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CHAPTER 4: SPEAKING UP FOR HIS MAORI FRIENDS: ANDERSEN AS PUBLICIST AND EXPERT

In and through the Journal of the Polynesian Society Andersen addressed an audience of actual or would-be experts on 'the Maori', or on ethnology in a more general sense, both in New Zealand and overseas. The Society had a small membership, and even if the readership of the Journal may have been a little more numerous through use of reference copies in libraries and the dispersal of authors' 'separates' or offprints to nonsubscribers, the extent of readership of the Journal was very limited. Andersen's books reached a larger audience, and his articles and letters, especially those in newspapers, had wide (though incalculable) currency. But he also informed people about and encouraged them to take an interest in Maori subjects in other ways, both directly and indirectly: through his active participation in various clubs and societies to which he belonged; and through his talks and lectures, given in person or by radio broadcasts.

This chapter discusses Andersen's closely related roles as a publicist and as an expert on Maori subjects, describing his activities, illustrating the views he tried to convey to other Pakeha, and providing examples of responses to his activities. Evidence for some of these activities is uneven and very incomplete: few of his many talks were reported at great length, and though he sometimes referred in private correspondence to his conversations with visitors to the Turnbull Library,

most such contacts were not recorded in any detail. In addition, the responses to Andersen's activities which are preserved in his papers are, not surprisingly, nearly all favourable, and much of this material is by its nature anecdotal. What is clear is that Andersen through his speaking and writing was one of the more influential Pakeha spokespersons on Maori subjects, and his views were regarded by many people as authoritative.

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Within the Polynesian Society, and within learned circles generally, Andersen's assumed expertise on Maori subjects was contested by other experts, or at least taken with a grain of salt. 'Andersen carries no weight with anyone', H. D. Skinner told W.R.B. Oliver in 1939. 'Andersen's judgement is hopeless, and he cannot be relied on to reject rubbish'.¹ Blanche Halcombe wrote in 1945, referring to the 'Editor's Preface' which Andersen had contributed to Best's Forest Lore, 'It is irritating to once again see the immense ego of Mr Johannes Anderson [sic] in his foreword to Mr Best's book - for Mr Anderson does not know [and] never will know the tiny fraction of Mr Best's vast knowledge, in fact very much of what he

does know [was] learnt from Mr Best, one of the most generous of helpers - The words Mr Anderson so kindly attempts to correct are in use, or were among tribes Mr Best knew However - the world that knows of Mr Best will pay no attention to the burblings of Mr Anderson.' The cautious reply of the Society's secretary, C.R.H. Taylor, included the comment: 'I may say that your reaction is very similar to very many people with such interests as our[s] in the country.'² After the publication of Maori Place-names, A. P. Godber sent Andersen a letter beginning, 'As one who worships from afar, permit me to record my sincere appreciation of your book', and continuing with detailed criticisms of several names Andersen had dealt with;³ while A. D. Mead sent not only his congratulations on the same book, but seven closely-typed foolscap pages of errata.⁴

Beyond such well-informed circles were many Pakeha who paid every attention to 'the burblings of Mr Anders[e]n', and who regarded them as authoritative. The basis of this authority, reduced to its simplest terms, was that Andersen claimed authority to speak and write as an expert on Maori subjects, and that people who wanted to know about Maori subjects accepted him as an authority. He could, and did, point to many outward and visible signs of expertise. He was in charge of the Alexander Turnbull Library which was known, when it was known at all, as a kind of fabulous treasure house of first editions and rare manuscripts, as well as a major repository of New Zealand publications. He was

editor of the Polynesian Society Journal, an esoteric and learned publication which, in the popular estimation, would doubtless have an esoteric and learned editor. He was an author with many books to his credit, a matter of fascination to many who rarely met authors in the flesh; and his articles and letters, wordy and full of precise detail, appeared in many newspapers. He was known to be a member of certain government boards, and president of various organisations.⁵ His honours, increasing with the years, also signalled official recognition of his scholarship and learning: from 1923 he could (and frequently did) place the letters F.N.Z.Inst. (later transformed to F.R.S.N.Z. when the New Zealand Institute became the Royal Society of New Zealand) behind his name, and in 1935 he was awarded the M.B.E. (Other awards were noted in the newspapers from time to time - the Dana Medal, the Jubilee Medal of 1935, the Danish Freedoms Medal in 1946, a Danish knighthood in 1948, the Hector Medal in Ethnology in 1944, election to a fellowship of the Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand.)⁶ He was, or had been, a close associate of Elsdon Best and Peter Buck, and knew Sir Apirana Ngata. He had been on ethnological expeditions, living in Maori communities. He was careful to pronounce Maori words correctly.

His visibility reinforced the impression of expertise: to those who knew his name, Andersen seemed constantly before the public in one capacity or another, either lecturing, or writing, or being interviewed on some matter, or speaking over

the radio. When M. S. Nestor included Andersen in the seventh of his series of articles on New Zealand writers in the Public Service Journal in 1935, he began: 'The subject of the present article needs no introduction to readers, since without doubt Mr Andersen reaches the widest public of all our writers'.⁷ In many people he inspired a good deal of awe. A. W. Reed, eventually a noted author and publisher, recalled that it was in the middle 1930s he 'first made the acquaintance of one who had become almost a legend, Johannes C. Andersen, the learned eccentric librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library. With his long hair, piercing eyes, and reputation as a distinguished writer, he was a formidable figure. It was with some trepidation that I sought an interview with this hermit-like man in a stately room in the Turnbull Library. Lecturer, editor, poet, historian, anthropologist, librarian, author of such diverse books as Maori Place Names, Laws of Verse, Jubilee History of [South] Canterbury, Maori Music, Myths and Legends of the Polynesians, and The Lure of New Zealand Book Collecting, he impressed me with his immense range of knowledge. In the space of half an hour he discoursed learnedly on Maori music and English prosody, whistled the songs of native birds, talked on rhythm and diction in poetry, described the hours he had spent watching a spider in his bathroom, spoke of Kant, and Aristotle and the Copernican theory, until I departed, bemused by such erudition and astounded that one small head could carry all he knew.'⁸ Reed's impression was by no means

singular. Only years later did Reed realize that ‘the great man’s attitude was something of a pose; that the subjects that seemed to spring so naturally from the conversation had been skilfully engineered, for they were the ones on which he was lecturing or writing at the time, and were in the forefront of his thinking.’ Reed thought Andersen ‘a showman’, though ‘none the worse for that’.⁹ Most of Andersen’s audiences, listeners and readers alike, were impressed by what they considered to be his erudition, without understanding, as Reed did eventually, that there was a good deal of showmanship.

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As a consequence of his reputation for expertise, when individuals or organisations sought advice on providing a ‘Maori aspect’ to their activities, they often sought advice from Andersen rather than from Maori people. For example, John Ilott, of John Ilott Ltd, the Wellington advertising agency (Ilott himself was soon to be a member of the Polynesian Society Council, and generally prominent in cultural affairs), turned to Andersen when the firm in 1925 had developed a publicity design based on motif used in Maori carvings. He wanted a proverb or greeting in Maori which had both ‘pith and force’ when translated into English. Could Andersen help, or ask Elsdon Best on behalf of Ilott.¹⁰ In later years the company regularly sent to its clients greetings decorated with Maori motifs and including an appropriate proverb or phrase.¹¹ When Best, who died in 1931, was no longer available for consultation, Andersen provided information of this kind

from his own knowledge, or perhaps occasionally with the assistance of Ngata or Balneavis if they were available and willing to help.

In 1926, the Girl Guide movement in New Zealand considered introducing a Maori element to its programme, and Andersen's advice was sought in compiling information.¹² Cora Wilding, of Christchurch, who had founded the Sunlight League of New Zealand, wanted to use Maori names for her movement just as the Scouts (no doubt she was referring to the junior part of the Boy Scout movement) used the lore of the jungle and of India as given in Kipling's works, and she sought assistance from Andersen. He gave the matter a good deal of thought, though 'it is not easy to give names at once appropriate and easy to pronounce.'

Haere is to go, kai-haere is the goer; haereere means to go about, but that word is too hard. Kai-topa is a good name for a cook so long as you pronounce topa as topah, not tope, otherwise there might be misinterpretation. This kai has nothing to do with food, though it is appropriate here. Your own title, kaumatua, is the name for the old men of the tribe, the counsellors, the wise ones; if you would rather have the feminine title it is kuia - old woman; - and in addressing you they should say E kuia; so of all the others; use E when speaking to them; E attracts attention In case you would like their own names better, I have written the Maori equivalents alongside.¹³

Cora Wilding also established the New Zealand section of the international Youth Hostels Association. She wanted a simple 'Maori' badge for the Association, and at her request Andersen suggested one which incorporated spiral motifs.¹⁴

The Rev. Lawrence Rogers, of Sydenham, Christchurch, later to do notable historical work in editing Henry Williams' journals and writing a biography of that missionary, also had a notion of a specifically New Zealand youth movement, and he too sought advice from Andersen, coincidentally around the same time that Cora Wilding was considering a Maori aspect to her Sunlight League. Rogers intended to work with the boys of his own church on the lines of the Scout movement, but 'placing more emphasis upon the learning of facts and principles connected with our own land.' He enclosed an outline of his scheme, which contained a considerable element of knowledge of Maori lore. Andersen agreed that there was room for young people to extend their knowledge of New Zealand's natural history and political and social history, and noted that he had had a little to do with both Scouts and Guides in giving lectures and examining candidates for Nature Study and Bird badges. Though he thought Rogers would find it easier to graft his ideas on to the Scout movement rather than start a new one, Andersen was sympathetic to the general principle of incorporating Maori lore in the activities of youth movements.¹⁵

Other requests were more simple: people wanted Maori words or phrases to bestow upon their children, houses, farms, organisations. They knew, or had heard, that Andersen would be sympathetic to their interest, and did not doubt his ability to provide the appropriate information. 'Knowing you are a well-known authority on Maori language', I. M. Gillespie began a letter to Andersen in 1932: many others who wrote, or called at the Turnbull Library, had the same faith in his expertise.¹⁶ Sir Joseph Kinsey asked Andersen for a Maori word which could be applied to a group of which he was a member - was there a word for a round table? No, said Andersen, there was no word for round table, the Maori had no furniture, but the appropriate general word was hui: 'your round table discussion of drama and literature would be a hui mähara what little accent there is, on the first syllable mà - good name and easily said'.¹⁷ Vera Inkersell, of Rongotai, Wellington, had come to know of Andersen's expertise by wireless. After listening to a radio lecture in September 1931, she wrote asking him to help her, 'a stranger who has listened to your lectures through the broadcasting for a few years with the greatest of pleasure on Maori Music, Birds, & Moari [sic] Lore'. She wanted to give her eight-week-old son a Maori name. She fancied naming him after Robert Falcon Scott, the explorer, and she also liked the name Peter. What did Pita mean? Pita meant Peter, replied Andersen. Robert Falcon Scott was more difficult, but, to take Falcon, Kahu was a hawk. His other suggestions included Rupe, Kupe, Rata,

Mahuri, Ruru, Tama.¹⁸ Robert Hair, of Tataraimaka, Taranaki, wrote to Andersen in 1943, asking for a suitable Maori name for his home, one that was apt and euphonious - one of Hair's friends at Taihape called his place Wairere.¹⁹ A. C. Lambourne wanted to give his yacht 'a pretty Maori name'.²⁰ Harold Perkins had heard, or heard about, a lecture Andersen had given on Maori placenames, and, having built a new house by the sea, asked for Andersen's help in naming the residence. He addressed the envelope: 'Mr Johannes Andersen,/Authority on Maori Culture/Auckland C.1.'²¹ There were many similar requests, and Andersen was always happy to oblige.

Andersen's help was sought in so many different ways that it is difficult to characterize the range of enquiries, but three examples which all occurred within a few months of each other in the middle of the Second World War will illustrate the diversity of requests. Ernest Currie, a longtime friend, was involved in drafting statutory regulations (of which there were a plethora during the war) in the Crown Law Office: was the correct form of spelling for the tuber kumara or kumera, and should the plural be signified by an 's'? Andersen gave Currie his opinions at some length.²² The Commercial Broadcasting Service of New Zealand had received a request from the United States network, CBS, for information on the pronunciation of Maori and Oceanic place names to be included in an announcers' guide: could Andersen render the words listed according to the International

Phonetic Alphabet, and make amendments and additions to the list as he thought fit? Andersen provided what was requested.²³ W. H. Ross, who had waxed lyrical in an earlier letter to Andersen about Maori people he had met, wrote to ask if Andersen could help him get a job at the Dominion Museum in Wellington. Andersen replied encouragingly, though he pointed out that it was the Director who made the appointments.²⁴

There were also frequent requests for publications, both in New Zealand and overseas.²⁵ C. A. Marris persuaded him to write 'Maori Literature' for the second issue of the fledgling quality periodical Art in New Zealand, in 1928, and 'Maori Musical Instruments' for what amounted to a special Maori issue of Art in New Zealand in 1929.²⁶ As its contribution to the New Zealand centennial in 1940, the Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen decided to prepare a special publication, and the editor, R. A. McKay, arranged for Andersen to join the editorial committee. McKay asked Andersen to provide advice about what should be emphasized in each chapter, and what would be suitable in the way of illustrations.²⁷ As for the projected first three chapters, on the early history of printing in New Zealand, on Maori printers, and on missionary printers, 'I cannot imagine anybody in this country who has a better knowledge of these subjects than yourself', McKay wrote to Andersen, 'and, as these sections will certainly be the most interesting in the book, I wish you would take charge of them. I feel sure that

coming from your pen they will receive the treatment they deserve and will, above all, carry the mark of authenticity.’²⁸ When the President of the World Theosophical Society offered to make the January 1940 issue of The Theosophist a special New Zealand centennial number, one of the New Zealand theosophists, Mary Graham, immediately (so she told Andersen) thought of him as a potential contributor on ‘Maori Culture’.²⁹ He duly obliged.³⁰ He had a request, too, from Ken Sato, Australasian representative of the Japanese newspaper, Osaka Mainichi, to write on ‘The Maoris of New Zealand’ for a special Australian-New Zealand-Japanese volume.³¹

But he did not accept all invitations to write. As a Pakeha expert on Maori subjects, he felt he had a responsibility not to mislead people by lending his name to inauthentic productions. For example, Enid Saunders, who had already published a small volume of imitation legends, Flower Legends of Maoriland (1931), did him the honour of asking him to write a Foreword for her second effort, Bird Legends of Maoriland (1932). He replied that he was sorry he could not do so. He had no particular argument about her making up legends, as she had done, but she had begun with an authentic legend, and no one would be able to tell where authentic legend ended and fiction began. ‘Many may say what would it matter? - well, it may not in a way, but to me it would and does’.³² Saunders then took out the authentic legend, which dealt with Rangi and Papa; ‘but’, recorded Andersen,

'I still could not see my way, as it looked too much as if I assented to the legendary character'. She sent him a copy of the book when it was published, nevertheless, with a covering letter; and Andersen, happy that the episode held no recriminations, wrote to her that he hoped both the book and the author would prosper. It was not in this case, as it was so often with manuscripts that came his way, a matter of literary dislike - some of the legends, he reported to Kinsey, were 'quite dainty inventions'; but rather that he could not add his name to a publication that claimed 'a legendary character which wasn't there'.³³

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Andersen appears to have regarded his lecturing, including his talks on Maori subjects, as a kind of quasi-official educational outreach of his work as Turnbull Librarian. In 1928 he made a plea for the Government to agree to buy at the time of publication a substantial number of copies of the projected (but ultimately never published) book on Kapiti which had been compiled by A. S. Wilkinson and himself.³⁴ As part of his case, Andersen wrote: 'I feel I have a little call on the Government for assistance, seeing the amount of educational work

I do outside of library duties, in writing for the School Journal ... in lecturing at schools and various towns, free, on nature study, books, literature, and Maori subjects'.³⁵ He made a similar point in 1936, when he was arguing for leave with pay to travel overseas to various conferences: 'I have for many years lectured to schools, primary & secondary, to Teachers' Summer Schools, to Education Institutes, to Women's Institutes, and to the general public, on the subjects of nature - birds, plants, insects, of N.Z., place-names of N.Z., history of N.Z., the Maori - his customs, art, mythology, literature ... on Maori string figures'.³⁶

A comprehensive list of organisations he addressed would make a very lengthy paragraph: they included branches of the YMCA and of the League of Mothers, Savage Clubs, Rotary Clubs, Travel Clubs, Teachers' Colleges, Tramping Clubs, branches of the New Zealand Educational Institute, Women's Clubs, meetings of the Youth Hostels Association, Business and Professional Women's Round Table Clubs, Societies of Arts, Garden Circles, Beautifying Societies, the New Zealand Federation of University Women, Citizens' Lunch Clubs, the Women's Writers Society, Townswomen's Guilds, Women's Institute, Workers' Educational Association, Lyceum Clubs, and so on, as well as a large number of schools.³⁷ Apart from the special occasions of the summer schools, his lectures were given to groups in Wellington and in various towns and localities of the Wellington provincial district - Wairarapa, Hawkes Bay, Manawatu, Wanganui -

but he also gave numbers of talks in Christchurch, Auckland, and elsewhere. Some organisations were such specialized groups as the Wellington Centre Local Bodies Officers' Guild (to whom he spoke in September 1935 about 'The Maori As He Was'),³⁸ and the Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen (to whom he spoke on 'Maori Place Names' in 1941).³⁹ He rarely refused an invitation, though in the most politically tumultuous period of the depression, he politely deflected the interest of the Friends of the Soviet Union,⁴⁰ and he seems not to have been keen to talk to church groups.⁴¹ On a few occasions he declined a second invitation from an organisation when the audience had been small in number previously.⁴² Sometimes he had to say no when news of his forthcoming arrival in a locality produced more invitations than he could handle - on one visit to Hawkes Bay he agreed to four talks, and was asked to give four more, but this was an impossible schedule in the time available.⁴³

He preferred his lectures to be free. 'What is the approx[imate] amount of your expenses & fee'? asked Mrs C. W. Walker of the Te Horo Women's Institute. 'I suppose you have no objection to us making a small charge & defray expenses of the hall, or is that not agreeable to you?' He asked no fee, only expenses for travelling, answered Andersen, 'and seeing this perhaps you would forgo charging for the hall; I like my lectures always to be free'.⁴⁴

Many of his lectures were not primarily on Maori subjects. The most popular topic was birds, and organisations often specifically nominated this subject. However, once he had established his reputation, he was often asked back to speak on other matters, including Maori subjects. In reply to one organiser who wondered what the topic could be, Andersen wrote: 'curiosities and beauties of place-names, Maori and Polynesian legends, peoples of South America, castles of Denmark, or some subject of which I know a little and which you may care to suggest'.⁴⁵ Maori subjects were an important part of his extensive repertoire, and many of those who enjoyed his stories of birds and his whistling of their songs knew, or had heard, that he was equally interesting on Maori topics. In the enthusiastic responses made one year to Andersen's school broadcasts on natural history was the comment: 'Might I suggest as a possible broadcast for the future some of the entertaining Maori legends and myths, by perhaps Mr G. [sic] Andersen who is immensely popular through his bird broadcasts and who is, I believe, an authority on this topic.'⁴⁶

In any case, it seems that his talks on New Zealand birds and trees and other aspects of New Zealand natural history frequently included references to Maori names, legends, proverbs, and other traditional lore related to the subject at hand. This must be inferred from a variety of written materials which deal with the same topics as those on which he lectured: though his talks per se were not usually

recorded in print, his frequent articles in newspapers and magazines were evidently similar in content, and correspondence suggests the same pattern. For example, Gladys Hopkins of Masterton wrote in 1928 that she had enjoyed Andersen's radio talks on birds, and wondered if he might include the white heron in his series. Andersen replied that he doubted he had sufficient material on that bird to make a whole talk, but what he did know he set out in his letter, including the remark: 'The white heron, Kotuku, was much admired by the Maori, who had a proverb, "A white heron, seen once in a life time" - so even with him it was considered rare.'⁴⁷

In one of his School Journal articles in the early 1920s, 'The Tui', Andersen referred to 'the rosy flowers of the makomako, or Maori current' and 'kaikomako, or Maori fire (so called because the Maori used this wood for obtaining fire by friction)'; and in the same piece he noted that 'The Maori taught [the tui] to speak, and he was able to repeat many sentences, and even to make sentences of his own. Usually the sentences were ones that welcomed guests, and it was very pleasant for newcomers entering a kainga to hear the tame tui speaking as they passed'.⁴⁸ His School Journal article on 'The Bell-bird' recalled the story of 'Pera, the Maori maiden who was tempted by the sweet bush voices to go on, and on, and on' (this provided Andersen with an excuse to insert one of his own poems); and he also commented that 'The dusky Maori have a legend that the clematis is one of the children of two bright stars, Rigel and Antares'.⁴⁹ 'The Cicada', too, provided

plenty of opportunity for reference to the Maori: 'The Maori called the cicada the "bird of Rehua." Rehua was one of their deities, and was the lord of kindness and plenty. The song of the cicada was the song the Maori loved best of all, for it is heard in the height of summer, when the cold is quite gone, and food is plentiful. He gave it the name of "tarakihi"; and, like many of his names of birds, this is echoic'. Further, 'The Maori loved the song [of the cicada] so well that he used the peculiar tune of its music for one of his favourite action dances.' Andersen then told the story of the 'Maori poet' who was inspired by the cicada to write a song and 'a suitable haka, or dance, to accompany it.'⁵⁰

This same propensity to ally information about Maori, or even use the word Maori, is displayed in the introduction to a brochure for his broadcasts on 'New Zealand Birds, Bush, and Insects' to schools in 1940. 'I am writing this at my home in a gully of Maori bush - my home, which I have called Awamanu, a name which means "the valley of birds" I am writing out of doors, at the top of my steps and path leading down into the gully, where a noisy stream flows down the hill when it rains heavily. The path leads down into an avenue of Maori trees - hangehange, mahoe, kaikomako, houhou, mapau Some of you may wish that I used other names than the Maori ones; but most of the trees have no other names except the scientific ones, and I am sure you would rather have hangehange than *Geniostoma ligustrifolium*'. Later in this same introduction he wrote of the liking

of the kaka for the huhu grub: 'The Maori likes it, too, and for the same reason that the kaka does; and I have even heard old settlers say that, prepared as the Maori prepares it by toasting it till it is a light brown, it is a dainty morsel with a flavour like hazel-nuts.' Elsewhere he makes mention of 'a Maori beauty, the renga-lily, with starry six-rayed white corolla and clustered stamens beautiful lavender and yellow.'⁵¹ Other published articles in newspapers and elsewhere indicate that Maori were often mentioned by Andersen in his talks on natural history. When listeners heard about the birds, trees and insects, they were likely to hear, every so often, about Maori.

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Though there was usually, perhaps invariably, a reference to Maori in Andersen's talks on other New Zealand subjects, a good proportion of his lectures were specifically on Maori topics. Pakeha who were in their own estimation particularly knowledgeable on certain aspects of Maori culture mostly addressed their intellectual peers - they read papers to meetings of philosophical institutes, at science congresses, or perhaps to groups collected by the Workers' Educational

Association. Andersen preferred more popular forums. Hundreds, possibly thousands of Pakeha New Zealanders heard no more learned lecturer on 'the Maori' than Andersen.

An invitation to give the annual Scott Memorial Lecture at Oamaru in 1932 placed Andersen in very distinguished company. The Rector of Waitaki Boys' High School, Frank Milner, one of the more notable New Zealand headmasters in the 1920s and 1930s,⁵² made a practice of asking important New Zealanders and visitors from overseas to speak to his pupils, perhaps to a greater extent than any other secondary school in New Zealand: the school history chronicles a roll call of bishops, All Blacks, admirals, generals, colonels, professors, adventurers, entertainers and artists. The Scott Memorial Lecture, established to commemorate the British explorer who had perished in Antarctica in 1912, was, while technically arranged and supervised by a board of trustees (of whom Milner was one), an outgrowth of Milner's enthusiasm for inspiring pupils by bringing them face to face with the great and famous. Milner knew Andersen through their association in the Teachers' Summer Schools movement (discussed below), and no doubt impressed Andersen's qualifications upon the other trustees. Milner at any rate wrote the letter on behalf of the trustees, asking Andersen if he would provide 'a talk on the cultural and artistic achievements of the Maori, for we want our young people to entertain respect on lasting foundations for the Maori race'. The previous

speakers, Milner told him, had been Lord Jellicoe, Admiral Halsey, the American Antarctic explorer Richard Byrd, Sir James Allan, Sir James Parr, Sir Thomas McKenzie, W. F. Massey, J. G. Coates, William Downie Stewart, Mrs Oriana Wilson, widow of Dr Edward Wilson who had perished with Scott, and Mrs Campbell, sister of R. F. Scott. 'On this occasion we are asking you because we consider you to be New Zealand's foremost authority on the subject'.⁵³ The lecture would be in the afternoon of 7 April, in the Oamaru Town Hall, and with children from other schools, Andersen would talk for 30 to 40 minutes to an audience of a thousand.

Milner had perhaps wanted another knight to add to the list. In his answer Andersen assumed that Milner had been unable to persuade Sir Apirana Ngata to accept an invitation. Ngata, said Andersen, 'could have done it best'. Nevertheless, 'I shall feel honoured to take his place, and while I shall be unable to speak with the finish and subdued fire of Sir Apirana, I think I shall be able to interest, and I hope inspire, the children young and old who may be present.'⁵⁴ The school history notes 'an address on the Maoris by one of the foremost authorities on our native race, Mr Johannes Andersen.'⁵⁵ One of the teachers present was suitably impressed, as is noted elsewhere in this chapter; and a pupil who was in the audience clearly remembered the occasion more than fifty years later, recalling

that 'Mr Andersen made a lasting impression on him and on the boys in his form at Waitaki, when he came to talk to them about the Maoris'.⁵⁶

Andersen's lectures to Teachers' Summer Schools are worth discussing in some detail for two reasons: first, in lecturing to teachers, Andersen reached not only a numerous immediate audience, but many of those who heard him first-hand at the summer schools took his enthusiasm and some of his information into classrooms through the length and breadth of the country; and, secondly, some record, imperfect as it is, exists in newspapers for what he said on several of these occasions, particularly in 1935, so that it is possible to gain an impression of what he usually said to his audiences when he talked on Maori subjects.

