1915-16 and made no records of birdsong on this bird sanctuary which allowed him to observe and hear species he had never previously had the opportunity to observe.

23. See, for example, J. Allan Thomson, 'Scientific Research in New Zealand: Report on the Activities of the Various Organizations, Government Departments, and Private Individuals Conducting the Same', NZJST, vol. 6 (1923-24), pp. 234-56. Ibid., p. 245, lists 'Independent Workers', including Gilbert Archey, G. V. Hudson, L. Cockayne, and Andersen. See also Hoare, 'Board of Science and Art', in New Zealand's Scientific Heritage, eds Hoare and Bell, pp. 25-26, 30-36.

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24. Thomson probably wrote the editorial 'Maori Studies and Ethnology in Education', NZJST, vol. 1 (1918), pp. 257-58, which argues for the political as well as scientific significance of ethnology.
25. AJHR, 1915, H-33, pp. 4-5.
26. AJHR, 1915, H-33, pp. 9-19.
27. AJHR, 1915, H-33, pp. 10-11.
28. AJHR, 1917, H-22, p. 17.
29. See DM 12/1/45 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box labelled '1. Departmental Correspondence & Circulars ... 1913-1926').
30. J. A. Thomson/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 24 April 1918 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box labelled 'Museums - Staff Arrangements - Creation of Position - Curator of Exhibits 1914-1926', IA 13/27/7 with IA 13/27/56 Part I).
31. Thomson/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 11 July 1918 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box labelled 'Museum - Staff Arrangements - Creation of Position - Curator of Exhibits 1914-1926', IA 13/27/7 with IA 13/27/56 Part I).
32. Peter Buck/Apirana Ngata, 18 May 1909 (WArc: MA 31/42).
33. Ngata/G. W. Russell, 1 December 1918 (WArc: MA 51, Box 28, 26/9/23/1).
34. Ngata/Russell, 1 December 1918 (WArc: MA 51, Box 28, 26/9/23/1).
35. McDonald/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 31 December 1918 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/17).
36. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907), p. 32, note. In the manuscript of Maori Life, Andersen has the ms note: 'McDonald says/teko-teko should be/pou-teko. He has it from Cowan (?) [sic]'. (WTu: q MS 1922? P, J. C. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea). For James McDonald, see W. J. Phillipps/H. D. Skinner, 16 September 1955;

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Skinner/Phillipps, 22 September 1955; Phillipps/Skinner, 26 September 1955 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box labelled Unfiled correspondence - Phillipps).

37. New Zealand Times, 1 August 1918; Evening Post, 1 August 1918 (WTu: q MS 1918-1924 Wellington Philosophical Society. Historical Section. Minute Book).
38. Minutes of meeting 10 September 1918 (WTu: q 1918-1924 MS Wellington Philosophical Society. Historical Section. Minute Book).
39. Minutes of meeting 15 October 1918 (WTu: q MS 1918-1924 Wellington Philosophical Society. Historical Section. Minute Book).
40. AJHR, 1919, H-22, p. 29.
41. J. A. Thomson/Minister of Internal Affairs, 13 February 1919; Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs/Thomson, 25 February 1919 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/17).
42. See James McDonald/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 31 December 1918; Thomson/Ngata, 17 February 1919 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/17).
43. Telegram [? McDonald]/Union Steamship Co., Napier, 31 March 1919; telegram McDonald/Arcadia Hotel, Gisborne, n.d.; Messrs Searle Joy & Co., Wellington/Dominion Museum, invoice recording supply of 72 cylinders, 10 March 1919 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/17).
44. AJHR, 1919, H-22, p. 29.
45. As is evident from photographs (for example, some of those taken by James McDonald in the 'camp' at Rotorua in 1920) and from Andersen's anecdotes (for example, his memory of Best 'up the Whanganui' in 1921 spending 'evening after evening' with 'a blind old man', 'sitting smoking and chattiung by the fire' - JPS, vol. 41 (1932), p. 36; Andersen, Myths & Legends of the Polynesians (London, 1928), p. 468), Best preferred a quiet, prolonged, one-to-one talk, the ethnologist making notes the while. Special gatherings, and the hui aroha of 1919 at Gisborne was a very special gathering, 'distracted' people with the preparations, the welcomes, the memories, and the shared food - the point of such hui, of course. Best made similar comments about the expedition to Rotorua in 1920: 'On the whole the results of this [expedition] may be deemed satisfactory, though one has

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frequently to endure annoying interruptions and experience the effect of many distracting influences.' E. B.[est], 'Ethnographical Explorations', NZJST, vol. 3 (1920-21), pp. 175-176. On the other hand, one of the most significant modern anthropological studies by a Pakeha is Anne Salmond's Hui: A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings (Auckland, 1975): 'it is in this context', notes Salmond of hui, 'that Maoritanga is most deeply expressed' (p. 1).

46. Andersen, 'Maori String Games', [First Series], NZJST, vol. 3 (1920-21), p. 84.
47. Andersen, Maori Music with its Polynesian Background (New Plymouth, 1934), p. 235.
48. Ibid., pp. 389-91, 395.
49. AJHR, 1919, H-22, p. 29. This is an echo of that division between the 'ancient Maori' and the contemporary 'utter decadents' which Andersen had referred to in his letter to Best in 1905. (JCA/Best, 3 December 1905 (WTu: q MS BES 1901-33, E. Best Scrapbooks, vol. 3).) It is a central issue in the whole Pakeha discourse on Maori - the explication of 'the Maori as he was' (to use Best's phrase) which regarded acculturated Maori as some kind of declension from pre-1769 purity. Thus for Best, for Andersen, and for other Pakeha, there was music which was 'true Maori', and there was music which was not. But Andersen did make adjustments. Miss E. Mazey of Christchurch wrote to him in 1931 asking about the meanings of Maori songs on a record she had. The 'words may be Maori', replied Andersen, 'but the tunes are not; all the so-called Maori songs we have are simply adapted European tunes. One of the songs on discs now [i.e., on a gramophone record], The Maori Flute, is so far from being Maori that the words are mine and the tune an Aucklanders' [probably the tune was by Doreen Walsh] - both unacknowledged!' However, he allowed that songs like 'Hine e hine', by Te Rangi Pai, Colonel T. W. Porter's daughter, were genuine songs in the sense that they were Maori words and thought to European airs. JCA/Mazey, 6 April 1931 (NLR: Box 5214, folder 181 Marris-Mazey). In his later book on Maori Music, Andersen said that 'Many melodies pass as Maori music which have no resemblance at all to that music', yet added: "'Hoea ra te waka hei," a favourite with both Maori and Pakeha, is Maori only in its words and the way in which it is sung' (pp. 388-89; see also p. 394). Jennifer Shennan, The Maori Action Song : Waiata Ringa, Waiata Kori, No Whea Tenei Ahua Hou? (Wellington, 1984), indicates how the 'true Maori'/acculturated dichotomy may be resolved by recording the blending of traditional music with innovations. Apirana Ngata, whose urgent efforts to preserve traditional Maori music were in some considerable measure responsible for Andersen being part of the 1919 expedition, had no doubt that the acculturated forms were also Maori music: 'a hybridized form of singing became popular [among Maori] and it is with these hybrid songs that the public is made familiar by Maori entertainers. They are sometimes objected to as non-Maori, but the rhythm is characteristically Maori and they are not untypical of the blended forms of life of the Maori young people of today.' Ngata, 'Maori Arts and Crafts', in The Maori People Today: A General Survey, ed. I.L.G. Sutherland (Wellington, 1940), p. 333. Ngata's attitude to these matters generally, both physically and textually, is best illustrated

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by the Whare Runanga constructed for the New Zealand centennial exhibition in 1940: he participated in this project and may have written or helped to write the brochure which justifies as well as describes the mixture of traditional designs and materials and 'modern adaptations and requirements': see New Zealand Centennial Exhibition: The Maori Court (Wellington, 1940). An excellent statement of the maintenance of cultural difference within the context of thoroughgoing and lengthy acculturation may be found in James H. Merrell, The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors From European Contact Through the Era of Removal (first published 1989; Norton paperback edition, New York, 1991), pp. 267-71.

50. AJHR, 1919, H-22, p. 29.
51. Andersen, Maori String Figures (Wellington, 1927). p. vii.
52. Dr Philip Hart, Department of History, University of Waikato, has suggested that 'was' might be the appropriate word for the universality of cat's-cradle among children. He may be right about modern New Zealand children. I cannot recall that any of my own children have performed cat's-cradle in the 1970s and 1980s, though I remember doing so myself at primary school in the early or middle 1950s. It is not impossible that the headmaster, who was of an age to have been influenced either directly or indirectly as a young teacher by Andersen's promotion of string games, encouraged the pastime. Perhaps cat's-cradle is still widespread among children in societies less affected by rapid change in recent decades.
53. See Elsdon Best, Games and Pastimes of the Maori (first published 1925; Wellington, 1976), pp. 74-84. As J. A. Thomson notes in his Preface, *ibid.*, p. 4, the first draft of this memoir was completed in 1916, including presumably some information on whai or cat's-cradle, perhaps supplemented subsequently by what Best and Andersen gathered, and McDonald photographed, in 1919-1923. Probably the paragraph on p. 84 mentioning Andersen's studies was added in the final revision of the manuscript before the memoir was printed in 1925. Andersen's comment in 'Maori String Games', [First Series], NZJST, vol. 3 (1920-21), p. 82 was that 'The names of a good many of the Maori figures have been gathered by Mr Elsdon Best from time to time'. Best had dealt briefly with whai in 'The Diversions of the Whare Tapere: Some Account of the Various Games, Amusements, and Trials of Skill Practised by the Maori in Former Times', Trans, vol. 34 (1902), pp. 48-49.
54. Andersen, 'Maori String Games', [First Series], NZJST, vol. 3 (1920-21), p. 85.
55. Ibid., p. 91.
56. Ibid., p. 91. The comment that Best wrote down the verse in Maori is an assumption based

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on Andersen's comment, ibid., p. 208, that he gave 'special thanks to Mr Elsdon Best for the Maori material in this paper'.

57. Andersen, String Figures, pp. 12, 14, 20, 28, 39, 51, 70, 100.
58. 'The 1919 Gisborne recordings are ante-dated by Edison cylinders recorded by A. J. Knocks of Otaki before 1909. Some of these were dubbed on to another cylinder machine by Percy Grainger in 1909.' Grainger himself made cylinder recordings in 1909. Mervyn McLean/P. J. Gibbons, 5 August 1991.
59. McDonald/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 23 April 1919 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/17).
60. Andersen, 'Maori String Games', [First Series], NZJST, vol. 3 (1920-21), pp. 81-84.
61. Ibid., pp. 84-85.
62. C. F. Jayne, String Figures (New York, 1906); Kathleen Haddon, Cat's-cradles from Many Lands (London, 1911). Though some of the bibliography consists of publications listed by Jayne and by Kathleen Haddon, Andersen was able to trace a considerable number of relevant books and articles, listed in String Figures, pp. 165-68.
63. See Andersen, String Figures, pp. 25-27; Andersen, 'Maori String Games', [First Series], NZJST, vol. 3 (1920-21), pp. 142-44; Andersen, 'Maori String-games', Second Series, NZJST, vol. 4 (1921-22), p. 247.
64. Minutes of meeting 15 July 1919 (WTu: q MS 1918-1924 Wellington Philosophical Society. Historical Section. Minute Book)
65. Dominion, 16 July 1919. (WTu: q MS 1918-1924 Wellington Philosophical Society. Historical Section. Minute Book). Intellectual history of the conventional kind, which privileges epiphanies, insights, 'originality', would possibly mark this hypothesis of independent invention as Andersen's major contribution to anthropological scholarship in New Zealand. Local ethnologists, like European ethnologists generally, were strongly disposed towards diffusionist ideas - the dispersal of peoples and cultural practices from some Eurasian centre: the most extreme form of this hypothesis was put forward by G. Elliot Smith and W. J. Perry (see W. J. Perry, The Growth of Civilization (1924)), who specified the Nile valley. The question of distinctive Polynesian (or even Maori) cultural practices which were the result of 'evolution' rather than geographical dispersal partly

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arose out of Best's identification of a monotheistic tendency among Maori (discussed later in this study): Best never resolved the tensions in this matter between diffusion (he sometimes remarked on the similarity between Io and forms of Jehovah) and local evolution. Andersen's string figure study posed the issue directly: where the result was the same but arrived at by a different procedure, the probability was independent invention (this in fact conformed to other theories Andersen had about natural phenomena and artistic expression). He published his views in an article, 'The Independent Evolution of Ideas', NZJST, vol. 7 (1924-25), pp. 35-38, reviewing the string figures evidence, and adding (p. 37), 'This independent evolution of ideas does not confine itself to the production of tangible things such as string-figures, woven and plaited artifacts, pottery, and the like like ideas may exist in the minds of men, not dependent upon physical contact or intercommunication for their origin.' The mention of 'woven and plaited artifacts' here is interesting since this was, on the expeditions of 1921 and 1923, discussed below, the primary interest of Andersen's companion, Peter Buck, and Buck's first book, The Evolution of Maori Clothing (New Plymouth, 1926), made reference to the idea of 'new inventions' (p. 1; see also pp. 5-6, 31-32). Buck was around this time moving away from diffusionism as an overarching explanation for cultural practices, and was, in particular, influenced by the works of the American anthropologist Roland Dixon. Buck's later work on oceanic cultures was notably free of diffusionist rhetoric; and indeed his freedom from concern about derivative aspects of cultures was crucial to his descriptions of such cultures as having their own complex integrity. Circumstantially, at any rate, even given the probable major influence of Roland Dixon, Andersen is likely to have raised these issues with Buck in 1921 and 1923, as they worked in the field together. On Buck's intellectual development, see M.P.K. Sorrensen, 'Polynesian Coruscules and Pacific Anthropology: The Home-made Anthropology of Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck', JPS, vol. 91 (1982), pp. 7-27.

66. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 7 July 1920 (DHo: MS 1219/1, subject file 40).
67. Andersen, 'Maori String Games', [First Series], NZJST, vol. 3 (1920-21), pp. 81-92, 139-47, 197-208.
68. Ibid., p. 86.
69. Ibid., pp. 204-07. He eventually established the Ngati Porou name of this figure as Maikaka: see Andersen, String Figures, p. 45.
70. Andersen, 'Maori String Games', [First Series], NZJST, vol. 3 (1920-21), pp. 206-08. See PLATE XV, below.
71. There is a minor literary curiosity which may be mentioned here. Late in 1907, Kathleen Beauchamp, later to be famous as the short story writer Katherine Mansfield, travelled

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through the Urewera on holiday with her family, and kept a notebook/diary in appalling handwriting. This source was used by Ruth Mantz in her 1933 biography, wherein 'we pick Ngamoni (sweet potatoes)' is the reading of a phrase about passing through the village of Te Whaiti, a reading repeated in J. M. Murry's 1954 edition of Mansfield's Journals. Ian Gordon used Andersen's 1920 article in NZJST to make better sense of the passage: 'We play "Nga maui" with the Maori children - in the sunshine - their talk and queer droll ways - They laugh very much at us but we learn too - tho it is difficult and tedious, too, because our hands are so stiff -' See Katherine Mansfield, The Urewera Notebook, ed. Ian A. Gordon (Oxford, 1978), p. 59, and note 26 on pp. 103-04. There is a facsimile of the relevant page of the notebook in ibid., p. 58.

72. The list 'Copies sent to' is inside the front cover of J. C. Andersen, 'Maori String Games', [First Series], NZJST, vol. 3, pp. 81-92, copy in WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 136C.
73. K. M. Martindell/JCA, 13 April 1921 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 136C).
74. Undated report by J. A. Thomson, quoted in F.H.O. Bell/Apirana Ngata, 19 February 1920 (WMu: National Museum archives, Box labelled Miscellaneous Correspondence 1922-1924, DM 15/1/16 with DM 12/1/35). Ngata also raised the question of the suitability of the dictaphone in parliament: see NZPD, vol. 185 (1919), p. 1349.
75. Minute by Ngata, quoted in Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs/J. A. Thomson, 23 March 1920 (WMu: National Museum archives, Box labelled Miscellaneous Correspondence 1922-1924, DM 15/1/16 with DM 12/1/25).
76. Thomson/Under-Secretary, Public Works Department, 7 April 1920 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/17).
77. The fullest account of Gilbert Mair's life remains the book Andersen co-authored: J. C. Andersen and G. C. Petersen, The Mair Family (Wellington, 1956).
78. JCA/Gilbert Mair [nephew of Captain Gilbert Mair], 31 January 1923 (NLR: Box 5214, folder 181 Mah-Marks).
79. Andersen and Petersen, Mair Family, p. 203n. In this note Andersen states that Wehipeihana was a transliteration of Vespasian, and did not mean 'Frightened Pheasant', as Mair suggested. See also Andersen, Maori Place-names (Wellington, 1942), p. 5. Mair's account is in Gilbert Mair, Reminiscences and Maori Stories (Auckland, 1923), pp. 8-12.

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80. George Grey, Polynesian Mythology & Ancient and Traditional History of the New Zealanders As Furnished by Their Chiefs and Priests (first published in Maori language edition 1853; first published in English language edition 1855; London, 1906), pp. 173-80. This has been called 'New Zealand's earliest piece of tourist trash Grey's sentimentalised version of 1855 is regrettable for what it started - the cheapening of the Maori in a popular tourist location.' Antony Alpers, The World of the Polynesians: Seen Through Their Myths and Legends, Poetry and Art (first published as Legends of the South Seas in 1970; Auckland, 1987), p. xvi.
81. Andersen, Maori Music, p. 234.
82. Ibid., pp. 232-35.
83. Andersen, 'The Prince at Rotorua', N.Z. School Journal, vol. 14, Part III (1920), pp. 194-95.
84. AJHR, 1920, H-22, p. 16.
85. See J. B. Condliffe, Te Rangi Hiroa: The Life of Sir Peter Buck (Christchurch, 1971), pp. 111-40. Strictly speaking, Buck gave up the Northern Maori seat and stood for the European electorate of Bay of Islands in 1914, was defeated, and then enlisted for military service. Ibid., p. 113. However, it seems that he had decided already to give away parliamentary ambitions, and even before the election defeat had shown interest in a close involvement with the war effort.
86. AJHR, 1920, H-22, p. 16.
87. Andersen, Maori Music, pp. 433-34.
88. Five notebooks survive with ms notes and musical notations made between August 1915 and 1918 which indicate how Andersen recorded the songs of birds (AR: Andersen Papers, ms, ts, notes, reviews, letters relating to Bird-song and New Zealand Song Birds). Other notebooks, including some with Maori music, may still be in private ownership.
89. Andersen, Maori Music, pp. 434-36.
90. Andersen, 'The Prince at Rotorua', p. 196.

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91. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 7 July 1920 (DHo: MS 1219/1, subject file 40).
92. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 31 May 1920 (DHo: MS 1219/1, subject file 40).
93. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 7 July 1920 (DHo: MS 1219/1, subject file 40).
94. Andersen, 'Maori String-Games', Second series, NZJST, vol. 4 (1921-22), pp. 145-46, 154.
95. Ibid., p. 243.
96. Ibid., pp. 149-50.
97. Andersen, 'Maori String-games', Third Series, NZJST, vol. 7 (1924-25), p. 301. 'Makurata was a wild woman too. We used to get them singing for the gramophone recording; & she would join heartily in the cursing songs.' JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 13 November 1928 (WTu: MS Papers 22, folder 36).
98. Andersen, 'Maori String-games', Second Series, NZJST, vol. 4 (1921-22), pp. 239-40, 247; Andersen, 'Maori String-games', Third Series, NZJST, vol. 6 (1923-24), pp. 293-94.
99. See PLATE XVI(a), below.
100. Andersen, 'Maori String-games', Second Series, NZJST, vol. 4 (1921), pp. 232-239. See PLATE XVII, below. The 'song', which tells of Tawhaki's ascent to the first heaven, 'Piki ake Tawhaki ki te rangi tuatahi', and ends with his fall to earth ('Pou!') whereafter his blood is seen in the rata bloom, is given in Andersen, String Figures, p. 136. It was obtained not at Rotorua but the following year, 'from an old blind man, Heremia', at Koroniti, up the Whanganui river. Barry Mitcalfe, in Maori Poetry: The Singing Word (Wellington, 1974), p. 35, changes the last line: 'Mr Andersen may have made a small error in the transcription of the song, using the words "turupou (prop) kei raro" for "turupeke kei raro" (tumbling down), which, for the sake of the rhythm, would be intoned "turupeke-e-raro", hence the probable error.' Mitcalfe says, 'This song was collected by Johannes Andersen' (and he names the old blind man as Heremaia rather than Heremia). Technically Mitcalfe is correct in attribution, but probably Andersen did not write the words down - it is likely to have been Best, who spent much time with Heremia (or Heremaia), taking notes, or Buck, who 'secured the ... transcript' of the salacious 'Onioni mai hoki te hope o Huariki', also at Koroniti in 1921 (see String Figures, pp. 17-18). Mitcalfe, like others, has assumed an expertise in Andersen which was not altogether

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deserved. (Mitalfe's reference in Maori Poetry is to the initial report, Andersen, 'Maori String Games', [First Series], NZJST, rather than to String Figures.)

101. JCA/Skinner, 31 May 1920 (DHo: MS 1219/1, subject file 40).
102. Andersen, 'Maori String-games', Second Series, NZJST, vol. 4 (1921-22), p. 154.
103. JCA/Skinner, 31 May 1920 (DHo: MS 1219/1, subject file 40).
104. McDonald/Thomson, 7 June 1920 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/17).
105. Minutes of meeting of 20 July 1920 (WTu: q MS 1918-1924 Wellington Philoisophical Society. Historical Section. Minute Book).
106. T. A. Fletcher/JCA, 22 April 1920 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 136C). The letter was addressed to 'Maori Camp, Rotorua'; Andersen, 'The Prince at Rotorua', pp. 194-201. See PLATE XVIII, below.
107. T. W. Downes/Elsdon Best, 6 March 1921 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 1/3/17).
108. McDonald/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 10 March 1921 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/17).
109. Telegram, Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs/McDonald, 4 April 1921 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3//17).
110. Reminiscences dealing with the riverboat service in the period 1912-1919, i.e. just shortly before the Dominion Museum party visit of 1921, are in Alec Reid and David Reid, Paddle Wheels on the Wanganui (Auckland, 1967).
111. Lyttelton Times, 20 May 1922 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 136B).
112. Lyttelton Times, 20 May 1922 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 136B).

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113. Lyttelton Times, 20 May 1922 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 136B).
114. AJHR, 1921-22, H-22, p. 19.
115. Peter Buck, The Coming of the Maori (Wellington, 1949), p. 242. This episode may be one captured by James McDonald in his films: in the restored film there is a competition to complete figures between Andersen and a Maori woman up the Whanganui river, which Andersen wins. The 'look of chagrin' from the woman is nothing to the fiendish grin which crosses the face of Johannes Andersen. Buck wrote to Andersen: 'By the time we make our next trip, you will surely embarrass [sic] any tribal expert that may wish to enter the lists against you.' Buck/JCA, 7 July 1921 (NLR: Box 5212, folder 181 Bu).
116. AJHR, 1921-22, H-22, p. 19.
117. Andersen, 'Maori String-games', Third Series, NZJST, vol. 7 (1924-25), pp. 294-95, 297, 299-300, 306-07. See also Andersen, 'Maori String Games', Fourth Series, NZJST, vol. 8 (1925-26), pp. 173-188.
118. Andersen, 'Maori String-games', Third Series, NZJST, vol. 6 (1923-24), p. 301. Andersen did not publish the name he acquired from the woman at Hiruharama, and so the figure is known only as Kotiro-Punarua. 'The name was learned from the Waikato youth above referred to', writes Andersen, ibid., p. 301, but the youth is not further identified except as 'A Waikato youth, living at Hiruharama'. Ibid., p. 300.
119. Ibid., p. 305.
120. Ibid., pp. 305-06.
121. Andersen, 'Songs and Folklore: A Reminiscence of the Wanganui River', Evening Post, 21 December 1926 (Clipping in copy of Andersen's Bird-song and New Zealand Song Birds (1926), in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).
122. Lyttelton Times, 20 May 1922 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 136B).
123. McDonald/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 17 May 1921 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/17).
124. Andersen, 'Songs and Folklore: A Reminiscence of the Wanganui River', Evening Post, 21

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- December 1926 (Clipping in Andersen's Bird-song and New Zealand Song Birds (1926), in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).
125. Minutes of meeting 19 July 1921 (WTu: q MS 1918-1924 Wellington Philosophical Society. Historical Section. Minute Book).
 126. Andersen, 'An Introduction to Maori Music', Trans, vol. 54 (1923), pp. 743-62.
 127. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 7 July 1920 (DHo: MS 1219/1, subject file 40).
 128. Ngata/JCA, 15 December 1921 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 136C).
 129. Peter Buck/JCA, 21 December 1921 (WTu: MS Papers 1187, folder 323).
 130. Perhaps cost was the major consideration: see Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs/JCA, 14 March 1922 (WArc: National Library, Box 1083, Acc. 3063).
 131. T. A. Fletcher, 'The Godley Peaks', New Zealand Alpine Journal, vol. 3, no. 12 (December, 1922), pp. 143-57; A. S. Sutton-Turner, 'The First Ascent of Mt Cumine', New Zealand Alpine Journal, vol. 3, no. 11 (December 1921), pp. 81-85. An account by Andersen is 'The Godley Valley and its Glaciers' (WTu: q MS AND n.d., J. C. Andersen, Akaroa and the Godley Valley and its Glaciers). See also Evening Post, 22 June 1922, and Minutes of meeting 20 June 1922 (WTu: q MS 1918-1924 Wellington Philosophical Society. Historical Section. Minute Book).
 132. Evening Post, 19 July 1922, and Minutes of meetings 18 July 1922 and 19 September 1922 (q MS 1918-1924 Wellington Philosophical Society. Historical Section. Minute Book).
 133. Buck/JCA, 2 November 1922 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
 134. Ngata's enthusiasm is expressed in Ngata/McDonald, 13 February 1923. Outbreaks of typhoid and influenza caused a short delay: Telegram, Ngata/? McDonald, 28 February 1923; Telegram, Ngata/McDonald 8 March 1923 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/3).
 135. Buck/JCA, 18 February 1923 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 15).

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136. 'Waiomatatini (Ngati Porou) March-April 1923' (hereafter 'Waiomatatini') (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25). All the information in the next six paragraphs is, except as otherwise noted, drawn from the 'Waiomatatini' account, although references are given only for quotations. As well as the factual and personal information this account provides, it is an important document in the history of anthropology since it reveals some of the social and intellectual framework in which the fieldwork was situated - a piece of writing, though on a much more minor scale, comparable to Bronislaw Malinowski's A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term (New York, 1967). See also the brief summary in AJHR, 1923, H-22, p. 12.
137. 'Waiomatatini', p. 1 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25); 'The Wanganui will some day be full of upland homes': Andersen, 'Songs and Folklore: A Reminiscence of the Wanganui River', Evening Post, 21 December 1926 (Clipping in Andersen's Bird-song and New Zealand Song Birds, in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).
138. 'Waiomatatini', p. 22 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25).
139. 'Waiomatatini', p. 15 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25).
140. 'Waiomatatini', pp. 33, 37 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25).
141. 'Waiomatatini', p. 13 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25).
142. 'Waiomatatini', p. 3 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25).
143. 'Waiomatatini', p. 5 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25).
144. 'Waiomatatini', p. 8 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25).
145. AJHR, 1923, H-22, p. 12.
146. 'Waiomatatini', p. 11 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25).
147. 'Waiomatatini', p. 22 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25). Andersen's comment, 'of which one would suppose they had had enough', betrays a curious inability to comprehend the centrality of such performances to Maori people - in this case Ngati Porou - as cultural affirmation of community identity on marae; almost as if he continued to view haka, poi, and waiata primarily as entertainment, like a Pakeha concert, an 'extra' added to the daily round of life.

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148. 'Waiomatatini', p. 35 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25).

149. There was almost an ethnographic catastrophe over this Rerenga wairua, - 'that's the leaping place of souls', as Andersen explained to Harold Hamilton. He had got two examples of this intricate figure. 'One I got from an old wahine of over 80 (died since) is a beauty, and I thought I had lost it. I took it down, but it is very complicated, and when I came to set it up six months after recording it I missed in the middle; it wouldn't come; I set it by for another few months, and tried again; - no; and I thought that like the old woman it too had gone to Te Reinga. Then before handing in the MS. [for Maori String Figures] I thought - "Another try; it's worth it" - and it came, and I don't know why it didn't before It shows the seaweed waving to and from [sic], it shews Kupe foot [sic] diving down through it, it shews him in Te Reinga, and shews his house there, first uncarved, then carved. I'm most pleased that I secured it all right.' JCA/H. Hamilton, 29 April 1927 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1927). See also Andersen, Maori String Figures, pp. 112-118. The woman was Tekina Kaiwaru.

150. 'Waiomatatini', pp. 38-39 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25). Dr T. Wi Repa, of Ngati Porou, who attended both Te Aute college and medical school at Otago University with Peter Buck, took a close interest in the expedition, and wrote an article for the local newspaper, saying, inter alia, 'A piece of Ethnological investigation which has afforded much pleasure to the party and to the Maoris here is the Maori string games, called by them "whai." Mr Johannes Andersen, who already knows more "Whais" than any living Maori, was fortunate to secure many good ones of very complicated evolutions.' Gisborne Times, 12 April 1923 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/3).

151. 'Waiomatatini', pp. 43-44 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25).

152. See PLATE XIX, below.

153. 'Waiomatatini', p. 51 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25). He made use of the flax cloak. In the winter of 1932 he reported to Sir Joseph Kinsey: 'I almost need more bedclothes these nights, my usual lot being a single blanket, a sheet (on the outside), & my Maori flax cloak, which I can turn off when it gets too hot'. JCA/Kinsey, 22 July 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 7).

154. For Domett, see Jeanine Graham, 'Alfred Domett', in The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, ed. W. H. Oliver (Wellington, 1990-), vol. 1, pp. 109-11.

155. 'Waiomatatini', p. 52 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25).

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156. McDonald/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 9 March 1924 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/2; other letters are in the same file, and, for the projected 1926 expedition, DM 11/3/1).
157. Buck/JCA, 18 March 1924 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 15).
158. Evening Post, 29 June 1923 (WTu: q MS 1918-1924 Wellington Philosophical Society. Historical Section. Minute Book).
159. Andersen, String Figures, pp. 39-40, 67.
160. Ibid., p. 44.
161. Andersen, 'An Introduction to Maori Music', Trans, vol. 54 (1923), pp. 746-47.
162. He told a collector in London that it was not possible to play the koauau by blowing it like a trumpet: 'you hold it near the corner of your lips and blow sideways, moving your lips at the same time and whispering into it the song you want to sing; and the listener can hear the song.'; JCA/W. W. Oldman, 14 June 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944).
163. Andersen, 'An Introduction to Maori Music', p. 754.
164. Ibid, p. 743.
165. Ibid, p. 743.
166. Ibid., p. 743. Emphasis added.
167. Ibid., pp. 745-46.
168. Ibid., pp. 746-53.
169. Ibid., p. 754.

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170. Ibid., pp. 758-59.
171. Ibid., p. 762.
172. Andersen, 'New Zealand and Other Bird-song: Further Notes', Trans, vol. 54 (1923), pp. 763-78. See PLATE XX, below.
173. Andersen, Maori Music, p. 393. Porahakere was the name of the woman singer, and the transcription, and comments, are in ibid., pp. 429-30. See PLATE XXI, below.
174. The word given as 'next' is not readily decipherable and may be 'rest'. Buck/JCA, 24 October 1923 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 15). Andersen sent half a dozen copies of the paper on 'Maori Music' to Ngata; and the latter, as he told Andersen, 'sent copies to Mrs Ngata with a request that she make known appropriate extracts to Iehu Nukunuku and Riwai Meringaorangi'. JCA/Ngata, 1 August 1923; Ngata/JCA [at foot of previous letter] 2 August 1923 (WTu: MS Papers 48, folder 136 B).
175. JCA/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 30 August 1923 (WArc: MA 51, Box 28, 26/9/23/1). There was a second paper published in Trans, but it did not include 'representative melodies'; instead it supplemented the first paper with extracts from various published works, and descriptions of instruments, including koauau examined in Auckland Museum. J. C. Andersen, 'Maori Music', Trans, vol. 55 (1924), pp. 689-700.
176. McDonald/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 30 August 1923 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 5 Expeditions 1916-1935, DM 11/3/3).
177. Buck/JCA, 24 October 1923; Buck/JCA, 15 February 1925; Buck/JCA, 28 February 1924; Buck/JCA, 16 September 1925 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 15); and correspondence in WArc: MA 51, Box 28, 26/9/23/1; JCA/Ngata, 28 August 1924 (NLR: Box 5214, folder 181 Ng-Ny).
178. Balneavis/Native Minister, 8 September 1923 (WArc: MA 51, Box 28, 26/9/23/1).
179. Buck/JCA, undated, c. 1925 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 15).
180. Report by Andersen, quoted in Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs/Secretary, Board of Maori Ethnological Research, 20 May 1926 (WArc: MA 51, Box 28, 26/9/23/1).

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181. Andersen, Maori Music, p. 393.
182. Andersen was pleased that the Board had taken up the burden. He told Horace Fildes that the Ethnological Board 'has bought a recording phonograph, and will start recording songs independently of us pakeha, and will naturally do it far better'. JCA/Fildes, 21 November 1924 (NLR: Box 5213, folder 181 Fi-Fu).
183. One occasion led to a newspaper item, 'Alfred Hill Makes Rare Discovery/Maori Melodies From Urewera Of 50 Years Ago'. On the undated clipping, Andersen has written 'what rare discovery. No rare discovery at all.' In the article, Alfred Hill is reported to have said that he had been responsible for an expedition going into the Urewera Country to make recordings, and that he had recently 'unearthed' two or three boxes of dictaphone recordings in the Turnbull Library - the 'library authorities had not realized their importance'. [This was on Hill's visit to New Zealand in June 1952: see John Mansfield Thomson, A Distant Music: The Life and Times of Alfred Hill 1870-1960 (Auckland, 1980), pp. 211-12.] The newspaper clipping is possibly from New Zealand Herald, c. 18 June 1952. Perhaps Hill was misreported, but Andersen was sufficiently irritated to make a ms note, that the cylinders may have been 'mishandled', but if so in the Dominion Museum, and 'that was why [Andersen] got them into the Turnbull where they were not buried nor lost'. Some cylinders were later, in May 1958, 'found' by Mary Martin, University of Otago, in a basement room of Parliament then being used as a Turnbull Library storeroom. Martin was eventually put in touch with Andersen, who sent her a letter of explanation: JCA/Mary Martin, 8 July 1959. (These items enclosed in a copy of Andersen's Maori Music in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland.) Thereafter the wax cylinders were the subject of closer attention: see C.R.H. Taylor/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 21 May 1958; Martin/E. J. Fairway, Department of Internal Affairs, 17 September 1959; Fairway/R. A. Falla, Director of Dominion Museum, 31 May 1960; Taylor/Editor of Pacific Islands Monthly (Sydney), 30 March 1960 (referring to a further inaccurate report on the records in an article on the late Alfred Hill in the December issue of Pacific Islands Monthly); Martin/Fairway, 14 June 1962, the latter with a ms minute to 'Mr Malcolm' dated '19/6/62', which, coincidentally but ironically, was the day of Andersen's death. (WArc: IA 1, 93/124). The association of the records with Alfred Hill has proved difficult to erase. Thomson, Distant Music, p. 189, note, states that 'No evidence exists in the Alfred Hill Papers ... that he himself had actually taken part in any expeditions to record Maori music.' Some of the comments Hill made to Thomson are incorrect, as Thomson surmises, though James Cowan (and Gilbert Mair) are still nominated by Thomson as possibly involved along with Best, Andersen, and McDonald.
184. The transfer of the sounds on the wax cylinders to magnetic tape was finally accomplished in 1973 by a DSIR scientist, Hans Meulengracht-Madsen, who developed a recording system with filters for the involved process. Information released on the original circumstances of recording, provided by Betty McFadgen, curator of ethnology at the National (formerly Dominion) Museum, gave proper credit to Andersen, McDonald, and Best. See Greymouth Evening Star, 8 September 1973; Waikato Times (Hamilton), 7 September 1973; Wanganui Herald, 7 September 1973. See also Mervyn McLean, 'The

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- Archive of Maori and Pacific Music', Archifacts, new series, no. 2 (June 1977), pp. 26-30; McLean, 'Maori Resources in the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music', Archifacts, new series, nos 4 and 5 (March 1978), pp. 82-89; McLean, ed., Catalogue of the Maori Purposes Fund Board Recordings (Auckland, 1983); McLean, 'Sound Archiving and Problems of Dissemination of Waiata', Oral History in New Zealand, vol. 2 (1989), pp. 13-19; McLean, 'The Archive of Maori and Pacific Music: Twenty Years On', Archifacts (April 1990), pp. 40-44.
185. JCA/Chairman, Board of Maori Ethnological Research, 7 September 1926; Balneavis/JCA, 13 September 1926 (WArc: MA 51, Box 17, 26/12/17).
 186. Balneavis/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 13 September 1926 (WArc: MA 51, Box 17, 26/2/17).
 187. This is reported by J. A. Kelleher, for Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs/Balneavis, 22 September 1926 (WArc: MA 51, Box 17, 26/12/17). See PLATE XXII, below.
 188. Kelleher/Balneavis, 22 September 1926 (WArc: MA 51, Box 17, 26/12/17).
 189. JCA/Balneavis, 21 December 1926 (WArc: MA 51, Box 17, 26/12/17).
 190. Ferguson & Osborn/Balneavis, 28 September 1926 (WArc: MA 51, Box 17, 26/12/17).
 191. Andersen, String Figures, p. vii.
 192. One reader of a draft of this study suggested that this characterisation of Andersen's 'field' experience as very limited needed to be placed in a wider perspective. Fieldwork at the beginning of the 1920s had not yet become an essential or usual part of the rites of initiation for an ethnologist, and a good many ethnologists had worked, and were still working, like J. G. Frazer, in libraries and studies, without any field experience at all. See also James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), pp. 24-25.
 193. One occasion was a visit of a few hours duration to Parihaka with a group from the Teachers' Summer School, New Plymouth, in January 1930: 'We ran round the coast & paid a visit to Parihaka - what a squalid place it is now!' JCA/Kinsey, 20 January 1930 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 5). The 150-strong party was fed in relays at Parihaka, and while the visitors waited for their turn, 'The waiting time for many was beguiled by Mr

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Johannes Andersen, who is an adept and authority on Maori string games. He, with the co-operation of a buxom Maori lady, gave a most interesting exhibition of the intricate and varied patterns'. *Taranaki Herald*, 20 January 1930 (MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 3, New Plymouth, 1930). Later Andersen was several times at Waitangi, both at hui/celebrations held regularly on 6 February, the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty, and at other times: he was for some years a member of the Waitangi Historical and Maori Life and Customs Advisory Committee. See WArc: Misc 18/1; Misc 18/4.

194. Ngata, Pomare, Henare/Herries, 21 October 1920 (WArc: MA 51, Box 28, 26/9/23/1).
195. S. P. Smith/Ngata, 28 October 1920 (WArc: MA 51, Box 28, 26/9/23/1).
196. Minute by Herries, 22 October 1920, on Ngata, Pomare, Henare/Herries, 21 October 1920 (WArc: MA 51, Box 28, 26/9/23/1).
197. Smith/Ngata, 6 November 1920 (WArc: MA 51, Box 28, 26/9/23/1).
198. Herries/Pomare, 4 November 1920 (WArc: MA 51, Box 28, 26/9/23/1).
199. G. J. Anderson/Ngata, 2 December 1920 (WArc: MA 51, Box 28, 26/9/23/1).
200. This had long been a matter of concern. Elsdon Best had written to H. D. Skinner in 1911: 'I fear that the Pol. Soc. however will perish when the old gentleman has to give it up. I do not see who is to carry it on after him. It will be a great pity if it dies. It has done good work.' Best/H. D. Skinner, 10 December 1911 (DHo: MS 1218/2, item 57).
201. Minutes of meeting, 26 July 1923, attached to Ngata, 'Proposals in regard to the finance and Organisation of Maori and Polynesian Research'; Ngata/W. H. Skinner, 30 July 1923 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 4A, folder 5a).
202. Ngata/W. H. Skinner, 30 July 1923 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 4A, folder 5a).
203. Ngata, 'Proposals in regard to the finance and Organisation of Maori and Polynesian research', 26 July 1923 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS further Papers, Box 4A, folder 5a).

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204. Ngata, 'Proposals in regard to the finance and Organisation of Maori and Polyneian Research', 26 July 1923 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 4A, folder 5a).
205. Ngata, 'Proposals in regard to the finance and Organisation of Maori and Polynesian Research', 26 July 1923 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 4A, folder 5a).
206. Ngata, 'Proposals in regard to the finance and Organisation of Maori and Polynesian Research', 26 July 1923 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 4A, folder 5a).
207. Ngata, 'Proposals in regard to the finance and Organisation of Maori and Polynesian Research', 26 July 1923 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 4A, folder 5a).
208. Ngata/W. H. Skinner, 30 July 1923 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 4A, folder 5a).
209. W. H. Skinner/Ngata, 4 August 1923 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 4A, folder 5a).
210. 14 Geo. V, No. 32 of 1923, Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act, clause 9, Statutes of ... New Zealand, 1923, pp. 189-90.
211. JPS, vol. 33 (1924), pp. i-ii.
212. JPS, vol. 33 (1924), p. iii.
213. Ms note by Elsdon Best (WArc: MA 51, Box 26, 26/9/16). Jones is probably R. N. Jones, Under-Secretary, Native Department.
214. Minutes of meeting, 24 July 1924 (WArc: MA 51, Box 26, 26/9/16).
215. Balneavis/Best, 13 August 1924 (WArc: MA 51, Box 26, 26/9/16).
216. JPS, vol. 34 (1925), pp. i-ii.
217. JPS, vol. 21 (1912), pp. 1-11; JPS, vol. 33 (1924), pp. iv, vi-xii.

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218. See E. Earle Vaile, Pioneering the Pumice (Christchurch, 1939), pp. 51-95.
219. JPS, vol. 33 (1924), pp. xiii-xiv.
220. JPS, vol. 33 (1924), pp. 226, 343.
221. David Teviotdale, 'Excavations Near the Mouth of the Shag River, Otago', JPS, vol. 33 (1924), pp. 3-10; H. D. Skinner, 'Results of the Excavations at the Shag River Sandhills', ibid., pp. 11-24; Skinner, 'The Origin and Relationships of Maori Material Culture and Decorative Arts', ibid., pp. 229-43.
222. See J. D. Freeman, 'Henry Devenish Skinner: a Memoir', in Anthropology in the South Seas, eds J. D. Freeman and W. R. Geddes (New Plymouth, 1959), pp. 9-27; Peter Gathercole, 'Introduction', in H. D. Skinner, Comparatively Speaking: Studies in Pacific Material Culture 1921-1972 (Dunedin, 1974), pp. 11-17.
223. H. D. Skinner, The Morioris of Chatham Islands (Honolulu, 1923).
224. See M.P.K. Sorrenson, Maori Origins and Migrations: The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends (Auckland, 1979); D. G. Sutton, 'The Whence of the Moriori', NZJH, vol. 19 (1985), pp. 3-13.
225. Peter Buck, Review of H. D. Skinner, The Morioris of Chatham Islands (Honolulu, 1923), JPS, vol. 33 (1924), pp. 66-69.
226. The Lore of the Whare-wānanga, ed. Percy Smith (two volumes, New Plymouth, 1913 and 1915). See also David Simmons and Bruce Biggs, 'The Sources of "The Lore of the Whare-wananga"', JPS, vol. 79 (1970), pp. 22-42.
227. Though these issues were raised in the JPS for the first time in 1924, Skinner had scouted them previously not only in the Bishop Museum bulletin but also at the sixteenth meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Wellington in January 1923. The notion, based on the materials in the Lore of the Whare-wānanga, that 'the earliest inhabitants of New Zealand were black' and 'in the lowest stage of culture', called 'Maruiwi', of whom the Moriori of the Chathams and the Ngati Mamoe of the South Island were said to be descendants, Skinner called 'a new theory'. H. D. Skinner, Abstract of 'The Moa-hunters of Canterbury and Otago', paper presented to Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science Conference, Wellington, January 1923, NZJST, vol. 5 (1922-23), p. 313.

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228. Save for the passage in the Lore of the Whare-wānanga which was to cause much strife in later years, as is detailed in the next chapter, all the evidence assembled by H. D. Skinner pointed in the direction of the earliest inhabitants of southern New Zealand being entirely Polynesian, not part-Melanesian. However, the earlier digging over of the Shag River site led to unbelievers saying that the association of artifacts and moa bones might have been adventitious rather than historical. Not until the discoveries of 1939 and 1942 at Wairau Bar was the human-moa connection unarguable. But Skinner had one piece of evidence (acquired when it has not yet been possible to determine) which no doubt sustained him during the more torrid attacks on his hypothesis. Frederick Chapman and Augustus Hamilton investigated the Shag River site in 1890. 'Plans and records, kept by Hamilton were never published', noted Skinner in the late 1930s, 'but Chapman carefully preserved the three adzes found by him below beds of interlaced moa bones. These were characteristically Polynesian, confirming Alexander Macky's discovery in 1872 of an adze of Polynesian type at the bottom of the moa-hunter deposits at Moa-bone Point, and forecasting the results of Teviotdale's exhaustive work thirty years later.' H. D. Skinner, Obituary of 'Sir Frederick Revans Chapman, 1849-1936', Trans, vol. 68 (1938-39), pp. 26-27; emphasis added.
229. Skinner, 'Results of the Excavations', JPS, vol. 33 (1924), pp. 11, 23-24.
230. Skinner, 'Origin and Relationships of Maori Material Culture', JPS, vol. 33 (1924), p. 232.
231. H. D. Skinner and William Baucke, The Morioris, Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, vol. 9, no. 5 (Honolulu, 1928), p. 355.
232. JPS, vol. 33 (1924), pp. 221-22.
233. Best, 'The Maori as a Deep Sea Voyager: How Pahiko Sailed for the Isles of Polynesia. Circa 1675', JPS, vol. 33 (1924), p. 333.
234. Skinner/JCA, 31 July 1925; JCA/Skinner, 10 August 1925 (WTu: Acc. 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1925).
235. JCA/Skinner, 18 March 1925 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1925).
236. 'Hon. Assis. Editor' in JCA/Avery and Sons, 4 June 1925; 'Joint Editor' in JCA/C. E. Fox, 19 June 1925 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1925).
237. See PLATE XXIII, below.

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238. JCA/Avery and Sons, 23 September 1925 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1925). See also: J. Allan Thomson/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 9 July 1925; H.R.H. Balneavis, Secretary, Board of Maori Ethnological Research/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 24 August 1925; Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs/Balneavis, 25 August 1925 (WArc: MA 51, Box 17, 197).
239. JCA/Avery and Sons, 4 June 1925 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1925); JCA/Avery and Sons, 23 March 1926 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1926).
240. JCA/Avery and Sons, 16 September 1925 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1925).
241. Ms note by Elsdon Best, undated, c. 1929 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1929). The Council of the Polynesian Society at this stage may still have formally considered papers for publication, and possibly Best's memorandum was laid before the Council. However, the comment that Herbert Williams's arguments against the paper, or aspects of it, could be used in holding over or declining the contribution seems to be directed to Andersen.
242. JCA/Churchward, 13 March 1929 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1929).
243. D. Jenness and A. Ballantyne, Language, Mythology and Songs of Bwaidoga, Goodenough Island, S. E. Papua (New Plymouth, 1928).
244. F. V. Knapp, 'Canoe-building Tools of the Tasman Bay Maoris', JPS, vol. 33 (1924), pp. 103-13; Knapp, 'Maori Scrapers', JPS, vol. 37 (1928), pp. 113-24.
245. Eventually published as a Polynesian Society memoir: D. G. Kennedy, Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands (New Plymouth, 1931).
246. Skinner/JCA, 9 September 1929; JCA/Skinner, 14 September 1929 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1929).
247. JCA/Avery and Sons, 6 June 1926 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1926).
248. JPS, vol. 35 (1926), pp. 261-62.
249. MS note by Best, undated (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1926).

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250. JPS, vol. 35 (1926), p. 262. Best and Andersen thought well of Firth's work, nevertheless. 'I wondered if you had Firth's book; he is a thoughtful young student, & will go far; and though we don't always see eye to eye with him, we admire his work (Best & I, I mean)'. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 19 March 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4).

251. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 14 September 1927; JCA/Margaret Mead, 3 October 1927, and JCA/Skinner, undated, on copy of the same (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1927).

252. JCA/E. Gold, 14 December 1927 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1927) Andersen's full letter has some points of general interest: 'Mr Best and I have read your paper enclosed herewith, but do not think it has sufficient "body" for the Journal. It is well known that the Manganian people, in common with other Polynesians, are a mixed race, and it is shrewdly surmised what races may have gone to make the mixture. The types of faces you saw among them, however, may be seen among the Maori; but it would serve no definite purpose to say that among the Maori suggestions of such and such features may be seen, - the suggestions are endless, and may be seen by any casual observers. What is wanted are facts, well-observed and well-authenticated facts, to support any of the suggestions. For a late collection of such facts I would commend you to Fox's "Threshold of the Pacific." Superficial resemblances can often be very misleading; a man may look like an Ainu, for instance, and yet have no remotest connection with an Ainu. Among the Maori there are very dark people, inferiors in many way to the typical Maori; but we do not suppose them to be descendants of a former race, - rather they came in with the Maori, and are so mixed with him that to all intents and purposes they are Maori; and it is idle speculating whence the strain was derived. So with head-shapes; see Dr P. H. Buck's articles on somatology in the Journal - they will give you an idea of the amount of measurement and comparison that has to be made before any generalization even can be made regarding the peoples. As regards music, too, would you class our own people as of very different origin because some of them like the classical music of Beethoven, and some the rag-time of the cabaret? We all of us respond to both kinds at different times, - again shewing we are an inextricable mixture of un conjecturable origins.'

Andersen's phrase 'Best and I' may suggest that this letter, unquestionably in Andersen's prose style rather than Best's, gives the views of both. Even so, the dismissal of appearances as a clue to 'racial' origins is not altogether congruent with the views of Best who emphasized physical appearance as indicating mixed origins - see, for example, the first few pages of Best, The Maori (Wellington, 1924), vol. 1, pp. 1-10; and Best, The Maori As He Was (Wellington, 1924), pp. 1-7. Percy Smith, in Hawaiki: The Original Home of the Maori (first published 1898; fourth edition, Christchurch, 1921), pp. 10-13, also begins by noting that 'variations from the [common] type show that the race ... is not pure, and that it has been crossed by other races in the remote past'; and although his migration history is largely built upon traditions (and speculation), he does occasionally turn to physical appearance (e.g., p. 211), and Smith's nomination of Moriori as the original inhabitants of New Zealand rests in part on 'some difference in appearance' (p. 279). What is more, the article published in the Journal in 1933 by T. W. Downes, 'Maruiwi, Maori and Moriori', took the major part of its argument against H. D. Skinner on the grounds that Smith, Alexander Shand and others described distinct physical characteristics for Moriori (JPS, vol. 42 (1933), pp. 156-66); and Andersen, as will be shown in the next chapter, actively assisted Downes in the preparation and promulgation of

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these views. Did Andersen's very reasonable scepticism, as expressed to Gold in 1927, change subsequently through the influence of Best and his writings? Certainly Andersen's views, as expressed in his Myths & Legends, pp. 14, 18-19, do not emphasize observed 'racial' distinctions, and his comment on the 'Maru-iwi' (p. 32) is brief and cautious.

253. Ms note by Elsdon Best, 14 January 1930 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1930). The article appeared as H. Ian Hogbin, 'The Problem of Depopulation in Melanesia as Applied to Ontong Java (Solomon Islands)', JPS, vol. 39 (1930), pp. 43-66.
254. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 11 March 1932 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1932, vol. 1).
255. W. H. Skinner/JCA and Elsdon Best, 2 October 1926 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1926).
256. Norman Potts/JCA, 26 January 1926; JCA/Potts, 1 February 1926 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1926).
257. Alfred Eccles/Editors, 3 November 1928; JCA/Eccles, 6 November 1928 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1928, vol. 2).
258. Peter Buck, The Evolution of Maori Clothing (New Plymouth, 1926); Jenness and Ballantyne, Language, Mythology and Songs of Bwaidoga; Kennedy, Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu.
259. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 8 July 1925 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1925).
260. Andersen, 'Fish-gorges or Shell-fish Extractors or Spillikins?', JPS, vol. 36 (1927), pp. 287-89. The article includes a lengthy quotation from a letter sent by H. D. Skinner in response to Andersen's enquiries, an indication of the good working relationship between Skinner and Andersen which then existed.
261. Andersen, Review of Elsdon Best, Te Whare Kohanga (The "Nest House") and its Lore (Wellington, 1929), JPS, vol. 38 (1929), p. 290.
262. Andersen, Review of James F. O'Connell, Elf Jahre in Australien und auf der Insel Ponape (Berlin, 1929), JPS, vol. 39 (1930), pp. 71-72; Andersen, Review of Elsdon Best, Fishing Methods and Devices of the Maori (Wellington, 1929), ibid., p. 72.

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263. Review of F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Society (London, 1930), JPS, vol. 39 (1930), pp. 383-85.
264. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 22 December 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 2).
265. JCA/Skinner, 5 November 1930 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1930). See also JCA/Syndics, Cambridge University Press, 8 March 1926 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1926): 'Mr Best and myself were both very taken with the book [by Rosalind Moss], and the review is the result of our pooled notes'.
266. JCA/Kinsey, 19 June 1928 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 3). He referred to reviews of Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, The Arunta: A Study of a Stone Age People (London, 1927), G. Landtman, The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea (London, 1927), and F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Magic (London, 1928), JPS, vol. 37 (1928), pp. 242-52.
267. 'Notes on the Korotangi or Stone Bird', JPS, vol. 38 (1929), pp. 55-59.
268. Buck/JCA, 30 July 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 15).
269. JCA/Williams, undated, c.1929 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1929).
270. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 5 November 1930 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1930). One letter dates the change from September 1930: 'from September 1930 on, owing to illness and subsequent death on 9 September 1931 [of Elsdon Best], the editorship devolved on Mr Andersen'. JCA/H. E. Carey, 22 July 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (and Dec only) and 1944).
271. Te Wananga, vol. 1, no. 1 (September 1929), p. 1. Ngata had reported to W. H. Skinner as early as 1923 that the proposed Board of Maori Ethnological Research would publish a new series to be called 'Maori Record', including such original materials as the mss of Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu. Ngata/W. H. Skinner, 30 July 1923 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 4A, folder 5a).
272. Ngata/JCA, 21 July 1929 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1929).
273. JCA/Williams, 12 July 1928 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1928, vol. 2).

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274. 'The Maori Board is starting a Journal - not as they say in opposition to [JPS], but for the inclusion of more popular & more ephemeral material, as well as for publishing certain Maori texts.' JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 16 August 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4).
275. Te Wananga, vol. 1, no. 1 (September 1929), p. 1.
276. The grants made to the Polynesian Society through the Department of Internal Affairs had lapsed by the end of the 1920s, in the first place because neither the secretary nor the treasurer had attended to the application, in the second place because of the onset of the financial recession (WArc: IA 1, 86/37 Part 1). Thereafter, the major source of the Polynesian Society's income apart from members' subscriptions was money from the Board of Maori Ethnological Research and the Maori Purposes Fund Board. At one stage, at any rate, the funding had not been envisaged as continuing to infinity: in 1927, H.R.H. Balneavis, in his capacity as secretary to the Maori Purposes Fund Control Board (as it was then called), wrote to the Board's chairman: 'It is hoped that eventually the [Polynesian] Society's membership will be large enough and influential enough to make it independent of other assistance'. Balneavis/Chairman Maori Purposes Fund Control Board, 8 July 1927 (WArc: MA 51, Box 18, 26/9). However, the Society's reliance on the money from the Board (in its different manifestations) was so great that there were financial problems on occasions when the 'grant' was delayed. Indeed, in 1945 at the annual meeting of the Maori Purposes Fund Board, the relevant resolution referred to 'the usual grant of £300'. Minutes of meeting, Maori Purposes Fund Board, 20 November 1945 (WArc: MA 52 l/c).

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1. The editorial correspondence as a whole, and the detailed circumstances set out below in this chapter, indicate that Andersen ran the Polynesian Society Journal (and in some respects the affairs of the Society in general), pretty much as he wished. The situation was summarized by the treasurer in a letter to George Graham in 1933: 'You will have noticed that the [Polynesian Society] Council is a very passive body and exercises practically no control over the Journal. Accordingly from year to year the Journal reflects the views of the Editor. In the early years I understand that each paper as received was read before the Council, which decided whether or not it was worthy of being printed.' A. H. Maciver/George Graham, 20 May 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 5, Bundle labelled 1933). During the 1930s and 1940s Andersen often chaired council meetings in lieu of absent presidents (Herbert Williams or Sir Apirana Ngata).
2. Fashions in scholarship change, and perhaps, in a limited way, Andersen's reputation may be revalued. For example, among recent attempts to draw together ethnographic, archaeological, and traditional materials is the symposium Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand: the Traditional and European Records, 1820, ed. Glynn Barratt (Ottawa, 1987). One of the contributors, Stephen O'Regan, discusses the 'ancient Maori place names' of the area, commenting: 'The name "Arai-te-Uru", which is important in Rarotongan tradition, is certainly one of considerable antiquity in general Maori and Polynesian tradition and it is tempting to see in such name associations vestigial remnants of the early occupation suggested by the archaeological record. Whilst that temptation is resisted here, it is suggested that a return to the scholarly consideration of Maori place names on the lines pursued in the past by scholars such as Williams and Andersen is overdue.' [O'Regan's annotations are Herbert W. Williams, 'A Plea for the Scientific Study of Maori Names', Trans, vol. 45 (1913); and Andersen, Maori Place-names (Wellington, 1942).] Stephen O'Regan, 'Queen Charlotte Sound: Aspects of Maori Traditional History', in Queen Charlotte Sound, ed. Barratt, pp. 142-43. Queen Charlotte Sound is, coincidentally, all but contiguous to what O'Regan calls 'the rich and fertile nearby Wairau', from the edges of which Roger Duff drew the evidence that upheld H. D. Skinner's hypotheses and scuttled those of S. Percy Smith and Elsdon Best. These debates, the beginnings of which have been described in Chapter 2, are further outlined in the present chapter.
3. H. D. Skinner in 1923 called it 'a new theory'. Skinner, Abstract of 'The Moa-hunters of Canterbury and Otago', paper presented to Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science conference, Wellington, January 1923, NZJST, vol. 5 (1922-23), p. 313.
4. Ngata had a less charitable view: 'In regard to the Polynesian marae Skinner is having his paper published in "Antiquity". This man is constantly dodging the Polynesian Journal, going I suppose after notoriety.' Ngata/Buck, 17 June 1929, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 1, p. 204.
5. H. D. Skinner/JCA, 24 September 1926 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1926).
6. Best, 'Maori and Maruiwi: The Arrival of the First Polynesian Settlers at Whakatane. Origin of the Mixed Toi Tribes', JPS, vol. 37 (1928), pp. 175-225.

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7. Skinner/JCA, 12 July 1928; JCA/Skinner, 18 July 1928; Skinner/JCA, 20 July 1928 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1928, vol. 2).

8. 'I got [Augustus] Hamilton's set of the first 20 vols. [of the JPS], bound in tapa; but I have to get a fair number between vol. 20 and 34 to bring my set to completion.' JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 6 June 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 2). These issues were nevertheless readily available to Andersen, in the Dominion Museum and (presumably) in the Turnbull Library itself. Andersen had attended the meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science at Wellington in January 1923, where he had presented, to Section F, Ethnography and Anthropology, a paper on 'The Independent Evolution of Thought as Exemplified by Maori Stringed [sic] Games' (a version of which was published as 'The Independent Evolution of Ideas', NZJST, vol. 7 (1924), pp. 35-38). Skinner presented his attack on the Maruiwi-Mori theory to the same section of the conference (there were nine papers altogether in this section); though Andersen may not have attended Skinner's paper, a summary was presented in the proceedings of the conference published in NZJST: see NZJST, vol. 5 (1922-23), pp. 313-14.

9. Quoted by Elsdon Craig, Man of the Mist: A Biography of Elsdon Best (Wellington, 1964), p. 212.

10. H. D. Skinner/JCA, 6 April 1929; JCA/Skinner, 12 April 1929 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1929).

11. See Ngata/W. H. Skinner, 30 July 1923 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 4A, folder 5a); Peter Buck/W. H. Skinner, 15 April 1924; H. E. Gregory/W. H. Skinner, 9 July 1924; Ngata/W. H. Skinner, 31 July 1924; Buck/W. H. Skinner, 5 August 1924; M. Crompton Smith/Gregory, 16 March 1925 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 4A, folder 6a); 'Bernice Paui Bishop Museum, Honolulu and Polynesian Society', JPS, vol. 33 (1924), p. 143; JPS, vol. 34 (1925), pp. iii, 96.

12. JCA/H. E. Gregory, 5 December 1929 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1929); Gregory/JCA, 27 January 1930; JCA/Gregory 26 February 1930; H. D. Skinner/JCA, 16 March 1930; JCA/Skinner, 19 March 1930 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1930).