Andersen received early in October 1927 a letter from Frank Milner in his capacity as President of the National Summer School. As President, it was Milner's duty to provide for the next summer school a panel of lecturers 'of expert standing capable of investing their subjects with vividness and liberality of interpretation'. At the two previous schools, R. A. Falla, then on the staff of Auckland Teachers' Training College, and already a noted ornithologist, had lectured on the fauna of New Zealand; but Falla could not attend the next school, in January 1928, because he was to go on a scientific expedition. Would Andersen be able to assist? 'We know that you have a repertoire of lectures and we thought that some of these might be available for the educational benefit of the assembled

teachers.’⁵⁷ Andersen was only too pleased to assist: in addition to lectures on native fauna, he would like to provide a talk on Polynesian mythology. This suited Milner very well, for the school had also lost the services of another intended lecturer, Peter Buck, and thus ‘a talk or two on Maori Origins and Polynesian migrations as well as Polynesian mythology’ would be most welcome. Each lecturer usually gave three or four ‘popular or general lectures’ and then ‘an intensive course of six or seven talks’ to teachers who wished to pursue a particular topic.⁵⁸

The summer school movement began in New Zealand in the middle 1920s: the first school was held in January 1926, and the Nelson Teachers’ Summer School, Andersen’s first, was the third in the sequence. Andersen also lectured at summer schools in Oamaru, 1929, New Plymouth, 1930, Christchurch, 1931, and, after a break, at New Plymouth again in 1935. These occasions, organized by enthusiastic staff of Teachers’ Training Colleges and by schoolteachers, sought to provide teachers with intellectual stimulation in a congenial setting. The teachers who attended, many of them young primary schoolteachers, almost all of them women, could combine a summer holiday with extramural education: probably the interests of a good many were as much social as intellectual, which suited Andersen, and doubtless some of the other lecturers, very well indeed.⁵⁹ The

enrolment was usually several hundreds, and some teachers attended year after year.

Andersen's digressive, nondidactic style of address was highly appropriate for the summer schools:⁶⁰ his popularity at Nelson was such that he was, within a few days of the conclusion of the school, invited to return for the Oamaru school the following summer.⁶¹ His general lectures were usually 'packed to the doors';⁶² in the smaller-group 'intensive' sessions, for which students made a choice from simultaneous offerings, he always maintained a large and lively following, even when other notable lecturers, like Professor Arthur Sewell, or Dr A. G. Butchers, offered controversial topics. Nevertheless, while Andersen's quiet, simple delivery, combined with his ability to engage individuals in his audience (he could give individuals the impression that he talked particularly to them) may have made for eager acolytes, the subject-matter he offered was what many of the teachers were especially curious about - New Zealand phenomena, the birds, and the Maori.⁶³

An address, given in an evening to 'a big audience' at the Oamaru Summer School in 1929, provides an example of the scope of his 'general' lectures on Maori. He began, disarmingly, by discounting his own knowledge: 'I don't claim in the least to be an expert on Maori matters' (though the newspaper reporter referred to him as 'the well-known authority on matters relating to Maori history

and customs'). But he reminded his audience that he had known Elsdon Best, Edward Tregear, Peter Buck 'and other noted authorities, and had gained much information from them.' Some time ago, Andersen told his listeners, he had found people to have an 'unfavourable opinion' of Maori, but this had changed. When Europeans arrived in New Zealand, the 'Maori was still in the Stone Age, and the fact that he had been able to rise to his present position showed that he had the material in him.' A Maori had, briefly, acted as Prime Minister, several had been cabinet ministers, and there were as well 'men of such calibre of Dr Peter Buck.' Mentally, the Maori were 'our equals', but 'It was only in the last 20 years or so that we had been getting the best out of the Maori.'⁶⁴

Andersen then talked about migration traditions. It was possible to 'fix approximate dates' by using genealogies comparatively. The original home of the Polynesians was somewhere west of the East Indies, but 'there was nothing definite': Smith's Hawaiki was the book to go to for information. The Polynesians colonized the Pacific Islands, and, on two occasions, visited the Antarctic. 'Like the old mariners of Europe, who told of sea serpents and mermaids ... the Polynesian embroidered his tales with the marvellous. But disregarding the fanciful, we were able to gather the facts.' He told of the traditions surrounding Kupe's discovery of Aotearoa. As for 'the great migration': some Europeans did not believe that 'Maori navigators, in their dugouts, could have made such long

voyages'. However, it had been shown that the 'ancient Maori' had their charts 'of sticks, strings and shells', and a calabash found in Hawaii 'had been said to correspond with our compass and sextant'. As well as single canoes, the Polynesians 'had huge double canoes, which were better than the ships of Columbus'.⁶⁵ Though some early European pioneers 'had despised the Maori', the missionaries found them enthusiastic about learning to read and write. 'Even now there was [among Maori] the keenness to come up to the civilisation he saw about him.' But despite education at such places as Te Aute College, 'he was debarred from the occupations open to whites of similar education.' However, the appointment of a Maori bishop 'showed that the [l]ine of demarcation was gradually being eliminated'. Andersen described the work of Apirana Ngata, his land settlement and social betterment schemes, and also the gathering of traditions. 'These were being printed, and would be a valuable record. These could never have been collected by Europeans. Maoris knew how to deal with Maoris.'⁶⁶

Andersen finished up by discussing Maori music - it 'was not strictly true' that 'the Maori had no music'. He explained how a koauau could be played (which, he told his audience, he had discovered for himself), and how it was used to convey words; how 'The Maori was far more conscious of divisions of tone than we were'; and how they had (as Captain Cook had remarked) 'an acute consciousness of rhythm'.⁶⁷

This is reasonably solid fare, at first glance, sticking closely to the Smith-Best migration orthodoxy, but also deploring contemporary discrimination while praising the efforts and accomplishments of modern Maori and their leaders, albeit in a somewhat patronising manner and from an evolutionist perspective. On the other hand, notwithstanding the likelihood that the reporter left out some recondite detail, very little in the address conveys information about Maori and their culture, past or present: nearly all of what Andersen had to say is about Pakeha constructions of Maori past and present - S. P. Smith's use of genealogies and traditions, Best's denomination of the 'Stone Age' Maori, the recent appointment of a Maori bishop by Pakeha authorities (though Andersen did not put it in those terms),⁶⁸ Andersen's own conceptions of the intervals of Maori music.

At the Teachers' Summer School held at New Plymouth in 1935, besides talks about native birds Andersen gave on different days seven separate lectures on Maori subjects: four on mythology, one on religion, and two on 'primitive art', including Maori decorative art and music. The newspaper reports of this sequence (which are not verbatim, since the two local newspapers have similar but by no means identical accounts of particular sessions) indicate the kinds of material he incorporated in more specific lectures, both at other summer schools, and in his numerous addresses to Women's Institutes, Savage Clubs, and various recreational and community groups.

‘Maori mythology, the Polynesian versions of the creation of all things and their connection with the Old and New Testaments’ were the subject matter of the first lecture. Andersen emphasized that while ‘the details of European and Polynesian ideas ... differed’, ‘At least the existence of a spirit-world was a common belief’. He talked about the efficacy of tapu among Polynesians, but ‘the wrath of his gods did not pursue the Polynesian beyond the grave; he knew nothing of an eternity of punishment’, and he contrasted European and Polynesian views on death and what happened thereafter. Quoting (in English) a ‘Maori chant of creation’, Andersen asked whether it was ‘not reminiscent of the language and the thought of Genesis’. He cited the French voyager J. A. Moerenhout (in fact Andersen quoted from the extracts included in his own book, Myths & Legends)⁶⁹ in appreciation of the lofty cosmogonic beliefs of the Polynesians; dismissed the diffusionist notion that such belief was ‘an indication of some higher state of civilisation, of which the scattered Polynesian peoples were but the broken wreckage’; and, always an evolutionist, suggested that the beliefs were ‘the flowering birth of a creature mounting from a lowlier state to a higher’. ‘It has often been objected against the Polynesians’, continued Andersen, ‘that whilst they had a multiplicity of deities they had not evolved the idea of one supreme deity.’ But the objection was not valid, for it was now known, but had only recently become known, that there was the ‘cult of Io’ - and ‘Only within the last year or

two has corroborative evidence of the cult of Io c[o]me from the far-flung Tuamotu group'.⁷⁰ He discussed the nominal equivalence of Io, Iao, Jehovah, and so forth, in different civilisations. 'Io, too, was a beneficent deity, more like the God of the New Testament than like Jehovah of the Old.' That the myths were 'rich in detail' he illustrated by reference to 'the idea of the living waters of Tane'. 'If I have kept to the higher, the brighter side of the Polynesian mythology', Andersen concluded, 'it is because there has been too much stress laid on the grosser and darker side; and besides, in judging of the development of any people you judge by the high-water mark, not the low'.⁷¹

The second talk was much more limited in its subject matter. 'It was natural that the native should know little of the beginnings of the universe but he clothed ideas with his own thoughts and gave rein to his imagination in the interpretation of nature.' Andersen told of the matings of Tane which produced the plants, his creation of 'the first woman', and the birth of their daughter Hinenuitepo. 'Knowing nothing of her origin Hine Nui Te Po took Tane as her husband, but she soon grew curious. When she requested information regarding her ancestry, Tane just laughed at her. However she persisted, and at last he told her. She was immediately filled with shame and, drooping her head, she fled to the underworlds.' He then related (in the customarily bowdlerised manner) Maui's attempt to 'destroy' Hinenuitepo by diving 'into her mouth', which resulted in

Maui's own destruction; and, after that, the earlier story of Maui's fishing up of the North Island of New Zealand, adding that the account he had given was the 'common version of the myth', but 'Each of the stories also had an esoteric version'. Finally, in this lecture, he talked about 'Tauwhaki, god of lightning and junior son of the goddess of thunder', whose relationship with Tangotango he noted was like that of Cupid with Psyche or Endymion with Diana.⁷²

In his third lecture, Andersen began by contrasting mythology - 'The finite human mind was striving to understand, to explain to itself, the mysterious and the infinite' - and folklore, which was 'the more playful side of mythology', dealing with 'fairies, gnomes, pixies, elves, leprechauns', called by the Maori 'haku-turi, nuku-mai-tore, patu-pae-arehe, and taniwhas innumerable'. Through the similarities and variations in Polynesian folklore it was possible 'to trace some of the affinities of the various members of the now scattered Polynesian peoples', and he gave some examples of such folklore, then going on to discuss the migrations of the Polynesians as set out by Smith and Fornander, using genealogies and traditions; by Churchill, using linguistic data; by Rivers, employing 'sociological' analysis; and he noted Williamson's contributions to the debate. He illustrated the connections between Maori and other Polynesians by telling the Maori stories of Tama-nui-a-Rangi and Rukutaia, and Pare and Hutu, and the Hawaiian parallel stories, of Olophana and Lu'ukia, and Hiku and Kawehu.⁷³

The last of the four addresses on mythology was mostly taken up with story-telling that illustrated further the parallels in tales from different parts of the Pacific: the story of Hina, Tinirau, and Kae as recorded in New Zealand, a Samoan variation to part of this story, and, at greater length, the Mangaian version. This was one of Andersen's favourite stories, and he often re-told it, with proper elaboration for dramatic effect.⁷⁴

'Maori beliefs and religion merged with mythology', he told his listeners at the start of the fifth lecture. This session began with Andersen stressing 'the astuteness and penetration of the so-called savage which often baffled the college-trained missionary', and remarking on 'The great pity ... that the Polynesian had met the ignoble white people before the more noble representatives of the race came along'. In Andersen's opinion, 'the Maori had as much ground for his faith as the Christian'. He described the 'houses of learning' which taught the traditional rituals, and how 'the learning was very complete and exact in order that the sacred teachings might be kept unaltered through the centuries'. He briefly discussed 'Makutu, witchcraft', and how such power might be used; and the reverence for Io whose 'name was seldom spoken even by the tohunga, and never by the common people', whereas, by contrast, 'there came a new and dominant race, with whom the name of the deity was ever on their lips, and too often in profanation'. Andersen then emphasized the disruptive effects of Pakeha - 'people who would

barter the head of their sovereign, as represented on coins for food ... [and] professed to eat the body and drink the blood of their Christ - a degradation the Maori themselves reserved for their enemies'. The Maori, he said, was encouraged to violate tapu, yet to 'reverence a new deity'; 'Hell was a new conception to the Maori; and at the same time he was taught that this relentless god was a god of love'. Told to 'keep one day sacred', Maori had been at a sabbath service in Ruapekapeka pa when it was assaulted by Pakeha troops; and when on another occasion Maori had laid their wounded in a church, 'the church was bombarded by the men-o-war in the bay'. There were injustices that arose from colonisation: 'Can the Maori bewilderment be wondered at? Can it be wondered that when he turned to the pakeha god it was to the god of the old Testament and not the god of the new that he turned?' At the end of his lecture Andersen discussed further certain Maori notions of religion, indicating that with such terms as wairua ('soul') and awe ('spirit'), 'The Maori was able to define between the soul and the spirit before the white man could'. Though an awe might be invisible even to a matakite ('seer'), 'It might have an ahua, or manifestation, which might be a faint luminousness, or a delicate fragrance, or both. The existence of such beautiful thoughts among people still in the stone age was understandable if one realised that Io, the inspiring spirit was identical with the spirit who inspired the pakeha, though only the highest in both races responded to its inspiration.'⁷⁵

In his sixth lecture, on 'primitive art', Andersen developed the notion that all nations, whatever particular forms their arts took, developed their arts for the same basic reason: 'when man realised the art and the beauty in nature ... he felt a delight in imitating nature ... by creating works of art.' Poetry, music, and dancing were the 'oldest of arts', and were related to one another; the Maori haka - he instanced 'Kamate, Kamate' - became metrical when it was associated with dance, a development 'like the development of our own poetry'. The second half of this lecture dealt with 'decorations' added by the Maori 'to his buildings, his canoes, his weapons, his bones, his clothing, even to his own face and person.' While no one could 'miss the element of grotesqueness in Maori carving', Andersen reminded his audience that 'We ourselves appreciate the touch of the grotesque, unicorns, gnomes, and the like, scattered in odd corners in our finest examples of architecture'. Moreover, as with 'the masons of the old cathedrals, there was individuality in Maori art', and 'hardly two designs [were] the same'.⁷⁶

The seventh, and final, talk was about Maori music. 'To learn the true ways of the Maoris it was necessary to live with them in their native state, said Mr Andersen. He had done this and found the Maoris to be a most considerate and agreeable people.' He had taken with him a flute, or koauau, and though he 'visited many pas and saw thousands of Maoris ... [he] was unable to discover one Maori capable of playing the instrument.'⁷⁷ So he had taught himself to play the

koauau, had investigated the intervals of the instrument, and had learnt much about its use, especially that it was used to convey words rather than 'melody as known to musicians'. The Maori had therefore not built a scale: 'He based his songs on the speech tone and, although the range was narrow, the melodies in that range were numerous'. Schubert, so Andersen suggested, had based many of his songs on speech tones 'although they were probably exaggerated'. Maori people could not understand Pakeha concerts consisting of songs unconnected with each other, since Maori 'made use of songs to illustrate a point during an oration'. The natural musical ability of Maori was shown in their easy adaption of English compositions. 'Maori music', Andersen concluded, 'had as a base the base of the music of all the world', and he had no doubt that 'if the origins of the English folk music could be reached, they would be similar to Maori music.'⁷⁸

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The extent to which Andersen inspired people to take an interest in Maori subjects through his talks must be largely a matter of conjecture, but evidence survives which indicates his influence. 'Since you went', Ken Rigg, a Masterton

schoolchild, told him in a letter after he had visited the local school, 'we have been baffling every-body with the string-tricks you showed us'.⁷⁹ There is a considerable amount of correspondence from schoolchildren who developed or extended an interest in natural history as a result of Andersen's articles in the School Journal,⁸⁰ though he referred to Maori only incidentally in the School Journal material, he is likely also to have produced a positive reaction from schoolchildren who heard him talk about Maori subjects. From adults, including schoolteachers, there certainly was encouragement and gratitude.⁸¹ "Your lectures on Moari [sic] Folk Lore are very interesting indeed', wrote Miss K. Fullerton-Smith, of the Taihape district. She thought Andersen might be interested to know that the Taoroa area where she lived had Maori settlements, and these had been mentioned in one of Colenso's books. Andersen was pleased that she had liked the radio lecture, and wondered if she had heard the one broadcast since. There was, he told her, another on the following Thursday.⁸²

Some of those inspired by Andersen's talks got in contact with him on related matters. P. A. Boyes, a schoolteacher at Motupiko, in the Nelson region, wrote to Andersen, recalling his pleasure in listening to a lecture on string games Andersen had given at Wellington Teachers' College. Boyes was considering drawing up a 'full scheme of lessons' for a course in New Zealand history, 'correlated with New Zealand Geography (place names, etc.), suitable reading

matter, fairy stories, Songs of Maoriland'. He envisaged the dramatization of historical scenes. The scheme might be used in other schools. Could Andersen assist? Of course he could. 'There is no doubt at all', Andersen replied, 'that much could be done to make New Zealand matters more attractive to children'. He lamented that few artists had turned to 'our own history'. True, there were few incidents of great appeal, 'no scenes of splendour, no regal ceremonies, - yet turn to Cowan's recently issued volume on the Maori wars, and you will see there is romance enough'. On the Maori he advised Boyes to consult, inter alia, the works of Edward Tregear, James Cowan, and Elsdon Best, and his own work, Maori Life in Ao-tea.⁸³ (While the modern reader might be a little appalled by the sheer bulk of material in Maori Life, and by other aspects of the book, readers of an earlier generation thought it valuable. In 1928, J. D. Burns of Dunedin, for example, reported that he found it 'brimfull of information and ... of absorbing interest, at every page'.)⁸⁴

A little earlier he had given similar advice to Miss C. Henderson of Clifton, Sumner, Christchurch: Rusden's history was too big, and 'rather partizan', while Saunders's was 'too political'. The 'best book' for a general view of New Zealand history, politics, and Maori people was Reeves's Long White Cloud. There was, he thought, 'no good book giving a short general idea of the history of New Zealand', though there was Reeves's New Zealand 'which might serve' and 'perhaps the best

suitable modern one is Shrimpton and Mulgan's "Pakeha and Maori." For Maori legends, he recommended that Miss Henderson use works by Tregear, Best's monographs, and his own Maori Life.⁸⁵ Jeanie Hume, who had heard Andersen's lectures at a Teachers' Summer School, wrote: 'I came across a book of yours in Palmerston N[orth] public library, when I was hunting up information about Maori Customs for a history lesson. It seemed like meeting an old friend.'⁸⁶ 'Kindly accept our sincere thanks for your very interesting lecture last night on psychic side of Maori life', Mrs J. D. MacQuarrie told Andersen in her letter of 25 November 1941. 'My husband's interest has been aroused to such an extent that he regrets his lack of contact with the Maories'. As a result, she was off to the public library to get as many books as she could 'dealing with this fascinating subject'.⁸⁷ The irony is that the interest in Maori subjects Andersen had 'aroused' in Mr and Mrs MacQuarrie, in Jeanie Hume, in P. A. Boyes, in Miss C. A. Henderson, and in so many others, led not to 'contact with the Maories', but to books in public libraries, reductive representations of Maori culture written by Andersen himself and by other Pakeha.

And there were many other examples. Reta E. Smith, a teacher in South Canterbury, was working out a 'Maori scene' for the school breakup ceremony. She wanted the words for the haka 'Kamate ...', a speech of welcome in Maori, and details of a stick game. She had been at two Summer Schools, she wrote to

Andersen, 'and know that you will have the information I am wanting.' He replied that he could not remember her name (it was 'hard to remember names'), but he forwarded the information she required.⁸⁸ Miss A. P. Hamilton, of Oamaru, was especially appreciative of his Scott Memorial Lecture. 'I have never listened with greater interest to any lecturer, and I have heard many. I have always endeavoured to interest my children in the Maoris, they collect pictures & songs about them. Your lecture gave them a fresh impetus, nor did they fail to notice that it was far more than an intellectual interest you have in the Maori. All those hundreds of young minds contacting with your very real sympathy & enthusiasm received what is to me the most valuable thing in education.' Her only regret was that she had not known he was to lecture to the boarders on string games in the evening: had she known, she would have asked Milner if she could have attended.⁸⁹

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In giving his talks, Andersen believed that he was bringing New Zealanders into contact with what to his mind was quintessentially New Zealand, bringing them into contact with phenomena which were distinctively New Zealand

phenomena. It was, of course, in large measure a collaborative undertaking. While he did have captive audiences on occasion, for the most part he talked to people, young and old, who wanted to hear about the 'New Zealand' he made his subject, who bothered to attend so that they might have their own aspirations to understand New Zealand confirmed, and perhaps learn something which was new. His audiences lived for the most part in towns and on farms where the birds, the bush and the Maori had been extinguished; indeed some of those among his audiences may even have played an active part in the process of extinction, but they did not necessarily see any inconsistency in maintaining or developing an attitude of warm approval, even affection, for indigenous phenomena. For younger people, whether schoolteachers in their twenties, or schoolchildren of all ages, there was delight in knowing of, and knowing about, a 'New Zealand' which was not settlement New Zealand - recent, raw, ugly, even if a source of pride since it signified the advance of 'civilization' - but a 'New Zealand' which was older, more basic perhaps, yet fresher, in a sense uncontaminated by 'development', an undiscovered country which still existed beyond the rhetoric of colonisation and the imperial mythology.

So when Andersen talked of the birds, the trees and the Maori, he gave pleasure to his audiences; and in his quiet, gentle, committed way, he inspired many people to learn more, so that they might make the same close and proud identification with 'New Zealand' that he exhibited, and from which he very

obviously drew comfort. For some of his listeners, he was indeed the embodiment of the truly native New Zealander, an impression strengthened by his ability to reproduce the 'language' of the birds themselves. In his use of flageolet and his own whistling of the songs of birds there was an extra element of live performance, and this sense of entertainment was also fostered by his use of 'lantern' slides, even in a period when radio and films brought within the reach of most New Zealanders new sounds and sights (though not much on either radio or film was about indigenous - or even settler - New Zealand). Still, it was not just an unusual one-man-show which brought groups together time and time again to hear Andersen's lectures: he was not a calculating showman to the extent of, say, Lowell Thomas, who entertained people in New Zealand as well as elsewhere with his slide-and-film show of Lawrence of Arabia. What Andersen delivered with the information he provided was an illusion that he spoke for the subjects he included in his talk.⁹⁰

While he could verbally personify the trees - and one who listened to Andersen has assured the present writer that as Andersen with words wound the rata round and round and up the trunk of its host tree it became almost a palpable presence⁹¹ - the birds he represented even more directly, with just enough similarity to the actual sounds of birds to persuade all but the most knowledgeable that he virtually reproduced the actual sounds. Nor were there, at that time, taperecorders which

could provide the uninitiated with direct access to the songs of birds. Andersen served as a surrogate for the birds.

Serving as a surrogate for the birds and the trees was all very well; but, by extension, Andersen also acted surrogate for Maori, which is a rather different proposition. It may well have been admirable that Andersen displayed his sympathy for Maori people and Maori culture to Pakeha audiences. He may just possibly have tempered the incipient racism of younger listeners; he probably made many in his audiences disposed to be sympathetic towards Maori, in the abstract. But there is a wide range of other issues to be considered. He effectively stood between Pakeha and Maori, interpreting the latter to the former, and giving the impression to the Pakeha that they were having contact with Maori and Maori culture. He himself (he indicated to his audiences) had visited Maori 'at home', had lived in Maori communities, had eaten with them and accepted their hospitality, was involved with the recording of their music, and had become an authority on string figures. He was closely associated with Sir Apirana Ngata, he was a friend of Peter Buck's, and a co-worker with Elsdon Best. Few Pakeha had not heard of Ngata, some would have recognised Best's name, and a good many knew that Peter Buck was one of the most distinguished living Maori. Andersen's experiences, his Maori contacts, his books: all these stamped him as an authority on Maori people. It was not necessary for his audiences to seek more direct

experience of 'the Maori', to contemplate crosscultural explorations, since Andersen himself provided crosscultural experiences. His listeners were in the presence of a man who had been in the presence of Maori.

What audiences did not always realize, of course, even when he indicated that he 'kept to the higher, the brighter side ... because there has been too much stress laid on the grosser and darker side',⁹² was that Andersen's presentation of Maori was partial, reductive, even cosy; that it was the way one Pakeha saw Maori (and to an extent the way one Pakeha reported upon how other Pakeha saw Maori), that it was a paternalistic view of the other culture he provided, that it was socially decontextualized, and, for all Andersen's seriousness, culturally desacralized, akin to the activities of staff of museums who arranged Maori artifacts for exhibition, wrote the ethnographic descriptions for labelling the artifacts, and explained to curious museum visitors the significance of the artifacts.⁹³ The spoken word, like the written word, allowed, and encouraged, Pakeha New Zealanders to believe they 'knew' the Maori, just as they might know the native birds and native trees through Andersen's lectures.

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While audiences were generally unaware of how much Andersen's depiction of 'the Maori as he was' was in fact the-Maori-as-Andersen-wanted-him-to-be, his interpretations of postcontact historical events involving Maori and Pakeha contested the conventional Pakeha view so directly that Andersen's listeners and readers, even if relatively uninformed, recognised his partiality. In broad terms, Pakeha control of New Zealand was presumed to have moral and ethical justification; though most members of the settler society would have been hard pressed to supply details even of the establishment of British sovereignty, there was no doubt that civilisation, brought by the Pakeha, had replaced barbarity, or savagery. There had always been a philo-Maori perspective expressed by a minority of Europeans, but it had never been a popular or widespread version of past and present.

Andersen's historical revisionism was less than thoroughgoing, in the sense that he did not reinterpret the history of New Zealand as a whole but only in certain particulars. Before the Great War, he had publicly doubted whether the HMS Britomart had been sent south to Akaroa by Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson in 1840 to proclaim British sovereignty in order to forestall the French, as local mythology and a commemorative monument asserted, and Andersen was gleeful when evidence was eventually acquired which demonstrated the correctness of his

earlier research.⁹⁴ This passion for controverting the conventional wisdom he later applied to a number of historical incidents in which Maori and Pakeha had come to blows. One was the Wairau tragedy, as he called it; another was the Hauhau movement.⁹⁵ Both these episodes were important parts of Pakeha mythology about the bloodthirsty nature of Maori. Andersen was by no means alone in his questioning of the usual versions, but he was unusual in promoting alternative versions not only in books and articles but also in his lectures and radio broadcasts.

While radio broadcasts provided him with a very large audience, he was to learn that there was a difference between his acceptability as an authority on 'the Maori as he was' and on New Zealand's more recent history. Early in 1933 he began a series of broadcasts on historical incidents, beginning with 'The Tragedy of the "Jean Bart"', which was to be followed by 'The Sacking of Kaiapohia Pa', and the Alligator affair. He intended to extend the series beyond these three initially arranged with the broadcasting authorities. How far back his interest in the Jean Bart went is impossible to say, but while on the ethnological expedition to the East Coast in 1923, Peter Buck had told the story of this bloody encounter as he had heard it 'from his grandfather: a great grand uncle was one of the Maori concerned in the attack'.⁹⁶ Buck's account either whetted or confirmed Andersen's interest, and he gradually built up a considerable file of information from different sources, probably the most extensive ever assembled in the 1930s.⁹⁷

The radio talk he gave in February 1933 was printed in the Radio Record, whether edited or verbatim is not known. The printed article draws in part upon a French account which explains the immediate cause of strife as the death of a young Maori girl - in Andersen's words, 'It appeared that one night a drunken sailor murdered a little girl, under particularly revolting circumstances.'⁹⁸ Upon the revolting circumstances he remained silent, but the passage may have been sufficiently suggestive to arouse concern among some listeners. At the end of his talk he commented: 'People have sometimes wondered why I speak up for the Maori people whenever I get the chance. They were called ferocious savages; I want to show that their ferocity against the whites was always called up by some cruel or dastardly act of the whites themselves. It was a savage time; but it was made worse by savage men.'⁹⁹

While a great deal of ink had been spilt through the years over the vices of the early nonmissionary Pakeha, it was not usual for Europeans to be called 'savage men'. Andersen continued the theme in his second talk, dealing with Te Rauparaha's attack upon the Ngai Tahu at Akaroa and elsewhere on Banks Peninsula, and at Kaiapohia, making clear the perfidy of Captain William Stewart who transported Te Rauparaha for the consideration of a cargo of flax. 'These are tragic occurrences', summarized Andersen, 'and some people, knowing the doings of men like Te Rauparaha, maintain that the Maori was a ruthless savage, whose

only desert was extermination. But Te Rauparaha has been called the New Zealand Napoleon, and it is doubtful if he caused a tithe of the misery and desolation that Napoleon caused in Europe - and for no nobler ambition. But there is another side to the picture in New Zealand.' Andersen then described how Te Rauparaha's son, Tamihana Rauparaha, came under the influence of the missionaries and carried the christian message to the Ngai Tahu whom his father had previously attacked.¹⁰⁰ Andersen's views on the Alligator incident, the third of his talks, are best summarized in his comment to Joseph Kinsey, that the warship was sent to New Zealand in 1834 'in consequence of Guard's misreports in Sydney; Guard was a blackguard; that's the sort of Guard he was'.¹⁰¹

The historical talks, however, brought criticism, and a reluctance on the part of the broadcasting authorities to extend the series. By way of reply to the criticisms which had been reported to him by the broadcasting authorities, Andersen advised E. C. Hands, the general manager of the New Zealand Broadcasting Board, that a conchologist just back from the Chatham Islands 'called especially to tell me that my Jean Bart talk was heard by him, and six or eight other residents of the islands, and was received keenly, as it told them much which was new to them about their own place; and they want me to send them a copy of the talk; - no word of objection.'¹⁰² Hands hastened to reply that 'Having appreciated the talk myself, I can readily understand that listeners at the Chatham Islands

would be pleased with it.' In his opinion, the number of people who objected to the talk was small. 'As is always the case, however, they cause quite a lot of noise.'¹⁰³

There was praise from Gisborne, too. 'Your absence from 2YA last week I hope is only to be temporary', wrote J. A. Curran. 'Your lecturettes, might I state, are listened to with the greatest enthusiasm by listeners in these parts.' As a schoolteacher, Curran thought 'the tragic incidents' of New Zealand history were 'sadly in obscurity'. He hoped Andersen might 'give us the authentic side' of Te Kooti, of which he had learned a little from people in the district. 'I hope that in the near future you will be able to give us a lecturette on the topic ... a first hand and broadminded view of the question.'¹⁰⁴ 'There are several more incidents about which I wished to speak when I started the series', replied Andersen. They included 'the Wairau tragedy, the Boyd, and the Hauhau movement, for instance, in all of which much can be said for the Maori.' If Curran wrote to 2YA asking for more, the broadcasting authorities might continue the series. 'Like you I think the truth about these incidents ought to be made known.'¹⁰⁵ This, nevertheless, was the end of the historical series on radio, perhaps because of the general conservatism of the authorities in the depression, perhaps because those who created 'quite a lot of noise,' reflected a general Pakeha unwillingness to revise history. Andersen continued to make his views known on these and other incidents

in newspaper articles and lectures, and more than once contemplated a book. For some years he set the questions for the Mary Izard Memorial New Zealand History Competition at Wellington Girls' College, and judged the entries. In 1937 he included the questions: 'Say a little about the Hauhau fanaticism, for and against'; and 'What brought about the Wairau tragedy?'¹⁰⁶

Ada Weeber had heard Andersen speak on Maori over the radio and at Workers' Educational Association meetings, and wished he would provide more. A few weeks before, so she told Andersen, she had attended four lectures by Dr I.L.G. Sutherland, who had been, in her view, most enlightening about the Maori. 'To the amazement of all at the conclusion Mr Henderson (late inspector of native schools) arose & among many wrong ideas told us what sort of barbarians the Maori were & how they killed & ate shipwrecked crews when white men first came here. Although I know so little of the customs of our native race yet my grandmother, father, mother, self & husband also my three children have all been born in W'gtn. I am always concerned why the Maori seems to have such a far away look in his expression but after your talks and Dr Sutherland's one begins to understand what injustice to them & despoiling of this beautiful country meant to them as a race. I do feel it is only men like you who can make us see how we have been in the wrong & caused so much of the terrible happenings of the past.'¹⁰⁷

‘I happen to know Mr Henderson’, Andersen replied, ‘and he is not one whom I would choose to speak about the Maori. The Maori had his faults like other people, but these faults have been dwelt on so much, to the exclusion of his better qualities, that I have spoken more of the latter than of the former, and I have thought this only fair. I know he could be a savage, I have many stories to show that; but I have as many to show what fine qualities he also possessed Dr Sutherland’s little book’, he added, ‘is a good one; he sees the Maori more from my own point of view - that is, with sympathy.’¹⁰⁸

‘Dr Sutherland’s little book’ was The Maori Situation (1935); and while it may have seemed to Andersen that Sutherland saw the Maori ‘more from my own point of view’, Sutherland’s book was striking for the brief space given spectacular events in New Zealand’s early history and for the much greater space used in discussing the present and the quite recent past, especially Ngata’s efforts, and the negative effects of the Royal Commission of 1934, the criticism made by which had led to Ngata’s ministerial resignation.¹⁰⁹ Sutherland’s book condemned, in a measured way, Pakeha ignorance, misunderstanding, and lack of assistance for Maori. Andersen, while he praised Ngata’s policies, never ventured upon any explicit criticism of recent or contemporary Pakeha attitudes, however much he might cast earlier Pakeha as villains. He lacked, of course, Sutherland’s rather more structured view of intercultural relationships, and possibly did not appreciate

the broad thrust (as opposed to specific forms) of Ngata's measures. As long as he was a public servant, which he was until the middle of 1937, he was bound not to criticise current government policies (he had once got into hot water for seeming in a newspaper article to reflect unfavourably upon the attitude of the Department of Agriculture towards the extermination of kea, which were accused of attacking sheep in the high country).¹¹⁰

On one occasion he did suggest rather strongly, but nevertheless vaguely, that major wrongs remained to be righted. To mark the purchase of the Waitangi site by Lord and Lady Bledisloe, the Numismatic Society struck a special medal (the design, which included a Maori motif, was basically the one suggested by Andersen),¹¹¹ and presented the single silver medal (about 100 were also struck in bronze) to Bledisloe on the 95th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty, 6 February 1935.¹¹² There are two published summaries of Andersen's short talk. The Dominion newspaper quoted Andersen as saying 'that although the Maori had been saved much tragedy from the dishonouring of the Treaty of Waitangi by his sense of humour, he might be sore at heart while he laughed. The thoughtful Maori admitted, while the thoughtful European regretted, that it had not been possible to honour the treaty in greater degree. It was with pleasure therefore, that they had learned of their Excellencies' act. There had been some perturbation in the Maori, but now the treaty had been signed a second time.'¹¹³

The account in the mimeographed proceedings of the Numismatic Society had Andersen saying: 'Undoubtedly it had always been difficult to observe the Treaty implicitly. In the days of the N.Z. Land Company some people regarded the Treaty as "a device to amuse naked savages" until such time as the Pakeha incomers were strong enough to wrest from the Maori that which the Treaty solemnly guaranteed to them. On the whole the Treaty had been honoured to the best of the power of the dominant race, although thoughtful Pakehas regretted that it had not been possible to observe it more fully at the Festival in 1934, held at Waitangi, the Treaty was, as it were, signed anew.'¹¹⁴ 'In my five minute speech', he told Kinsey, to whom he sent a clipping from the Dominion, 'I spoke of the Maori & the Treaty; the paper missed out most of it, but you'll see the Dominion notes that His Excellency took part of my remarks as a text on which to say more - & he said afterward that he agreed with every word I said. You may be sure I was speaking up for my Maori friends.'¹¹⁵ Bledisloe was reported to have said, inter alia, that 'the Maori people should be convinced that at least the present generation of New Zealanders intends to act up to the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, and in the second place that both Maoris and pakehas are, on a level footing, subjects of the King and entitled to equal treatment before the law.' His final comments included the remark, 'I have been prompted by what Mr Johannes Andersen said to give candid expression to my own impressions and her Excellency's.'¹¹⁶ Bledisloe's

habit of saying what he thought about public matters had already caused a few mutterings about the constitutional proprieties;¹¹⁷ had he himself been criticized, Andersen was doubtless likely to get viceregal protection. Whatever it was that he said but remained unreported may in any case have been designed to win plaudits from Bledisloe, for Andersen liked to be well thought of by vicereignty, and he had entertained both the Bledisloes and Lady Alice Fergusson, the spouse of Bledisloe's predecessor, on several occasions at the Turnbull Library.¹¹⁸

Yet even after his retirement from the public service in 1937, Andersen avoided (if that is the right word) making comments on current or recent government policy. Perhaps he felt constrained by his membership of the Maori Purposes Fund Board, a political appointment regularly renewed from 1932 (when he was first appointed to the earlier body, the Board of Maori Ethnological research) at three-yearly intervals until age rendered him unable to continue in the late 1950s.¹¹⁹ He disapproved of the treatment of Ngata in 1934, as he indicated, cautiously, in a letter to Peter Buck.¹²⁰ He was aware of political injustices perpetrated by governments after the conflicts of the 1860s, as he hinted in passages of The Mair Family (1956).¹²¹ Beyond that we must speculate: was the prospect of a wholesale righting of injustices since 1840 too large an issue for a Pakeha whose view was essentially paternalistic?

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Many of those who heard Andersen talk wrote to him at the Alexander Turnbull Library, or visited the Library. Andersen usually mentioned the Library during his talks - he relished any opportunity of bringing it to the attention of New Zealanders - and audiences received general invitations to call there. Some people received more individual invitations. Visitors often asked for Mr Andersen, who did his best to greet people personally when he had time or opportunity. Teachers who had been at the summer schools called in in considerable numbers over the years, perhaps to be shown rare books, or Maori artifacts.¹²² Sometimes local people called in at the Library after his broadcasts. 'I was on the air last night', he commented to Kinsey in October 1929, 'talking of Maori music, and some visitors were in the library this morning, and said they had heard it Next week I shall be speaking of their musical instruments.'¹²³

Researchers who used the Alexander Turnbull Library, until Andersen's retirement in 1937, almost invariably came into contact with him, and it is difficult to estimate his influence in this regard, though it is indicated by the thanks which authors expressed in their books to the Library and often to Andersen specifically.

Sometimes these thanks are simply formal acknowledgments for the use of Library facilities and materials; at other times they are acknowledgments which in cold print and brief phrases do not fully reveal a great deal of personal help and counsel from Andersen. A. G. Butchers, for example, asked Andersen to look through the typescript of an historical study of New Zealand education; Andersen said he would 'look over the first part, as it dealt with the Maori and made a good many suggestions, deletions & alterations, which he minded; there would be more in other parts, which I had already glanced at & given him a few tips, also helped him in referring to sources - which he acknowledges in the book & did afterwards by sending a copy'.¹²⁴ Andersen was to have been co-author of what was published by Nellie Coad in 1934 as New Zealand from Tasman to Massey, Andersen 'writing the Maori section, whaling, land systems, - but there were a few points on which we could not quite agree, so finally I decided & she agreed it would be better that she shoulder all, I giving her information about the parts I was particularly to deal with - she notes this in the preface.'¹²⁵

The kind of detailed assistance Andersen could and at times did provide for researchers is evident in two cases where information was conveyed in writing rather than by conversation. A. H. Reed had acquired manuscripts of James West Stack, son of an early missionary, himself a missionary and clergyman, and a scholar of the Maori, and edited the initial portions of the manuscript as Early

Maoriland Adventures of J. W. Stack (1935). Reed had published three years before the Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, edited by J. R. Elder, and appreciated the usefulness of explanatory annotations which Elder had provided. He and his nephew, A. W. Reed, who was associated with these publishing ventures, had had a little correspondence with Andersen after the latter had published a generally favourable but not wholly uncritical review of the Letters and Journals in the *Polynesian Society Journal*.¹²⁶ Seeking to ensure accuracy in the annotations to the Stack manuscript, the Reeds forwarded the typescript to various authorities, including H. D. Skinner (who used the opportunity to write approvingly of Stack's perceptive views on prehistory which supported his own),¹²⁷ Horace Fildes, a Wellington antiquarian, and Andersen. Andersen enclosed four typed pages of comments when he returned the typescript to A. H. Reed. These comments included observations on a range of historical, botanical, ethnographic and linguistic points. For example:

'P.28. The woman was making a cloak, not mat, and cloaks, not mats, were worn. There were mats for the floor; but as Dr Buck says, you may as well say a man was wearing linoleum as say he was wearing a mat. It is a common mistake, but if you will adopt cloak, since it is a cloak, it will help remove the mistake P.52: hue, a gourd, is all right; it is one of the plants the Maori brought with him to New

Zealand; it is *Lagenaria vulgaris* if you want the botanical name, and taro, another plant they brought, is *Colocasia antiquorum*. They also brought the kumara - *Ipomoea batatas*. P.55. Kotukutuku berries; yes; they are good eating, and to most people their name, konini, is applied to the tree; but Stack is right in the name kotukutuku - in some places kohutuhutu.¹²⁸

The Preface acknowledges that ‘Mr Johannes C. Andersen, Librarian of the Turnbull Library, Wellington, and an author of distinction on subjects relating to the Maori, has freely given of his time in reading the MS. and supplying footnotes, whilst he has also lent for reproduction some pictures from the celebrated institution of which he is the custodian.’¹²⁹ The notes in Early Maoriland Adventures drawn from Andersen’s comments are identified by his initials.¹³⁰ Andersen also supplied detailed notes, similarly identified, for the second volume, More Maoriland Adventures of J. W. Stack (1936), including an explanation of the ‘hahunga ceremony’, and of ‘Ru’ as the Maori word for an earthquake.¹³¹

Andersen’s assistance to F. W. Reed (brother to A. H. Reed, but quite unconnected with the latter’s publishing ventures) was rather more of a collaboration extending over several years. Frank Reed, of Whangarei, had in his enthusiasm for the works of the French author *Alexandré Dumas* turned a hobby into a scholarly enterprise, culminating in a highly regarded Bibliography of

Dumas' vast oeuvre. Dumas' writing mill ground up all sorts of exotic and appealing matter, including a handful of pieces relating to New Zealand.¹³² The most substantial of these was the book Les Baleiniers (1861), Dumas' reworking of a journal by Felix Maynard, surgeon on whaling ships which visited Banks Peninsula in the 1830s and 1840s. Encouraged by Andersen, whose reading knowledge of French was sufficient to realize very rapidly that Les Baleiniers was flush with information on the early history of Canterbury, Reed essayed a translation - three, in fact, before he and Andersen were reasonably satisfied with the latest version.¹³³ The volume was published as The Whalers by Hutchinson, of London, in 1937, beginning with a seven-page Introduction by Andersen, and ending with twenty pages of explanatory notes, also by Andersen, in addition to briefer notes placed at the foot of relevant pages.¹³⁴ These annotations exhibit Andersen's grasp of detail, his digressiveness, and his moralisings about the inhumanity of Pakeha to Maori, and are typical (except in their superabundance) of the advice he provided to researchers.¹³⁵ F. W. Reed was mortified that Andersen's name had not been placed, as he had intended, on the title page of The Whalers.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, in The Whalers, as for the Stack memoirs, the scrupulosity of the editors allows us to appreciate the kind of expertise Andersen contributed to various writing projects.

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A number of Andersen's explanatory notes for The Whalers dealt with transliteration, pronunciation, and 'meanings' or derivations of Maori place names.¹³⁷ He lectured on place names with some regularity, not always specifically on Maori place names but including Maori place names in his discussion of examples of New Zealand place names, and wrote on the topic with some frequency to the newspapers, especially in the later 1930s and 1940s when his own place names research took up much time and energy after his retirement from the Turnbull Library. His expertise on place names was heightened by his membership of the Honorary Geographic Board of New Zealand. Shortly before this Board was established, there was correspondence on matters of nomenclature between Andersen and the Surveyor-General, W. J. Neill. Neill wrote to Andersen, as Librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library, on 28 May 1923, explaining that the Surveyor-General represented in New Zealand the permanent committee of the Royal Geographical Society, set up at the request of the British Admiralty to examine cases of nomenclature. The New Zealand government contributed to the work of the committee, and was in return to receive copies of published lists. The

first set of these lists had been received, and Neill now sent a copy to the Library for reference purposes. The Library would be put on the list for further lists of names.¹³⁸ Andersen was duly grateful. Among the eight lists, the one of Oceanic names would be especially valuable for cataloguing purposes. Canada, he pointed out, had been doing similar nomenclatural work for some time, 'and I have often thought that a sub-committee should be appointed in New Zealand to review the names in New Zealand and issue authoritative lists from time to time.' He had, he added, been collecting Canterbury place names for several years, and his work on the place names of Banks Peninsula had been accepted for publication. He sent Neill a copy of the rules of the Geographic Board in Canada which might 'be of use in deciding on forms of names to be adopted in New Zealand'.¹³⁹ Neill felt positive. 'The idea of setting up a sub-committee to review the names in New Zealand when the authoritative lists are in the course of preparation is admirable'. He added that he would like to discuss the idea with Andersen, which he duly did a few weeks later.¹⁴⁰ In the meantime, as a kind of metropolitan confirmation that the time was appropriate, Andersen had received a circular about the formation of the English Place-Name Society, which he sent on to Neill.¹⁴¹

The Honorary Geographic Board, almost certainly as a consequence of these initial discussions between Neill and Andersen, was set up by the Minister of Lands in 1924. Part of its brief was to 'collect original Maori place names for

record on the official maps'.¹⁴² Andersen was one of the six original members appointed in 1924; he remained a member for more than thirty years, and for much of that time was the most active member of the Board, able to combine his own hobby with work which had official approval. Though he did not speak or write on place names (excepting the booklet Place-names in New Zealand (1934)) as a member of the Board, his membership undoubtedly inclined many Pakeha to defer to his opinions.

When spelling or pronunciation were in dispute, as they often were, among newspaper correspondents, Andersen took time (and space) to provide what he believed to be the correct versions. There was concern in 1939, for example, that photographs of one of the three new flying-boats built in Britain for the first regular transtasman air service showed the legend 'AO-TEA-ROA'. 'How do you spell it?' asked the Wellington Evening Post, which went in search of the authorities - Mr H. D. Bennett, a Maori, and Johannes Andersen were the two to whom the newspaper turned. Both agreed that Aotearoa was one word, and there should be no hyphens.¹⁴³ J. S. Webb, a long-time Wellington resident, responding to this article, recalled that other meanings had been given Aotearoa besides the usual 'Long White Cloud' which Andersen had mentioned in his commentary. 'I believe that if Mr Andersen would at some time write something, however brief, on this subject,' Webb concluded, 'it would interest a good many besides myself.'¹⁴⁴

Andersen's reply, several hundred words, appeared just five days later, in form a letter, in length an article. He reviewed the various possibilities, the legends, and his own experience on his return to New Zealand in November 1936 from his only overseas journey, when he went on deck early one cold morning hoping to see, as the legendary Polynesian explorer Kupe had done centuries before, the long white cloud, and saw instead a grey one on the tops of the Coromandel Peninsula.¹⁴⁵ In this letter he indicated, as he did so often, his belief that Maori place names were a crucial part of Pakeha New Zealanders' heritage. 'To me, to many of us, Aotearoa is this delightful land of cloud, of sunshine, of mountain diversified, of ever-changing, sparkling water; a land of beauty. To the Maori it is that, and something in addition; and the addition [that] the Maori knows is gradually but deeply steeping our own hearts - it is home, with the added thoughts and associations of home.' At the end of this letter he commented: 'Kupe and his people sleep; rest their souls; but the name they gave birth to dreams on for ever, with ourselves, our forbears, our descendants, Maori and pakeha, intermingling parts of that dream.'¹⁴⁶

Andersen's constant advocacy of correct pronunciation of Maori place names is illustrated by a letter to a Wellington newspaper in 1939. Another correspondent had complained of the confusion which arose from the use of the variant spellings Kaiwarra, Kaiwarawara, and Kaiwharawhara for a Wellington locality. Andersen pointed out that a nomenclature committee had established the

last form as correct as far back as 1908, and 'many of us would be glad to see that form generally adopted'. The same issue of the 'wh' sound had been raised in a letter a fortnight earlier by another correspondent, 'Korero-Poneke', who, writing about Waiwhetu, 'was not concerned about the retention of the correct form of the name, but thought it pedantry to keep to it when it is popularly called Waiwetoo. Does he then call it pedantry', asked Andersen, 'to pronounce Yes "Yes" because it is so often popularly pronounced "Year" or "Yep"? Surely not.' Andersen attempted to bring 'Korero-Poneke' to an appreciation of the name - each time Andersen crossed the Waiwhetu stream, which was near his home and had given its name to the district, he thought of 'the beautiful bush, of great trees and small, of ferns and starry clematis, which grew there a hundred years ago'. It was 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' but with 'no accent on the "oo"; that makes a little subtle distinction, and makes all the difference.' Whetu was 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'. Next time he crossed the stream, concluded Andersen, 'I shall also be thinking of "Korero-Poneke" and the pictures this note may awaken in his mind.'¹⁴⁷ This was typical of Andersen's efforts to make Maori place names resonate with significance for Pakeha.

His general message on Maori place names to Pakeha audiences is manifest in the report of a talk given to the Anthropology and Maori Race section of the Auckland Institute in May 1941. Andersen provided, as usual, warnings to his audience against deriving meanings of Maori names by translating their constituent parts; and noted that corrupt spellings could be misleading if the story that went with the name was not acquired. Another cautionary note may have been spoken more gently than it appeared in the newspaper: 'Mr Andersen gave a warning against asking Maoris the meaning of names, in the hope of clearing up obscure questions. Maoris had become so infected by pakeha ideas that they would not probe into the past. The safest course was to ask them to tell the story of the name, and in that way arrive at its meaning indirectly.'¹⁴⁸ However carefully this point may have been phrased, it was tantamount to saying that the Pakeha expert knew more than many Maori.¹⁴⁹

He suggested during this talk that in such a word as Wairoa the charm of the word was in the music of the vowels. 'Other names suggested rustling leaves, rippling tides, glorious sunsets, clouds resting on mountain tops, winding rivers and other scenes, but the Maoris declared that their names were not descriptive' - they were applied because of associations with places in their 'ancient homeland'. Yet, said Andersen, Pakeha 'could not help feeling that the Maori's sense of the

picturesque continually influenced him in the choice of names whose aptness was not just occasional or accidental, but was borne out by countless illustrations.’¹⁵⁰

His opening remarks, which provided the headline in the newspaper, ‘Swing to Maori’, were: “Throughout New Zealand continued requests are being made by groups of people to have European place names changed back to Maori” He declared that there was a strong swing back to Maori names, even among people who regarded some Maori names as difficult to pronounce. “There would be no difficulty about the pronunciation if only people would take the trouble to give the vowels their correct sound ... but many names are greatly mutilated in their pronunciation if they are spoken correctly, many of our well-known names have a beautiful sound. Some of them are a little poem in themselves. Their beauty is that they contain so much in poetical meaning.”¹⁵¹ Whether there was indeed a ‘Swing to Maori’ or whether it was Andersen’s pious hope is a moot point; but if there was such a ‘swing’, he undoubtedly played some part in promoting it by his lectures and writings. Most Pakeha who learnt about Maori place names did so not directly from Maori people, but from Pakeha experts, of whom there were not a few, like Andersen.

The espousal of Maori mythology as a subject for artists, which Andersen had promoted so vigorously in Christchurch, remained one of his favourite causes into old age. As late as 1951, when the New Zealand Ex Libris Society (discussed further below) published its Brochure No. 6, Andersen contributed a short article, 'Some Danish Bookplates'. He discussed at length the Norse myth depicted in one of the plates which was illustrated in the Brochure, adding that 'In spirit it is ... like Maori carving, and the crossed battle-axes to the right of the small shield are like Maori tewhatewha Think', he continued, 'of the amount of material there is in Maori mythology and history to inspire similar plates to this one.'¹⁵²

Though he remained friends with Richard and Elizabeth Wallwork, Andersen made few close contacts with major artists working in New Zealand after the Great War, perhaps partly because his tastes in painting were not congruent with styles then being developed in New Zealand. However, he was in the company of at least a few artists and designers through the Ex Libris Society. The New Zealand Ex Libris Society was founded in Wellington in 1930, by Pat Lawlor at the behest of the Australian enthusiast, P. Neville Barnett, and an active branch was also established in Auckland. Most of the members were bibliophiles or artists (occasionally both), congenial company for Andersen, who not only helped Lawlor to launch it but as President through most of the 1930s, until the Society lapsed in

World War Two, and as editor of all except one of its half-dozen publications, was a major influence within the ranks of the Society. In the Society, Andersen was able to indulge his enthusiasm for symbolic and pictorial representations of New Zealand, including Maori subjects, and to share the convergent enthusiasms of at least some other members of the Society. In 'A Brief History' of the Society, Lawlor noted that few of the hundreds of plates designed by New Zealand artists were 'truly bookish, the artists concerning themselves mostly with the natural attractions of the country or with Maori interest.'¹⁵³ Andersen's views were no doubt listened to with respect at the 'thinly attended meetings' of the Society, usually held at the Turnbull Library, and he also promulgated them in the Society's publications.