13. See Editors [i.e. J. C. Andersen, Elsdon Best, and Herbert W. Williams], Review of J. Macmillan Brown, The Riddle of the Pacific (London, 1924), JPS, vol. 34 (1925), pp. 260-69.

14. H. D. Skinner/JCA, 2 November 1930; JCA/Skinner, 5 November 1930 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1930).

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15. Minutes of council meeting, 12 February 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 5, Bundle labelled correspondence 1931-32).
16. The definite answer was sent three days later, though the acceptance was 'conditional' on Skinner receiving the clerical assistance for his museum duties that he had been promised. H. D. Skinner/Chairman, Polynesian Society, 5 March 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 5, Bundle labelled 1931).
17. Typescript draft, not posted, JCA/Skinner, 5 July 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 2).
18. There is a hint that Ngata and Balneavis were initially not too happy about H. D. Skinner as joint editor. Andersen wrote to A. H. Maciver, the treasurer, in August 1931 about financial matters: 'I saw Sir Apirana yesterday, and they want the Journal kept up to its usual size, so they will see us through.' 'They' means the Board of Maori Ethnological Research and, more specifically, Ngata and Balneavis. He added: 'I told them about Skinner as joint editor, and they now think that will be all right'. Perhaps Ngata had by 1931 absorbed some of Buck's dislike of Skinner. The need to gain the acquiescence of Ngata may explain the delay until the council meeting of 26 August 1931 in formally appointing Skinner as editor. JCA/Maciver, 11 August 1931; Maciver/H. D. Skinner, 27 August 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 5, Bundle labelled correspondence 1931).
19. H. D. Skinner/JCA, 2 March 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 1).
20. JCA/Skinner, 7 March 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 1).
21. Andersen (unsuccessfully) sought permission to visit libraries in Australia around the time of his appointment to the Alexander Turnbull Library, and later was disappointed in his hopes of representing New Zealand at the 1928 sesquicentennial celebrations of James Cook's first visit to Hawaii in 1778, but he did not after his arrival in 1874 at the age of eighteen months travel beyond New Zealand until his rather hurried visits to Britain, northern Europe and South America in 1936.
22. H. Ian Hogbin, 'The Sexual Life of the Natives of Ontong Java (Solomon Islands)', *JPS*, vol. 40 (1931), pp. 23-34.
23. George Simpson/JCA, 26 April 1931; J. H. Burnet/A. L. Maciver, 25 May 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 1).

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24. Skinner/JCA, 25 June 1931; JCA/Skinner, 29 June 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 1).
25. JPS, vol. 40 (1931), pp. 92-93.
26. Skinner/JCA, 24 August 1931; see also JCA/Skinner 27 August 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 1); Skinner/JCA, 3 September 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 2).
27. JPS, vol. 40 (1931), pp. 164-65.
28. Ibid., pp. 165-69.
29. JCA/Skinner, 15 September 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 2).
30. See JCA/Ngata, 21 September 1931, which includes Ngata's suggestions (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 2). Ngata did not write a tribute. Williams, who was not on the lists of those to be approached, expressed important reservations to Andersen: 'So our old friend has taken his last journey down the hill! We shall miss him - though I had long felt that he had done his work - His more recent contributions were in no way comparable with the papers he wrote for the J.P.S[.] and Trans. up to 1920. As a collector of lore he was on a high pedestal, but when he formulated his deductions he was little more than ordinary: and he had developed a serious failing - that of quoting his authorities not quite accurately - and another of throwing in a statement by some one else without any hint as to the value or otherwise of the statement - it was not always clear whether he agreed or disagreed with the author quoted.' Williams/JCA, 15 September 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 2). This was not the only implicit warning Williams gave Andersen about reliance on Best's work, but Andersen, notwithstanding his regard for Williams, did not take the point.
31. JCA/Skinner, 2 September 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 2). (This letter was sent just before Best's death - he died on 9 September - but the exchanges with Skinner over editorial duties continued against the backdrop of Best's last illness, funeral, and the preparations for the memorial issue of the Journal.)
32. Skinner/JCA, 14 September 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 2).
33. JCA/Skinner, 21 September 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 2).

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34. Skinner, 'On the Patu Family and Its Occurrence Beyond New Zealand', JPS, vol. 40 (1931), pp. 183-96.
35. JCA/Williams, 5 September 1931; Williams/JCA, 15 September 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 2).
36. Skinner/JCA, 3 February 1932; JCA/Skinner, 5 February 1932 (WTu: Acc 890-115 PS Letterbooks, 1932, vol. 1).
37. Skinner/JCA, 28 November 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 2).
38. JCA/Skinner, 4 December 1931 (WTu: 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 2). Andersen had met Downes on the ethnological expedition up the Whanganui river in 1921. Andersen's regard for Downes perhaps increased as Downes attacked the views of H. D. Skinner (this is discussed further below), and the pair had some contact during the 1930s, since, as Andersen wrote in an obituary notice, 'Mr Downes was elected a member of the Executive Council of the Polynesian Society in 1931, he attended most of its meetings, held in Wellington, and was a member at the time of his death.' He referred also to 'my friend Mr Downes', concluding with 'our appreciation both of his never-failing readiness to assist and of his kindness and thoughtfulness as a friend.' Andersen, 'Obituary. Thomas William Downes', JPS, vol. 47 (1938), pp. 134-35.
39. T. W. Downes, 'Old Native Stone-cut Artifacts From Waverley', JPS, vol. 41 (1932), pp. 50-58.
40. JPS, vol. 41 (1932), pp. 32-39; Andersen, 'Elsdon Best, F.N.Z. Inst. Ethnologist, and the Best Living Authority on the Maori', New Zealand Life with the N.Z. Forest Magazine, vol. 4, no. 3 (July 1925), pp. 3-5.
41. 'List of Publications in Volume Form, and Contributed Articles By Elsdon Best', JPS, vol. 41 (1932), pp. 40-49. The suggestion seems to have come first of all from Peter Buck: Buck/JCA, 29 October 1931 (AR: Andersen Papers, letters to Andersen c. 1905-46, typescript version).
42. David Teviotdale, 'The Material Culture of the Moa-hunters in Murihiku', JPS, vol. 41 (1932), p. 81. See PLATE XXIV, below.
43. H. D. Skinner, 'Results of the Excavations at the Shag River Sandhills', JPS, vol. 33 (1924), pp. 23-24.

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44. Teviotdale, 'The Material Culture of the Moa-hunters in Murihiku', pp. 82-88.
45. Ibid., pp. 89-90, 92.
46. Ibid., p. 117.
47. Ibid., p. 119.
48. Ibid., p. 119.
49. JCA/Skinner, 11 March 1932 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1932, vol. 1).
50. James Hornell, 'Was the Double-outrigger Known in Polynesia and Micronesia?', JPS, vol. 41 (1932), pp. 131-43. The note by Herbert Williams appears in ibid., pp. 136-37.
51. JCA/Williams, 30 April 1932 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1932, vol. 1).
52. Williams/JCA, 2 May 1932 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1932, vol. 1); F. W. Christian, 'Polynesian and Oceanic Elements in the Chimu and Inca Languages', JPS, vol. 41 (1932), p. 148, and editorial note 1 on p. 148.
53. Ibid., pp. 154-55, and editorial note 2 on p. 155. Elsdon Best, The Maori (two volumes, Wellington, 1924).
54. H. D. Skinner, 'Maori Amulets In Stone, Bone, and Shell', JPS, vol. 41 (1932), pp. 205-06. See PLATE XXV, below.
55. Buck/JCA, 4 September 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 15). Andersen wrote to Williams a few weeks later: 'I am rather pleased with our Journal, but do miss our friend Best.' JCA/Williams, 13 February 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1). Andersen wrote to Duff in 1939, two years after the death of Herbert Williams: 'Thank you for [your letter] with further details regarding the tohi, if that word is correct; I cannot say, and the two on whom I relied for the Maori part of our articles, Elsdon Best and Bishop Williams, are no longer to be consulted.' JCA/Duff, 23 November 1939 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 9, Bundle labelled Polynesian Journal Editorial Correspondence 1939). This also was by way of saying that there were no living experts, and that H. D. Skinner was not an expert.

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56. A. H. Reed to Editors and editorial response, JPS, vol. 41 (1932), pp. 320-21. Andersen's review of The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, ed. J. R. Elder (Dunedin, 1932), appeared in JPS, vol. 41 (1932), pp. 220-26.
57. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 24 November 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 7).
58. JCA/Skinner, 3 February 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1). The recognition and explanation-justification of the 'sharpness' of his comments suggests, perhaps, that he had indeed intended to be 'sharp'.
59. JCA/Skinner, 9 February 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
60. Skinner/JCA, 7 February 1933; Roger Duff/JCA, 22 February 1933; JCA/Duff, 24 February 1933 (WTu: 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
61. Skinner/JCA, 2 March 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
62. JCA/Elizabeth Durward, 6 March 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
63. JCA/T. W. Downes, 16 March 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
64. JCA/Williams, 31 March 1933; Williams/JCA, 3 April, and 4 April 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1). In the letter of 31 March 1933, Andersen commented: 'Skinner's own writing needs constant attention Unfortunately Downes is a bit careless ... but more is expected of a Professor in Anthropology.'
65. JCA/Skinner, 1 May 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
66. Downes/JCA, 12 April 1933; JCA/Downes, 19 April 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
67. H. D. Skinner, 'Maori Amulets In Stone, Bone, and Shell, Part 2', JPS, vol. 42 (1933), pp. 1-9.
68. T. W. Downes to Editors, JPS, vol. 42 (1933), p. 25.

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69. H. D. Skinner [to Editor], JPS, vol. 42 (1933), pp. 26-27.
70. JPS, vol. 42 (1933), editorial note 1 on p. 27. See PLATE XXVI, below.
71. H. D. Skinner [to Editor], JPS, vol. 42 (1933), p. 28, and editorial note 5 on p. 28. See PLATE XXVI, below.
72. Skinner/JCA, 19 May 1933; JCA/Williams, 31 March 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
73. Downes/JCA, 22 May 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
74. JCA/Downes, 27 May 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
75. JCA/Williams, 26 May 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
76. Williams/JCA, 31 May 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1). This was not the only hint Andersen received that Williams was very doubtful about the Maruiwi business. Downes had written a few days before that he would be very pleased if Williams looked over his own paper then in preparation, 'especially as Skinner suggests in a private letter which I enclose that the Bishop apparently aligns himself on his (Skinner's) side of the dispute'. Downes/JCA, 28 May 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
77. JCA/Williams, 2 June 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
78. JCA/Downes, 21 June 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).
79. Elizabeth W. Durward, 'The Maori Population of Otago', JPS, vol. 42 (1933), pp. 49-82, and editorial addendum to note 38 on p. 67. Andersen nevertheless thought well of Durward's article, shortly thereafter referring an Invercargill correspondent to the 'good article' by 'Miss Durward' in the March JPS. JCA/A. E. Featherstone, 10 August 1933 (NLR: Box 5209). It has long been a standard work, cited, for example, in Atholl Anderson, When All the Moa Ovens Grew Cold: Nine Centuries of Changing Fortune For the Southern Maori (Dunedin, 1983), p. 47 (though with the date '1959' instead of the correct date of 1933).
80. H. D. Skinner, 'Archaeology in New Zealand', JPS, vol. 42 (1933), p. 105. Which

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textbooks Skinner was referring to is unclear, but they probably included Our Nation's Story: A Course of British History ... Standard III (Christchurch, n.d.), pp. 22-23, which talks of people 'from the islands in the Western Pacific, darker-skinned than the Maoris Their descendants are to be found to-day in the Morioris of the Chatham Islands'. Our Nation's Story was widely used in primary schools from the later 1920s or early 1930s into the 1950s. J. B. Condliffe, A Short History of New Zealand (first published 1925; third edition, Christchurch, 1929), pp. 7-8, is much more circumspect. Skinner wrote to A. H. Maciver in 1934: 'I have seen a number of school books in which sections dealing with the Maoris contain gross errors, particularly in the illustrations. It would probably be best for the Journal to publish a full-dress review of the school books in use in New Zealand which contain ethnological material. Those which are accurate should be praised and the rest could be dealt with justly. So long as the Society itself vacillates on the fundamental [sic] point of whether the first population of New Zealand was Polynesian or not, so long will school children be taught that that population and the Morioris were probably derived from the New Hebrides. The reviewer will therefore have to omit a discussion of that point, though he will find the Melanesian theory stated as fact in all the school books.' Skinner/Maciver, 10 June 1934 (WTu: PS Further Papers 80-115, Bundle labelled 1934).

81. Skinner/JCA, 17 June 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1); JCA/Downes, 15 July 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 2).

82. Downes/JCA, 2 August 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 2). Downes was referring to H. D. Skinner, 'The Maoris', in The Cambridge History of the British Empire, eds J. Holland Rose, A. P. Newton, and E. A. Benians, vol. 7, Part II, New Zealand, ed. J. Hight (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 8-21, especially p. 15, where Skinner says: 'The additional evidence offered in support of Percy Smith's interpretation [that Polynesians lived in India c. A.D. 450 and subsequently migrated to Java, and thence to the Pacific] is small in amount, general in character, and quite insufficient to support the structure raised on it.'

83. JCA/Downes, 9 August 1933; Downes/JCA, 5 September 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 2).

84. T. W. Downes, 'Maruiwi, Maori and Moriori', JPS, vol. 42 (1933), pp. 156-66. Downes's article is fragile, strained, full of special pleading. For example, Downes argued (p. 165) on the basis of stories he had been told about 'the wars between the early canoe-tribes and the original tribes' that 'in a new country with vast territory at their disposal they would not have been such bitter enemies had they had come from the same quarter.' For all the various bits and pieces Downes draws together, the heart of his case is his question, 'was there Melanesian blood in the Maruiwi tribes? - and if so was it passed on to the Moriori?' (p. 159). Collecting scattered references to physical attributes recorded by various Europeans, Downes admits 'It would be hard to prove these waves of immigration that are here suggested', but he believed 'the evidence brought forward in these pages clearly points in that direction' (p. 163). Downes disputes Skinner's claim that 'low mentality'

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had been ascribed to Moriori, but displays his evolutionist preferences by insisting that ‘the Moriori state of living, dwellings, food, etc., show a lower civilization than the Maori’ (p. 164). Unsatisfactory as informed readers of the 1990s may find Downes’s article, Downes’s arguments provide, perhaps, clues to the nature of the articles of faith which generations of Pakeha New Zealanders since the 1930s have maintained over the supposed relationships between Moriori, Maruiwi, and Maori. See PLATE XXVII, below.

85. JPS, vol. 42 (1933), p. 232.
86. Herbert W. Williams, ‘Presidential Remarks’, JPS, vol. 42 (1933), p. 234.
87. Skinner/JCA, 2 October 1933; JCA/Skinner, 4 October 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 2).
88. JPS, vol. 42 (1933), pp. 204-19.
89. Skinner/JCA, 15 November 1933; JCA/Skinner, 18 December 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 2). ‘F.R.S.’ indicated a fellowship of the Royal Society, London, the prized, select ‘blue riband’ of science; and the proper form for the New Zealand society was soon fixed as ‘F.R.S.N.Z.’ In the interim, Andersen had contrived to appear as ‘F.R.S., N.Z.’, with the internal comma, on the title pages of two books, his Maori Music, and his Place-names in New Zealand, both published in 1934.
90. Skinner/JCA, 15 December 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 2). [H. D. Skinner], ‘British Association for the Advancement of Science: Tradition in Anthropology’, JPS, vol. 42 (1933), pp. 321-23. The editorial comment, p. 323, appeared with the initials ‘J.C.A.’ See PLATE XXVIII, below.
91. Skinner/JCA, 17 February 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
92. Downes/JCA, 23 February 1934; JCA/Downes, 26 February 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
93. Gilbert Archey, ‘Evolution of Certain Maori Carving Patterns’, JPS, vol. 42 (1933), pp. 171-90.
94. JCA/Gilbert Archey, 23 February 1934; Archey/JCA, 26 February 1934; JCA/Archey, 28 [? Feb] 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).

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95. JCA/Skinner, 22 March 1934 (WTu: Ac 80-115, Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
96. JCA/Williams, 27 March 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
97. JCA/Downes, 6 April 1934; Downes/JCA, 11 April 1934; JCA/Downes, 18 April 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
98. JCA/Skinner, 20 April 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1). The restored patu appears in JPS, vol. 43 (1934), pp. 130-31. See PLATE XXIX, below.
99. H. D. Skinner, 'Maori Amulets In Stone, Bone, and Shell', JPS, vol. 43 (1934), pp. 106-08.
100. JCA/Skinner, 24 April 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
101. The use of the 'reel' or 'spool' had been a matter of dispute between H. D. Skinner and Best since at least 1914. In reviewing Best's The Stone Implements of the Maori (Wellington, 1912), Skinner commented: 'The statement made by Te Whatahoro at page seventy-two, that no stone or wooden disc was used on the drill spindle until the idea was introduced by Europeans, appears at variance with the evidence. There are in private collections a number of stone discs which we are told on excellent Maori authority were used in drilling The writer has been successful in drilling wood, using a stone point attached to a spindle passing through such a disc. Motion was imparted by strings running in the grooves of the disc.' JPS, vol. 23 (1914), p. 20. It was about such a use that Best had, as Andersen said, 'enquired assiduously', without result. In both The Maori As He Was (Wellington, 1924), p. 85, and The Maori (two volumes, Wellington, 1924), vol. 1, p. 19, Best labelled a photograph of one of these 'spool' or 'reel' objects 'Stone artifact of unknown use'; and in The Maori As He Was, p. 18, wrote that 'Some curiously unlikely theories as to [the] use [of these objects] have been evolved by enthusiasts. One that sees in it a form of drill-control is one of the most improbable.' See PLATE XXX, below. It may have been in response to this statement by Best that Skinner in an article published later in the same year returned to the matter: 'A Maori artifact which has aroused much discussion ... has received among collectors the descriptive label of "cotton reel." Te Whiti stated that one example which was submitted to him was a whakapapa, a genealogical mnemonic, each notch in the ridges representing a generation. A reliable old Maori who had been made a slave in the last great Waikato raid into Taranaki, stated that he had seen his father use one as a drill whorl or weight, and this is a plausible suggestion in the case of the larger stone examples. It does not, however, explain the larger bone examples from New Zealand, and it meets an apparently fatal objection in the fact that all the examples of the type recorded from the Marquesas are of bone.' H. D. Skinner, 'The Origin and Relationships of Maori Material Culture and Decorative Art', JPS, vol. 33 (1924), pp. 239-40. There were further notes on 'A Peculiar Stone Artifact of Unknown Use', JPS, vol. 34

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(1925), p. 273, and 'Stone Artifact of Unknown Use', *ibid.*, p. 385: these objects are unlike the 'spool' or 'reel' in appearance. In his bibliography, Roger Duff, The Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture (first published 1950, second edition, Wellington, 1956), p. 387, attributes the latter note to Andersen, but the language used ('Ere that illustration had appeared') suggests it was written by Best. Andersen did not develop an abiding interest in the matter until H. D. Skinner revived his claims in the 1930s, with the article in *JPS*, vol. 43 (1934), pp. 106-08, and the note reporting W. E. Goffe's claim, as discussed above.

102. Skinner/JCA, 6 June 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
103. Skinner/JCA, 8 June 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
104. Skinner/JCA, 8 June 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
105. JCA/Archey, 15 June 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
106. JCA/Skinner, 15 June 1934 (WTu: Ac 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
107. JCA/Skinner, 15 June 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1). Skinner's work on fakes is indicated in 'A General Note on Forgers of Maori Material Culture', the final part of T. Barrow and H. D. Skinner, 'The Faking of Maori Art', in H. D. Skinner, Comparatively Speaking: Studies in Pacific Material Culture 1921-1972 (Dunedin, 1974), pp. 190-194. In 1934, Andersen probably had in mind comments on fakes in Skinner, 'Maori Amulets in Stone, Bone, and Shell', *JPS*, vol. 41 (1932), pp. 203-04. The hoax article referred to is A. Carroll, 'The Easter Island Inscriptions, and the Translation and Interpretation of them', *JPS*, vol. 1 (1892), pp. 103-06, 233-53.
108. JCA/Skinner, 18 June 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
109. Archey/JCA, 27 June 1934; Roger Duff/JCA, 22 June 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1). See also J. W. Stack, 'Sketch of the Traditional History of the South Island Maoris', *Trans*, vol. 10 (1878), p. 62.
110. Skinner/JCA, 25 June 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
111. JCA/Avery and Sons, 27 June 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115, Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1). For the note on the 'reel' or 'spool' and Andersen's editorial addition, see *JPS*, vol. 43 (1934), pp. 130, 132-33.

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112. JCA/Duff, 2 July 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
113. Skinner/JCA, 2 July 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115, Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 2).
114. Typescript draft, not posted, JCA/Skinner, 5 July 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 2).
115. Ms note by Andersen, on typescript draft of unposted letter JCA/Skinner, 5 July 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 2).
116. Skinner/JCA, 3 July 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 2).
117. H. D. Skinner/Secretary, Polynesian Society, 3 July 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers Box 5, Bundle labelled 1934). There is another copy in WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 2).
118. JPS, vol. 43 (1934), p. 297.
119. Others, too, were critical of Skinner. Andersen inserted in the editorial correspondence a portion of a letter from Blanche Halcombe criticising both H. D. Skinner and W. H. Skinner, with Andersen's own ms note: 'This is from a letter to T. W. Downes; he handed it on to me so that I might see what others thought of H. D. Skinner & his work &c!' (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 2).
120. At an earlier period, Buck seems to have been reasonably positive about H. D. Skinner. 'Skinner's Moriori Material Culture is good stuff. As you say we have a fair team over here.' Buck/JCA, 23 May 1924 (WTu: MS Papers 1187, folder 329). Buck was referring to Skinner's The Morioris of Chatham Islands (Honolulu, 1923).
121. Craig, Man of the Mist, pp. 212-13.
122. Buck/JCA, 19 November 1934 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 15). A year earlier Buck had written of his relationship with H. D. Skinner, 'We are not particularly fond of each other'. Buck/JCA, 24 October 1933 (AR: Andersen Papers, letters to Andersen c. 1905-46, typescript version).
123. In letters, Andersen sometimes specifies his reliance on Best's published work; for example: 'The act of cutting the skin is called haehae, as you may see in Best "The Maori"

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vol. 2 p. 55, where too you will see that the flake has no name.' JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 11 April 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 10).

124. For example, JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 24 November 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 2); A. Carroll, 'The Easter Island Inscriptions, and the Translation and Interpretation of them', JPS, vol. 1 (1892), pp. 103-06, 233-53.

125. JCA/Buck, 15 August 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 2).

126. JCA/H. F. von Haast, 3 October 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).

127. Elsdon Best/H. D. Skinner, 22 November 1916 (DHo: MS 1219/8, subject file 235).

128. Peter Gathercole, 'Introduction', in H. D. Skinner, Comparatively Speaking: Studies in Pacific Material Culture 1921-1972 (Dunedin, 1974), p. 16. Skinner in fact applied for a position as Museum Assistant at the Dominion Museum late in 1918, and was offered the position in January 1919, but had apparently withdrawn his application beforehand. (The position was eventually filled by W. R. B. Oliver (later to be Director). Other applicants were Oliver Duff (father of Roger Duff), J. H. Beattie, and G. Jobbens.) See DM 13/27/2 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box labelled Staff Arrangements - Creation of Position - Curator of Exhibits 1914-1926). The history of ethnology in New Zealand would no doubt have been very different had H. D. Skinner spent the 1920s and 1930s in Wellington rather than Dunedin.

129. Draft of Peter Gathercole's introduction to Comparatively Speaking, with emendations by H. D. Skinner, undated (DHo: MS 1219/12, manila folder in unsorted papers). Skinner also added 'Smith's' in the phrase 'rejected not only Smith's and Best's "Melanesian" theory of Maori origins'. Gathercole, 'Introduction', in Skinner, Comparatively Speaking, p. 15.

130. There is a hint in a later note by Skinner that his doubts might have preceded his period of study at Cambridge. He wrote in March 1969: 'S. Percy Smith was a remarkable ethnographer. Best told me that he (S.P.S.) was capable of extracting from old Maoris information, particularly whakapapa, more quickly than he (Best), or anyone else, could extract it. But Percy Smith was deficient in critical judgment when dealing with genealogical [sic] matters. He was completely swept off his feet by Whatahoro, and this was apparent from the very start.' (Emphasis added.) Skinner also wrote at the same time a brief note on Best, which said, inter alia, 'Elsdon Best is the most dependable of all New Zealand ethnographers. He has his blind spots but they are few and far between.' Ms notes by H. D. Skinner, dated 'March 1969' (DHo: MS 1219/10, item 151). The Lore of the Whare-wānanga, ed. Percy Smith (two volumes, New Plymouth, 1913 and 1915).

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131. S. P. Smith/H. D. Skinner, 22 May 1917 (DHo: MS 1219/8, subject file 235).

132. 'I think [Skinner's] amulet paper is very skimpy and artificial; he reads too much into the artifacts & knows too little about the Maori who made them'. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 5 August 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8). Anthropology, argues Bernard McGrane is 'a monologue about alien cultures rather than, and in active avoidance of, a dialogue with them in terms of sovereignty Anthropology is interested in the Other and at the same time remains altogether alien to the Other; in the best of cases anthropology speaks well of the Other, but with very few exceptions, anthropology does not speak to the Other and it is ... only by speaking to the Other ... that I can acknowledge him as subject, comparable to what I am myself. The, in Ong's phrase, decay of dialogue (Socratic dialectic dialogue), the atrophy of dialogue, is, thus, the condition of our contemporary anthropological discipline.' Bernard McGrane, Beyond Anthropology: Society and the Other (New York, 1989), p. 125.

133. F. J. Turner, 'Geological Investigation of the Nephrites, Serpentine, and Related "Greenstones" Used By the Maoris of Otago and South Canterbury', Trans, vol. 65 (1935-36), pp. 187-210; H. D. Skinner, 'New Zealand Greenstone', ibid., pp. 211-220.

134. JCA/Buck, 15 August 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 2).

135. W. A. Taylor, Lore and History of the South Island Maori (Christchurch, 1952), p. 102. Taylor was referring to H. S. McCully, 'Stone Tools Made and Used By the Maori: Suggested Method of their Manufacture', JPS, vol. 50 (1941), pp. 185-210; McCully, 'The Term "Unfinished" As Applied to Adzes', JPS, vol. 52 (1943), pp. 204-05; McCully, 'A Multiple-edged Tool', ibid., pp. 206-09.

136. Williams, 'The Maruiwi Myth', JPS, vol. 46 (1937), pp. 105-22.

137. See M.P.K. Sorrenson, Maori Origins and Migrations: The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends (Auckland, 1979), pp. 52-54.

138. Williams/JCA, 31 May 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1).

139. David Teviotdale, 'Progress Report on the Excavation of a Moa-hunters' Camp at the Mouth of the Tahakopa River', JPS, vol. 46 (1937), p. 151.

140. Ernest Beaglehole, 'New Zealand Anthropology To-day', JPS, vol. 46 (1937), pp. 169-70. We might speculate whether Beaglehole while research associate at the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, in 1936-37 had heard any of Buck's less generous opinions of Skinner.

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141. H. D. Skinner/JCA, 8 November 1937 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Correspondence 1937 vol. 2 with Index).
142. Roger Duff, The Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture (Wellington, 1950), pp. 35-36.
143. See, for example, JCA/W. J. Elvy, 27 July 1940, 2 August 1940, 7 August 1940 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 4). One story from Elvy is retailed in Andersen, The Maori Tohunga and His Spirit World (New Plymouth, 1948), pp. 82-89. Elvy in turn published a story supplied him by Andersen: W. J. Elvy, Kei Puta te Wairau: A History of Marlborough In Maori Times (Christchurch, 1957), pp. 105-07.
144. JCA/W. J. Elvy, 10 June 1940 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 4).
145. Elvy/JCA, 14 November 1940 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 4).
146. JCA/Elvy, 156 November 1940 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 4).
147. JCA/E. C. Perano, 9 December 1940 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 4).
148. Andersen, 'The So-called "Spool" Artifact', JPS, vol. 49 (1940), pp. 595-99 and three accompanying plates. See PLATE XXXI, below.
149. Buck, The Coming of the Maori (Wellington, 1949), p. 290.
150. Duff, Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture (1950), p. 36.
151. See Andersen, Jubilee History of South Canterbury (Christchurch, 1916), p. 37. See also J. W. Stack, 'The Sacking of Kaiapohia', in W.T.L. Travers, The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha (Christchurch, 1906), pp. 178-79.
152. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 5 April 1941 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).
153. Seven galleys were paged up as pp. 1-14, and galleys 12-29 were not paged up (WTu: MS Papers 72, folder 86). See also J. C. Yaldwyn's Foreword to Elsdon Best, Maori Religion and Mythology ..., Part 2 (Wellington, 1982), pp. 10-13.

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154. See WTu: MS Papers 72, folders 56, 57, 58. Andersen's respect for Best's work is evident in that the MS was printed virtually unchanged. See also Andersen, 'Editor's Preface' in Elsdon Best, Forest Lore of the Maori (first published 1942; Wellington, 1977), pp. vii-ix.
155. C.R.H. Taylor, A Pacific Bibliography; Printed Matter Relating to the Native Peoples of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia (Wellington, 1951). A second edition of this standard work was published in 1965.
156. Andersen, Maori Place-names, p. vi. 'I still have a Memoir of 300 pages or so to finish, so other things had to wait'. JCA/P. Watts Rule, 16 February 1941 (WTu: MS Papers 2, folder 9).
157. Andersen, Maori Place-names, pp. vi, 331.
158. Ibid., pp. 331-46. See also Atholl Anderson, Prodigious Birds: Moas and Moa-hunting in Prehistoric New Zealand (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 6, 90-91.
159. Andersen, Maori Place-names, p. 333.
160. Ibid., p.346. See also Anderson, Prodigious Birds, pp. 88-94.
161. Andersen, Maori Place-names, p. 333.
162. Ibid., p. 332.
163. Ibid., p. 333.
164. Ibid., p. 133.
165. Duff, Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture (1950), pp. 36, 38.
166. W.R.B. Oliver/JCA, 1 April 1942; JCA/Oliver, 7 April 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 5). Andersen was on the management committee of the Dominion Museum, and was in 1944-46 the chairman of the committee, and thus involved, in an ex officio fashion, in the acquisition of Maori artifacts for the museum collection - the more direct form of cultural appropriation. He did not collect Maori artifacts himself; but occasionally people who knew of his interest in Maori culture brought artifacts to the

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Turnbull Library for his inspection. He sometimes suggested that they contact Sir Joseph Kinsey, or Gilbert Archey, director of the Auckland Museum, but does not appear to have been involved in dealing himself. JCA/Kinsey, 9 May 1922 and 1 June 1922 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 1); JCA/Kinsey, 17 June 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 2); JCA/Kinsey, 14 August 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 6); JCA/Kinsey, 27 July 1934 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 9). See also JCA/W. H. Ross, 22 June 1943 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 6), wherein he reiterates that he does not 'collect' but admits, 'I have a few articles I could not help acquiring'. Andersen's attitude to private collectors (Joseph Kinsey excepted?) is possibly indicated by a comment in a short story: 'This collecting is a curious craze. Flint chips, chipped stones, stone axes, axe-handles, the work of ancient savages, all come into the collector's bag; and he is at pains to preserve these when he would not give twopence to preserve the men who made them - or who were supposed to have made them - for many be bogus.' Andersen, 'Losing His Head', Rata: New Zealand Annual (1931), p. 52.

167. It might be useful to note that Andersen was not opposed to archaeological investigation, only to the theoretical speculations of archaeologists. He had at least some glimmerings of the importance of what was later to be called stratigraphy. Elvy sent him clippings from the Marlborough Express on the latest discoveries at Wairau. Thanking Elvy, Andersen added: 'But you will know from reading articles such as that by Lockerbie not long since, and some of Teviotdale, that ... certain details of position, soil, and the like, are tantalizingly absent' from the articles. Elvy/JCA, 7 April 1942; JCA/Elvy, 15 April 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 5).
168. Elvy/JCA, 14 April 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 5).
169. Duff, Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture (1950), p. 40.
170. JCA/Elvy, 4 May 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 5).
171. R. A. Falla/JCA, 13 May 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 5).
172. Duff, Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture, pp. 44-49.
173. JCA/Falla, 17 May 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 5). Andersen had known Falla since the 1920s.
174. JCA/Elvy, 8 June 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 5).

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175. It is not clear whether Andersen continued to believe in a partly non-Polynesian people inhabiting early New Zealand after the Wairau Bar excavations of 1942. In Maori Place-names, published in 1942, he refers in his discussion of Turi to the Kahuimaunga, who 'may have been some of the non-Polynesian people who spread over a large part of the North Island between the coming of the first Kupe and Toi.' Andersen, Maori Place-names, pp. 170-71; and in the Preface, ibid., p. v, he writes that there was 'a series of migrations from various parts of the Pacific [to New Zealand], all composed of people more or less Polynesian, some of them with Melanesian admixture'.

176. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 15 January 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).

177. Roger Duff, 'Moa-hunters of the Wairau', Records of the Canterbury Museum, vol. 5 (1942), pp. 1-43.

178. Duff, Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture (1950), pp. 44-49.

179. JCA/Duff, 15 January 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).

180. JCA/Duff, 22 February 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).

181. JCA/H. F. von Haast, 3 October 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943). Heinrich von Haast, a good friend of Andersen, nevertheless inclined to Duff's point of view: see H. F. von Haast, The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast (Wellington, 1948), pp. 752-58. His first questions to Andersen about these matters were made in 1939: Von Haast/JCA, 31 May 1939; and a few weeks later he specifically asked for the JPS reference 'in which Elsdon Best sets out his ideas about Melanesian race being the predecessors of the Maoris in N.Z.' Von Haast/JCA, 3 July 1939 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 3). Heinrich von Haast was perhaps inclined to Duff's views not only because of the evidence but because Duff's use of the term moa-hunter, and some of his theories, provided partial rehabilitation for the arguments of Heinrich's father, Julius von Haast. See Anderson, Prodigious Birds, pp. 100-08.

182. JCA/Elvy, 2 May 1943 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 6).

183. Duff, 'The Evolution of Native New Zealand Culture: Moa-hunters, Morioris, Maoris', Mankind, vol. 3 (1947), pp. 281-91, 313-22.

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184. Duff, Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture (1950), pp. 14-15. Duff's book had considerable popularity, despite its dryness. 'It is naturally pleasing that a largely technical book, not written for the general public, has been so well received that a second printing is necessary', Duff began his introduction to the second edition: Duff, The Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture (first published 1950; second edition, Wellington, 1956), p. x. Duff's views were widely disseminated through his post-primary school bulletin, Moas and Moa-hunters (Wellington, 1951), which was reprinted for sale to the public; and through his contributions, 'The Coming of the Maoris' and 'Maori Settlement', to The New Zealand Junior Encyclopaedia, ed. T. J. Dwyer (three volumes, Wellington, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 50-56, 57-70.

185. Duff, The Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture (first published 1950; third edition, Wellington, 1977), pp. xi-xii. The attack had begun in the 1950s: see Jack Golson, 'Culture Change In Pre-historic New Zealand', in Anthropology In the South Seas, eds J. D. Freeman and W. R. Geddes (New Plymouth, 1959), pp. 36-37. See also Anderson, Prodigious Birds, pp. 7, 108-09.

186. Buck/JCA, 16 January 1944; JCA/Buck, 11 February; Buck/JCA, 24 March 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944).

187. Buck/JCA, 24 March 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944).

188. Buck/JCA, 24 March 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944). In 1929, Buck had written to Ngata, 'This is one of the bad things Skinner has done to Best. I heard in Honolulu that Skinner was criticising the teachings of Te Matorohanga. And I also heard the same thing in Papeete.' Original in Maori, translation of Buck/Ngata, 5 March 1929, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 1, p. 177 and note 2.

189. JCA/Buck, 20 April 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944). The book by Buck to which Andersen referred is Vikings of the Sunrise (first published 1938; New Zealand edition, Christchurch, 1954). Andersen, Maori Place-names, p. 95, note, gives references to pp. 52, 57 of the 1938 edition: the latter reference, p. 59 of the 1954 edition, states: 'It is certain that Maui never reached New Zealand, but the early [Polynesian] settler carried the tale of his exploits with them and applied them locally.' Andersen's argument is in Maori Place-names, pp. 95, 97-102.

190. Andersen's copy is in my possession. Loosely enclosed is an unpublished article on Buck by Andersen (rejected for publication by the New Zealand Herald in 1953), and some negative comments and gossip about Eric Ramsden.

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191. Roger Duff/J. M. McEwen, 17 October 1949 (WArc: MA 52/4 N).

192. Best had given notice of his general argument for the significance of Io in the wider world of anthropology as early as 1913: see Best, 'The Cult of Io: The Concept of a Supreme Deity As Evolved By the Ancestors of the Polynesians', Man, vol. 13 (1913), pp. 98-103.

193. The enthusiasm of certain British anthropologists, including D. G. Lillie, is reported by Elsdon Craig, Man of the Mist, pp. 168-69.

194. Best, Some Aspects of Maori Myth and Religion (first published 1922; Wellington, 1954), pp. 6-7, 23-27; Best, The Maori, vol. 1, pp. 72, 76-77, 86-92, 234-35, 287, 326; Best, Maori Religion and Mythology, Part 1 (first published 1924; Wellington, 1976), pp. 139-161; Best, The Maori As He Was, pp. 32-33, 61-67.

195. Edward Tregear, The Maori Race (first published 1904; Wanganui, 1926), pp. 450-58; W. E. Gudgeon, 'Maori Religion', JPS, vol. 14 (1905), p. 108. The untitled genealogical table which began with Io is on a folding sheet inserted within an article by Best, 'The Lore of the Whare-Kohanga', Part I, JPS, vol. 14 (1905), pp. 205-15, the table facing p. 210. The headnote indicates that the table was added by the editor, Smith, since Best is referred to in the third person. The genealogy, the note states, 'said to have been recited by ... Wahanui ... illustrates in a very complete manner Mr Best's remarks [in the accompanying article] on the successive generative ideas applied to chaos, and ... moreover shows at the head, or origin of it, the seldom-mentioned and exceedingly sacred god Io, as the origin of all things.' Best does not mention Io in his article. The translation of material from Tiwai Paraone, entitled 'A Maori Cosmogony', including information on Io, was published in JPS, vol. 16 (1907), pp. 109-19. See also Craig, Man of the Mist, pp. 70-73. (I am grateful to Heather Bassett, graduate student in History, University of Waikato, for drawing my attention to the genealogical table.)

196. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, pp. 34, 128, 183. All these references to Io are in the 'original' manuscript. The note to p. 129 ('[105] And God said "Let there be light," and there was light [...] IO is a dim conception of a supreme deity who created all, and was before all') is, like some other notes in Maori Life in Ao-tea, a later addition to the 'original' manuscript. Perhaps the notion was derived from Tregear's book, cited in the previous note above (WTu: q MS 1922 ? P, J. C. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea).

197. Andersen, Myths & Legends of the Polynesians (London, 1928), pp. 350-51. See the reviews in Nation, 25 August 1928, and Saturday Review, 7 July 1928 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37). Herbert Williams, after reading the ms of Myths & Legends, wrote: 'In identification of Io with Iao and Hine with Babylonian Sina I should show even greater reserve.' Williams/JCA, 10 September 1925 (Original in possession (1984) of Mrs K. Andersen, Auckland, loosely enclosed in her copy of Andersen's Myths & Legends).

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198. Andersen, Myths & Legends, pp. 452-53.
199. Ibid., p. 349.
200. Ibid., p. 349.
201. Ibid., p. 469.
202. E. S. Craighill Handy, 'The Hawaiian Cult of Io', JPS, vol. 50 (1941), p. 134. It is not clear when Andersen became aware of this 1931 article. As well as drawing upon Best's published writings, Andersen probably discussed Io with Best while he (Andersen) was writing Myths & Legends. In the September 1925 issue of the Journal appeared an article by J. L. Young, Tahiti, which contained in an invocation the name Io, and William L. Wilson, Honolulu, had written about this. Andersen wrote to Young, 'we should be very pleased to learn more of the name Io and its occurrence in the invocation ... or in any others with which you may be acquainted'. On the same day, Andersen wrote to Wilson that both Best and himself were 'very interested' in what Wilson had to say about Io, and in a note in a pamphlet published by Wilson that Io was known in Hawaii. These letters would have been written about the time Andersen was drafting Myths & Legends. JCA/J. L. Young, 8 January 1926; JCA/William L. Wilson, 8 January 1926 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1926); J. L. Young, 'The Umu-ti: Ceremonial Fire-walking As Practised In the Eastern pacific', JPS, vol. 34 (1925), pp. 214-222.
203. M.P.K. Sorrenson, Maori Origins and Migrations, pp. 77-78; Bob Krauss, Keneti: South Seas Adventures of Kenneth Emory (Honolulu, 1988), pp. 234-36, 241-44, 248-54, 258-59, 270-82; A. C. Haddon, Review of The Lore of the Whare-wānanga, ed. S. Percy Smith (New Plymouth, 1913), JPS, vol. 23 (1914), pp. 55-57. Sorrenson, Maori Origins, p. 77, writes of 'the idea, aired by ... A. C. Haddon ... that Io was derived from missionary teachings', and gives Haddon's review as an annotation. Haddon merely notes (p. 56, loc cit) that the words of the 'priests ... were ... taken down by two scribes (educated in the mission schools)', one of whom, 'H. T. Whatohoro[,] carefully amplified his record subsequently from the dictation of certain learned men'. Haddon also notes that 'A certain resemblance to Moses may be traced in the god Tane, who was summoned by Io to receive from him the "three branches of knowledge and the two sacred stones" ...' (ibid., pp. 56-57). It was under Haddon that H. D. Skinner subsequently studied, and it would be interesting to know who influenced whom in scepticism about The Lore of the Whare-wānanga. It is notable that in his review Haddon refers to Smith as 'the author', a usage which Skinner followed and for which he was attacked by T. W. Downes in the debate about the Moriori/Maruiwi, discussed earlier in this chapter.
204. Kenneth P. Emory, Review of A.-C. Eugene Caillot, Histoire des Religions e l'Archipel Paumotu (Paris, 1932), JPS, vol. 42 (1933), pp. 114-16.

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205. Norman Potts/JCA, 16 May 1934 (NLR: Box 5210).
206. JCA/Potts, 18 May 1934 (NLR: Box 5210). What makes this response to Potts even more astonishing is that a couple of months before Potts had raised another question about the reliability of Maori tradition. 'The deluge account in Maori tradition is, we are almost certain', Andersen wrote in reply, 'tinged or more than tinged with missionary influence. It has been very difficult for the Maori, in common with other Polynesians, to resist the insidious seeping of early teaching; he seems to modify or mould his received traditions automatically - as we are inclined to do ourselves'. Norman Potts/JCA, 17 February 1934; JCA/Potts, 1 March 1934 (WTu: ACcc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1). These were eminently sensible, reasonably sceptical remarks. There is an instructive ms by Andersen, probably written about this time, perhaps in preparation for a lecture. 'To every developing man there comes that usually sudden time of Pentecost, when he hears that voice which, never silent, is heard clearest in the night watches & the silent places; and who can doubt that the old Polynesian tohunga sitting solitary in his pre-dawn contemplation had attained to a philosophy comparable with that of ['Plato' and 'the old Pakeha' crossed out] his Hindu or Causasian fellows? - who can deny it in the face of the material in the Lore of the Whare Wananga, in the face of the creation myths that have found noble expression in various parts of the Pacific, shining like bright stars and lesser stars in the early ['pre' crossed out] dawn of the Polynesian mental & spiritual world.' The passage is written on the reverse of JCA/Avery and Sons, 7 June 1934 (WTu: PS Further Papers 80-115, Letterbook, 1934, vol. 1), and therefore may have been composed within two or three weeks of Andersen's reply to Potts.
207. Williams, Review of J. F. Stimson, Tuamotuan Religion (Honolulu, 1933), Stimson, The Cult of Kiho Tumū (Honolulu, 1933), Stimson, Legends of Maui and Tahaki (Honolulu, 1933), JPS, vol. 44 (1935), pp. 184-85. See PLATE XXXII, below.
208. K. P. Emory/JCA, 25 June 1935; JCA/Emory, 23 July 1935 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1935, vol. 1). Andersen met Emory when the latter visited New Zealand in 1931, and was very impressed by him. Andersen recorded that Emory advised him that Teuira Henry's Ancient Tahiti (1928) was 'so badly edited ... it can only be used as a quarry, not as a finished work. Someone in authority is too anxious to get things out so as to make a show; correctness is a secondary consideration, when it should be a primary one'. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 5 June 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 6). The authority was the director of the Bishop Museum, H. E. Gregory, with whom Andersen had previously crossed swords. Emory's expertise displayed in 1931 must have carried some weight with Andersen in the dispute which followed.
209. Ms note by Andersen on JCA/Williams, 24 July 1935 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1935, vol. 1).
210. JCA/Herbert Williams, 5 February 1937 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6,

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Bundle labelled Polynesian Society 1937 vol. 1). Williams's views on Io require further investigation, as does his general influence upon Andersen over a number of issues in the 1920s and 1930s. There are brief comments on Io (in relation to Andersen's ms for Myths & Legends) in a letter Williams/JCA, 10 September 1925 (Original in possession (1984) of Mrs K. Andersen, Auckland, loosely enclosed in her copy of Andersen's Myths & Legends).

211. JCA/Williams, 6 April 1937 (WTu: PS Further Papers 80-115, Box 6, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society 1937 vol. 1). Halcombe's objection to Hogbin's paper in 1931 was expressed in a letter to M. Crompton Smith, 9 June 1931; JCA/Halcombe 30 July 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 5, Bundle labelled 1931).
212. JCA/Ernest Beaglehole, 19 April 1937 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society 1937 vol. 1).
213. Buck/JCA, 4 May 1937 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Correspondence 1937 vol. 1).
214. Buck/JCA, 4 May 1937 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Correspondence 1937 vol. 1).
215. A. Carroll, 'Easter Island Inscriptions, and the Translation and Interpretation of them', JPS, vol. 1 (1892), pp. 103-06, 233-53.
216. Buck/JCA, 18 March 1937 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers Box 6, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society 1937 vol. 1).
217. Emory/JCA, 13 May 1937 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society 1937 vol. 1).
218. JCA/Emory, 11 May 1937 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society correspondence 1937 vol. 1).
219. Ms draft for JCA/Williams, 1 May 1937 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society correspondence 1937 vol. 1).
220. Quoted by Krauss, Keneti, p. 282.

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221. Ms draft for JCA/Williams, 31 May 1937 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society correspondence 1937 vol. 1).
222. JCA/Emory, 14 January 1938 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6, Bundle labelled Correspondence 1938). See also Emory/JCA, 6 March 1939 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 9, Bundle labelled Polynesian Journal Editorial Correspondence 1939). For Emory's article, see Emory, 'The Tahitian Account of Creation By Mare', JPS, vol. 47 (1938), pp. 45-63.
223. Emory, 'The Tuamotuan Creation Charts by Paiore', JPS, vol. 48 (1939), p. 26.
224. E. S. Craighill Handy, 'Perspectives in Polynesian Religion', JPS, vol. 49 (1940), p. 326 and note 4.
225. Ibid., editorial note on p. 326; see also Polynesian Anthropological Studies, [ed. J. C. Andersen] (New Plymouth, 1941), p. 138.
226. Andersen, 'Maori Religion', JPS, vol. 49 (1940), pp. 513-55; Andersen, 'Maori Religion', Polynesian Anthropological Studies, pp. 219-61. See PLATE XXXIII, below.
227. Andersen, 'Maori Religion', JPS, vol. 49 (1940), pp. 548, 550.
228. Percy Smith, Introduction to the Lore of the Whare-wānanga (New Plymouth, 1913), quoted by Andersen, ibid., p. 555 note 33. There was another very recent publication which raised quite directly questions about the provenance and reliability of Polynesian traditions, an article which Andersen must have read as editor: Katharine Luomala, 'Documentary Research in Polynesian Mythology', JPS, vol. 49 (1940), pp. 175-98. But the questions went back even further than Percy Smith and the publication of the Lore: Fornander had worried about Christian influences in the material he collected, and Andersen, who made considerable use of Fornander's work, was doubtless aware of these issues: see Abraham Fornander, An Account of The Polynesian Race Its Origin and Migrations and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I (three volumes, London, 1878-85), vol. 1, note 1 on pp. 99-100.
229. E. S. Craighill Handy, 'The Hawaiian Cult of Io', JPS, vol. 50 (1941), pp. 134-59; Kenneth P. Emory, 'The Hawaiian God 'Io', JPS, vol. 51 (1942), pp. 200-07.
230. Buck, The Coming of the Maori, p. 526.

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231. Ibid., p. 532.
232. Ibid., p. 535.
233. J. Prytz Johansen, Studies in Maori Rites and Myths (Copenhagen, 1958), pp. 36-43, 190-193.
234. H. D. Skinner/W.R.B. Oliver, 16 November 1939 (WMu: National Museum archives, Box 49, folder ii). (I am grateful to Juliet Hobbs and to Dr Ross Galbreath for drawing my attention to this letter.)
235. Buck/JCA, 15 October 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).
236. H. D. Skinner/W.R.B. Oliver, 16 November 1939 (WMu: National Museum archives, Box 49, folder ii).
237. See, for example, Ernest Beaglehole/JCA, 3 June 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec. only) and 1944): 'Congratulations on the Hector Medal - by no one is it more richly deserved. I am very glad that the Royal Society has honoured you and the cause of Maori ethnology by the award' (emphasis added). The Committee for the Hector Medal comprised Peter Buck, H. D. Skinner, and W.R.B. Oliver. In view of Skinner's relationship with Andersen, and the latter's arguments with Oliver, which included disputes over whether certain books and coins should be in the collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library or the Dominion Museum, it is at least a little surprising that the award was made to Andersen, and that it was unanimous. See Trans, vol. 74 (1944-45), p. vii. 'At a meeting of the Wellington Branch [of the Royal Society of New Zealand], held on the 23rd August [1944], the Hector Medal and Prize were awarded to Mr Johannes C. Andersen by Dr [H. H.] Allen, President of the Society.' Trans, vol. 75 (1945-46), p. iv. Previous awards in ethnology had gone to Elsdon Best (1914), Percy Smith (1920), H. D. Skinner (1926), Peter Buck (1932), and Herbert Williams (1938) - the selection of the latter had been made de facto before the convenor of the Committee, H. D. Skinner, had heard of Williams's death.

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1. H. D. Skinner/W.R.B. Oliver, 16 November 1939 (WMu: National Museum archives, Box 49, folder ii).
2. Halcombe/[? secretary], 29 July 1945; C.R.H. Taylor/Halcombe, 10 August 1945 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers 80-115, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Sundry correspondence & accounts 1930-1942). See Andersen, 'Editor's Preface', in Elsdon Best, Forest Lore of the Maori (first published 1942; Wellington, 1977), pp. vii-ix. Halcombe's complaint was unjustified. Though Andersen was tempted to make changes, in fact in deference to Best's stated views he left the text virtually unchanged from the manuscript Best had prepared. 'A word should be said', writes Andersen, 'as regards the many names of birds, plants, and what not that occur so freely in the text; considering the many districts they come from, no particular uniformity is to be expected. Elsdon Best recorded the names as he found them, checking them constantly, but without rejection though they might differ from the names of some other or in most districts. He uses patate, when one is more accustomed to patete; manono for konono; poporo for poroporo; the unusual rearea and kopara for korimako; tataato and tataihore for upokotea; karangu as well as karamu. He himself refers to the "confusion of names when one collects data from different tribes." He does not attempt to suggest any name for general adoption, and one cannot go to his book for such general names; but as a treasury of customs, particularly those relating to fowling and hunting, it is a fascinating volume'. *Ibid.*, p. viii. This is very judicious on Andersen's part. He was clearly concerned that readers using Best's book as a work of reference (Best being the expert) would be confused or cause confusion in others by perpetrating the multiplicity of names which Best had offered; and an editorial caution was therefore in order. But he correctly, fortunately, and valuably left untouched the full lexicon which Best had collected. For Best's original manuscript and Andersen's minimal editing, see WTu: MS Papers 72, folders 56, 57, 58.
 But Halcombe may have resented other remarks by Andersen in his preface. 'I have left', the editor wrote, 'one or two slighting remarks which I was loth to leave - as when [Best] speaks, for instance, of "puerile folk-tales," or "puerile fancies" of the Maori. The word "puerile" has acquired a more derogatory or depreciatory meaning than the one with which it started; after all, it only means "boyish", and the man is no poorer for being the son of the boy; and if the Maori had his boyish fancies, he also had man-like philosophy, his lofty poetry, and Elsdon Best well knew and always acknowledged.' Andersen, 'Editor's Preface', in Best, Forest Lore, p. viii. Andersen was clearly uncomfortable, in 1942, with Best's attitude - not only paternalistic but patronising; and, feeling obligated not to change Best's manuscript, decided that an apology or defence was needed.
3. A. P. Godber/JCA, undated, ms note by Andersen letter received 1 September 1942; JCA/Godber, 1 September 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 5). Andersen, Maori Place-names (Wellington, 1942).
4. A. D. Mead/JCA, 24 October 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 6).
5. Andersen was appointed to the Honorary Geographic Board of New Zealand at its

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- inauguration in 1924, and its statutory successor, the New Zealand Geographic Board, in 1946. He was appointed to the Board of Maori Ethnological Research in 1932, filling the place left vacant by the death of Elsdon Best. This Board and the Maori Purposes Fund Control Board were dissolved by the Maori Purposes Fund Act of 1934-5, which established the new Maori Purposes Fund Board, to which Andersen was appointed. See WArc: MA 51, Box 17, 153; New Zealand Gazette, 1932, p. 2513; New Zealand Gazette, 1935, p. 1345; JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 8 December 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 7). As well being a member of the Council of the Polynesian Society from 1925 to 1946, Andersen was for considerable periods president of the Ex Libris Society of New Zealand and president of the Numismatic Society of New Zealand, and a member of the Management Committee of the Dominion Museum (Chairman of that Committee in 1944-46).
6. See PLATES XXXIV and XXXV, below.
 7. M. S. Nestor, 'Johannes C. Andersen, M.B.E., F.R.S.N.Z.', Public Service Journal (November 1935), p. 609.
 8. A. W. Reed, Books Are My Business: The Life of a Publisher (Reading, 1966), pp. 55-56.
 9. Ibid., p. 56.
 10. J. Ilott/JCA, 10 September 1925; JCA/Ilott, 18 September 1925, enclosing ms slip with 'Kia tau te koa me te rangimarie ki a koutou katoa' and 'Me nga mihi o te kirimete' in Best's handwriting (NLR: Box 5213, folder 181 Il-If).
 11. See for example Jack Ilott, Creating Customers: The Story of Ilott Advertising, New Zealand, 1892-1982 (Auckland, 1985), p. 74.
 12. P. Moncrieff/JCA, 26 December 1926; JCA/Moncrieff, 21 January 1927 (NLR: Box 5214, folder 181 Mo-Mut). Pérrine Moncrieff, author of New Zealand Birds and How To Identify Them (Christchurch, 1925), had much contact with Andersen over ornithological matters.
 13. Cora Wilding/JCA, 18 December 1931; JCA/Wilding, 22 December 1931 (NLR: Box 5212, folder 181 Wick-Williams).
 14. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 22 October 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 7).

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15. Lawrence Rogers/JCA, 6 January 1931 [=1932]; JCA/Rogers, 20 January 1932 (NLR: Box 5215, folder 181 Ro-Ry).
16. I. M. Gillespie/JCA, 22 June 1932 (NLR: Box 5209).
17. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 20 September 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 7).
18. Vera Inkersell/JCA, 21 September 1931; JCA/Inkersell (WTu: NLR Box 5214, folder 181 In-Is).
19. Robert Hair/JCA, 4 August 1943 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 6).
20. A. C. Lambourne/JCA, 11 November 1941; JCA/Lambourne, 22 November 1941 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 5).
21. Harold Perkins/JCA, 23 May 1941; JCA/Perkins, 4 June 1941 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 5). Andersen was still living in Wellington, and had visited Auckland for the lecture, but the Post Office was not too mystified and instructed the postal branch to 'ask Geo Graham' - George Graham, of Te Akarawa Maori Association, being well-known locally as another authority on Maori culture'. The lecture was reported in the Auckland Star, 8 May 1941 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 31). See PLATE XXXVI, below.
22. A. E. Currie/JCA, 7 October 1942; JCA/Currie, 8 October 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 6).
23. Ian F. Mackay/JCA, 14 July 1943; JCA/Mackay, 20 July 1943 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 6).
24. W. H. Ross/JCA, 14 January 1942 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 5); Ross/JCA 26 May 1943; JCA/Ross 22 June 1943 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 6).
25. Sometimes no doubt the 'request' came after prodding and prompting by Andersen. 'Mr Gillespie is getting together a book of N.Z. short stories - for some Home firm. He hadn't a good Maori one - & I happened to tell him one. "Is that written down?" he asked. "No." So he said he would use it if I wrote it: I wrote it & it goes in, unless he changes his mind'. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 4 July 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4). The story was published: Andersen, 'The Message of the Flute', in New Zealand Short Stories, ed. O. N. Gillespie (London, 1930), pp. 30-37.

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26. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 20 September 1929; JCA/Kinsey, 10 October 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4); Andersen, 'Maori Literature', Art in New Zealand, vol. 1 (1928-29), pp. 87-89; Andersen, 'Maori Musical Instruments', Art in New Zealand, vol. 2 ((1929-30), pp. 91-101.
27. R. A. McKay/JCA, 20 August 1939 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 40).
28. R. A. McKay/JCA, 12 November 1939 (WTu: MS Paper 148, folder 40).
29. Mary Graham/JCA, 29 August 1939; E. Hunt/JCA, 16 October 1939 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 59).
30. The article, 'Maori Beliefs', appeared in The Theosophist, New Zealand Centennial Issue, vol. 61, no. 4 (January 1940), pp. 335-41. See also Theosophy in New Zealand, vol. 4, no. 1 (January-March 1943), p. 21, which refers to a lecture by Andersen on Maori, at the Annual Convention of Theosophists held at Wellington in December 1942; H.G.R. Mason, a cabinet minister, was in the chair.
31. Ken Sato/JCA, 10 July 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 26). There is no record that Andersen wrote this article.
32. JCA/Enid Saunders, 26 September 1932 (NLR: Box 5211).
33. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 13 October 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 7). Enid B. V. Saunders, Flower Legends of Maoriland (Wellington, 1931); Saunders, Bird Legends of Maoriland (Wellington, 1932).
34. A prospectus was issued: [J. C. Andersen], To Be Published Early. Kapiti: Once a Maori Stronghold, then a Whaling Station now a Bird Sanctuary. Its Maori History, its European History, and its Natural History (Wellington, [c. 1929]). The 'natural history' portion appeared as A. S. and Amy Wilkinson, Kapiti Bird Sanctuary: A Natural History of the Island (Masterton, 1952). Andersen's portion of the original manuscript, on 'Maori History' and 'European History', was still in his hands as late as 1957 but does not seem to be in a public repository and may now be in private possession: see Nora Stidolph/JCA, 7 October 1957 and 4 November 1957 (letters in possession (1992) of P. J. Gibbons).
35. JCA/Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 27 September 1928 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 50).

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36. Undated draft memo by Andersen, written second half of February 1936 ('As I completed my 49th year of service with the Government on the 14th of this month') (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 26).
37. Some indication of the range of organisations and subjects is given by the correspondence in WTu: MS Papers 148, folders 26, 57, and 58 but there are letters about talks and lectures in many other folders of the main sequence of Andersen papers, as well as casual references to talks and lectures in correspondence substantially on other matters.
38. Mimeographed programme, Wellington Centre Local Bodies Officers' Guild Concert, Lecture, Dance, 16 September 1935; H. L. Godber/JCA, 1 Octobr 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 26).
39. Notice of 'Old Timers' Night at the Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen. And Mr Johannes Andersen speaking on "Maori Place Names". (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 40).
40. R. Forbes/JCA, 28 June 1932; JCA/Forbes, 11 July 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 52).
41. For example, ms note by Andersen 'Replied No by phone' on letter Lorna Hodder/JCA, 31 March 1938, asking for talk to Bible class leaders and girls (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 58).
42. See, for example, JCA/John Craft, 6 November 1937 ('I am sorry to have to say that I am too far away over here [at Point Howard, Eastbourne, Wellington] for it to be convenient for me to come in such a distance Besides, I gave a talk once before to Toc H, and was assured of having a good numerous audience, instead of which no more than 16 or 20 turned up. I am sorry to have to say no'. (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 57); JCA/Miriam Cox, 3 June 1938 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 58).
43. JCA/Erica Hoby, 28 September 1933; JCA/Miss Holland, 28 September 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 52); JCA/Kathleen F. Rixon, 22 September 1933; JCA/E. Glanville, 22 September 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 26).
44. A. G. Walker(Mrs C. W. Walker)/JCA, 3 April 1933; JCA/Walker, 9 May 1933; see also, for example, M. Jolly/JCA, 4 March 1933; JCA/Jolly, 13 March 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 26).
45. JCA/H. J. Leete, 8 June 1938 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 58).