He contributed an article, 'Book-Plates with reference to examples in the Alexander Turnbull Library', to the first Brochure issued by the Ex Libris Society (1930). In reviewing the nature and development of bookplates, Andersen observed that 'Possibilities of character should not be overlooked; in New Zealand and Australia there are many features not found elsewhere'. His suggestion was that 'New Zealand birds, flowers, plants, the Maori, might all be used with advantage to give a characteristic stamp to New Zealand plates'. Alexander Turnbull himself had had 'a neat plate depicting a Maori whare, and T. E. Donne one of a pataka'. Turnbull's whare plate appeared opposite the first

page of Andersen's article, probably placed there by the editor of the Brochure, Pat Lawlor, who also included the plate of Augustus Hamilton, onetime Director of the Dominion Museum, a plate composed very largely of stylized Maori carving motifs.¹⁵⁴

The second publication of the Ex Libris Society was the Catalogue of Annual Exhibition of Book-Plates (1931), probably edited by Andersen, and including, besides the list of plates displayed at the exhibition, just a single article, unsigned but undoubtedly by Andersen. This discussion of bookplate examples ranged widely. In his comments on New Zealand bookplates, Andersen commented: 'Local colour comes out strongly in the Dominion Museum plate, A. H. Turnbull's Maori plate, the two of A. Hamilton ... and T. E. Donne's pataka plate. In this last, too, there is the suggestion that as the pataka is the Maori storehouse for food for the body, so the library is the storehouse for food for the mind.' Turnbull's 'Maori plate', which had appeared in the first Brochure, was one of only two plates illustrated in the Catalogue, the plates no doubt chosen by Andersen. He also noted Maori motifs in other New Zealand plates: of three plates etched by Trevor Lloyd for the use of Lloyd himself, 'One is an adapted carved Maori wooden head, a koruru, with the words "my book" in adapted Maori ... two are humoresques with Maori touches', while one of Connie Lloyd's plates displayed 'Maori ornamentation in the border'. In the list of plates Andersen

himself had donated for the exhibition, he included 'Maori' as an annotation for three plates, including those of T. E. Donne and A. H. Turnbull's 'Maori plate'.¹⁵⁵

Brochure No. 2 appeared in 1933. It was edited by Andersen, he provided most of the text, and selected and solicited the bookplates which were illustrated, save for two heraldic plates which accompanied a short article by Ronald Holloway. Andersen's textual contribution was called 'New Zealand Book-plate Artists and their Work'. Of the twelve plates which accompanied Andersen's text, four included Maori motifs. The plate designed by J. L. Martin and engraved by G. L. Henderson for R. A. Anderson, Andersen pronounced to be 'typically local in theme, well designed, and well executed'. The plate displayed a tui, a tuatara, a kiwi, and (very prominently) a moa, with a substantial Maori carving as a 'frame'. Another plate illustrated was that by Hilda Wiseman for Betty Goldie, 'with the spray of clematis and the Maori pattern border over against a quarter-circle of white'. He praised the plate 'designed for his wife by our member Llewellyn Williams. Round its arch runs an appropriate Maori motto: Kua whakapono tohu ahau, ko te whakapono tohu ahau - I have believed, and I always will believe.' Barbara Clark's plate for Miss L. E. Lane, which was illustrated in the Brochure, showed, Andersen said, 'typical New Zealand ornamentation'; it included a Maori pattern. However, Andersen not only approved of these New Zealand themes, including the Maori motifs, but begged for more of the latter: 'A. Hamilton's plates

for himself are fine specimens of drawing and design,' he declared, 'the Maori motive being excellent, - and to me it seems strange that more use is not made of it by artists. The older artists have grown up under the influence of the Egyptian, Greek, and like olden ornamentation; - may our younger artists show a Maori influence.'¹⁵⁶ This was a reiteration of his leave-the-Greek-and-turn-to-the-Maori encouragement of local artists he had first made in Christchurch a quarter of a century earlier.

While no specific mention was made of Maori motifs in 'Brochure No.3', which Andersen smuggled into the Annals of New Zealand Literature, published for the New Zealand Authors' Week in 1936, they were strongly featured in Brochure No. 4 (1937). The Brochure contained twelve mounted plates, with descriptions and ruminations by Andersen. Five of the twelve plates included Maori decoration or subjects. 'The design is a good New Zealand subject', he wrote of Hilda Wiseman's linocut for John Gibson, '- the arrival of the Maori in Aotearoa (New Zealand) the canoes ... based chiefly on those in Kenneth [sic] Watkins' painting'. He added to his note details of canoe materials and construction. Art also imitated art in Hilda Wiseman's linocut for Russell Duncan's plate, a 'vigorous cut from the excellent drawing by ... Robley, author of the fine book on Maori tattooing - "Moko." It depicts a Maori warrior in the leap of the war-dance, huia-feathers in his hair, tewhatewha in his hand, and diabolical ferocity

in his lineaments.’ Of a woodcut by Wiseman for Warwick Lawrence, Andersen observed: ‘The Maori pattern adds a New Zealand touch to this plate’. Louise Tilsley’s woodcut for Monique Thorpe contained a superabundance of the New Zealand images which especially delighted Andersen - the ‘peak of Taranaki, later called Egmont’, ponga, nikau, and ‘an adapted Maori border-pattern’, together with a Maori kainga, ‘the artist correctly assuming that a Maori kainga is the equivalent of a British thorp.’ Also included in the Brochure was a bookplate etched for Andersen himself by Trevor Lloyd. ‘The aim of owner and artist’, Andersen explained, ‘was to make the scene as New Zealian [sic] as possible’, and as well as native vegetation and a shining cuckoo or pipiwharau, Lloyd had depicted ‘hakuturi - the Maori wood-fairies’, one of which carried a book labelled ‘Maori Music’ - the book published in 1934 by Andersen, for which Lloyd had designed the cover.¹⁵⁷

The Ex Libris Society had a small membership, less than one hundred, though this number included both artists and bibliophiles of some note whose influence extended beyond the membership of the Society.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, while the brochures were produced in small editions, 100 or 150 copies, the Society’s exhibitions in Auckland and Wellington provided opportunities for a larger public to view bookplates; and as volumes from private libraries went into circulation through auctions, later purchasers of books acquired plates along with the books

which contained them. There were always a few people, outside as well as inside the Society, who collected bookplates as a hobby. Those who made bookplates and those who commissioned them thus had a limited but significant effect upon taste, as did Andersen himself through his activities as a prominent member of the Ex Libris Society.

If bookplates had a restricted currency, postage stamps were used in and circulated to every corner of New Zealand, and beyond. Maori subjects and motifs had originally appeared on New Zealand postage stamps in 1898, when the first 'pictorial' set had been issued; and there had been several subsequent issues which included Maori motifs - Maori-style border decorations upon New Zealand stamps were by the 1930s customary. In 1931 the Government decided to repeat the 1898 exercise, announcing a public competition for designs for stamps which would worthily represent and depict New Zealand. There was widespread interest in the competition, and a large number of designs were submitted.¹⁵⁹ A committee of four was set up to choose the best, or most appropriate, designs from the hundreds offered. The committee comprised Sir Heaton Rhodes, a former minister of the crown who had once been Postmaster-General and was an expert philatelist; Richard Wallwork, Andersen's artist friend, now the Director of the Canterbury School of Art; George McNamara of the Post Office; and Johannes Andersen. Andersen was included, by his own account, because there was so much Maori

subject matter in the designs - 'rightly', he said with approval - 'and I am to say if the true note is struck - may Rua guide my judgment.' He was, in other words, to attest to the authenticity and appropriateness of Maori matter in the designs.¹⁶⁰

The committee spent a day and a half 'weeding out' the unsuitable designs, and another half day selecting the final set, keeping in mind earlier issues (they had William Joliffe's History of New Zealand Stamps (1913) as a reference),¹⁶¹ and technical and aesthetic considerations as well as the symbolic significance of the designs. Andersen did not care for the harvest design (used for the sixpenny stamp) or the sheep-droving scene (later replaced, to his delight, and largely at his bidding, by a tui), but with the kiwi (when slightly altered), tuatara, first landing of James Cook, and Mt Egmont he was happy enough. Several of the chosen set featured Maori subjects or designs. The 1½d., 'a Maori woman lowering a basket of food into a hot spring for cooking has to be altered very considerably', he told Kinsey; 'The Maori details in many have to be altered, as at present these are incorrect.' The committee 'badly wanted a Maori head', but those of males were poor, especially by contrast with the 'pretty good one' (in Andersen's opinion) which had been used for a stamp in 1920. There were a handful of designs which depicted a Maori woman with a child on her back - a favourite subject for photographers of an earlier generation, and also one used by painters, including G. Lindauer and Frances Hodgkins: these were discarded. 'Fortunately, however,

there was a very good head of a girl, & this has been chosen; the detail has to be altered, the border & ornaments in corners being nondescript; it is to be made Maori; & her pare (head-band) is ornamental with squares horizontal ... these have to be converted to taniko.' It would make a 'very pretty stamp' for the threepenny value. The design for the ninepenny stamp the committee (which had some gleeful fun in the deliberations) christened 'the carpet'. Andersen wondered how it would 'take'; it was a very good carving pattern with a 'nice delicate Maori border', altogether 'a most striking stamp, in white black & red.' It is possible that Andersen particularly pressed the merits of this design upon the other committee members.¹⁶²

The 'young men' who were to make to the selected designs those amendments desired by the committee called upon Andersen at the Library a few days later. Andersen showed one how to design a border with a 'true' Maori design, and spirals were substituted in some corner ornaments. The Maori girl's headband was changed from 'unmaori squares' to 'taniko triangles'. The design for Mt Egmont had two blank side panels, so Andersen sketched out a Maori design and the draughtsmen 'took to it at once'.¹⁶³ The combination of original designs, committee alterations, and Andersen's espousal of Maori motifs to replace nondescript borders or fill up blank borders meant that eventually no fewer than nine out of the full set of fourteen stamps incorporated Maori subjects or

designs.¹⁶⁴ When the first proofs were made available to committee members in 1933, Andersen was pleased to note that, despite design and production problems with some stamps, the Maori girl's head was 'beautiful', and the white, black and red 'Maori door design', the ninepenny, looked 'very nice'.¹⁶⁵

The stamps were not finally issued until 1 May 1935. A couple of days later Andersen received from the Post Office, by way of thanks (and in addition to an earlier six guineas for his work on the selection committee), a full set on a special cover (envelope) which was accompanied by explanatory descriptions of the stamps, largely written by Andersen himself; but on May Day he had slipped out to the post office and purchased a threepenny 'Maori girl's head', his 'favourite', and, he recalled, one of his 'particular fancies during the selection'.¹⁶⁶ He had indeed written in 1931, 'This will be a lovely stamp - the only objection I see to it being that when used in the post the pretty face will be defaced; I shall buy some & keep them without using them.'¹⁶⁷ Andersen does not seem to have been concerned about the 'defacing' of the image in terms of the significance of the head in Maori culture; nor is there any hint that he, who was after all the 'expert' on Maori matters among those on the committee, considered the cultural sanctions which might be transgressed by the stamps. Given his extensive knowledge about, if slight experience of, Maori values, this is at least a little surprising. Indeed, in his letter to Sir Joseph Kinsey of 23 October 1931, when he had first reported to

Kinsey about the deliberations of the selection committee, Andersen had written: 'They badly wanted a Maori head, not a dried 'ed'. Andersen knew about and disapproved of the trade in preserved heads which had been generated by Pakeha in the 1810s, and the jocular reference to the 'dried 'ed' indicates his distaste, even his self-consciousness over the matter of 'a Maori head'.¹⁶⁸

The 1935 pictorial stamps, as they are usually called, remained in circulation until withdrawn in 1938 (½d., 1d., 1½d.), 1941 (3d.) and 1947 (other values), and there were millions of copies printed of the lower values. While the initial selection had received some criticism, the stamps finally issued were warmly regarded by many New Zealanders. In 1988, D. J. Painting, then of Birkdale, recalled that his schoolteacher at a mission school in Darjeeling, India, supplied him with New Zealand stamps: 'It was from these that I formed my first impressions of New Zealand. I always remember the Maori wahine with her flax kit cooking over the thermal pool, the whare and the giant kauri. So at such an early age my desire to come to New Zealand was born.'¹⁶⁹ Since most of the images on the stamps were iconic rather than depictions of aspects of everyday life, there is good reason to believe that, mixed with other images, the stamps helped define 'New Zealand' for New Zealanders as well.

Andersen's influence upon New Zealand coinage was less direct than for the 1935 stamps, and the details of this influence are not so well documented as his

influence upon the choice of stamp designs. While tokens produced by commercial firms had served as a limited exchange medium for a period in the nineteenth century (Andersen was, as it happened, a collector of such tokens), there was no specific New Zealand coinage until the 1930s, when, for a variety of reasons, including an outflow of specie (because of its metal content) during the Depression, the Government decided to have a set of silver coins minted. The Numismatic Society, of which Andersen was a founding member, rejoiced that 'at last New Zealand was to be placed on the "numismatic map"', but at the same time expressed alarm over rumours that the Government had already decided on a standard design - monarch's head on the obverse, coat-of-arms on the reverse. Allan Sutherland, secretary of the Society, advocated artistic designs 'varying with each denomination and symbolising New Zealand life and customs'; and the Society called for competitive designs and a 'competent committee' to consider the matter.¹⁷⁰ The Government set up such a committee, which included Sutherland and the President of the Numismatic Society, Professor J. Rankine Brown, a classicist.¹⁷¹ Sutherland spent time with Andersen in the Turnbull Library, discussing various design possibilities, including birds, and went to committee's deliberations fully prepared, with sketches and examples of medals, to demonstrate, over the objections of some of the artists on the committee, that particular ideas were feasible.¹⁷² The final results, when produced by the Royal Mint in 1934,

were not all that Andersen, Sutherland, and others desired; and H. D. Skinner, from an ethnological point of view, made private criticisms to the Polynesian Society. However, the general reception was favourable.¹⁷³ Through Sutherland, Andersen possibly advocated (or at least supported) not only the bird images, but also the crossed mere on the threepence (unfortunately upside down, Andersen remarked), the warrior with taiaha awkwardly depicted on the one shilling piece, and the Maori carving which flanked the coat-of-arms on the half-crown piece.¹⁷⁴ Thus three of the six silver coins included Maori subjects or designs. In 1939, the bronze half-penny and penny were put into circulation, the former including as its central motif on the reverse the image of a hei-tiki.¹⁷⁵ As with the stamps, Andersen seems not to have considered whether there was anything improper in using Maori materials on coins.¹⁷⁶

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Andersen was, if not quite ubiquitous, at any rate able to utilize a variety of forums to publicize his views, partly because he offered information and attitudes which people wished to acquire, or were curious about, and also because he was

recognised as an expert on the Maori. He was by no means the only expert: there were other Pakeha who lectured on Maori subjects, who broadcast about them, who wrote books and articles about them. In that sense, Andersen was, as in his other activities, simply one example of a number of Pakeha who regarded themselves as experts on the Maori, and were so regarded by their audiences, or by those who sought them out for information. Few of these experts, however, had such a considerable public profile as Andersen, or expressed their views in such a variety of forums. Andersen's efforts as a publicist and an expert can be considered important in themselves, as well as typifying the ways in which Pakeha experts both engaged and to some extent moulded public opinion.

Andersen took his role as an expert very seriously. No doubt in speaking up for his Maori friends (as he had put it in one of his letters to Sir Joseph Kinsey),¹⁷⁷ Andersen was motivated by a desire to diminish widespread ignorance about the Maori displayed by many Pakeha. It was also, in biographical terms, a part of his own cultural identity. When he arrived at Buenos Aires in September 1936, as the New Zealand representative at the PEN International Conference, he was interviewed for the English language newspaper, the Buenos Aires Herald. 'Regarded as the greatest living authority on the Maori race, Mr Johannes Andersen had a few things to say about the wonderful people of whom he has made a life study', the report began. Further on it read: 'Talking of his work Mr

Andersen admitted that Maori music was his first love. He wrote a well received book on the subject covering also Polynesian music generally. Following its publication he was informed that the mantle of the Maori had fallen on his shoulders.' Again, 'He stated that the Maori had given New Zealand a very distinctive note in its literature, and literature had repaid the debt by giving the race a new lease of life. Where they had been a dying race dying out because they had lost heart, they came to realise that the white people thought them a great people, and they set to work to recover themselves with renewed confidence.'¹⁷⁸

There is an instructive comment also in a New Zealand newspaper in 1946. 'Wellington Loses/A Cultural Leader,/Johannes Andersen', was the heading for a report on Andersen's accomplishments, occasioned by a farewell dinner put on by friends before his departure to live in Auckland. 'Such is Mr Andersen's knowledge of the Maori people, their history, lore and customs that he is looked upon as a veritable tohunga by the native people who know him', reads one sentence. The report is marred by a number of inaccuracies: the Maori Purposes Fund Board becomes the 'Maori Board', the Honorary Geographic Board becomes the 'National Geographical Board', and Andersen's position as chairman of the Management Committee of the Dominion Museum is transmogrified into 'president of the National Museum Board'.¹⁷⁹ Perhaps the reporter was a tyro, or Andersen or some other informant talked rather loosely. Did Andersen call himself

a ‘veritable tohunga’? Possibly his besting of the local expert in whai up the Wanganui River in 1921 had grown to legendary proportions over the years. On the other hand, this comment about being a veritable tohunga more or less accords with what he is purported to have said to the Buenos Aires Herald in 1936. Andersen felt he had not been altogether accurately reported by the Herald, and parts of the newspaper item (which had him theorising ‘that the Maoris had the same origin as the Greeks’) suggest that some of his comments were indeed misrepresented. The phrase about the ‘greatest living authority on the Maori race’ may have been the invention of a journalist seeking superlatives to describe and distinguish yet one more out of a whole boat load of literary giants (many of the PEN representatives from Europe travelled together to Argentina on the ship Highland Brigade), or, conceivably, Andersen, far from home, stretched his claims a little. The notion that ‘the mantle of the Maori had fallen on his shoulders’ sounds like Andersen.¹⁸⁰ Perhaps he thought it a pardonable exaggeration. It is a not uncommon fantasy of European scholars to believe that they know more about the ‘natives’ than do the natives themselves.¹⁸¹ Of course, whatever he might say in Buenos Aires, Andersen knew how limited his knowledge was compared to, say, Apirana Ngata’s; he had admitted as much to Frank Milner in 1927.¹⁸² Still, in Pakeha society, he was happy to speak and write as an expert, a ‘noted authority’, or whatever phrase the chairperson introducing his speech or the journalist

reporting his lecture might use, and to use his status as an expert to persuade other Pakeha to take an interest in Maori subjects.

CHAPTER 5: PRINT, ORTHOGRAPHY, LITERATURE

‘Today I ... got proofs of one of my articles in the Maori Education book’, Andersen wrote to Joseph Kinsey on 10 October 1930. ‘[T]here’s a chance of that ... being out soon after Xmas, so that the [Teachers’ Summer] School in Jan[uar]y may see a firstfruits of its deliberations; - & I guarantee that seeing it they will want to see more. I think I shall write out, fairly fully, my lectures on Polynesian art, literature, mythology &c. - which will make a concise little volume by itself; they might incorporate with it other lectures - Marshall’s on Geology; Adams’ on Greek art; Tayler’s on Music; then they would be in permanent form; & each year they varied a new volume might be produced.’¹ Much as Andersen enjoyed lecturing, he believed that print was essential in the preservation and dissemination of knowledge. He was forever plotting ways to arrange publication of his multitudinous manuscripts, seeking patronage, institutional funds, supplying his own funds (occasionally to the extent of selling portions of his own collection of books) when all else failed, and many of his letters in pursuit of publication opportunities suggest a certain obsessiveness over such matters. (Even in his 86th year, he outlined to the wife of an old friend his plans ‘to make a vol - one more to my list of something over a score’).² But the quotation given above illustrates his enthusiasm for the spoken word to be given (in his words) ‘permanent form’,

speech otherwise being evanescent. For the organisers of the Summer Schools, the anticipated 'fruits' were the invigoration of teachers who attended the schools.³ Of course, since Andersen was a librarian he was not himself involved in education in a formal pedagogical sense. Nevertheless, it is indicative of his print-centered world that, several months after the summer school, he should consider a book to be 'a firstfruits'.⁴

Andersen was an enthusiastic participant in the production of this 'Maori Education book', Maori and Education, edited by Patrick M. Jackson. The latter noted in his Preface, 'In my editorial work I derived great assistance from Mr J. C. Andersen ... regarding almost every detail of the book. He placed his time and long editorial experience at the service of the Teachers' Summer School, for which he has acted as lecturer on Maori lore, nature study, and poetry for several years. I could always rely on his help in every way. He has written two chapters, the introduction to the book, and has drawn up the index ... I never sought his help in vain'.⁵ The editor might have added to the list of contributions by Andersen the 'Dedication', addressed to 'the Young Maori Party, in whose hearts has taken shape the destiny of their People, and in whose hands it is being fulfilled', which took the form of a double sonnet by Andersen, in his most fulsome style.⁶

Andersen's verse tribute to the Young Maori Party was a tribute especially to its two most prominent members, Sir Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck. The editor

included in Maori and Education an essay written by O.T.J. Alpers, 'The Young Maori Party', first published in the Empire Review as long ago as 1902.⁷ Among other essays which were (with a few exceptions) generally progressive and which tried (not altogether successfully) to avoid patronising attitudes, Alpers's essay is a curious fossil, though he had been some thirty years before one of the first Pakeha to understand and praise Ngata's work. Alpers had known Ngata well in student days at Canterbury College in the early 1890s.⁸ It is possible that the inclusion of Alpers's essay was an idea of Andersen's - Alpers had been his friend and teacher, too, as well as a fellow-Dane. In his Introduction to Maori and Education, Andersen notes: 'Sir Apirana himself was approached for a resume of the work of the [Young Maori] Party, but as usual and as was natural, the leader's time was fully occupied in the labour of the field leaving little time for the leisure of the study; moreover, he confessed it would mean "too much laceration of heart" - a phrase behind which lie years of struggle, much failure if more success, much bitterness or at least unhappiness, always hidden by a smiling countenance as those who know Sir Apirana can testify.'⁹ Apart from indicating that Andersen himself, perhaps together with Jackson, the editor, approached Ngata for a contribution to the volume of essays (and presumably it was Ngata's refusal which led to the inclusion of Alpers's article), this little cameo is perhaps more revealing than Andersen recognised. Ngata had more significant work to do than providing a

written contribution to a Pakeha-inspired volume, whereas for Andersen nothing was more important than getting words into print. (Ngata was then a senior cabinet minister in a government attempting to grapple with the effects of economic depression; and as Minister of Maori Affairs he was frantically busy in effecting, in particular, his land policies which would revolutionise Maori farming.)¹⁰ Andersen clearly found the phrase ‘too much laceration of heart’ memorable; but while he could divine the tribulations which Ngata ‘hid’ behind his ‘smiling countenance’, Andersen did not stop to consider whether any of his own activities and those of other Pakeha with whom he was closely associated contributed to the ‘laceration of heart’. As we shall see in the next chapter, Ngata was not entirely approving of Maori and Education.

Several of the essayists in Maori and Education discussed the question as to whether instruction of Maori children in the Native Schools (as they were then called) should be carried out in the English language or in Maori. Andersen in his Introduction notes the different views on this matter, and adds that while ‘leading Maori men of authority, like Sir Apirana Ngata ... say in public, that English should be taught, and taught thoroughly, so that the heritage of English literature might be shared by the Maori, [nevertheless] they do not say that Maori should not be taught, and that the Maori should be denied a share in the heritage of his own literature’.¹¹ Andersen went on to give examples of the adaptation and extension of the Maori

language, to 'controvert' the notion that 'the Maori language is not rich enough to express their newer life'.¹² He quoted one example from the letters, 'half in English and half in Maori', he had received from young people: '... "I thought I would just drop you these few lines of arohanui. Tena koe otira tahi ko Makitonore. I hope kanui korua teora. We are having plenty ua and waipuke up here. Tino kino nga rangi heua tonu ..."'¹³ Though Maori people had adopted into their language many English words, Andersen agreed with Herbert Williams's suggestion in the Dictionary of the Maori Language that this 'assimilation of exotic material' was 'evidence of continued vitality'. Moreover, the assimilative process was complex: for example, Andersen reported, Williams had pointed out that pukapuka, the word for book, associated the flat surface of the broad-leaved shrub of that name with the sound of 'book'; and matere, for a look-out at sea, was from 'mast-head'.¹⁴

Andersen repeated in his Introduction to Maori and Education a story he had told many times (it also indicated to readers of the Introduction his own contact with Maori): 'I have heard Dr Buck and Dr Wi Repa in out-of-the-way Te Araroa spend an evening discussing the Maori language and its ingenious adaptability. The Maori was often called on to give a name to something he had not seen before, the instance I particularly remember being a ship's cable. He knew a rope, which was taura; but the cable was not exactly a "rope"; and taura-ropi is what he called

the cable - a rope rope, which is exactly what it is.' Tokiakiha for a long-handled tomahawk, tupara for a double-barrelled gun, and tima for a ship (a steamer), were other interesting examples. He had heard a youth back from the war - probably at the Gisborne hui aroha - talk in Maori with an occasional English word: 'he spoke of a soldier being "i roto i te clink," and when he appeared before the court the result was "te utu fifty quid." It was a graphic recital.'¹⁵

Andersen in fact supported what few other Pakeha of that era advocated, that the Maori language should be taught to Maori.¹⁶ Even more unusually, he saw this instruction as enabling Maori to read printed Maori. He had been in an east coast Maori village, he recalled (once again suggesting to readers his wealth of experience), when Buck had asked questions about historical traditions, 'and not only the old men stayed in the meeting house listening and taking part, but the whole of the people, women and children too, stayed listening. The discussion was of course in Maori; and who will say that these same people would not feel an interest and an intense one in either Maori history or literature if printed and available?'¹⁷ He added to his argument mention of the material from Nepia Pohuhu, then being printed in Te Wananga, and Ngata's two Nga Moteatea volumes, 'all in the Maori tongue, and practically without English notes. Does this

not indicate an ardent desire on the part of the Maori for the preservation of the best in his literature, and to its preservation in his own tongue?’¹⁸

While the material printed in Te Wananga and Ngata’s two volumes of *Nga Moteatea* did indicate a desire on the part of Maori to preserve traditions in the Maori ‘tongue’, it did not follow that the material was collected in the expectation that Maori people would ‘feel an interest and an intense one in ... Maori history or literature if printed’. For Ngata, and for other Maori leaders of that generation, print was to serve as an aide-mémoire to oral and gestural performance, a means to an end, not an end in itself.¹⁹ Andersen did not fully understand, for example, why the Board of Maori Ethnological Research made little effort to sell copies of its publications. Purchasers had to send the correct amount of money to the Board before copies of books would be released, and Balneavis was reluctant to send out review copies. As a result, Andersen’s book on Maori String Figures sold very slowly, which dashed Andersen’s hopes for a second edition.²⁰ But the Board’s publications were in one Maori perspective not simply printed papers: they were repositories of traditional knowledge that did not become outdated with the effluxion of time. Thus, there was no pressure to clear out stock, for the books were not only an asset in the commercial sense, but a cultural asset. In time the books would be used to enhance cultural expression.

Andersen, for his part, saw books as cultural expressions in themselves; indeed literature for Andersen ranked with the fine arts and music as the highest forms of cultural expression. No ritual or protocol, in his view, interposed between the book and the reader (though in strict fact there was an intricate series of protocols surrounding access to books in the Turnbull Library).²¹ Much of his knowledge was derived from books, and he expected his own books to disseminate knowledge. (Andersen's Maori String Figures had been carefully written so that a novice could, following the instructions, construct the whai he had recorded.)²² While he accepted that experts could assist readers to draw knowledge from books, just as Professor J. M. Brown had helped him to understand parts of English literature, readers were free to derive whatsoever they could from the printed text. And Andersen greatly appreciated books which were equipped with aids for the reader - like the explanatory footnotes to Shakespeare's plays. Andersen's Maori Life in Ao-tea, of course, had been designed to assist the reader through its variegated typography and its extensive indexes and inventories. As far as possible, books should be 'self-contained', and the material on the printed pages should be accessible to all readers.

Eventually, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, Andersen's logocentric and textual view of the world manifestly conflicted with Maori perceptions of the social and cultural role of printed materials. This chapter elaborates several of the

concerns Andersen expressed in his introduction to Maori and Education, as outlined above, especially his enthusiasm for recording his knowledge of Maori subjects in textual form, his interest in the relationships between the Maori language and English, and his belief that Maori (and Polynesian) traditions when rendered into print would be recognised (from the European perspective) as literature. The chapter briefly lists Andersen's most substantial writings on Maori subjects, and describes his efforts to illustrate and decorate (or 'Maorify') these publications, then details the development of his orthographic interests, and his aspirations and his motives for the publication of a bilingual Polynesian literature.