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46. Carbon copy of typescript, c.1940, 'More Birds of New Zealand - Mr Johannes C. Andersen' (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 60).
47. JCA/Gladys Hopkins, 13 July 1928 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 45).
48. Andersen, 'The Tui', N.Z. School Journal, vol. 14, Part III, no. 9 (October 1920), pp. 262-63, 270 (Nature Notes in School Journal [Binder's title], bound volume in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).
49. Andersen, 'The Bell-bird', N.Z. School Journal, vol. 15, Part III, no. 2 (March 1921), pp. 41-42 (Nature Notes in School Journal [Binder's title], bound volume in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).
50. Andersen, 'The Cicada', N.Z. School Journal, vol. 15, Part III, no. 1 (February 1921), pp. 19, 23-24 (Nature Notes in School Journal [Binder's title], bound volume in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland). See PLATE XXXVII, below.
51. Andersen, 'New Zealand Birds, Bush and Insects', Educational Broadcasts to Schools, 1940, 2YA, Wellington, 4YA, Dunedin, New Zealand National Broadcasting Service (Wellington, c. 1940), pp. 31-32, 36, 37. See also: Andersen, 'New Zealand Birds - Their Songs and Habits', Educational Broadcasts to Schools, June-December 1938, 2YA, Wellington, 4YA, Dunedin, New Zealand National Broadcasting Service (Wellington, 1938), pp. 65-68. (I am grateful to Mrs A. Paul, Manurewa, for drawing my attention to these articles.) These brochures received wide distribution: an official organising such matters reported in January 1939 that 'well over' 600 schools were now making use of the broadcasts, and of 42,000 booklets or brochures printed for 1939, 38,000 had already been ordered. E. Le Petit/JCA, 20 January 1939 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 59). Another estimate, later that year, was that at 31 March 1939, 1101 schools with 68,394 pupils were 'participating' in the broadcasts: undated paper entitled 'Educational Broadcasts to Schools' (WArc: BC 2/5/1 Part 2).
52. See Ian Milner, Milner of Waitaki: Portrait of the Man (Dunedin, 1983).
53. Frank Milner/JCA, 14 March 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 52).
54. JCA/Milner, 16 March 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 52).
55. K. C. McDonald, History of Waitaki Boys' High School, 1883-1933 (Christchurch, 1932), p. 341. There is a general discussion of notable postwar visitors to the school in *ibid.*, pp. 313-16, 339-42.

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56. Gwen Goodwin/P. J. Gibbons, 30 November 1983. (The pupil was Sheldon Cradock: my attempts to contact him directly were unsuccessful.)
57. F. Milner/JCA, 1 October 1927 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 2, Nelson, 1928).
58. Milner/JCA, 13 October 1927 (Wu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 2, Nelson, 1928).
59. Andersen's 'social' interests are indicated, with names and descriptions of some of the young female teachers, in ms reminiscences on the Nelson school, 'Much to remember regarding the teachers' summer school just held at Nelson' (WTu: MS P AND, J. C. Andersen, 'Summer School Nelson Jan 1928' [ms cover title]).
60. Andersen's speaking style is evident in a short piece on bird calls which he recorded on 'disc' in 1935, and which is now available on tape through the Sound Archives of Radio New Zealand: see Sounds Historical (Timaru, 1982), vol. 1., entry for 'Andersen, Johannes', in alphabetical sequence, item D434. For Andersen's reaction to hearing his own voice, see JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 21 November 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 10). Isobel Andrews, a writer of plays and stories, and an occasional broadcaster, wrote to Andersen in 1941 that when confined to bed through illness for some weeks, she had listened to the wireless more than usual and had enjoyed one of his talks. 'So many of the people who talk in the education session talk down to the children & at the same time use adult language that they annoy me very much. You have it seems to me a much better approach wrapping up your facts in language & style at one [? once] understandable & interesting'. Andrews/JCA, 27 November 1941 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 61).
61. Milner/JCA, 2 February 1928 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 1, Oamaru, 1929).
62. Taranaki Herald, 18 January 1935 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 4, New Plymouth, 1935).
63. 'With regard to the lecturing programme, I know the teachers want eight lectures on the Maori as a Polynesian, one of which could be the string games of the Maori. You will be asked to give at least two general lectures to the school and two popular lectures in the evening. I think that two of these at least should be devoted to the song birds of New Zealand'. Milner/JCA, 11 October 1928 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 1, Oamaru, 1929).
64. Oamaru Mail, 18 January 1929 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 1, Oamaru, 1929).

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65. Oamaru Mail, 18 January 1929 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 1, Oamaru, 1929).
66. Oamaru Mail, 18 January 1929 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 1, Oamaru, 1929).
67. Oamaru Mail, 18 January 1929 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 1, Oamaru, 1929).
68. Some Maori were not altogether pleased by the procedure or the choice: see Ngata/Buck, 6 May 1928; Ngata/Buck, 24 August 1928, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 1, pp. 87-88; 127-28. Andersen does not seem to have understood or appreciated this perspective.
69. Andersen, Myths & Legends of the Polynesians (London, 1928), pp. 395-96.
70. This was a reference to the Bernice P. Bishop Museum bulletins, J. F. Stimson, Tuamotuan Religion (Honolulu, 1933), and Stimson, The Cult of Kiho Tumu (Honolulu, 1933), which Andersen had given to Herbert Williams to review for the JPS: see JPS, vol. 44 (1935), pp. 184-85. This matter is discussed in detail in the previous chapter.
71. Taranaki Herald, 14 January 1935 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 4, New Plymouth, 1935).
72. Taranaki Herald, 15 January 1935; Taranaki Daily News, 16 January 1935 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 4, New Plymouth, 1935).
73. Taranaki Herald, 16 January 1935 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 4, New Plymouth, 1935). S. P. Smith, Hawaiki: the Original Home of the Maori (first published 1898; fourth edition, Wellington, 1921); Abraham Fornander, An Account of the Polynesian Race Its Origin and Migrations and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I (three volumes, London, 1878-85); W. Churchill, The Polynesian Wanderings (Washington, 1911); Churchill, Sissano: Movements of Migration Within and Through Melanesia (Washington, 1916); W.H.R. Rivers, The History of Melanesian Society (Cambridge, 1914); R. W. Williamson, The Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia (Cambridge, 1924).
74. Taranaki Herald, 17 January 1935; Taranaki Daily News, 18 January 1935 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 4, New Plymouth, 1935).

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75. Taranaki Herald, 21 January 1935 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 4, New Plymouth, 1935).

76. Taranaki Daily News, 23 January 1935 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 4, New Plymouth, 1935).

77. Andersen's visits to Maori communities were, as we have seen in Chapter 2 above, limited in time and geographical range. Excepting a brief visit to Parihaka on the summer school excursion in 1930, he does not seem to have visited marae in Taranaki, in Hawkes Bay-Wairarapa, in Tainui districts, in the Coromandel-Bay of Plenty region beyond Rotorua, around Auckland, or in North Auckland apart from later journeys to Waitangi. His search for players of the koauau was therefore somewhat less than exhaustive. Whether the koauau was silent for many decades is difficult to tell. In 1927, Peter Buck reported that Te Tahiu-o-pipiri, Ngati Maniapoto, who had given Buck information on the provenance and playing of a notable putorino, 'had been taught to play the koauau ... by his granduncle', though Buck does not say he played one for him. Buck, 'Historical Maori Artifacts', NZJST, vol. 9 (1927-28), p. 38. There is an intriguing comment in Ken G. Collins, Broadcasting Grave and Gay (Christchurch, 1967), p. 33, where in his description of three broadcast Maori Pageants, 1928-30, he refers to 'Noted performer on the koauau (native flute): Ope Whananere.' The latter appears in a photograph in ibid., illustrations following p. 32. Collins also reports recording a woman playing the koauau some time before the Second World War. At any rate it may be heard again now. Michelle Scullion was reported in 1985 to have been playing it since 1979, having learnt the technique from Mr Joe Malcolm, formerly of Victoria University of Wellington: see New Zealand Times, 22 September 1985, p. 7. The manufacture and playing of traditional instruments, including the koauau, has been carried out at the University of Waikato since the 1980s under the guidance of Sydney Melbourne and Richard Nunns.

78. Taranaki Herald, 23 January 1935; Taranaki Daily News, 24 January 1935 (WTu: MS 1928-35, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 4, New Plymouth, 1935).

79. Ken Rigg/JCA, undated letter [?c. 1925](WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 45).

80. See PLATE XXXVIII, below. See also the responses in WTu: MS Papers 148, folders 46, 47.

81. Pupils of Wataroa school, Canterbury, voted Andersen's talks the most popular among the school broadcasts of 1938, and the additional comment was made: 'In fact Mr Andersen had a very large following among [sic] the adult members of the community.' Mimeographed sheets, 'School Broadcasts (2YA and 4YA) - 1938. Comments on Mr Andersen's Talks' (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 59). Correspondence indicates that this was the situation in many districts.

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82. K. Fullerton-Smith/JCA, 17 September 1931; JCA/Fullerton-Smith, 27 October 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 45).
83. P. A. Boyes/JCA, 14 October 1923; JCA/Boyes, 13 November 1923 (NLR: Box 5212, folder 181 Bo).
84. J. D. Burns/JCA, 3 March 1928 (NLR: Box 5212, folder 181 Bu).
85. JCA/C. Henderson, 9 November 1922 (NLR: Box 5213, folder 181 Has-Hj). W. P. Reeves, The Long White Cloud: Ao-Tea-Roa (London, 1898); Reeves, New Zealand (London, 1908) [an earlier book by Reeves with the same title was published in London in 1898, virtually superseded by his Long White Cloud; I have assumed Andersen meant the 1908 volume]; A. W. Shrimpton and Alan E. Mulgan, Maori and Pakeha: A History of New Zealand (Christchurch, 1922); G. W. Rusden, History of New Zealand (three volumes, London, 1883); Alfred Saunders, History of New Zealand ... (two volumes, London, 1896, 1899).
86. Jeanie Hume/JCA, undated letter c.1930 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 52).
87. J. D. MacQuarrie/JCA, 25 November 1941 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 61).
88. Reta E. Smith/JCA, 8 December 1932; JCA/Smith, 15 December 1932 (NLR: Box 5211).
89. A. P. Hamilton/JCA, 14 April 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 52).
90. See, for example, Lesley Verry, 'N.Z. Writer with the Viking Spirit. A Visit to Johannes C. Andersen, Versatile Literateur', New Zealand Magazine, vol. 25, no. 3 (May-June 1946), pp. 13-15: 'Years ago, when I was a youngster at school, our formal learning was interrupted one day and time stood still while a tall man distinguished by his unusual crop of light, wavy hair entertained us with his skilled mimicry of the songs of New Zealand birds. For days afterwards, the playground, the streets, and occasionally the classrooms echoed with our attempts to reproduce those bird calls.'
91. Interview with Mr E. D. Hatch, Laingholm, Auckland, 27 October 1985. A notable New Zealand scientist, Sir Charles Fleming, was also impressed by Andersen's lecturing methods, though he was not entirely approving: 'I remember Johannes Andersen very well - an old humbug who pretended to dabble in science but believed in the occult & used all an actor's skills to impress people with the charisma he cultivated by rolling his eyes like a Viking under the influence of fly agaric (not that I've ever seen one).' C. A. Fleming/P. J. Gibbons, 27 April 1984. Fly agaric is the mushroom Amanita muscaria which provides hallucinatory effects.

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92. Taranaki Herald, 14 January 1935 (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 4, New Plymouth 1935).
93. For museums and other exhibitions, see Annie E. Coombes, 'Ethnography and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities', in The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art, ed. Susan Hiller (London, 1991), pp. 189-214.
94. See JCA/Thomas Hocken, 25 April 1908, 28 April 1908, and 16 July 1909; JCA/J. W. Davis, 1 September 1909; JCA/J.T.M. Hayhurst, 9 April 1908 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4); Andersen, 'The Mission of the "Britomart" at Akaroa in August, 1840', Trans, vol. 52 (1920), pp. 78-89.
95. See for example Andersen, 'The Maori and Religion', in Maori and Education: Or the Education of Natives in New Zealand and its Dependencies, ed. P. M. Jackson (Wellington, 1931), pp. 118-21; Andersen, 'The Missionaries and the Maoris', in The Cambridge History of the British Empire, general eds J. H. Rose, A. P. Newton, E. A. Benians, vol. 7, part II, New Zealand, ed. J. Hight (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 55-58; Andersen, 'Maori and Missionary', in Lady Newall's New Zealand Gift Book, ed. C.A.L. Treadwell, et al. (Wellington, 1943), pp. 153-55; Andersen, 'Preface', in William Greenwood, The Upraised Hand, Or, the Spiritual Significance of the Rise of the Ringatu Faith (Wellington, 1942), pp. vii-xi.
96. 'Waiomatatini (Ngati Porou) March-April 1923', p. 26 (WTu:MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25).
97. The materials gathered together over many years were sent by Andersen to the Alexander Turnbull Library in 1957 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 70).
98. Andersen, 'The Tragedy of the "Jean Bart"', New Zealand Radio Record, 24 February 1933 (WTu: q Pam 1933, J. C. Andersen, Radio Talks). See also typescript 'The Jean Bart at Chatham Islands', p. 55 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 70).
99. Andersen, 'The Tragedy of the "Jean Bart"', New Zealand Radio Record, 24 February 1933 (WTu: q Pam 1933, J. C. Andersen, Radio Talks).
100. Andersen, 'The Sacking of Kaiapohia Pa', New Zealand Radio Record, 3 March 1933 (WTu: q Pam 1933, J. C. Andersen, Radio Talks).
101. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 29 January 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 7). In Maori Place-names, p. 451, Andersen calls the Alligator intervention of 1834 an 'unjust expedition'. For a modern account, see Don Grady, Guards of the Sea (Christchurch, 1978), pp. 60-74.

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102. JCA/E. C. Hands, 15 March 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 26); see also JCA/W. H. Skinner, 16 March 1933 (NLR: Box 5211).
103. Hands/JCA, 16 March 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 26).
104. J. A. Curran/JCA, 13 March 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 26).
105. JCA/Curran, 1 April 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 26). See also JCA/D.W.M. Burnett, 25 May 1933 (NLR: Box 5211).
106. V. M. Grieg/JCA, 7 October 1937 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 57).
107. Ada Weeber/JCA, 30 October 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 26).
108. JCA/Weeber, 4 November 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 26). Mr Henderson was, presumably, G. M. Henderson (1876-1947), who edited for publication The Antecedents and Early Life of Valentine Savage known as Taina (Wellington, 1948). His views on Maori language are reported in J. M. Barrington and T. H. Beaglehole, Maori Schools in a Changing Society: An Historical Review (Wellington, 1974), p. 205.
109. I.L.G. Sutherland, The Maori Situation (Wellington, 1935).
110. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 16 September 1933, 20 September 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8).
111. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 8 February 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 9); JCA/P. Watts Rule, 15 August 1934; Watts Rule/JCA, 8 October 1934; Watts Rule/JCA 5 December 1934 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 158C).
112. New Zealand Numismatic Society, Transactions, vol. 1 (1931-36), report of 19th meeting, 26 September 1934; Fourth Annual Report (1934-35).
113. Dominion, 7 February 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 158C).
114. New Zealand Numismatic Society, Transactions, vol. 1 (1931-36), report of 22nd meeting, 6 February 1935. Though not present at Waitangi in February 1934, Andersen had doubtless read newspaper reports of the inaugural 'festival', and perhaps T. Lindsay Buick,

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Waitangi: Ninety-four Years After (New Plymouth, 1934), which reported not only the proceedings but also (pp. 70-80, 93-101) Bledisloe's speeches.

115. JCA/Kinsey, 8 February 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 10).
116. Dominion, 7 February 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 158C).
117. See Angus Ross, 'New Zealand Governors-General in the Inter-war Years', in W. P. Morrell: A Tribute. Essays in Modern and Early Modern History Presented to William Parker Morrell, eds G. A. Wood and P. S. O'Connor (Dunedin, 1973), pp. 214-20. Some of the allegedly inspiring addresses of the Governor-General are in Bledisloe, Ideals of Nationhood, ed. T. Lindsay Buick (New Plymouth, 1935).
118. See, for example, JCA/Kinsey, 18 October 1927, 9 November 1927, 16 November 1927, 27 November 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 2), JCA/Kinsey, 1 February 1928, 6 July 1928, 24 October 1928, 25 October 1928 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 3); JCA/Kinsey, 8 October 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 6); JCA/Kinsey, 6 January 1932 [?=1933](WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8).
119. There was, technically but not actually, a gap in the 1930s. A clerk forgot to prepare the requisite notice, and the membership of J. G. Coates, Gilbert Archey, and Andersen lapsed on 12 May 1938. Andersen was reappointed, with Coates, on 4 September 1940 (WArc: MA 51, Box 18, 26/9).
120. Buck had written to Andersen: 'I am not particularly enamoured of my homeland at present. One of the greatest schemes for the advancement of the Maori people has been beclouded by charges of corruption and although the Treasury has to have audited accounts etc. I cannot help thinking that a good deal of animosity is being displayed in some quarters against the Maori people as a whole.' Andersen replied: 'I don't wonder you are not "particularly enamoured" of your homeland at present - or rather the homeland is all right; it is some of the spoilers of it (in two senses) who are wrong. I have much sympathy with certain ones whom they are trying to jam up; the cold Pakeha eye cannot see all points, and the cold Pakeha heart refuses to admit certain points. Which of them can cast the first stone?' Buck/JCA, 26 June 1934; JCA/Buck, 15 August 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 2).
121. See, for example, J. C. Andersen and G. C. Petersen, The Mair Family (Wellington, 1956), pp. 224-25, 287-88.
122. For example: 'These, Christchurch girls [who had been at the New Plymouth summer

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school, 1935], turned up one day brown, & bright, & cheerful ... & called at the library later on their way back to Christchurch'. MS note by Andersen on newspaper clipping, 'Cyclists Abroad', undated (WTu: MS 1928-35, J. C. Andersen, Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935, vol. 4, New Plymouth, 1935); see also JCA/Kinsey, 27 January 1928 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 3).

123. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 11 October 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4).
124. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 6 June 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4). A. G. Butchers, Young New Zealand: A History of the Early Contact of the Maori Race with the European, and of the Establishment of a National System of Education for both Races (Dunedin, 1929), pp. x, xii, and note on p. 7. The substantial footnoted amplifications from primary sources in the first fifty or so pages of Butchers's book may indicate Andersen's assistance also.
125. JCA/Kinsey, 26 October 1934 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8). N. E. Coad, New Zealand from Tasman to Massey (Wellington, 1934), p. 5-6 ('My special thanks are due to ... Mr J. C. Andersen, for permitting me to use [his] then unpublished manuscript, which had been written for the Cambridge University Press'). The manuscript appeared, after editing, as Andersen, 'The Missionaries and the Maoris', in The Cambridge History of the British Empire, general editors J. H. Rose, A. P. Newton, E. A. Benians, vol. 7, Part II, New Zealand, ed. J. Hight (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 45-58.
126. Andersen, Review of The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, ed. J. R. Elder (Dunedin, 1932), JPS, vol. 41 (1932), pp. 220-26; A. H. Reed to Editor, and editorial response, ibid., pp. 320-21.
127. Early Maoriland Adventures of J. W. Stack, ed. A. H. Reed (Wellington, 1935), pp. 90-92.
128. JCA/A. H. Reed, 17 September 1934; amplifications and further points were provided in JCA/Reed, 7 November 1934 (NLR: Box 5210).
129. Early Maoriland Adventures of J. W. Stack, p. 12.
130. Ibid., notes on pp. 31, 134, 224.
131. More Maoriland Adventures of J. W. Stack, ed. A. H. Reed (Wellington, 1936), notes on pp. 179-80, 198. See PLATE XXXIX, below.

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132. For bibliographical details see New Zealand National Bibliography to the Year 1960, ed. A. G. Bagnall (five volumes, Wellington, 1969-85), vol. 1, items 1684-1686, 3475-3476. See also F. W. Reed, 'Introduction', in Alexandre Dumas, Captain Marion, trans. F. W. Reed (Christchurch, 1949), pp. 7-15.
133. JCA/Kinsey, 17 January 1933 [?=1934] (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 9).
134. Andersen, 'Introduction', in Felix Maynard and Alexandre Dumas, The Whalers, ed. and trans. F. W. Reed (London, 1937), pp. 9-15; 'Notes', pp. 395-414; also notes on pp. 57, 89, 94, 141, 144, 154, 170-75, 190-92, 194, 196, 199, 202, 216, 223, 235-36, 241-42, 248, 257, 261, 264, 309-10, 319, 326, 338-39, 346, 349-50, 357, 361-62, 371, 378-79, 388, 390. See PLATE XL, below.
135. See, for example, ibid., notes XX and XXI, p. 401, note XXXIV, pp. 405-07, note XL, p. 408.
136. F. W. Reed/JCA, 8 April 1937 (AR: Andersen Papers, letters to Andersen, c. 1905-46, typescript version).
137. For example, Maynard and Dumas, The Whalers, notes XVII, pp. 399-400, XLVII, p. 411, and note 1 on p. 173.
138. W. J. Neill/JCA, 28 May 1923 (NLR: Box 5214, folder 181 La).
139. JCA/Neill, 30 May 1923 (NLR: Box 5214, folder 181 La).
140. Neill/JCA, 2 June 1923 (NLR: Box 5214, folder 181 La).
141. JCA/Neill, 22 June 1923 (NLR: Box 5214, folder 181 La). In this letter, Andersen refers to previous correspondence and 'our conversation this morning', which is the only reference I have found that Neill and Andersen discussed (presumably) the notion of a 'sub-committee' in 1923.
142. Andersen, Place-names in New Zealand: Rules of Nomenclature and List of Names Approved, or Changed, or Expunged (Wellington, 1934), p. 3.
143. Evening Post, 11 May 1939 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 3).

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144. Evening Post, 15 May 1939 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 3).

145. He later smuggled this experience into one of his books. 'The cloud [hailed by Hine-te-aparangi, wife of the legendary Kupe, hence, in one account, the derivation of Aotearoa] still hangs over the land. When I was returning to New Zealand from Panama in November 1936, I made [an] enquiry on approaching the coast as to when the land would first be visible. On being told, I was up before daylight, - a raw cold morning following some rough weather - and made my way to the bows. The ship seemed deserted; no one was visible. I stood in the bows, watching straight ahead; but as day dawned I was disappointed; I saw no cloud. Then I remembered; I was not on the Maori route: the Fleet made the land at Whangaparaoa near East cape, when the Coromandel peninsula would be the higher land over which the cloud would rest; I was approaching to the north of the Great Barrier. I turned my eyes to the south-west, and there was the cloud resting over the range of Moehau, and I saw the gradual loom of the Coromandel hills below the cloud as the land was approached. But it was a bleak morning, and the cloud was not white. However, I was pleased, and hailed the cloud as did Hine-te-aparangi over a thousand years before: "He ao! he ao!" - and returned to my warm bunk for warm sleep.' Andersen, Maori Place-names, p. 152, note.

146. Evening Post, 20 May 1939 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 3). To this clipping Andersen had added a ms note: 'Pakeha. I spelt it with a cap throughout & it was altered throughout!'

147. Evening Post, 31 July 1939 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 3). See PLATE XLI, below.

148. Auckland Star, 8 May 1941 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 31). Subsequent correspondence with Ernest Currie indicates the basic reliability if not the comprehensiveness of the newspaper report on Andersen's talk. Currie wrote that he had been reading Andersen's 'utterance' in the Evening Post - evidently the item had been reprinted in the Wellington newspaper. Perhaps there was a swing back to Maori names, but there was also a swing away from them, said Currie, who did not share all of Andersen's enthusiasm for matters Maori. 'I trust you have been misreported.' 'I cannot say that the papers misreported me', replied Andersen, 'but they did not fully report me'. A. E. Currie/JCA, 14 May 1941; JCA/Currie, 16 June 1941 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 5).

149. Andersen's general point about asking the 'story' of the place name is, nevertheless, valid: it is the approach followed in He Korero Pūrākau Mo Ngā Taunahanahatanga a Ngā Tūpuna: Place Names of the Ancestors - A Maori Oral History Atlas, ed. Te Aue Davis (Wellington, 1990). See also Ngā Tohu Pūmahara: The Survey Pegs of the Past - Understanding Maori Place Names, eds Te Aue Davis, Tipene O'Regan, and John Wilson (Wellington, 1990).

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150. Auckland Star, 8 May 1941 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 31).
151. Auckland Star, 8 May 1941 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 31).
152. Andersen, 'Some Danish Bookplates', in New Zealand Ex Libris Society: Brochure No. 6 (Wellington, 1951), pp. 24-25.
153. Pat Lawlor, 'A Brief History', in New Zealand Ex Libris Society: Brochure No. 6, p. 17. Lawlor had used the same phrases, except for adding 'purely' to 'Maori interest', in 'Shibli Bagarag' [pseud. for Lawlor], New Zealand Book-Plates: Illustrated History & Bibliography (Wellington, 1948), p. 2.
154. Andersen, 'Book-plates with Reference to Examples in Alexander Turnbull Library', in Brochure (No. 1) of the New Zealand Ex Libris Society, ed. P. A. Lawlor (Wellington, 1930), pp. 10, 15.
155. Andersen, 'Introduction', in The New Zealand Ex Libris Society: Catalogue of Annual Exhibition of Book-plates June, 1931 (Wellington, 1931), pp. 10-11; 'Bookplates: Collection Loaned by Johannes C. Andersen, Esq. N.Z. Bookplates', in ibid., pp. 13-14.
156. Andersen, 'New Zealand Book-plate Artists and their Work', in The New Zealand Ex Libris Society [Brochure No. 2], ed. J. C. Andersen (Wellington, 1933), pp. 13, 19, 21, 25; plates with Maori motifs in ibid., pp. 6, 8, 12, 26. See PLATE XLII, below.
157. Andersen, 'List of Plates Reproduced', in New Zealand Ex Libris Society: Brochure No. 4 (Wellington, 1937), pp. 18, 22, 26, 30, 32, with plates on facing pages. See PLATES XLIII, XLIV, XLV, below.
158. There is a listing of members in most issues of the Brochures. The peak membership in the 1930s seems to have been the 76 reported at the annual meeting of the Society in 1933. Unidentified newspaper, 15 May 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 450, folder 7).
159. Most of the literature on postage stamps is of more interest to philatelists than cultural and social historians. For the 1935 pictorials, see The Postage Stamps of New Zealand, eds R.J.G. Collins et al. (seven volumes, Wellington, 1938-1988), vol. 1, pp. 338-41; vol. 2, pp. 4-40, 362; Laurie Franks, All the Stamps of New Zealand (Wellington, 1977), pp. 45-48; Robin Gwynn, Collecting New Zealand Stamps (Auckland, 1988), pp. 107-08.
160. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 23 October 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 6). Andersen collected

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stamps in a fitful way, but was never an obsessive philatelist. As Librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library, he offered a home for the collections and associated literature of the Philatelic Society of New Zealand; and F. A. Betts, of Nelson, with whom Andersen was friendly, presented his 'Chalon Head' collection to the Turnbull Library. Altogether, Andersen's knowledge of New Zealand stamps, while below that of the expert specialized philatelist, was considerably in advance of that of most other people, and this was no doubt also a reason for his appointment to the judging committee. See A Century of Philately: A History of New Zealand Stamp Collecting, ed. W. N. Strachan (Wellington, 1988), pp. 29-32, 223; DM 16/2/27 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box labelled 'Board of Science & Art').

161. William Jolliffe, The History of New Zealand Stamps (with Illustrations) (Wellington, 1913).
162. JCA/Kinsey, 23 October 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 6).
163. JCA/Kinsey, 30 October 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 6).
164. See PLATE XLVI, below.
165. JCA/Kinsey, 10 March 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8).
166. JCA/Kinsey, 23 February 1934 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 9); JCA/Kinsey, 1 May 1935, 3 May 1935, 9 May 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 10).
167. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 30 October 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 6).
168. JCA/Kinsey, 23 October 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 6). Earlier in the same year that he served on the committee to choose stamp designs, Andersen had published the following: 'Te Whiti [a famous prophetic leader of the later nineteenth century] steadily refused to have his photograph taken. I was told by one who had known him well that on one occasion he asked if he could let him have a photograph to remember him by. "If a man loves his friend, he needs nothing of that kind; his picture is in his thought," said Te Whiti. "Besides," he added, "the photograph of a man may pass into all kinds of hands, and be subjected to all kinds of indignities and worse." Who will say', asked Andersen rhetorically, 'that the Maori point of view is wrong? Who will maintain that ours is right?' Andersen, 'Introduction', in Maori and Education, ed. Jackson, p. 4. There were protocols about heads in European society too. A few months before the issue of the 1935 pictorial stamps, James Berry sketched portraits of the king and queen for a stamp issue to commemorate the silver jubilee of George V. Berry's portraits did not meet with the

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- approval of the king, and as a result the design was changed. Moreover, there was anxiety over whether the queen should appear to the left or the right of the king, and the Lord Chamberlain's office was appealed to for a ruling. From one point of view this may seem like an excess of punctiliousness; from another point of view, it begs a question about crosscultural proprieties. See The Postage Stamps of New Zealand, ed. Collins et al., vol. 1, pp. 389-90.
169. New Zealand Herald, 15 March 1988, section 1, p. 8. The 'Maori wahine with her flax kit' (1½d.) and 'the whare' (2d.) were in the 1935 pictorial set; 'the kauri' (1s.) was part of the 1940 New Zealand centennial stamp issue.
 170. New Zealand Numismatic Society, Transactions, vol. 1 (1931-36), report of 11th meeting, 27 March 1933, and annual report for 1933-34.
 171. Allan, Sutherland, 'History of the N.Z. Numismatic Society', New Zealand Numismatic Society, Transactions, vol. 1(1931-36).
 172. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 7 July 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8). See also JCA/Kinsey, 23 February 1934 (WTu: MS Papers, folder 9).
 173. '[T]he designs on the coins were suggested by our [Numismatic] Society - all but the 1/-; we wanted the figure of the Maori to be erect, not crouching'. JCA/Georg Galster, 7 February 1941 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 158B). H. D. Skinner/A. H. Maciver, 10 June 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 5, Bundle labelled 1934). See PLATE XLVII, below.
 174. New Zealand Numismatic Society, Transactions, vol. 3 (1941-47), p. 131. See also *ibid.*, p. 137.
 175. For the coins and their designs, see R. P. Hargreaves, From Beads to Bank Notes (Dunedin, 1972), pp. 146-47, 155-56.
 176. Andersen knew very well the sanctions, and had already indicated this in a publication in 1931: 'To the Maori there was nothing so desecrating to tapu as food or anything connected with food The Maori was astonished that we would pay for food with coins. The coins bore the image of the Queen, whom they were told we venerated. "Yet you will give her image for food!" said they. In their eyes it was submitting her to the worst degradation.' Andersen, 'Introduction', in Maori and Education, ed. Jackson, p. 4. In his numismatic history, Allan Sutherland, one of the two members of the New Zealand Numismatic Society on the government-appointed Coinage Designs Committee, says that

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'The Hon. Sir Apirana Ngata advised the Committee on Maori subjects'. There does not seem to be any record of what that advice was, or any indication that it was particularly significant. Sutherland says that the Committee decided that as well as flora and fauna, 'Maori subjects gave much scope', and 'Hamilton's Maori Art, together with other standard works on New Zealand, were examined in order to select representative subjects'. It seems that the Committee decided on some designs and asked Ngata at some stage for his comments. The Maori figure on the one shilling piece was adapted from the existing Hector Medal awarded annually by the New Zealand Institute, and is unlikely to have been Ngata's suggestion. Ngata may well have been pleased that Maori subjects and motifs were to appear on the coins. His acquiescence may have been regarded as the proverbial nod by the Committee. In addition, Ngata was a senior member of the Government which had decided to produce the coins to meet the shortage of specie which had resulted from exchange speculation. See Allan Sutherland, Numismatic History of New Zealand: History Reflected in Money and Medals (Wellington, 1941), pp. 271-75. The book referred to by Sutherland was Augustus Hamilton, The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand (five parts, Wellington, 1896-1900). It is worth noting that when a new 20 cent coin was introduced early in 1991, 'featuring a Maori motif instead of a kiwi', newspaper reports, no doubt based on publicity information supplied by the Reserve Bank, commented that 'The carving ... belongs to the Arawa people' and Arawa had given 'their blessing' to the use of the carving on the coin. New Zealand Herald, 9 January 1991, section 1, p. 3.

The most prolific designer of stamps, coins and medals in New Zealand between the 1930s and the late 1970s was James Berry: one of his earlier projects was the design of the reverse of the Bledisloe medal. Berry, who migrated from Britain in the 1920s, adapted objects symbolic of New Zealand with considerable popular flair. Probably Andersen, along with other members of the Numismatic Society, of which Berry was a very active member, had some influence upon what Berry chose to regard as emblematically 'New Zealand'. For a discussion, listings and illustrations of Berry's voluminous work, see J. R. Tye, The Image Maker: the Art of James Berry (Auckland, 1984).

177. JCA/Kinsey, 8 February 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 10).
178. Buenos Aires Herald, 5 September 1936 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 149).
179. Newspaper clipping, undated, c. 1946, probably from either Dominion or Evening Post (Wellington) (I am grateful to Mr C.R.H. Taylor, Wellington, for allowing me to photocopy this item from his papers).
180. On one occasion he seems to have thought of himself as on a par with Elsdon Best, at least as a communicator. A friend from Christchurch brought to the Turnbull Library in 1932 a visitor from Los Angeles who wanted to know about Maori. Andersen autographed the copy of his own Myths & Legends that she had with her, and took an order for Elsdon Best's two-volume study The Maori (1924). He told her (so he wrote to Kinsey) a little about 'my brown friends, but what can you say in half an hour? - my book will say more;

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Peehi's [Best's] too. There are still plenty of Peehi's left, otherwise I should think of writing another to take its place'. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 1 July 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 7).

181. There is an interesting, though casual and not too significant example of this in 1930. Andersen expected Maori people to live up to his own notions of how they should look and behave. He was invited to the radio studio of station 2YA in Wellington for a broadcast of a Maori performance in July, and reported to Kinsey what could be seen as well as what could be heard. The 'old tohunga [was] a big pot b..d [sic] Maori in stocking-tights almost as much down-gyved as Hamlet's, reading his karakia off a board [emphasis in original] where he had them pasted, & hesitating now & again when he didn't get the word readily.' The spirals of the made-up tattooing (moko) Andersen pronounced to be 'canoe prow spirals', not tattooing spirals. Thereafter his remarks on cultural authenticity gave way to chauvinist and sexist comments. 'The elderly woman who sang Home Sweet Home was of Gargantuan proportions ... but she could sing with feeling, no doubt about that.' The men were vigorous in the haka, 'but not particularly rhythmical', save for one. The young women, always his especial interest, 'were excellent specimens of womanhood', and one he 'fancied more than the others was fair-skinned, but with the dark lustrous Maori eye'. He commented on her toes, and on her feet, and that her limbs were 'visible to well above the knee'. She and two others sang a farewell to Sir Maui Pomare, 'only fairly well done though'. After all this, he praised the Maori, as opposed to the Pakeha, view of death - stereotyping and objectifying the cultures. JCA/Kinsey, 14 July 1930 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 5). This broadcast is referred to in Collins, Broadcasting Grave and Gay, pp. 31-33: the large woman was Mangu Tahana, who appears in the photograph of the 1939 broadcast group, in *ibid.*, photograph following p. 32.

It may be added that Andersen's attitudes on Pakeha expertise were a trifle ambiguous, as can be illustrated by extracts from two articles published in the same magazine only a few months apart. In the first, discussing Elsdon Best, he wrote, '[Best] knows their language, their history, their traditions, better than they do themselves.' In the second, discussing Peter Buck, he wrote: 'To those New Zealanders who take an interest in the ethnological study of their own country, which means the study of the Maori, an encouraging fact is that they are receiving such great assistance from the Maori people themselves; in fact, it is almost becoming presumption to call it merely assistance - they will soon be taking over the work entirely. How much better, too, will they be able to perform it, since the folk to be studied is their own mother-folk!' Andersen, 'Elsdon Best, F.N.Z. Inst. Ethnologist and the Best Living Authority on the Maori', New Zealand Life with the N.Z. Forest Magazine, vol. 4, no. 3 (July 1925), p. 3; Andersen, 'An Investigation of Ancient Maori Crafts: Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Henry Buck) ...', New Zealand Life ..., vol. 4, no. 6 (October 1925), p. 5.

A sensitive and perceptive discussion of what 'the expert' may and may not 'know' about the 'natives' is to be found in Clifford Geertz, '"From the Native's Point of View": On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding' (first published in 1974), in Geertz, Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology (New York, 1983), pp. 55-70.

182. JCA/Frank Milner, 16 March 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 52). Nevertheless,

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Andersen may have believed that, apart from people such as Ngata, his knowledge was considerable. 'It is a deplorable fact', Gerald Allhusen, then in Russell, Bay of Islands, had written to Andersen in 1910, 'that the legends and all historical references are the property of only a few who have been educated well and read up books of reference on the subject. You, a pakeha, know infinitely more about the traditions of the Maori than the average Maori himself'. Allhusen/JCA, 29 January 1910 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences). It would be largely speculation, notwithstanding the quotations presented in the immediately preceding note, to suggest that Andersen held similar views.

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1. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 10 October 1930, 10 October 1930 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 5). The 'Maori Education book' is Maori and Education: Or the Education of Natives in New Zealand and the Dependencies, ed. P. M. Jackson (Wellington, 1931). Patrick Marshall, Professor of Geology, University of Otago, T. D. Adams, Professor of Classics, University of Otago, and E. Douglas Tayler, Supervisor of Musical Education, had all lectured at teachers' summer schools with Andersen.
2. JCA/Mrs Henderson, 24 October 1958 (Letter in possession (1992) of P. J. Gibbons).
3. This is carefully stated by Frank Milner: 'First of all the school is designed to be stimulative, provocative, informative. No attempt is made to elaborate classroom technique. The main object is to enrich personality by interests and social contacts, to liberalise vision and broaden humanity. Each lecturer is a focus of infectious enthusiasm in the interpretation of his province, and so generates interests which have rare potency for diffusion through our schools. Moreover, the traditions of the school include its unifying influence on the profession. Representative teachers from all branches fraternise in a social and recreational atmosphere, pool experience, discuss lectures and kindred interests, rub off provincial angularities, and by interchange of view acquire broader views of the teaching mission and a more informed national consciousness. Further, the school has never aimed at living to itself alone. Its programme of humanism irrigates the community in which it is located. On the lines of a University Extension movement popular lectures are given, and musical and dramatic entertainments are organised for the benefit of the community as well as of members of the school.' F. Milner, 'Foreword', Teachers' Summer School Nelson 1933 (n.p., [? 1932]), p. [2]. Milner's statements make clear what is indicated by other evidence, that the summer schools were social and intellectual in character, not textual.
4. In fact, as a further irony, the connection of the book with the summer school at New Plymouth became somewhat vestigial. The 'hours' informal discussion each day' on 'the present method of educating the Maori' was not ultimately 'incorporated in a book or pamphlet', as had been intended, and there was eventually 'only one paper by any of those taking a leading part in the discussion'. Andersen, 'Introduction', in Maori and Education, ed. Jackson, p. 1.
5. P. M. Jackson, 'Preface', in Maori and Education, ed. Jackson, p. xxviii. Andersen's comment to Kinsey was that those in charge of the 'pamphlet or booklet' (it was apparently a more modest project at the start than it later became) hardly knew how to do it, and it seemed it would end up falling upon Andersen himself. If this was real reluctance, it was later replaced by enthusiasm. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 2 February 1930 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 5).
6. Andersen, 'Dedication', in Maori and Education, ed. Jackson, p. vii.

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7. O.T.J. Alpers, 'The Young Maori Party', in Maori and Education, ed. Jackson, pp. 144-151.
8. O.T.J. Alpers, Cheerful Yesterdays (first published 1928; Hamilton, 1951), p. 43.
9. Andersen, 'Introduction', in Maori and Education, ed. Jackson, p. 8.
10. See Graham Butterworth, Sir Apirana Ngata (Wellington, 1968), pp. 22-26.
11. Andersen, 'Introduction', in Maori and Education, ed. Jackson, p. 9.
12. Ibid., p. 10.
13. Ibid., p. 10, note 1 (ellipsis marks in original).
14. Ibid., p. 10.
15. Ibid., p. 11.
16. See Richard A. Benton, The Flight of the Amokura: Oceanic Languages and Formal Education in the South Pacific (Wellington, 1981), pp. 8, 25, 28, 45-46, 53-54.
17. Andersen, 'Introduction', in Maori and Education, ed. Jackson, p. 12.
18. Ibid., p. 13. Nepia Pohuhu, 'Memoir Supplement', Te Wananga, vol. 1, no. 2 (December 1929), pp. 141-260; Te Wananga, vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1930), pp. 121-80 [separately paginated].
19. But, it may be asked, was Andersen ever apprised of Maori points of view on such matters? Indeed he was, particularly in the case of Nga Moteatea, as discussed in the next chapter. In addition, Ngata stated this perspective quite concisely in 1940 under circumstances which renders it certain that Andersen knew what Ngata's attitude was, and the attitude of other Maori. In January 1940, Andersen asked Ngata if he (Andersen) could show him the proofs of the chapters he had written for A History of Printing in New Zealand. 'But now comes the point', Andersen's letter continued. 'The committee wanted to know if you would write a page on what the clothing of their thoughts in the alphabet has done for the Maori. A page is not much (more of course would be welcome), but it is the asking of a

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busy man to do more that I do not like. Yet I have asked it.' No doubt Andersen did represent the wish of the Advisory Editorial Committee which was organising the volume; but the suggestion must have come from Andersen: no one else on the committee had such interests or, probably, any equivalent acquaintance with Ngata, and Andersen's own chapters (discussed later in this chapter) were the only contributions in the volume which were related to 'the clothing of ... thoughts [of Maori] in the alphabet'. Ngata duly obliged, several weeks later, saying that he hoped what he had sent would do - he was not yet quite over an attack of influenza which had been followed by kidney trouble. JCA/Ngata, 23 January 1940; Ngata/JCA 4 April 1940 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 40). Ngata's contribution was in both English and in Maori: the latter was 'not a translation of the English version but is in effect a Maori version with the same meaning'. It was printed between the second and third of Andersen's chapters, which were gathered together at the beginning of the volume. In the fourth and fifth paragraphs of the English version Ngata had written: 'So far I have said nothing about printed matter. When in due course this followed laboriously-written texts it was hailed as only one more wonder, the undoubted convenience of which was readily appreciated. But here the reader of these few comments should be introduced to a feature of early Maori society, one which persists to this day. The people preferred to hear the matter, whether written or printed, read to them. Not only did this relieve the labour of spelling out words, syllable by syllable, but it was closer than mute transference through the eye to what they had been accustomed to; it was nearer to the old-time narrative of adept raconteurs, or of poetical and priestly reciters. More than that, the genius of the race preferred education through the ear, conveyed by artists in intonation and gesticulation. The printed matter indeed achieved a limited popularity, but for every one who owned a copy of the Scriptures and Church Liturgy or Rawiri, there were in my boyhood days still fifty or more content to listen to and memorize the words which were read out of the printed books by the ministers, teachers, or lay-readers.' Ngata, 'The Maori and Printed Matter', in A History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940, ed. R. A. McKay (Wellington, 1940), pp. 48-49 (emphasis added).

20. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 19 June 1939 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 9, Bundle labelled Polynesian Journal Editorial Correspondence 1939) notes that speedier sales might mean a second edition. Of the 1000 copies printed, 643 remained unsold in 1944 (WArc: MA 5, Box 17, 26/12/17), and as recently as 31 March 1941, there had been 828 in stock. The Secretary to the Maori Purposes Fund Board from 1940 to 1945, C. W. Morrison, took a less restrictive view than his predecessor, H.R.H. Balneavis, and was at one stage contemplating a catalogue to make known the Board's publications. See WArc: MA 51, Box 20, 26/9/12. However, American servicemen during the Second World War bought up books in considerable numbers: 'We (the Polynesian Society) are having quite a run on our publications ... the Americans are making good customers'. JCA/[?] Burns, 7 August 1943 (AR: Andersen Papers, Miscellaneous letters from Andersen). See also H.A.H. Insull, 'Steep Leap in Book Values. N.Z. Authors in Demand', Auckland Weekly News, 18 September 1957, p. 22.
21. See Alice Woodhouse, 'Early Days in the Turnbull Library', Turnbull Library Record, new series, vol. 3 (1970), pp. 112-19. See also JCA/Kinsey, 29 July 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 10).

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22. Andersen, Maori String Figures (Wellington, 1927). String Figures, Andersen observed, was 'packed with detail, which all has to be mathematically exact, or the figures ... won't come true.' JCA/Kinsey, 27 July 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 2). Andersen reported in 1933: 'As regards the string figures, I know the Maori ones can be learned from the book, for several children have learned quite a number, an[d] I know of two young men who have learned all the figures from the book with the exception of one, which I admit is very complicated and hard to describe.' JCA/W. J. Phillipps, 22 February 1933 (NLR: Box 5210). Andersen had no very high estimate of Phillipps's ability, but the latter in some senses paralleled Andersen's do-it-yourself approach through print with a 'handbook' on carving: see W. J. Phillipps, Maori Carving For Beginners (Wellington, 1949), p. [v]: 'This booklet introduces you to the study of the art of Maori Carving This is not by any means a difficult subject to master. The main requirement for success appears to be patience to master the details; then generally, the rest will be easy'. Though Phillipps mentions the 'due preparation' of the 'tohunga of old', he contrives to suggest that carving is primarily a matter of technique. Carving is, and was, subject to complex protocols, and few Maori would simply take up chisel, wood, and handbook, and begin; and any Pakeha who did so with the intention of producing traditional motifs would not be applauded by Maori.

23. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907); Andersen, Maori Fairy Tales (Christchurch, 1908).

24. Andersen, Place-names of Banks Peninsula: A Topographical History (Wellington, 1927).

25. Andersen's system of annotation in Place-names of Banks Peninsula is precise and comprehensive, if somewhat awkward and occasionally ambiguous. His sources, with their less than mnemonically efficacious abbreviations, are on pp. 31-36, and reveal diligent and wide-ranging research of parliamentary papers (including those of the Canterbury Provincial Council), electoral rolls, almanacks and guidebooks, newspapers and journals, surveyors' reports, archival sources including letterbooks, maps, and crown grants, books, and private papers. He also interviewed and corresponded with a number of people. Some of these sources provided reliable information on Maori place names, for example, Edward Shortland, The Southern Districts of New Zealand (London, 1851), and could be regarded as 'Maori sources', albeit textualised. If, however, we define 'Maori sources' more exclusively, the limits of Andersen's materials are more evident. Maori informants are listed by Andersen as follows: 'Charles Tikao, of Rapaki (on map drawn by him)' (Place-names of Banks Peninsula, p. 32); 'H. T. Tikao, in article by J. Cowan, in Christchurch Star, 7 February, 1917' (*ibid.*, p. 33); 'J. C. Tikao, Rapaki' (*ibid.*, p. 33); 'T. Parata, M. P. (Sen.) - Verbal, and in Lyttelton Times, 28 April 1902' (*ibid.*, p. 36); 'Taare Tikao, of Rapaki' (*ibid.*, p. 36); 'Tu-tu-taua, an old Native of Little River, and his son Tamaperi, from whom names and meanings were obtained verbally at Kaiapoi, through Taare Parata (afterwards M.P.)' (*ibid.*, p. 36). ('T. Parata, M.P. (Sen.)' is Tame Parata, M.P. for Southern Maori 1885-1911, and subsequently a member of the Legislative Council 1911-1917; 'Taare Parata (afterwards M.P.)' is Taare Parata, M.P. for Southern Maori 1911-1918: see New Zealand Parliamentary Record 1840-1949, ed. Guy H. Scholefield (Wellington, 1950), p. 131.) The information from H. T. Tikao is drawn from

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a printed source - Cowan's article in the Christchurch Star, and the information from Charles Tikao is via a map. Andersen does not anywhere indicate that he talked to J. C. Tikao or Taare Tikao, and if he corresponded then I have not yet found the letters. Indeed, H. T. Tikao and Taare Tikao are almost certainly one and the same person, referred to variously as Hone Taare Tikao and Teone Taare Tikao: see Arthur Couch, Rapaki Remembered: History and Reminiscence (Christchurch, 1987), pp. 56-59; James Cowan, Maori Folk Tales of the Port Hills (first published 1923; Christchurch, 1954), pp. 36-44; Introduction, Teone Taare Tikao as told to Herries Beattie, Tikao Talks: Ka Taoka Tapu O Te Ao Kohatu - Treasures From the Ancient World of the Maori (first published 1939; facsimile edition with new Introduction, Auckland, 1990), pp. [1]-[4]. Thus, it seems, only some of the information from Tame Parata (though what was 'verbal' is not distinguished from what appeared in the Lyttelton Times of 28 April 1902), and the information gathered at Kaiapoi on 25 November 1908 from Tu-tu-taua and Tamaperi, through Taare Parata, was directly obtained from Maori, and this does not amount to a great deal in aggregate. Tame Parata is given as the source for information on the following names (all page references to Andersen, Place-names of Banks Peninsula): Te Kai-watau (p. 95); Mairangi (p. 128); Tu-tu-taua and Tamaperi are given as the source for information on the following: Ikirangi Bay (p. 90); Te Kaio (p.93); Karetu (2) (p. 96); Te Karoro (p. 96); Kawatiri (p. 97); Maherua (p. 128); Makara (p. 128); O-tawhiri (p. 145); Otuhare (p. 146); Otuhia (p. 146); O-tuwhare (p. 147); Outuhia (p. 148); Pare-aihe (p. 150); Paua-Pirau (p. 151); Peraki (p. 152); Te Punga-rehu (p. 172); Te Putahi (p. 179); Tokoroa (p. 221); Wakamoa (p. 233).

26. For Stowell, see M. Chapman-Taylor, 'Obituary. The Late Henry Matthew Stowell ("Hare Hongi") (1859-1944)', JPS, vol. 53 (1944), pp. 107-10.
27. See letters H. M. Stowell/JCA, 27 July 1916, 2 August 1916, 26 August 1916, 12 September 1916, and 'Ms. of Birdsong' (AR: Andersen Papers). An example of the use of Stowell's information may be seen in Andersen, Bird-song and New Zealand Song Birds (Christchurch, 1926), pp. 138-39. See PLATE XLVIII, below.
28. H.R.H. Balneavis/Elsdon Best, 11 November 1924 (WArc: MA 51, Box 22, 26/12/2).
29. Balneavis/Best, 11 November 1924 (WArc: MA 51, Box 22, 26/12/2).
30. Best/Balneavis, 15 November 1924 (WArc: MA 51, Box 22, 26/12/2).
31. Balneavis/JCA, 1 December 1924; JCA/Balneavis, 2 December 1924 (WArc: MA 51, Box 22, 26/12/2).

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32. Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd/Balneavis, 8 November 1926; copy of resolution passing payment by Board of Maori Ethnological Research, 5 January 1927, signed by J. G. Coates and Balneavis, 12 April 1927 (WArc: MA 51, Box 22, 26/12/2). For the list of subscribers, see Andersen, Bird-song, pp. [x]-[xi]. The number of copies printed is in Supplement to Hocken's Bibliography of New Zealand Literature, ed. A. H. Johnstone (Christchurch, 1927), p. 50.

33. This was recognised explicitly by at least one reviewer of Bird-song: Sir Robert Stout declared, 'there is no book dealing with bird-life and Maori life more interesting than this new work'. Auckland Star, 1 December 1926 (AR: Andersen Papers, ms, ts, notebooks, reviews, letters re Bird-song).

34. Andersen, New Zealand Tales and Translations from the Danish (Wellington, 1927), pp. 33-38. Andersen had briefly mentioned this story in Maori Life in Ao-tea, p. 408, giving John White's Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions, (six volumes, Wellington, 1887-90) as his source. See also Edward Tregear, Fairy Tales and Folk-lore of New Zealand and the South Seas (Wellington, 1891), pp. 85-86.

35. Andersen, The Laws of Verse (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 64, 172.

36. Andersen, The Elfin Dell and Other Verses (Wellington, 1934), pp. 44-45.

37. Andersen, Maori Tales (Christchurch, 1924). Maori Tales, which like most early publications from Whitcombe and Tombs carries no date with its imprint, is usually dated 1924, which is the date given, in square brackets, in New Zealand National Bibliography, ed. A. G. Bagnall (five volumes, 1969-1985), vol. 2, p. 29, item A454. The correspondence with the Whitcombe and Tombs editor, A. W. Shrimpton, which is reported later in this chapter, is dated 1922, and a copy of Maori Tales in the possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland, has '(1922)' added to the title page in ms by J. C. Andersen himself. The Whitcombe and Tombs job number is G38950. However, in a brief ms diary kept in the early 1920s, Andersen noted in his entry for 14 May 1923 that he had received the proofs for Maori Tales from Whitcombes the previous day, 'revised them, posted them back this morning, together with a draft of the prospectus for the bird book.' (WTu: MS 1923-25 P, J. C. Andersen, Early Wellington and Christchurch, p. 10).

38. Myths & Legends of the Polynesians (London, 1928); Maori Music with Its Polynesian Background (New Plymouth, 1934); Tura and the Fairies and The Overworlds and Tu (From Maori Legendary Lore) (Wellington, 1936); Maori Place-names (Wellington, 1942); Polynesian Literature: Maori Poetry (Waiata and Tangi) (New Plymouth, 1946); The Maori Tohunga and His Spirit World (New Plymouth, 1948).

39. J. C. Andersen and G. C. Petersen, The Mair Family (Wellington, 1956). The subjects

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were, strictly, Pakeha; but the interest for Andersen lay in the close contact of the family, especially W. G. Mair and Gilbert Mair, who get the lions' share of the book, with Maori.

40. 'The Missionaries and the Maori', in The Cambridge History of the British Empire, general eds. J. H. Rose, A. P. Newton, E. A. Benians, vol. 7, Part II, New Zealand, ed. J. Hight (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 45-58; 'The Maori and Religion', in Maori and Education, ed. Jackson, pp. 107-22; 'Maori and Missionary', in Lady Newall's New Zealand Gift Book, eds C.A.L. Treadwell et al. (Wellington, 1943), pp. 147-56; 'Maori Religion', in Polynesian Anthropological Studies, ed. Andersen (New Plymouth, 1941), pp. 219-61.

41. 'Polynesian Literature', in Maori and Education, ed. Jackson, pp. 88-106.

42. 'Early Printing in New Zealand', in A History of Printing in New Zealand, ed. McKay, pp. 1-15; 'Maori Printers and Translators', in ibid., pp. 33-47; 'Maori Alphabet: A New Printed Language is Created', in ibid., pp. 57-74. (The illustrations in ibid., pp. 16-31, 50-55, 75-77, probably selected by Andersen, also belong to these articles, as do the interleaved plates, nos II (facing p. 44), III (facing p. 50), IV (following Plate III), V (facing p. 54), and VI (following Plate V).

43. For example Andersen, 'Foreword', in G. B. Stevenson, Maori and Pakeha in North Otago (Wellington, 1947), pp. [9]-[10]; Andersen, 'Foreword By Editor', in H. B. Richenda Parham, Fiji Native Plants with their Medicinal and Other Uses (Wellington, 1943), pp. v-x (most of Andersen's remarks are about Maori medical lore); Andersen, 'Preface', in William Greenwood, The Upraised Hand, or, the Spiritual Significance of the Rise of the Ringatu Faith (Wellington, 1942), pp. vii-xi.

44. Place-names in New Zealand: Rules of Nomenclature and List of Names Approved, or Changed, or Expunged (Wellington, 1934); The Lure of New Zealand Book Collecting (Christchurch, 1936).

45. For example, in 1932 he posted to 'J. M. Dent a batch of N.Z. tales - largely Maori in flavour' (Dent had published O. N. Gillespie's New Zealand Short Stories (1930)). 'They deal with some curious sides of Maori character & Maori beliefs, also with the contact & conflict between Pakeha and Maori.' JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 13 May 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 7). See also To Be Published Early. Kapiti: Once a Maori Stronghold, then a Whaling Station now a Bird Sanctuary. Its Maori History, its European History, and its Natural History (Wellington, [c. 1929]); Announcing a Volume of Poems. The Maori Helicon. By Johannes C. Andersen. Illustrated by Christopher Perkins. The Most Unusual Book in a Decade. A Novel and Interesting Presentation of Gems from Maori Myth and Tradition (Wellington, 1930).

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46. The book was produced essentially because Andersen saw the Polynesian Society as an avenue of publication when other publication prospects had closed off - his work on Kapiti, his 'Maori Helicon', and his 'Old Christchurch' had all been postponed or declined. But the genesis of Maori Music may have been Andersen's concern to fill the pages of the JPS. In June 1932, he sent a short paper to the printers with the comment that the next issue would be 'a meagre number, but that cannot be helped; there will be a fair amount of Kennedy material [D. G. Kennedy's memoir on Vaitupu], and we have not stinted up till now, so subscribers will have little cause for complaint.' He wrote to Herbert Williams in July: 'I saw Sir Apirana a few days ago and we talked over matters, and after the Journal [the 'meagre' June issue] had been posted out they rang me up to say they [the Board of Maori Ethnological Research] were voting us another £250 on condition that we issued no more lean journals like the last. It was our "gesture" of economy [this was a time of financial crisis in New Zealand], but we shall be as pleased to continue plump as heretofore provided we get the material to publish and the funds to pay for publication' (emphasis added). A few days later he told Williams, 'I am rewriting, and amplifying, my paper on Maori music [originally published in Trans]', and informed Avery and Sons in August, 'Following Mr Kennedy's paper I think we shall follow on with one Maori Music by myself, also to be a memoir like Kennedy's.' Andersen thus began Maori Music perhaps partly in response to Ngata's concern over the 'lean' issue of June 1931. JCA/Avery and Sons, 9 June 1931; JCA/Williams, 17 July 1931; JCA/Williams, 31 July 1931; JCA/Avery and Sons, 14 August 1931; see also JCA/H. D. Skinner, 28 July 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 1); JCA/Avery and Sons, 6 March 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 2).
47. The notion that the completed Maori Music would provide income does not seem to have been upheld by events. 'You will be interested to know', wrote C.R.H. Taylor to H. D. Skinner in 1941, a little disingenuously, 'that a recommendation of mine, to reduce the price of MAORI MUSIC ... was approved. About two dozen copies of 350 printed, have been sold to date. Will it sell better now? ...' (ellipsis marks in original). Taylor/Skinner, 25 October 1941 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50).
48. Andersen's Maori Music, with its extraordinarily generous selection of illustrations, the relevance of many of them to the subject matter of the books extremely slight, was printed at a time of exceptional financial difficulty for the Polynesian Society. The matter was brought to a head by a letter from the printers, Avery and Sons, to A. H. Maciver in 1934, which suggested, inter alia, that memoir instalments be discontinued as soon as practicable and that Maori Music, then printed up to p. 303, be published as a complete book, of not less than 450 pages. (In fact, the volume ran to 483 pages, plus a decorated tailpiece, two pages of advertising, and ten pages of prelims.) Avery and Sons/Maciver, 1 March 1934, 'read to Council meeting 27/3/34' (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 5, Bundle labelled 1934). The cost of Maori Music was £95 for blocks, £275 for printing. Avery and Sons/Maciver, 25 September 1935 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 5, Bundle labelled 1935). As Maciver noted, Avery's statement showed that 'the cost of the memoir material published in the Journal exceeds the maximum amount the Memoir Fund has ever reached'. Note by Maciver on undated memo. announcing special meeting of Council on 18 December 1935 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 5, Bundle labelled 1935).

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In September 1935, A. H. Maciver, then secretary of the Polynesian Society, wrote to the Secretary of the Maori Purposes Fund Board, H.R.H. Balneavis, pointing out that the Society was indebted to Avery and Sons, the printers, to the extent of £680 0s. 0d. This debt, he suggested, started to accrue when grants from the Board of Maori Ethnological Research ceased (as they had done since 1932-33). £500, Maciver said, would put the Society on its feet again. He mentioned the increased size of the Journal since 1924, but not Andersen's Maori Music. The Maori Purposes Fund Board provided £250. Maciver/Balneavis, 3 September 1935; Balneavis/Maciver, 17 October 1935 (WArc: MA 51, Box 26, 26/9/16).

49. JCA/H. D. Skinner, 15 November 1933; JCA/Avery and Sons, 20 November 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 2).
50. For Tura and the Fairies, see JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 8 November 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 9); for Maori Tohunga, see JCA/Avery and Sons, 18 October 1948 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 153A); Avery and Sons/JCA, 7 February 1947 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 41); JCA/Avery and Sons, 4 November 1948 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 43); for Polynesian Literature, see Andersen's comment 'I had to stand the risk' of publication in JCA/J. L. Ewing, 13 February 1947 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 41).
51. George G. Harrap/JCA, 14 July 1924 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
52. See, for example, JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 28 May 1930 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 5); JCA/Kinsey, 10 August 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 10).
53. A. W. Shrimpton/JCA, 25 May 1922 (Letter in copy of Andersen's Maori Tales in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).
54. See James Cowan, The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period (first published 1922-23; two volumes, Wellington, 1955, 1956), vol. 1, pp. 9, 72, 74, 79, 90, etc.
55. Nevertheless, Whitcombe and Tombs used Messenger's work again in later years. See for example Whitcombe's Historical Story Books, Legends of the Maori, Book 1 (Christchurch, n.d. [c. 1925]), pp. 2, 6, 7, 10, 19, etc. All these illustrations are signed 'A.H.M. 25'.
56. A. W. Shrimpton/JCA, 7 July 1922 (Letters in copy of Andersen's Maori Tales in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).

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57. See PLATE XLIX, below.
58. See PLATE L, below.
59. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 19 December 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4).
60. JCA/Kinsey, 19 August 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 7).
61. George G. Harrap/JCA, 14 July 1924 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
62. Harrap/JCA, 29 April 1925 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
63. JCA/Stanley L. Bartlett, 17 August 1931 (NLR: Box 5212, folder 181 Bal-Bas).
64. JCA/John Barr, 16 January 1925 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
65. R. Wallwork/JCA, undated letter, c. 1925 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
66. Harrap/JCA, 8 March 1926 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
67. JCA/Harrap, 2 February 1927; Wallwork/JCA, undated letter c. August 1926; Wallwork/JCA, undated postcard, postmarked 1 September 1926 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
68. Wallwork/JCA, undated letter c. August 1926; JCA/John Barr, 16 January 1925 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
69. See Andersen, Myths & Legends, pp. 109-13.
70. Wallwork/JCA, undated letter of 1926 with '4th Dec.' annotation by JCA (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37). See PLATE LI, below.
71. George G. Harrap/JCA, 22 March 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).

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72. Harrap/JCA, 1 September 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
73. JCA/Harrap, 2 May 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
74. JCA/Kinsey, 29 October 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 2).
75. Andersen, 'The Maori in Art', typescript p. 12; Christchurch Press, 7 March 1908; Lyttelton Times, 21 August 1909, the latter with pencil emendation by Andersen in margin of first page of copy of article ('The Maori in Art' [Binder's title], bound volume of newspaper clippings and typescript by Andersen entitled 'The Maori in Art', in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland). See PLATE LIV, below.
76. Yet he wrote approvingly to Kinsey in 1931 that Harrap had returned the original watercolours by Wallwork for Myths & Legends: 'nice work they are; I have kept three, & posted the rest to [Wallwork]. I should like him to be illustrating another book of mine.' JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 1 May 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 6).
77. Harrap/JCA, 26 July 1924 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
78. Harrap/JCA, 24 September 1924 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37). Andersen saw this painting about the time Harrap was writing, on his first visit to Auckland in August 1924, noting 'the Goldie Coming of the Maori is very effective if unauthentic'. (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen, Diary 1923-25, p. 67).
79. JCA/Harrap, 1 April 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37). The painting Andersen refers to as 'The Coming of the Maori' is probably C. Goldie and L. J. Steele's The Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand (1898): see Leonard Bell, 'Life and Death at Sea: L. J. Steele and C. F. Goldie's The Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand, 1898', in Now See Hear! Art, Language and Translation, eds Ian Wedde and Gregory Burke (Wellington, 1990), pp. 87-94 (article first published in 1975). See also, Leonard 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 (Wellington, 1980), pp. 62-117.
80. '23. Maori Man and Woman, From painting by G. Lindauer', in typescript 'List of Black and White Illustrations for Mythology of Polynesia [sic]', was apparently eliminated by Harrap, who tried to supplement the pictures of Maori with a few illustrations of subjects elsewhere in Polynesia, to increase the 'territorial scope'. Harrap/JCA, 5 July 1927; Harrap/JCA, 1 September 1927; typescript 'List of ... Illustrations ...', undated (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).

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81. Andersen, Myths & Legends, pictures by Wallwork facing p. 68 ("There sat Rukutia, restored to life"), facing p. 262 ('The Parting of the Moon-Goddess and the Mortal'). See PLATES LII and LIV, below.

82. See Bell, Maori in European Art, pp. 118-19; Gordon H. Brown, New Zealand Painting 1920-1940: Adaptation and Nationalism (Wellington, 1975), pp. 61-62. It is notable that this oil by Wallwork was reproduced in colour in A History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940, ed. R. A. McKay (Wellington, 1940), facing page 36: Andersen, on the editorial committee, seems to have had a strong influence on the pictorial materials for the book, and it is difficult not to think that he chose this picture by his friend to inspire other artists. It had been reproduced earlier as a small, sepia-toned illustration in Casca [pseud.], 'Canterbury Society of Arts Annual Exhibition', Art in New Zealand, vol. 7 (1934-35), p. 178.

83. Charles A. Wilson, Legends and Mysteries of the Maori (London, 1932).

84. Andersen, Maori Tohunga, pp. 67, 88.

85. See PLATE LV, below.

86. Andersen may have given Olive Lloyd some suggestions on the lettering. He wrote to the publishers in July 1947 that he had seen Lloyd, who said that she had sent to the publishers the tracing of the 'altered title' for their approval. JCA/Avery and Sons, 5 July 1947, on reverse of Avery and Sons/JCA, 1 July 1947 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 63).

87. The Maori Helicon [prospectus], p. 4.

88. For Perkins see Gordon H. Brown and Hamish Keith, An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839-1967 (Auckland, 1969), pp. 119-28; Gil Docking, Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting (Wellington, 1971), pp. 124-29.

89. See Jane Garrett, An Artist's Daughter: With Christopher Perkins in New Zealand 1929-34 (Auckland, 1986), 25-51, 68-78, 101-08, 119-22, 131-34.

90. Garrett, Artist's Daughter, p. 63.

91. Ibid., p. 91.

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92. Ibid., p. 102.
93. Ibid., p. 102.
94. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 11 October 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4).
95. JCA/Kinsey, 1 December 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4).
96. JCA/Kinsey, 19 December 1929 (Wtu: MS Papers 148, folder 4).
97. Garrett, Artist's Daughter, p. 102.
98. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 28 January 1930 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 5).
99. Quoted in Maori Helicon [prospectus], p. 4.
100. Ibid., p. 4.
101. Christchurch Press, 7 March 1908 ('The Maori in Art' [Binder's title], bound volume of newspaper clippings and typescript by Andersen entitled 'The Maori in Art', in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland; Wilhelm Dittmer, Te Tohunga: the Ancient Legends and Traditions of the Maoris, Orally Collected and Pictured (London, 1907).
102. See PLATE LVI, below.
103. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 15 August 1930 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 5).
104. Garrett, Artist's Daughter, p. 19.
105. JCA/Kinsey, 21 September 1930 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 5).
106. In several of his books, Andersen included at the end of the text an annotated listing of his publications, even those designated 'O.P. - Out of print'. To Polynesian Literature in the

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listing (essentially an advertisement) he added: 'cover design in black and red based on Maori rafter-pattern'; for Tura and the Fairies: 'end-papers in Maori design, in grey and red'. See for example, Maori Tohunga, pp. [136]-[37].

107. JCA/Kinsey, 27 July 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 2).
108. See PLATE LVII, below.
109. 'Did I send you a copy of my book ... Tura and the Fairies ..?', Andersen asked a friend. 'If I did, look at the end-paper there, which is my designing of a Maori theme'. JCA/P. Watts Rule, 7 December 1940 (WTu: MS Papers 2, folder 9). See PLATE LVIII, below.
110. JCA/Avery and Sons, 12 June 1945; Avery and Sons/JCA, 17 June 1946; JCA/Avery and Sons, 2 July 1946; Avery and Sons/JCA, 16 July 1946; Avery and Sons/JCA, 25 June 1946 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 41). See PLATE LIX, below.
111. JCA/A. D. Mead, 24 November 1942: 'Our Secretary, wanting something on the dust cover used the culture areas without consulting me' (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 6).
112. See for example Petersen's illustrations for Maui Pomare and James Cowan, Legends of the Maori (two volumes, Wellington, 1930, 1934).
113. JCA/Kinsey, 29 June 1934; JCA/Kinsey, 13 July 1934 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8); JCA/Avery and Sons, 7 June 1934; JCA/Trevor Lloyd, 29 June 1934; Avery and Sons/JCA, 26 June 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).
114. JCA/Kinsey, 26 October 1934 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8). See PLATE LX, below.
115. JCA/Kinsey, 8/9 March 1934 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8).
116. JCA/Kinsey, 6 April 1934 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8).
117. Andersen suggested Na wai te mutunga but Ngata told him it was not good Maori, and suggested Ma wai e whakatutuki. JCA/Downes, 6 April 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 1).

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118. See PLATE VII, below. Andersen noted in his Preface: 'There being no "s" in the Maori alphabet, possessives and plurals have been avoided', which suggests considerable self-consciousness about the orthography. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, p. x.
119. Andersen, Place-names of Banks Peninsula, pp. 8, 73, 85, 90, 222. As is indicated in chapter 2, most of Andersen's work for this book was completed before he shifted to Wellington in 1915. See for example JCA/S. P. Smith, 11 September 1908; Smith/JCA, 27 September 1908 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4).
120. Andersen, Maori Place-names, pp. 318, 366-67; Andersen, Place-names in New Zealand, pp. 10-11; Elsdon Best, The Land of Tara and They Who Settled It: The Story of the Occupation of Te Whanganui-a-Tara (the Great Harbour of Tara), Or, Port Nicholson By the Maoris (New Plymouth, 1919).
121. Williams, 'A Plea for the Scientific Study of Maori Names', Trans, vol. 45 (1913), pp. 354-64; JCA/Herbert Williams, 23 November 1914; Williams/JCA, 28 November 1914 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4).
122. His concern is indicated in a letter to J. A. Thomson in which he said he was 'horrified' that the Parliamentary Librarian, Charles Wilson, would have anything to do with the Turnbull Library. Herbert Williams/J. A. Thomson, 8 August 1918 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box labelled 'Board of Science & Art', DM 16/2/19).
123. Williams, 'Preface to Fifth Edition' (1917), in A Dictionary of the Maori Language, ed. Herbert W. Williams (seventh edition, Wellington, 1971), p. xxxi.
124. Williams, A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900 (Wellington, 1924); Williams, A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900: Supplement (Wellington, 1928).
125. See for example Andersen, 'Language and Books', N.Z. School Journal, vol. 18, Part III, nos. 2, 4, 5 (1924), pp. 52-59, 98-108, 143-51.
126. Andersen's imprecations about the difficulties of acquiring and using scientific nomenclature (though he recognised its essential utility, and had a fairly extensive repertoire of botanical and zoological terms) are scattered through many letters: the basic arguments are cogently stated in Johannes C. Andersen, 'Popular Names of New Zealand Plants', Trans, vol. 56 (1926), pp. 659-714, the discussion preceding the lists on pp. 659-676. His preferences for common names were given currency in particular through the third edition of R. M. Laing and E. W. Blackwell, Plants of New Zealand (first published 1906; Christchurch, 1927), note on p. 57, and signified examples passim. This device was

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continued in later editions of the same work. See also R. M. Laing/JCA, 3 August 1926 and 25 August 1926 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 136B). Johannes C. Andersen, 'Popular Names of New Zealand Plants. Part 2', *Trans.*, vol. 57 (1927), pp. 905-77, provided the scientific equivalents of popular names, and a bibliographical 'index' with dates for printed (and in a few cases written) examples.

127. See, for example, JCA/Ernest Beaglehole, 6 October 1937 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Correspondence 1937 vol. 2 with Index); JCA/Peter Buck, 9 September 1943 ('soon after I wrote [the article in the *Transactions*] an edition of the Oxford Dictionary came out, in which the editors said in the preface that they had tried to follow some system of hyphening, but after a vain attempt to devise a consistent scheme they gave it up I sent them my essay, and in the edition following it, a scheme had been adopted, and it was practically the same as mine')(WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943). Certainly, he did send a copy of his paper to the O.E.D., and drew attention to the hyphens. 'I cannot remember now ... whether I acknowledged your letter ... with the accompanying pamphlet on *Popular Names of New Zealand Plants*', wrote C. T. Onions. 'If not, I do so now, with my thanks & apologies. Your paper is a valuable contribution to lexicography & I venture to look forward to the second part, which you say is to be printed this year. Your talk about hyphens is particularly interesting & I shall commend it to the notice of those who should be acquainted with it.' C. T. Onions/JCA, 7 December 1926 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 136B). See also JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 17 December 1930 (WTu: MS Papers, folder 5), which says that 'editions' he refers to are those of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 1911 and 1929.

128. JCA/W. F. Alexander, 14 September 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 423, folder 1).

129. As well as what Alexander Turnbull himself had collected, the Turnbull Library holdings of Maori language materials were greatly increased by 'an anonymous gift of 364 publications in Maori' in 1929. 'The Maori collection', Andersen reported, 'is especially valuable, as the books included fill gaps in the library collection, thereby making it as near complete as any in existence.' *AJHR*, 1930, H-22, p. 12. See also JCA/Kinsey, 22 November 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4). Given the extent of the collection, the timing of the gift (just after the *Supplement* to his bibliography had been published), his previous friendship with Alexander Turnbull and his current friendship with Andersen, we might speculate that the anonymous donor was Herbert Williams.

130. JCA/Herbert Williams, 8 March 1928; Williams/JCA, 17 March 1928 (NLR: Box 5215, folder 181 Wick-Williams). The journal was published as Alexander Turnbull Library Bulletin no. 3: *Journal Kept in New Zealand in 1820 By Ensign Alexander McCrae of the 84th Regiment Together With Relevant Documents*, ed. F. R. Chapman (Wellington, 1928); 'Notes on the Maori Names', by Andersen, appears in *ibid.*, pp. 29-33. See PLATE LXI, below.

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131. He liked 'mechanical puzzles' as well, and collected several dozen. See JCA/H. D. Skinner, 5 March 1935 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1935, vol. 1).

132. See for example JCA/P. Watts Rule, 16 February 1941 (WTu: MS Papers 2, folder 9); JCA/W. W. Moore, 12 May 1939; Moore/JCA, 19 May 1939, and ms note by Andersen; JCA/Moore, 31 May 1939 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 3); Andersen, Maori Place-names, pp. 103-17.

133. See also Andersen, Lure of New Zealand Book Collecting, p. 46.

134. Ian Hogbin on one early occasion insisted on the 'long n', and his paper was therefore declined: JCA/Ian Hogbin, 13 August 1929 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1929). See also H. Ian Hogbin to Editors and reply by Editors, JPS, vol. 39 (1930), pp. 386-87, about the editorial insistence upon the spelling Ontong Java.

135. For example, editorial note to J. Frank Stimson, 'Songs of the Polynesian Voyagers', JPS, vol. 41 (1932), p. 181 footnote. Andersen's general views on 'ng' rather than 'g' and his antagonism towards diacritical marks are set out in two letters which replied, very digressively, to questions put by his old friend Ernest Currie of the Crown Law Office: A. E. Currie/JCA, 26 August 1940; JCA/Currie, 28 August 1940; JCA/Currie, 17 September 1940 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 4). See also Andersen, 'Maori Alphabet: A New Printed Language is Created', in History of Printing, ed. McKay, pp. 71-72.

136. Andersen, 'Early Printing in New Zealand', in History of Printing, ed. McKay, pp. 1-15. Andersen appended to his article a diagram of William Colenso's type case (p. 16); photographs of William Yate's four-page catechism of 1830 (pp. 17-20); a drawing of Paihia, site of Colenso's press, by Colenso (p. 21); the title page of Kawenata Hou (New Testament) printed by Colenso and a page of the text (Matiu)(pp. 22-23); a personal note by Colenso (p. 24); proclamation, ms notice, and copy of Gazette Extraordinary, all in 1840 (pp. 25-27); press proofs of a page of Colenso's Catechism of 1840 and the title-page of the Book of Daniel, 1840 (pp. 28-29); and an old photograph of Waitangi. These illustrations provided a vivid and unparalleled graphic history of early printing in New Zealand.

137. Andersen, 'Maori Printers and Translators', in History of Printing, ed. McKay, pp. 33-47. Andersen appended to this article reproductions of an issue of John Gorst's Te Pihoihoi Mokemoke (1863)(p. 50); an issue of the Kingitanga paper Te Hokioi (1863)(p. 51); and of the later Kingitanga newspaper Te Paki o Matariki (1892)(p. 53), together with portraits or photographs of Tawhiao and the two editors (Gorst and Patara Te Tuhi) of the 1860s.

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138. Ibid., p. 34. Emphasis added.
139. Andersen, 'Maori Alphabet: A New Printed Language is Created', in History of Printing, ed. McKay, pp. 57-74.
140. Ibid., p. 73. Scholars are now making considerable efforts to reconstruct the distinct dialects from early orthographic records. See the statement by Pei Te Hurinui Jones quoted in G. F. Kelly, 'Preface to Seventh edition', in A Dictionary of the Maori Language, ed. Herbert W. Williams (seventh edition, Wellington, 1971), p. vi; Ray Harlow, 'Regional Variation in Maori', New Zealand Journal of Archaeology, vol. 1 (1979), pp. 123-38.
141. Andersen, 'Maori Alphabet', in History of Printing, ed. McKay, p. 74.
142. Andersen, Lure of New Zealand Book Collecting, pp. 77-90. Best's criticisms of White are scattered through his books; Herbert Williams's major attack on White was made in his preface to the revised edition of the Dictionary, where it remained through later editions and reprints: see Williams, 'Preface to Fifth Edition' (1917), in A Dictionary of the Maori Language, ed. Herbert W. Williams (seventh edition, Wellington, 1971), pp. xxx-xxxi. Andersen's attitude to White's Ancient History of the Maori (six volumes, Wellington, 1887-1891) changed over the years: in Maori Life in Ao-tea he quoted extensively from White, and called the Ancient History his 'base-work' (p. x); under the influence of Best and Williams he became contemptuous, and the Lure gave this attitude wider currency, while at the same time Andersen emphasized the desirability of owning a set of the Ancient History from a collector's (and investor's) point of view. Furthermore, Pat Lawlor republished part of the essay which had appeared in Andersen's Lure as the first of his 'N.Z. Collectors' Monographs' series, under the Beltane Book Bureau imprint: see Andersen, White's Ancient History of the Maori (Wellington, 1947). No doubt collectors and scholars alike learned to discount White's Ancient History on the authority of Johannes Andersen, without realizing that Andersen's expertise in the Maori language was either slight or almost entirely derived from Best and Williams. J. Prytz Johansen, in The Maori and His Religion in Its Non-ritualistic Aspects (Copenhagen, 1954), was less censorious, and began the revaluation of White's work which was continued by Margaret Orbell: see Orbell, Maori Folktales (Auckland, 1968), pp. 114-116. Lately Michael P. J. Reilly has reaffirmed White's achievement while scrutinising his methods with much more detailed research than hitherto: see Reilly, 'John White', in The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, ed. W. H. Oliver (Wellington, 1990 -), vol. 1, pp. 587-89; Reilly, 'John White: the Making of a Nineteenth-Century Writer and Collector of Maori Tradition', NZJH, vol. 23 (1989), pp. 157-72.
143. JCA/Kinsey, 15 July 1929; JCA/Kinsey, 2 August 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4). R. A. McDonald, Te Hekenga: Early Days in Horowhenua, Being the Reminiscences of Mr Rod. McDonald, ed. E. O'Donnell (Palmerston North, 1929); Louis E. Ward, Early Wellington (Christchurch, 1929).

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144. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 3 February 1930 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 5); Sir Maui Pomare and James Cowan, Legends of the Maori (Wellington, 1930).
145. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 2 August 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4).
146. This interest, it should be added, predated his closest involvement with Elsdon Best and Herbert Williams, and his editorship of the JPS. For example, almost as soon as he had taken up the editorship of the Trans, in 1920, he was changing 'native' to 'Maori' in an article by Herries Beattie, and dropping the 's' from 'Maoris'. JCA/Beattie, 15 March 1920 (WTu: MS Papers 1187, folder 316).
147. JCA/Kinsey, 8 July 1930 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 5). Eventually the decision was reversed. At the Geographic Board's meeting in 1956, John Pascoe moved, and A. H. Bogle seconded, a resolution that Arthur Pass be Arthurs Pass. As well as Pascoe and Bogle, Arthur Harper and Pei Te Hurinui Jones voted in favour of the resolution, with Andersen and R. G. Dick, the surveyor-general, dissenting. This was Andersen's last Board meeting (WArc: IA 1, 41/22/2). The usage preferred by the Geographic Board (i.e. Andersen) for the 1930s and 1940s is reflected in the title and text of R. S. Odell, Handbook of the Arthur Pass National Park: Its History, Tracks, Climbing Routes, Place Names, Geology, Botany (Christchurch, 1935), and see especially p. 51. However, the first of two advertisements on preliminary leaves, an advertisement inserted by the Government Tourist and Publicity Department, unblushingly refers in very large type to 'Arthur's Pass'.
148. His argument for 'New Zealand' as a single word is set out in a short article, 'Newzealand or New/Zealand?/Mr Johannes Andersen's/Comment/Growth of Language', Dominion, 1 July 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 122).
149. For example, he wrote to Kenneth Emory: 'do you like the adding of "an" to make adjectives of proper nouns? Tuamotuan, Hawaiian, &c. We use Maori as both noun and adjective, and that keeps its Polynesian character; if I had my way I should drop all these "an"s; did you feel any strangeness when you read above "your Tuamotu paper"? I think mere grammarians have too much say in moulding the language; the literary folk should have more say.' JCA/Kenneth Emory, 28 January 1940 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 9, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence 1940).
150. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 26 June 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 4).
151. Andersen, Lure of New Zealand Book Collecting, pp. 14-15. See also AJHR, 1930, H-22, p. 12.
152. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 17 June 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 7). The copy reported to

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Andersen by Miss Harper of Wanganui, who held the books and papers of the early missionary Rev Richard Taylor, was incomplete. The only known complete copy of A Korao is in Auckland Institute and Museum Library. It is possible that Andersen's emotion on this occasion was a mixture of scholarly interest, librarian's enthusiasm, and private collector's covetousness.)

153. Here and there the macron does appear, for example, A. H. Carrington, 'Waiata, Genealogical Table, Nights of the Moon, from Marlborough', JPS, vol. 54 (1945), pp. 160, 162. Andersen added macrons to some headwords in his article 'Maori Words Incorporated Into the English Language', JPS, vol. 55 (1946), pp. 141-62. He used macrons occasionally in Polynesian Literature, turning the double vowels used in Hare Hongi's original into single vowels with macrons: see pp. 2-8, and p. 54, note for line 19. The printers made each macron into a diaeresis in the galleys, and Andersen requested macrons since the diaeresis would not do: if macrons could not be set, then the letters must be doubled, but he wished if possible to avoid double letters. JCA/Avery and Sons, 1 August 1946 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 41).
154. Williams/JCA, 10 September 1925 (Letter in copy of Andersen's Myths & Legends in possession (1984) of Mrs K. Andersen, Auckland).
155. Williams/JCA, 12 November 1925 (Letter in copy of Andersen's Myths & Legends in possession (1984) of Mrs K. Andersen, Auckland).
156. JCA/George G. Harrap, 2 February 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
157. C. C. Wood/JCA, 1 December 1927; JCA/Wood, 15 March 1928 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
158. Andersen, Myths & Legends, p. 12; see also JCA/Harrap & Co., 6 February 1928 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).
159. The exceptions, such as Kekuakalani, Kahikatea, Kakaalaneo, Ahu o Kakalaueo, also the names of some islands, for example Aitutaki, no doubt occur because these words were not hyphenated in the books Andersen was working from, or because, like Aitutaki, conventional usage eliminated hyphens.
160. Andersen, Myths & Legends, pp. 471-511.
161. See Andersen, Place-names in New Zealand, pp. 22-46. In that listing, Andersen does not

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give dates for all entries, but these may be established by reference to New Zealand Gazette, 1948, pp. 939-966, which lists all recommendations made by the Honorary Board up to the time it was transformed into a statutory board.

162. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 19 May 1933; 15 September 1933; 7 November 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8); JCA/W. F. Alexander, 14 September 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 423, folder 1); JCA/Williams, 22 June 1932; JCA/Williams, 19 October 1932 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1932, vol. 2); Williams/JCA, 26 March 1933; JCA/Williams, 1 March 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1); JCA/Williams, 3 July 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 2).
163. Andersen, Place-names in New Zealand, pp. 17-21.
164. Ibid., p. 17.
165. Ibid., p. 9.
166. Ibid., p. 9. On Pariwhero, see also Andersen, Place-names of Banks Peninsula, p. 30. See PLATE LXII, below.
167. Andersen, Place-names in New Zealand, pp. 9-11.
168. Ibid., p. 11.
169. Adkin/Secretary, Polynesian Society, 17 May 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council Matters & Correspondence 1939-50). Other references to this dispute are given in note 147 to chapter 6.
170. G. L. Adkin, Horowhenua, Its Maori Place-names & Their Topographical and Historical Background (Wellington, 1948).
171. Arthur Jose/JCA, 14 August 1925; JCA/Jose, 24 September 1925 (NLR: Box 5214, folder 181 J).
172. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea, p. x.

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173. JCA/E. C. Parnwell, 11 August 1934 (NLR: Box 5210).

174. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 15 December 1934 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8). William Satchell, The Greenstone Door (London, 1914). Of the Maori words Andersen used as examples in his letters to Parnwell (see immediately preceding note) and Kinsey, besides mana and korero, noted in the text as appearing in the Supplement, where and tohunga are in the main O.E.D., though marked 'foreign' in each case, and tapu appears in the O.E.D. under taboo.

175. JCA/A. H. Reed, 17 September 1934 (NLR: Box 5210).

176. Williams, 'The Reaction of the Maori to the Impact of Civilization', JPS, vol. 44 (1935), pp. 216-43, has 'Pakeha' printed in roman with cap, as Andersen wished, and 'raupo where' (p. 222) also in roman.

177. JCA/Williams, 10 September 1935 (WTu: Ac 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1935, vol. 2). Perhaps Andersen did make a list at this time: there is an undated ms list (filed near a letter JCA/H. J. Foss, Musical Editor, Oxford University Press, 27 February 1935), headed 'List of [~~'N.Z. w'~~ crossed out] Maori words in common use - for Oxford'. The list includes korero, where, wahine, taihoa, haka, poi, mere, patu, tiki (with hei-tiki in brackets), tohunga, tohungaism, hapu, tangi, kai; mana, tapu, utu, kainga, makutu are annotated 'w'; tangata (with the note 'kanaka is in (Ham = man)'), kia ora, and rangatira are given a question mark, and rangatira also a 'w'; potae he noted as '(sl.[ang])'; and added 'maori kit - under kit in Suppt, from M. kete noted', with a final note, 'curious in view of pack on back that pikau is to carry on the back' (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 26). 'Suppt' = Supplement to O.E.D.

178. For example, he wrote to Ernest S. Dodge, Salem, Mass., USA, in 1944: 'You are right in treating the Maori words putorino, nguru, and koauau as English words. As a matter of fact as soon as I can spare the time I am compiling a list of Maori words which have been adopted and are used commonly as English words, and for many of which, indeed, there is no English equivalent. The Oxford Dictionary people are willing to consider such a list with a view to the inclusion of the words in a supplement or revised edition of the Dictionary.' JCA/Dodge, 14 June 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944).

179. Andersen, 'Maori Words Incorporated into the English Language', JPS, vol. 55 (1946), p. 141.

180. Ibid., p. 141.

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181. Ibid., pp. 141-43.
182. Ibid., pp. 143-48.
183. Ibid., pp. 148-50.
184. J. L. Campbell, Poenamo: Sketches of the Early Days of New Zealand. Romance and Reality of Antipodean Life in the Infancy of a New Colony (London, 1881).
185. Andersen, 'Maori Words', pp. 150-60. See PLATE XLIII, below. Some time later, Andersen went through an offprint of his article and made minor ms corrections, correcting 'name' to 'namu' (p. 143), 'Ruanga' to 'Puanga' (p. 157). His only additions were 'pakaru, damaged beyond repair' (inserted on p. 145, struck out, and then inserted on p. 155), and 'toheroa', inserted before 'tohungaism' (p. 159). (Annotated copy in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland.)
186. The works mentioned are John Hawkesworth, An Account of the Voyages Undertaken ... for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere (first published, London, 1773; third edition, London, 1785); Richard Taylor, Te Ika a Maui (London, 1855); H. G. Robley, Moko, or, Maori Tattooing (London, 1896); Elsdon Best, The Maori (two volumes, Wellington, 1924).
187. Satchell, Greenstone Door, quoted in Andersen, 'Maori Words', pp. 161-62.
188. Andersen, 'Maori Words', p. 162.
189. Ibid., pp. 152, 156.
190. Tony Deverson, 'New Zealand English: A Select Bibliography', in New Zealand English ... Alive and Very well, [? ed Walter Hirsh](Auckland, 1989), pp. 24-28. The other works referred to are: Sidney J. Baker, New Zealand Slang: A Dictionary of Colloquialisms (Christchurch, 1941); Arnold Wall, New Zealand English (Christchurch, 1939); S. J. Baker, 'Origins of the Words Pakeha and Maori', JPS, vol. 54 (1945), pp. 223-31; E. H. Schnackenberg, 'Maori and Pakeha', ibid., pp. 232-34.
191. I recall being present at a meeting, probably in 1979, of contributors to the Oxford History of New Zealand (published in 1981), at the Lowry Bay residence of John Griffen, then

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Manager of Oxford University Press, New Zealand, when the suggestion was made that Maori words in the projected History be in roman rather than italic, a suggestion which I vehemently, and I think audibly, supported. Around the same time, in a review of Evelyn Stokes's A History of Tauranga County (Palmerston North, 1980), I noted that 'the offensive italicization of Maori words has been avoided': NZJH, vol. 14 (1980), p. 205.

192. Joan Metge, In and Out of Touch: Whakamaa in Cross Cultural Context (Wellington, 1986), p. 24.
193. Lyttelton Times, 21 August 1907 ('The Maori in Art' [Binder's title], bound volume of newspaper clippings and typescript by Andersen entitled 'The Maori in Art', in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland). Andersen later changed his view on Maui: see Andersen, Maori Place-names, pp. 95, 97-102.
194. Andersen, Myths & Legends, pp. 4, 469-70.
195. Twenty years later Andersen would suggest that Maori literature could possibly rank higher in estimation than that of the Greeks: 'We think that the Maori classics will in time be esteemed as much as the Greek and Latin, or more, seeing that we have the descendants of the creators of those classics still amongst us and taking keen interest in these mental and spiritual products of their ancestors.' (The 'we' is an editorial 'we', in reference to the JPS.) Andersen's remarks included in 'Extracts from correspondence submitted by members who were unable to be present', with H. H. Craig/JCA, 8 November 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 28).
196. See for example Andersen Myths & Legends, pp. 108 (Ulysses), 115 (Bifroest), 130 (Arabian Nights), 145 (Morte D'Arthur, Faerie Queen, St George, Beowulf), 190 (stories of Greeks and Trojans), 225-26 (Norse mythology), 231-33 (Arabian Nights, Endymion, Thor, Loke, Hermes/Mercury, King Arthur), 234 (Juno), 265 (Beowulf), 306 (Persephone), 342 (Valhalla), et. al.
197. 'Where is your literature? Almost a Pakeha "proverb" which has been one excuse for not fostering the introduction and development of Maori language and literature in the universities and schools.' Te Kapunga Dewes, 'The Case for Oral Arts', in Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On, Aspects of Maoritanga, ed. Michael King (Wellington, 1975), pp. 82-83, note 15. Andersen wrote in 1925: 'Through [Best's] energy ... the reproach that there is no Maori literature will soon be quite wiped away.' Andersen, 'Elsdon Best, F.N.Z. Inst. Ethnologist and the Best Living Authority on the Maori', New Zealand Life with the N.Z. Forest Magazine, vol. 4, no. 3 (July 1925), p. 5.
198. Andersen, Myths & Legends, p. 3.

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199. Ibid., pp. 43-44.

200. Ibid., pp. 391, 455. Rev. Sheldon Dibble, a missionary in Hawaii, published his History of the Sandwich Islands in 1839. The antimissionary attitude was probably derived from Elsdon Best. Herbert Williams, grandson of a missionary, tried to suggest a less negative perspective: 'You speak of "men with wider tolerance and wider sympathies" getting more information from the M[aori]', wrote Williams. 'I do not deny that some of the early missionaries were narrow & intolerant - but not so Taylor - and do not forget that Best only probed the Io mystery after many years of closest intimacy'. He added to this same letter the postscript, 'I would omit that first quotation from Dibble - he was unreliable'. Williams/JCA, 10 September 1925 (Letter in copy of Andersen's Myths & Legends in possession (1984) of Mrs K. Andersen, Auckland).

201. Andersen, Myths & Legends, p. 4.

202. Ibid., p. 260.

203. Ibid., pp. 228-30 and photograph facing p. 230. See PLATE XVII, below.

204. Ibid., p. 468.

205. George G. Harrap/JCA, 14 July 1924; Harrap/JCA, 30 September 1924 (WTu: MS Paper 148, folder 37).

206. Harrap/JCA, 2 November 1927 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).

207. Harrap, JCA, 6 June 1928; Mythologies of the World [Catalogue of George G. Harrap & Co Ltd] (London, [?1928]) (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).

208. Nation, 25 August 1928 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 37).

209. Andersen, Myths & Legends, pp. 329, 382. Peter Farb, in commenting on the publication of books dealing with American Indians, observes: 'We are thus presented with a problem: the Indian whose story is the most valuable because least contaminated by white culture must tell it in his own mode (poetic, repetitious, symbolic, nonsequential, and so on) which makes it unacceptable or incomprehensible to whites.' Peter Farb, quoted in Bernard McGrane, Beyond Anthropology: Society and the Other (New York, 1989), p. 125. Perhaps Andersen's prolixity in Myths & Legends might be partially defended on the grounds that he did not wish to distort the distinctive qualities of Polynesian traditions.

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Yet despite Andersen's conception of his role as 'a trumpet through which the musical Polynesian voice might make itself heard' (Myths & Legends, p. 4), a later commentator questioned the extent of this achievement: in 'J. C. Andersen's Myths and Legends [sic] ... the stories were given in summary and blended with commentary, in a way that tended to obstruct the reader's imaginative entry into the Polynesians' world of the marvellous'. Antony Alpers, The World of the Polynesians Seen Through their Myths and Legends, Poetry and Art (first published as Legends of the South Seas in 1970; Auckland, 1987), p. 32.

210. Andersen, Myths & Legends, pp. 365-66. Andersen read German and could speak it to some extent; he could read French 'but cannot speak it'. JCA/Kinsey, 1 December 1926 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 1).
211. Andersen, Myths & Legends, p. 455.
212. Ibid., p. 454.
213. Ibid., p. 4.
214. Ibid., p. 5.
215. Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck), The Material Culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki) (New Plymouth, 1927).
216. JCA/Williams, 12 July 1928 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1928, vol. 2).
217. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 9 May 1928 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 3); W. Page Rowe, Maori Artistry (New Plymouth, 1928); George Gray, Nga Mahi A Nga Tupuna, ed. H. W. Williams (first published as Ko Nga Mahinga A Nga Tupuna, 1854; third edition, New Plymouth, 1928).
218. Ngata/JCA, 14 May 1928 (AR: Andersen papers, letters to Andersen c. 1905-46, typescript version). See also Ngata/Buck, 9 February 1928, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 1, p. 65; Ngata/Buck, 6 May 1928, ibid., vol. 1, p. 89.
219. See for example Elsdon Best, Games and Pastimes of the Maori (first published 1925; Wellington, 1976), pp., 185-213. In ibid., p. 191, Best quotes a remark by Andersen, but I have been unable to find the original source of this quotation.

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220. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 2 November 1929 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 3).
221. JPS, vol. 35 (1926), p. 265.
222. See PLATE LXIV, below.
223. Andersen, 'Maori Literature', Art in New Zealand, vol. 1 (1928-29), pp. 87-89.
224. Ibid., pp. 87-88.
225. Ibid., p. 89.
226. Ibid., p. 88.
227. It may be noted, too, in this connection that Andersen had frequent contact with J. Rankine-Brown, Professor of Classics at Victoria University College, through their common membership of the Numismatic Society after 1931. See also New Zealand Numismatic Society, Transactions, vol. 3 (1941-47), pp. 137-38.
228. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 30 July 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 6).
229. JCA/Williams, 31 July 1931 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1931, vol. 1).
230. JCA/Kinsey, 3 October 1934 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8).
231. JCA/Kinsey, 15 March 1935 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 9).
232. JCA/Buck, 23 November 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).
233. Martha Beckwith/JCA, 23 January 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944). Martha Beckwith, Hawaiian Mythology (New Haven, Conn., 1940); Beckwith, 'Polynesian Mythology', JPS, vol. 49 (1940), pp. 19-38; Beckwith, 'Polynesian Story Composition', JPS, vol. 53 (1944), pp. 177-203.

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234. JCA/Beckwith, 1 May 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944).
235. Andersen, Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society, [Book 1] (Wellington, 1944). This booklet, produced relatively cheaply (though the New Zealand ensign and the Dannebrog - the Danish flag - appear on the cover in colour), has neither a date of publication nor the name of the compiler. Andersen presented a copy to his daughter-in-law with the inscription, 'To Kathie,/from Dad/10 May 1944', which is perhaps some indication of the date of publication. (Copy of Andersen's Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society, [Book 1], in possession (1984) of Mrs K. Andersen, Auckland).
236. C. Langkilde/JCA, 20 June 1943; JCA/Langkilde, 15 August 1943; typescript with ms emendations by Andersen, 'Birthday of Christian 10, King of Denmark, 26 September 1943' (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 153).
237. JCA/George C. Petersen, 17 March 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 153).
238. JCA/E. Koch, Frit Denmark (Sydney), 27 November 1944; JCA/Petersen, 17 March 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 153).
239. Andersen, Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society, Book 2 (Wellington, 1944), was announced as available for purchase in a mimeographed circular, 'June-July Circular [1944]', of the Anglo-Danish Society. Andersen told George Petersen that the third book was ready for printing, in an undated letter c. August 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 153).
240. Andersen, Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society, [Book 1], pp. 4-5.
241. Ibid., p. 3.
242. JCA/Ngata, 17 August 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).
243. Andersen, Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society, Book 2, pp. 26-27. See PLATES LXV and LXVI, below.
244. The typescript is in: WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 59A.
245. JCA/Avery and Sons, 24 May 1946 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 41).

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246. Avery and Sons/JCA, 17 July 1946; JCA/Avery and Sons, 1 August 1946; Avery and Sons/JCA, 8 November 1946 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 41).

247. Andersen, Polynesian Literature, p. vii.

248. Hare Hongi, 'An Ancient "Flute-song"', JPS, vol. 27 (1918), pp. 222-24; Andersen, Maori Music, pp. 280-82; Andersen, Polynesian Literature, pp. 2-11. Andersen makes minor adjustments to the wording and punctuation of Hare Hongi's version. In Polynesian Literature, p. vii, Andersen gives the year of original publication incorrectly, 1919 instead of 1918.

249. Andersen, Maori Music, pp. 443-44; Andersen, Polynesian Literature, pp. 14-15, notes pp. 65-66. See also JCA/George Graham, 1 September 1934, and Graham/JCA, 3 September 1934 (Letters in copy of Andersen's Maori Music in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).

250. Andersen, Polynesian Literature, pp. 17-20; Hare Hongi, 'Te Putea Iti a Reti: the Jewel Casket of Reti', New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, vol. 4 (1902), pp. 106-09. (In October 1991, I purchased a bound volume (vol. 4) of the Illustrated Magazine from South Sea Books, Christchurch, and discovered that Hare Hongi's 'Te Putea' in this copy has pencilled line numberings in fours, '4', '8', '12', and so forth, in Andersen's hand - evidently the copy Andersen owned. There were no marginal numbers in Hare Hongi's original publication. Andersen also added marginal numbers, in multiples of five, to all the other 'poetry' (but not the prose sections) in Polynesian Literature.)

251. Andersen, Polynesian Literature, p. x, plates facing pp. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

252. Elsdon Best, 'The Land of Tara and They Who Settled it, Part IV', JPS, vol. 27 (1918), pp. 104-05, 113; Best, The Land of Tara and They Who Settled it, pp. 82, 90; Andersen, Polynesian Literature, pp. 22-23, 26-29. Best's translations were set out as prose, not verse; Andersen divided the material into lines, and 'improved' Best's version while largely using his vocabulary. See PLATE LXVIII, below.

253. John White, Ancient History of the Maori (six volumes, Wellington, 1887-1890), vol. 5, English language section, pp. 159-61, 166-67, Maori language section, pp. 140-42, 146; S. Percy Smith, Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century: The Struggle of the Northern Against the Southern Maori Tribes Prior to the Colonisation of New Zealand in 1840 (first published in JPS, vols 8-13 (1899-1904), and reprinted as separate volume in 1904; Christchurch, 1910), pp. 190-98; Andersen, Polynesian Literature, pp. 32-35, 38-43, 45-50.

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254. Andersen, Polynesian Literature, pp. xi-xii.
255. Ibid., p. 76.
256. Ibid., p. 69.
257. Ibid., p. 61.
258. See Whina and William Cooper/JCA, 10 May 1946 and 24 May 1936 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 59A); Andersen, Polynesian Literature, pp. 51-64. See PLATE LXIX, below. In Michael King's Whina: A Biography of Whina Cooper (Auckland, 1983), pp. 106-07, the author states that 'Once the [personal] crises of 1927 and 1928 were resolved, Whina and Richard Gilbert's home was open to many visitors and researchers interested in the Hokianga. Among those who stayed with her were Judge F.O.V. Acheson ... [Professor Horace Belshaw ... Dr Ivan Sutherland ... and Johannes Andersen, Chief Librarian at the Alexander Turnbull Library and one of the country's leading Maori scholars.' In a letter of 1946, Andersen makes it clear that he had not then met Whina Cooper, ending: 'I hope we may meet some day'. JCA/Whina and William Cooper, 4 July 1946 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 59A). It is not inconceivable that Andersen subsequently met Whina Cooper, even perhaps on one of his journeys to Northland to visit Waitangi, though I have no evidence of such a meeting. At any rate, they did not meet while Andersen was Turnbull Librarian. In his Being Pakeha: An Encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance (Auckland, 1985), p. 83, King writes that Te Puea 'had often sent Pakeha scholars to [Hori Paki] for advice, such as Johannes Andersen and W. J. Phillipps from the Dominion Museum.' W. J. Phillipps visited Tainui in seeking materials for his Carved Maori Houses of Western and Northern Areas of New Zealand (Wellington, 1955), see especially pp. 198-99; but I can find no further evidence that Andersen had contact with Te Puea, with Hori Paki, or with other people of Tainui.
259. Andersen, Polynesian Literature, p. x.
260. J. L. Ewing/JCA, 5 February 1947 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 41).
261. JCA/Ewing, 13 February 1947 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 41). This is one of several examples where Pakeha assumed Andersen's knowledge of the Maori language to be much greater than it was in fact: Andersen was reputed to be an expert on Maori people and their culture, and it followed that he was adept in the language. Other examples have been given in chapter 4, above. Even more startling is a short review of Polynesian Literature published in (of all places) the JPS: the anonymous reviewer writes: 'His translations in verse are, with the exception of the ancient flute song of Hare Hongi, his own'. JPS, vol. 56 (1947), p. 318.

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262. JCA/Director-General of Education [C. E. Beeby], 13 February 1947; JCA/Director-General of Education, 28 February 1947 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 42). The suggestion that the ngeri could be performed at Pakeha schools surely suggests that it would be performed by Pakeha children. Here is an echo, then, of 'A Maori Fragment', performed by the Christchurch Savage Club in 1910, as set out in chapter 1 of this study: Pakeha playing at being Maori. Such activities are usually regarded by Maori as inappropriate unless with the full approval and guidance of local kaumatua, whose knowledge is of quite another order to any 'notes' supposedly providing 'full directions for performance'.
263. C. E. Beeby/JCA, 24 February 1948 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 42).
264. JCA/George C. Petersen, 14 March 1947 (PP: Petersen Papers).
265. See JCA/Avery and Sons, 3 December 1946 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 41); Old Christchurch in Picture and Story (Christchurch, 1949); Maori Tohunga; Spiders (Wellington, 1949); Andersen and G. C. Petersen, The Mair Family.
266. JCA/Ernest Currie, undated, c. 1948-49 (WTu: MS Papers 413, folder 7).
267. See Sorrenson, 'Epilogue', in Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 3, pp. 257-60. Ngata's involvement with the 'revision of the Maori Bible' (*ibid.*, p. 260) is also mentioned in J. M. McEwen, 'Preface to Sixth Edition' (1957), in A Dictionary of the Maori Language, ed. Herbert W. Williams (seventh edition, Wellington, 1971), p. xx.
268. JCA/C.R.H. Taylor, 19 June 1949 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 63).
269. JCA/Ngata, 17 August 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9). In ms notes made in 1951, Andersen wrote: 'My Pol. Lit Partly to spur on Sir A., partly to show how I thought the good M. literature should be presented, I had printed five or six specimens of different kinds of literature. In my book the Maori text is on the left page, the Eng trans. on the right ...' (Loose ms notes in ring binder containing Maori songs &c, in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).
270. JCA/C.R.H. Taylor, 20 September 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50).
271. Andersen, Polynesian Literature, p. vii.

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272. There have been later efforts along the lines of Andersen's Polynesian Literature, including Barry Mitcalfe, Maori Poetry: The Singing Word (Wellington, 1974), and Margaret Orbell, Waiata: Maori Songs in History (Auckland, 1991). Orbell's volume collects together a number of articles and translations which she had published elsewhere in earlier years. It is impossible to think that Andersen would not have been fulsome in his praise for Waiata, with its very full explanatory text.

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1. For the successive invasions of soldiers and surveyors, see James Cowan, The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period (first published 1922-23; two volumes, Wellington, 1955, 1956), vol. 2, p. 337 and following; John A. Williams, Politics of the New Zealand Maori: Protest and Cooperation, 1891-1909 (Auckland, 1969), pp. 91-94.
2. Elsdon Best's period in the Urewera district, and Percy Smith's interest in his activities, is discussed in Elsdon Craig, Man of the Mist: A Biography of Elsdon Best (Wellington, 1964), pp. 46-133.
3. Elsdon Best, Waikare-moana, the Sea of the Rippling Waters; the Lake; the Lands; the Legends. With a Tramp Through Tuhoe Land (first published 1897; Wellington, 1975), p. 9.
4. JCA/J. Houston, 14 August 1933 (NLR: Box 5209). Houston published several pamphlets on Maori history and traditions, and a major work, Maori Life in Old Taranaki (Wellington, 1965), was published posthumously.
5. JCA/Apirana Ngata, 23 September 1908 (AR: Andersen Papers, Canterbury Place-names, vol. 4).
6. G. Allhusen/JCA, 3 October 1909 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 13).
7. G. Allhusen/JCA, 29 January 1910 (WTu: MS 1908-1917 P, J. C. Andersen, Notes, old identities and old occurrences, Old Identity Book no. 1) includes the comment: 'You are too modest altogether concerning your knowledge of the Maori tongue and I hesitate to give my wildly superficial translation of the Karakia you heard at Temuka'. Andersen had apparently sent Allhusen the waiata sung by Hana Pohio to translate.
8. Lyttelton Times, 20 May 1922 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 136B).
9. See Andersen, Maori String Figures (Wellington, 1927), pp. 17-18.
10. 'Waiomatatini (Ngati Porou) March-April 1923', p. 19 (WTu: MS J. C. Andersen Diary 1923-25).
11. Buck/JCA, 18 March 1924; Buck/JCA, 16 July 1924; Buck/JCA, undated, c. 1925 (WTu:

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MS Papers 148, folder 15). Andersen wrote at least one other letter partly in Maori: JCA/T. T. Rawhiti, 24 March 1924 (NLR, Box 5215, folder 181 Ra-Ri). Rawhiti had edited Te Paki o Matariki, the Kingitanga newspaper of the 1890s. 'I wrote in Maori, under Mr Best's tuition', recalled Andersen: JCA/R. T. Kohere, 18 August 1932 (NLR: Box 5210). See also JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 7 October 1926 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 1); and JCA/Kinsey, 9 July 1931 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 6), where he says he 'got Elsdon Best to edit it'.

12. JCA/Buck, 20 April 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944).

13. JCA/Officer-in-charge, Native Department, Auckland, 13 November 1947; J. H. Robertson/JCA, undated; see also JCA/C. T. Newton, 12 June 1948 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 63). In 1943, Andersen asked M. R. (Mick) Jones if he could translate a letter from Makurata to Best, written in 1927. 'I think I can see misspellings and running together of words, and whilst I get something of the drift I cannot make it consecutive.' It might be possible to read these comments by Andersen about misspellings etc. as excuses for his inability to get more than 'something of the drift' - as if he would have less trouble managing a translation given a straightforward text free from orthographic oddities. Perhaps even to Maori, Andersen pretended greater facility with the language than he actually had. After receiving the translation, Andersen commented: 'Though I have other languages, I wish I had been enough with the Maori to acquire an ease in his beautiful language.' (Emphasis in original.) JCA/M. R. Jones, 20 June 1943; Jones/JCA, 22 June 1943; JCA/Jones, 22 June 1943 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 6).

14. JCA/Peter Buck, 9 September 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943). The comment 'that was over a year ago' clearly identifies the conversation as having taken place in 1942, and the 'last meeting of the Board' is therefore the 1943 meeting.

15. Apirana Ngata/J. Te H. Grace, undated, c. December 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7). (This letter refers to Grace's letter of '23rd July last year', which is in the same folder, Grace/Ngata, 23 July 1943, and ends with season's greetings, so it was written late in 1944.) I argue below that it was fortuitous that publication started with Part I. Ngata's consciousness that the Polynesian Society required the translation is also expressed in a letter the previous year. He thanked C. W. Morrison, secretary of the Maori Purposes Fund Board, for sending to Ruatoria a copy of Williams's Dictionary of the Maori Language. 'It will be a great help in the preparation of an English version of "Nga Moteatea", which I understand the Polynesian Society has asked for.' Ngata/Morrison, 23 May 1943 (WArc: MA 51, Box 23, 26/9/12/21).

16. The 'revision of Grey's collection' of 'songs' had been planned by Ngata from at least 1909: Buck/Ngata, 18 May 1909 (WArc: MA 31/42).

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17. Peter Buck, 'He Poroporoaki: A Farewell Message', JPS, vol. 60 (1951), pp. 28-29.

18. The initial idea was that R. W. Firth and Ngata together produce the memoir on 'Proverbs'. Firth, then in Bachok, Kelantan, one of the Malay States, told Andersen early in 1940 that he had no materials available in his present location and would be unable to assist. Firth/JCA, 29 January 1940 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 9, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence 1940). In response to a question from the Polynesian Society secretary, C.R.H. Taylor, about the 'Maori Proverbs and Poetry' memoir a year later, Ngata replied that 'Proverbs memoir should be ready within [that] period'. Taylor/Ngata, 1 March 1941; telegram, Ngata/Taylor, 6 March 1941 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6, Bundle labelled Letters 1940). In the middle of 1943, Andersen told A. G. Bagnall, treasurer, 'I have heard nothing from Ngata about his Maori Proverbs!' JCA/Bagnall, 20 July 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).

19. See Ngata/Buck, 20 June 1929, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 1, p. 212.

20. In letters to Buck, Ngata referred in November 1930 to the 'hack work of piecing notes together' for *Nga Moteatea*, Part III, and in June 1931 talked of hoping to finish Part III. By February 1933 it was 'well forward', and in March he thought it would be in the hands of the printers by the end of May. Ngata/Buck, 17 November 1930, 29 June 1931, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 2, pp. 81, 161; Ngata/Buck, 21 February 1933, 22 March 1933, *ibid*, vol. 3, pp. 64, 76. Ngata had sought money for the printing of Part III in 1934. 'A typescript of his work was submitted for publication to this [Maori Purposes Fund] Board on October 31, 1934, by the author. A quote for 500 copies, size Royal 8vo., bound with full purple cloth boards, gold lettered, amounting to £300, was obtained at that time from the Government Printer, but the whole question was dropped.' The matter again came up before the Board at its meeting of 27 March 1941, and Andersen expressed the opinion that it was likely the Polynesian Society would see its way clear to publish the work. This suited the Board, since its funds were fully committed. (In fact, the Board has just provided £300.0s.0d to the Polynesian Society.) C. W. Morrison/Hon. Sec. Polynesian Society, 28 August 1941 (WArc: MA 51, Box 20, 26/9/10). The reply of the Polynesian Society's secretary (C.R.H. Taylor) referred to discussion of the printing of Part III of *Nga Moteatea* at a Council meeting of 23 August 1941: the Council felt the Society could undertake publication but it would have to be spread over two years, 'perhaps more'. 'In the meantime a sub-committee has been appointed to endeavour to arrange a translation ... for simultaneous publication'. Taylor/Morrison, 29 October 1941 (WArc: MA 51, Box 23, 26/9/12/21). It is not too difficult to work out the sequence. Ngata brought the question of printing Part III of *Nga Moteatea* to the Maori Purposes Fund Board. Andersen, a Board member, said he was sure the Polynesian Society would be able to see to the matter. Morrison communicated this to the Polynesian Society; and its Council, at the behest of Andersen, its most influential member, said, yes, but in parts, and with translation.

21. Buck/JCA, 29 October 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).

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22. Bruce Biggs/C.R.H. Taylor, 23 February 1945 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Sundry correspondence & accounts 1930-1942).
23. In ms notes made by Andersen in 1951, when he contemplated publishing what had been left behind by Ngata (this is discussed later in the present chapter), Andersen wrote: 'Sir A. wished to publish in JPS; but as half our readers were in other parts of the world we stipulated for an English trans.' (Loose ms notes in ring binder containing Maori songs &c, in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland.)
24. He does not seem himself to have contemplated a translation of the 'songs': his intention was to produce an 'English introduction covering a study of Maori poetry from the pakeha literary viewpoint ... and with English notes'. Ngata/Buck, 6 May 1928, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 1, p. 89. In a letter to Andersen, Ngata had referred to 'The annotation of these songs in English for English students'. Ngata/JCA, 14 May 1928 (AR: Andersen Papers, letters to Andersen c. 1905-46, typescript version). However in 1940 Andersen recorded: 'The whole of the work [Nga Moteatea, Parts I and II, 1928 and 1929] is at present in Maori; but Sir Apirana intends to provide a translation.' Andersen, 'Maori Printers and Translators', in A History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940, ed. R. A. McKay (Wellington, 1940), p. 46.
25. The telephone conversation of 'last week' is referred to in JCA/Ngata, 18 June 1942 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).
26. Ngata/JCA, 18 June 1942 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).
27. JCA/Ngata, 9 July 1942 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).
28. JCA/Ngata, 9 July 1942 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).
29. JCA/Avery and Sons, 13 July 1942 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).
30. JCA/Buck, 9 September 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).
31. Ngata/J. Te H. Grace, undated, c. December 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7).

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32. JCA/Buck, 9 September 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).

33. Ngata/JCA, 21 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7). The 1943 Maori Purposes Fund Board Meeting was held 13 August 1943. Ngata was not present (Minutes AGM, 13 August 1943 (WArc: MA, 52/1a)) and Parliament was in session. The session was adjourned for the last time on 25 August (the House was dissolved 30 August) for the General Election and Ngata would have been busy the following month in campaigning. The letter JCA/Buck, 9 September 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943) suggests the texts were already being set by 9 September. At the most Andersen would have briefly contacted Ngata between 13 and 25 August and perhaps got his grudging permission to set what he had. Perhaps Ngata then asked Jones to let him have the 'versions' back. Ngata must have had his mind very much on other things even if Andersen did speak to him.

34. JCA/Buck, 23 November 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943). This also suggests that what Andersen received from Michael Jones had not been specifically prepared for the printers by Ngata, but was simply an advanced draft which Andersen used to inaugurate the project. As Ngata explained to Andersen when the first proofs were available, 'the whakapapa in the head-note to Song 1 have to be recast' - i.e., the material was not in a form ready for the printers when Andersen acquired it. Ngata/JCA, 21 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7).

35. JCA/Avery and Sons, 9 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7). See PLATE LXIX, below.

36. Ngata had been defeated for the Eastern Maori electorate in the 1943 general election. He had first been elected to the House of Representatives in 1905, and his thirty-eight year term was until the 1960s a record term for an elected parliamentarian in New Zealand.

37. JCA/Ngata, 16 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7).

38. Ngata/JCA, 21 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7).

39. JCA/Ngata, 16 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7).

40. Ngata/JCA, 21 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7); Andersen, Maori Place-names (Wellington, 1942).

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41. JCA/Ngata, 16 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7).
42. Ngata/JCA, 21 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7).
43. JCA/Ngata, 9 July 1942 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).
44. Ngata/JCA, 21 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7).
45. Ngata/JCA, 22 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7). Ngata was referring to George Grey, Ko Nga Moteatea, Me Nga Hakiara O Nga Maori (Wellington, 1853); Popular Maori Songs, As Written By the Maoris of Waikato, February 1864, ed. John McGregor (Auckland, 1893), supplements 1 through 4 (Auckland, 1898-1908).
46. For example: 'Your raising of the question of Polynesian spellings is opportune. I think the Bishop [Williams], Ngata, and yourself should hold a conference on the subject and come to decision on usage which should be published in the Journal', Buck wrote to Andersen in 1932, saying that he had started to type out his own thoughts on these matters, and that he might eventually submit them for publication in the JPS. Buck/JCA, 4 September 1932 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 15). Buck's 'thoughts' were completed very smartly, and appeared in the December 1932 issue as: 'Te Rangi Hiroa, 'Recording of Polynesian Texts and Proper Names', JPS, vol. 41 (1932), pp. 253-61. Andersen added the note: 'We may have something to say on this subject in a subsequent number, and meanwhile invite suggestions from other workers or readers who have experienced the difficulties and uncertainties referred to. - EDS.' Ibid., p. 261.
47. JCA/Buck, 23 November 1943 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled Editorial Correspondence June 1942-December 1943).
48. Buck/JCA, 16 January 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944).
49. See, for example, Buck/JCA, 24 March 1944; JCA/Buck, 20 April 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944).
50. Ngata seems to have been very positive around this period, as is indicated by a letter to Morrison: 'Mr Andersen is bustling the Maori-English version of Part I [of] Nga Moteatea, which is to be published in the Polynesian Journal, and the opportunity is being taken of revising the text and notes. I hope to have one third done for the March Journal and the rest

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for June, unless something more urgent crops up.’ (It is just possible that the ‘bustling’ of Mr Andersen was irritating as well as invigorating.) Ngata/Morrison, 12 June 1944 (WArc: MA 51, 26/9/12/21).

51. M. R. Jones/Ngata, 6 December 1943/WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7).
52. Nga Moteatea, Part I (1928).
53. Ngata/JCA, 8 December 1942 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7); Ngata/JCA, 9 January 1944; Ngata/JCA, 23 January 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8); Ngata/JCA, 23 June 1944; Ngata/JCA, 12 November 1944; Ngata/JCA, 14 December 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).
54. Ngata, ‘Preface’, first published in Maori in Nga Moteatea, Part I (1928), translated by Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959), p. xiv.
55. Ngata/JCA, 6 January 1944; JCA/Ngata, 31 January 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8); JCA/Ngata, 2 December 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9). The English scholar, John Lemprière, published his standard Bibliotheca Classica, or Classical Dictionary in 1788; there have been many subsequent editions.
56. Ngata/JCA, 9 January 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8) mentions Kepa Ehau, Pei Te H. Jones, George Graham, Dr Wi Repa (‘if he is well enough’) and Rongo Halbert.
57. JCA/Ngata, 31 January 1944; JCA/Ngata, 1 May 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8).
58. Ngata/JCA, 9 June 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).
59. Ngata/JCA, 22 April 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8).
60. Ngata/JCA, 11 May 1944; (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8).
61. JCA/Ngata, 2 May, 1944; Ngata/JCA, 11 May 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8).
62. Avery and Sons/JCA, 2 June 1944; JCA/Avery and Sons, 4 June 1944; JCA/Ngata, 4 June 1944; JCA/Ngata, 13 June 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).

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63. JCA/J. Heenan, 28 September 1944; JCA/Avery and Sons, 7 October 1944; JCA/A. G. Bagnall, 11 October 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec. only) and 1944); Heenan/JCA, 2 October 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled JPS Editorial Correspondence June 1945-August 1946); JCA/Ngata, 8 October 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9); JCA/A. G. Bagnall, 11 October 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50).

64. Ngata/JCA, 12 November 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).

65. Ngata/JCA, 14 December 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).

66. Ngata/JCA, 5 January 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10). Edward Shortland, Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders (London, 1854); Shortland, Maori Religion and Mythology (London, 1882); George Grey, Ko Nga Whakapepeha Me Nga Whakaahuareka A Nga Tipuna O Aotearoa: Proverbial and Popular Sayings of the Ancestors of the New Zealand Race (London, 1857).

67. JCA/Ngata, 16 January 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).

68. Ngata/J. Te H. Grace, undated, c. December 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7).

69. The 'Euphemistic rendering' did not apply only to the translation: Ngata had resorted to bowdlerisation in the Maori text as well. 'The most poignant expressions of the Maori language are in these [love] songs, although unusual expressions often intruded, quite innoxious in their times; they were cannibal days, they were times before European ways had been adopted to replace such behaviour, such expressions have been toned down in the text of the songs published in this work. The Maori people were not the only people whose lips uttered such expressions without let or hindrance ... the European was the same in his time. Shakespeare was the greatest genius in the use of the English language; and many unclean expressions were included in his poetical compositions and in the text of his plays In later times the uncleanness in his writings was purged'. Ngata, 'He Whakamarama', published in Maori in Nga Moteatea, part I (1928), republished with translation by Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959), pp. xviii-xix.