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When he arrived in Wellington in 1915, Andersen had published two books on Maori subjects, the bulky Maori Life in Ao-tea (1907), and the slight Maori Fairy Tales (1908).²³ His considerable manuscript on the place names of Canterbury had been promised publication by the government, and a substantial part of it was eventually published by the Board of Science and Art as Place-names of Banks Peninsula in 1927.²⁴ Into Banks Peninsula he incorporated a good deal

of information on Maori place names, including what he had gathered during his visit to the Land Court at Kaiapoi in 1908, but much of the detail on Maori names was drawn from published books and articles.²⁵ He also brought with him to Wellington his notes on birdsong, to be greatly expanded in the next few years by observations of birds around Wellington and on Kapiti Island. As well as extending his published series on birdsong in the Transactions, he fashioned the material into more concentrated form for a book on the subject, adding to the birdsong information other relevant natural history details. In Wellington, he had been introduced to H. M. Stowell, who used the name Hare Hongi to emphasize his bicultural and bilingual background.²⁶ Through conversation and correspondence with Hare Hongi, Andersen acquired much Maori lore about birds, which he incorporated into his book, sometimes virtually verbatim, splicing passages from Hare Hongi's letters into his manuscript.²⁷ Publication of the birdsong book threatened to be of prohibitive cost for Andersen's pocket, partly because he wished to include a number of photographs, primarily because of the expense of including musical annotation within the text. Since the book contained Maori matter, Andersen, always willing to try any avenue to facilitate publication of his manuscripts, approached the newly established Board of Maori Ethnological Research, and, specifically, H.R.H. Balneavis and Ngata.²⁸

Balneavis, secretary to the Board, was sympathetic but, as he told Elsdon Best, to whom he forwarded Andersen's typescript for a second opinion, 'I hardly think that, under its regulations, the Board could undertake the publication of this work as apparently it is not ethnological.' However, Best was invited to express his opinions, as the Board might be able to assist by the purchase of a number of copies for its own purposes.²⁹ Best was enthusiastic: 'I must say that it is a marvel of patient and painstaking research I certainly think that this paper well deserves cold print, but - it is essentially a natural history subject. The Board is, I believe, empowered to spend certain monies in the recording of Maori ethnological matter - Can it divert a portion to the printing of natural history matter? Judge [R. N.] Jones would, no doubt, explain this point.' Two statements by Stowell among those which Andersen had included Best could not agree with.³⁰ Balneavis passed on to Andersen Best's corrections of Hare Hongi (for which Andersen was grateful), and the decision that although the Board could not publish the work, since it was bound by its regulations, it would purchase 40 copies.³¹ Andersen published the material as Bird-song and New Zealand Song Birds in 1926 through Whitcombe and Tombs, partly financing the project by subscriptions. Of 500 copies printed, 252 were taken by subscription before publication, and thus the 40

taken by the Board (for a sum of £42.0s.0d.) made up a substantial portion of the subscription list.³²

Bird-song and New Zealand Song Birds may therefore be seen as significant in two ways: first, it illustrates Andersen's tendency to incorporate Maori subject matter (in this case a substantial amount) in books which were basically or ostensibly about other subjects;³³ and secondly, it demonstrates his willingness to exploit, or attempt to exploit, any opportunity for publication, even though in this case the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, as he must have realized, had been set up for rather more specific purposes.

Two of Andersen's other books which appeared in the later 1920s contained minor amounts of Maori subject matter: one brief story in New Zealand Tales (1927) was an embroidered re-telling, in the style of a fairy story, of the legend often referred to as Rona and the moon;³⁴ and two short passages in The Laws of Verse (1928), a highly technical book on English prosody, refer to Maori dance and song as evidence for evolutionary stages in the development of prosody.³⁵ Except for a few names of flora and fauna, there is no Maori content in the verse collection, The Elfin Dell (1934), probably because it was designed as an entry for the King's Gold Medal in poetry, although other verse, including much with Maori subjects, was announced for publication at the end of Elfin Dell.³⁶ With these exceptions, most of Andersen's books of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, and his

larger contributions to edited volumes, were on Maori subjects: Maori Tales (1924),³⁷ Myths & Legends of the Polynesians (1928), Maori Music (1934), Tura and the Fairies (1936), Maori Place-names (1942), Polynesian Literature (1946), The Maori Tohunga (1948).³⁸ The Mair Family, which did not appear until 1956, and then was given its final form by Andersen's co-author, George Petersen, perhaps belongs to the listing as well, since Andersen had considered the project since the 1920s, and began systematic research and writing for it in the later 1940s.³⁹ He contributed essays on Maori religion and the responses of Maori to Pakeha religion to the New Zealand volume of the Cambridge History of the British Empire (1933), to Maori and Education (1931), to Lady Newall's Gift Book (1943), and to Polynesian Anthropological Studies (1941);⁴⁰ a second chapter in Maori and Education was on 'Polynesian Literature';⁴¹ and his three essays in A History of Printing in New Zealand (1940) were all in various ways about Maori and printing.⁴² To this catalogue may be added many less weighty efforts: newspaper articles, reviews and editorial annotations in the Polynesian Society Journal, articles for periodicals such as Art in New Zealand; introductions or forewords to books by other people;⁴³ and articles, pamphlets and books on subjects other than Maori but which made reference to Maori subjects, such as Place-names in New Zealand (1934), and The Lure of New Zealand Book Collecting (1936), which included essays on John White and his Ancient History of

the Maori and on the bibliographic history of the early missionaries, Thomas Kendall and William Yate.⁴⁴ Andersen's published writings, then, very much emphasized Maori subjects. In addition, he had prepared for publication other works (printed prospectuses were issued for 'Kapiti' and 'The Maori Helicon', the latter verse, the former containing the history of Maori in the Kapiti district) which never got as far as the printed page.⁴⁵

Leaving aside minor publications, and his writing which appeared in more ephemeral vehicles such as newspapers, the means by which Andersen was enabled to appear in print are instructive. He was invited to make his contributions to the Cambridge History, the History of Printing, and Lady Newall's Gift Book (the latter a patriotic project by PEN, the literary organisation, during the Second World War). No doubt he was also invited to contribute to Maori and Education; but the numerous items by Andersen included in that volume (no one else had more than a single contribution) suggest that he used his opportunity to assist the editor to his own very good advantage. Polynesian Anthropological Studies was a Polynesian Society reprint, in a single volume, of the special centennial articles which had appeared in the augmented issues of the Journal in 1940: the initial appearance of 'Maori Religion' in the December 1940 Journal and its republication in the memoir volume, was arranged by Andersen himself as editor. Maori Place-names, like Polynesian Anthropological Studies, was financed in part by the Government's

contribution to the costs of producing extra memoirs on the occasion of the centennial. Maori Music began as a memoir supplement in the Society's Journal.⁴⁶ After several instalments it was discontinued in the Journal and published forthwith as a complete volume to save costs and, it was hoped, to generate income for the society through the earlier-than-anticipated sale of the separate volume.⁴⁷ Maori Music was therefore funded by grants from the Maori Board, from the annual subscriptions of Polynesian Society members, and, indirectly, by previous grants from the Internal Affairs Department.⁴⁸ Place-names in New Zealand was partly paid for by the Polynesian Society as well, since it was issued as a 'reprint', though it had not appeared in the Journal.⁴⁹ Tura and the Fairies, Polynesian Literature, and The Maori Tohunga, and possibly Maori Tales also, were to varying extents financed by Andersen himself.⁵⁰ Myths & Legends was commissioned by the English publisher, George Harrap, to form part of a popular series on mythology produced by that publisher: Andersen received a £200 fee for Myths & Legends.⁵¹

Though Maori funds, from the Board of Maori Ethnological Research and the Maori Purposes Fund Board, made possible several of Andersen's publications issued under the auspices of the Polynesian Society (including as well as books the Journal itself), only one of his published works which wholly or partly comprised Maori subject matter was explicitly authorized by Maori spokespersons or their nominees - the exception, of course, being Maori String Figures, discussed in an

earlier chapter. It might be argued that there was an implicit approval given to material in the Journal, and possibly to Maori Music, since the Maori Purposes Fund Board (of which Andersen himself was a member) regularly, if at times belatedly, handed over to the Polynesian Society annual grants as a publication subsidy, but this is a tenuous proposition. Perhaps Andersen regarded occasional praise from Buck (in Hawaii) and Ngata for his efforts with the Journal as a proverbial nod. At any rate, he does not indicate that he ever had any qualms about objectivising Maori culture and society in print, whether in verse or prose. This may be contrasted with Andersen's irritation over authors who did not formally acknowledge the Alexander Turnbull Library as a source of information for their books; he had some harsh comments to make about James Cowan in particular in this regard.⁵²

Moreover, Andersen sought to 'Maorify' several of his publications through commissioning pictorial matter to accompany his text, or by decorating books with Maori motifs. On several occasions, he had tried to inspire artists by commissioning them to make illustrations for his own books. 'Regarding the matter of illustrations, what do you propose?' asked A. W. Shrimpton, editor for Whitcombe and Tombs, of Maori Tales, which was to be published for the school market. Shrimpton advised eight pictures, and added that though half-tones were more effective, they were dearer than line blocks. Colour on the cover would help

‘for sale purposes’, but it would be expensive. ‘An artist who can do good work under supervision’, Shrimpton suggested, ‘is Mr A. H. Messenger’.⁵³ Messenger, a draughtsman living in Wellington and working for the New Zealand Forest Service, did much occasional work illustrating books: he had recently completed illustrations for the first volume of James Cowan’s The New Zealand Wars (1922).⁵⁴

When the drawings by Messenger were sent to Christchurch, Shrimpton did not altogether approve: ‘it is strange how few artists seem to be able to capture the indefinable something that stamps a Maori’, he commented to Andersen.⁵⁵ He did not reject Messenger’s work on that score as he knew ‘only too well’ how difficult it was to get that quality, but he returned ‘four pictures that are flagrantly nude as unsuitable for a children’s story book. Please get the artist to overcome the difficulty in any suitable manner.’⁵⁶ Either Messenger redrew the pictures, or he clothed the naked features with enough ink to satisfy the publishers - perhaps by addition of clothing or long hair.⁵⁷ The cover illustration for Maori Tales has a Maori man inviting two Pakeha children to look through a pare, or carved lintel, at the supposedly traditional Maori life beyond: a steaming volcano, ferns, whare, a Maori woman holding what is perhaps the frond of a tree fern, while two weka (or kiwi) flank her, and a pukeko struts across the foreground - an odd assemblage of subjects perhaps, but designed to constitute what Pakeha might consider as ‘Maori

New Zealand'.⁵⁸ The other drawings are all more or less naturalistic. Whether Andersen provided the 'supervision' of Messenger recommended by Shrimpton is not known. However, he told Joseph Kinsey in 1929 that both Maori Fairy Tales (1908) and Maori Tales were written 'to get someone to try the illustrating' - that is, the texts were to inspire artists - 'but without much success'.⁵⁹ 'I'm not proud of the illustrations', he admitted on a later occasion: 'too wooden'.⁶⁰

Expense had ruled out the coloured cover for Maori Tales that Shrimpton had wanted 'for sale purposes'; but pictures in colour formed part of the original agreement for Myths & Legends of the Polynesians. 'With regard to illustrations', George Harrap wrote to Andersen, 'we are prepared to accept sixteen pictures in colours for reproduction Upright pictures are generally preferred. For these we would pay five guineas each.'⁶¹ Coloured plates were a regular feature in Harrap's 'Myths and Legends' series, some of them reproductions of notable works of art. Here was another opportunity for Andersen to encourage a local artist to draw inspiration from the myths of the south seas, with the added incentive of publication in colour by a major British firm.

Andersen turned first to James McDonald - companion on ethnological expeditions, an established artist, knowledgeable about the Maori, and, across the road at the Museum, handily placed for consultation. McDonald apparently agreed

to perform the work, and Andersen so informed Harrap,⁶² but McDonald had too many other duties, and when after several months he had been unable to begin the pictures, 'he confessed he couldn't do it'.⁶³ By January 1925 Andersen had made a new arrangement with 'a Christchurch friend who is excellent at composition and very versatile'.⁶⁴ This was Richard Wallwork.

Wallwork had just returned from a year in England, his own country, after fourteen years in New Zealand. 'Many thanks for your letter', he wrote in reply to Andersen, 'with its kind remembrance of my imagination. I should like the task very much'.⁶⁵ He was concerned only that his original paintings might eventually be returned.⁶⁶ It is not clear whether he or Andersen chose the incidents to be illustrated, but there was a good deal of consultation, both by letters and in person - Wallwork visited Andersen once in Wellington, and Andersen went twice to Christchurch.⁶⁷ Wallwork had many questions about detail (McDonald's ethnographic knowledge would have been appropriate here): 'I am a bit in doubt about some items such as characteristic hair dressing and such like - also apparrell. [sic] The modern is not (I suppose) an equivalent in all cases of the ancient?' To help in these matters Andersen posted etchings and photographs to the artist.⁶⁸ Wallwork had references to, and probably extracts from, the typescript: he sought to depict dramatic moments, but in consonance with 'before' and 'after' aspects of the particular story. 'I have been working on the Palisades one today', he reported

to Andersen; ‘- where is [W]aipapa?’⁶⁹ I have made Tahua a slim youthful figure, he looks built for speed an[d] nimbleness, he is very small in the drawing but shows up fairly distinctly being right in the centre both ways and is seen against a low clay cliff. The sort of cliff one sees at Hampden where the Moeraki boulders are. The sketch contains many men - who look as though they want his blood, two canoes pulled up onto the beach ... and if it is on the east coast it is looking south, if on the west coast it is looking north. I am assuming he intends to travel north away from the canoes as there are some dots of figures by the canoes!’⁷⁰

Harrap was happy with the pictures: ‘The 16 coloured pictures are quite excellent’, he told Andersen, ‘and they certainly give one the impression of sunlit climes in which people such as the Polynesians must have lived It is good to feel assured that we shall not be reproached with numberless mistakes in detail which would no doubt have been the case had the illustrations been made here.’⁷¹ He agreed to pay Wallwork a little extra beyond the standard fee of five guineas a picture - £100 instead of £80.⁷² Andersen replied that he was pleased Harrap ‘thought well of my friend’s pictures. He is good at colour, and the farewell of Veetini, for instance, and the Dancing of the Fishes by Moonlight, and Pele and the Anger of Fire, appeal to me very much indeed. For expression, I think Rukutia returning to life a gem; her Maori face is excellent.’⁷³

Were Wallwork's pictures what Andersen had in mind when he exhorted local artists to utilize Polynesian myths? A letter to Kinsey in 1927 would suggest so: he himself was looking forward to the publication of Myths & Legends of the Polynesians, wrote Andersen, 'more than I've looked forward to any of my books; for I was so many years, when in Chch., trying to get them to do coloured pictures of the Maori mythology, & the artists poohpoohed the idea; nothing artistic in it; - there's something artistic in pretty well everything on earth - if you're artist enough to see it; & Wallwork will prove that in these pictures of his'.⁷⁴ Some time later Andersen conflated two of the newspaper articles he had published in Christchurch, 'The Maori in Art' (1908) and 'Maori Myths and Maori Art' (1909), into a single typescript, probably to use for yet another lecture to an audience of artists who he hoped would take up Maori mythology as a subject. From the sentence which in the 1909 article had read, 'When, therefore, we see an artist representing Maui as a fisher in a canoe, hauling from the ocean a huge object, roughly representing a submerged North Island, we may be sure that the artist has for once lost his artist sense, and has perceived only the externals of the legend', he deleted the last phrase and substituted, 'or is making a concession to the popular as R. Wallwork did in "Myths & Legends of the Polynesians"'.⁷⁵ Wallwork's 'Maui' hauls up the Land' was 'a concession to the popular', and therefore not altogether what Andersen had in mind for that particular tableau. Probably he hankered after the detailed

didacticisms of Sir Frederic Leighton, whose work he had at the beginning of his crusade for New Zealand artists to depict Maori subjects suggested as exemplary.⁷⁶

Still, Andersen never ironed out possible inconsistencies in his views on painting the Maori. On his visit to New Zealand, George Harrap had seen in the Auckland Art Gallery several of the major 'historical' canvases by C. Goldie and L. J. Steele, Kennett Watkins, the Wright brothers, and G. Lindauer: these, he told Andersen, would be attractive illustrations for the books, even in monotone reproduction.⁷⁷ Andersen protested to Harrap that Goldie and Steele's 'Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand' especially was imaginary and unreliable.⁷⁸ Harrap remained enthusiastic, but Andersen eliminated that picture from his final selection of black-and-white illustrations for Myths & Legends: 'I have not included the picture you saw in Auckland "The Coming of the Maori", with the gaunt, famished figures, - because that is a purely imaginary picture; we have no record of such a happening: the Maori knew where he was coming and came'. Though he did not say so directly, Andersen possibly felt the Goldie and Steele painting undermined the purposive voyaging orthodoxy. He was not entirely keen on some of the others Harrap had seen. 'I have included the Maori making fire," [by Lindauer] though both figures are too fat, the hair is wrong (the man's should be long and the woman's short[])] and [they] should not be wearing their good cloaks.'⁷⁹ Another

picture by Lindauer was included in Andersen's list of illustrations sent to Harrap but did not appear in the published work.⁸⁰

Thus, for Andersen, as indeed for others, Maori could be by turns pictorially 'accurate' (according to Pakeha notions of what was accurate), or raised to the realms of higher art without regard to ethnographic criteria: in any case, Maori were depicted in various fashions to provide whatever images Pakeha wished to project upon them. While Rukutia's face may have well been reminiscent of Maori physiognomy, other Polynesians in the paintings by Wallwork which were published in Myths & Legends have a variety of physiques and facial features; and in 'The Parting of the Moon-Goddess and the Mortal', the Moon-Goddess affects the cropped hair-style of the bright young things of the 1920s in Europe (with the suggestion of a translucent party frock as well), while the Mortal is notably flaxen-haired.⁸¹ Even so, perhaps partly as a consequence of his commission for Andersen's book (though other artists of the period also painted Maori subjects), Wallwork went on to paint in the early 1930s 'Birth of an Island - Maui's Fishing'.⁸² Moreover, several of the pictures for Myths & Legends had a second showing: George Harrap later used them (not in colour) for another of his publications, Legends and Mysteries of the Maori, by Charles Wilson.⁸³

Many years later, Andersen commissioned illustrations for The Maori Tohunga (1948), from Olive Lloyd, one of the daughters of Trevor Lloyd, a notable

artist and cartoonist who had illustrated Andersen's first 'Maori' stories in the New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, and who (as we will see below) was to decorate the jacket of another of his books. Two appear in the text, one with a Rarotongan story, the other with the tale Andersen acquired from W. J. Elvy, 'The Wairua of Anatohia Bay'; the figures in the second are recognisably Maori.⁸⁴ Though both illustrations appear to be very rough-and-ready sketches, Andersen included them in Maori Tohunga, so he must have regarded them as satisfactory, even if not exemplary. Olive Lloyd's illustration for the dust-jacket, repeated on the endpapers, was more careful and substantial, depicting an episode from 'The trance of Arii-paea-vahine', a Tahitian tale, hence no doubt the palms and the low-lying land, though the canoe has stern and prow carvings which appear Maori. This painting was printed in green, brown and red on white.⁸⁵ Lloyd lettered the title in a manner a little reminiscent of the style her father had used for Maori Music.⁸⁶ The dustjacket is effective; but Lloyd's painting exhibits none of the sublime qualities which Andersen forty years before had envisaged artists would evoke in their depictions of Polynesian mythology.

Though the 'Maori Helicon' was not published, some of the illustrations prepared for it appeared in the substantial prospectus which was issued in 1930. 'Having decided to publish the book', reads the prospectus from Fine Arts (N.Z.) Ltd, 'conferences were held with the author concerning the format, and it was

thought that illustrations would be necessary.’⁸⁷ Given his persistent advocacy of art based on Polynesian mythology, the idea of including illustrations may well have been Andersen’s. Christopher Perkins was drawn into the project: he was the man of the moment in Wellington art circles, and he was probably as happy to earn some money as Fine Arts were to have a name of some weight and notability (even notoriety) attached to the publication.

Perkins, an Englishman, had arrived in Wellington with his family in 1929 to be ‘Art Instructor in Life Drawing and Painting’ at the Technical College.⁸⁸ His lifestyle was fairly unconventional, and his views on art (or Art) were somewhat iconoclastic for most New Zealanders, even for the experienced members of the Academy of Fine Arts.⁸⁹ His early sketches of Wellington are full of vigour and humour, though to New Zealanders they may have seemed like caricature, almost mocking: ‘New Zealanders Out Shopping at D.I.C.’ has on the sofas among the potted palms women who might have attended the Lyceum Club with Catherine Andersen, Johannes Andersen’s wife.⁹⁰ In the summer of 1929-30 Perkins and his family motored through much of the North Island. His daughter, Jane Garrett, has recorded that Rotorua ‘was the place that really drew him, even before he had been there’. When they had visited the model Maori village at Whakarewarewa and were about to tour the thermal wonders, ‘Da handed Mamma the entrance money and announced that he did not particularly want to see the boiling pools; he

would rather go round the village again and have a closer look at it.' It was his 'first real contact with the Maoris'; at Rotorua, his daughter thought, 'he must have become aware of them for the first time as a people with their own culture and traditions'.⁹¹ This was what Perkins had hoped to find in New Zealand, 'an exotic people, blessed with a rich, romantic tradition and folklore'.⁹²

Although Jane Garrett suggests it was his experience at Rotorua in the summer of 1929-30 that led Perkins to accept 'with enthusiasm' the invitation to illustrate 'The Maori Helicon',⁹³ it seems that the sequence of events was otherwise. In October 1929, Andersen reported that 'they' (unspecified) were 'going ahead with the decorations for the title-pages'.⁹⁴ By December he had seen 'several designs for the illustrations', not all to his liking, 'but today came one for the end-papers; a tattooed face, painted on blue, which gives the black a bronzy-brown effect. It looks most striking; not "loud" though "bold"; if other illustrations come up to it, and they are promising, it will be a distinctively N.Z. production'.⁹⁵ On 19 December he saw more of the designs: 'they will be original & striking; & ... the Maori Helicon, will strike a real N.Z. note'.⁹⁶

Jane Garrett says her father spent many hours in the Dominion Museum 'and made himself familiar with Maori folklore while engaged on the illustrations'.⁹⁷ Perhaps this was during the latter months of 1929, and Andersen's concern about the appropriateness of some of the initial results may have prompted

the Perkins family holiday in the summer of 1929-30. Jane's feeling that her father was eager to get to Rotorua was probably because Andersen told him it was one of the places where he could imbibe the authentic atmosphere, possibly see the Arts and Crafts school, where he could observe carving in progress, not just as an ethnological relic in a museum. Of course, Rotorua was also a tourist 'spa'. At any rate Perkins went to Rotorua with the 'Helicon' in mind: 'the artist', wrote Andersen towards the end of January 1930, 'is still at Rotorua gathering impressions for the illustrations'.⁹⁸

In the published prospectus for the 'Helicon' a letter from Perkins to the Directors is printed. It is undated: it may have been written either before or after the visit to Rotorua. Perkins did not intend to depict the legends in a representational manner: to translate the poet's ideas 'literally into a graphic form would lead to a second-hand creation, unsatisfactory for the artist (because he could not use his own experiences) and annoying to the reader (because the word form of a poem is complete in itself)'. His drawings, therefore, were 'no attempt at "story illustration" but a footnote or glossary'. He let the forms of the carvings he looked at speak to him 'in the language of form' and when poem and carving 'seemed to express parallel ideas' he 'drew the carving'.⁹⁹

The prospectus indicates that this proposal was not to the liking of someone; the letter 'caused great heartburnings, and the search for another

illustrator was about to be commenced'; but Perkins's illustrations arrived and convinced whoever it was that needed convincing.¹⁰⁰ Andersen's earlier publications had been illustrated in a more or less representational manner; and he may have felt that more precise depiction would have supplemented the verse very usefully - for though he would hardly have admitted that his verse obscured the myths which they were intended to convey, he may have expected pictures to carry some of the burden of telling the tale. After all, he had not liked Dittmer's versions,¹⁰¹ whereas Wallwork's representational illustrations had appealed to him as very appropriate. The few specimen pages of the prospectus suggest that Perkins's art was likely to be a great deal more arresting than the text; and perhaps Andersen was worried by the power and vigour Perkins expressed - the three illustrations in the prospectus indicate the impact that the full thirty or so would have had in a book of verse of about 175 pages.¹⁰² Certainly Andersen was not entirely captivated by the art: 'some of the illustrations are good', he wrote to Kinsey, 'but I think I should have preferred it unillustrated, & we may issue an unillustrated edition'. But he liked the endpaper design.¹⁰³

It is not possible to guess at the influence, if any, that Andersen had upon Perkins. The Englishman had hoped to find in New Zealand a 'temperate Tahiti' and would eventually in any case have arrived at Rotorua, or somewhere else, and

found his 'Tahiti' or a suitable alternative.¹⁰⁴ The commission for the 'Maori Helicon' may have hastened his search for local subjects beyond everyday scenes in Wellington. Perhaps the contrived world of Andersen's verse and the carvings in the Dominion Museum allowed Perkins to get the invented and distorted Other out of his system so that he could confront contemporary experience, Maori people, and his reactions to them more directly - that is, the 'Maori Helicon' may have hastened his rejection of the artificial Maori created by Pakeha for Pakeha purposes. Perkins's later Maori portraits and allegorical scenes, work which was liberating for some local artists and was significant local art in itself, was quite different to his work for the 'Helicon'. Andersen and Perkins did meet, but we do not know how often, or whether the meetings were congenial: in September 1930, when it seemed that the 'Helicon' would be produced very shortly, Andersen told Kinsey: 'I saw Perkins, & he will be pleased to sign the endpaper for you.'¹⁰⁵ Jane Garrett does not hint at any entry by Andersen into the Perkins family circle, and there was no further collaboration.

While he may not have entirely approved of Perkins's nonrepresentational work for the 'Helicon', Andersen liked his books which were substantially on Maori subjects to include Maori decorative motifs, especially on the cover, jacket, or endpapers.¹⁰⁶ He was by no means singular in his preferences on this matter, and such a practice, reasonably common throughout the twentieth century, is still in

evidence in the 1990s. The heitiki on the spine, and the collage of pare, canoe, cloak, taiaha and tewhatewha on the front cover of Maori Life in Ao-tea may have been the publisher's exercise. Maori String Figures had a cover which Andersen pronounced, in a rare understatement, as 'very attractive': ¹⁰⁷ it was what is now the recognisably standard cover of the publications of the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, but then unusual and arresting (Andersen's book was No.2 of the Board's Memoir series but it appeared before No.1, by Peter Buck) - red cloth, black lettering, and, running horizontally right round the cover, a rafter pattern in red, white and black, 6 cm deep.¹⁰⁸ This may have been the genesis of the similar (but different) rafter (or kowhaiwhai) pattern, in white, grey and pink, which is repeated on the front and back endpapers of Tura and the Fairies (1936).¹⁰⁹ The oblong design in red, white and black on the cover of Polynesian Literature (1946) is also a 'panel' motif, reversed and repeated, in traditional colours.¹¹⁰ Maori Place-names (1942) was perhaps not decorated because of wartime conditions; the dustjacket clumsily divides an outline of New Zealand into culture areas, an archaeologist's (indeed, Skinnerian) perspective, and it was neither chosen nor approved by Andersen.¹¹¹

Maori Music, on the other hand, was extensively decorated. Andersen (or perhaps Avery and Sons) arranged for Stuart Petersen to design the cover, but

Petersen, whose drawings of Maori subjects had been much praised,¹¹² delayed making a start so long that Andersen asked Trevor Lloyd to try his hand.¹¹³ Lloyd's design used red, white and black for the title and for a background pattern which was not Maori but insinuated that it was. What made the cover outstanding was the diagonally placed drawing of a putorino, quite 'life-like', as Andersen commented.¹¹⁴ The design was printed on paper, and glued in a recess stamped in the front cloth cover; and it was repeated on the front and back endpapers. In addition, there was a special half-title page, and a 'tailpiece' at the end of the book.¹¹⁵ The half-title showed a delicately-carved pare, with coloured lettering by Lloyd. Originally the 'tailpiece' was to have been from a nineteenth century sketch by William Strutt, two Maori girls 'with flying hair' in a canoe shooting a wave, a picture of rhythm, to Andersen's mind, and therefore relevant to Maori music.¹¹⁶ This notion was dropped in favour of a variation on the half-title: inside another detailed pare, Lloyd's calligraphy posed the question, 'Ma wai e whakatutuki', meaning, roughly, who will see the task to its end, or who will collect the rest of the information?¹¹⁷ (The answer came in the late 1950s when the ethnomusicologist Mervyn McLean began his study.)