70. Ngata/JCA, 6 January 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8).

71. Ngata/JCA, 9 January 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8).

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72. Roger Oppenheim and Allen Curnow, 'A Note on New Zealand Verse and the Maori Tradition', in The Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse, ed. Allen Curnow (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1960), pp. 75-76, write: 'the translators have often been handicapped by notions of a suitably "poetical" English idiom. Verse mannerisms of a debased Romantic sort, clichés and "literary" diction mar some of the best of their Englished pieces. Ngata's versions in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, for instance, are often prettified or expurgated in the text, while a perfectly good plain reading is to be found in his notes. This is not to deny that his, and some other versions, possess occasional charm and some accent of authenticity.' (Ngata's prose is less open to criticism. M.P.K. Sorrenson calls it 'graceful', giving the credit to Rev. John Thornton, Te Aute College, rather than Professor Macmillan Brown: Sorrenson, 'Introduction', Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 1, p. 17). In a review of Nga Moteatea, Part II (1961), in Landfall, vol. 17 (1963), pp. 295-98, D. R. Simmons observes: 'Most of the translations [of the 'songs'] it is true, are scholarly rather than readable, a fault shared by the present volume where the translations are literary to a degree. Te Hurinui's stilted translations studded with thees and thines does not make for easy reading nor does it lead us easily into a new world ...'.
73. JCA/Ngata, 31 January 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8).
74. Buck/JCA, 16 January 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944).
75. JCA/Ngata, 21 February 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8).
76. JCA/Ngata, 1 March 1944; Ngata/JCA, 7 March 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8).
77. JCA/Ngata, 1 May 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8).
78. JCA/Ngata, 4 June 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).
79. JCA/Ngata, 12 September 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).
80. Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959), p. 3.
81. Andersen may also have had in mind comments from Buck: 'The future poet might polish up such lines as he thinks could be better expressed. With the Maori text, the literal translation, and the references in both languages, he will have something to go on. One can only polish something which has been made.' Buck/JCA, 16 January 1944 (WTu: Acc 80-115, PS Further Papers, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944).

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82. JCA/Ngata, 17 August 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9); Andersen, Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society (Wellington, 1944); Andersen, Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society, Book 2 (Wellington, 1944). These booklets had been available for some weeks, the first at any rate from the middle of May, the second since July, and there were several earlier occasions when Andersen could have sent copies to Ngata - because of Nga Moteatea, their correspondence in this period was very frequent. My speculation, as indicated at the start of the paragraph, is that Andersen wanted to inspire Ngata to a more 'poetical' translation. There is another feature of the Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society booklets which indicates the convergence between the two projects in Andersen's mind. Nga Moteatea was printed in the JPS as a memoir supplement, separately and consecutively paged so that it could be cumulated into a single, already-paginated volume later, as was customary with Polynesian Society memoirs - Andersen's Maori Music With Its Polynesian Background (New Plymouth, 1934), and his Maori Place-names, among others, had been produced this way (an exception was Peter Buck's The Evolution of Maori Clothing (New Plymouth, 1926) which had not been paged consecutively, and had to be hand-stamped with new pagination before binding: see JCA/Avery and Sons, 7 December 1925 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1925)). Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society, Book 2 has an unnumbered list of contents, and is then paged 11 through 28, to follow the ten numbered pages of the first booklet. It seems, therefore, that Andersen intended a series of booklets, paged in a single sequence, which could be cumulated, and bound up with preliminary pages, as a volume in the future.

83. John Male, 'Takrouna', New Zealand New Writing, no. 3 (June 1944), p. 53.

84. JCA/Ngata, 8 October 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).

85. For example, Ngata/JCA, 14 December 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).

86. JCA/Ngata, 13 December 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).

87. As is explained in a later note for this chapter, Andersen had definite ideas on the proper forms of verse. An earlier example of his 'improvement' of someone else's translation is the 'Ngeri/Occasional Song', published first in Andersen, Maori Music, pp. 443-44, and later in Andersen, Polynesian Literature, Maori poetry (Waiata and Tangi) (New Plymouth, 1946), pp. 14-15. In the notes (pp. 65-66 of Polynesian Literature) Andersen explains that Lucy Cranwell 'got the complete Maori song together with a free translation' from 'our mutual friend George Graham' and 'with Mr Graham's approval I revised the translation'. An earlier version is in Andersen/Graham, 1 September 1934 (Letter in copy of Andersen's Maori Music in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland).

88. JCA/Ngata, 14 January 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).

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89. JCA/Ngata, 16 January 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10). Andersen was rather fond of Miltonic similitudes. I have in my possession a copy of Andersen's Tura and the Fairies and The Overworlds and Tu (From Maori Legendary Lore) (Wellington, 1936) with the following ms tipped in: 'Tura and the Fairies/Here are two very different stories; /one a real fairy-tale, the other an/epic story reminding you of Para-/dise Lost; - both true Maori stories./Johannes C. Andersen/9 September 1947'. This seemed a singular flight of fancy until I found in the Hocken Library, Dunedin, a copy of the same work (it has a ms inscription to Pat Lawlor by Andersen) with precisely the same note, even to the date, but typed and loosely enclosed. Lawlor sold several copies of Tura and the Fairies through his bookselling business, Beltane Book Bureau, so perhaps Andersen wrote notes invoking *Paradise Lost* on a number of copies (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 151).

90. For example: 'Unsolicited, etc. - An inadequate representation of the Maori but conveys the picture "needed not to be hauled or shouting in the process". The cryptic phrase "te toia, te haumatia" has become a proverb.' Note for line 13 of 'A Lament for Te Whetukamokamo', Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959), p. 79; 'Yourself. - Requires a note. The Maori is "ko to nuinga rawa" lit. "the whole of you" or "your physical being".' Note for line 41 of 'A Lament for Te Whetukamokamo', ibid., p. 81; 'Fount. - In this line the poet develops the picture called up by the word ika or fish in the two previous lines, hence the fount or pool of fish and the school of whales'. Note for line 49 of 'A Lament for Whetukamokamo', ibid., p. 81; 'At length. - A free rendering of "i te houanga", lit. in the course of time, etc.' Note for line 53 of 'A Lament for Whetukamokamo', ibid., p. 81.

91. JCA/Ngata, 16 January 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).

92. Ngata's translation is given in the form in which it was published in Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959), pp. 77, 79, which did not differ substantially from the ms version given to Andersen, judging from the comments Andersen made in his letter of 16 January 1945. By the time Ngata sent his mss to Andersen, for all the first 23 items of Nga Moteatea, they were in their 'final' form and, apart from minor corrections, were printed in that form. The typescript of Song 21, with Ngata's own corrections, is in: WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 15. (In a study which is critical of Pakeha reductiveness in judging aspects of Maori culture by European standards, any comment on the aesthetic qualities of Ngata's translations by comparison with other translations into the English language is probably unwise; but it seems to the present writer that Ngata's renditions in places echo the language and rhythms of some of Arthur Waley's translations of Chinese poetry. There is not a shred of evidence that Ngata knew of Waley or his work.)

93. JCA/Ngata, 16 January 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).

94. JCA/Ngata, 16 January 1945 (MS Papers 189, folder 10).

95. Ngata's translation is given in the form in which it was published in Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959), p. 83.

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96. JCA/Ngata, 16 January 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).
97. JCA/Ngata, 16 January 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).
98. JCA/Ngata, 16 January 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).
99. JCA/Ngata, 20 February 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).
100. Telegram, JCA/Ngata, 10 April 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).
101. Ngata/JCA, 5 May 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10). Andersen noted in pencil at the foot of this letter: 'wrote/17.6.45', but the letter has not been sighted.
102. Pages 73 through 89 of Nga Moteatea, Part I, were, like the earlier pages in 1944-45, printed as a memoir supplement with their own pagination separate from the rest of the June 1953 issue of the JPS, vol. 62. By some oversight, the English translation of song 23, 'A Love Song for Te Manana Kauaterangi', appeared on the left-hand page and the Maori original on the right-hand page (though the running-heads 'He Waiata Aroha' and 'A Love Song' were correctly placed), a miscalculation which was corrected in the full volume, Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959).
103. 'It is true that for a large number of items [George] Grey was favoured with notes written by Wiremu Kingi Rangikaheke, for copies of which I owe my thanks to Mr J. C. Andersen, former Librarian of the General Assembly Library and Alexander Turnbull Library and one time Editor of the Journal of the Polynesian Society. But I did not find the notes helpful beyond what I was able to gather for myself.' 'Introduction by Sir Apirana Ngata', written in 1949, included in the 1972 augmented facsimile edition of Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959), p. xxxi.
104. Ngata quoted by J. B. Palmer, 'Foreword', Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959), p. vi.
105. See for example Andersen, 'Introduction', in The Maori and Education: Or the Education of Natives in New Zealand and its Dependencies, ed. P. M. Jackson (Wellington, 1931), pp. 7-8.
106. See ibid., pp. 9-13.
107. JCA/Ngata, 14 January 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10). Andersen was probably

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- referring to his own article, 'Maori Religion', *JPS*, vol. 49 (1940), pp. 513-55. Peter Buck, Anthropology and Religion (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1939).
108. JCA/Ngata, 12 September 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).
 109. JCA/J. Houston, 14 August 1933 (NLR: Box 5209).
 110. Andersen published a vast amount on verse and metre, and corresponded with notable prosodists overseas, including George Saintsbury and T. S. Omond. His views are most compactly expressed in his The Laws of Verse (Cambridge, 1928). He chided younger generations of poets when they strayed into less formal verse. His reluctance to compromise on such matters is evident on the occasion when he had the best opportunity to lecture his literary contemporaries, the PEN conference at Buenos Aires in September 1936. Andersen was preceded in a speech to the delegates by Harriet Monroe, the founder-editor of Poetry: A Magazine of Verse. She had, as she reminded her audience, encouraged and published verse by Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, and Wallace Stevens, among others, and called for 'freedom of subject and method'. Andersen took a line almost directly opposed to Monroe, and criticised the 'rebel element' who rejected formality. See P. J. Gibbons, Johannes C. Andersen and Catherine Andersen: A Biographical Sketch (Hamilton, 1985), p. 19. In a series of ms sketches of delegates, Andersen wrote of Monroe: 'She is an exponent of free verse, and much of the verse published by her as such is not verse at all, having no metre & little rhythm; it is sometimes poetical prose, very often bad prose. She had one of her latest issues [of Poetry] with her, and it was no better than I remember it years ago' (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 150). A.R.D. Fairburn for one was not amused when he read the text of Andersen's speech. 'By the way, get hold of a report of the Buenos Aires P.E.N. Conference', he wrote to Denis Glover. 'Bloody fine reading in parts - but dear Johannes, Poet and Pedant - oh Christ! his speech is drivel.' Fairburn/Glover, 1 September 1937, The Letters of A.R.D. Fairburn, ed. Lauris Edmond (Auckland, 1981), p. 110.
 111. Andersen, Polynesian Literature, discussed in Chapter 5, above.
 112. JCA/Buck, 21 January 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled JPS Editorial Correspondence June 1945-August 1946). Ngata's view here offers an instructive contrast. He told Andersen: 'You must understand that the waiata have not been arranged in any order or according to a plan. They were published in the order in which material for the head-notes and comments on the texts were gathered. Ngati Porou, Tuwharetoa, Nga Puhi, Taranaki and Arawa songs are interspersed in that way. The student would have to classify and rearrange according to tribal origin before he can do work of any value with the material. Not enough has been made of dialectical differences, or of tribal idiosyncracies in the poetry, traditions and mythology.' Ngata/JCA, 21 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7).

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113. Eventually published as G. L. Adkin, Horowhenua, its Maori Place-names & their Topographical & Historical Background (Wellington, 1948); Tiaki Hikawera Mitira (J. H. Mitchell), Takitimu (Wellington, 1944).
114. S. Percy Smith, History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840 (New Plymouth, 1910); Smith, The Peopling of the North: Notes on the Ancient Maori History of the Ngati-Whatua Tribe of Kaipara, New Zealand (New Plymouth, 1897); T. G. Hammond, The Story of Aotea (Christchurch, 1924); Elsdon Best, Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist, Sketch of the Origin, History, Myths and Beliefs of the Tuhoe Tribe of the Maori of New Zealand, With Some Account of Other Tribes of the Bay of Plenty District (Wellington, 1925).
115. J. Te H. Grace, Tuwharetoa: The History of the Maori People of the Taupo District (Wellington, 1959).
116. Ngata/J. Te H. Grace, undated, c. December 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7).
117. Ngata/JCA, 11 May 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8); Ngata/JCA, 9 June 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).
118. JCA/Ngata, 15 June 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 9).
119. This comes through also in a letter written to Pei Te Hurinui Jones in 1945: 'I was pleased to see the meaning of the name Tawhi-ao [given in a ms by Jones]; pleased too to see the other names he bore. I see by the paper, too, that his last-remaining son Haunui died recently: I feel sympathy with his people, even though I, a stranger, have no right to express it to them.' JCA/Pei Te Hurinui Jones, 24 October 1942 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled JPS Editorial Correspondence June 1945-August 1946).
120. William Greenwood, The Upraised Hand, or, the Spiritual Significance of the Ringatu Faith (Wellington, 1942).
121. Mitchell, Takitimu, quoted by 'W.G.', Review of J. H. Mitchell, Takitimu, JPS, vol. 54 (1945), p. 87. This Maori abhorrence of taonga being commercialised had also been expressed in earlier years to Ngata who attempted to allay such fears with a brief statement in Nga Moteatea, Part I (1928) that while 'Close on £9000' had been spent by the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, 'They, the learned men who collected the material for those accounts, received no money, the whole amount being spent in publishing their books.' Ngata, 'He Whakamarama', Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959), p. xv, first published in Maori in Nga Moteatea, Part I (1928) and translated by Pei Te Hurinui Jones. The talk continued

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- after the publication of Nga Moteatea, Part I (1928): 'There are some who still sneer, and who are saying that this is a money-making job. It has already been clearly explained that it is the Board of Maori Ethnological Research which is carrying out this work; it is paying for the printing of these songs and the publication in book form. The moneys of this Board are derived from a fund known as the Maori Purposes Fund As for me ... it was a task to which I had dedicated myself out of my love for the treasures of our ancestors; I am not being paid, and indeed, it would be quite impossible to recompense me for the mental stress and strain by any monetary reward.' Ngata, 'He Whakamarama' probably translated by Pei Te Hurinui Jones, first published in Maori in Nga Moteatea, Part II (1929), Nga Moteatea, Part II (1961), pp. ix-x.
122. 'W.G.', review of J. H. Mitchell, Takitimu, JPS, vol. 54 (1945), p. 90.
 123. Andersen, Review of J. H. Mitchell, Takitimu, JPS, vol. 54 (1945), p. 117.
 124. Ibid., pp. 117-121.
 125. Ibid., p. 122. Thomas Lambert, The Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast District, North Island, New Zealand, or, Past Present and Future; A Record of Over Fifty Years' Progress (Dunedin, 1925).
 126. Andersen, Review of J. H. Mitchell, Takitimu, JPS, vol. 54 (1945), p. 117. p. 122. See PLATE LXX, below.
 127. Ibid., p. 124.
 128. Ibid., p. 124 and footnote.
 129. Ernest Beaglehole/JCA, 21 April 1945; memorandum by Ngata, 3 May 1945 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled JPS editorial Correspondence June 1945-August 1946).
 130. Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Some Modern Maoris (Wellington, 1946).
 131. Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, 'Contemporary Maori Death Customs', JPS, vol. 54 (1945), p. 91. See PLATE LXXI, below.

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132. Ibid., pp. 115-16.
133. George Graham/JCA, 20 October 1945 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled JPS Editorial Correspondence June 1945-August 1946).
134. Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, 'The Study of Maori Life', JPS, vol. 54 (1945), pp. 235-37.
135. J. Ekblom Gullberg, 'A Scheme of Anthropometry For New Guinea and Australia', JPS, vol. 33 (1924), pp. 198-206. Gullberg advocated acquisition of whole skeletons, brains, and embryos. 'The question arises, as to what extent ... brain removal would cause resentment among the natives.' If any part of the body were 'obviously carried away ... there is definite feeling aroused As it is only during the post-mortem that the natives show any but a casual interest, it is possible to secure specimens if a procedure is used which conceals the depredation.' Ibid., pp. 199-200. Gullberg had been made aware at the Pan-Pacific Science Congress held at Melbourne in 1923 that 'There are many people interested in scientific work who demur at any investigation of human remains. To those who claim that it is sacrilegious to recover skeletons for scientific purposes, there is no appealing because these people can have no genuine appreciation of anthropological aims.' Ibid., p. 205. 'The public', he concluded, 'may through education, reach the point of understanding that science helps both the black and the white with its impersonal research.' Ibid., p. 206.
136. For Paora Temuera, see Eric Ramsden, Rangiatea: The Story of the Otaki Church Its First Pastor and Its People (Wellington, 1951), pp. 302-08, 319.
137. Paora Temuera to Editor, JPS, vol. 55 (1946), pp. 82-83.
138. Ibid., p. 84. Since I have heard Pakeha comment, or perhaps complain, that Maori in the 1980s and 1990s are 'suddenly' claiming the status of taonga or treasures for all manner of cultural expressions, it might be worth noting for the benefit of Pakeha readers Temuera's use of 'taonga', 'our possessions' in the translation. It is indeed not simply a word/concept (or sign) which has been rediscovered by contemporary Maori who have made a close reading of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In his 'He Whakamarama' (preface) to Nga Moteatea, Part II (1929), Ngata used the phrase 'nga taonga a o tatau tīpuna' in reference to the songs in Nga Moteatea: see Nga Moteatea, Part II (1961), pp. x, xxxviii.
139. Ibid., p. 84.
140. Temuera to Editor, JPS, vol. 55 (1946), p. 84, and editorial note on p. 84.

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141. The estimate of the number of members present is in Taylor/JCA, 3 September 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50).
142. WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters and correspondence 1939-50.
143. Minutes, Polynesian Society AGM, 3 September 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters and correspondence 1939-50).
144. Although McEwen's entry in successive editions of Who's Who in New Zealand gives 1946-53 as dates of service as secretary of the Maori Purposes Fund Board, he was secretary from 1 March 1945: see Minutes of meeting, 20 November 1945, Maori Purposes Fund Board (WArc: MA 52/1c).
145. Ms notes in handwriting of C.R.H. Taylor (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters and correspondence 1939-50).
146. Minutes, Polynesian Society AGM, 3 September 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters and correspondence 1939-50).
147. The argument between G. L. Adkin and Andersen was drawn out, complex, aggravating not only to the principals but also to all manner of other people indirectly involved. As a result the correspondence is voluminous, and no good purpose would be served by providing all the references here. A good sample as the debate reached the level of acrimony can be seen in the following: A. G. Bagnall/JCA, 14 March 1944; JCA/Bagnall, 20 March 1944; Bagnall/JCA, 1 June 1944; Bagnall/JCA, 26 March 1944; JCA/Bagnall, 17 May 1944; JCA ms draft of letter to (presumably) Adkin, on back of JCA/W. Greenwood, 8 February 1944; Bagnall/JCA, 15 May 1944; JCA/Adkin, 22 August 1944; Bagnall/Adkin, 18 September 1944 (WTu: PS Further Papers 80-115, Box 6A, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society Journal Correspondence 1943 (end Dec only) and 1944). Adkin brought Ngata into the argument, and this no doubt had some tangential bearing on Ngata's subsequent willingness to see a change in the editorship of the JPS. See also Ngata/JCA, 22 April 1944; JCA/Ngata, 1 May 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8); and a considerable number of items in WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters and correspondence 1939-50.
148. Taylor/Andersen, 3 September 1946 ((WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters and correspondence 1939-50).
149. Leslie Kelly's Tainui: The Story of Hoturoa and His Descendants (Wellington, 1949) was

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published by the Polynesian Society. The work on Tawhiao is also referred to in JCA/Pei Te Hurinui Jones, 24 October 1945 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled JPS Editorial Correspondence June 1945-August 1946). Presumably it was an earlier version of what was eventually published by the Polynesian Society as Pei Te Hurinui Jones, King Potatau: An Account of the Life of Potatau Te Wherowhero, the First Maori King (Wellington, 1959). Some of Jones's other materials appeared in his chapter 'Maori Kings' in The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties: A Symposium, ed. Erik Schwimmer (Wellington, 1968), pp. 132-73.

150. JCA/Taylor, 17 September 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters and correspondence 1939-50).
151. JCA/Taylor, 20 September 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters and correspondence 1939-50).
152. Taylor/Ngata, 16 September 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters and correspondence 1939-50). This letter is dated one day before the letter Andersen sent to Taylor suggesting that Ngata would have 'something to say', so it would appear that Taylor's letter to Ngata was not written as a consequence of Andersen's suggestion.
153. Ngata/Taylor, 23 September 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50).
154. Minutes of meeting of Council of Polynesian Society, 13 November 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50).
155. Andersen, 'A Last Word From the Editor', JPS, vol. 55 (1946), p. 281.
156. C.R.H. T[aylor], 'Johannes Carl Andersen ... Editor 1925-1947', JPS, vol. 56 (1947), pp. 1-2. See PLATE LXXII, below.
157. Conversation between C.R.H. Taylor and P. J. Gibbons, September 1982; reiterated in an interview 17 March 1987.
158. Taylor's view, given in a letter two years after I had sent him an account of Andersen's removal from the editorship, asking him to comment further: 'I should perhaps apologise for my neglect of your letter with so many problems, but I felt there were too many

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personal aspects that I did not wish to discuss'. P. J. Gibbons/C.R.H. Taylor, 28 March 1983; Taylor/Gibbons, 4 July 1985.

159. A. G. Bagnall/P. J. Gibbons, 5 April 1983. There is a hint of earlier difficulties at Polynesian Society Council meetings in A. G. Bagnall's mention of John Ilott's 'skill in coping both with the aspirations of the editor and the opposing dourness of the Director of the Dominion Museum [W.R.B. Oliver]'. A. G. B[agnall], Obituary of 'Sir John Ilott 1884-1973', Turnbull Library Record, vol. 6, no. 2 (October 1973), p. 42. There had been signs of an incipient revolt as early as 1939. 'It will interest you to learn that the Polynesian Society has now been completely annexed by the Turnbull Library', W.R.B. Oliver told H. D. Skinner, referring to the election of C.R.H. Taylor and A. G. Bagnall as secretary and treasurer respectively. 'Nothing was done [at the AGM] with regard any alteration in the Editorship or in the method of publication of book reviews.' Oliver had a mind to form some kind of group to 'bring together those interested in the Maori'. Oliver/Skinner, 9 November 1939 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box labelled Miscellaneous Correspondence 1928-1947). Skinner agreed that 'It seems to be a desperate situation' and said, unsurprisingly, that 'Andersen's reviews are undiluted rubbish'. Skinner/Oliver, 16 November 1939 (WMu: National Museum Archives, Box 49, folder ii).
160. Taylor/Ngata, 16 September 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50).
161. Ngata/Taylor, 23 September 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50).
162. Ngata may not have read Andersen's review of Mitchell's Takitimu, of course: it may be doubted that he was, by the 1940s, an avid reader of Andersen's contributions to the JPS. But since the article by the Beagleholes had been drawn to his attention when it became a matter of controversy, it is highly likely that he cast his eye over the whole June 1945 issue. Possibly, too, these orthographic matters had been highlighted by the debate between Andersen and Adkin over the 'proper' forms of words in Adkin's 'Horowhenua' manuscript, an argument into which Ngata had been drawn. The weight of probability is that Ngata read Andersen's review of Takitimu. What would have been his attitude towards the review? Perhaps there is somewhere some documentary evidence. Since Ngata himself had made a broadly positive comment about Takitimu, in his letter to John Te H. Grace quoted earlier in this chapter (Ngata/Grace, undated, c. December 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7)), the review might well have been at a variance with his own feelings about Takitimu. Moreover, Mitchell had been associated with the work for Nga Moteatea, which is another element in the equation. Ngata's relationship with Mitchell is suggested, if by no means fully revealed, in an early passage of Pei Te Hurinui Jones's introduction to the second volume of Nga Moteatea: 'The late Sir Apirana Ngata and I often discussed these songs and other compositions, and I recall one night at the home of the late Taiporutu (Mr Tai Mitchell) in Ohinemutu, where we were guests of that

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- hospitable gentleman, and he (Sir Apirana) and I were in Tai's private thermal bathing pool talking about our poetry, and the dawn was approaching when we retired to sleep.' Pei Te Hurinui Jones, 'Introduction', Nga Moteatea, Part II (1961), p. xli.
163. Memorandum by Ngata, 3 May 1945 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled JPS Editorial Correspondence June 1945-August 1946).
 164. Eric Ramsden, Sir Apirana Ngata and Maori Culture (Wellington, 1948), pp. 83-84.
 165. Ngata, quoted in ibid., p. 87.
 166. See especially Andersen's remark to the printers in 1934: 'I started the Maori Music paper so that we might be sure always of having enough material for the quarterly numbers, for at times there was doubt of having sufficient'. JCA/Avery and Sons, 6 March 1934 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1934, vol. 2). He made similar comments to H. D. Skinner in 1932. It was a 'chancy' matter getting enough material, and he was, he told Skinner, glad to see a 'big paper' like D. G. Kennedy's Vaitupu study, because it provided for each quarterly issue a quantity of material of which he could be certain; and 'That was one reason why I set to and rewrote my amplified paper on Maori Music'. The size of the issues had to be kept up, he explained to Skinner, because the Board of Maori Ethnological research had made its most recent grant on that condition. JCA/Skinner, 5 February 1932 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1932, vol. 1). As Editor, Andersen frequently fretted about whether he would have enough articles for the next issue of the JPS. He wrote to Kinsey in 1933, referring to several reviews he had written for the latest issue and to a further memoir instalment of Maori Music, 'I think we are holding our own among anthropological journals. Have to devote a lot of time to it all the same; about 45 pages in this number are from my pen'. JCA/Kinsey, 27 October 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8).
 167. Ngata, quoted in Ramsden, Apirana Ngata, pp. 90-92.
 168. Ngata, quoted in ibid., pp. 95-102. Robert Maunsell, Grammar of the New Zealand Language (Auckland, 1842; several subsequent editions); W. L. Williams, First Lessons in the Maori Language with a Short Vocabulary (London, 1862; tenth edition, Christchurch, 1940); A Dictionary of the Maori Language, ed. Herbert W. Williams (fifth edition, Wellington, 1917).
 169. Ngata, quoted in Ramsden, Apirana Ngata, pp. 102-03.
 170. Ngata, quoted in ibid., pp. 103-05.

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171. Ngata, quoted in ibid., pp. 109-11.
172. Ngata, quoted in ibid., p. 107.
173. See chapter 2, above.
174. Ngata, quoted in Ramsden, Apirana Ngata, pp. 88-89.
175. Ngata's charges are sufficiently serious to require detailed refutation. Ngata did not accuse Andersen of 'the dictionary approach to Maori place names': it is simply that this comment is juxtaposed with the swipe at the 'big tome on Maori place names', and the potential effect, for the original listeners and for subsequent readers, is to associate Andersen with the practice. In Maori Place-names, pp. 262-64, Andersen quotes in extenso Herbert Williams's warnings against 'chopping' names into lengths 'and giving each piece a meaning'; and in ibid., p. 315, Andersen gives Waimata as 'an example of the impossibility of even translating a name literally'. (See also ibid., pp. 284, 342, 364, 404-05.) The 'big tome' as a whole is not distinguished by an emphasis on the 'poetical', and the casual enquirer, unattuned to Andersen's writing, will probably find the book (499 pages in length) a dogged rehearsal of much recondite matter, considerable portions of which have little direct relationship to Maori place names. The second half of Maori Place-names discusses names which include words for or references to flora, fauna, rivers, lakes, mountains. 'It has often been said that Maori names are principally derivative, and not descriptive. This may be so in some classes of names', Andersen admits, with some caution, 'but a great many names of physical features are clearly descriptive, as will appear abundantly in many that follow later on' (p. 265). But in fact he is reluctant to be too insistent upon the essentially 'descriptive' aspect of any name. Of Waiharakeke, a name which incorporates the word for flax (*Phormium tenax*) and had been applied to four different localities, Andersen notes that 'Whilst in most instances the name seems descriptive, it may at times be commemorative, for there was a river of that name at Ra'iatea (Rangiatea) from whence came Aotea, one of the Fleet of 1350' (p. 269). Similarly, he says of Waiaruhe, which incorporates the word for edible fernroot (root of *Pteridium aquilina*): 'The word waiaruhe is also a term applied to one whose death has not been avenged, and the history ... might reveal the presence of more than the name seems to imply' (p. 268). For Waingongoro, he begins by asserting, 'This name is commemorative, not descriptive'. Turi was told he had snored while he slept, and named the stream accordingly. However, Andersen will not quite give away the descriptive possibility: not only did Gustavus von Tempsky apparently regard the waters as 'snoring', but 'It is no doubt quite possible that Turi himself was influenced by the sound of the water when he thought of the name, making it descriptive and commemorative at the same time' (pp. 316-17). For a few highly-significant names, Andersen displays considerable enthusiasm, for example, Aotearoa (pp. 88-89, 151-52); Hikurangi (p. 241); Rangiatea (p. 245) - he relishes the 'poetical', to use Ngata's word, in what the traditions say about these historical names. There is at least a hint of approval, too, in his report of 'Kakamu-a-hakite-kura' as the peaks Kura 'could see in the dawning light twinkling and winking at her like two eyes' (p. 222); and in the suggestion that 'The great rolling waves' of the west

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coast have been named after Kupe's daughter, as 'Tai-tuauru-o-te-marowhara' (p. 205). Yet there is self-conscious caution about such matters: 'This is no doubt the language of poetry' (p. 132); another name 'is explained in another way, much more satisfactory to the romanticist and folklorist, and not unsatisfactory to the anthropologist' (p. 198). In presenting the Araiteuru 'list', he does not forget the warning given by Herbert Williams 'against trusting to lists of names'; but 'even if the names were not so given as stated, they are there, and were given at some time, so that the list is of interest as being a Maori explanation of the names, and it appears too elaborate to be a mere Maori pleasantry - though even if it were so it would be worth recording' (p. 133).

This element of scepticism, Andersen stacking up scholarly caution against his wish to see poetry in the place-names, and the tension between the scholar and the poet, is most explicit in the following passage, where he tries to argue both ways (p. 141):

The leaving of the vessel by odd men as she went along was not a habit confined to the people of the Arai-te-uru; the same thing was done by many men from the Fleet vessels; they seemed quite ready to run the risk, landing, or swimming ashore, at places that took their fancy. What happened to them is left to the imagination. Again, whilst the above recital might make it appear that the names were actually given at the time the men left the vessel, it is unlikely that this was so. It is much more likely that the names were given subsequently, during their sojourn in the localities or during their final return to the north to more congenial climate. Something appropriate in a certain feature might suggest the giving of a certain name - such for instance as the name Kohurau. This, as the name of the peak near the township of Kurow, has been regarded as a most appropriate name, the mists that hang about that peak being embodied in the name, which means 'many' (or a hundred - rau), and 'mists' (kohu). This fancy is not dissipated even when it is known that the name was that of a man. That same prolific fancy suggests; "No doubt they would notice the hanging mists, and one day someone would say - 'Look! that peak would be an appropriate one for Kohurau!'" - and the name would be given. The Maori appreciated the appropriateness of names, and appreciated their beauty of suggestion, and so Fancy seems to score. But what when it is further known that the name Kohurau was older even than the Arai-te-uru? and that the name was also the name of the burial-cave of the great chief Uenuku in Rangiatea, in which cave rest his bones and the bones of his family? Fancy turns a deaf ear.

The one name in this list whose history we are told is Puketapu - and could Fancy ever have evolved that story from the name? Well, the same Maori Fancy that did evolve it is far older even than Ovid; and it is the breath of life.

In fact, in Maori Place-names Andersen does not emphasize the descriptive or 'poetical' side of the name-giving. If he celebrates the legendary ancestors rather than 'humdrum' incidents, that is because the sources from which he was working did likewise. So how did Ngata come to read the book as suggesting that names were 'always thought to have been given in some poetical sense'? Perhaps because Andersen had often talked and written (in newspaper letters, for instance) as if that had been the case. He had made these kinds of statements at the Auckland Institute talk in May 1941, which has been referred to

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in chapter 4 above: 'Maoris declared that their names were not descriptive' but Pakeha 'could not help feeling that the Maori's sense of the picturesque continually influenced him in the choice of names'. If Ngata did not see the newspaper report of that talk, he may well have seen others; and it seems likely that he had discussed this matter with Andersen. One of the Maori of 'Maoris declared' was Ngata. There was frequent contact over Geographic Board questions, and informal talk on other occasions. In 1933, Andersen wrote to Herbert Williams: '[Ngata] tells me the Maori never gave a place-name for descriptive reasons; Whitianga and Pariwhero were never given because there was a crossing or a red cliff there but the name was an association name, brought from elsewhere. But how does it happen that the names apply [i.e., descriptively]? - even if it were an association name can there be any doubt it was given because it was appropriate? - thus it is an association name that is at the same time descriptive, and the descriptive quality certainly entered in.' JCA/Williams, 31 March 1933 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Letterbooks, 1933, vol. 1). This letter possibly indicates a major debate between Ngata and Andersen. It could be that Ngata 'read into' Maori Place-names Andersen's often expressed attitudes about 'the Maori's sense of the picturesque'. If this is so, it is further, if circumstantial, evidence that it was not particular things Pakeha scholars had done which irritated Ngata but that they set themselves up as experts on Maori at all.

What Andersen thought of Ngata's criticism of the 'big tome' does not seem to have been recorded. Bagnall refers to 'criticism which discouraged author from a second edition', though there were other critics, besides Ngata, of Maori Place-names: see New Zealand National Bibliography to the Year 1960, ed. A. G. Bagnall (five volumes, Wellington, 1969-1985), vol. 2, p. 29. Perhaps Andersen took the comments to heart. He wrote to a newspaper in 1948 that the name for Te Anau, the lake, was 'historical, and not descriptive' (Unsourced clipping dated 3 April 1948). However, a tourism promoter, preferring to believe the opposite, searched for a 'cave of rushing water' around the shores of Te Anau, and, about the time Andersen wrote his letter, found an extensive cave: see Lawson Burrows, Te Anau Anchorage (Dunedin, 1974), pp. 40-53.

176. Ngata, quoted in Ramsden, Apirana Ngata, p. 108. See also Ngata/Buck, 23 June 1928, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 1, p. 102.
177. Ngata, quoted in Ramsden, Apirana Ngata, p. 92. This matter had been a constant concern to Ngata, and though it was rarely expressed to Pakeha with the vehemence Ngata displayed in 1947, there are a number of examples of his belief that Pakeha scholars could get matters horribly wrong in his letters to Peter Buck, some extracts from which are quoted in the next two paragraphs. He talked of it in a general way in a letter to C.R.H. Taylor in 1939, referring to his own work over several years in making a collection of Maori proverbs and other sayings. The collection, he intended, would 'clear up all references to [proverbs &c] in extant English [language] publications, place the narratives in relation to them on record, the texts approved by respective tribes with dialectical variations, and the meaning and applications of same from a Maori standpoint. The Pakeha Scholar is naturally tempted to interpret Maori or Native sayings in terms of his ideologies on the social situation with which he is familiar. The English versions of Grey and Colenso are vitiated by this propensity.' He exempted Firth, who had 'gone further than anyone in reconstructing the environment of Maori proverbs', from his broader

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strictures. It may be noted that Ngata had also used the word 'vitiated' in relation to Andersen's Maori Place-names during his speech in 1947. Ngata/C.R.H. Taylor, 5 May 1939 (NLR: Box 5212, folder 181/41).

178. Ngata/Buck, 18/19 June 1929, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 1, p. 211.
179. Ngata/Buck, 17 June 1929, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 1, p. 205.
180. Ngata referred, of course, to Andersen's Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907), and Myths & Legends of the Polynesians (London, 1928); the editorial note in Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 2, p. 57, note 23, is inaccurate for the first title. See PLATE LXXIII, below.
181. Ngata/Buck, 20 September 1930, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 2, p. 57. Sir Maui Pomare and James Cowan, Legends of the Maori (Wellington, 1930).
182. See chapter 2, above.
183. Ngata/JCA, 15 December 1930 (AR: Andersen Papers, letters to Andersen, c. 1905-46, typescript version). Buck's 'Cawthron lecture' was 'The Coming of the Maori', in Maori and Education: Or the Education of Natives in New Zealand and Its Dependencies, ed. P. M. Jackson (Wellington, 1931), pp. 17-62. Buck delivered the original lecture to the Cawthron Institute, Nelson, in 1922, and it was published by the Institute as The Coming of the Maori (Nelson, 1925). A second edition was published in 1929.
184. Ngata/Buck, 15 December 1930, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 2, p. 86. F. M. Keesing, The Changing Maori (New Plymouth, 1928).
185. Ngata/Buck, 22 May 1930, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 2, p. 18.
186. Ngata/Buck, 17 March 1934, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 3, p. 140.
187. Ngata/Buck, 24 August 1931, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 2, p. 206. Andersen referred in 1924 to Doreen Walsh's transcriptions in a letter to Ngata: 'Once they are transcribed and written down, as this one is, it will be necessary for some one say with violin to go over them in you[r] hearing, so you may point out any deviations from the melody, or any wrong intervals'. JCA/Ngata, 28 August 1924 (NLR: Box 5214, folder 181 Ng-Ny). Andersen did not play the violin, but perhaps arranged for Ngata to hear someone else 'reproduce'; or possibly Andersen tried a voice reproduction.

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188. Ngata/Buck, 5 August 1936, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 3, p. 233.
189. The extent of financial assistance from Maori sources for nearly the whole period Andersen was associated with the Journal was £7,341, from the initial £100 grant by the Board of Maori Ethnological Research in 1923-24 (before Andersen's involvement) through 1943-44. In four years, 1933-34, 1934-35, 1936-37, 1937-38, there had been no grant. 'Polynesian Society Grants', undated ms (WArc: MA 51, Box 26, 26/9/16). Sometimes the grants from the Board of Maori Ethnological Research or the Maori Purposes Fund Board exceeded annual income from Polynesian Society members' subscriptions. A comment by Te Kapunga Dewes indicates that a later generation of Maori were also conscious of the financial realities: 'The Journal of the Polynesian Society, after years of subsidy by Maori monies, has been a professional journal for anthropologists generally and does not print anything on oral literature and oral history in Maori.' Te Kapunga Dewes, 'The Case for Oral Arts', Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On - Aspects of Maoritanga, ed. Michael King (Wellington, 1975), p. 83, note 22.
190. JCA/Taylor, 17 September 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50).
191. Duff/J. M. McEwen, 17 October 1949 (WArc: MA 52/4 N).
192. Minutes of council meeting of Polynesian Society, 13 November 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50).
193. JCA/Taylor, 20 September 1946 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50): 'The page size seems small when compared with the other Memoirs; will that matter?'
194. Minutes of council meeting of Polynesian Society, 8 September 1947 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50).
195. Elsdon Best, The Land of Tara and They Who Settled It: The Story of the Occupation of Te Whanganui-a-Tara (the Great Harbour of Tara), or, Port Nicholson By the Maoris (New Plymouth, 1919).
196. Minutes of council meeting of Polynesian Society, 7 May 1947; minutes of council meeting of Polynesian Society, 8 September 1947 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 14, Bundle labelled Council matters & correspondence 1939-50).
197. JCA/C.R.H. Taylor, 3 June 1948 (Papers in possession (1982) of Mr C.R.H. Taylor, Wellington).

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198. G. L. Adkin, The Great Harbour of Tara: Traditional Maori Place-names and Sites of Wellington Harbour and Environs. A Revision (Christchurch, 1959).

199. JCA/Taylor, 19 June 1949 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 63). This passage appears to bear out what has been argued above, that for Andersen the translations were paramount, and without translations, it was hardly worthwhile printing *Nga Moteatea*. From Ngata's perspective, the Maori language version was the most important. '[D]o you think you'll ever get the translations?' also indicates Andersen's view that a bilingual *Nga Moteatea* was the proper fulfilment of the project, and that if they didn't 'ever get' the translations the enterprise would remain incomplete. Here, too, we may see evidence, of a circumstantial kind, that it was Andersen who originally held out for translation earlier in the 1940s when the task was taken up by the Polynesian Society, for the others involved in the Society (and some of those on the Council in 1948 when the Maori language version, untranslated, of Part III began, had been on the Council in the early 1940s) were more willing to forgo translation.

200. JCA/C.R.H. Taylor, 17 July 1950 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).

201. Ngata/JCA, 14 May 1928 (AR: Andersen Papers, letters to Andersen c. 1905-46, typescript version). Ngata told Buck a few weeks later: 'Amendments, corrections, variations and additions [to *Nga Moteatea*, Parts I and II (1928 and 1929)] will be made in the final version, which will be annotated in English with introductory matter dealing ... with Maori poetry, Maori mentality and philosophy as evidenced by the poetry, classification and so forth. I expect to have Andersen's help with the metrical qualities of Maori verse.' Ngata/Buck, 20 June 1929, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 1, p. 212. Both these sources suggest a collaborative effort.

202. In November 1943, Andersen asked Ngata: 'Can there be a short explanatory introduction like that in vol. 1 of your [1928] *Nga Moteatea*?' JCA/Ngata, 16 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7). Ngata's intentions for Part III (as he had hoped the next publication would have been) are set out in Ngata/JCA, 21 November 1943 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 7), including a suggestion that Andersen see if some material prepared by W. W. Bird would be suitable. There is no mention of an introduction by Andersen. The only hint in the 1940s of a contribution by Andersen in Ngata's letters is a response to Andersen's comment on a phrase in one of the songs that the same idea occurred in both Virgil and Homer. 'You should note these parallels', suggested Ngata, 'for comment in a review of the quality of Maori poetry'. NCA/Ngata, 21 February 1944; Ngata/JCA, 7 March 1944 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 8). This does not seem to amount to an invitation to write an introductory section to *Nga Moteatea*.

203. Taylor/JCA, 2 August 1950 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).

204. New Zealand Herald, 7 August 1950 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 12).

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205. JCA/Taylor, 9 August 1950 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).

206. New Zealand Herald, 27 December 1950 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 12).

207. In fact, twenty-three had not been published in the Journal: in the March 1945 issue of the Journal, the text was published as far as the Maori version of Song 20, and the balance of Song 20, together with the Maori and the translations of Songs 21, 22, and 23, did not appear until June 1953. Andersen was evidently referring to the proof copies of the unpublished portion of Song 20 and the whole of Songs 21 through 23. In response to an enquiry by Andersen, Avery and Sons, the printers, reported early in 1952 that they held 400 sets of the first 72 pages - that is, the portion up to and including the Maori version of Song 20, as published in the Journal between the June 1944 issue and the March 1945 issue. They made no mention of copies of pages 73-89, which completed the series through to the end of Song 23. Avery and Sons/JCA, 18 January 1952 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 11a). Andersen's mistake in his letter to Jones is the literary or bibliographical equivalent of a Freudian slip.

208. JCA/Pei Te Hurinui Jones, 10 January 1951 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).

209. JCA/Taylor, 10 January 1951; Taylor/JCA, 2 May 1951 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10).

210. MS with JCA/Taylor, 24 July 1951 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 16).

211. JCA/Taylor, 24 July 1951 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 16).

212. 'Wrote Avery 14.12.51 asking about ... the Maori songs: have they still the pages printed off when they were printed for the Journal?' Ms note by Andersen on reverse of Taylor/JCA, 30 July 1951; Avery and Sons/JCA, 19 December 1951 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 10); 'Wrote A. H. Avery 29.12.51 ... saying what was the state of Ngata's songs ... asking what remains to be done, & that Maori Board would help if any help is needed. Also asked what the other uncompleted series of Ngata songs was about.' Ms note by Andersen (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 12). The 'other uncompleted series' was the beginnings of Part III of Nga Moteatea, what Ngata had hoped the Journal would publish in 1943 and after, in Maori language only, without translations, which appeared between 1948 and 1951 in the JPS, vols 57-60; Avery and Sons/JCA, 18 January 1952 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 11a).

213. JCA/Avery and Sons, 24 January 1952 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 11a).

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214. Avery and Sons/JCA, 7 February 1952 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 11a).
215. JCA/J. M. McEwen, 4 April 1952; McEwen/JCA, 15 May 1952; Minutes of AGM, Maori Purposes Fund Board, 30 October 1952 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 28).
216. Ms by Andersen, undated (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 12). The ellipsis points after 'e' and 'i' are in the original.
217. Andersen, Maori Music, pp. 421-22, 430-38.
218. Ms by Andersen (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 12). Another draft, perhaps of the piece sent to Taylor in July 1951, is also in this folder; and a still further draft of material intended to accompany *Nga Moteatea* is enclosed in a ring binder of Maori songs &c, in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland. There are, therefore, four separate drafts for material which Andersen hoped to publish with *Nga Moteatea*, a further indication of his concern to see the first twenty-three songs launched with his own imprimatur.
219. JCA/Taylor, 7 June 1953 (WTu: MS Papers 189, folder 11a).
220. For the publication history of *Nga Moteatea*, see the listing of editions which precedes the endnotes for this study. On the fourth volume, see J. E. Traue, 'The Additional Songs Collected By Sir Apirana Ngata for Part IV of Nga Moteatea', Turnbull Library Record, vol. 23 (1990), pp. 77-79. Traue's comments indicate how the issues raised in the present study continued to be of major concern in the 1980s as the publication of 'Part IV' was planned: 'It was recognised that an editor would be required to prepare Sir Apirana Ngata's texts and annotations for publication in the light of the linguistic and other knowledge now available to scholars, and that a decision would need to be made on whether an English translation would be necessary or appropriate. Informal inquiries indicated that Pei Te Hurinui Jones had begun English translations for some of the songs, but had not completed the work, but this required further investigation. Opinions on the need for a translation into English differed: most people consulted agreed that the language and verse form chosen by Jones was impossible to reproduce and inappropriate for the second part of the twentieth century; some thought the allusiveness of the Maori defied translation; some thought an English translation inappropriate in the current climate; all agreed that an English translation presented problems.' *Ibid.*, p. 78. Though Traue does not give all the detail, it is evident also from what he has stated that there were crucial matters of protocol involved in the editing. 'The choice of an editor presented problems because of the tight time scale imposed by the 1990 Commission's conditions for its grant [towards publication], and the already heavy commitments of the few scholars with the linguistic competence and necessary degree of acceptance by Maori opinion. The [Alexander Turnbull] Library's choice, made after long discussions with expert advisers,

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was Professor Bruce Biggs Professor Biggs accepted the task, but withdrew after two months work, having carefully considered the feelings expressed by Sir Henare Ngata [son of Apirana Ngata]. Dr Tamati Reedy, initially not available when he was Secretary for Maori Affairs, has now agreed to prepare the texts for publication.' *Ibid.*, p. 79.

221. See 'Introduction by Sir Apirana Ngata', included in the 1972 augmented facsimile edition of Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959), pp. xxvii-xxxii; Mitchell, Takitimu, pp. 7-9.
222. See, for example, Ngata's comment after quoting passages from Nga Moteatea: 'There are other gems like these. If other races were possessed of such as these they would value them most highly for their excellence, poetical technique, and beauty of language Let each one, who is considerate of these things, select lines from the songs which appeal to him. With regard to speechmaking in the Maori language there is no better qualification than a knowledge of the songs. In them are imbedded expressions which are applicable to each and every circumstance concerning the Maori as a man. There is really no reason for having recourse to the English language for expressions to clothe the thoughts of the Maori mind. His own language has an abundance; but it is a language which is being belittled by a generation of people who are grasping at things European.' Ngata, 'He Whakamarama', first published in Maori in Nga Moteatea, Part II (1929), probably translated by Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Nga Moteatea, Part II (1961), pp. xxxvii, xxxix.
223. Ngata made this point in a letter to Buck in 1933: 'With the revival of interest [in waiata etc] the demand has arisen for a pocket edition of "Nga Moteatea." This means a selection of the easier songs The collection and annotation of the songs has been done partly for the very object which has been in part achieved, the revival of interest in the aboriginal poetry and music. The young people now want something they can carry about like hymn books and they should be catered for in order that the renaissance may be further stimulated.' Ngata/Buck, 2 October 1933, Na To Hoa Aroha, vol. 3, p. 113. The comment about 'hymn books' is instructive; and Ngata was an Anglican in religion. Nga Moteatea was never published in such a format. It is not in fact regarded by most Maori as proper for waiata to be sung with book or score in hand: all songs are memorized. Anne Salmond has recorded: 'Some of the old people carry round a copy of Nga Moteatea, but it should never be used at a marae, and the one time I saw an old lady singing from it she was told to put it away.' Anne Salmond, Hui: A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings (first published 1975; Auckland, 1976), pp. 122-23.
224. This has been much commented upon: a compact statement from one of the 'younger writers' which captures the mood and rejects the tuis is by Allen Curnow in his Introduction to A Book of New Zealand Verse 1923-45 (1945), republished in Allen Curnow, Look Back Harder: Critical Writings 1935-1984, ed. Peter Simpson (Auckland, 1987), pp. 49-50.
225. Frank Sargeson, Never Enough! Places and People Mainly (Wellington, 1977), p. 72. The

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final ellipsis is in the original, and might be read as indicating Sargeson's residually sardonic attitude towards Andersen as a thoroughly forgettable, and forgotten, man of letters from an earlier era.

- 226. Nga Moteatea, Part I (1959), pp. 86-87.
- 227. The Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse, ed. Curnow, pp. 68-87.

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1. Andersen's interest in Maori people and their culture is in some ways very faintly echoed in the stories about the Danes of the Manawatu region by Yvonne du Fresne, herself of Danish Huguenot descent: see Yvonne du Fresne, 'The Mound', 'Arbor Day', 'The Old Ones', 'Last Summer', and 'Farvel', in du Fresne, Farvel and Other Stories (Wellington, 1980), pp. 36-39, 51-55, 62-66, 128-40. After interviewing Andersen in 1946, Lesley Verry reported: 'He thinks that perhaps [the] warrior qualities [of Maori], so akin to those of his own Viking ancestors, first attracted him to the study of Maori history and culture.' This sounds like later rationalisation: as has been explained in Chapter 1 of the present study, the congruence between Andersen's interest in Danish culture and Maori culture was initially literary. Lesley Verry, 'N.Z. Writer with the Viking Spirit. A Visit to Johannes C. Andersen, Versatile Litterateur', New Zealand Magazine, vol. 25, no. 3 (May-June 1946), pp. 13-15.
2. Alan Mulgan, The Making of a New Zealander (Wellington, 1958); Michael King, Being Pakeha: An Encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance (Auckland, 1985).
3. Keith Sinclair, A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity (Wellington, 1986), pp. 125-41, 143-73, 204-07; Jock Phillips, A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History (Auckland, 1987), pp. 82-216.
4. Andersen, Jubilee History of South Canterbury (Christchurch, 1916), pp. [v], 453-66.
5. Andersen's dislike of the Wakefields was perhaps much increased when Sir Frederick Chapman told him E. G. Wakefield had not consummated his marriage (later annulled) to Ellen Turner because he was suffering from 'clap'. Andersen apparently had to look up the word in a dictionary, and found the whole business highly distasteful (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 143A). See also JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 12 March 1927 ('I don't care for the Wakefields anyway') (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 2); JCA/Kinsey, 13 July 1928 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 3); Andersen, 'The Missionaries and the Maoris', in The Cambridge History of the British Empire, general eds, J. H. Rose, A. P. Newton, E. A. Benians, vol. 7, Part II, New Zealand, ed. J. Hight (Cambridge, 1933), p. 55.
6. The remainder of this paragraph summarizes Chapter 1, above. The succeeding six paragraphs characterise in compact form the material set out in the bulk of this study.
7. S. P. Smith, 'Preface', in Elsdon Best, Waikare-moana, the Sea of the Rippling Waters; the Lake; the Lands; the Legends. With a Tramp Through Tuhoe Land (first published 1897; Wellington, 1975), pp. 6-7; James Cowan, 'Domett and His Work Ranolf and Amohia', New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, vol. 5 (1901-02), pp. 214-223. Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907).
8. This paragraph summarizes Chapter 2, above.

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9. This paragraph summarizes Chapter 3, above.
10. Ranginui Walker, Nga Tau Tohetohe: Years of Anger, ed. J. Amoamo (Auckland, 1987), p. 139. Tipene O'Regan, also uses the word: Tipene O'Regan, 'Who Owns the Past? Change in Maori Perceptions of the Past', in From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Maori, ed. John Wilson (Auckland, 1987), p. 141: 'For a start, the very idea of trying to define an idea like the past - of allowing the world of ancestry and identity to become the plaything of historiographers - has little appeal to the Maori mind'. The notion that the elucidation of the history and traditions of indigenous peoples may be regarded as a kind of game is given succinct expression by Andrew Sharp, Ancient Voyagers in Polynesia (first published as Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific, 1956; Auckland, 1963), p. 136: 'The attraction of Pacific prehistory is that of a series of fascinating "whodunits", the attempted solution of which gives many people interest and pleasure. Long may the attempts continue!'
11. As he advised D. S. Davidson, University of Pennsylvania, who contributed several articles on Australia, 'purely Polynesian matter always [took] precedence'. JCA/Davidson, 27 April 1937 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 6, Bundle labelled Polynesian Society, 1937, vol. 1). Andersen told a correspondent in 1943, 'There would be more articles on the old Maori if [such] articles were contributed'. JCA/W. H. Ross, 22 June 1943 (AR: Andersen Papers, Place-names, General, vol. 6). There was from time to time criticism of the content of the *Journal*. When writing in 1933 about a decline in membership of the Polynesian Society in Auckland, George Graham observed to the treasurer, A. H. Maciver, 'I know there is (at least locally) a falling off of interest in the *Journal* - the alleged complaint is undue attention to Melanesian material & highly technical matters concerned with Ethnology & linguistics. Personally to me these are subjects of much interest, & undoubtedly of value & fulfilling the objective of the Society: Certain types however look for the mere "popular" side - i.e. Maori legends etc told in lighter vein. No Scientific Journal seeks for this mere class of popularity, but the guineas supply must nevertheless be considered.' Blanche Halcombe, one of the few woman members of the Society, reported in 1936 that she had 'lately heard two subscribers mention they did not find the journal nearly as interesting as a few years ago due to so little about the Maori & Morioris in which they are mainly interested', while she herself would welcome more 'from Mr [T. W.]Downes & others on the Maori'. Norman Potts, of Opotiki, made a similar complaint later in the same year, and indeed tendered his resignation from the Society: 'The *Journal* now contains articles dealing with Melanesia and the Pacific. As I am interested in our own natives I find the *Journal* of little or no interest.' In a further letter, Potts declared that 'New Zealanders are very much interested in the Maori Race but ... not one in a thousand would be interested in Melanesian dialects and purely Pacific material a return to the type of article of the period of Smith and Best is the real solution'. (Graham/Maciver, 10 April 1933; (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS, Further Papers, Box 5, Bundle labelled 1933); Halcombe/[? Maciver], undated, c. 1936(WTu: PS Further Papers 80-115, Box 5, Bundle labelled 1936 correspondence ready for binding); Potts/Maciver, 11 November 1936; Potts/Maciver, 16 November 1936 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 5, Bundle labelled correspondence 1932).) In fact, the editor more or less published what he received, and there was little local material of the kind provided earlier by Smith and Best. Certainly Andersen encouraged people to send material dealing with other parts of the Pacific - the Gilbert Islands string games from H. E. and Honor

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Maude, for example; and Peter Buck's contacts were important in eliciting articles from around the Pacific. It is true, on the other hand, that Andersen's tastes were catholic, not limited to New Zealand subjects.

Superficially the comments quoted above would suggest that many Pakeha members of the Polynesian Society were at one with Ngata in a desire for more Maori material. But the perspectives were rather different. Ngata wanted more Maori material in the strict sense; Halcombe and Potts and some of those who had complained to Graham in Auckland wanted Pakeha reconstructions of 'our own natives' or more on the fascinating 'Maoris & Morioris' question.

In passing it may be noted that Andersen, without a conscious or deliberate editorial policy to do so, took the JPS a considerable distance from its parochial and antiquarian origins towards a new status as an academic, or quasi-academic journal.

12. See Chapter 5, above.
13. The remainder of this paragraph summarizes Chapter 4, above.
14. An example reported during the annotation of this text is perhaps worth repeating. At Ponsonby Primary School, Jack Leigh remembered in 1991, 'Fifty years ago we not only had prefects ... but we were also regimented into four "tribes" or houses - Ngatiawa, Maniapoto, Ngapuhi and Arawa - and paraded behind the appropriate banners. The fond allegiance to Maori tribes was quite ironical since we knew little of Maori culture, and I cannot recall a single Maori in school.' Jack Leigh, 'Memories Are Made Of This', New Zealand Herald, 3 August 1991, section 2, p. 1. There is no reason to believe that Andersen might have had any involvement in this matter, though his influence upon teachers through the summer schools had widespread ramifications; but it is an example of the general willingness of Pakeha to utilize Maori culture.
15. Andersen advocated teaching proper pronunciation of Maori in primary schools: see JCA/J. G. Laughton, 23 October 1945 (WTu: Acc 80-115 PS Further Papers, Box 10, Bundle labelled JPS Editorial Correspondence June 1945-August 1946); Andersen's remarks included in 'Extracts from Correspondence submitted by members who were unable to be present', with H. H. Craig/JCA, 8 November 1945 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 28).
16. This paragraph summarizes Chapter 6, above.
17. The report of the Anthropology and Maori Race Section of the Auckland Institute for 1946-47 commented that 'The Section has benefited from the arrival of Mr Johannes C. Andersen, who is now residing in Auckland.' Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum, 1946-47, p. 10. Other lectures by Andersen to this Section and/or on more or less 'Maori' topics are noted in: Annual Report, 1947-48, p. 11; Annual Report, 1948-49,

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- p. 11; Annual Report, 1949-50, p. 12; Annual Report, 1950-51, p. 12; Annual Report, 1951-52, p. 12. (I am grateful to Rewa Fletcher, formerly of the Auckland Institute and Museum Library, for drawing my attention to these records; and to Jane Fisk, History student at the University of Waikato, for extracting the detailed references.)
18. Andersen was unable to attend the (annual) meeting of the New Zealand Geographic Board on 21 May 1957 because of ill-health, and in the same year declined renomination to the Board (WArc: IA 1, 41/22/2). I have been unable to establish precisely when Andersen ceased to be a member of the Maori Purposes Fund Board; he is listed as a member in the 'Hunn Report', which was dated 24 August 1960 (see J. K. Hunn, Report on Department of Maori Affairs (Wellington, 1961), p. 68), but ill-health and enfeeblement with advancing years in the late 1950s means it is unlikely he was then still able to travel to Wellington for the annual meeting of the Board.
 19. See, for example, the anonymous review of Andersen, The Maori Tohunga and His Spirit World (New Plymouth, 1948), in History and Bibliography, no. 3 (1948), p. 274: '[Andersen] is never stodgy, he is often whimsical and delightfully irrelevant but he knows his subject and puts life into the "traditions and superstitions" of the Maori' (emphasis added). J. C. Andersen and G. C. Petersen, The Mair Family (Wellington, 1956).
 20. New Zealand Herald, 24 February 1953 (Clipping in copy of Andersen's Maori Music, in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland. In the same book are two telegrams to Andersen from Gilbert Archey, Director of the Auckland Museum, about the visit of the French researcher, M. Georges M. D. de Gironcourt, dated 23 and 24 February 1953).
 21. 'The singing of these ancient Maori songs to the traditional Maori airs is still to be heard at all Maori gatherings and ... [has] by no means died out'. Apirana Ngata, 'Maori Arts and Crafts', in The Maori People Today: A General Survey, ed. I.L.G. Sutherland (Wellington, 1940), pp. 332-33.
 22. For new publications, there is a slightly different situation developing, with Maori writing many books on Maori culture in the later 1980s and early 1990s. Geoff Walker, publisher of Penguin Books, Auckland, was reported as saying 'he was wary of publishing books from non-Maori authors on Maori topics because it "did not seem appropriate".' In the same article, Michael King reflected that 'The demand for Maori books [i.e., books on Maori subjects, including King's own books] steadily grew until the mid-1980s Maori people at that time however began to have second thoughts about pakeha writing books about Maori [King] said while it was not a consensus among Maori, [he] respected the view that Maori topics were considered as Maori taonga (treasures) and material belonged to them. Since then he has concentrated on other aspects of New Zealand's history and geography.' Kirsty Babington, 'Book Market Cracked: Interest Grows in Maori Issues, Themes', Waikato Times, 8 June 1991, p. 17. However, the bulk of books are by Pakeha, and they remain in the libraries to be consulted. Moreover, as is pointed out further below,

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- a great number of earlier works have been given a new lease of life through republication, especially facsimile reprints.
23. Jean Devanney, The Butcher Shop, ed. Heather Roberts (first published 1928; Auckland, 1981), p. 46. (Mr J. B. Ringer, Auckland, very kindly reminded me of this passage.) Since Devanney visited the Turnbull Library, she also may well have discussed Maori subjects with Andersen: see JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 8 November 1926, 17 November 1926 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 3).
 24. Roberts, 'Introduction', in Devanney, Butcher Shop, ed. Roberts, p. 20. See PLATE XVI(b), below.
 25. For knowledge acquired through a museum, see for example Tony Simpson, Te Riri Pakeha: The White Man's Anger (first published 1979; Hodder & Stoughton edition, Auckland, 1986), pp. 7-8.
 26. Andersen's reputation is polished to a fresh brightness in the oddest places. In Robert D. Craig, Dictionary of Polynesian Mythology (New York, 1989), pp. xxvii-xxviii, is the following statement: 'Numerous volumes of the retelling of Polynesian stories in various languages have appeared during the past hundred years. Two in English particularly worth mentioning are those written by Johannes C. Andersen and Katherine Luomala. Born in Denmark in 1873, Andersen came to Wellington, New Zealand, where he was appointed librarian in the Alexander Turnbull Library. He became interested in Polynesian folklore and because of his inherent abilities was asked to edited [sic] the prestigious Journal of the Polynesian Society from 1925 to 1947. He published numerous articles and books regarding Polynesian mythology, the most important for this study is his Myths & Legends of the Polynesians, published originally in 1929 [sic; in fact 1928] and reprinted in 1969. Although not a primary source, his work does rely upon other authoritative sources, and the charming style of retelling the stories makes this a fascinating study. For his outstanding contribution to the discipline, Andersen was awarded the Royal Society medal for Ethnology in 1944. He died in 1962.' The medal was, of course, the Hector Medal, awarded by the Royal Society of New Zealand. Andersen might almost have written such a curious résumé himself.
 27. The texts are, of course, always contemporaneous from the time of publication, unchanged and unchanging, though 'read' in different ways at different times. This issue is raised, in regard to ethnographic 'truth', in a different but related context by Derek Freeman, 'Inductivism and Refutation' (first published in 1983), in The Samoa Reader: Anthropologists Take Stock, ed. Hiram Caton (Lanham, Maryland, 1990), pp. 156-57. See also Margaret Mead, Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth For Western Civilization (first published 1928; Laurel paperback edition, New York, 1968), pp. 11-16.

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28. The major effort in republication of fiction has been the 'New Zealand Fiction' series, published by Auckland University Press since 1972, under the general editorship of, initially, J. C. Reid, and later Bill Pearson. Each volume contains an introductory essay and notes to the text. Facsimile reprints of books by Andersen include Place-names of Banks Peninsula: A Topographical History (Christchurch, 1976); Old Christchurch in Picture and Story (Christchurch, 1975); Maori Music with Its Polynesian Background (New York, 1978); Maori String Figures (New York, 1979); The Maori Tohunga and His Spirit World (New York, 1977); Maori Life in Ao-tea (New York, 1977); Myths & Legends of the Polynesians (Rutland, Vermont, 1969); Maori Tales ([? Papakura], 1990). The Polynesian Society Journal from the first volume in 1892 through 1941 (thus including the majority of issues edited by Andersen) has been reprinted by Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York.

29. Quoted in History of New Zealand Women Writers' Society, 1932-1982, ed. Thelma France et al. (Wellington, 1984), p. 83. Information on fern-root pounders had been sought from and supplied by W. J. Phillipps, ethnologist at the Dominion Museum. Not altogether surprisingly, since he had been an early and consistent supporter of the Society, and his wife, Catherine Andersen, was for a time President (1934-37) and then an Honorary Vice-President of the Society, Johannes Andersen judged entries submitted for the first Cottrell Trophy competition. His 'comprehensive criticism' of the stories, and the 'valuable information on Maori lore' which, perhaps gratuitously, he added, was 'read out' at the Society's meeting in June 1947, because Andersen, then resident in Auckland, could not be present in person. See *ibid.*, pp. 10, 13, 82-83, 298. The winning entry appears in The Quill (1948), pp. 5-7.

30. The work of the Reeds, uncle and nephew, as publishers and as authors and editors, ought to keep a few cultural historians busy for a few years. There is a bare narrative and some basic tables of publications in [A. H. and A. W. Reed], The House of Reed: Fifty Years of New Zealand Publishing, 1907-1957 (Wellington, 1957), and [A. W. Reed], The House of Reed, 1957-1967 (Wellington, 1968). See also A. H. Reed, An Autobiography (Wellington, 1967); A. W. Reed, Young Kauri (Wellington, 1975); and A. W. Reed, Books Are My Business: The Life of a Publisher (Reading, 1966).

31. JCA/P. Watts Rule, 9 June 1938 (WTu: MS Papers 23, folder 9).

32. As well as 'The Maori Flute', Andersen also wrote two other 'Maori' songs, 'The Mere' and 'Rona in the Moon': the musical settings may have been by Doreen Walsh. See Peter Buck/JCA, 2 November 1922 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 15); JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 6 July 1933 (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 8).

33. 'Amokura; a screen scenario'. The first scene is 'Ohine mutu Pa. Period 1807.' (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 137).

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34. See, for example, the 'Kiwi Records', listed in Reed, House of Reed, 1957-1967, pp. 107-15. The Maori film director, Barry Barclay, 'insists that Maori film-makers should retain control over the presentation of Maori image in the film industry': Waikato Times, 19 November 1990, p. 4. Barclay provides his arguments in his book Our Own Image (Auckland, 1990). Barclay's film Te Rua was released in 1991: it concerns the contemporary discovery of Maori artifacts, including heads, in a German museum, and Maori requests for the return of the taonga - in essence a story of cultural appropriation, indeed expropriation, which echoes in outline the circumstances set out in Michael King, The Collector: A Biography of Andreas Reischek (Auckland, 1981), especially pp. 91-106, 152-74. See Sunday Star, 30 June 1991, p. C2. Another Maori film-maker, Merata Mita, was approached during 1977 by overseas film crews 'wanting to go on maraes'. She also assisted Chris Stewe, 'a white middle-class New Zealander who'd studied at the Berlin Film School'. 'It felt like a sell-out. I was leading these people into some very sacred places and exposing Maori people, and it would end up as a film of how some other person saw Maori people and not how we saw ourselves I got a strong feeling that Maori people must do it ourselves; that we must make our own films and have our point of view represented without interpretation by film crews from New Zealand or overseas. See Virginia Myers, Head and Shoulders (Auckland, 1986), p. 48. The extent to which Maori and aspects of Maori culture formed a major staple in New Zealand film-making can be seen from Clive Sowry, Film Making in New Zealand: A Brief Historical Survey (Wellington, 1984), and Jonathon Dennis and Clive Sowry, 'The Tin Shed': the Origins of the National Film Unit (Wellington, 1981). Though not a 'definitive catalogue', much of what remains is listed in the catalogue He Pito Whakaatu a Nga Iwi Maori: Films of the Tangata Whenua, [Jonathon Dennis, et al., eds] (Auckland, 1987), prepared for the Te Maori Film Season held in association with the exhibition Te Maori: Te Hokinga Mai, The Return Home. See also Clive Sowry, 'The Betrayer: A "Lost" New Zealand Photodrama', Archifacts, new series, nos 4 and 5 (March 1978), pp. 77-81.

35. Robert J. Berkhofer, 'Native Americans and United States History', in The Reinterpretation of American History, eds William H. Cartwright and Richard L. Watson (Washington, D.C., 1973), p. 44.

36. James Axtell, After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America (New York, 1988), p. 224.

37. Hiram Caton, 'Introduction', in Samoa Reader, ed. Caton, pp. 10-11. Margaret Mead, New Lives For Old: Cultural Transformation - Manus 1928-53 (New York, 1956); Mead, Social Organization of Manua (Honolulu, 1930; second edition, Honolulu, 1969).

38. Te Kapunga Dewes, 'The Case for Oral Arts', in Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves - Aspects of Maoritanga, ed. Michael King (Wellington, 1975), p. 83, note 18.

39. John Rangihau, 'Being Maori', in Te Ao Hurihuri, ed. King, p. 232.

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40. Race Against Time, [ed. Alan Blackburn] (Wellington, 1982), pp. 22-34, quotations in left-hand column of each page.
41. New Zealand Herald, 16 April 1991, section 2, p. 5.
42. Edward Said, Orientalism (first published 1978; Routledge & Kegan Paul paperback edition, London, 1980), p. 208.
43. New Zealand Herald, 16 May 1991, section 1, p. 8. J. Jackson's comment about 'missionaries and linguists at Oxford University' is no doubt a reference to the efforts of Thomas Kendall, missionary in New Zealand then visiting Britain, and Professor Samuel Lee, who together produced the seminal Grammar of 1820. Lee was in fact Professor of Oriental Languages at Cambridge University. Lee worked from material supplied by two New Zealanders, Tui and Titere, who were in England in 1818, and in 1820 consulted not only with Kendall but also with Kendall's companions, Hongi Hika and Waikato. See Judith Binney, The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall (Auckland, 1968), pp. 49-50, 60-62.
44. This is clear from the topoi of those making such statements. Occasionally people who write letters to newspapers give their sources, or name their authorities: for example, P. Metcalfe, Thames, quoted Elsdon Best to make his point: see New Zealand Herald, 17 May 1990, section 1, p. 8.
45. The mythical Moriori phase of prehistory survives in the popular imagination as part of this knowledge: for example, 'If we really want to get technical we should not even teach Maori as the indigenous language. After all, didn't the Maori fight the Moriori for possession of the country? Shouldn't we teach the Moriori's native language?' Letter signed by 'Student', Waikato Times, 1 May 1991, p. 7.
46. James Belich, 'Hobson's Choice', NZJH, vol. 24 (1990), p. 207.
47. In a recent essay, W. H. Oliver asks about the possibility of a 'flow' of cultural practices 'from Maori to "European"'. To identify such a 'flow', 'One would look for signs across a range of phenomena, in language, literature, the visual and performing arts, social interaction, political process and economic organisation. At most, the evidence is slight', says Oliver: 'a handful of words, some motifs in painting and advertising design, the haka as an assertion of aggressive intent, efforts to run meetings consensually, a growing awareness that Maori manage death and grieving well, some impact of marae procedures upon theatre. There may be a good deal not known to me to add to the list, but even so it would probably end up fairly short and rather marginal. Pakeha may choose more and more to take on Maori cultural features But such borrowings are as yet matters of individual and small-group choice; they do not arise from the subliminal impact of another

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culture.' W. H. Oliver, 'Belonging to the Land', in Pakeha: The Quest for Identity in New Zealand, ed. Michael King (Auckland, 1991), pp. 102-03. Oliver's view is primarily contemporary and prospective but he incorporates a retrospect. He seems to be suggesting that Pakeha utilisation of elements of Maori culture is and has been 'marginal' rather than fundamental, and has not had a 'subliminal impact'. I would argue that the processes of cultural appropriation control, and limit, the 'subliminal impact', or transformatory potential, of the Other - this has been indicated in the study generally, and is discussed further in the next two paragraphs, below. But utilisation of Maori culture has been central to much Pakeha cultural production, whatever the 'subliminal impact': see, for instance, the references in note 18 to the Introduction of this study; or the entries beginning 'Maori' indexed in A. G. Bagnall, ed., New Zealand National Bibliography to the Year 1960 (five vols, Wellington, 1969-85), vol. 5, pp. 450-55.

48. See also P. J. Gibbons, 'A Note on Writing, Identity, and Colonisation in Aotearoa', Sites, no. 13 (1986), pp. 32-38.
49. Urs Bitterli, Cultures in Conflict: Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800 (first published 1986; English language edition, Cambridge, 1989), pp. 44-51.
50. Ibid., p. 50.
51. Andersen's self-conscious sense of, and perhaps anxiety about, his own autochthonous status is indicated in a letter he wrote in Danish to C. Langkilde, probably during the 1940s (the first page of the letter is no longer extant): 'Danmark er et Land; N.Z. er et andet; begge godt og smuk og elskvaerdig. Haven dufter nu - og det gjør Skoven (tår man sige Buskadslandet?) orgsad; Blomst er paa rangiora og hangehange; begge to er dejlig. De føler som De har groet ud af det danske jord - jeg ud af det Maori jord of N.Z.' Langkilde's daughter, Mrs Poula Christie, Auckland, who made available to me the surviving portion of the original letter, has kindly offered this translation: 'Denmark is one country, New Zealand another, both good and beautiful and charming. The garden is now scented, and so does [i.e. is] the bush (dare one say the Bushland?); also flowers are on the rangiora and hangehange; both are lovely, they feel as if they have grown out of Danish soil - I out of the Maori soil of N.Z.'
52. Andersen, Maori Place-names (Wellington, 1942), p. 265 (emphasis added).
53. Haunani-Kay Trask, 'Natives and Anthropologists: The Colonial Struggle', Contemporary Pacific, vol. 3 (1991), p. 162.

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54. See also Hartmut Lutz, 'Cultural Appropriation as a Process of Displacing Peoples and History', Canadian Journal of Native Studies, vol. 10 (1990), pp. 167-82. One line of enquiry which is likely to be very profitable but which there has not been space to pursue in a largely empirical study such as the present one, is the use of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. Following Richard Harker, 'Schooling and Cultural Reproduction', in Political Issues in New Zealand Education, eds J. Codd, R. Harker, and R. Nash (Palmerston North, 1985), pp. 57-72, which includes a discussion of Bourdieu's ideas of cultural reproduction, Ranginui Walker, reproducing a figured model from Harker, points out that 'the cultural capital of the privileged (Pakeha) group circulates in a closed system of cultural reproduction which is the only route to success. The cultural capital of the underprivileged (Maori) is excluded.' Ranginui Walker, 'Maori Identity', in Culture and Identity in New Zealand, eds David Novitz and Bill Willmott (Wellington, 1989), p. 45. I would suggest that through cultural appropriation, the 'cultural capital' of the 'privileged (Pakeha) group' includes Pakeha knowledge of 'the Maori', which is different to, or contextually distinct from, Maori knowledge of some aspects of Maori culture. The paradoxical situation arises that some Pakeha have access to 'cultural capital' about Maori culture which is unavailable, or has not been made available, to some Maori. (I recall the embarrassment of a mature Pakeha student at the University of Auckland who, enrolled for a course in Maori custom, had gained an A-grade university credit when several Maori in the course had received lower grades.) There is a brief mention of 'the primitive accumulation of cultural capital' in Peter Gibbons, 'Non-fiction', in The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English, ed. Terry Sturm (Auckland, 1991), p. 60.
55. For the significance of elaboration, see for example Edward Said, The World, The Text, And the Critic (first published 1984; Vintage paperback edition, London, 1991), pp. 170-72. There is a significant passage on repetition by Johannes Fabian: 'Those ritually repetitive confrontations with the Other which [anthropologists] call fieldwork may be but special instances of the general struggle between the West and its Other. A persistent myth shared by imperialists and many (Western) critics of imperialism alike has been that of a single, decisive conquista, occupation, or establishment of colonial power, a myth which has its complement in a similar notion of sudden decolonialization Both have worked against giving proper theoretical importance to overwhelming evidence for repeated acts of oppression We cannot exclude the possibility, to say the very least, that repetitive enactment of field research by thousands of aspiring and established practitioners of anthropology has been part of a sustained effort to maintain a certain type of relation between the West and its Other. To maintain and renew these relations has always required coeval recognition of the Other as the object of power and/or knowledge.' Johannes Fabian, Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object (New York, 1983), p. 149, quoted in Bernard McGrane, Beyond Anthropology: Society and the Other (New York, 1989), p. 124. Fabian's formulation can be applied generally to cultural appropriation, which also involves 'repeated acts of oppression' and maintains 'a certain type of relation between the West and its Other', treating the Other 'as the object of power and/or knowledge'. If the cultural appropriation discussed in the present study is seen as a mode of colonisation, then the evidence presented suggests that there was, and is, an ongoing contest, not a 'single, decisive conquista'.

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56. See Trask, 'Natives and Anthropologists', pp. 159-167. On aspects of the 'invention of tradition', see The Invention of Tradition, eds. E. J. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Cambridge, 1983); Allan Hanson, 'The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and Its Logic', American Anthropologist, vol. 91 (1989), pp. 890-902; Roger Keesing, 'Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific', Contemporary Pacific, vol. 1 (1989), pp. 19-42; The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies, ed. James A. Clifton (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990); Robert J. Foster, 'Making National Cultures in the Global Ecumene', Annual Review of Anthropology, vol. 20 (1991), pp. 238-44. The references to and annotations to these studies list all the most important works on the 'invention' debate of the last decade. Keesing's reply to Trask's attack is in Roger M. Keesing, 'Reply to Trask', Contemporary Pacific, vol. 3 (1991), pp. 168-71. There is a theoretical perspective in Jonathon Friedman, 'Further Notes on the Adventures of Phallus in Blunderland', in Constructing Knowledge: Authority and Critique in Social Science, eds Lorraine Nencel and Peter Pels (London, 1991), pp. 95-113, and see especially p. 105.
57. Oliver, 'Belonging to the Land', in Pakeha, ed. King, pp. 100-01; The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, ed. W. H. Oliver (Wellington, 1990-), vol. 1; Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1769-1869 (Wellington, 1990).
58. James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), pp. 248-49 and note 12 on p. 249.
59. Trask, 'Natives and Anthropologists', p. 164.
60. Quoted in ibid., p. 164.
61. Although one may suspect that certain works were written to effect some control over the dimensions and potentialities of the debate, the numerous books by Pakeha on the Treaty of Waitangi published in the last six years or so are generally designed to promote increased understanding, especially on issues related to land. If the appropriation, and often in fact expropriation, of land is felt to be a significant historical - and contemporary - issue, then it seems reasonable to advocate that some attention be paid to cultural appropriation. See also W. H. Oliver, Claims to the Waitangi Tribunal (Wellington, 1991), pp. 1-5.
62. New Zealand Women Writers' Society, ed. France, p. 83.
63. McGrane, Beyond Anthropology, pp. 125-26. 'Do any anthropologists ever really "immerse" themselves in another culture?' asks Malcolm Crick, 'Shifting Identities in the Research Process: An Essay In Personal Anthropology', in Doing Fieldwork: Eight Personal Accounts of Social Research, ed. John Perry (Geelong, 1989), p. 35. Compare Clifford Geertz, "'From the Native's Point of View": On the Nature of Anthropological

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- understanding' (first published in 1974), in Geertz, Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology (New York, 1983), pp. 55-70.
64. JCA/J. J. Kinsey, 3 January 1934 [=1935?] (WTu: MS Papers 148, folder 9).
65. Keri Kaa, Review of Michael King, Maori: A Photographic and Social History (Auckland, 1983), New Zealand Listener, 24 September 1983, pp. 98-99.

LIST OF SOURCES

The following List of Sources includes materials referred to in the endnotes but not to those materials consulted in the course of this study which have not been referred to in the notes. Also excluded are books for which bibliographical information has been given in the notes but which were not directly used for this study - books, for example, referred to by quoted writers and correspondents.

The arrangement is as follows:

I. Unpublished Materials

II. Published Materials

(A) Official Publications

(B) Published Materials by J. C. Andersen

- (i) ARTICLES
- (ii) BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

(C) Other Contemporary Publications

- (i) ARTICLES
- (ii) BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS
- (iii) NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

(D) Secondary Publications

- (i) ARTICLES
- (ii) BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

III. UNPUBLISHED THESIS

IV. SOUND RECORDING

V. FILMS

VI. INTERVIEWS AND CORRESPONDENCE

I. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

Preliminary note: The major manuscript sources for this study have been: (a) in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (WTu): the papers of J. C. Andersen, especially the large aggregation MS Papers 148, but also including other mss by Andersen; the papers of The Maori Purposes Fund Board, MS Papers 189; the papers of the Polynesian Society, including MS Papers 1187, but especially the Further Papers ACC. 80-115 and the Letterbooks 1922-36, also Acc. 80-115; (b) in the National Library: several books of materials, some unsorted, mostly letters and memoranda to and from Andersen; (c) in the Library of the Auckland Institute and Museum: Andersen papers, MS 7; (d) in National Archives, Wellington (WArc), files of the departments of Internal Affairs and Maori Affairs; (e) in the Dominion Museum, Wellington (WMMu), archives of the National Museum; (f) mss in private possession. Other materials in the institutions referred to, and in the Dunedin Public Library (DP), the Hocken Library, Dunedin (DHo), and the Palmerston North Public Library (PP), have been consulted on a more selective or occasional basis.

1. Auckland Institute and Museum Library (AR)

Andersen, Johannes Carl, 1873-1962. Papers. MS7

Manuscript annotations and insertions in books once owned by J. C. Andersen and subsequently purchased by Auckland Institute and Museum Library

2. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (WTu)

Andersen, J. C.	Notes, old identities and old occurrences	MS 1908-1917 P
Andersen, J. C.	Rata-fire & The Saga of Sigurd 1902	MS AND 1902
Andersen, J. C.	Akaroa and the Godley Valley and its glaciers	MS AND n.d.

Andersen, J. C.	Early Wellington and Christchurch	MS 1923-25 P
Andersen, J. C.	Maori Life in Ao-tea [Manuscript]	q MS 1922? p
[Andersen, J. C.]	[Native Genealogies]	MS [n.d.]
Andersen, J. C.	[Newspaper Articles] Copies of 6 articles on New Brighton Tennis Club, Beautifying Association, beach and stalls, originally published in NBMM 1906-1907.	MS Papers 2017
Andersen, J. C.	Teachers' Summer School, 1928-1935. 4 v.	MS 1928-35
[Andersen, J. C.]	Summer School Nelson Jan. 1928	MS AND P
Polynesian Society	Papers	MS Papers 1187
Polynesian Society	Further Papers	ACC 89-115
Polynesian Society	Letterbooks 1922-1936	ACC 80-115
Maori Purposes Fund Board	Papers	MS Papers 189
Alexander, W. F.	Papers	MS Papers 423
Alpers, O.T.J.	Papers	MS Papers 86
Best, Elsdon	Papers	MS Papers 72
Best, Elsdon	Papers	qMS BES 1901-33
Currie, A. E.	Papers	MS Papers 413

Hill, H. T.	Papers	MS Papers 172
Kinsey, J. J.	Papers	MS Papers 22
Lawlor, P. A.	Papers	MS Papers 450
Newton, A. E.	P. Watts Rule collection of A. Edward Newton Papers	MS Papers 124
Rule P. Watts	Papers	MS Papers 2
von Haast, H.	Papers	MS Papers 37

3. National Library Records, Wellington (NLR)

[These records were made available to me through the Alexander Turnbull Library in 1987 during a period of interim arrangements when the New National Library building was first used.]

Box 5209 Unsorted

Box 5210 Unsorted

Box 5211 Unsorted

Box 5212 MS Papers 181, A-B, and numbered files

Box 5213 MS Papers 181, Chi-II

Box 5214 MS Papers 181, L-Q

Box 5215 MS Papers 181, R-Z

4. National Museum, Wellington (WMu)

National Museum Archives

Falla, R. A. Papers

5. National Archives, Wellington (WArc)

Department of Internal Affairs (files (IA)

Department of Native Affairs files (MA)

Department of Education files (E)

New Zealand Broadcasting Service files (BC)

Miscellaneous Files (MISC)

Department of Tourist and Health Resorts Files (To)

6. Dunedin Public Library (DP)

Manuscript letter J. C. Andersen to [R. Coupland Harding], in copy of J. C. Andersen, Songs Unsung (Christchurch, 1903), call no. Z 821 And.

7. Hocken Library, Dunedin (DHo)

Skinner, H. D. Papers MS 1218 and MS 1219

Manuscript letters and notes in copies of books by J. C. Andersen once owned by P. A. Lawlor

8. Palmerston North Public Library (PP)

Petersen, George Conrad. Papers

9. Papers in private possession

Papers in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland

Papers in possession (1984) of Mrs K. M. Andersen, Auckland

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II. PUBLISHED MATERIALS

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[This is not a complete bibliography of works published by J. C. Andersen]

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(C) Other Early and Contemporary Publications

(i) ARTICLES

[This list does not include separate entries for minor items and 'proceedings' (or regular institutional records such as annual reports) published in the Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute and the Journal of the Polynesian Society.

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III. UNPUBLISHED THESIS

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IV. SOUND RECORDING

D434, 'disc' recording of J. C. Andersen speaking about and imitating the calls of birds, held Radio New Zealand Sound Archives, Timaru: see Sounds Historical (Timaru, 1982), vol. 1, unpaginated, entry under 'Andersen, Johannes' in alphabetical sequence

V. FILMS

Films by James McDonald taken on ethnological expeditions 1919-1923, restored surviving portions held by New Zealand Film Archive, Wellington: see Films By James McDonald of the Tangata Whenua: He Pito Whakaatu a Te Maori Na James McDonald 1919-1923 (Wellington, n.d.)

VI. INTERVIEWS AND CORRESPONDENCE

People who were interviewed about Andersen and his work or who corresponded with the present writer about such matters are listed in the Acknowledgments, below, and signified with an asterisk.

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Peter Gibbons,
Hamilton.
March 1992

MAP & ILLUSTRATIONS

[Some of the materials reproduced have been enlarged or, more often, reduced in size. In the colour reproductions, the tones are in general close to but not always identical with original colours, with the major exception that white-toned areas appear as yellow-shaded.]

MAP

**New Zealand, showing significant towns,
localities and geographical features referred to
in the text.**

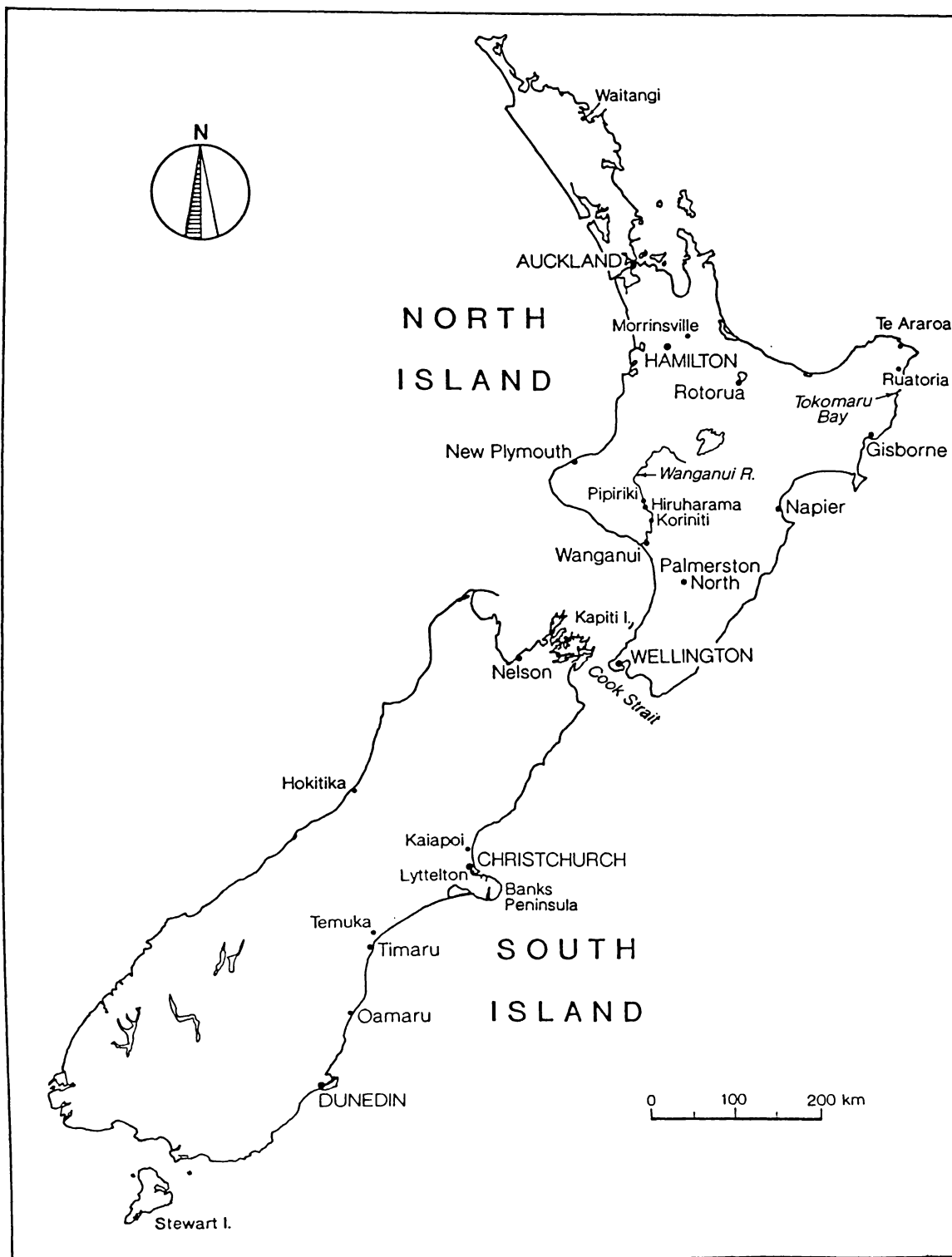


PLATE I

Title-page of Andersen's first 'Maori' story, 'The wooing of Hine-ao', New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, vol. 6 (1902), p. 343.



Illustrated by Trevor Lloyd.

THE glade was gay with the yellow clusters of *kowhai* flowers; hanging from the trees, high and low, festoons of the canary-yellow *pikiarero*, a small clematis, waved in the lazy breeze that stirred in the tree tops. Here and there at the edges of the glade, and in the less dense parts of the bush, stood tall drooping *ponga* tree ferns, whose fronds, silver beneath and green darkening almost to black above, are at times from ten to twelve feet long. Ferns of the lowlier kinds, for all of which the Maoris have separate names, spread profusely over the damp mossy ground, while clambering round the trees and along their branches, even to a hundred feet high, hung here and there waving fronds of the *maunga* fern. The rhizome of this climber is so tough and wiry that the Maoris used it for binding the thatch of their dwelling, for weaving *hinakis* or fish-traps, and, when dried round a stick and sharpened, it even served as fish-hooks.

It was well on in the afternoon; and the bush, generally silent at mid-day, was ringing and tinkling with bird-song; those short, abrupt snatches of melody, sounding so unfinished and erratic to ears accustomed to the sustained songs of the thrush and the lark, but sounding truly sweet to the ears accustomed to hearing them in their own wild woods.

In the shade of a red-flowering *makomako* tree lay two figures, side by side, and silent. The girl, a pretty Maori *kotiro* of perhaps eighteen years, lay with head thrown back watching the quivering leaves above her. As the light breeze descended now and again from the tree tops, the leaves danced up and down, shimmering and flirting their purple undersides daintily in the sunlight. The youth's eyes were directed to the other side of the glade, where a coquettish *piwakawaka*, the pretty black and white fantail, was jerking from side to side on a swaying branch of *kowhai*. His chin and upper lip bore the tattoo lines, and his cheeks were partially ornamented with the double spiral of Maori art. He was young, not above twenty; and the perfect *moko* was the work of a lifetime, its intense pain making it impossible to endure except in small portions. The *moko* was always begun on the chin and lips, curve and line being added as the warrior could endure it *and afford it*, as a good design must be well paid for.

"Never more to each other than now, Hine'; lovers in secret, and no more, it seems?"

Waita spoke to Hine-ao like a lover, and looked in her face like a lover; she, though betrothed to another, had given him the *ropa*, the Maori girl's way of beginning a courtship by squeezing the hand. Maori

PLATE II

The first page of and the appended notes to Andersen's 'Maori' verse, 'Patito', in Songs Unsung (Christchurch, 1903), pp. 135, 144.

LXXVI.

Patito.

WHO is the spearman whose fame comes to REINGA
the dreary ?

Whose is the prowess that rings even 'mid shades
of the dead ?

He upon earth ; and I, locked in the caverns of
darkness :—

Were I above, would his arm wield with such
valour the spear ?

PATITO am I, the *toa* ;—ah for the shout of the battle,
Clash of the *mere* and grate spear against spear
impelled !

Still'd is the bosom of youth, old are the sinews of
vigour,

Dim grow the eyes that flashed, fierce in the face
of the foe.

Who is the spearman that now boasts there are none
to oppose him ?

Can he be bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh is he ?
Worthy his arm indeed, if worthy the arm of my
fathers !—

Only again to return, measuring spear with spear ;
Test if the fame of the lips finds a true tongue in his
manhood ;

Test if the arm itself urges the fame or no.

NOTES.

HINE-NUI-TE-PO.—Daughter and afterwards wife of TANE, god of forests. On learning her parentage, she in shame left TANE, and descended to the Lower Regions, where she became Queen, and took the name HINE-NUI-TE-PO, or The Great Mother of Death. Here she continually strove to drag down man's soul to darkness.

MAUI.—The great hero of the MAORI. He was born prematurely, and as this was unlucky, his mother wrapped him in her top-knot and cast him into the sea: hence his full name, MAUI-TIKITIKI-O-TARANGA. He was, however, rescued by an ancestor, and it was prophesied that he was to be the death of HINE-NUI-TE-PO: owing to his father making a slip in the baptismal ceremony, however, this prophecy was not fulfilled. MAUI fished up the North Island, stole fire from Heaven, snared the sun and made it move more slowly over heaven, and did other wonderful things before his ignominious death. This took place while he was striving to win immortality for man by penetrating the secrets of HINE-NUI-TE-PO: some birds were watching the performance, when a fantail, ludicrously affected, could not refrain from laughing: this woke up the old Lady, and she nipped MAUI in two at the shoulders.

REINGA.—The Underworld. The spirit leaving the body for REINGA, travelled towards North Cape, coming first to a hill, WAIHOKIMAI, where it stopped to lament and strip off its spirit-dress, leaves of the *wharangi*, *makuku* and *horopito*: then it passed a second hill, WAIOTIOTI, and came to a *pohutukawa* tree, from which two roots descended into a tangle of weeds in the sea. Hanging from these roots the spirit waited till the weeds opened, then plunged down to REINGA. Here it crossed a stream and was offered food: if it ate, it could never return to the upper world, but suffered gradual extinction.

TANE.—God of forests: the son who separated his parents RANGI and PAPA (Heaven and Earth).

TU.—The god of war: brother of Tane.

MATAORA.—A mortal who descended to the lower regions, and brought thence the *moko*, or art of tattooing in curves.

Toa.—A brave fighting man.

Haere mai e tua !—Form of address to a man.

PLATE III

The beginning of 'Not Unsought the Isles Were Found', with Alfred Hill's direction 'In time of the "Haka"', New Zealand International Exhibition 1906-1907 ... Commemorative Ode, words by Johannes C. Andersen, music by Alfred Hill (Christchurch, 1906), p. 20.

No. III.—BARITONE SOLO :
 "NOT UNSOUGHT THE ISLES WERE FOUND."

In time of the "Haka"

In bold rhythm.

1. Not un-sought the Isles were found, Not unfought the
 2. Pi - o - neers who found the land Torn by bat - - tle-

Isles were won ; Ere the head with peace is crowned Strife must end and
 lov - ing band ; Have in pain and sor - row done What by Na - ture

war - - - - - be done :
 was - - - - - be - - gun,

PLATE IV

Letter 'Maoris and Art' by Johannes Andersen, Christchurch
Press, 9 July 1907.

MAORIS AND ART.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE PRESS."

Pure Sir,—Mr Gibb has not shaken my conviction that the uncivilised Maori is a good subject for painting: had I said "civilised," my ground would not have been so secure, though Mr Goldie has shown that even from him artistic inspirations may be drawn. The modern and civilised Maori, however, need be no more a deterrent than the modern and civilised Greek. True, he is in our midst, and it is hard to fashion the ideal in the midst of the degenerate which stands for the real; but it is the office of the imagination, guided by the legends, to remove the Maori and reanimate him in the wonders of his past, and, as Mr Gibb would know, had he studied Maori legend ever so little, that past teems with subjects fit to tax the skill of any artist. Even conceding that the Maori mat is ungraceful, it, like the crinoline or other adventitious garb, is easily removed; and in the majority of myths and legends its presence is not required. The real difficulty is that whereas our Greek ideals have already been created and the type set, that of the Maori is yet to make; but if Leighton could infuse new spirit into an art that was old when he came, for his Andromeda easily surpasses previous conceptions, surely it is possible to make something of subjects hitherto practically untouched, and, be it noted, untouched because unknown. But again the colour obstructs. The Greek was not so white as he is painted, nor was the Maori so black as he is pictured. As has been said, the high-born were of an olive complexion, and it is the high-born who figure in the myths and legends. Even amongst these, too, there must have been many with complexions scarcely dingier than the Greek, for the legends speak of fairies with fair skin and yellow hair, with a fishing-party of whom one Kahukura was able to mix on a moonlit night, learning from them the art of making nets—at once a subject for a picture. I admit it will call for imagination to create a new type of beauty, but artist should spell imagination; and knowing something of what has been made of old-world subjects, I am certain of this: that Maori myth and legend can and will enter the realm of high art."—*etc.*

JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN.

July 6th, 1897.

PLATE V

Cartoon, with parodic ode, The Sketcher (Christchurch), vol. 1, no. 4 (August 1907). Andersen is painting 'Hinemoa's Bath', and three of the figures on the bench represent William Menzies Gibb, Robert Herdman-Smith, and Sydney Lough Thompson.

(With heart-felt apologies to the Ode)

Hail! Hail! Ye men of paint and palette!
Lend me your ears!
Away with your old ideas!
Artist Johannes cries Welcome!

The lakes! the trees! the everlasting hills!
Have been pictured enough!
Why not Hinemoa and Tutanō her lover!
Or Hinē-a-te, or old Honētuff!

Hail! Hail! Ye men of paint and palette!
Such things as this world everlasting be!
An art whose loveliness renews the breath!
And brings great honour unto me!

I will tell you Maori tales,
Who will paint may listen!
Thompson, Mac., and Menzies too,
Walsh and Booth and Bartley!
Wide and wider fling the gate!
Artist Johannes cries welcome!

—Tenny's Son.



The New Art Master.

(Mr. Johannes Anderson suggests that our artists should paint the old-time Maori myths and legends, after the manner English artists have treated those of the ancient Greeks).

'Sketcher'
Aug-1907.

PLATE VI

The key to typographical variation in Andersen's Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907), p. 519.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

KEY TO INDEX.

		Contraction
Gods and male Deities ..	<i>ARIKI-NOA-NOA</i> <i>TAMA-NUI-TE-RA</i> (<i>ARIKI</i> ', in <i>karakia</i>)	<i>ARIKI</i> ' ' <i>RA</i>
Goddesses and female Deities	<i>HINE-I-TE-IWA-IWA</i> (<i>HINE</i> ', in <i>karakia</i>)	<i>HINE</i> '
Families of Deities ..	' <i>TAHU</i> ' (<i>'TAHU</i> ', in <i>karakia</i>)	
Men	<i>HOUMAI-TAWHITI</i> (<i>Houmai</i> ', in <i>karakia</i>)	<i>HOUMAI</i> '
Women	<i>PUHI-HUIA</i> (<i>Puhi-huia</i> , in <i>karakia</i>)	<i>PUHI</i> '
Tribes	' <i>NGA-IWI</i> ' (' <i>Nga-iwi</i> ', in <i>karakia</i>)	
Names of Taniwha, Dogs, Trees (animate objects)	<i>"Tuna-rua"</i> (" <i>Tuna-rua</i> ", in <i>karakia</i>)	
Names of Canoes and parts, Weapons (inanimate ob- jects)	' <i>Tai-nui</i> ' (' <i>Tai-nui</i> ', in <i>karakia</i>)	
Stars and Constellations ..	* <i>Ao-tahi</i> (* <i>Ao-tahi</i> , in <i>karakia</i>)	
Winds, Seasons, Days of the Moon, Mythological Divi- sions of Time	<i>Ngahuru</i> (<i>Ngahuru</i> , in <i>karakia</i>)	
Localities	<i>Manukau</i> (<i>Manukau</i> , in <i>karakia</i>)	
Mythological localities ..	' <i>Nahe-rangi</i> ' (' <i>Nahe-rangi</i> ', in <i>karakia</i>)	
<i>Karakia</i> , Songs, &c. ..	<i>"Kai-whatu"</i> (" <i>Kai-whatu</i> ", in <i>karakia</i>)	

Persons in the Story: tKAPU, tAHO, &c.

The figures refer to the page and line, the latter being in brackets.

'Aëwa' (Lake of god set loose from a bond). 'The living waters of *TANE*.' A lake in the fourth upper world ('*Hau-ora*') in which the moon (*MARAMA*) bathed to regain her strength. 51 (70). (See '*Wai-ora-a-Tane*').

AHI-AHI-O-TAHU (The fire attendant of the husband). The fellow-wife of WHAI-TIRI, the goddess who dwelt with KAI-TANGATA. 245 (307).

"Ahi-para-rakau" (Fire of wood-gum). A *karakia* taught to *TA-WHAKI* by *TAMA-I-WAHO*. 272 (1446).

tAHO (Radiant light). A girl at the marriage ceremonies. 352 (70).

PLATE VII

Two pages of text from Andersen's Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907), pp. 148, 415, displaying use of typography to identify and distinguish deities, persons, natural phenomena, karakia, etc.

here, the barrier between night and day;’ but she heard not, or hearkened not, still passing swiftly on.” “Let me too pass,” said *TANE*. “Yea,” said that *tipua*, “pass, and follow her.”

He reached the realm of *HIINE-RUAKI-MOE*; but *HINE-A-TAUIRA* had passed and entered in the dwelling of *TU-KAI-NANAPIA*: the door was barred, and all was dark; for *TU* destroyed the power of sight with rayless gloom and deepest darkness. *TANE*’ cried aloud, “O *HIINE*’, come; let us return above, up to the pleasant day;” but she replied, “To day may’st thou return, and nourish there thy seed; but in the gloom of night will I remain, dragging thine offspring down. Go thou alone; I will forever dwell here in the dwelling of *TU-KAI-NANAPIA*, in ‘Pou-te-rereki’.” This place to human hearts is anguish; for all words are vain, and heart’s loss is irrevocable. *TANE*’, grieving and loving, sang this *waiata*, this song to *HIINE*’ in the gloom:—

“Art thou a child, to put away the fondling of years? Am I a parent, that we are severed by *ROHI-TE-KURA*? Throbbing is my solitary heart being by you forsaken. In ‘Te Rangi-po-hutu-kawa’ will I enter, and mourn. I will pass from sight through the doorway of the whare called ‘Pou-te-rere-ki’. O me!”

And *HIINE*’, for her love was only less than shame, sang in reply to *TANE*’ listening, yearning, catching no glimpse of her he loved:—

“Art thou *TANE*’, and art thou my father, the food-provider at Hawaiki? the *tohunga* of the sacred rites of the *kumara* harvest left by me in ‘Rangi-po-hutu-kawa’! I will depart and weep, at the door of the whare ‘Pou-te-rere-ki’. O me!”

Back to the light went *TANE*’, whilst his daughter-wife remained in the land of shades, changing in her sorrow her earthly name to *HIINE-NUI-TE-PO*, becoming source of death. She, in the underworld, brought forth *TE PO-URI-URI*, *PO-TANGO-TANGO*, *PARE-KORI-TAWA*. Alas! for *TANE*’ who brought life brought also death; brought joy and woe.

‘Reinga’ was her dwelling, the third lower world of darkness: above her lay the second world, the home of roots, abode of *RONGO*’ and of *HAUMIA*’, and the first, the breast of *PAPA*’, where men dwell. O’er these and o’er ‘Au-toi,’ the fourth world, she ruled; ruled too mankind, dragging them down to gloom.

As *TU*’ from upper worlds sank swiftly down, so man sinks through ‘Reinga’ to extinction. In ‘Reinga’ again he dies, and sinks to ‘Au-toi,’ where *WHIRO*, god of thieves, has his abode, descended thence from Wawau. ‘Uranga-o-te-Ra’

Hawaiki. There stand the mounds as representatives of the *tohunga*, as the spirits of *TU*’, as the spirit of *Tama-te-kapua*, as the spirit of *TA-WHAKI*, thus, then, thus [pointing to the mounds] here is the post standing [thrusting a twig of *rau-rekau* into the middle of the stream, also one on each side] at the water-side, and on the shore, and in the depths, and on the bank, and on the coast of Hawaiki.

“Thus, then, thus, draw the omens from the water,—immerse ourselves; [sprinkling water with a branch of *karamu* on the mother and child] bring up the *tapu* of *RUA-NUKU*, lay down the emblems, the omens are seen. From this son take the *tapu*, let the *tapu* be cleansed from him and taken into the water. It falls! It is going! Take the *tapu* from him! May *TU*’ and *TANE*’ and *Tama*’ meet, may the light come! May the gods *TA-WHAKI* and *Tama*’ bring light! Ball of light, come!—come to the *туру-туру*! [the branch in mid-stream being the *туру-туру*]. Dance there, as the messenger of *Tama*’, brought from above. *RUPE*, come, descend and ascend, come into my dwelling, and lie on my place of birth. Here is thy weapon, here is thy spear, here is thy mat. Come, *RUPE*, come! Here is thy path to the highest upper world, come, O *RUPE*! Come to the mat prepared for thee. On it we will sleep. O’er me the water will swell. Descend, O *Tu-ta-wake* and *Tama*’! descend, *Manu-mea*, *Toi*’ and *Rauru*.”

The other half of the branch of *karamu* was then planted by the *tohunga*: should it grow, it is called a *kawa*, and the child would be a noted warrior.

This part of the ceremony being completed, three *umu*, called *takiura*, were built at some distance from the stream, and *kumara* cooked in them: one *umu* was for the *tohunga*, one for the mother, and one for the gods. The *tohunga* took a number of pieces of pumice, placing them in a row and naming them after dead ancestors of the child. The food cooked in the *umu* set apart for the gods was then removed and presented to these pieces of pumice, and during their offering the *tohunga* repeated this *karakia*:—

“There is your food, eat it: eat it yourselves. Ye are satisfied. It is sweet to you; it is the food of *Kauika* and of *RANGI*’. There is your food, its essence being gone to the world of spirits, there where you too are.”

The child was shewn to the people, who were allowed to be present at this part of the ceremonies; and the *tapu* being now lifted from the mother and child, they were able to mingle with her friends.

The next ceremony included the dedication to the god of war, to *TU*’, and the naming of the child, when the father and mother and heads of the *hapu* might be present, but no common person. They again approached a stream, their clothes laid aside, and a girdle of leaves round their waists. The *tohunga* took the child in his arms, and going into the water he sprinkled the child with a branch of *karamu*, saying,

“Sprinkled in the water of *TU*’, be thou strong by the strength of the heel of *TU*’, to catch men by the strength of *TU*’, to climb mountains by the strength of *TU*’; may the power of *TU*’ be given to this son.

“Be thou strong, that thou mayest overcome in the strife; be thou strong to enter the breach, to slay the watchman, to grapple with the foe. Be thou strong by the power of *TU*’, be thou strong to pass over the lofty mountains,

PLATE VIII

Page from Index of Proper Names in Andersen's Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907), p. 537.

- 'Kai-hewa' (Eat in doubt). The *po* or underworld to which *TU*' and the rebellious spirits were hurled from the upper worlds. 160 (384); 169 (250); 182 (821).
- "Ka-ihl" (Trembling with dread). A *karakia* murmured by *TA-WHAKI* whilst pursuing *TAMA-I-WAHO*. 271 (1384).
- †'Kai-komutu' (The surpiser). A *waka-pitau* built by the 'NGA-TI-TAMA'. 317 (324).
- Kai-nga-roa. Plains east of Lake Taupo. 505 (188).
- Kai-para (Food of the *para*' fern). Origin of name, 105, note.
- †'Kai-taki-taki' (The avenger). A *waka-pitau* built by the 'NGA-TI-TAMA'. 317 (325).
- KAI-TANGATA (Man-eater). A son of *REHUA*, whose death was caused by *RUPE*. The red in clouds is caused by his blood. 503 (110).
- KAI-TANGATA (Man-eater). A mortal whose name induced *WHAI-TIRI*, goddess of thunder, to visit him. She became mother of *HEMA* the father of *TA-WHAKI*. 240 (111).
- †'Kai-rere' (The flier). A *waka-pitau* built by the 'NGA-TI-TAMA'. 317 (323).
- KAI-TOA. An evil deity dwelling with *MIRU* in 'Te-Tatau-o-te-po.' 149 (578).
- *Kai-waka. A star heralding the new year. 51 (70). It guided discussions in *whare-tatai*. 125 (278).
- 'Kai-whaia' (The pursuers). The region near which lay the cave of *MATUKU*. 287 (406).
- "Kai-whare" (Eat in the *whare*). A *taniwha* living in *Manu-kau*. 368 (727); 379 (1180).
- "Kai-whatu". 'The guardian charm.' A charm against witchcraft (*makutu*) learnt by *RONGO-MAI* in the eighth underworld, the abode of *MIRU*. 269 (1315).
- KANAE (Mullet). One who slept with the 'PONA-TURI', but escaped in long leaps when these were destroyed by *TA-WHAKI*. 253 (642).
- KANA-KANA. The lamprey as son of *TA-WHAKI*, and father of various fish and birds (See *HINE-HAU*). 257 (773, 777).
- KANAPU (Flash). Eighteenth in descent from *REHUA*: an ancestor of *TA-WHAKI*. 240 (108).
- KANAWA. A man who was benighted, and saw the forest fairies. 88 (251).
- KANI-O-WAI (Rubbed in the water). The wife of *RATA*. 290 (510).
- KANI-UHI (Absorbed by friction). A goddess who caused the deluge, and who with her attendants has her abode at the horizon, from whence she causes the ebb and flow of the tides. 182 (811).
- †KAPA'. See KAPA-O-TU.

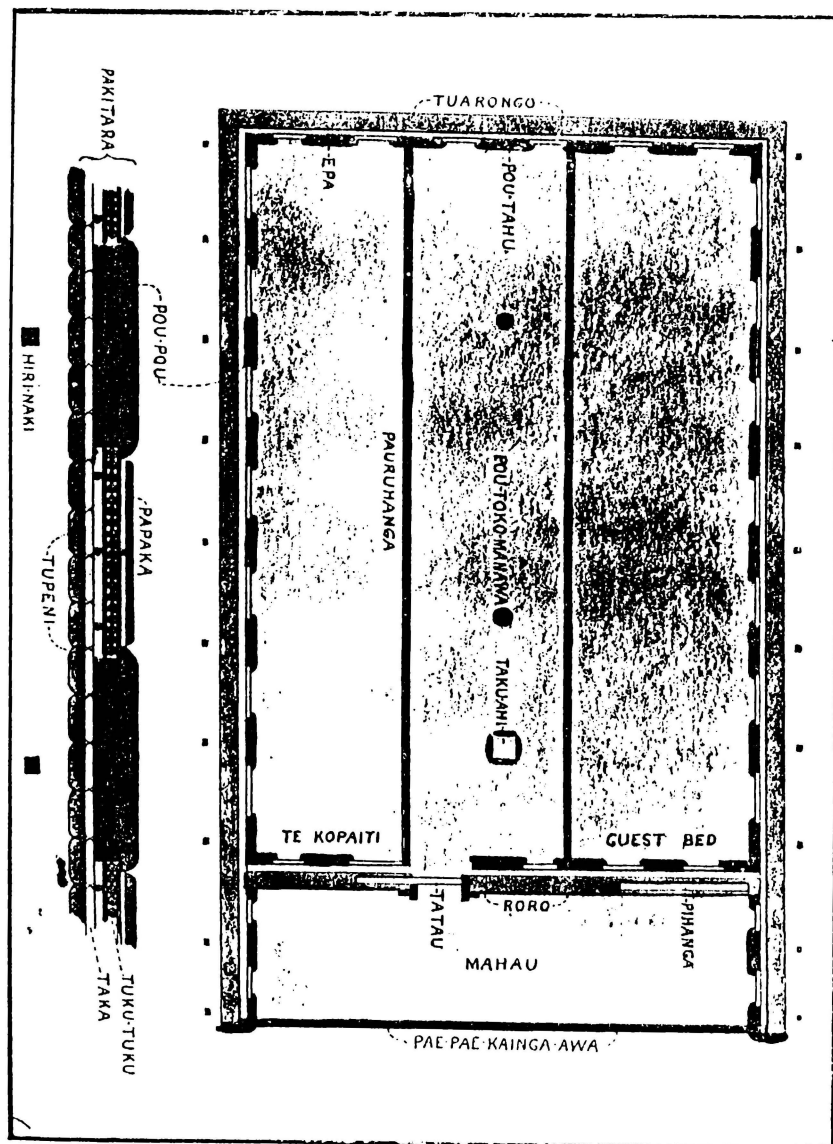
PLATE IX

Page from Index of Natural Objects in Andersen's Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907), p. 627.

- Rata*. A tree (*Metrosideros robusta*). *Kaka* is speared in *rata* whilst feeding on the honey in the eighth *Maori* month, 65 (79). The honey is plentiful once in three years, 67 (173). The wood burns well, 93 (471); 219 (33); but is difficult of ignition, 93 (471). Wood used for spears, 84 (93). Floating seed referred to, 227 (13). In *karakia* for hauling, 284 (284).
- Rata* (white). A climbing plant. See *aka-tea*.
- Rata-piki*. A climbing *rata* (*Metrosideros florida*). Spears made from it. 84 (93). (Also called *aka-tawhi-whi*, *pua-tawhi-whi*).
- Rata-roa*. An inferior variety of flax (*hara-keke*). 324 (105).
- Rau-aruhe*. Leaves or fronds of bracken, or common fern. See *aruhe*.
- Rau-kawa*. A tree (*Nothopanax Edgerleyi*). The honey of the flowers a food of the *kaka*, 67 (161). A grub found in it, 66 (153). Houses scented with its leaves, 339 (162). Leaves used for scenting oil, and for rubbing over the limbs, 90 (339). Berries ripe in the first *Maori* month, and then eaten by *kukupu*, 90 (338).
- Rau-peti*. An herb (*Solanum nigrum*). Used as a savoury. 77 (593).
- Raupo*. A plant; the Bulrush (*Typha angustifolia*). Bread made from its pollen (*pua*), 99 (692). Pollen gathered in a basket called *pu*, 334 (508). The *hune* (down) infested by a small grub, 297 (244). *Hune* used for caulking seams in canoe, 312 (147). Leaves used for thatching roof, 30 (145); the walls, 31 (180); for sleeping on, 32 (200); for making sails, 314 (234); *poi*-balls, 367 (676); effigy of *WHIRO*, 452 (279).
- Rau-rekau*. A tree (*Coprosma grandifolia*). A yellow dye was obtained from its bark, 324 (80). In *karakia* at purifying ceremony, 415 (572).
- Ra-waru*. A small black fish; a species of *kokopu* (*Galaxias*). A child of *T'A-WHAKI* and *HINE-TU-A-TAI*. 256 (760).
- Rehia*. An edible sea-weed (*Gigartina*, sp.). Made into jelly. 78 (599).
- Repo*. A fish; the Sting-ray. See *whai*.
- Rere-waka*. A bird; child of *KANA-KANA*, a son of *T'A-WHAKI* and *HINE-HAU*. 257 (778).
- Rewa-rewa*. A tree; the Honeysuckle (*Knightia excelsa*). Its berries are ripe when there are few others, 90 (345). Its seed is shaped like a canoe with raised stern-piece, 320 (476). Its wood burns poorly, 93 (469), and is difficult of ignition, 311 (86), but is used for charring out the hull of a canoe, 283 (236); 311 (85). *Kaka* sips its honey in the eighth *Maori* month, 67 (159). Is a tall stiff tree, 88 (232).

PLATE X

‘Ground-plan of maori house (whare-puni) with details of panelling and wall-construction. Length from pae-pae’ to tuarongo about 18 feet.’ Andersen, Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907), facing p. 32, an example of Andersen’s draughtsmanship and lettering.



Ground-plan of *māori* house (*whare-puni*) with details of panelling and wall construction.
Length from *pae-pae* to *tuarongo* about 18 feet.

PLATE XI

Dedication in Andersen's Maori Life in Ao-tea (Christchurch, 1907), p. v.

Dedicated

TO THE

Older Maori People

OF

Ao-tea-roa

AND TO THE

Younger Poets and Artists

OF

New Zealand,

WITH HOPES FOR THE IMMORTALITY OF THE ONE

AT THE HANDS OF THE OTHERS.

PLATE XII

‘The Maori and Art’, Christchurch Star, 16 May 1908,
reporting a lecture by Andersen to the Arts and Crafts Guild,
School of Art, Christchurch.

THE MAORI AND ART.

Star

16/5/08.

An address was delivered by Mr Johannes C. Andersen before the Arts and Crafts Guild at the School of Art last evening, on the subject of "The Maori in Relation to Art." Mr Andersen drew attention to the fact that the possibilities of Maori mythological and legendary lore in the direction of providing subject matter for the artist had not been exploited to any considerable extent. The present generation of New Zealand artists, he said, had ample opportunities of studying the present-day Maori and characteristic Maori customs, and were therefore in a position to infuse into representations of idealised Maori life the true spirit which evolved the beautiful stories that had survived the civilisation of the Maori. He instanced many legends which would lend themselves to pictorial treatment, and had something to say in appreciation of Maori efforts to attain a characteristic decorative art, giving one or two illustrations of the manner in which the primitive decorative forms of the Maori could be utilised by modern designers. While not advocating a study of Maori art for its intrinsic artistic value, he suggested that a knowledge of its principles would do much to help the student to appreciate the spirit and atmosphere which gave birth to Maori art and Maori folk-lore.

At the conclusion of the address a hearty vote of thanks was accorded the lecturer on the motion of Mr R. Herdman Smith, seconded by Mr A. W. Walsh.

PLATE XIII

Four of the illustrations which appeared in Andersen's Maori Fairy Tales (Christchurch, 1908), pp. 7 (C. F. Kelly), 15 (A. Polson), 16 (A. E. Abbot), 29 (S. G. Brister).



"Among the roots of the trees."



"If you go, I shall follow you."



"Now she appeared a terrible woman."



"They climbed up the roots."
A. E. Abbot, del.

PLATE XIV

The Alexander Turnbull Library, Bowen Street, Wellington, as it appeared when Johannes Andersen was Librarian, 1919-1937; from C.R.H. Taylor, The Alexander Turnbull Library: A Brief Description (Wellington, 1946), p. 5.

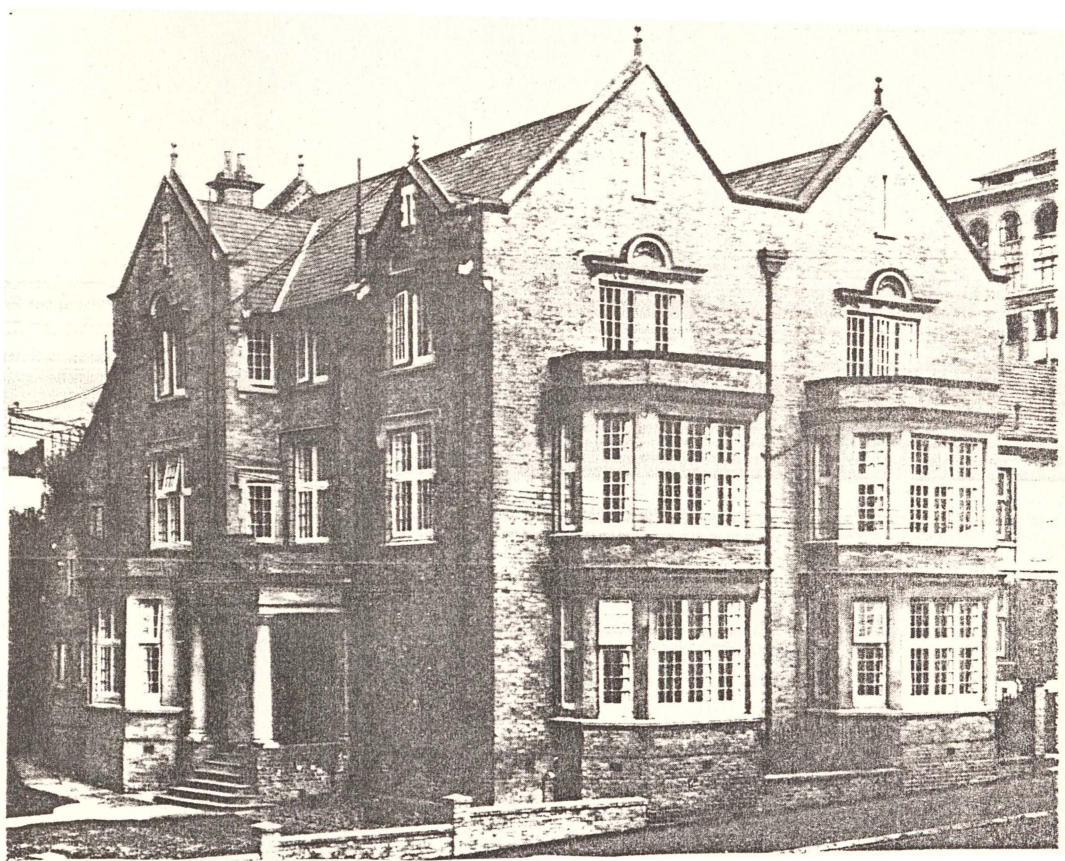


PLATE XV

Photograph by James McDonald of Andersen with Aporo, displaying 'The four Maui', published in Andersen, 'Maori String Games', [First Series], New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology, vol. 3 (1920), p. 208.