If it was difficult to obtain suitable illustrations to depict Maori, Andersen also discovered that representing the Maori language in print was not a straightforward matter either. He was probably not fully conscious of these questions before he moved to Wellington and had regular contact with Elsdon Best, though the typographical variety he had incorporated into the text of Maori Life in Ao-tea suggests some sensitivity to the appearance of the printed page,¹¹⁸ and his work on place names in Canterbury, Maori and English nomenclature alike, had indicated to him the orthographic complexities which could arise: the use of the southern Maori 'k' for the northern 'ng', so that Waitaki was the same word as Waitangi; the corruption of Te Ruahine to Truini; the myriad spellings of 'Hikurangi' as Akolaki, Eckelacke, Eckelacky, Ekelacke, Ekelaki, Hikuraki, Icallackay, Icollackey, and so on; the 'linguistic puzzle' of Goashore, probably derived from kohua, taking many forms, including Ihoa, Ihowa, Kaohoa, Oahoa, Oahua, Oashore, and several other variations.¹¹⁹

What Andersen acquired from Best, either through his articles or in conversation, or - most likely - both, was an object lesson in the false trails which might result from orthographic error. The Maori name for Wellington harbour had been recorded as Wanga nui atra, Wangenu eatera, Whanga nua atera, Wangi Nui Atra, Whanganuitera, and Whanganuiatera. Broken into constituent words by

hyphenation, as Whanga-nui-a-te-ra, the ‘translation’ or ‘meaning’ was customarily given as Great Bay of the Sun, which seemed poetic enough. In a series of articles in the Polynesian Society Journal between 1917 and 1919, dealing with the traditional history of Wellington harbour, and collected together as a book in 1919, Best established that the final two syllables were not ‘te-ra’ but ‘tara’, and that Tara was a proper name, the name of the ancestor who discovered the harbour, hence the title of Best’s book, The Land of Tara. The correct form, then, was Whanganui-a-tara.¹²⁰ It was an example which Andersen repeated many times in print, in lectures, in letters. Best, always sceptical of the claims of earlier ‘experts’, was able to show Andersen how other similar mistakes had been perpetrated.

The second major influence was Herbert Williams. He had published ‘A Plea for the Scientific Study of Maori Names’ in the Transactions of 1913, and Andersen had corresponded with him.¹²¹ Williams, a friend of Alexander Turnbull, maintained a close watch on the welfare of the Library after Turnbull’s death, and upon the work and welfare of the Librarian.¹²² An Anglican clergyman, he was like his father and grandfather before him an authority upon the Maori language, and prepared a fifth edition of the authoritative Dictionary of the Maori Language, which was published in 1917. In his Preface, Herbert Williams included a passage critical of John White’s ‘unpardonable recklessness’ in the

Maori language versions of the Ancient History of the Maori;¹²³ and in conversation and correspondence with Andersen over the years, Williams demonstrated White's sometimes cavalier treatment of sources and grammatical forms, and his orthographic inconsistencies. Williams, engaged in compiling a bibliography of printed Maori,¹²⁴ also stimulated Andersen's interest in the historical circumstances under which the spoken Maori language had initially been given written and printed form.

Andersen already had a keen interest in the relationship between spoken and printed English through his prosody studies; and his knowledge of printing styles and fashions, and of orthographic changes over several centuries, had been dramatically increased through his exposure to the immense variety of material in the Turnbull Library.¹²⁵ In addition, his own work in natural history had raised some orthographic issues. Quite apart from what he regarded as the ugliness of polysyllabic terms, he found it difficult to keep up-to-date with revisions in the Linnaean binominal nomenclature by which species were identified. The solution, he felt, was to leave scientific nomenclature to the scientists, and to develop a consistent popular terminology. The literature, however, was not altogether helpful: many native plants had been given several different popular names, which was confusing, and some had been given what he felt were entirely inappropriate popular names. It was for such reasons that scientists used the unambiguous (if

frequently revised) Linnaean system. Andersen, on the other hand, drew up a schedule of popular names, and either nominated a preferred term, or, in default of anything poetic, memorable, or appropriate, invented one. He also grappled with the usage of hyphens, seeking a rule of thumb which could be generally applied. His classifications, together with his considered judgments on the principles of hyphenation, were published in the *Transactions* as 'Popular names of New Zealand plants';¹²⁶ he sent a copy to the editors of the Oxford English Dictionary, drawing their attention to the question of hyphenation. Later he reported that the system of hyphenation adopted by Oxford was the same as his - that the editors of the O.E.D. had, in fact, promulgated the principles he had established.¹²⁷ As editor of the Transactions from 1920, to give another example, Andersen had replaced roman numerals by arabic, and the occasional diæresis with a double-consonant.¹²⁸

In short, Andersen was, by precept and practice, a language reformer, seeking to establish consistency and simplicity in English; and in a sense he merely extended this general concern to the Maori language as well. As joint-editor of the Polynesian Society Journal from 1925, and as the editor with greatest responsibility for superintending the transformation of manuscript into print, Andersen was faced with frequent questions about appropriate typographical style. On questions of strict usage, he was, of course, guided by Best. There were in

addition the Journal conventions established by Percy Smith since 1891. But Andersen also interested himself in the subject to which Williams had recently introduced him, the debates about the orthography of the Maori language which had exercised the linguists and the missionaries in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Turnbull Library contained a high proportion of works printed in Maori, and several of the earliest examples, so that Andersen could follow on the printed pages as well as in the commentaries to the published grammars the evolution of the orthography of the Maori language.¹²⁹

In 1928 he ventured his first published comments on the orthography of the Maori language. The circumstances are explained in a letter to Herbert Williams.

Sir Frederick Chapman had in his possession some MS. diaries or copies of diaries of a young naval man named McCrae, who came to New Zealand at the same time as Cruise, who wrote "A Journal of a Ten Months Residence in New Zealand", published in 1823. As these diaries contain notes of considerable interest, and any observations in such early days by men of reliability are valuable, I thought it worth while getting these notes together to issue as a bulletin of the [Turnbull] library. As there are many names, spelt outrageously but consistently, I thought it better to make a few observations on the orthography, but could not let it go without first submitting it to you It is I know somewhat

presumptuous of me to say anything at all on the subject of the orthography, but as the matter will emanate from the library ... it seems natural that I should say something

Williams duly made careful amplifications, most of which Andersen added to or incorporated within his short article, 'Notes on the Maori Names'.¹³⁰

The 'Notes' for the bulletin of 1928 proved to be but a start to Andersen's interest in the history and principles of writing and printing the Maori language. He was no doubt interested in the topic as an intellectual puzzle of the kind he found entertaining as well as instructive, like his studies in prosody.¹³¹ But the topic intersected with several other concerns. The Geographic Board's attempts to discover the correct forms of Maori place names often required a careful consideration of how the names had been spelled, or misspelled, in maps and books. Andersen did a good deal of this detective work,¹³² consulting with Best and Williams about the finer points of usage and grammar. His research into the history of New Zealand in the first half of the nineteenth century (for his projected publication on Kapiti, for his contribution to the Cambridge History of the British Empire, for his share of a general history of New Zealand which was to be written with Nellie Coad, and for his radio talks on such topics as the Jean Bart affair in the Chatham Islands) widened and deepened his knowledge of the early sources with

their orthographic variations and inconsistencies.¹³³ He also had to make regular editorial decisions about orthography in the Polynesian Society Journal: Europeans (usually missionaries) who set orthographic patterns for other Polynesian languages had sometimes used or prescribed practices which diverged from those established in New Zealand. While Andersen probably preferred the New Zealand system simply because he was used to it, and understood its principles, he tried to demonstrate, for his own satisfaction and to convert others to his point of view, that the New Zealand system was more sound and logical than that used in other parts of Polynesia. When manuscripts he accepted for the Journal contained the ‘long n’ or the nasalized ‘g’, he converted them to ‘ng’, whether the authors were agreeable or not; and he insisted on simplified spelling whenever possible, such as Ontong Java for Ongtong Java.¹³⁴ He also rejected the use of diacritical marks. His decisions on these matters were not always made ‘silently’: he often drew attention to his editorial alterations through footnotes, thus attempting to change usage by argument (or assertion) as well as by example.¹³⁵

Andersen brought together his historical research and his defence of his own orthographic preferences in three closely-related chapters he wrote for the History of Printing in New Zealand, edited by R. A. McKay, published in 1940 as a contribution to the centennial. ‘Early Printing in New Zealand’ deals with the first local printers, from William Yate’s early inexperienced efforts to the travails of the

printers in the early 1840s, with a concentration upon William Colenso's work.¹³⁶

'Maori Printers and Translators', the second chapter, emphasizes the receptiveness of Maori to both christianity and literacy and the ways in which these responses were connected, and the alacrity with which Maori took up printing themselves to produce their own newspapers (especially Te Hokioi, a mouthpiece of the Kingitanga movement in the 1860s) and other publications.¹³⁷ Of the importance of this transformation Andersen was in no doubt: the first paragraph of his second chapter, 'Maori Printers and Translators', claims significance in the advent of printing in New Zealand equivalent to that in Europe in the fifteenth century.

'When comparison has been made between the effect of the introduction of printing into New Zealand and the effect of the invention of printing on Europe just five hundred years ago, it must of course be realized that in one case a small section of the human race in the stone age was concerned, and in the other a much larger section of the human race in the iron age The chief effect, however, was the same in both cases - an enlightening of darkness; an opening of an ever-widening gate to a new and entirely different world, the world of thought made visible, the intercommunication between the present and the absent, the living and the dead, the recording of art and literature and their availability to all.'¹³⁸

The third chapter, 'Maori Alphabet: A New Printed Language is Created', described the orthographic practices and principles which evolved from the work

by Samuel Lee, William Williams, Robert Maunsell and others.¹³⁹ Andersen also discussed, and dismissed, Samuel Marsden's objections to the letters Lee had chosen to represent the sounds of vowels in the Maori language. The restricted choice of consonants finally adopted was likewise explained and justified. 'There are slight differences in the dialects', he admitted, 'but as they mean no more than the dropping or substitution of letters they mean no difference to the alphabet'.¹⁴⁰ Not until the last paragraph of this essay does Andersen mention the attitude of Maori, and his comment is a very general, and even slightly tentative one: 'It is a most wonderful thing that with all this apparent confusion and argument among the Pakeha originators of the written Maori language, the Maoris themselves do not appear to have experienced any difficulty in adopting the general theory involved, in fact all the evidence points to their being a step in front of the Pakeha for most of the journey.'¹⁴¹

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Andersen admired and respected classificatory systems: much of his verse, for example, was written in such set forms (or 'artificial forms' as they are often

called) as triolet, rondeau, villanelle, ballade, sestina, sonnet; and, conversely, he had harsh words for twentieth-century poets who wrote free verse. Having made a thorough study of the 'Maori alphabet', as he called it, and having convinced himself that it had rhyme and reason (so to speak), he conformed to it, and expected others to do likewise. He disliked mistakes caused by carelessness, such as those of H. D. Skinner and his students discussed in a previous chapter, and those which derived from ignorance, or a failure to follow rules, including the rules of scholarship. Both Best and Williams, in their different ways, had made plain to him the multitudinous shortcomings of John White, and Andersen reported these failings in his Lure of New Zealand Book Collecting.¹⁴² Best's trenchant criticism of other writers, backed up by detailed evidence, was relayed to Andersen on many occasions in those years of the late 1920s when Best worked away in the upstairs room of the Turnbull Library. Rod McDonald's Te Hekenga (1929) was 'excellent reading' but was 'full of typographical errors', and Best had found 'many mistakes'. Louis Ward's Early Wellington (1929) Best pronounced to be 'teeming with mis-spelt Maori words'.¹⁴³ Other negative judgments Andersen could make for himself. 'I've seen some of the proofs of the Legends', Andersen told Kinsey, referring to the first volume of Legends of the Maori by James Cowan, for the deluxe edition of which both Kinsey and Andersen were subscribers. 'Cowan gives trouble; bad Ms., & he alters the galleys, alters the page proofs - doubles the

expense. The Ms. he hands in ought to need no revise I should like to have the revising of the galleys I saw; there was much needed in the way of conformity & consistency; compound words appeared both as Wharepuni & whare-puni, & ... sometimes with cap Whare-puni That is editor work but good authors watch it too.’¹⁴⁴ It was ‘extraordinary’ that ‘people who don’t know Maori’, he commented of another book, ‘put down anything, where they could so easily have checked & get names correct’. It was ‘so bad for readers afterwards too’, he added, alluding to the permanency of print, and the likelihood that errors would be perpetuated; ‘some people have no more respect for spelling than they had in the days of Shakespeare’.¹⁴⁵

Yet, for all his insistence that writers comply with established systems, Andersen regarded many aspects of language usage, at least in written and printed form, as worthy of reform.¹⁴⁶ While he did not relish the prospect of random change like that which, in his view, characterized the anarchic ‘days of Shakespeare’, he knew that the written language continued to evolve, and believed it might be given a hearty shove in certain desirable directions. He was instrumental in persuading the Geographic Board to recommend the dropping of apostrophes in place names and on his own initiative had eliminated them in the Transactions (he fancied getting rid of them in other words too, and often did so in his letters later in life, though he was not quite brave enough to do so in print), and, when the apostrophe had vanished, wanted to remove the final ‘s’ as well - which

led to an outcry when Arthurs Pass became Arthur Pass.¹⁴⁷ He advocated lower case initial letters for bay, river, stream, and so on, when these were parts of place names, and practised this in his later books. In the 1940s he made Newzealand a single word in his own books and (to the dismay and irritation of many people) in the *Polynesian Society Journal*.¹⁴⁸ There were many other examples of his zealously to reform the English language.¹⁴⁹

Andersen did not confine his reforming zeal to the English language: he was prepared to legislate for the Maori language as well. Though the orthography was settled as regards the 'Maori alphabet', there were other aspects which he thought might be better regulated. Paradoxically, his investigations into the development of the 'Maori alphabet' not only revealed the wisdom of choosing the particular letters which had come into general use, but also emphasised the recency of the written form of Maori. Andersen's awareness of the newness of Maori as a written language is evident in his immediate reaction over a donation made to the Turnbull Library in 1929. 'You know Lee's Grammar of 1820?', he asked Joseph Kinsey in a letter written the same day as the donation reached the Library. 'I got Lee's original Ms thereof. The donor was in Worcester, England, when the rev. friend he was visiting, knowing he was from N.Z., said, "Here's an old N.Z. book that may interest you." It was knocking about the house when he was a boy, apparently, having been owned by his father before him - Coombes his name. "Do

you value it?" "Not particularly." "Supposing I take it out to the Turnbull Library?" & he explained what the T.L. is. "Certainly" - & today it arrived I feel as if I had come into a fortune'. The Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand, published in 1820 by the Church Missionary Society, was compiled in Cambridge, England, by the Professor of Oriental Languages, Samuel Lee, with the assistance of three visitors from New Zealand, Thomas Kendall, Hongi Hika, and Waikato - 'the actual first crystallization of the Maori tongue into its alphabet', was Andersen's excited comment.¹⁵⁰ Later he discovered differences between the manuscript and the book, and admitted that 'It may not be the MS. from which the book was set ... but it is signed Cambridge Samuel Lee, and is at any rate a MS. of the famous grammar.'¹⁵¹

He was just as excited by hearing about a copy of the predecessor to the Grammar, of which only one copy was reputed to exist, Thomas Kendall's A Korao no New Zealand; or the New Zealanders First Book, a primer and vocabulary printed in Sydney in 1815. He had received a note: 'Have you seen a Maori Grammar by Thomas Kendall? I have a copy of it autographed by the author; it has on it - "The first Maori book ever printed".' 'It took my breath away', he told Joseph Kinsey: 'it is I suppose our rarest book as well as our first. I have never seen a copy'.¹⁵²

Indeed, the Maori language in its written form was not too many years removed from its own 'days of Shakespeare', and some matters remained to be resolved, at any rate in ways satisfactory to Andersen. For example, what should be the method for signifying the longer vowel sounds? To this question Andersen never found a satisfactory answer: he rejected the doubled-vowel alternative as likely to be confusing, and, generally opposed to diacritical marks, rarely allowed the macron to be used in the *Polynesian Society Journal*.¹⁵³ Since he could not speak Maori, he did not have the knowledge to identify with any certainty which syllables contained long vowels, with a few exceptions in the case of words for flora and fauna. Over hyphenation and internal capitalisation he was prepared to be more positive, and assertive.

It was probably Herbert Williams who first brought to Andersen's attention the full extent of the problems which arose from hyphenation. In commenting upon Andersen's manuscript for *Myths & Legends*, he noted: 'p.312 - and elsewhere - the hyphenation of names is not always satisfactory. Tawhiri-matea (not ma-tea), Tu-ka-riri, Tu-ka-nguha etc. Tu-whakaheke-tangata (not whaka-heke) - Tu-mata-uenga'. His other suggestions included Satia instead of Sa-tia, Kaulana instead of Kau-lana, and so on.¹⁵⁴ Williams enlarged on these matters a few weeks later. 'One matter which continually recurs', he told Andersen, 'is the hyphenation of names. You must endeavour to get consistency if you do it at all - and a same consistency. Two or 3 rules are safe - 1 a name beginning with Te should have that element free. 2 where whaka- or -tanga (anga, manga etc) comes

in they should be joined to the other element without hyphen. 3 reduplicated disyllables should be written on without hyphen as petipeti not peti-peti, still less Peti Peti.’ There were many names in which he would hesitate to suggest hyphenation with any confidence: should it be Kurangaituku or Ku-ranga-i-tuku or Kura-ngai-tuku or Kuranga-i-tuku? ‘J. White writes Ka-hutia-te-rangi - and deduces a ridiculous meaning. Again Pā-karae he writes Pākā-rae and in defiance of grammar explains as "dry headland".’ Williams reluctantly allowed that in many cases hyphens were ‘a great help’ and Andersen would have to risk the ‘pitfalls’, but he must keep usage consistent. ‘I would advise making an alphabetical list, submit to E B[est], say, & keep it by you as a check.’¹⁵⁵

Andersen evidently took Williams’s remarks to heart, for he justified his use of hyphens when he sent the typescript of Myths & Legends to George Harrap: ‘I have hyphenated proper names for the convenience of readers, though Archdeacon Williams objects to hyphens generally as misleading; however he objects less as I have hyphenated consistently. In the index, it might be advisable to say briefly something about the proper names? who they are &c.? I have not done so, and I suppose it is hardly necessary.’ He must have been confident about his consistency, since he told Harrap, ‘I do not mind if no proofs are sent, as the text will be right if it is set as typed - though I daresay I have slipped some errors that

you may detect.’¹⁵⁶ However, proofs were sent and Andersen was probably glad to see them. C. C. Wood, who dealt with Andersen on behalf of Harraps in the production process of Myths & Legends, asked him to check the proofs carefully, for there were inconsistencies in the spelling of names, especially in the use of hyphens, and suggested that a glossary would be a useful adjunct. ‘I did not think there would be so many queries!’, replied Andersen. ‘However, I have answered all, and I must say the text is now clearer and more orderly than it was before’.¹⁵⁷ He sent a ‘Note on Proper Names’ to be inserted in the book. This note deals with pronunciation, transliteration between Polynesian dialects or languages, abbreviation of names, and the ‘catch in the breath’ indicating a ‘dropped consonant’ in some dialects. ‘Hyphens have been used with reluctance, as unless the history of the name is known it is not known what actually are the components; they may be quite other than those they appear to be. They have been used, however, so that readers may not be staggered with a name like Tamanuiaraki, which, while quite simple, may not be so at first sight in this form, but is really simple enough as Tama-nui-a-raki.’¹⁵⁸ The idea was expanded into a glossary as well, and in print took up more than forty pages. In the glossary, most of the proper names (and personifications) of more than a couple of syllables are hyphenated.¹⁵⁹ Andersen may well have noticed in the compilation of the glossary a further inconsistency - internal capitalisation in names. The majority of names

were spelt with an initial capital only, but in a few cases (probably repeating the form used in his source), he included an internal capital, as in LauLi-a-Laa and Rongo-ma-Tane and Whanganui-a-Tara, and in the tribal names of New Zealand, Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Mamoe.¹⁶⁰

In Myths & Legends, therefore, Andersen came face-to-face with the issues of hyphenation of Polynesian words (including Maori words) and capitalisation, and, prodded by Williams, had defended his expedient usage in a tentative preliminary 'Note'. Quite apart from his own tidymindedness and his preference for consistency, there was a pressing reason for making decisions over these matters: the need to apply uniform rules to place names. The Honorary Geographic Board in the first few years of its existence after its establishment in 1924 was able to accomplish only a very limited amount of work: the Board met just once a year, and much of this slight time was taken up in considering names applied to mountains by parties making first ascents (amateur climbers conquered large numbers of 'virgin' peaks in the 1920s and, especially, the 1930s), approving alternative names where there was duplication, and approving names for railway stations on newly-completed sections of line.¹⁶¹ There was little opportunity for detailed debate on the general principles which should be applied, and a good deal of business had to be delayed until these general principles were enunciated. Andersen had more time to worry over these matters than some members of the

Board, and probably more enthusiasm for the task than any of the others. Most of his detailed consultation appears to have been with Herbert Williams, and after they had agreed on the rules and the explanations for them, Andersen sought the approval of the remainder of the Board. Andersen himself drafted the 'Rules of Nomenclature', added an annotated 'List of Names Approved, or Changed, or Expunged' (drawn from the Board's minutes and his own records of decisions), which was published in 1934 as Place-names in New Zealand.¹⁶² Most of the fourteen rules applied generally to place names in New Zealand, from whatever language they were derived. In Rule 14, much of Andersen's gloss was a detailed explanation of the pronunciation of Maori, including 'combined vowels'.¹⁶³ Rule 13 stated that 'The spelling of Maori geographical names should represent, approximately, the true sound of the word as pronounced in the Maori tongue', which allowed Otago as the Ngai Tahu pronunciation, rather than Otakou.¹⁶⁴ Rule 6, however, grappled, head on, with the hyphenation question in written Maori: 'It is desirable to avoid the use of hyphens to connect parts of Maori names'.¹⁶⁵

Though Andersen took counsel with Williams on the matter of hyphenation, and in a sense accepted Williams's opinion of 1925 that hyphens might be dispensed with altogether, many of the arguments he adduced in favour of the rule are his own. In noting that names 'like Tokatoka and Hakahaka should not be written as Toka-Toka and Haka-Haka, or Toka-toka and Haka-haka' because such

‘reduplications’ were ‘not separate words, but one word’, since, for example, werawera meant somewhat warm while wera meant hot, he was almost certainly recording information from the expert linguist. Elsewhere the examples are either his own, or at least expressed in his own terms. Pariwhero should not be Pariwhero with a hyphen for the same reason that the same word Redcliff would not, in English usage, be Red-cliff (Pariwhero ‘means’ red cliff). Redcliff is a name, “red cliff” is a descriptive term’. And, further, the ‘experts among the Maoris themselves’ held that the derivative reason for name-giving was more important than the descriptive - so that Pariwhero, and other places, were so named because they were like places known in an ancestral homeland. And many Maori names like European names were ‘independent of descriptive suitability’ - Sockburn in Canterbury had no ‘burn’ within miles and no court had ever been held there.¹⁶⁶

Hyphenation, he allowed, could prevent Pakeha mispronunciation; but hyphenation if incorrect could be grossly misleading - as in the example of Whanganuiatara, formerly misspelt as Whanga-nui-a-te-ra, and made to mean Great-bay-of-the-sun. ‘And here a second difficulty enters. As Tara is a man’s name, ought not the full name of the harbour to be written Whanganuia-Tara to show that the proper name enters’? No, he decided, with other examples, the personal names lose their individuality within the whole name. If the word were to be used instead of Wellington as an address for correspondence, Whanganuiatara

would be perfectly adequate; 'but if we were writing a history of the name' then the 'two crutches' of hyphenation and internal capitalisation would be helpful. 'The Board therefore recommends that there should be no internal capital in any place-name as ordinarily written, but when the name is divided by hyphens to show its constituent parts, then the capital may appear and will be of assistance when it does appear.'¹⁶⁷ (It is not clear whether the equivocation was the result of the Board's unwillingness to utterly dispense with hyphens, or whether Andersen himself, planning further publications on place names, wanted to make use of hyphens when 'writing a history of the name'.)

Rule 6 was not the only rule which moved beyond established usage to, in effect, legislate for change, but it was the only rule which was designed to specifically prescribe a new form for the Maori language. While the rule was ostensibly for place names, Andersen clearly hoped that the general principle of hyphenation, and the matter of internal capitalisation which he introduced with it, would go beyond place names. 'There is another almost parallel question which fortunately at present does not trouble the Board', he noted, ' - that is, the form of Maori tribal names.' Should it be Ngati Awa, or Ngati-Awa, or Ngati-awa, or Ngatiawa? 'The Board offers its opinion that for uniformity sake it will probably be best to adopt Ngati Awa, for ... the division and capitalizing advised preserves

the important part, - the name from which the tribal name is derived'.¹⁶⁸ Since Andersen later stated his preference for the Ngatiawa form, it would seem that other members of the Board (including Ngata from 1932) were not prepared to go so far. But in raising these matters, Andersen was expanding the Board's function beyond place names to include broader issues of orthography of the Maori language. Of course, it was Pakeha, not Maori, who had made the majority of decisions about the orthography of the Maori language, and week by week Pakeha printers, publishers and writers continued to make ad hoc decisions, often not well-informed ones, about the printed forms of Maori. Andersen's intervention over hyphenation and internal capitalisation seems, nevertheless, to be of a rather different order, since he deliberately moved towards establishing new principles which would be normative for both Maori and Pakeha.

Moreover, he tried to make other people put these principles into practice. As editor of the *Polynesian Society Journal*, he was able to perform editorial amendments on manuscripts to make them conform with his preferences. Most contributors accepted such changes, willing to defer to an expert, or shrugged them away as one of the eccentricities of the editor. One person, however, was not so amenable. Leslie Adkin, an amateur but very skilled geologist, had spent many years collecting the traditions of the Horowhenua district, including Maori place names. Andersen fully approved of this: and he grew increasingly enthusiastic at

the prospect that the Polynesian Society might publish Adkin's information either as a series of articles or as a separate book. Adkin, though, balked at following Andersen's rules for hyphenation: 'The Geographic Board has been cited as an authority on the points raised,' Adkin told the Polynesian Society secretary, 'but Mr Andersen is virtually the Board and the alleged "rules" are of his manufacture.' The dispute was drawn out over several years, and other members of the Polynesian Society Council (including Ngata) were unwillingly dragged into the discussion.¹⁶⁹ Eventually in 1948 the book, a very bulky one, was published for the Polynesian Society by the Department of Internal Affairs,¹⁷⁰ and before then, Adkin, thoroughly exasperated and thwarted, had helped to replace Andersen as the Polynesian Society editor. At the same time as he was trying to persuade Adkin to agree to his editorial pronouncements on hyphenation and capitalisation, he was attempting to lay down the law (a 'law' of his own devising) to Maori writers: this is discussed in the next chapter.

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As a writer on Maori subjects and as an editor, Andersen had to deal with many problems of typographical consistency. On some issues he was in no doubt as to what was right and proper. In 1925, Arthur Jose, preparing an article on the history of New Zealand up to 1841 for an encyclopedia of Australia to be published by Angus and Robertson, asked Andersen to look over his manuscript. Andersen had a good number of more or less helpful observations to make, and *inter alia* commented on Jose's use of 'Maoris'. 'We are trying here to use the word Maori as both singular and plural, the reason being that there is no "s" in Maori, and Maoris strikes us as wrong-looking. Of course, it is now an English word, and naturally should follow English in the matter of plural; but all the same, we do not like the "s". I am speaking of the few who edit and control the Polynesian Society Journal and the Transactions of the N.Z. Institute So too "pas"; pa; - "the remains of their pa (fortified villages)".'¹⁷¹ The question of the plural without 's' had interested Andersen as far back as Maori Life in Ao-tea when, with a hankering after verisimilitude, he had avoided adding 's' to the plural of Maori words.¹⁷² The comment about 'Maori' being 'now an English word' appears to be the first indication that he was reflecting upon the English-language status of words from the Maori language.

The question recurs, or takes definite shape, in the early 1930s. In a lengthy reply to a letter from E. C. Parnwell of Oxford University Press, Andersen noted

that the Turnbull Library had 'received the supplement to the great dictionary [The Oxford English Dictionary, hereafter O.E.D.], to complete our set I think I must make out a list of Maori words that are now incorporated into the English language and may be considered as English. In the Polynesian [Society] Journal ... we italicize all Maori words used in the text, giving the English meaning in parentheses where such is at all likely to be doubtful; - but there are certain words which everybody knows now - such as *whare*, *tapu*, *mana*, *rangatira*, *tangata*, *wahine*, *korero*, and if these are adopted as English words they need no longer be italicized.'¹⁷³ This may mean that Andersen had been delving into the recently-arrived Supplement to the O.E.D. (the Supplement was published in 1933), although *mana* and *korero* do appear in the Supplement. The response must not have been altogether discouraging because by the end of 1934 he was reporting to Joseph Kinsey that at the request of Oxford University Press, he was making a list of Maori words which had passed into current English usage in New Zealand, 'such as *whare*, *tapu*, &c; one of them, *tohunga*, already has a derivative - *tohungaism*.' He felt he should locate quotations to show the use of the words, and he had turned to William Satchell's Greenstone Door (1914), which he knew included a good many Maori words.¹⁷⁴

Very shortly thereafter, he received from A. W. Reed the typescript of the reminiscences of J. W. Stack, and the whole range of orthographic issues was

brought into focus. Andersen's letter to Reed was written just five weeks after his comments to E. C. Parnwell. 'You have had worry with your Maori words', Andersen told Reed, 'and I don't wonder. In the Journal of the Polynesian Society we print such in italic, usually with the meaning following in parentheses; the only trouble there is the "s", there being no "s" in Maori and its appearance in what is a Maori word always looks objectionable to me; for that reason we leave it out; the plural is still understood as it is with us in words like sheep. You have amo and amos; but the latter might be the proper name Amos; I suggest (if I may) when the first amo appears ... print amo (something like an ambulance; a litter) ... then when the plural comes, still print the singular maori word, but (litters) in parentheses'. And there were other inconsistencies:

Here and there you leave the word or phrase in roman in inverted commas; - why not still italic? - p. 4 wahine pakeha (white woman) and kotiro (girl ...) That avoids the unsightly inverted commas, and is uniform with amo. Again, kotiro does not need the cap. "Kotiro"; and in this instance pakeha is an adjective, so in the Maori phrase no cap.; where it is a noun, cap Pakeha like the parallel Maori.

But there might also be occasions when an 's' could be used and the italics could be dropped: 'When you print a Maori word in roman, as you do when it is quite

well known, then you can use the s for the plural, as in Maoris. Two such words are raupo and toetoe (not toe toe); everybody knows what they are; they know whare too; and rangatira; and korero; and wahine; no need to italicise them.’¹⁷⁵

As was his custom, especially after the death of Best, Andersen tried out these notions upon Herbert Williams. His receipt of an article by Williams in September 1935 offered an ideal opportunity. ‘In your paper I see you still write Maori and pakeha’, he told Williams. ‘In the Journal we have for some time brought these two words into line, and print them Maori and Pakeha. Even were pakeha only an adjective, it should be printed in roman with cap. the same as Maori when an adjective; but the two words are parallel, and should be printed in the same way; don’t you agree? - Never mind what has been the custom; customs are not immutable; they are not the laws of the Ms and Ps [Medes and Persians]’. Elsewhere in the article Williams had set him ‘a poser; the words whare and raupo as Maori words naturally go into italics; but when you speak of a raupo whare - not a whare raupo, you show you are using them as English words and they cannot be italicized, and that raises the question as to whether there are not certain Maori words now so commonly used that they are part of the corpus of the language and should be regarded as English words’.¹⁷⁶ He gave as examples ‘whare, tapu, tohunga, rangatira, mana, kainga, pa, names of trees like totara, rata, rimu, kowhai, fish like kahawai, moki, tarakihi, which have no other name’. ‘We should draw up

a list and publish it in the *Journal*', suggested Andersen (the 'we' in this case being not an editorial plural but an invitation to Williams to help with the task), 'and say that these words, which may be added to from time to time, are regarded as English words and so will be printed in roman'. He also noted that he had been asked to provide a list for the O.E.D., 'and they would consider including them as English words in later editions of the dictionary'.¹⁷⁷

There the matter rested for some years, though Andersen occasionally returned to the idea in letters and in conversation.¹⁷⁸ Not until 1946, in what as it turned out was to prove his last major article in the *Journal*, did Andersen publish his list, 'Maori Words Incorporated into the English Language'. As we have seen, he had been considering this matter for a good many years, and he had for some time contemplated a contribution in the *Journal* which would help clarify the issues: 'I have from time to time noted down such words with a view to submitting a list of them to our readers for their criticism and remarks', he began. His general thesis was that 'Many Maori words are now in such common use that they may be regarded as incorporated in the English language.' These words had usually been printed in the *Journal* in italic, sometimes with the English 'interpretation' in brackets, 'but latterly as often as not in italics only.' He felt that 'for many of the

words there is no longer any need for the italic, seeing that most of our readers will have them in their English vocabulary, spoken or written.’¹⁷⁹

His procedure, he reported, had been to compile his own list of ‘the words that appeared to me to have become current in English, at any rate as written and spoken in Newzealand’. He then divided his list into three parts - those words which appeared in the O.E.D., those which appeared in the Supplement, and those in neither the O.E.D. or Supplement which ‘might be included in any further supplement’. He asked readers to give critical attention to the third group of words. Andersen admitted that there might be words in the O.E.D. or in the Supplement which were not in his lists - ‘I have not read the Dictionary through’.¹⁸⁰

Before he presented his three lists, he noted that Dictionary did not differentiate between long and short vowels, nor did New Zealanders in their ordinary writing, ‘but in his speech they are punctiliously observed by the Maori’; and he used his customary illustration of kaka, with its several meanings depending on whether the vowels were short or long. Andersen had also turned a critical eye upon the vowel sounds, both short and long, in the phonetic guide of the O.E.D., suggesting that the ‘la’ of ‘la-de-da’ indicated better the short ‘a’ in Maori than the O.E.D.’s ‘à la mode’, and the long ‘o’ in Maori was closer to the second ‘o’ in

‘forlorn’ or the ‘Scottish "no"', like ‘gnaw’, than in the O.E.D.’s examples of awe, walk, and tawney.¹⁸¹ His ear still identified the finer distinctions.

Andersen’s List 1, words on his own list to be found in the O.E.D., contains 51 entries. He adds macrons to accord with the definition given by the O.E.D., noting in one case, *rātā*, that the word without macrons has other meanings than that given in the Dictionary. Most of the words are of flora and fauna, primarily birds and trees, but also including *marae*, *pa*, *Pākehā*, *tangi*, *tohunga*, *utu*, and *whare*. Whereas the O.E.D. lists *kumera*, *-ara*, Andersen points out that *kūmara* is correct; *whare*, unless a Pakeha house which is small and inferior, adds a qualifying word; *pah* is obsolete and incorrect. He distinguishes clearly between *ti-tree* and *tea-tree*. One of his longest notes is on Pakeha, ‘Very often spelt with a small initial letter, but wrongly’. The Maori, he suggests, ‘was clearer on the point than the Pākehā, for in his Maori publications he would print "Maori and Pakeha" while the Pākehā was still printing Maori and pakeha - a quite inconsistent proceeding.’ (The Pakeha, moreover, mispronounced the word as ‘Pākihā’, ‘a pronunciation the Maori never gives it’.)¹⁸²

His List 2, words in the Supplement, is much shorter, with 26 examples: besides terms for flora and fauna, the list includes *haeremai* (‘really two words’, Andersen notes); *haka* (not the ‘war-dance’ it supposedly means, he observed); *hapū*; *heitiki*; *kai*; *kainga*; *kōrero*; *taiaha*; *tiki*; and *taipo*, which, following

Williams, he pronounced to be neither Maori nor English.¹⁸³

List 3, words Andersen himself regarded as part of written and spoken English but not in the O.E.D. or Supplement, has 170 entries, a few of which include alternative or cognate words, and two of which, taihoaism (drawn from J. L. Campbell's Poenamo (1881))¹⁸⁴ and tohungaism are anglicisms rather than Maori words. Once more, a large number of the words are flora and fauna, illustrating Andersen's extensive knowledge of (and enthusiasm for) natural history. For some of the words, Andersen might reasonably have been surprised that they appeared in neither the O.E.D. nor the Supplement: ariki, atua, hāngi, hongī, karakia, mere, pātaka, patu, piupiu, poi, rangatira, taihoa, taniwha, tapu, wahine and waipiro. Other words listed by Andersen are perhaps more widely known in the 1990s than in the 1940s, and still others are of a more technical nature, doubtless familiar to the more erudite Polynesian Society members and amateur ethnologists: amo (supports on a house), kakino ('bad'), kéhua ('ghost'), kete (a basket), koruru (carving), maihi (ornamental house-boards), mākutu, matakite, muka (prepared flax fibre), nui (divination), noa (common), pare (carving over a doorway), pihanga (the window of a whare), pikau (a pack), porangi ('mad'), poenamo (greenstone), poupou (carved slabs), rongopai (good news, the gospel), runanga (assembly), tamaiti (child), tangata (man, person), tapairu ('the

first-born female in family of high rank'), tatau ('sliding slab for closing door or window'), tekoteko ('grotesque' carved figure on house gable), toa (bravery; a warrior), tukutuku (patterned reed-work), umu (oven), waiata (song), whare-kura ('school of learning'), whare-puni (sleeping-house), and whata (a platform or stage for food storage). In addition, he offered 'haerera', 'goodbye', as single word to accord with the O.E.D.'s usage of haeremai as one word.¹⁸⁵

'We are so familiar with some of the words', Andersen observed, '... that one begins to wonder if we have a different language here in Newzealand', and he instanced amokura, ariki, atua, hongī, karakia, kawau, kete, kotuku (printed correctly in the list but in his discussion misprinted 'kotoku'), kuaka, koura, kuri, makomako, makutu, mere, 'and so on'. Certainly, for many 'plants, fish, birds' there was 'no other word tha[n] the science name'. And he was astonished that 'the great Dictionary' had only one word beginning with 'ng'. The example of moko (which he, no doubt inadvertently, left out of List 3) he illustrated by quotations, after the style of the O.E.D., noting 'Amoco' from Cook's Voyages, and moko in Taylor's Te Ika a Maui, Robley's Moko, and Best's The Maori.¹⁸⁶ No fewer than seventy of the words in his List 3 had been given in Satchell's The Greenstone Door, 'the best Newzealand novel yet produced', though 'unfortunately the first World War smothered it'. He quoted approvingly from Satchell's preface that some of the Maori words 'are used so frequently' that the author was 'afraid the

English reader will hardly be able to avoid acquiring a knowledge of their meaning', especially pa, tohunga, pakeha, whare, and kumara. 'My excuse', Satchell had written, 'must be that these words have long since been adopted into the English language as it is written and spoken in the Dominion'.¹⁸⁷

Andersen asked readers to note passages 'ranging over the nearly two hundred years of our Newzealand literature' where the words in List 3 first appeared, even if not correctly spelled. People in various parts of New Zealand, too, would hear 'Maori words common in their district' which he himself had not heard. Eventually a 'definitive list' would be published in the Journal. 'Meanwhile, words already adopted as English will no longer be italicized, since in italic they are differentiated as foreigners.'¹⁸⁸

From one point of view, Andersen was undoubtedly correct in his belief that many (perhaps not all) the words in List 3 were in common use with European New Zealanders, and therefore should not be italicized as 'foreign' words. He was, in essence, recording the growth of what is now called 'New Zealand English', though he did not employ that term; and he wanted the principle which had already been established in the O.E.D., that borrowings from the Maori language were to be recognised as proper English usage, demonstrated in practice by a complete (or 'definitive') listing of such words. The requests for examples of contextual usage suggest that his ultimate aim was not the compilation of a New Zealand Maori

language-derived vocabulary but the provision of a list for inclusion in future supplements to the O.E.D., which, organized as it is on 'historical principles', illustrates provenance and meaning through quotations.

On the other hand, when considered in conjunction with his broad desire to utilise aspects of Maori culture for Pakeha purposes, especially as exemplified by his contemporaneous attempt (discussed in the next chapter) to make Nga Moteatea into 'New Zealand literature', Andersen's list of 'Maori words incorporated into the English language' can be seen as promoting cultural appropriation through recording, with approval, the extent of that appropriation. Despite periodic efforts since 1908 to develop speaking and writing skills, Andersen's knowledge of Te Reo Maori as parole was slight. He knew his way around Williams's Dictionary, had an extensive Maori vocabulary for flora and fauna, and an even greater catalogue of topographical nomenclature; he could quote proverbial sayings, construct a verb by using a causative prefix, and write simple phrases appropriate to the opening or ending of a letter; but he could not translate a letter written in Maori, could not write a letter in Maori, and could not carry through a conversation in Maori. He thought, wrote and spoke in English, and he employed Maori language words and phrases as components of, and as extensions of, the English language. He advocated the transfer, in print and through print, of certain Maori words from their own signifying system and cultural context into the signifying

system of the settlers. Some of the words which he considered had been appropriated, or ought to be, were closely related to fundamental beliefs and cultural values of Maori communities, including ariki, atua, karakia, kehua, makutu, matakite, niu, porangi, taniwha, tapu, and the words like tekoteko denoting parts of structures which were carved. In English, these words were emptied of contextual significance, and were used reductively, as Andersen himself recognised when giving as his gloss on porangi: ‘out of one’s mind; mad; other meanings, but this is the one intended when used by Pakeha, generally in an abusive way’. Likewise, he linked kehua to the German word *doppelgänger*.¹⁸⁹

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It is difficult to place Andersen’s 1946 article into a longer perspective. In the sense that he was describing the results of the ‘borrowing’ process, whereby the English language had ‘borrowed’ words from the Maori language, he was merely carrying out a lexical exercise, continuing what the O.E.D. had begun to chart. From another perspective, the status of the Journal of the Polynesian Society, and its circulation to many scholarly institutions in different parts of the world, meant

that the article was bound to have long-term ramifications, both directly and indirectly, in drawing favourable attention to the practice of linguistic appropriation. In a select bibliography of New Zealand English compiled by Tony Deverson for a booklet 'dealing with Maori borrowings into New Zealand English' published by the Office of the Race Relations Conciliator in 1989, Andersen's 1946 paper is preceded chronologically by only a handful of publications, including contributions by Arnold Wall, which dealt only incidentally with borrowings from Maori, Sidney J. Baker's 1941 book on New Zealand slang, Baker's article on the origin of the words Maori and Pakeha, and E. H. Schnackenberg's comments on the same subject - these last two items had appeared in 1945 just a few months before Andersen's article and moreover were also published in the Journal of the Polynesian Society.¹⁹⁰ Retrospectively, then, Andersen's article is one of the earliest significant discussions of the transfer of Maori words into the English language. Little more was added to published material on the subject until the 1960s.

Andersen's advocacy of the use of roman rather than italic for words he judged had passed into the English lexicon was echoed in practice with some frequency from the later 1970s.¹⁹¹ However, the increasingly widespread practice of rendering Maori words in roman has also brought into sharper focus discursive issues previously ignored. Joan Metge, in In and Out of Touch, a study of

'Whakamaa in cross cultural context' (1986), has indicated the problematic nature of the practice. 'I make no apology for the liberal use of Maori words', she writes, 'since I am writing for a New Zealand audience interested in the Maori view of the world. Where I use Maori words I do so for two reasons: because there is no short English translation that does not distort the meaning and/or because Maori use them frequently when speaking English.' She provides a glossary. 'With certain exceptions, Maori words are printed in italics to set them off from English with distinction Maori words which have been absorbed into New Zealand English are printed in ordinary type. Apart from names, the main examples are aroha, hongī, hui, mana, Maori, marae, Pakeha, tapu and tohunga.'¹⁹²

Metge's study of Whakamaa emphasizes that the word/concept is grounded in a signifying system which is distinctively Maori, 'the Maori view of the world', and that other signifiers used by the people she interviewed in her study are deployed within, and have meaning within, that signifying system. She thus retains italics not because the words are 'foreign' but because they identify, and reiterate, cultural difference. While Andersen did not advocate the romanisation of all Maori words, he intended the romanisation of a wide range of words that he judged had become 'English', and he made no provision for exceptions on the grounds of cultural integrity. From the perspective provided by Metge's study, Andersen's

strategy of romanisation was not so much lexical acculturation as a kind of linguistic colonisation.

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The compilation of Myths & Legends of the Polynesians led Andersen for the first time into the traditional lore of the Pacific beyond New Zealand. Hitherto his interest in mythology had been concentrated upon the traditions from Northern and Central Europe, particularly Germanic and Norse myths, and, to a lesser extent, those of the Mediterranean classical world, together with the traditions of Maori. He knew, of course, from his reading of books and articles by Tregear, Percy Smith, and Best, that many Maori myths and legends were Polynesian in derivation - that, as he had told the Arts and Crafts Guild in Christchurch, Maui had fished from the depths other oceanic islands before the tale had been localized in the New Zealand archipelago.¹⁹³ However, the brief given him by George Harrap in 1924 perforce extended Andersen's reading to the standard 'authorities' (he so titled his list of sources in Myths & Legends) on Polynesia, the collectors who had published for other islands materials equivalent to those gathered by George Grey and John

White for New Zealand: notably Abraham Fornander, William Gill, William Ellis, W. D. Westervelt, George Turner, Thomas Thrum, Nathaniel Emerson and J.-A. Moerenhout among Europeans, and Kalakaua, the Hawaiian King.¹⁹⁴ Since many of the Polynesian myths and legends were similar to Maori traditions, either in content or in structure, he discovered with delight old friends in new settings - echoes, sometimes (to vary the metaphor) mirror images, of a mythology he already knew well. The belief he had held from the early 1900s, that Maori mythology was at least equal, or very nearly equal, in quality to the myths of the Greeks and the Norsemen, was now fully confirmed, and extended to include Polynesian mythology more generally.¹⁹⁵ This equivalence he emphasized in Myths & Legends by frequent if irregular mention of Greek and Norse traditions, and sometimes of myths from other cultures.¹⁹⁶

While Andersen thought of Polynesian mythology, as he still thought of Maori mythology, as providing material for inspiring artists and poets, he also considered what he had found in the works of Fornander and the others to be a literature; what he had found was not simply and solely a resource to be adapted by Europeans for european-style art and poetry, but was already something in itself. 'It is said', he wrote in the Preface to Myths & Legends, 'that [the Polynesians] have no literature';¹⁹⁷ on the contrary, 'they have a splendid one, but it has hitherto and through the ages been circulated only by word of mouth, retained,

as all civilized literature was originally, in the memory.’¹⁹⁸ He made this point in the text, too, while stressing the reliability of oral transmission. ‘It is difficult for people who habitually use writing to record events to conceive of the powers of memory possessed by people who have nothing but the memory to trust to. Yet instances are not uncommon. The tales of the Morte d’Arthur were remembered until they were written down by Malory, and printed by Caxton’. It had been so with Der Nibelungen Noth of the Germans, the Kalevala of the Finns, the Mahabharata and the Upanishads of the Hindus, the Iliad of the Greeks - ‘all were carried in the memory’.¹⁹⁹ This was, in the European perspective, to place Polynesian traditions in exalted company. Andersen’s hope was that like the other great epics and religious scriptures, Polynesian traditions would be ‘written down’; and he realized while compiling Myths & Legends that, scattered as much of the material was, a good deal had already been recorded in print.

In his Preface, he indicated the difficulties which had hindered the recording of Polynesian traditions. Much of what had been collected had not been fully understood - ‘acquisition of the language [was] but the first step. It is only by living in close contact with them for many years, as Elsdon Best has done in the case of the Maori, that it is realized how different are the points of view of the two peoples, the Polynesians and ourselves.’ Most collectors had been ‘outside insurmountable palisades’, unable to think as the Polynesians think, ‘and the result

has been much misunderstanding, much misinterpretation.’ (He had in mind particularly, though not exclusively, the missionaries: in the text he had some harsh words to say about the ‘unsympathetic’ missionaries, especially Dibble.)²⁰⁰ But the prospect was more promising: ‘in the Polynesians themselves there is a reawakening of the pride of the race; they themselves are beginning to place on record their histories, their legends, their songs; they themselves are striving for a renaissance of their arts’. Andersen conceived his own role in Myths & Legends ‘to be as a trumpet through which the musical Polynesian voice might make itself heard and attract attention to the power and personality behind the voice’. He himself had come ‘so late in the day’ that he had been able ‘to gather but little’, and had ‘gathered together ... gleanings of other men’s harvests’.²⁰¹ In fact, he did make clear to the reader in various places in the text his own close contact with Maori, and with other men who had harvested, especially Elsdon Best. After retelling one story, Andersen observes: ‘This story ... was also collected from an old blind man at a Whanga-nui village, in New Zealand, by Elsdon Best in 1922 and I remember Elsdon Best’s smile that night as he came away from the old man. “A curious and interesting old folk-tale,” [Best] said as he went to his notebook.’²⁰² In the chapter on Maui, Andersen incorporated a very brief section on string figures, since Maui ‘or his elder brother invented the game called whai, a kind of cat’s-cradle’, and although he does not identify himself as the collector of

this information, he included the splendid photograph taken by McDonald at Rotorua of the figure Ruaumoko held by Whare-mutu and Andersen with Rangi-ua behind, entitled 'Tuhoe Folk (and Author) setting up Tawhaki'.²⁰³ And in the very last paragraph of Myths & Legends, perhaps providing a retrospective colouring of authenticity to the book as a whole, Andersen prefaces an anecdote with the phrase, 'The writer has accompanied Mr Best in some of his later quests, and particularly remembers the significant remark of an old blind Maori ... one evening, sitting smoking and chatting by the fire'.²⁰⁴

Notwithstanding such indications of Andersen's own expertise, for the most part he did create the book out of 'other men's harvests', and was perhaps surprised at how much had been harvested. Though he was inclined to be prolix in any case, his enthusiasm for what he found can be gauged from the sheer length of Myths & Legends. Harrap had originally specified 'about 150,000 words', but shortly afterwards corrected this: the other volumes in the series were about 120,000 words, and it would be as well for Andersen to approximate that figure rather than 150,000.²⁰⁵ It is not clear whether Harrap meant this figure to apply to the whole book or just to the text proper. In fact, the text alone is about 160,000 words, with additional words for the preliminary pages and the extensive glossary-index. 'The book will unfortunately be longer than we wished', Harrap reported in November

1927, 'but nothing will be cut out save one or two unimportant passages which you yourself indicated might be omitted.'²⁰⁶ One result was that the first edition was priced at double that of the majority of volumes in Harrap's series, 21s. rather than 10s.6d.²⁰⁷ A review in the British journal Nation commented that the reader 'must go easily, and pick and choose, and skip judiciously, for the Polynesian is verbose and loves repetition'. The reviewer provided short extracts of verse which to his mind illustrated 'a plethora of words padding out a paucity of ideas Shorn of their verbal excrescences', the stories too 'could be reduced to a tithe of their length. The Homers of Polynesia nod unconscionably.'²⁰⁸ Andersen, however, was keen to quote in extenso, to illustrate both the range of Polynesian literature and its particular qualities, and on several occasions made explicit contrasts with the productions of other cultures - for example, adding at the end of a 106-line quotation of a 'lyric drama', 'this drama is very like an old miracle or mystery play', and after giving another 'ancient chant', 90 lines in length, 'In spirit the opening of this lofty hymn of creation is like a similar opening in the Elder Edda'.²⁰⁹

In one discussion of 'semi-philosophical chants', Andersen commented: 'The wonderful thing to the writer is the contemplation of this young thought; watching it soar, watching it plunge, watching it take all media as its element; it does not know, though it feels, when its inspiration is lofty, when it is lowly; it

does not know when it is virile, when it is puerile; its chief concern is the exercise of its wings, the exploration of regions to which it can find no limits.' The references to 'young thought' and the 'puerile' qualities in the verse were part of Andersen's conventional evolutionist approach which regarded the 'chants' as 'utterances of the child-mind of the Stone Age', though he suggested that some of what had been recorded were possibly 'fireside versions' rather than the 'higher teaching'. But 'the contemplation of this young thought' of the Polynesians was possible for Andersen only for those materials which had been rendered into English, or at least if not into English then into French or German, which he could translate for himself.²¹⁰

Thus, Andersen's reference in the Preface of Myths & Legends to the 'brighter day' which was 'dawning' as 'the Polynesians themselves' were 'beginning to place on record their histories, their legends, their songs' can be considered significant in several ways. If material were placed 'on record', in writing, preferably in print, it would not be lost - this, of course, had been the purpose of the ethnological expeditions sent out by the Dominion Museum: writing, and especially print, gave traditions 'permanence'. Then again, much of what had been collected by Europeans had not been fully understood: the missionaries were often 'unsympathetic, if not openly and bitterly contemptuous Men expressing themselves in so unchristian a way as Dibble does of the

Hawaiians could expect little return of sympathy from those he paints in such diabolic and untrue colours'.²¹¹ It was the evidence of 'the more intelligent of the navigators and explorers' which was of 'greatest value', though even with such recorders 'their speculative interpretations [upon religious beliefs] as often conceal clues as yield them'.²¹² There were few like Best who had not only learned the language but had lived 'in close contact with them for many years'; Andersen probably felt that there were unlikely to be many more such collectors. Better, then, that the Polynesians do the collecting themselves, and when they did, 'we stammering, thumb-fingered pakeha may stand aside and rejoice in the day-dawn.'²¹³ The 'Polynesians themselves' who were beginning to place their culture on record were not named, but doubtless Andersen had in mind Peter Buck and Sir Apirana Ngata; and at the end of the Preface he acknowledged help 'from two towers of strength, the Bernice P. Bishop Museum of Honolulu, under the directorship of Professor Herbert E. Gregory, and the Maori Board of Ethnological Research, under the guidance of Sir Apirana T. Ngata'.²¹⁴ Andersen wrote his Preface early in 1928 when Peter Buck's book on the Cook Islands was due to be published²¹⁵ and when he knew that Ngata was planning the publication of *Nga Moteatea* as a separate volume after the serial appearance of the 'songs' in *Te Toa Takatini*. Buck was by then settling in to his new appointment at the Bishop Museum.