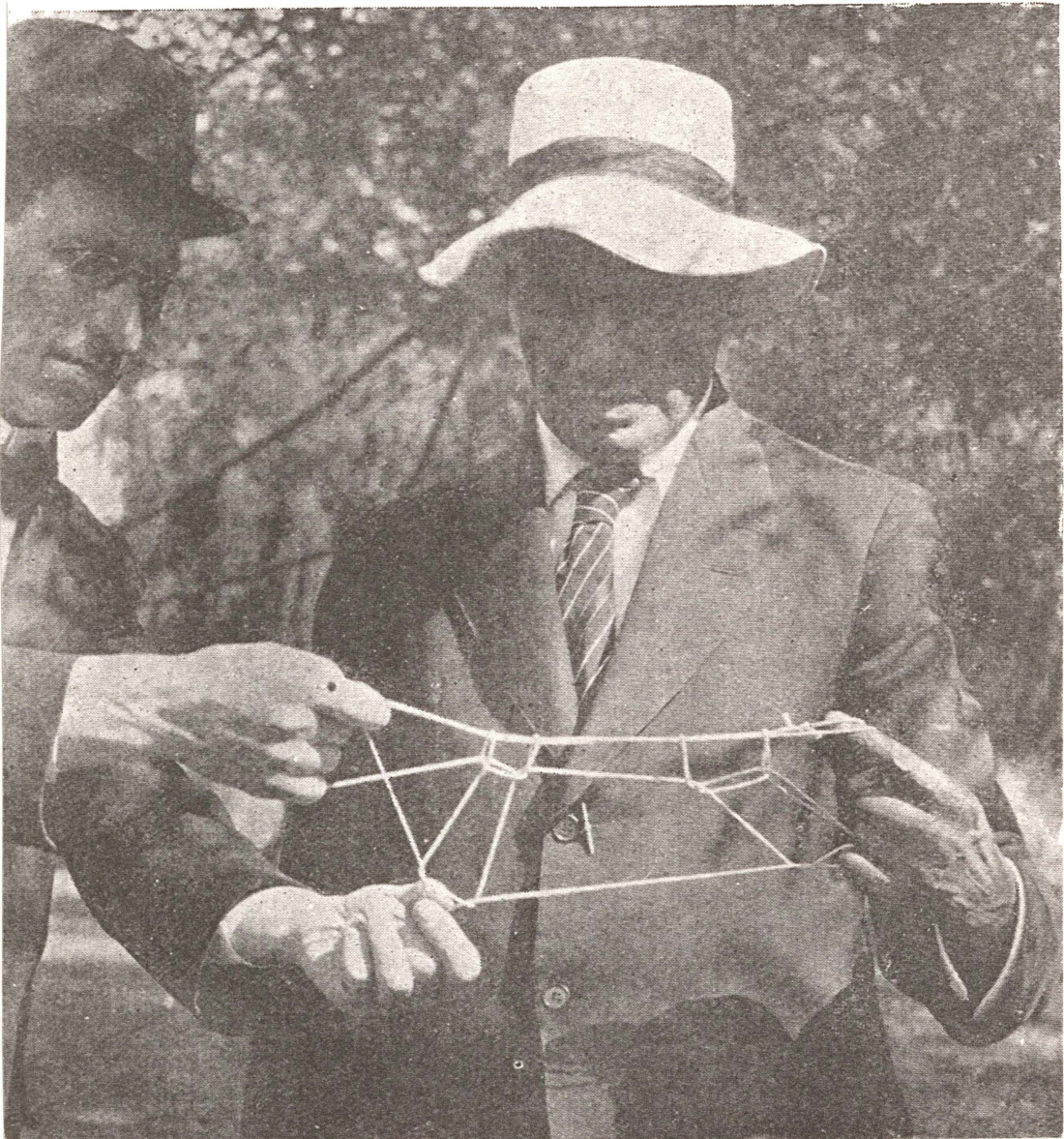


PLATE XVI

- (a) Fieldwork. Photograph by James McDonald of Andersen (right) following the movements of a string figure or whai, Elsdon Best sitting on left. The figure is probably ikiiki, displayed by 'Mrs Gordon', an Arawa woman, at Rotorua, 1920: see Andersen, Maori String Figures (Wellington, 1927), pp. 39-41. (Photograph reproduced by permission of National Museum, Wellington.)

- (b) Fieldwork. Andersen, typewriter on table, reading what he has just written in his library (or study), surrounded by reference books. (Photograph reproduced by permission of Auckland Museum. C18, 829.)



PLATE XVII

James McDonald's photograph of Whare-mutu (left), her husband Rangi-ua (centre), Tuhoe, and Andersen (right) at Rotorua, 1920. The figure is Ruaumoko in the sequence Ara pikipiki a Tawhaki. This photograph is reproduced from Andersen, 'Maori String-games', Second Series, New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology, vol. 4 (1921), p. 237, where it is entitled 'FIG. 20. - Ruaumoko. Set up by Rangi-ua and his wife, Whaare-mutu, from whom it was learned by the author, who is on the right'. The photograph was also included in Andersen's Maori String Figures (Wellington, 1927), p. 134, with the same caption as in the earlier article; and in Andersen's Myths & Legends of Polynesia (London, 1928), facing p. 230, where it is entitled 'Tuhoe Folk (and Author) setting up Tawhaki/The figure is Ru-mokomoko, the earthquake-god'.

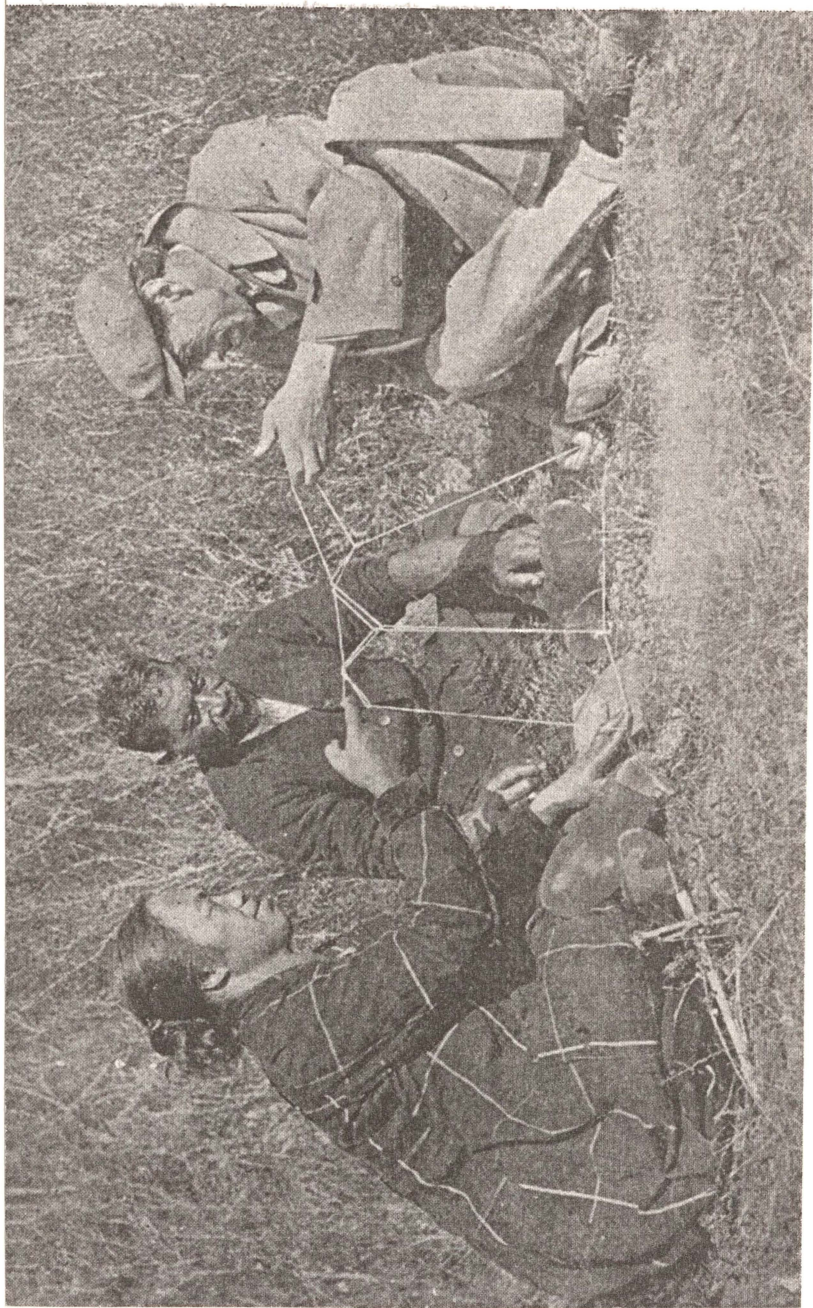


PLATE XVIII

The first two pages of Andersen's article 'The Prince at Rotorua', N.Z. School Journal, vol. 14, Part III, no. 6 (July 1920), pp. 194-95. This issue of the School Journal was a 'Special Souvenir Edition' for the visit of the Prince of Wales.

the "Renown" until Sunday, 2nd May, on which day, the strike having been settled, he left in the Royal train for Wanganui and other centres, in each of which he was greeted with the same enthusiasm and joy as prevailed in Auckland.

During his whole visit the Prince showed a kindness and regard for the children that won all hearts, while his simplicity of manner, his unfailing courtesy and chivalry, were an inspiration and an example to old and young alike. These things will never be forgotten, and in the years to come, when he rules as King of the British Empire, we may well be proud to look back to that memorable day when Auckland first greeted the Prince of Wales.

—Miss E. A. MORTON.

THE PRINCE AT ROTORUA.

The racecourse at Rotorua was dotted with tents as for the encampment of an army. Hundreds upon hundreds of bell tents, double-poled and treble-poled marquees, long raupo-sided houses, and other temporary buildings, were scattered over a wide space of ground. Nor were they scattered haphazard. Groups of the small tents were gathered about two or three of the marquees, and in the neighbourhood of one of the raupo-sided houses; the groups were arranged in squares and clusters, the whole set out in blocks and streets as if in a town; and the various blocks and streets were named after the tribes that occupied the tents.

Tribes? Yes; for these were to be the temporary houses of Maori people coming to Rotorua from all parts of New Zealand for the welcoming of the Prince of Wales, Heir to the Throne of Britain.

Almost every one of the many different tribes scattered through the Islands of New Zealand sent

representatives to this great gathering, until there were present over five thousand of the Maori people. The smaller tents were for their sleeping, the marquees were their meeting-houses; and in the long raupo-sided buildings they had their meals, each tribe like one great family.

It was no ordinary occasion. Flags were flying and banners fluttering. There were sounds of



Auckland Weekly News photo.]

MITA, CHIEF OF THE ARAWAS.

singing, and cries of welcome; but what strange singing! and what wild cries! On the arrival of each train new parties of Maori people appeared, and the local people, part of the great Maori tribe, gave each party welcome. One would suppose the demonstration to be one of anger and enmity rather than of friendship and welcome, so seemingly fierce were the dances with which one party greeted the

PLATE XIX

Photograph by James McDonald, taken at Waiomatatini in 1923, of Iehu Nukunuku playing his gas-pipe koauau into the dictaphone to record on wax cylinder. Elsdon Best lies on the grass to the left, Andersen, with hat, face obscured, leans over the dictaphone, Peter Buck is on the right of Nukunuku. From E.W.G. Craig, Man of the Mist: A Biography of Elsdon Best (Wellington, 1964), facing p. 129.



PLATE XX

First page of article by Andersen, 'New Zealand and other Bird-song: Further Notes', Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute, vol. 54 (1923), p. 763.

ART. 47.—New Zealand and other Bird-song: Further Notes.

By JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN.

[Read before the Wellington Philosophical Society, 19th July, 1921; received by Editor, 20th July, 1921; issued separately, 18th June, 1923.]

THE notes following have been recorded since publication of the last series, in 1918. As before, for convenience of reference, the variations in the notes of each species of bird have been numbered consecutively from (1) onwards, the earlier numbers appearing in *Trans. N.Z. Inst.*, vol. 41, p. 422; vol. 43, p. 656; vol. 45, p. 387; vol. 47, p. 593; vol. 49, p. 519; vol. 50, p. 282.

GREY WARBLER (*Pseudogerygone igata*).

The warbler sings many rhythmical phrases, a considerable number of which have been recorded. No. (40) is a characteristic one, in slow, swinging 2 time, heard in Wellington. It has also been noted that every different locality appears to have a song that is not heard elsewhere, in addition to the songs common to all localities. No. (41), a phrase in

(40) 19-8-17

(41) 24-4-20

(42) 9-5-20

(43) 10-3-21

(44) 26-3-21

(45)

PLATE XXI

Andersen's description of and musical notation for song by Porahakere, whom he heard at Gisborne in 1919, from Maori Music with its Polynesian Background (New Plymouth, 1934), pp. 429-30. He declared that 'The only transcript of my own that I was at all satisfied with was the Porahakere song'; ibid, p. 393.

Occasionally in Maori song a melody is heard that more or less approaches our idea of what melody should be. The following, as nearly as I can transcribe it from the dictaphone record, is one that was secured at Gisborne, sung by Porahakere, a woman with an exceedingly powerful voice, mellow in the main, but with occasional harsh edges when approaching fortissimo—a voice that would have been wonderful if trained, provided it was not spoiled. The phrases varied in length, many syllables, differing in number, being repeated to certain notes. The cadenzas varied from phrase to phrase, according to emotional content, and these variations are those that distinguish tribe from tribe, no doubt singer from singer. I heard the same air, very much simplified, at Rotorua. The appoggiaturas (*hotu*) are very effective. The songs are based on the singer's best note, and the fundamental theme of this air seems to be that indicated. The opening notes *g, f, a, g, e*, give the same sequence of intervals as the opening of Field's Fifth nocturne.

430

MAORI MUSIC



There are technical terms which show that the Maori had definite ideas regarding the delivery of song. The division of a song or *karakia* into definite lines, and verses (a definite aggregate of lines), and stanzas (a more or less definite aggregate of verses, usually two or four) is a stage of evolution to which Maori music had not yet attained, but indications of which can clearly be seen. It is a natural evolution to which the poetry and music of all peoples seems to be subject, for the same forms both in poetry and in music have evolved independently among the various peoples.

PLATE XXII

A page from Andersen's Maori String Figures (Wellington, 1927), p. 71, showing his precise instructions to produce whai, and photographs of Andersen's movements taken by James McDonald.

If this be continued to produce *Pac-kaka*, a fine figure results. (Fig. 3.) This figure did not come to light until long after the others were secured.

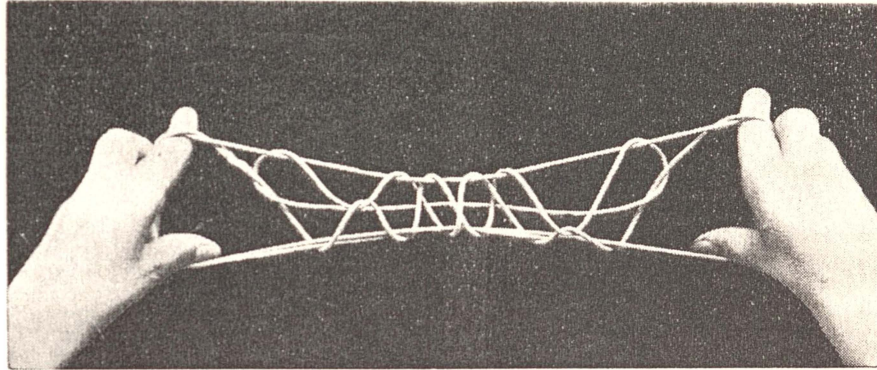


FIG. 3.—Variation of *Pac-kaka*.

WAKA A TAMA-RERETI, FROM PAE-TUI.
(From Tukapene, a Whanganui man at Korinit.)

1. Produce *Pac-tui*.
2. Insert thumbs from below under the double palmar string, turn them outwards, pointing towards each other, so that the double string is drawn through the thumb loop.
3. Release little fingers, and spread figure between forefingers and thumbs.
4. With little fingers draw down the loose string lying across centre of figure: this represents the keel. The resulting *waka* bears some resemblance to *Tc Waka a Tama-rereti*, but has one gunwale single, one double. (Fig. 4.)

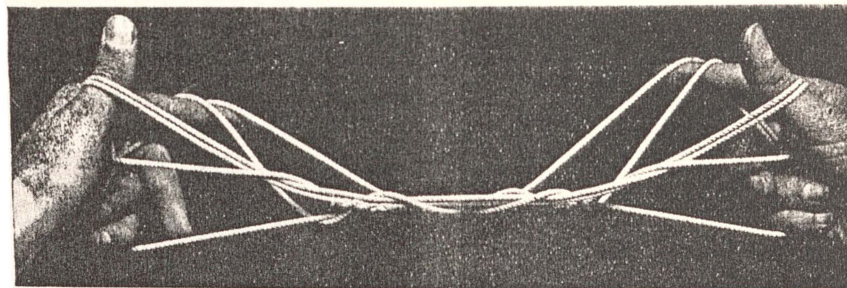


FIG. 4.—*Waka a Tama-rereti*, from *Pae-tui*.

This figure, stopping, however, at movement 4, was set up by a woman at Hiruharama, and called *Amo-tupapaku*. They also called *Pae-koko Amo-tupapaku*, giving that name, apparently, to any figure where a loose or dead string lay across the figure.

PLATE XXIII

Officers of the Polynesian Society in 1929, including patrons, president, council, and the joint editors of the Society's Journal, listed on the inside front cover for the issue of September 1929.

POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

OFFICERS FOR 1929.

Patrons:

The Right Hon. Lord Islington, P.C., K.C.M.G.,
Late Governor of New Zealand.
The Right Hon. The Earl of Liverpool, M.V.O., G.C.M.G.,
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Admiral of the Fleet, His Excellency, Lord Jellicoe, G.C.B., O.M.,
G.C.V.O., Late Governor-General of New Zealand.
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THE Society is formed to promote the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology, History, and Antiquities of the Polynesian races by the publication of an official journal to be called "The Journal of the Polynesian Society," and by the collection of books, manuscripts, photographs, relics, and other illustrations of the history of the Polynesian race.

The term "Polynesia" is intended to include Australasia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Malaysia, as well as Polynesia proper.

Candidates for admission to the Society shall be admitted on the joint recommendation of a member of the Society and a member of the Council, and on the approval of the Council.

Every person elected to membership shall receive immediate notice of the same from the Secretary, together with a copy of the Rules, and on payment of his subscription of One Guinea shall be entitled to all the benefits of membership. Subscriptions are payable in advance, on the 1st of January of each year, or on election. A life membership costs £10.

Papers will be received on any of the above subjects if sent through a member. Authors are requested to write on one side of the paper only, to use quarto paper and to leave one inch margin on the left-hand side. Proper names should be written in ROMAN TYPE.

PLATE XXIV

First page of David Teviotdale, 'The Material Culture of the Moa-hunters in Murihiku', Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 41 (1932), p. 81 (issue of June 1932).

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE MOA-HUNTERS IN MURIHIKU.

BY DAVID TEVIOTDALE.

1. INTRODUCTION.

SINCE the earliest discovery of the bones of the *moa* in the midden-heaps of ancient camp and village sites, students, both scientific and amateur, have puzzled over the question: "Who were these hunters who exterminated the great wingless birds?" That they were the first inhabitants of New Zealand is unquestionable. There was too little natural food in New Zealand for the first settlers to neglect such a source of supply as the *moa*. Those who have dug on *moa*-hunter sites are unanimous that the bird was exterminated a long time ago. The fact that a *moa* (or *moas*) has been eaten in a camp therefore marks the site as an ancient one. Do these ancient sites show evidence of a culture different from the Maori culture with which we are familiar? Or is the culture closely similar to that of the Maori, and to be regarded as the culture of the Maori ancestors? Has there ever been in New Zealand a race different from the Maori?

I have no scientific training, but having spent a considerable time excavating on various *moa*-hunter camps a short statement of my discoveries and a comparison with the discoveries of others engaged in the same work in earlier years may be of interest in this connection.

The artifacts found on these village sites are almost invariably made of bone or stone. Of the wooden implements and weapons, which, no doubt, formed by far the greater part of the hunters' outfit, hardly a single piece is left. I, personally, have found none that was of undoubted *moa*-hunter date. Owing to the operation of the same factor of decay, textiles and basketry are also wholly lacking.

PLATE XXV

Extracts from H. D. Skinner, 'Maori Amulets in Stone, Bone, and Shell', Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 41 (1932), pp. 205-06 (issue of September 1932).

AMULETS OF HUMAN SHAPE.

A. *The Hei-tiki*.

Plate A, 1-5, and figs. 1-3 represent what may be regarded as principal varieties of the great *hei tiki* family.¹ "This odd-looking, grotesque object has" as Elsdon Best remarks,² "been the subject of much speculation and some erroneous statements." He continues: "It is a rudely fashioned figure intended to represent the human embryo, and it was viewed as a fertilizing agent, hence it was properly worn by women only. The *tiki* is a phallic symbol. In native myth we note that the first *tiki* (which is, properly speaking, the correct name of the pendant) was made for one Hine-te-iwaiwa, or Hina, who is the being presiding over women's handicrafts, and also childbirth. Hina is the personified form of the moon. The prefixed word *hei* simply denotes a neck-pendant, and *tiki* was a very old sacerdotal term for the phallus." In another place Best says:³ "In Tiki we have the personified form of the phallus, of which fact there is ample proof. The grotesque neck-pendant called *tiki*, usually made of nephrite, and which was appropriately worn only by women, is a fructifying symbol. It bears the sacerdotal name of the *linga* and of its personified form. This pendant was made, wholly or partially, in the form of the human embryo, and its innate powers in the way of causing conception was the reason why it was worn by women. The first one ever made was fashioned for Hina-te-iwaiwa by her father. One of these greenstone pendants seen possesses a *linga* of disproportionate size."

These statements are undoubtedly the most authoritative we have as to the meaning and function of the *hei tiki*. It is necessary to discuss them in some detail. In the first place, the name *hei-tiki* falls into two parts, *hei* meaning pendant (as in *hei matau*: pendant fish-hook) and *tiki*. Best states that this word denotes the phallus (syn. *linga*). Now the *hei tiki* is clearly not a pendant in the

form of a phallus. Does it not seem more likely that the word *tiki* here has its common meaning of human form? This is its commonest meaning not alone in Maori but also in most, perhaps all, of the other dialects of Polynesia. It is the name applied to the little human figures cut from human bone by the Marquesans, ornaments which there are grounds for supposing are derived from a common ancestor with the *hei tiki*. Best supports his suggestion by stating that he has seen a *hei tiki* with a phallus of disproportionate size. Unfortunately he does not say where this *hei tiki* is to be seen. I have seen a large number of *hei tiki*, perhaps three hundred, but not one of these was a male. Sex was indicated in one in three or one in four specimens, but every one of these was female. The unique specimen noted by Best cannot be used to strengthen his contention that the *hei tiki* takes its name from the phallus.

In the second place, Best states that "it is intended to represent the human embryo," or, in another place that it "was made, wholly or partially, in the form of the human embryo." In this second statement the phrase "wholly or partially" seems to indicate the flicker of a doubt. Does the shape of the *hei-tiki* result from an attempt at realistic representation of a human embryo? An answer to this question can be supplied only by an examination of the individual features of the *hei-tiki*. Fingers and toes normally number three to each limb. The tongue, when shown at all, is usually forked. The back, when bent, is curved concavely. Sex, when indicated, is female. The head, when bent, is turned to one side, never dorso-ventrally. Not one of these characters is typical of the human embryo, and every one of them is a normal convention in Maori sculpture of the human figure in wood. There is one final feature in which the *hei-tiki* does resemble the human embryo, namely in the disproportionate size of the head. But this feature is also an artistic convention present in Maori wood-carving and in Polynesian carving in general. When we see a grotesquely large head in carving from the Hawaiian islands, the Marquesas, or the Australs, we do not conclude that the carving represents an embryo. We are no more entitled to draw that conclusion in the case of the *hei-tiki*. The evidence indicates that the statement that the *hei-tiki* represents a human embryo is as little tenable as the statement that it is phallic.

¹In *J.A.I.*, vol. 46 (1916), plates 13-17, I have figured upward of thirty *hei-tiki*, including the principal varieties.

²*The Maori As He Was*, p. 215.

³*The Maori*, vol. 1, p. 294.

PLATE XXVI

Editorial annotations by J.C.A[ndersen] on letter by H. D. Skinner, Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 42 (1933), pp. 27-28 (issue of March 1933).

function of scribe makes it, in my opinion, quite legitimate to refer to him as the author¹ of the *Lore of the Whare-wananga*.

"As to the use of the word Maruiwi to designate the earliest inhabitants of New Zealand, that practice has been universal since the appearance of Best's paper, "Maori and Maruiwi: Notes of the Original Inhabitants of New Zealand and their Culture."² Percy Smith criticised Best's usage³ and advocated the use of the name *T'angata-whenua*, but Best's precedent has been followed.

"The account of these people written down by Te Whatahoro appears in the *Lore of the Whare-wananga*, 2, p. 70ff. They are there stated to have come from a land warmer and larger than New Zealand and lying south-west of it. The non-existence of such a land should make us cautious about accepting the rest of the story. Best, in the paper cited above, does not state his authority for his description of Maruiwi, but he is clearly summarizing the account which had just been published in the *Lore of the Whare-wananga*. 'In appearance these folk are said to have been tall and slim-built, dark-skinned, having big or protuberant bones, flat-faced and flat-nosed, with upturned nostrils. Their eyes were curiously restless, and they had a habit of glancing sideways without turning the head. Their hair in some cases stood upright, in others it was bushy.' I do not know Best's authority for this last sentence, as the *Lore of the Whare-wananga* states: 'Their hair was straight and some had very lank hair.' This description, which fits no race of mankind, living or extinct, has been supposed by all who have adopted it to fit 'the Melanesians.' The inhabitants of Melanesia vary a good deal in physical type, but none of these variations approaches the features attributed to Maruiwi. This difficulty has been realized unconsciously, and the account has been regularly watered down until it becomes merely the unwarranted statement that the negroid features seen in some Maoris are not seen elsewhere in Polynesia and must have arisen in New Zealand through crossing with Maruiwi. To this I object that Maruiwi, with their lank straight hair, cannot by any anthropometric gymnastics be classified as negroid. Negroid features are common enough in eastern Polynesia; the most negroid Polynesian I have seen was a Tuamotuan living on Mehetia. It will require an adequate anthropometric survey before we can tell whether negroid characters are commoner among the New Zealand Maoris than among Hawaiians or Tahitians. Nga-Puhi, Te Ati-Awa, Ngati-Awa, Ngati-Kahungunu, Ngai-Tahu, Ngati-Mamoe, and Moriori, are all stated to have intermixed with Maruiwi.⁴ Do any of these folk show the peculiarities of feature to be expected if the account quoted above is accurate? The case of the Moriori is crucial, as these people are said to have been a practically pure sample of the Maruiwi.

¹Even the editor of a book, far more important than the scribe, is never regarded as the author.—J. C. A.

²*Trans. N.Z. Inst.*, 48 (1916) p. 435.

³*J.P.S.*, 25 (1916) p. 176.

⁴*Lore of the Whare-wananga*, 2, p. 76 and elsewhere.

When Mr. Downes says: 'That the physical characteristics of the Maori and the Moriori differed there is no doubt,' he is expressing and acquiescing in a very wide-spread error. A full discussion of the point, with all the evidence, may be found in *Memoirs of the British Museum*, 9, 1923, pp. 34-41. It is not necessary to repeat that discussion here.

"As to the culture of the Maruiwi: 'They are said to have been ignorant of their own lineage. . . . They were an indolent and chilly folk (*kiriahi*), fond of sitting round a fire. They slept anyhow, and in summer time went almost naked, wearing merely some leaves. . . . They were improvident in the matter of food supplies, and did not construct good houses, but merely rude sheds. . . .'" This account of Maruiwi culture is in flat contradiction to what we know of Moriori culture and also of Ngati-Mamoe and *moa*-hunter culture.

"It is on these grounds that the term 'mythical' was applied to the Maruiwi. Mr. Downes has convincingly shown that the name 'Maruiwi' is an historical one. In so far as an historic name has been impugned by the offending adjective a full apology is tendered. It is in reality the data, bodily and cultural, which has been tacked on to an historic name, that, in our opinion, deserves the name mythical.

"Mr. Downes deserves the thanks of all students of Maori matters for opening a discussion as to the view that should be taken about Maruiwi, about their bodily characteristics, and about their culture. It seems very desirable that we should have an expression of dispassionate opinion on the points raised, from those who have carefully weighed the data. Was the first race and the first culture in New Zealand non-Polynesian? Or was it, as the study of the Moriori and of the *moa*-hunters indicates, not only Polynesian but distinctively Tahitian?"

⁵Bishop Museum is intended—a slip like T. K. Whatahoro and Thomas White!—J. C. A.

⁶Best, *Loc. cit.*, p. 436.

PLATE XXVII

First page of article by T. W. Downes, 'Maruiwi, Maori and Moriori', Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 42 (1933), p. 156 (issue of September 1933).

MARUIWI, MAORI AND MORIORI.

BY T. W. DOWNES, WANGANUI.

IN *J.P.S.*, vol. 42, p. 28, Mr. H. D. Skinner asks the question, "was the first race and the first culture in New Zealand non-Polynesian? or was it, as the study of the Moriori and of the *moa*-hunters indicates, not only Polynesian but distinctly Tahitian?"

Mr. Skinner also makes this statement, "When Mr. Downes says 'that the physical characteristics of the Moriori and the Maori differed there is no doubt,' he is expressing and acquiescing in a very wide-spread error," and he refers for confirmation to the *Memoirs of the Bishop Museum*, no. 9, 1923, a paper which he himself wrote and which he contends proves that error.

I do not like entering into a controversy with Mr. Skinner, who has endeavoured to unravel many of the mysteries that still envelop these ancient times and people, but considering the exceedingly meagre information at present available, I do not think his Memoir supplies absolutely definite proof.

A brief traditional outline of the early occupation of New Zealand and the Chatham Islands is somewhat as follows: Kupe discovered New Zealand, recording no inhabitants. Toi, when seeking for his relative Whatonga, possibly about the year 1100, in searching for the islands discovered by Kupe, sighted land, which land, as far as we can gather, was the Chatham Islands. Whether he landed or found people there we do not know. Toi continued his journey to New Zealand, and on landing found the country occupied by several tribes, whom Smith called Tangata-whenua, and Best, Maruiwi. I may here say that Percy Smith asked why the name Maruiwi had been chosen instead of the more embracing title?; I think the answer may be that the Maori himself recognized Maruiwi as the founder of one of the principal tribes, and it was the name given to practically the whole of the tribes when they were

PLATE XXVIII

Short note 'British Association for the Advancement of Science: Tradition in Anthropology', reporting the views of Lord Raglan, with editorial amplification by J.C.A[ndersen], Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 42 (1933), pp. 321-23 (issue of December 1933).

BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF SCIENCE.

TRADITION IN ANTHROPOLOGY.

In his presidential address (1933) before Section H (Anthropology), entitled "What is Tradition?," Lord Raglan states that tradition is "anything that is handed down orally from age to age." It includes methods of farming, of craftsmanship, of preparing food, of dealing with property, as well as birth, marriage, and death customs, etiquette, superstitions, games, sports, songs and dances, and, lastly, traditional narratives. With the apparent exception of the last item, tradition forms a code of rules which cover every aspect of savage, and most aspects of civilised, life.

The traditional narrative, to which the rest of the address is devoted, takes various forms, such as the myth, legend, epic poem, ballad, saga and fairy tale. It has usually been divided into two classes, the supposedly historical and the supposedly fictitious.

The theory that some traditional narratives are historical is based on the supposition that illiterate people take an intense interest in historical fact, and regard its preservation as of the utmost importance. This supposition is against all the known facts. Not only do illiterate people take no interest in historical facts, but they could not transmit them if they wished to; hearsay evidence is rightly rejected in our courts because of its notorious unreliability; why should a fact which cannot be transmitted orally the length of a street be supposed capable of oral transmission through many centuries? Some types of traditional narrative are supposed to be the result of the imagination of story-tellers, but there is abundant evidence that story-tellers are merely repeaters; illiterate people neither transmit facts nor invent fables.

All traditional narratives are, or once were, like all other traditions, rules; rules for the performance of rites or ritual drama. These *must* be remembered, since on their correct performance depends the prosperity of the community, and *can* be remembered and transmitted, since they are performed repeatedly in the presence of the whole community.

After disposing of two forms of pseudo-tradition, the 'family tradition' and the 'local tradition,' Lord Raglan takes, as a crucial case, the traditions about Henry V, which were adopted by Shakespeare. If any quasi-historical traditions can be true these should be, yet they are demonstrably false in every particular. When the names of historical characters appear in tradition, they are merely pegs upon which to hang ancient traditional tales.

In various parts of the world there is still a close connexion between myth and ritual, and the ritual drama has played a most important part in the religious life of nearly every people. An English example is Robin Hood, King of May. There is no doubt that he is a purely mythical character, that is to say, a character in ritual drama. The same applies to William Tell.

After dealing with the supposedly historical character of the Icelandic sagas and the Polynesian traditions, Lord Raglan concludes by pointing out the features by which the traditional narrative betrays its origin in the ritual drama—it is always dramatic; the characters always speak the same language; the action is often carried on by songs; there is much conversation; costume is described; there is often a conventional setting; miraculous lapses of time occur; the characters remain the same age; they are all contemporaries; supernatural beings are always personified; shape-changing is common; kings and queens always appear; battles consist of single combats; prophecies always come true; there is usually a character who directs the action.

The belief in the historicity of the traditional narrative is a survival from the pre-scientific age, one of a number of such survivals

the existence of which prevents social anthropology from taking what should be its proper place among the sciences.

* * * * *

[The above is quite at variance with what we believe of Polynesian tradition—believe on the evidence of genealogies and traditions kept independently by various branches of the Polynesians, and preserved independently for many generations. Facts "cannot be transmitted orally the length of a street" because the transmitters have no interest in its accuracy or its preservation; the Polynesian had both; he did not trust his lore to street-babble but to specially-trained scholars, trained rigidly in schools devoted to the purpose. See Elsdon Best, *The Maori*, 1924, vol. 1, p. 64 and on; also Te Rangi Hiroa on the teaching of history by the Maori and on the reliability of Polynesian genealogy and legend in "The Coming of the Maori," *Cawthron Institute Lectures*, vol. 2, 1925, p. 20 and on.—J. C. A.]

PLATE XXIX

‘Whale Bone Patu with Restoration’, figure to accompany H. D. Skinner’s note ‘Patu Representing Human Face’, Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 43 (1934), p. 131 (issue of June 1934).



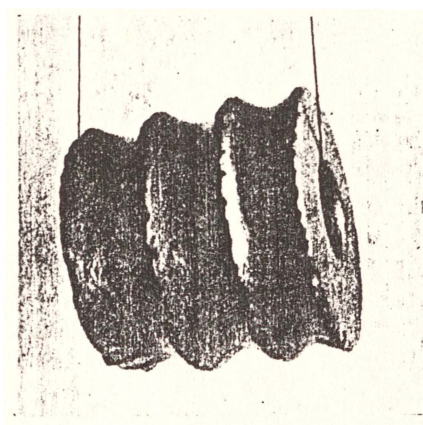
WHALE BONE PATU WITH RESTORATION.
Kaikai Beach. Scale 1. Otago University Museum D. 34.49.

PLATE XXX

The controversial 'spool' or 'reel', illustrated in Elsdon Best's The Maori As He Was (Wellington, 1924), p. 85.

objected to passing along the tween-decks of the ships where nets containing potatoes were slung overhead. A native on board Marsden's vessel had a plate of rice, a spoon, and a pot of tea placed before him. He took spoonfuls of rice from the plate and emptied them into his hand, from which he ate it. He then poured the tea into his hand and so let it run into his mouth. By acting so he avoided making the vessels *tapu*, when it would have been necessary to destroy them or deposit them at some *tapu* place.

Tapu objects, or objects marking a *tapu* place, were often painted a red colour by the Maori, a custom that also obtained in India.



A stone artifact of unknown use.

PLATE XXXI

Extracts from Andersen's article 'The So-called "Spool" Artifact', Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 49 (1940), pp. 595, 598 (issue of December 1940).

THE SO-CALLED 'SPOOL' ARTIFACT

BY JOHANNES ANDERSEN.

A MOST interesting find was made near the Wairau river-mouth, Marlborough, in January, 1939. A boy, Jimmy Eyles, stepson of Mr. E. C. Perano, was digging at the bank, a strip which extends from the pilot-station and across the mouth of the river, when he came on a number of objects of great interest to naturalists and ethnologists alike. A skeleton was uncovered, and with the skeleton were objects which date it back some hundreds of years. An extract from the local newspaper, the *Marlborough Express*, of 25 January 1939, must suffice for a description of the finding. A moa-egg, almost perfect, was there, and this object has received the most publicity as do all relics of this most tantalizing bird; but there was more:

"In addition to the egg the grave . . . also contained the skeleton of a Maori, around the neck of which was a curious bone necklace of a design which, to say the least, is certainly unusual. There was also a broken segment of a stone axe or chisel, but it is doubtful that this was originally buried with the remains, and the explanation of its presence more likely lies in the fact that the area abounds in such relics, and that it fell into the excavation while digging was in progress. The moa-egg was placed near the feet of the skeleton, which was lying on its side with its head pointing towards the east, and the knees drawn up towards the chin. In the bottom of the egg a small hole had been pierced in the shell, through which the contents had originally been removed . . .

"The area in which the find was made is in itself an interesting one, for practically the whole length of the Boulder Bank, which extends from the Wairau along the coast and practically to the Vernon Hills, contains traces of Maori occupation. The Waitaha are known to have settled there [and it is conjectured that the remains may date back to that period]. Subsequently the Rangitane came to the Wairau, and established a large *pa* near the bar, the remains of which are still clearly to be seen. In fact, the great cooking-ovens which pit a considerable area of the ground still contain the fire-blackened boulders and charcoal . . .

no example from New Zealand in his fine collection of Polynesian artifacts. Nevertheless, as regards this last-mentioned collection, on the first plate (no. 113) of the instalment included in the present number of the *Journal* there are three examples of similar objects;—figs. 226a, classified as 'ornament,' 226b, which is said to be 'pierced through,' and 224a, 'hair-ornament' (pierced). These are all from Marquesas, and the descriptions may reveal another use to which they were put.

The best evidence of the 'reels' and the carved forms in the Oldman collection having been strung on cords for use as necklaces is from Porter.⁶ In vol. 2 there are two plates illustrating some of the artifacts of the Marquesas islands, which he visited, and as these not only show the 'spools,' but are also supplementary to the plates illustrating the Oldman artifacts, both plates from Porter are reproduced here; pl. 1 is the Marlborough spools and whale-tooth pendant, and pls. 2 and 3 are the Marquesas artifacts as illustrated by Capt. D. Porter. The Marlborough spool-beads with the pendant were found round the neck of the skeleton, and it will be noted that whilst they differ in their form being wider in the middle and tapering slightly toward the ends rather than cylindrical, they are evidently on the same model as the spool-beads on the Marquesas 'ornament for the neck' on pl. 3. It will also be noted, on comparing figs. 226a and 226b on pl. 113 of the Oldman artifacts with the two big carved beads on the Marquesas neck-ornament, that these too accord in design. Unfortunately, Porter in his text gives no detail of the various artifacts, but seems to have been content to reproduce drawings of them.

In the Oldman collection is a necklace with a similar type of bead from the Hervey or Austral group; it consists of seventeen whale-tooth barrel-shaped beads from $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in length, all but two of which have plain flanged ends but no median ridge. (See fig. 480, pl. 21, instalment 3 of Polynesian artifacts, *J.P.S.*, 47 (1938), 12.

The whale-tooth on pl. 2 is not very like the tooth on the Marlborough necklace, but is no doubt intended for the

⁶ Capt. David Porter, *Journal of a Cruise made in the Pacific Ocean* . . . 1812, 1813, 1814, 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1815.

PLATE XXXII

A typical 1930s cover of the pink-wrapped Polynesian Society Journal, in this case the quarterly issue for September 1935.

Vol. 44

No. 3

THE JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

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(Authors alone are responsible for their respective statements)

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1935.

PLATE XXXIII

Contents page of Polynesian Anthropological Studies [ed. Andersen] (New Plymouth, 1941), p. v. All these articles were first published in the augmented special centennial issues of the Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 49 (1940).

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PLATE XXXIV

Letters of authority: postnominal assertions of expertise on title-pages of two of Andersen's publications: Myths & Legends of the Polynesians (London, 1928); Maori Music with its Polynesian Background (New Plymouth, 1934).

MYTHS & LEGENDS *of* THE POLYNESIANS

BY

JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN F.N.Z.Inst.

AUTHOR OF "SONGS UNSUNG" "MAORI LIFE IN AOTEA"
"BIRDSONG AND NEW ZEALAND SONGBIRDS"
"PLACE-NAMES OF BANKS PENINSULA"
JOINT EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL OF THE
POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

WITH SIXTEEN PLATES IN COLOUR BY
RICHARD WALLWORK A.R.C.A.

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MAORI MUSIC

WITH ITS

POLYNESIAN BACKGROUND

BY

JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN

F.R.S., N.Z.

EDITOR, JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY
LIBRARIAN, TURNBULL LIBRARY
WELLINGTON



NEW PLYMOUTH, N.Z.
PRINTED BY THOMAS AVERY & SONS, LIMITED.
1934

PLATE XXXV

Letters of authority: postnominal assertions of expertise on the title-pages of two of Andersen's publications: The Maori Tohunga and His Spirit World (New Plymouth, 1948); Old Christchurch in Picture and Story (Christchurch, 1949).

THE MAORI TOHUNGA
AND HIS SPIRIT WORLD

BY
JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN
M.B.E., F.R.S.N.Z.
Hector Medallist in Anthropology

THOMAS AVERY & SONS LTD.
NEW PLYMOUTH.
1948

OLD
CHRISTCHURCH
IN
PICTURE AND STORY

BY
JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN
M.B.E., K.D., F.R.S.N.Z., F.R.N.S.N.Z.
HECTOR MEDALLIST IN ANTHROPOLOGY

AUTHOR OF
BIRD-SONG AND NEWZEALAND SONG-BIRDS
MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF THE POLYNESIANS
MAORI MUSIC, MAORI PLACE NAMES.
THE LAMP OF PSYCHE, &c. (SEE PAGE 498)

SIMPSON & WILLIAMS LIMITED
CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND
1949

PLATE XXXVI

Envelope enclosing letter from Harold Perkins to Andersen, 23 May 1941, preserved by Andersen together with Perkins's letter, now with Place-names, General, vol. 5, Andersen Papers, Auckland Institute and Museum Library (Photocopy reproduced by permission of Auckland Institute and Museum Library). Andersen was then visiting Auckland, and the Post Office decided, as the endorsement indicates, to 'ask Geo Graham'. The ms address in the bottom lefthand corner of the envelope is in the writing of George Graham.



Mr. Johannes Andersen,

Authority on Maori Culture,

AUCKLAND N.Z.

51 Shen Road
Stanley Bay
Devonport N.Z.

PLATE XXXVII

Extracts from articles in School Journal showing Andersen's incorporation of information on Maori: 'Rare Moths and Butterflies and Some Wasps', N.Z. School Journal, vol. 14, Part III, no. 7 (August 1924), p. 209; 'More Stories of Birds and Insects', N.Z. School Journal, vol. 14, Part III, no. 10 (November 1924), p. 311.

be of use to them. Unintentionally, too, they take weeds with them, and that is why docks and fat-hen and wireweed are such nuisances in the garden. Milkweed is one of these weeds, as its very name tells us; and among other nuisances the roving white man took milkweed to the Pacific--into Australia and into New Zealand.

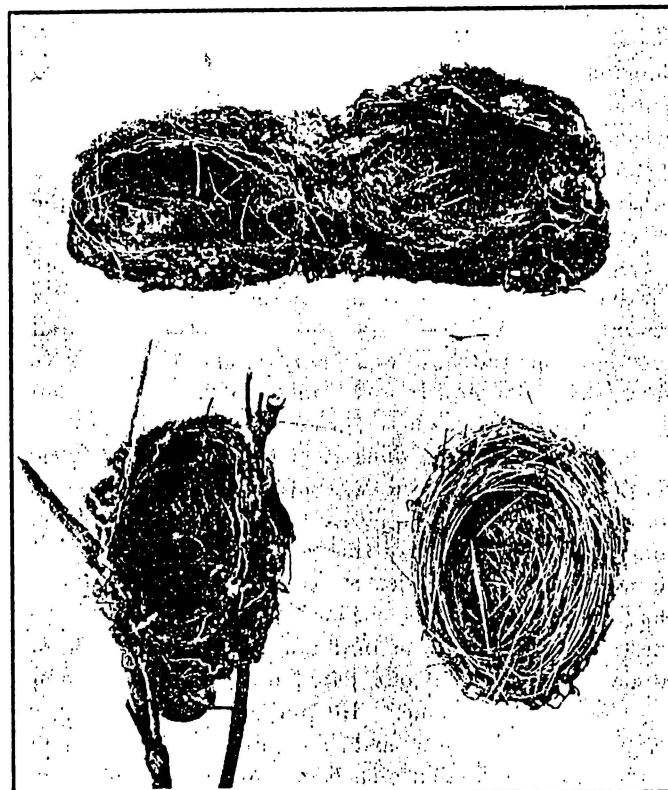
No doubt the milkweed-butterfly visited these lands long before the white man, but the butterfly could not carry its necessities with it, and, not finding its food, perished. It is said by the Maoris that this butterfly, by them called *kakahu*, was in New Zealand before the white man. It may have been. I believe that one specimen was found in New Zealand over eighty years ago; but not until milkweed was plentiful did the butterfly become common; and the same seems to be true of Australia.

It is known that it flies far out over the ocean, because it has settled on ships when they have been from two hundred to three hundred miles or more from land, and has then been so active that it could not be caught--as if it had merely settled out of curiosity, not because it was tired. It has been seen, too, resting on the calm sea, holding its wings so that they were not wetted by the water, then rising again and continuing on its way.

I can believe this last fact more readily because I have seen a similar thing. One summer day we were sailing in a small boat on the sea, over a mile from the shore of Kapiti, when I saw a dragon-fly on the surface of the water. I thought it had fallen in, but was surprised when, on the ripples from the boat reaching it, I saw its wings quiver and raise it from the water; and away it flew. I could not help thinking how quickly that gleaming dragon-fly would have disappeared had a barracouta caught sight of it.

There is yet more of interest about the milkweed-butterfly. Whilst the male and female are very much

children was, you will remember, a fantail's. The wax-eye is called a New Zealand bird, but it is believed that during some great storm about seventy-five years ago a flock was blown over the Tasman Sea from



THREE WAX-EYES' NESTS.

Australia. The Maori name of the bird is *tauhou*—which means “a stranger.” It builds a frail-looking nest, and in the illustration you will see how the nest is hung in the fork of a small branch. Sometimes you can see right through it; you can see through one in

PLATE XXXVIII

Extract from an article in School Journal showing Andersen's incorporation of letters from school pupils and his encouraging response, including information on Maori: 'More Stories of Birds and Insects', N.Z. School Journal, vol. 14, Part III, no. 10 (November 1924), pp. 317-18.

hundred. I told her, however, that it was called a centipede not because it had actually a hundred legs, but because, when the wiggly-waggly thing is coming towards us, it seems to have a hundred at the very least!

The interesting thing about this one was that it was nine inches long, and the longest so far known here in New Zealand was only five inches.

Peri Burns, Algie's Bay, Auckland, wrote to say that on the 9th August he chopped a chrysalis of the big green moth from a puriri stem; but let me quote from his letter:—

"I took it home, where my sister placed it in a funnel made of paper. When she came back a few minutes later the moth was out of its chrysalis. We placed it in a box, and about an hour after it had turned into a moth it began laying eggs. The eggs were white when laid, but after a short time turned black. After laying many eggs it died on Monday night, the 11th. In our observations of the puriri-trees we noticed that if we removed the silky covering hiding the exit of its hole, next day a new covering was always spun. We found out also that when the grub turned into the chrysalis the silken covering was removed from the exit and only the trap-door closing the vertical tunnel was kept shut. When the moth had come out the old shell was left in the hole. The Maoris have a legend that a two-winged moth similar to this one lays its eggs and then buries itself in the ground. It has a slight tuft on its head, and this tuft grows up into a tree about a foot high, and covered in leaves. The early Maoris used to tattoo their faces with the juice from it. A Maori whom I knew told me this, and although I laughed at him he still held the same view. Have you ever heard the story before?"

I told him the Maori was partly correct. He probably referred to the insect called the "vegetable caterpillar," called by the Maoris *awheto*. The caterpillar of a moth related to the big green moth (possibly the sphinx-moth) burrows into the ground when about to turn into a chrysalis. A fungus, by some means, at times takes root in the neck-joint of the caterpillar, spreads its roots right through the sleeping caterpillar, which is, of course, killed, fills the body with its growth, and throws up a short stem like a small bulrush. If you pull it up, there is the caterpillar forming the root, so it is called the "vegetable caterpillar." I think it was the soot obtained by burning this root that the Maori mixed with fat and used as the colouring for tattooing.

Peri Burns was the second this year to send me a large green moth. I received three in the early part of August, and these are the earliest ever known; usually the moth comes out much later in the year. Peri sent the moth and some of the eggs, but the eggs have failed to hatch out. You will notice that this moth lived only two days, but butterflies and moths may, of course, live some months. This answers the boy who wrote to me from Mokoia asking how butterflies could fly across the Pacific, when they lived only a few days. During the last three months I have had so many specimens of the green moth that I begin to think it must be swarming; a few of them have been the rare yellow variety, and one of them the rare variety *hectori*.

I have had numbers of good things from the Kariotahi School, Waiuku, amongst them a moth (its scientific name is *Melanchra equisita*). It has been found a few times, but in the South Island only; and the one sent to me by Mary Thomson is the very first found in the North Island. Nothing whatever is known of its habits. It was thought at first that it might be a new species, as its markings are

PLATE XXXIX

Information supplied by Andersen incorporated in a footnote to More Maoriland Adventures of J. W. Stack, ed. A. H. Reed (Wellington, 1936), pp. 179-80 and note 1.

AN EMBARRASSMENT OF RICHES

school's name, the guests of our tribe, accompanied by two of our native teachers. When my visit was over, and I was about to return, the Thames chiefs said that they wished to make the school a present, and placed on the ground beside me six whole pigs, a whole bullock, several bags of flour and sugar, and a great many kits of potatoes and pumpkins. After thanking the visitors for their acceptable gifts, I returned to get men to fetch them. I was kept very busy for several hours after the pork and beef arrived, cutting up and salting it, with the assistance of some of our men.

For days our scholars feasted as they had never done before. Pork was their favourite meat, and they were allowed to eat as much of it as they liked. The visitors had been so liberally supplied that most of them got ill from over-eating, trying to do what, as Maoris, they thought their duty to their entertainers, by eating all they could of what was put before them. Ngati Tipa had provided for about five hundred guests, and only two hundred partook of their hospitality. The visitors were so embarrassed by the excessive provision made for them that, to get rid of what beef and pork and perishable food they could not consume, they carried it away at night, and hid it in the surrounding swamps.

When the *hahu* and *puré*¹ ceremonies were completed, and our school lands freed from *tapu*, the

¹ The *hahunga* ceremony (*hahu* is the verb—to disinter bones) was that at the exhumation of the bones about four years after death. There was less ceremony at the death than at the *hahunga*. The body was buried in a shallow pit, or exposed in a tree, to facilitate decomposition. At the *hahunga* the bones were cleaned, painted with red ochre, and deposited, often in a carved box, and placed in their final

A FAMINE FOLLOWS THE FEAST

visitors were occupied, for much of the six weeks spent in our neighbourhood, in conveying, in their large canoes, the flour and other things they were able to take home with them, to Waiuku, where it could be shipped to their homes in the Hauraki Gulf.

During the winter which followed the visit of the Thames natives, the Ngati Tipa had cause to regret their ostentatious and wasteful expenditure of food upon their late guests. Before the winter was half over, every man, woman and child amongst them was suffering from want of proper nourishment. Not a potato, or cob of corn, or a pumpkin, remained in any house in the district. Most of the people lived on fern-root, which they told me had lost most of its nourishing properties from being so often burned. While their money lasted long enough to buy flour, some partook daily of a little thin gruel sweetened with sugar. But having no pigs or produce to sell, when this money was expended they could not replenish their stores, and Waata Kukutai,² our leading chief, told me that, but for the plentiful supply of watercress in the neighbourhood many of his people would have died

repository. The *hahunga* was a great occasion for meeting and wailing of the tribe. Those who did the exhumation became extremely *tapu*, and had to undergo the purification rite before they could mix again with their fellows.

The *puré* (poo-ray) rite was a cleansing or purification ceremony, which had to be undergone on this and various other occasions. Ritual entered largely into Maori life and the occasions were quite as solemn as with us; the subsequent feasting was a relieving of the tension. (J.C.A.) For further information about the *hahunga* ceremony see Yate's *New Zealand* (1835), pp. 137-139.

² See Introduction to Part III, p. 143, for notes on Kukutai and his tribe.

PLATE XL

Notes contributed by Andersen to Felix Maynard and Alexandre Dumas, The Whalers, ed. and trans. F. W. Reed (London, 1937), p. 409.

Note XLII (page 311). *Pakeha*. An ingenious suggestion as to the origin of this word from the common whaler and sailor objurgation has more than once been made, and though it is parallel to the name *Wiwi* for the French (from their constantly repeated "Oui, oui"), it is probably unsound, plausible as it may be. Authorities consider it to be derived from *pakshakeha* or *pakepakeha*, which with other names of sea-deities—*atua*, *tipua*, *marakihau*, and *taiwa*, have one time or another been applied to Europeans, or foreigners, not necessarily light-skinned. (See Williams' *Dictionary*; also *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 3, page 236).

Note XLIII (page 313). *Koumara*.—There is some confusion here. The elevated stores were principally of two kinds,—stores of various sizes elevated on four posts, *pataka*, sometimes large and very elaborately carved; or *whata*, small box-like stores elevated on a single tall pole provided with notched steps for access. If *koumara* is a name given because of *kumara* being stored therein, then a *pataka* cannot be intended, since *kumara* were not stored in these but in underground pits (*rua*). Neither were *kumara* stored in the *whata*. A tall tree might be taken as a post, its branches cut off level and the whole trimmed, and a platform fixed on the stumps; such a store was called *komanga*—but the French ear was too acute to take *komanga* for *koumara*, as is shown by Maynard himself later in the chapter where he spells *kumara* (the sweet potato) correctly, not even using the usual French *ou* for *u*.

Note XLIV (page 318). *Morai* is a Polynesian word, but not Maori, the Maori equivalent being *marae*, the open space in the village, the plaza as Elsdon Best calls it. In the Society Islands and elsewhere the *morai* was an open space also, but usually paved and elevated and surrounded by stepped terraces. The flat top might be used for sepulture, but only of chiefs. It would be interesting if Maynard heard the word *morai* used in New Zealand as applied to a place for sepulture or burial; for whilst the Maori had none of these platforms of stone, he had known them before he left the Pacific for New Zealand, and had preserved descriptions of them in his traditions.

Note XLV (page 321). Jean Jacques François Lebarbier (1738–1826), French artist and writer. Painted classical and

PLATE XLI

Letter by Andersen in Evening Post (Wellington), 31 July 1939. Andersen kept a copy of this letter: Place-names, General, vol. 3 (AR: Andersen Papers). This illustration is reproduced from a clipping loosely enclosed in a book on place names (not by Andersen), which perhaps indicates the interest some Pakeha had in nomenclatural matters.

CORRESPONDENCE

PLACE NAMES

KAIWARAWARA & WAIWHETU

(To the Editor.)

Sir,—Your correspondent "Romulus" in Wednesday's "Post" is quite right as regards the confusion which allows Kaiwarra, Kaiwarawara, and Kaiwharawhara to appear side by side as names for the same place. The third, as he notes, is the correct form, Kaiwarra being merely a shortening and misspelling, and Kaiwarawara the form used by such Maori tribes as were not "h"-conscious, such as the Whanganui, who by their speech caused the name of the town to be written Wanganui by the pakeha. Strange to say, those same Whanganui, as I am told by Sir Apirana Ngata, restore the "h" when they sing, so that it must be in their minds even when they substitute a catch in the breath for it in their speech. There is a hill at the back of the present Kaiwarra and it is correctly spelt Kaiwharawhara—wharawhara being the fruit of one of the bush-astelias (perching lilies) used as food. In the year 1908 there was a committee on nomenclature appointed by the Government, on which naturally there was Maori representation, and that committee ruled that Kaiwharawhara was the correct form: many of us would be glad to see that form generally adopted.

On the 11th of this month another correspondent, "Korero-Poneke," wrote about the name Waiwhetu. I intended to reply at the time—wrote my note in fact—but take the opportunity of writing now, as the same "wh" sound is in question. This correspondent was not concerned about the retention of the correct form of the name, which is the one officially used, but thought it pedantry to keep to it when it is popularly called Waiwetoo. Does he then also call it pedantry to pronounce Yes "Yes" because it is so often popularly pronounced "Year" or "Yep"? Surely not.

Now I live quite close to the stream Waiwhetu which has given its name to the district, and every time I cross it I think, not only of the name (though not as Waiwetoo), but of the beautiful bush, of great trees and small, of ferns and starry clematis, which grew there a hundred years ago; think of the descriptions of the scene by people who canoed up the Hutt and up the Waiwhetu also. How unanimous they all were in their praises of the beauty of the whole valley. Well, the bush has gone, but another beauty is taking its place, and anyone who knows the Hutt Valley, knows how it grows in beauty more and more. That beauty should win "Korero-Poneke" as a champion of the name Waiwhetu. It is an easy name to say—Wai-whetu, the "wh" breathed like an "f" without letting the lip touch the teeth, and the last letter "u" pronounced long, like "oo" in fact. Pronounce it like that, and "Korero-Poneke" will find that it very nearly is what he writes—Waiwetoo, but not quite; no accent on the "oo"; that makes a little subtle distinction, and makes all the difference. As to the meaning of the name, "whetu" is a star, "wai" water; so that it means starry-water; and I think "Korero-Poneke" will admit that that is an admirable name for a stream reflecting not only the beauty of the sky at night, but also the beauty of man's gardens by day. And next time I cross the stream I shall also be thinking of "Korero-Poneke" and the pictures this note may awaken in his mind.—I am, etc.,

JOHANNES ANDERSEN.

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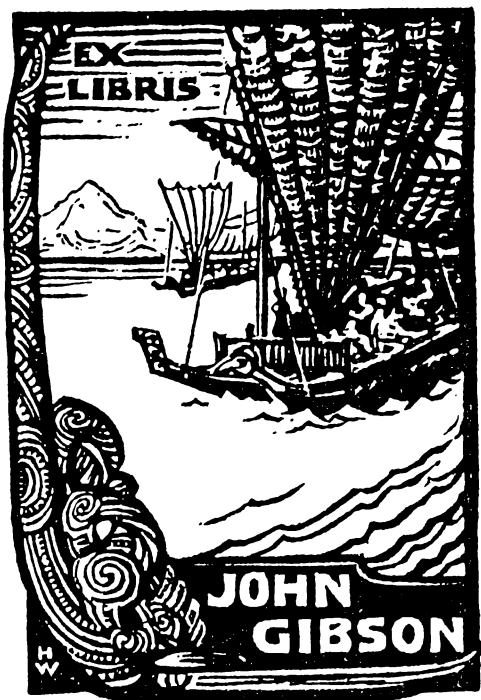
PLATE XLII

Bookplates accompanying the article by Andersen, 'New Zealand Book-plate Artists and their Work', in The New Zealand Ex Libris Society [Brochure No. 2 indicated on cover], ed. J. C. Andersen (Wellington, 1933), pp. 6, 8.



PLATE XLIII

Bookplate with commentary by Andersen, 'List of Plates Reproduced', in New Zealand Ex Libris Society: Brochure No. 4 (Wellington, 1937), p. 18 and plate facing p. 18.



No. 5. JOHN GIBSON, linocut by HILDA WISEMAN, Auckland.

The design is a good New Zealand subject—the arrival of the Maori in Aotearoa (New Zealand). The drawing of the canoes in the picture is based chiefly on those in Kenneth Watkins' painting, in the Auckland Art Gallery, of the landing of the Maori about the year 1350—the period of the great migration from Polynesia. Two double-canoes are represented with plaited sail (ra) still set. Whilst they were plaited, the material was so light that they were no heavier than canvas. The double canoes were formed of two ordinary sea-going canoes lashed side by side, from four to six feet apart, by cross-pieces, a covering cabin on a deck that also covered part of the canoe. The ornament on the left is part of a carved stern-piece (rapa). These highly-ornamented canoe-terminals might be up to fifteen feet high; the figure of a guardian atua is carved at the foot. The mountain in the background is purely imaginary.

The plate was specially designed for the collection of New Zealand books possessed by the owner, Mr. John Gibson, of Sydney.

PLATE XLIV

Bookplate with commentary by Andersen, 'List of Plates Reproduced', in New Zealand Ex Libris Society: Brochure No. 4 (Wellington, 1937), p. 22 and plate facing p. 22.



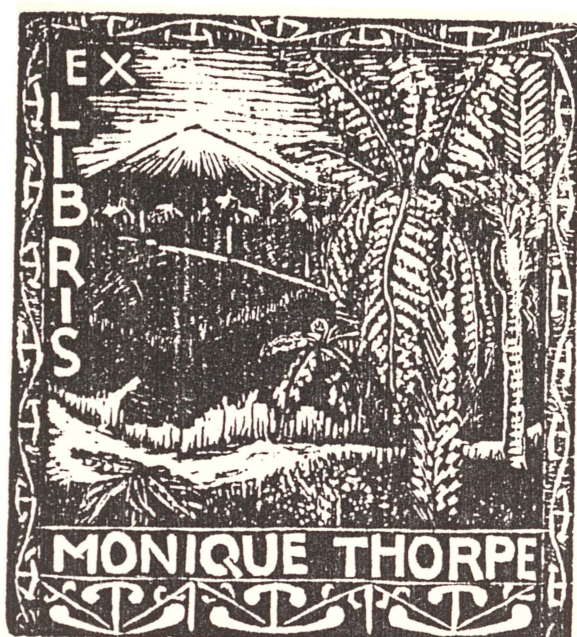
No. 7. RUSSELL DUNCAN, lino-cut by HILDA WISEMAN, Auckland.

This vigorous cut is from the excellent drawing by the late Major-General Robley, author of the fine book on Maori tattooing—"Moko." It depicts a Maori warrior in the leap of the war-dance, huiia-feathers in his hair, tewhatewha in his hand, and diabolical ferocity in his lineaments. The Maori ornament above the Christian name of the owner has a curious hint of the Greek key-pattern, and at first glance gives the impression of representing letters. The motto is good—"Ko te matauranga te kaha" (Knowledge is strength).

It is an apt design for Mr. Russell Duncan, who has long been a student of the Maori in his old and new surroundings. He has also taken great interest in the New Zealand explorations of Captain Cook, following on the trail of that great navigator, visiting the places first visited by him along the long coast-line, taking photographs, and recording what is known of his visit at the various places and what remains of what he did there. He has a fine collection of books dealing with his favourite study, and this plate will find a fitting place in them.

PLATE XLV

Bookplate with commentary by Andersen, 'List of Plates Reproduced', in New Zealand Ex Libris Society: Brochure No. 4 (Wellington, 1937), p. 30 and plate facing p. 30.



No. 11. MONIQUE THORPE, woodcut, by MRS. LOUISE TILSLEY, of Auckland.

We shall have to conclude that the many book-plates which are without books are so intentionally, and that those who use them are more or less independent of the printed volume, and perhaps, like the duke in "As You Like it," each one

Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in every thing:

a happy state, and for those in that happy state New Zealand furnishes enough of tongues, and books, and sermons, and good in every thing. The scene depicted in this plate looks like New Zealand before the advent of the Pakeha with ringing axe and singing saw. The ponga and nikau are lifting with the peak of Taranaki, later called Egmont, and on the flank of Taranaki is seen a Maori kainga,—the artist correctly assuming that a Maori kainga is the equivalent of a British thorp. This also makes the plate a rebus. The adapted Maori border-pattern, too, gives a series of T's for the surname initial.

"I rested beneath the shade
Of the nikau's waving frond,
In a wild romantic glade,
While the world seemed far beyond;

There heard a harp-like sound,
So liquid, dulcet, clear,
Chime with the stream's rebound,
And knew the tui near."

That is a further quality in a plate of this kind ;—to one who knows New Zealand the trees and the ferns call to mind the denizens of their glades—tui and korimako and the choiring dawns.

The New Zealand origin of the plate is carried farther, though this could not be guessed ; the wood on which the design is cut and from which the plate is printed is rewarewa, the native tree-honeysuckle, whose timber is already a favourite for ornamental cabinet-work, having a figure sometimes like lace, sometimes like shot silk.

PLATE XLVI

Set of 1935 New Zealand 'pictorial' stamps. Andersen was a member of a committee of four which selected the designs from those sent in by the public. Nine of the thirteen stamps featured Maori subjects or included Maori motifs in the frames. The 3s.0d Mt Egmont design originally had blank panels on left and right margins. At the instigation of Andersen, these panels were filled with a Maori pattern.



PLATE XLVII

Reverse of first set of New Zealand coins, placed in circulation in late 1933 (half-crown), 1934 (other silver coin denominations), and 1939 (bronze half-penny and penny). Reproduced twice actual size, from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, ed. A. H. McLintock (three volumes, Wellington, 1966), vol. 1, Plate 20A, facing p. 545. The centennial half-crown, top left, issued in 1940, was produced in limited numbers and was essentially a commemorative coin rather than regular currency, as was a 1935 crown (not illustrated) which also included a Maori subject.



PLATE XLVIII

Example of information on Maori lore, including material provided by Hare Hongi (H. M. Stowell), incorporated by Andersen in Bird-song and New Zealand Song Birds (Christchurch, 1926), p. 140.

(W.J, p. 199):—Koko (when fat), kukari (young), pikari (young), pitui (young), takaha (m.), teoteo (f.), tute (m.).

The tui becomes extremely fat in winter; and when so fat as to be uncomfortable, it was said to peek its breast, allowing the oil to escape. The feathers became saturated, and were then of no use for knotting into the woven flax cloaks. When caught in this condition it was often found to be covered with the marks of the pecking, acquiring from that fact the name koko, or pecking (TI, p. 401). Kukari is a name for young birds generally; so too is pi, whence pitui simply means "young tui." Teoteo, a name applied to the female, is also the name given to a small species of shag. Taylor gives further details (TI, p. 402)—"the unfledged bird is called a pi, afterwards it is named pikari, and when fledged a purehe. But full-grown, it is a tui, and when it becomes very fat, it is a koko." Stowell, on the other hand, says that the name koko should be applied only to the *speaking* tui.

The tutelary deity of the tui and other black birds was Parauri; but when fat its tutelary deity was Urutahi. This deity was also said to be the mother of the tui by Tane, at the time that god's creative power was finding outlet through various powers of nature. In one legend Tane is said to have obtained the tui from Rehua, lord of the tenth overworld, bringing it to earth and freeing it in his forests.

There has been great confusion in the collecting of the many Maori myths and legends: there existed side by side two versions,—the esoteric, reserved for the highest of the tohunga-class, and the fireside version, the one known to the majority of members of the tribe. It is this fireside version that has most commonly been collected, and it is the fantastic, often grotesque nature of these fireside versions that has led to much misconception of the Maori, and his mental and spiritual characteristics.

The stitch-bird.—Male, head and neck black, with a tuft of white feathers behind each ear. Breast and some of the wing-coverts bright yellow. A white band on the wings. Abdomen

PLATE XLIX

Illustrations by A. H. Messenger included in Andersen's Maori Tales (Christchurch, 1924), pp. 6, 13, 35, 47.



"Matuku ran off with a sound as of mocking."



"She heard the voice of Honi."



"She heard its gentle warbling."



"There before him stood the very tree he thought he had cut down."

PLATE L

Cover illustration by A. H. Messenger for Andersen's Maori Tales (Christchurch, 1924).

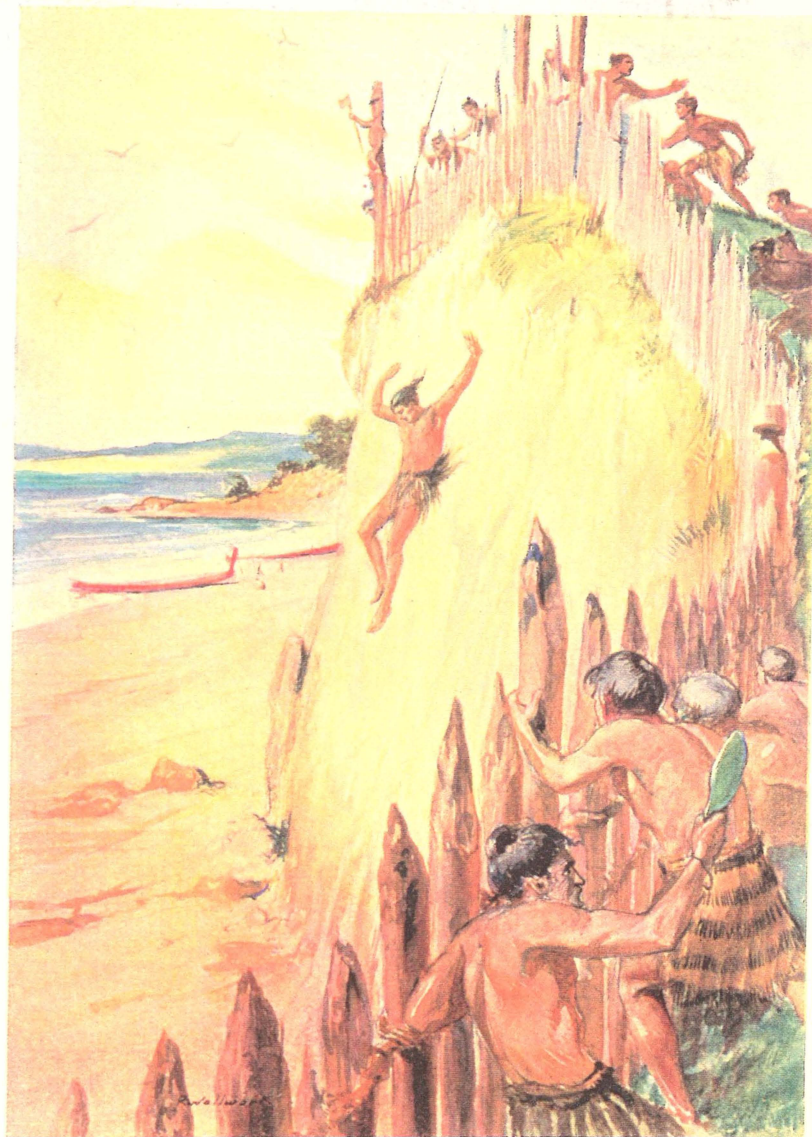
MAORI TALES



By
Johannes.C.Andersen.

PLATE LI

‘The Son of Tahu Makes his Escape’, illustration by Richard Wallwork, in Andersen’s Myths & Legends of the Polynesians (London, 1928), facing p. 112.



THE SON OF TAHU MAKES HIS ESCAPE

PLATE LII

‘Maui’ Hauls up the Land’, illustration by Richard Wallwork,
in Andersen’s Myths & Legends of the Polynesians (London,
1928), facing p. 202.



MAUI² HAULS UP THE LAND

PLATE LIII

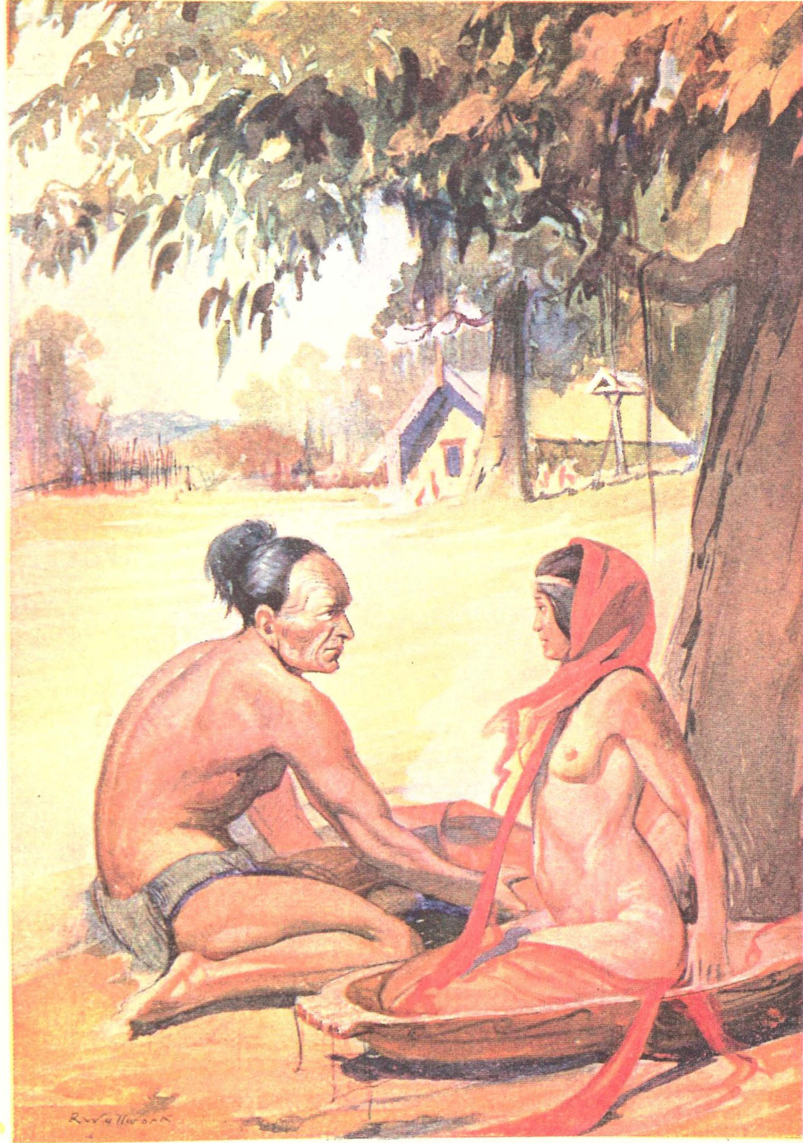
‘The Parting of the Moon-goddess and the Mortal’, illustration by Richard Wallwork, in Andersen’s Myths & Legends of the Polynesian (London, 1928), facing p. 262.



THE PARTING OF THE MOON-GODDESS AND THE MORTAL

PLATE LIV

“There Sat Rukutia, Restored to Life”, illustration by Richard Wallwork, in Andersen’s Myths & Legends of the Polynesians (London, 1928), facing p. 69.



“THERE SAT RUKUTIA, RESTORED TO LIFE”

PLATE LV

Endpaper and dust jacket design by Olive Lloyd, for Andersen's The Maori Tohunga and His Spirit World (New Plymouth, 1948).

THE MAORI TONGA



BY JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN

PLATE LVI

Extracts from Announcing a Volume of Poems. The Maori Helicon. By Johannes C. Andersen. Illustrated by Christopher Perkins. The Most Unusual Book in a Decade. A Novel and Interesting Presentation of Gems from Maori Myths and Tradition [Prospectus] (Wellington, 1930), pp. 6-7.

THE MAORI HELICON.



Fay-affrighted,
He the weapons gave ; delighted,
On their beauty gazed the fairies ;
They, great Tane's emissaries,
No more glowered,—
Quite forgot the youth who cowered
By their presence overpowered,—
As a man with vigour frantic,
Imitating gods in antic,

THE HAUNT OF THE WOOD-ELVES.

— — —
Might uprear a blade gigantic
From a god-felled tree-bole fashioned,
So a wood-elf, jest-impassioned,
As with man-like vigour gifted
Held the weapon poised, uplifted,
Threatening destruction speedy ;
Whilst the rest with wide eyes beady
Gazed admiring, till he tumbled
Over-weighted, rising humbled.



PLATE LVII

Cover of Andersen's Maori String Figures (Wellington, 1927), displaying the design of publications of the Board of Maori Ethnological Research.

Maori String Figures

By J. C. ANDERSEN



PLATE LVIII

Endpaper design for Andersen's Tura and the Fairies and The Overworlds and Tu (From Maori Legendary Lore) (Wellington, 1936).

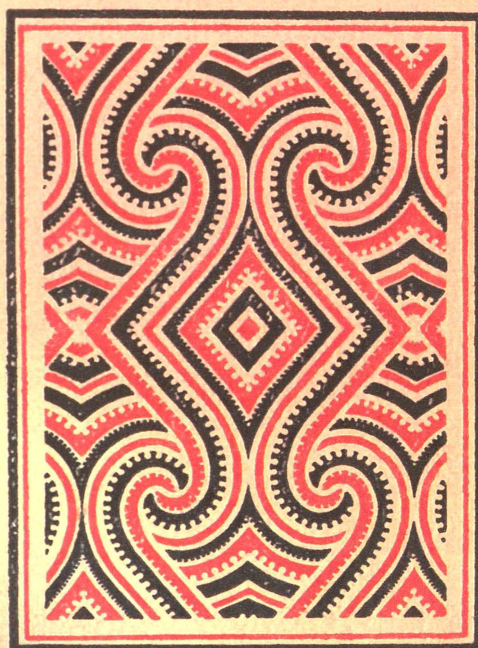


PLATE LIX

Cover of Andersen's Polynesian Literature: Maori Poetry
(Waiata and Tangi) (New Plymouth, 1946).

POLYNESIAN LITERATURE

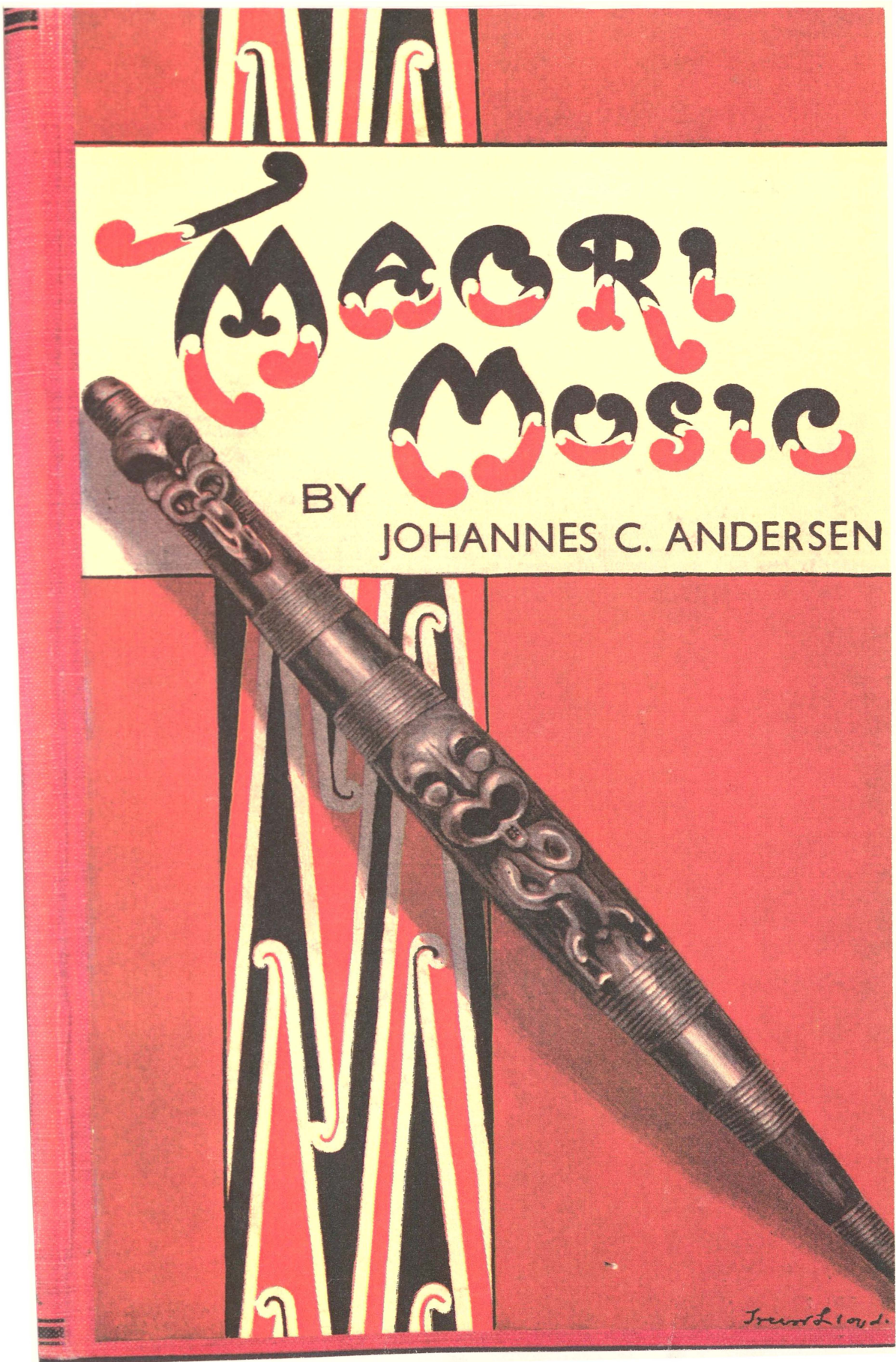
MAORI POETRY



EDITED BY J. C. ANDERSEN

PLATE LX

Cover picture, repeated on endpapers, by Trevor Lloyd, for Andersen's Maori Music with Its Polynesian Background (New Plymouth, 1934).

The book cover features a central yellow rectangular area containing the title and author's name. This area is flanked by vertical bands of red, black, and white wavy patterns. A large, detailed illustration of a Maori flute (pūtahi) is positioned diagonally across the lower half of the cover. The background is a solid red color.

MAORI Music

BY

JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN

Trevelyan & Co. Ltd.

PLATE LXI

Extracts from Andersen's 'Notes on the Maori Names', in Journal Kept in New Zealand in 1820 by Ensign Alexander McCrae of the 84th Regiment Together with Relevant Documents, ed. Frederick Revans Chapman (Wellington, 1928), p. 33.

writer first to hear those sounds, then to write them as he hears them. No wonder we have many variants of particular words. The letter *c* often takes the place of *k*, as in *cowrie* for *kauri* (*c* appears useless in English, except in combination as in *ch*), where *ow* also takes the place of *au*. The broad sound of *i* is often represented by *ee* or *ie*, *u* by *oo* or *ou*, and *ai* by *y*.

With these notes, it is easy to see the correct forms of the following :—

Wymatte..	..	..	..	Waimate.
Kyperra ..	..	..	..	Kaipara.
Moodywy	..	..	..	Muriwai.
Kookoopa	..	..	..	Kukupā.
Rookoo ..	..	..	..	Ruku.

To those who are interested the names are fairly easily identified ; to those who are not interested identification is of no importance.

In old transliterations, the Ven. Archdeacon Williams notes in Nicholas, a typical early writer (1817), that the present sounds adopted are as follow :—

Present	<i>a</i>	is represented by	<i>a, e, o, u.</i>
„	<i>e</i>	„	<i>e, a, i, ee.</i>
„	<i>i</i>	„	<i>e, ee, ie, u, i</i> (only when short).
„	<i>o</i>	„	<i>o, ou, a.</i>
„	<i>u</i>	„	<i>oo, u, ow.</i>
„	<i>ai</i>	„	<i>i, y.</i>
„	<i>ae</i>	„	<i>i, y.</i>
„	<i>ao</i>	„	<i>ou, ow.</i>
„	<i>au</i>	„	<i>ou, ow, aou</i> , and rarely <i>au</i> .
„	<i>ou</i>	„	<i>o, oo.</i>

But McCrae frequently approximates very closely to the modern spelling ; in particular, he often writes *wh* correctly, and sometimes *ai*.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Venerable Archdeacon Williams and Mr. Elsdon Best for valuable advice and criticism in the writing of the foregoing note.

JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN.

PLATE LXII

Extract from Place-names in New Zealand: Rules of Nomenclature and List of Names Approved, or Changed, or Expunged, ed. Andersen (Wellington, 1934), p. 9.

6. It is desirable to avoid the use of hyphens to connect parts of Maori names.

For instance, *Pari-whereo* should be written and printed *Pariwhereo*; for though the name means "red cliff" (*pai*, cliff, and *whereo*, red) it should follow English usage, which writes *Redcliff*—not *Red-cliff*; 'red cliff' is a descriptive term; *Redcliff* is a name. The difference is in the pronunciation as well as in the form; in the descriptive term both words are accented and there is a slight pause between them; in the name there is no pause, and the second word of the pair drops its accent. So in the word *Oxford*; the difference may be heard if the following sentence be spoken aloud: "There was an ox ford at this part of the river, and for that reason it was called *Oxford*."

A derivative reason for a Maori name was mentioned in Rule 4 above, and it must here be noted that experts among the Maoris themselves maintain that the derivative reason is the chief one; the descriptive one is secondary. That is, in giving a name like *Pariwhereo* the Maori would think somewhat in this way—"Ah; that is like the place in *Rarotonga* (or any other 'Hawaiki') that is called *Pariwhereo*; we will call this place *Pariwhereo*." Both names were no doubt descriptive, but it was the old association rather than the description which was uppermost in the Maori mind. Nevertheless, there must have been a first *Pariwhereo*, and Maori ingenuity can hardly combat the fact that that name must have been descriptive. Many Maori derivative names are independent of descriptive suitability; so are many of our own, as *Sockburn* where there is no 'burn' within miles and no court was ever held there.

It is admitted that in compounded words there are advantages in the use of the hyphen; it is a kind of verbal crutch. Were the hyphen used in the word *Wai-whetu* (starry water) we might not hear the mispronunciation which accents the first and last syllables, making the name *Waiwe-tu*.* This alteration of accent leads to disaster in Maori words, where there is little accent on any syllable and almost equal accent on all, as in French. Again, in *Moc-ra* (sunny sleep) the hyphen division would perhaps

*Though the last syllable in this case happens to be long.

PLATE LXIII

Extracts from article by Andersen, 'Maori Words Incorporated into the English Language', Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 55 (1946), p. 156 (issue of June 1946).

- orange much used for plaiting ornamental girdles and for *tuku-tuku* (lattice-work) lacing in wall-panels of whares.
- piopio**, a bush-bird (*Turnagra tanagara*), the North Island thrush and (*T. capensis*) the South Island form: both extinct soon after 1900. A riverbed bird, the dotterel, and a narrow-leaved plant, *dianella*, also bear this name, but the thrush is usually associated with the name: in any case the *dianella* has a name *tūrutu*.
- pipi**, cockle in general among the Maori: but by Pakeha more applied to *Mesodesma australe*. *Pipi-komore* and *pipi-taiari* was applied to *Dentalium*, the tusk-shell.
- pīpīpī**, a gregarious bird (*Finschia novaeseelandiae*), tree-creeper: the flock sings a long song in time and in unison.
- pīpīwharauoa**, often shortened to *wharauoa*, a migratory bird (*Chalcococcyx lucidus*), shining- or bronze-wing cuckoo: winters in New Caledonia and adjacent islands: the long-tailed cuckoo is *koekoeā*.
- piripiri**, a scrambling plant-pest (*Acaena Sanguisorbae*), burr, biddy-bid (corruption of Maori name); also called *hutiwai*.
- piwakawaka**, a bird (*Rhipidura flabellifera*), pied fantail: the so-called black fantail, which is chocolate-colour (*R. fuliginosa*) is *tiwakawaka*. The former is common throughout Newzealand; the latter is common in the South Island but rather rare in the North and is thought to be a mutant of the former. Both names were applied to both birds by the Maori, but for distinction *piwakawaka* for the pied and *tiwakawaka* for the black have been adopted by the Pakeha. The bird is noted for the disaster it caused to Maui in his struggle with the mother of night, *Hine-nui-te-po*, Death personified.
- pōhue**, a vine (*Calystegia Soldanella*), sand-bine: *C. sepium* is *paraha*.
- piupiu**, a garment consisting of a heavy fringe, about nine inches wide or more, made of flax and craped at intervals and dyed black. The flax when drying curling up into pipes. This fringe hung down the bare thighs, and as the wearer moved the gentle click-click of the hard tubes made a sound that was liked as to the *frou-frou* of a silk dress.
- poi**, a light ball made from *raupo* blades, with a short string attached to it which is swung and twisted rhythmically, in the manner of Indian clubs, to the accompaniment of a song; the so-called *poi-dance*, which is less a dance than a whirling of the balls and a swaying of the body in time with the song. There is a long-*poi*, in which the string is perhaps a yard long.
- pōhutukawa**, a gnarly sea-side tree (*Metrosideros tomentosa*), Christmas-tree (because of time of flowering).
- pōkākā**, a tree (*Elaeocarpus Hookerianus*): *E. dentatus*, also so called, but more usually known as *hinau*.
- porangi**, out of one's mind; mad: other meanings, but this is the one intended when used by the Pakeha, generally in an abusive way.
- porokaiwhiri**, a tree (*Hedycarya arborea*), pigeon-wood.
- pounamu**, greenstone, chiefly (and the best) found in *Arahura*.

PLATE LXIV

‘Maori Literature’ advertisement, Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 38 (1929), unpaginated leaf following p. 240 (issue of September 1929).

MAORI LITERATURE.

DOMINION MUSEUM.

- BULLETIN No. 5—"Maori Storehouses and Kindred Structures." By E. BEST. Price, 10/6; post. 8d.
- BULLETIN No. 7—"The Maori Canoe." By E. BEST. 15/-; post. 8d.
- BULLETIN No. 10—"Maori Mythology and Religion," Part 1. By E. BEST. 10/6; post. 8d.
- N.Z. BOARD OF SCIENCE AND ART MANUAL, No. 4—"The Maori as He Was." By E. BEST. 2/6 and 4/6; post. 4d.
- N.Z. BOARD OF SCIENCE AND ART MANUAL, No. 6—"Place Names of Banks Peninsula." By Johannes C. Andersen. (Includes Maori place-names and their history). 13/6; post. 5d.

DOMINION MUSEUM MONOGRAPHS.

- No. 1—"Some Aspects of Maori Myth and Religion." By E. BEST. 1/-; postage, 1d.
- No. 2—"Spiritual and Mental Concepts of the Maori." By E. BEST. 1/-; postage, 1d.
- No. 3—"Astronomical Knowledge of the Maori." By E. BEST. 1/6; postage, 1d.
- No. 4—"The Maori Division of Time." By E. BEST. 1/-; post. 1d.
- No. 5—"Polynesian Voyages." By E. BEST. 1/-; post. 2d.
- No. 6—"The Maori School of Learning." By E. BEST. 1/-; post. 2d.
- No. 7—"Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900." By H. W. WILLIAMS. 6/-; postage, 4d.

"New Zealand's First War." By T. LINDSAY BUICK. 15/-; post. 8d
The above can be obtained from the Government Printer, Wellington.

DOMINION MUSEUM.

- BULLETIN No. 6—"The Pa Maori," by E. BEST. 22/-; post. 10d.
- BULLETIN No. 8—"Games, Exercises, and Musical Instruments of the Maori." By E. BEST. 17/6; post. 8d.
- BULLETIN No. 9—"Maori Agriculture." By E. BEST. 12/6; post. 8d
- These three publications are on sale by Whitcombe & Tombs, Limited, Wellington.*

ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY.

- BULLETIN No. 2—"Zimmermann's Third Voyage of Captain Cook" (Translation of a rare German book, published in 1781; with map and illus.). Paper 2/6; cloth 3/6; postage 2d.
- BULLETIN No. 3.—Journal kept in New Zealand by Ensign Alexander McCrae, together with relevant documents. Paper 2/6; cloth 3/6; postage 2d.
- On sale by the Government Printer, Wellington.*

POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

MEMOIR No. 3—"Lore of the Whare-wananga," Part 1, "Te Kauwae-runga."

MEMOIR No. 4—"Lore of the Whare-wananga," Part 2, "Te Kauwae-raro."
A few copies available—Price 17/6 each to members; £1 to others. Postage 8d.

MEMOIR No. 5—"The Maori." Two vols. By E. BEST. One copy to members, 6/- each vol., including postage; to others, 11/- each vol., including postage.

On sale by H. Tombs, Ltd., 22, Wingfield Street, Wellington.

MEMOIR No. 6—"Tuhoe." Two vols. By E. BEST. Price, £1 10s 0d to members; £2 2s 0d to others; post. 1/10.

MEMOIR No. 7—"The Evolution of Maori Clothing." By TE RANGI HIROA (P. H. BUCK). Price, 12/6 to members; 15/- to others. Postage, 10d.

MEMOIR No. 8—"Language, Mythology, and Songs of Bwaidoga, Goodenough Island, S.E. Papua." By D. JENNESS and (late) REV. A. BALLANTYNE. Price, 7/6 to members; 10/- to others; postage 8d.

*May be had on application to the Secretary,
P.O. Box 523, Wellington.*

THE BOARD OF MAORI ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH.

MEMOIRS.

Vol. 1.—"Material Culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)." By Te Rangi Hiroa (P. H. Buck). Price 25/-; postage 1/-.

On sale by Thomas Avery & Sons, Ltd., New Plymouth.

Vol. 2.—"Maori String Figures." By Johannes C. Andersen. One Copy to Members, 6/-; to others, 7/6; post. 5d.

On sale by Ferguson & Osborn, Lambton Quay, Wellington.

Vol. 3.—"Maori Artistry." By W. Page Rowe. Price, 5/-; Postage 6d.

On sale by Thomas Avery & Sons, Ltd., New Plymouth.

Vol. 4.—"The Changing Maori." By Felix M. Keesing. Price, 15/-; Postage 8d.

On sale by Thomas Avery & Sons, Ltd., New Plymouth.

MAORI TEXTS.

Vol. 1.—"Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna." By Sir George Grey. Third Edition, edited by H. W. Williams. Price, 10/-; Postage 8d.

On sale by Thomas Avery & Sons, Ltd., New Plymouth.

PLATE LXV

Extract from Andersen's Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society, [Book 1] (Wellington, 1944), pp. 6-7.

3. PAASKEKLOKKEN KIMED MILD.

(Softly chimed the Easter bell.)



1. Paaskeklokken kimed mild
 Fra den danske Kyst,
 Meldte over lande dog
 Om saa haard en dyst.
 Slutter kreds og staar fast,
 Alle danske Maend!
 Gud han raader, naar vi fange
 Seier igen.

2. Listet var i Mulm og Nat
 Hid den tyske Haer,
 Knap de danske Dreng fik
 Tid at spaende Svaerd:
 Aabent Bryst var Landeværn,
 Mod var Danskens Skjold;
 Tysken maatte bygge
 Af egen Lig sin Vold.

3. Kuglen peb, og Svaerdet sang
 Til Kartovers Brag;
 Tysken maatte laere
 Det danske Sprog den Dag.

Over Tyra's brustne Led
 Blod i Stroemme randt;
 Tysken maatte koebe
 Helt dyrt hvert Fjed han vandt.

4. Vegen er for Overmagt
 Liden Flok til sidst;
 Men af Danmarks Aere
 Den intet haver mist.

5. Blegnet er saa mangel Kind,
 Faerre er de faa,
 Dog for Danmarks Aere
 Vi end er nok at slaa:
 Slutter Kreds og staar fast,
 Alle danske Maend!
 Gud han raader, naar vi fange
 Seier igen.

REMARKS ON THE SONG.

This is one of Denmark's many songs of remembrance. It was written after the year 1864, when Germany and Austria descended on Denmark like a wolf on the fold and seized Slesvig and Holstein. Tyra, mentioned in stanza 3, was the queen of Gorm the old—the first Danish King in history following on the mythic heroes. They had two sons, Knud and Harold. They lived in the late seven-hundreds and early eight-hundreds—over 1,000 years ago; and the two brothers went on a marauding expedition to England, where they plundered the district between Scarborough and York. They were victorious, but whilst bathing in the sea the Saxons turned and attacked them, and Knud was killed, the others returning to Denmark. The Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, had already been settled in England for 300 or 400 years, and had become Christians. Now a new wave of invaders descended on the coast—the Vikings from the creeks on the north of Denmark and the bight of Norway and Sweden—related to the Angles and Saxons, but still heathens though not uncivilized. It was to defeat these vikings that King Alfred united the people of England. During the latter part of his life Gorm handed over the rule of his kingdom to Tyra, who was wise, and well liked by the people. Denmark was beginning to feel itself a nation, and in order to protect it from the hordes of Germany, Tyra built a wall across the narrow part of Denmark from the sound at Slewig to the marshes and heath-lands of the west. The wall was two Danish miles long (about 9½ English miles), from 30 to 50 feet high, and 30 to 50 feet wide at the top, with towers here and there for defence, and one gateway. It took three years to build. This wall was called Dannevirke, and was built about 808, stood for 1,000 years, but was partly destroyed when the Germans attacked Denmark in 1848. But Denmark was not beaten, and she was again attacked as noted in 1864—hence this song, No. 3. No. 1 relates to the same war, and is addressed to the many Danish sons sleeping in the lost Slesvig. The town of Dannevirke, Wellington district, was named in memory of this wall.

1. Softly on the Danish coast
 Chimed the Easter bell,
 Oh, but what a most unhappy
 Tale was its to tell:
 Circled round, yet firm and fast
 Stood the Danish men,
 God the giver is when we
 Victory win again.

2. Hither in the gloom of night
 Crept the German hordes,
 Barely might the Danish lads
 Buckle on their swords;
 Open breast the Danes' defence,
 Courage all their shield;
 But the foe with his own dead
 Must his defences build.

3. Piped the bullet, sang the sword,
 To the cannons' bray;
 Germans were constrained to learn
 Danish speech that day.

Over Tyra's shattered gate
 Red the blood-stream flowed.
 Dearly bought the German then
 Every step he strode.

4. Overborne by numbers great,
 Few to pay the cost,—
 But, of Denmark's honour,
 By them was nothing lost.

5. Blanched now is many a chook.
 Fewer are the few,
 Yet enough for Denmark's honour
 Battle to renew.
 Circled round yet firm and fast
 Stood the Danish men:
 God the giver is when we
 Victory win again.

PLATE LXVI

Extracts from Andersen's Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society, Book 2 (Wellington, 1944), pp. 26-27.

14. HJEMMET. (Home, Sweet Home).

1. Om Glæder end botognod,
Hvert Fjæl vi vandred from,
Dog Længsel Sjælen fylder
Ved Tanken om vort Hjem;
Og aldrig du i Verden
Vil finde noget Sted
Hvor som i Barndoms Egne
Dit Hjerter følger Fred.
Hjem, Hjem! mit kære Hjem!
Nei ingen Plet paa Jorden
Er skjøn som du, mit Hjem.
2. Landflygtig jeg mod Hjemmet
Igjenmod Taarer ser,
Ak! skal min elskte Hytte
Jeg aldrig skue mer?
Sødt Fuglene der synger
Med den mig kjendte Røst
For atter Fred neddaler
I sorgopfyldte Bryst.
Hjem, Hjem, mit kære Hjem!
Nei ingen Plet paa Jorden
Er skjøn som er mit Hjem.
3. Fra Himlen stiger Sjælen
Til Jordens Dale ned,
Men aldrig kan den glemme
Sin Himnals Salighed!
Med Anselernes Længsel.
I Bon den bæver sig,
At komme dog tilbage
Til tabte Himmerig
Hjem, Hjem, mit kære Hjem!
Nei ingen Plet paa Jorden
Er skjøn som er mit Hjem.

1. Mid pleasures and palaces
Though I may roam,
Be it ever so humble
There's no place like home:
A charm from the sky
Seems to hallow it there,
Which seek through the world
Is not met with elsewhere.
Home, home, sweet sweet home,
There's no place like home,
No place like home, sweet home.
2. A exile from home
Pleasures dazzle in vain,
Oh give me my lowly
Thatched cottago again;
The birds singing gaily
That came to my call,
Give me these, and the peace of mind
Dearer than all.
Home, home, &c.
3. The soul floats from heaven
To earth in beauty set,
But heaven and its blessedness
It never can forget:
It soars up in yearning
On wings of earnest prayer,
It seeks for its returning
To find its lost home there.
Home, home, &c.

P. FABER.

IN MAORI. To Kainga.

1. Mo kimi i to ao nei,
Ho wahi he rito.
Ki tou kainga tupu
E matea nuitia nei:
Hei aha nga kino
Hei aha ona ho
Ka tawhai to ngakau
Ko reira noho ai.
Te kainga tupu
Te ai ona rito
E koro o rito.
Ka haero ki mamao,
Kei waroware koe,
Te wa ki nga matua,
E tangi atu nei;
Te wa ki te kainga
E okioki ai.
E tau ai te mauri
Ki reira noho ai.
Te kainga to tupu!
Te ai ona rito
E koro o rite.

REMARKS ON SONG 14.

Home Sweet Home was written by an American, John Howard Payne, and the music by Sir Henry Bishop, English composer of much good English music. It is said that the germ of the song is to be found in a song by T. Haines Bayly, composer of popular old-time songs such as *Gaily the Troubadour*, *We met, 'twas in a Crowd*, *Oh no, we never mention her, in the song beginning with the lines:*

*To the home of my childhood
In sorrow I came,
And I fondly expected
To find it the same.*

This was published in 1820, to a melody called a Sicilian air. This, however, whilst it is in great part the same as that of Home Sweet Home, is a longer air, and is without the refrain.

*Payne was an actor, manager, and playwright, though mostly an adapter of plays. He was born in America, but came to London to seek his fortune, and in 1823 was produced his opera *Clari, the Maid of Milan*. In this appears the song as we now know it, and Sir Henry Bishop wrote the music for the opera, adapting the air for the song, our Home Sweet Home. It was sung by Miss Maria Tree, and was immediately popular, and has remained so ever since.*

The publishers of the song and the music made a fortune, but Payne made none: he became a wanderer, and for the last forty years of his life he had no settled home, and died at Tunis in 1852, his remains being taken to America in 1883. He is said to have wooed an American Mary, but as a devoted heart and hand were all he was able to offer her, Mary was not won. His deep feeling, however, he was able to infuse into his song, and with it he has won all hearts except Mary's. Sir Henry Bishop later confessed that the air he called Sicilian was his own.

As Payne wrote it, the song had only two stanzas with refrain. It was translated into Danish by P. Faber, one of whose songs appears in this booklet, No. 6, so it is to be presumed that the third Danish stanza is Faber's, and the reader will at once see that he had in mind a sentiment the same as that which moved Wordsworth to write the following lines in his great Ode—Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood:

*Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting
And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home:
Heaven lies about us in our infancy!*

PLATE LXVII

Tangi/Lament, Maori and English texts on opposite pages,
from Andersen's Polynesian Literature: Maori Poetry (Waiata
and Tangi) (New Plymouth, 1946), pp. 22-23.

TANGI

NA TE IHU-NUI-O-TONGA MO RANGI.

- Pa rawa, i, e te tahakura
 E homai tohu ki au
 Kia oho ake e te ngakau
 Ko wai rawa koe e tahu nei i a au
 5 Ka haramai e roto, ka kai kohau noa,
 Ka waitohu noa
 Tenei tonu i a koe, e te kahurangi
 Ko wai rawa ka hua ko koe tonu, e Rangi, e!
 Whatatai noa atu e te tinana
 10 I a au ki roto o Puhirangi
 E rauwiri noa mai ra a Hine-moana i waho
 Tena ia koe ka riro i te au kume
 Ki Tawhiti-nui, ki Tawhiti-pamamao,
 Ki Te Hono-i-wairua i runga o Irihia.
 15 Kia tika to haere ki roto o Hawaiki-rangi
 E mau to ringa ki te toi huarewa
 I kake ai Tane ki Tikitiki-o-rangi.
 Kia urutomo koe ki roto o Te Rauroha
 Kia powhiritia mai koe e nga mareikura
 20 O roto o Rangiatea
 Ka whakaoti to mahara i kona ki taiao
 E hine . . . e!

LAMENT

BY TE IHU-NUI-O-TONGA
For her daughter Rangi.

- An omen, dream, upsets me;
 It brings to me a sign
 Disturbing to my being;
 Who indeed are you who thus afflict me
 5 Uttering with vaguest voice
 A wordless warning.
 It was from you, O cherished one!
 Who would have thought that you would go, O Rangi!
 Wearily inclines the body
 10 As, within Puhirangi
 I look forth on Hine-moana beyond there
 Where you have gone, gone on,
 To Tawhiti-nui, to Tawhiti-pamamao,
 To Te Hono-i-wairua upon Irihia.
 15 Fare on, fare on, to enter Hawaiki-rangi;
 Grasp in your hand the toi-huarewa,
 The gyring way of Tane to Tikitiki-o-rangi;
 That you may enter Te Rautoha,
 That you may be welcomed by celestial maids
 20 In the midst of Rangiatea.
 Then by you shall this world be forgotten
 O maid! O maid! Alas!

PLATE LVIII

Notes to 'Lament for Te Kekerengu' from Andersen's
Polynesian Literature: Maori Poetry (Waiata and Tangi) (New
Plymouth, 1946), pp. 74-75.

NOTES.

LAMENT FOR TE KEKERENGU.

Title: Te Kekerengu was the son of Whanake, a principal chief of Ngati-ira, and Tamairangi, a famous beauty belonging to Ngati-kuia. Their son was Te Kekerengu, and he inherited something of his mother's good looks and attractive nature, which led to his undoing. He and his mother had been taken prisoner by Te Rangihaeata of Ngati-toa, and that chief made her his wife instead of putting her to death. Unfortunately, he took her and her son to Kapiti where he had other wives, one of whom was fascinated by Te Kekerengu, and the liaison becoming known, as it inevitably would in a Maori community, caused the mother and son to flee to her people in Marlborough, where they were not made welcome in view of the reputation of the chief they had offended, so they fled further south and took refuge with Ngaitahu; but neither were they too well received there, and went north again, seeking seclusion and safety in the limestone ranges of the coast. However, Te Rangihaeata was relentless, and Te Kekerengu was finally caught and killed at a stream which has since borne his name.

Line:

- 3 Te Whetu-kairangi, the chief hill-fort of Ngai-tara, on Miramar peninsula, Wellington.
- 4 Wellington harbour is Whangai a Tara, Tara being its discoverer, namer, and settler.
- 6 Matiu and Makara, the two islands in Wellington harbour named by Kupe after two of his daughters: known to the Pakeha as Somes and Ward islands.
- 9 Waitaha was a locality on the west side of Lyall bay.
- 12 Porirua, inlet on the south coast of the North island, guarded by Mana island.
- 16 Arapaoa, sometimes spelt Arapawa, island in Queen Charlotte sound, outside which, in Cook strait, Kupe

killed the octopus known as Te Wheke o Muturangi.

- 20 Pelorus Jack was known as Tuhirangi, his course being the stretch of strait between Pelorus inlet and French pass (Te Aumiti) which separates Durville island (Rangitoto) from the mainland of South island, and through which the tide-currents rush with great strength.
- 21 Te Aumiti, French pass; see note l. 20.
- 24 Taitawaro, the hole, abyss, or lair of Pelorus Jack (Tuhirangi).
- 26 Kupe and Ngake, the two who followed Te Wheke o Muturangi to Aotearoa (Newzealand) and slew her at Ngawhatu (the Brothers islands) outside Queen Charlotte sound not far from Arapaoa.
- 27 See note to l. 26.
Raukawa, Cook strait; the rock islands and the current of the pass being the barrier.
- 28 Two other names of Ngawhatu. Called Whatu-tipare because strangers, or people first crossing the strait must veil (tipare) their eyes so as not to look on the rocks, or evil would overtake the canoe.
- 29 French pass, see note l. 20.
- 30 Te Koau a Tore, or Kawau a Tore, was a shag companion of Kupe, whose passion it was to seek out strong currents along the coasts of the new land Aotearoa: most of those he found were of no strength; but when he learned from the birds of the South island of the currents at Te Aumiti, he went to investigate, and found them beyond expectation. In attempting to stem them one wing was broken, and he eventually lost his life; but by that sacrifice of one wing he had ameliorated the strength of the current so far that whilst the strait was navigable for ships, it was still fraught with danger. So the French navigator Durville found, being very nearly wrecked when carried through by the current: he named it the French pass. The full story of Te Koau a Toru is told in *The Lore of the Whare-wananga*: also in vol. 2, p. 147, *J.P.S.* I have not learned who Toru was.

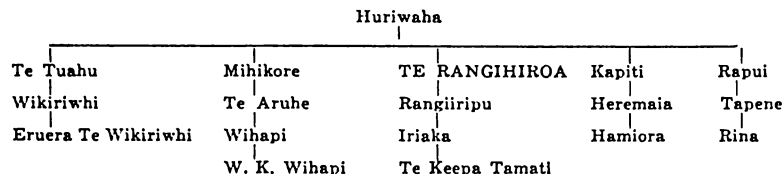
PLATE LXIX

Layout established by Andersen for Nga Moteatea ... The Songs: Scattered Pieces from Many Canoe Areas, Part I, ed. A. T. Ngata (Wellington, 1959), pp. 48-49, showing headnotes (including Whakapapa in Maori version), text, and notes. For many longer songs, whakapapa, text and notes were spread over several pages.

13. HE TANGI MO TE RANGIHIROA

(Tuhourangi, Te Arawa)

Ko Te Rangihiroa he toa, he rangatira, no Tuhourangi, i mate ki tetahi o nga pakanga o mua ki Okataina. Ko ia tetahi o nga tamariki a Huriwaha, e mau nei te whakapapa, na W. K. Wihapi i tuku mai—



Tera atu etahi o nga uri. Ko tetahi o nga tamariki a Eruera Te Wikiriwhi i haere ki tenei pakanga, i aranga te ingoa i te whakaekenga i Takrouna Hill, ka whakawhiwhia ki te tohu D.S.O., ko 2nd Lt. Matarehua Wikiriwhi.

Ko etahi o nga whakamarama na Raureti Mokonuiarangi. Ko te kaupapa a B. 3/166 he nui nga he.

(Refs.: M. 117, B. 3/166.)

Kaore te mamae, ngau kino ki te hoa.
 I tiaria mai to mata whakarewa,
 Kia whakatauria te uhi a Wharawhara.
 Tena ka riro kei te one i Matangiteuru,
 5 Tau kawenga e te toa;
 Te ai he mahara ki te ao,
 Whakarere rukaruka te moenga i te wahine,
 Rere a manu tonu ki te hui matangohi,
 Kei hoki te ingoa, kia tarewa ki runga ra.
 10 E waiho ana koe hei kohure i te iwi.
 Ka ngaro noa koange a Te Rangihiroa,
 Na te po i here; kei to kahua he roi,
 I whiua ai koe ki te aroaro no Irohanga.

NGA WHAKAMARAMA

Rarangi:

1. Tiaria.—Whakaatatia, kia kitea ai.
Mata whakarewa.—I pania te kanohi ki te ngarahu, ki te kokowai ranei.
2. Whakatauria.—Whakapaipaitia.
Wharawhara.—He tohunga no nehera mo nga mahi whakapaipai i te tangata, mo te ta moko, mo te aha. Kei te waiata I, 'nga taonga o Wharawhara'.
3. Matangiteuru.—He wahi kei Okataina.
4. Matangohi.—Mataika; ko te tangata tuahahi i mate ki te parekura, e karanga ai te toa nana i patu, 'Tamarahi! naku te ika i te ati'.
5. Roi.—Ki te W.D. 5 he aruhe. E ki ana a Raureti he roi kakahi; he rou ke pea tera, kaore hoki e rangona ana mahia ai te kakahi ki te rauaruhe penei i te tau koura.
6. Irohanga.—Na Kepa Ehau i whakaatu mai, he tipuna no Ngati Whakaue; a he ingoa hoki no tetahi tumu, ara pou hei tohu tau koura, kakahi, i Waiteti, Rotorua; a he ingoa hoki no tetahi wahi kakahi i raro o Oruarua, i Okataina; ko te wahi pea tera i mate ai a Te Rangihiroa.

13. A LAMENT FOR TE RANGIHIROA

(Tuhourangi, Te Arawa)

Te Rangihiroa was a chief and a warrior of Tuhourangi, who was killed in one of the old time fights at Okataina. He was one of the children of Huriwaha, whose family is traced in the genealogy with the Maori text, which was contributed by the late W. K. Wihapi. There are other descendants. One of the sons of Eruera Wikiriwhi, Lt. Matarehua Wikiriwhi, distinguished himself in the action in the present War at Takrouna Hill, gaining the D.S.O.

The notes are by Raureti Mokonuiarangi. The version in B. 3/166 is very faulty.

(Refs.: M. 117, B. 3/166.)

How gnawing is the sorrow for my friend,
 Whose face besmeared has been adorned with feathers
 And tattooed with the pricks of Wharawhara.
 You have gone to the beach at Matangiteuru,
 5 Driven by the warrior's urge,
 Without thought of life,
 Abandoning utterly your wife's side,
 Speeding as a bird to make the first kill,
 Lest your name suffer; but be on high uplifted;
 10 You were meant to overtop your people.
 Te Rangihiroa is lost indeed,
 Held captive by the night; you appeared as a bundle of fern
 Thrown into the presence of Irohanga.

NOTES

Line:

2. Besmeared.—With charcoal, red ochre or other pigment.
Adorned, etc.—Tiaria, adorned by sticking in feathers.
3. Wharawhara.—An ancient expert in the art of personal decoration, including tattooing. In song 1 the 'taonga o Wharawhara' are the ornaments of Wharawhara.
Whakatauria ki te uhi.—Adorned with the tattooing implement of Wharawhara.
4. Matangiteuru.—At Okataina.
5. First kill.—Matangohi or mataika, the first man killed in battle when his conqueror announced the fact in the cry, 'I exult! I have the first fish!'
6. Fern.—In W.D. 5, fern-root. Raureti says 'roi kakahi', but there is no record that fern was used in gathering kakahi, the implement there being a rou, part of the dredge. Fern was used in the tau koura. See article by Peter H. Buck, 'Maori Food-supplies of Lake Rotorua', Tr. 53 (1921) 433-451, esp. p. 438.
7. Irohanga.—Kepa Ehau informs me, an ancestor of Ngati Whakaue; also the name of a tumu or post for indicating tau koura and a kakahi-bed at Waiteti, Rotorua; also the name of a kakahi-bed below Oruarua at Okataina; probably the place where Te Rangihiroa was killed.

PLATE LXX

Extract from Andersen's review of Tiaki Hikawera Mitira (J. H. Mitchell), Takitimu (Wellington, 1944), Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 54 (1945), p. 122 (issue of June 1945).

of letters, has been corrected. Further, the spelling by Hare Hongi, Kahu-hunuhunu for Kahungunu, has been retained, though without comment.

On p. 74 is a further quotation from Hare Hongi, but in it the spelling Kahu-hunuhunu has been altered to the better-known Kahungunu, but again without comment; some comment on this would have been acceptable. Again, too, an error has been corrected, the incorrect tatooing being corrected to tattooing.

On pages 82-83 is a third quotation, and here the vigilance of the author did not detect the misspelling in the sentence: "They pushed and fought their way southward, leaving to posterity a story teeming with romance, chivalry, and battle." And I have left the misspelling here as it is in Hare Hongi's article and in our author, as an intelligence-test for the reader. The whole quotation, too, is correctly rendered, all except the finishing clause. In the book it states: "As the Ngati-Kahungunu tribe, their long drive southward did not even end at Heretaunga, but extended as far as the Wairarapa district." In the original article this reads: "As the Ngati-Kahungunu tribe, their long drive southward did not even end at the Wairarapa lake (near Wellington). Some descendants of Kahu, Tahuhumua and Tahuhupeke, crossed over to the South Island, and there as the Ngai-Tahu, became the leading modern tribe of that island."

Such adaptation is not quotation, and the author should stick to his text, or give notice of his departure from it with explanation for the departure.

I had made quotations for comparison by the reader, to show the extent of his deviation from the authorities is supposed to 'quote', but all need for that was obviated when I read the remark by the author when referring to a story printed in *Old Wairoa* (p. 277). This story Lambert got from Mr. A. L. D. Fraser, and the author says: "We are making some alterations to this story to accord with local versions." This is not quoting at all; it is falsifying, and the author who does that can be trusted neither in his quotations nor in his own statements. One of the alterations is so ludicrous that it was evidently not a misquotation, but a mere error in copying, and 'yelling mass' is turned into 'yellow mass' (p. 113).

I had typed my review so far when I learned that the author had passed along the bright path of Tane, the rippled track of the setting sun; and I pause a moment to sympathize with his kin who survive him. Dark Hine spared him to complete the book, whose review I must finish in a somewhat different mood. My remarks are, however, as I have said, as much for his successors as for him.

The author says that the South Island was Te-Waipounamu (p. 42); no, a locality in it was Te Wahi-pounamu, and whilst Captain Cook as first thought this was the name for the whole island, he found on a later voyage that it was the name of only part: that part was at lake Wakatipu, and on a map published by Arrowsmith, London, 1853, the lake, Wakatipu has (Greenstone) printed under its name, whilst at the north end of the lake appears the name Wahipounamu.*

* See full discussion of this in Johannes Andersen, *Maori Place-names*, 1942, pages 108-9.

PLATE LXXI

First page of article by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole,
'Contemporary Maori Death Customs', Journal of the
Polynesian Society, vol. 54 (1945), p. 91 (issue of June 1945).

CONTEMPORARY MAORI DEATH CUSTOMS

BY ERNEST AND PEARL BEAGLEHOLE
Victoria University College.

ALL societies in all parts of the world have developed a series of patterns of behaviour and feeling which help the members of the group to come to terms with or adjust to the facts of death. Adapting a phrase of Plant's, we might say that the death of a member of the group represents a "casual breakdown" of that society. It represents a crisis situation. The job of the cultural patterns is to give the members of the society a method of handling the breakdown so that cultural integration is preserved and those immediately affected by the death are given some technique for coping with the anxieties and sorrows that death occasions. The importance of the study of such death customs lies in the fact that through them we are generally able to perceive the values that the society holds as significant for the living and the dead. When, as with the Maori, death robs the tribal group of one of its members, and when this loss thus becomes not only a personal but a tribal loss as well, then we may also gain insight into the social and economic patterns through which the resources of the community are mobilized before, during, and after the crisis.

The following account is a semi-fictionalized description of the important features of several tangis (death wakes, as the Maori term may be roughly translated) that occurred in a lower west coast Maori community called Kowhai. The description is exact but we have altered personal details for obvious reasons. The account is complete in itself, but equally obviously a detailed understanding of all the facts presented presupposes a more complete knowledge of all the social and economic details of Kowhai community life than can be given in this context.*

INTRODUCTION.

A short while after we commenced our studies of Kowhai, we learned that the oldest woman in the pa called Rimu, one of the several pas in the district, was very sick. This woman, Rata by name, was an important person in the community. Being the oldest member of a senior family she was considered the chief, arbiter, spokesman, and public representative of the group. Being a woman of considerable force of character and very conservative in her opinions, she had at times come into conflict with the points of view of many of her juniors, particularly over matters of tribal control and marae improvement. Being a woman widely related by marriage and other tribal connections to various important branches of the Ngati-Totara tribe, her sickness and death were watched with lively interest and her tangi was the occasion for the gathering together from far and near of many tribesmen, both important and insignificant.

* The interested reader is referred to a forthcoming publication of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research prepared by the present authors under the title of *Some Modern Maori* for a detailed account of the manner in which the Kowhai Maori community functions and its relations to the surrounding Pakeha society.

PLATE LXXII

Portrait of Andersen and portion of C.R.H. T[aylor's] valedictory notice, 'Johannes Carl Andersen ... Editor 1925-1947', Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 56 (1947), p. 1 and photograph facing p. 1.

JOHANNES CARL ANDERSEN, M.B.E., F.R.S. (N.Z.)

EDITOR 1925-1947.



JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN

IN the December issue the Editor, Mr. Johannes C. Andersen, made his last bow upon relinquishing the editorship of the Journal. In this first issue in twenty-two years without his guiding hand, the new Editorial Committee think it appropriate to record the Society's deep indebtedness to Mr. Andersen for his devoted and very capable services over this long term. To the task he brought many faculties—a wide knowledge of Maori and Polynesian life and lore, a keen and critical mind that rejoiced in detail, a command of language in every form of writing, and a familiarity with the literature relating to the peoples of the Pacific, as well as of other parts of the world. He had grown up in the Canterbury Lands Office, and learned the essential of an ethnologist, that a people and the land are inseparably allied. He was Librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library, the greatest storehouse of research material on the region of the Journal's interests, and he was already an authoritative writer on aspects of Maori life.

Under his guidance, and for part of that time in collaboration with Elsdon Best, and later Dr. H. D. Skinner, the Journal showed distinct improvement. In particular, illustrations were made much more a regular part of each number. The publishing of memoirs was renewed and extended, and the indexes of each volume became fuller and more valuable adjuncts to their contents.

One can only marvel that Mr. Andersen could achieve so much. His personal books continued to appear—in 1928 he produced four separate and considerable works. But he did not fail or falter, and both the Journal and its membership grew in size and esteem.

Now in his 75th year this eminent Dane can take rest—what rest his tireless energy will permit—away from Wellington and all the associations we know he loved so well. Rewards have come, apart from that of leisure in retirement these ten years: he was awarded the Hector

PLATE LXXIII

Title-page of Andersen's Maori String Figures (Wellington, 1927), the only publication by Andersen which carried the device of the Board of Maori Ethnological Research. Utaina means 'load'. Apirana Ngata wrote: 'That is the slogan on the seal of the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, it is a clarion call to us to load on board what remains of our precious heritage, the language'. Ngata, 'Preface', first published in Maori in Nga Moteatea: He Maramara Rere No Nga Waka Maha, Part I, ed. Ngata (Hastings, 1928), translated by Pei Te Hurinui, Nga Moteatea ... The Songs: Scattered Pieces from many Canoe Areas, Part I, ed. Ngata (Wellington, 1959), p. xiv.

MEMOIRS OF THE BOARD OF MAORI ETHNOLOGICAL
RESEARCH, VOL. 2.

Maori String Figures

BY

JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN

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Librarian, Alexander Turnbull Library,
Wellington, New Zealand.

AUTHOR OF

"Songs Unsung"

"The Lamp of Psyche"

"Maori Life in Aotea"

"Jubilee History of South Canterbury"

"Bird-song and New Zealand Song-birds"

"Place-names of Banks Peninsula"



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1927

Indians protest at Super Bowl

Minneapolis (Reuter) — Leaders of an American Indian group will hold a round of protests against use of Indian mascots and nicknames by sports teams when the Washington Redskins meet the Buffalo Bills in American football's Super Bowl on Monday.

The American Indian Movement, which protested during baseball's World Series between the Minnesota Twins and Atlanta Braves, will sponsor a two-day conference on racism in sports and media, and will stage a protest outside the Metrodome.