Buck's and Ngata's works would appear in English, or in Ngata's case, with editorial annotations in English, or so Andersen hoped. Their works would therefore be at once reliable, authentic, and accessible. Whereas European collectors, or most of them, had been, as Andersen put it, 'outside insurmountable palisades', Buck and Ngata, 'Polynesians themselves', were from within the palisades, and these cultural ramparts (it could be said) would be breached. Polynesian traditions, in greater measure than previously, undistorted by unsympathetic Europeans or Europeans who did not fully understand the materials, were to be placed on record as a literature in printed form - as Caxton had printed Malory's written version of the oral traditions entitled Morte d'Arthur. As Andersen put it in a letter to Herbert Williams, 'a Maori literature ... is really in course, not of creation, for it has always been there, but of being made available'.²¹⁶ Andersen reported with satisfaction to Joseph Kinsey in May 1928 that the Board of Maori Ethnological Research had fixed the price of Buck's Material Culture of the Cook Islands, of Page Rowe's Maori Artistry, and of the new edition (edited by Herbert Williams) of Grey's Nga Mahi A Nga Tupuna which had been prepared for university study, so that 'the Maori literature grows apace, - and next month I hope to see my beautiful mythology book, which I know will take & sell better than any of these'.²¹⁷ In this letter, Andersen seems, very significantly, to regard his own forthcoming Myths & Legends as a contribution to

the growing Maori literature, or Polynesian literature more generally. It was probably a disappointment when, a few days later, Andersen received a letter from Ngata which told him that Nga Moteatea would appear without English annotations - 'The annotation of these songs in English for English students and the detailed study in an introduction were physically impossible in the time [available], though I have all the material'.²¹⁸ For the meantime, Nga Moteatea remained behind 'insurmountable palisades'.

Andersen was in no doubt as to the literary as well as ethnological significance of the Nga Moteatea 'songs' - Best had written of their complex and allusive nature,²¹⁹ and probably had been questioned by Andersen about the content. Ngata had 'collated the first hundred, annotated them, and they will be ready for final printing before long', Andersen told Kinsey in November 1928: 'no one but a Maori well versed in his people's history and of considerable personal influence could do what Sir Apirana has done. Now and again when I have gone over [to the Parliamentary Buildings] to see him I have found him with a *tohunga waiata* - a song expert - going over one of the old songs, analyzing it, making its meaning clear, running down allusions &c; so every song has copious notes. It means real Maori literature is being set down - not only carried in the head as

heretofore There is a tremendous lot to be done, and there should be several at it.²²⁰

The phrase ‘Maori literature’, meaning specifically what had been published, had appeared irregularly in the Polynesian Society Journal since the third (September) issue of 1926.²²¹ There had been a regular full-page notice for Best’s The Maori (1924) for several previous issues; and, since he dealt with matters of layout, it was almost certainly Andersen’s idea to advertise other publications, especially those of the Polynesian Society, the Dominion Museum, and (eventually) the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, under the heading ‘Maori Literature’.²²² (The phrase was also used in the advertisement which appeared on the back cover of Te Wananga, the journal produced by the Ethnological Board beginning in September 1929, though the publications listed in the latter were limited to the memoirs and the Maori language texts published by the Board: we may suppose that this, both advertisement and heading, derived from the example of the Journal of the Polynesian Society.) In 1928, the notions of ‘Maori literature’ and ‘Polynesian literature’ were much on Andersen’s mind, as indicated by his comments in the Preface of Myths & Legends, and by his observations in letters to Kinsey; and he wrote an article, entitled ‘Maori Literature’, for the second issue of the new quality periodical, Art in New Zealand,

published in December 1928.²²³ This article set out more fully than previously his views on the literature of traditional societies.

‘For many years’, he began, ‘we were inclined to suppose that the Maori had no literature.’ Songs, ‘more or less unmelodious to our ears’, yes; tales, ‘more or less ridiculous’, yes; poems, ‘more or less obscure’, yes; ‘but nothing written down until collected by early residents; and judging by our own literature, what could there be if not written down?’ People were so accustomed to books and to the disuse of memory that they forgot that Homer, the Kalevala, the Mahabharata, the Nibelungenlied ‘and other famous epics of old’ were ‘once carried only in the memory’. He provided instances of the power of memory among Maori: the couple who had provided Best with over 400 songs ‘during the winter nights of one season in his camp’; Best’s 1200-page record of the lore of the Tuhoe with a supplement of 34 genealogical tables; the man who at a land commission meeting recited more than 1400 names in genealogical sequence. ‘Of course, it will be questioned as to whether this is literature. It is literature if our own history is literature. It abounds in incident, it tells of strange customs, it contains illustrative songs - suggestions of the great reservoir of Maori thought that so far has hardly been tapped’. Some people objected that the poetry was so archaic, ‘so full of allusion and bustling with names’, that much of the meaning had been lost even to Maori people, and therefore it was untranslatable. ‘Chaucer is still literature,

however, though he needs to be modernised for most of us, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are still literature, though even when translated the stories need almost as much annotation as text to be understood.' Certainly the Maori songs were full of allusions, but Maori people who knew the history in the allusions found them intensely interesting. 'This may be seen by anyone who comes to be present at one of their tribal gatherings', suggested Andersen, insinuating his own wealth of experience in this matter, 'when good singers, good orators, or good raconteurs are present and in happy vein'.²²⁴

He referred to three Maori whose names were probably known to nearly all the local readers of Art in New Zealand - Ngata, Buck, Pomare; 'if they are proud of the literary heritage of their race, knowing, as they do, the literature of their race of adoption, we may be sure it is no poor one'. Pakeha who had been able 'to penetrate its twilight borders' knew of the 'wealth and beauty' beyond; 'and if little has yet been done in the way of making the literature accessible', this had been partly due to the inability or unwillingness of Pakeha to overcome difficulties. However, 'the Maori himself has begun to place the literature of his race on record'. And for 'the good student of Maori' there would be a bonus - he would be able to appreciate not only Maori literature, 'but through it the even greater bulk of Polynesian literature - Hawaiian, Tahitian, Rarotongan, Mangaian, Marquesan, Samoan', for the languages of their regions were, like Maori, 'a dialect of

Polynesia'. Andersen finished by saying he had 'little doubt that in the time to come the Polynesian literature will be as largely drawn on as was the Greek'.²²⁵

Though Andersen argues in this article that there is a Maori literature, and a Polynesian literature, even though much of it is not yet written down or published, he continues to suggest that the collection and publication of such material is the proper result to aim for, not just for the use of Maori (or other Polynesians) but so that it may be 'tapped' and made 'accessible' to Europeans through being translated and annotated. Eventually it may be 'as largely drawn on as was the Greek'. The thrust of the argument is thus towards making the material available in English and in print.

It is not possible to identify precisely when Andersen determined that bilingual texts would be a suitable and desirable form of publication for Maori literature (and for Polynesian literature as well). The idea is perhaps implicit in his 'Maori Literature' article when he refers to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in translation with annotations;²²⁶ and he may have known of the Loeb Classical Library which began to appear shortly before the Great War, with its parallel (or side-by-side) texts in the original and in English-language translation.²²⁷ In any case, bilingual publication (though not in parallel texts) was a feature of John White's Ancient History of the Maori, and had been emphasized by the Polynesian Society, both in the Journal, and, notably, in the Lore of the Whare-wānanga. In addition, there

were likely to be various examples of parallel texts in the Turnbull Library. Andersen had used annotated texts in his English literature studies for evening classes at Canterbury College in the 1890s, and had consulted many books with glossaries and detailed textual commentaries in his study of prosody since the turn of the century. He was thoroughly accustomed to critical editions which attempted to render opaque language transparent.

The notion of a published bilingual literature is referred to in a letter to Kinsey in July 1931: 'I have been coming across some beautiful examples of Tahitian & other Polynesian poetry, so think I must compile an anthology of Polynesian prose and poetry, for the benefit of both Polynesian & Pakeha; which means it will be original on one side - Tahitian, Hawaiian, Maori or what not on one side, English on the other.'²²⁸ He thought well enough of the idea to try it out on Herbert Williams a day later, foreshadowing also his future concern for orthographic matters related to the texts: 'I want to make a Polynesian anthology; make a collection of good stories and poems (songs), original on one side, translation on the other; - a book for Polynesian and Pakeha I shall have to be careful of the originals, and hope I may have your valuable advice there. In the Hawaii proper names, for instance, I want to separate the article as it is separated in Maori. Kamehameha should I take it be Ka Mehameha, as Te Wherowhero is that

and not Tewherowhero: one form is easy, the other awkward.’²²⁹ By 1934 he had advanced the idea in other quarters. Gregory, the Director of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, had written to Andersen suggesting the publication of a Gazetteer of the Pacific’ and also a list of ‘reliable’ writers on the Pacific. Andersen agreed such works would be a good idea, but preferred a literary project - ‘a book of Polynesian Literature. People so often say that the Maori, the Hawaiian &c. never had a literature, & as there’s no literature, what’s the use of learning Maori &c? - I want to show that there is a literature, so shall suggest a publication of the best stories, poems, songs, epic fragments &c, in Maori, Tahitian, Tongan, Mangaian, Hawaiian, Samoan; original on left page, translation on right, explanatory annotations at foot, general notes at end. Here not only Europeans but the natives themselves will get an idea of the extent of their literature - which really is one they may be proud of. I already have a few selected - one, a Tahiti story of the old classic period Hare Hongi’s lyric for the putorino (in my Maori Music) should go in; also some of the Mangaia death-tales in Gill’s Myths & songs of the S. Pacific’.²³⁰

Though this proposal to Gregory came to nothing, the project was not forgotten by Andersen. In March 1935 Buck was visiting New Zealand, and spent time in the Turnbull Library with Andersen, no doubt regaling him with salty tales of life in various parts of the Pacific. He was about to go to a lecture by Buck on

the Polynesian Maori, Andersen told Kinsey, and, what was more, when Gregory retired shortly from the Directorship of the Bishop Museum, Buck would be taking his place - 'then', added Andersen, feeling that there would be more co-operation from the new director, 'I may get out a good book - Polynesian Literature - which I have long wanted to do - in original text & translation'.²³¹ Whether Andersen ever made a proposal on this matter to Buck is not clear, but other preoccupations intervened in any case.

It was his work with Ngata on *Nga Moteatea* in the 1940s, discussed in detail in Chapter 6, which revived Andersen's plans for a bilingual volume of Polynesian literature. When he sent Peter Buck a copy of the second proof of the first two *Nga Moteatea* 'songs' scheduled for publication, he added to the end of a long letter discussing principles of hyphenation and capitalisation, 'These songs are giving me a lot of work; but they are worth it. I also want to see a collection of Polynesian literature, prose and verse, done in the same way as the Maori. Think of the beautiful prose-lyric *The Marchers of the Night* - Hawaii text one page, Pakeha the opposite: a Maori will like it as much as a Hawaiian, and a Pakeha as both: and Gill's *Mangaia Death-talks*; and the Tahiti short-novel *The Legend of Honoura* - which I suppose should be *Honokura* Remember Emersons book of the *Hula* songs too; many of them take me.'²³² Andersen also wrote to Martha Beckwith in California. Beckwith, formerly of the Bishop Museum, had published

a major study, Hawaiian Mythology (1940), contributed an article on 'Polynesian Mythology' to the augmented centennial numbers of the Polynesian Society Journal, and had recently sent (through Ernest Beaglehole) another article for publication in the Journal. 'Your idea of publishing a series of Polynesian stories interests me', she told Andersen, 'but I do not know how to suggest selections from Hawaii.' She thought the Pele story 'by far the most characteristic of Hawaiian stories'.²³³ Though he had written to her about 'Polynesian literature in general', he was now, Andersen told her, 'happily started on ... Maori literature'. Ngata's *Nga Moteatea* and the publication of this 'fine Maori poetry will give you an idea of the aim Fancy some of your stories', he said to Beckwith, referring to the stories she had analysed in her publication, 'in the original, with translation, and notes That is the recording of Polynesian literature I hope to see taken in hand'.²³⁴

Within a few days of writing to Beckwith in May 1944, Andersen had in his own hands copies of a small bilingual publication which he had prepared himself, Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society.²³⁵ During the war, Andersen had been drawn into some of the activities of the Danish Association in New Zealand, a patriotic grouping of Danes who wanted to assist the war effort. The president of the Association asked Andersen to make a radio broadcast on 26 September 1943, the birthday of the Danish king. As part of the broadcast, Andersen included three

Danish songs, and he prefaced these records with his own translations of the Danish songs, to make the songs comprehensible to an English-speaking audience.²³⁶ He had made many translations of Danish songs and verse and German verse when younger, and he enjoyed taking up the activity again. Subsequently there was dissension in the Association, and Andersen helped establish a rival group, the Anglo-Danish Society. At the first meeting of the new Society, in Wellington on 14 March 1944, the singing of Danish songs (he told a member of the Society who lived in Palmerston North) had crowned the evening.²³⁷ There was a difficulty, however, in the lack of a suitable Danish songbook, and he decided to prepare one himself, with translations ‘so that the Angles might join in with the Danes’, since some members of the Society knew little or no Danish. It wouldn’t matter if Danish and English words were sung at the same time: ‘both will go to the tune, and each one will know what he is singing’.²³⁸ As well as making the English-language translation, Andersen included a commentary with three of the five songs in the first booklet, giving historical and cultural background. A second booklet was published in June or July 1944; Andersen had material for a third booklet but it was never produced.²³⁹

Andersen took much effort with the translations. His English versions of the Danish are as regular as the originals: they are metrical, are rhymed in the same pattern, and they make sense (cultural context and historical echoes apart, and these

matters were addressed in the accompanying commentary) as completely separate poems. Thus *Fuglen sit Öje lukker*, the first stanza:²⁴⁰

Fuglen sit Öje lukker	Closes the bird its eye now,
Sætter sig trygt til Ro	Sleeps in untroubled rest,
Droemmer mens Stormen sukker	Dreams, while the storm on high now
Hult om dens hoi je Bo	Cradles its tree-borne nest.

His facility with rhyme and metre was adequate for the trickier forms, as in this example from *Gud! skaerm vor Konges Hus*:²⁴¹

Lad over Boelgen blaa	Where the billows swing,
Snaekker med Rigdom gaa	To ships that cargoes bring,
Trygt til ver Kyst.	Safe passage give;
Hvert i sin Hvaerv, sin Stand	Each at his station stand,
Virke som Haedersmand,	Labour with willing hand,
At vi i Faedres Land	Then in our Fatherland
Leve med Lyst.	Glad shall we live.

The booklets certainly had their utility as songbooks for members of the Anglo-Danish Society, but Andersen also intended them to indicate what he had in mind for Nga Moteatea and for his projected ‘Polynesian literature’: he sent copies

of the booklets to Ngata.²⁴² It is significant that for the final song in the second booklet he presented not only the standard Danish and English versions of Hjemmet/Home Sweet Home but the Maori language version as well (this too was a standard version, not Andersen's translation).²⁴³ Nevertheless, Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society also included music, and since the publication was kept relatively inexpensive, the material was rather cramped. Andersen had in mind a more tasteful presentation for his projected volume of Polynesian literature.

What was to become a small volume called Polynesian Literature first surfaces in the records when it had already reached the stage of a typescript which could be sent to a publisher, in May 1946.²⁴⁴ Andersen probably collected the material earlier in 1946, and perhaps in 1945 as well. He had hoped, so he told Avery and Sons, the publishers, that the material would be published as a 'Literature Memoir' through the Polynesian Society, either in continuation of the general memoir series (of which his Maori Music and Maori Place-names had formed part) or as the first of a new series of literature memoirs, but in either case with a smaller page-size, since 'a smaller size is always more willingly handled'; but there was so much Journal work in progress, he thought he would rather produce Polynesian Literature as a separate publication, with the possibility that the Society would take part of the edition. Avery and Sons were to set the English and Maori verse on facing pages, with the notes in English following each song. The

type for the verse should not be as large as that used for the Journal, and the type for the notes should be smaller again. The page size was to be like that for poetry books generally - smaller than Avery and Sons used for the Journal.²⁴⁵

Avery and Sons set the material quickly: Andersen received the galley proofs in the middle of July 1946, together with a question about the layout - the notes for the initial song were so extensive that there was a large 'gap' between the first two songs. The publisher suggested the initial song might be placed at the end of the sequence. Andersen decided instead to group all the notes at the end of the book. The printing was completed by early November when Avery and Sons despatched 50 copies to Andersen.²⁴⁶

The book was a small one, both in terms of page size (18cm), and number of pages (80, plus 12 prelims and 5 pages of illustrations). It bore the title Polynesian Literature: Maori Poetry (Waiata and Tangi), thus indicating Andersen's general project as well as the specific subject matter. From another perspective, it proposed 'Maori Poetry' to be a component of a broader 'Polynesian Literature'. There were eight separate items (numbered differently in the list of contents and in the main text, an unusual carelessness on Andersen's part), with one item containing two 'songs'. 'The few examples following of Maori thought expressed in literature', Andersen began his introduction, 'are among many that have appeared from time to time in publications rather hard to acquire and so not

often seen. Full notes are needed in order that the many names and references included may be understood, and the same remark holds true as regards many beautiful creations in English literature, such as *Lycidas*, *Adonais*, and other widely-read favourites'.²⁴⁷

The first item, more than 120 lines, was *He Waiata-Putorino O Tawhito*/An Ancient Flute-Song, from *Nga Puhi*, collected and translated by Hare Hongi, and published in the *Polynesian Society Journal* in 1918. Andersen had included the song in his *Maori Music*, and since 1934 had thought it would form part of any volume on Polynesian literature.²⁴⁸ The second item, *Ngeri*/Occasional Song, had also appeared in *Maori Music*, its first publication.²⁴⁹ The third item, *Te Putea-iti* A Reti or Southern Cross, was Maori poetry in a much more restricted sense: it was a modern composition written in English by Hare Hongi, and had been previously published in the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* in 1902. The author, commented Andersen, 'shows how a Maori is able to treat a Maori theme in a Pakeha form'. The poem has 88 lines (22 stanzas of 4 lines), strictly rhymed.²⁵⁰ Its inclusion in *Polynesian Literature* is a little mysterious, since it was not at all traditional in form, and had never existed in a Maori language version. Perhaps it was an implicit invitation for poets to write English language verse on Maori subjects. It also provided an opportunity for Andersen to include illustrations: the drawings by Kennett Watkins and Trevor Lloyd which had appeared with the poem

in the Illustrated Magazine and which Andersen thought ‘will preserve the spirit of the poem’ were reproduced in Polynesian Literature.²⁵¹

Items 4 and 5 were tangi/laments collected by Elsdon Best and published in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, and later in Best’s Land of Tara.²⁵² The last three items all dealt with the same incident, the attack by Nga Puhi (under the leadership of Hongi Hika) upon Ngati Maru at Totara Pa, in the Thames district, in 1821. Andersen took from White’s Ancient History of the Maori both Nga Puhi and Ngati Maru versions of Hongi’s killing of the Ngati Maru prisoners, Tu-kehu and Wetea, and the waiata the Ngati Maru sang before their death, and added the version of Hoani Nahe of Ngati Maru recorded by Percy Smith in his Maori Wars.²⁵³ ‘It has been objected that where such dual or multiple versions exist little reliance can be placed on any of them’. Andersen argued instead that narrators may see a simple incident in different ways, ‘yet all correct; and the historian must assemble these narratives as he would the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle the versions are given so that the reader may judge for himself, or simply take each as a separate story; but in all the versions the relentlessness of Hongi-hika stands out clearly, as does the remorseless vindictiveness of the blind women, and, above all, the nobility of the young aristocratic victim. The artist is awaited who is able to depict the

incident'.²⁵⁴ That final sentence of Andersen's introduction echoes the dedication to Maori Life in Ao-tea forty years before.

The notes which Andersen provided take up 27 pages, fourteen of them devoted to explicating *An Ancient Flute-song*. Not all the material in the notes is particularly relevant to the songs: a long paragraph in the notes to the Te Totara incident of 1821 refers to John White's story-telling and story-collecting habits;²⁵⁵ in glossing 'te ngaro a moa' (or extinct as the moa) in Te Putea-iti a Reti, Andersen provides a generous summary of his own views on the Maori and the moa;²⁵⁶ and he quotes rather unnecessarily fourteen lines from Alfred Domett's Ranolf and Amohia in the notes to *An Ancient Flute-song*.²⁵⁷ A good many of the notes are repetitions or revisions of notes or commentary provided by Hare Hongi and Elsdon Best when the material was originally published. What was original, or at least not previously published, was some of the information given in the notes for the *Flute-song*: Andersen had sent a copy of the song to William and Whina Cooper of Panguru, Hokianga, and they wrote an extensive reply to his questions. Their comments were reproduced almost verbatim, and attributed to the Coopers, though it is difficult in some notes to distinguish the contributions of the Coopers from those of Andersen.²⁵⁸

For the rest, Andersen offered standard information on species of flora and fauna, and the star constellations; and excavations from such works as Smith's

Hawaiki, Best's The Maori, The Lore of The Whare-wānanga, and his own book, Maori Place-names. The notes, said Andersen of the lament of Te Ihu-nui-o-tonga, 'vivify the names as similar notes vivify and animate the names in our own elegies and like compositions. To the Maori every name is a fragment of history, or a picture, or both, calling up personages and incidents of his ancient past or his more immediate and intimate present'.²⁵⁹ While the notes do supply context and elucidate various points, they hardly 'vivify the names': Andersen had neither the recondite information nor the 'thick' cultural knowledge to 'call up personages and incidents' of other people's pasts. Less expert Pakeha, however, may have been comforted by the appearance of scholarship.

While Andersen was as assiduous as usual in encouraging booksellers and others to take or order copies of Polynesian Literature, including the despatch of copies to the High Commissioner's office in London, a letter from J.L. Ewing, editor of School Publications, opened up a new prospect. As part of a series of post-primary school bulletins on writing in New Zealand, Ewing told Andersen, a bulletin on New Zealand poetry was planned, and he would like to include in the bulletin the Lament by Te Ihu-nui-o-tonga mo Rangi published in Polynesian Literature.²⁶⁰ Andersen was pleased to give his permission, for a minor fee, since 'In undertaking this publication I had to stand the risk, so naturally depend upon sales to recoup myself'. He corrected Ewing's attribution of the translation to

Andersen ('your translation'): the translation was Best's, 'though as a matter of fact he would seldom risk a translation'. In a postscript he added: 'I have asked the Director General if he would consider taking a number of copies [of Polynesian Literature] for school libraries; would you have anything to say in support of this?'²⁶¹ By the same post he sent a copy of Polynesian Literature to the Director-General of Education, offering a reduced price per copy if a number of copies were ordered. In another letter to the Director-General he pointed out that there was 'a beautiful little ngeri (action song)' in the book 'that I am sure would be performed at many a Maori school - and Pakeha too for that matter. The notes give full directions for the performance'.²⁶² Eventually, a year later, the Department of Education decided to take 190 copies of Polynesian Literature - one for each post-primary school in New Zealand. 'I feel sure that the poems will be of value in any study of Maori culture', commented the Director-General.²⁶³

'I am glad you like Maori Poetry', Andersen wrote to his friend George Petersen. 'There was a lot of work in that book - far more than a casual reader would think. I want to issue others - Tahitian, Hawaiian, and others, as well as more Maori - for this is literature, and the books will show that the Polynesians had a body of literature (preserved in memory as the Upanishads were) almost comparable with our own.'²⁶⁴ Why were other volumes not issued? Probably, despite the handsome assistance of the Department of Education, because the

returns from Polynesian Literature were not high enough to cover the publication of further collections. Without such encouragement, Andersen readily turned, and had in fact already turned, to several other projects, including the preparation of Old Christchurch, published in 1949, The Maori Tohunga, published in 1948, his work on the Mair brothers, and the little booklet on Spiders (1949) which he hoped would be the first of a series on natural history. He was thinking hard about the prospects for volumes of his verse as well.²⁶⁵ But there was perhaps the disappointment of failing to receive commendation for Polynesian Literature from one particular quarter. 'The Pol. Soc. started publishing a series of Maori songs gathered and translated and fully annotated by Sir Apirana [Ngata]', he told Ernest Currie: 'we have published 30, and he has the rest of the first 100 almost ready; has had for 3 years past, and we despair of getting them from him My first vol. of Maori Poetry was to have been the first of a series including Pacific Polynesian examples as well: and I did hope its appearance would have acted as a spur to Sir Apirana, to whom I sent a copy; not even acknowledged'.²⁶⁶

Ngata's failure to acknowledge receipt of a copy of Polynesian Literature, which apparently rankled with Andersen, may have been no more than the response, or lack of response, of a man who was aging, sometimes ill, increasingly frail, and, as a Maori leader and scholar, very busy with what to him were more

important matters.²⁶⁷ However, according to Andersen's own account, Ngata did not reply to other letters from Andersen in this period.²⁶⁸ The explanation for a break in communication, disconcerting to Andersen after fairly regular and frequent conversation and correspondence between himself and Ngata over more than a quarter of a century (from just after the Great War), may be discovered in Andersen's activities and attitudes during the period from about 1942 through 1946, especially in connection with the publication of *Nga Moteatea*, the project closest to Ngata's heart, in the *Polynesian Society Journal* during 1944 and 1945, his critical review of a book by one of Ngata's friends, and the publication, also in the *Journal*, of an article which some Maori found offensive. Ngata was undoubtedly aware that *Polynesian Literature* was intended as a 'spur', and Andersen probably so described it (perhaps in less forceful terms) in a covering letter; and even had Andersen not made this point explicitly, Ngata would have recognised the similarity in the format of *Polynesian Literature* to Andersen's *Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society* which Andersen had brought to Ngata's notice as a kind of model for bilingual literary publications, including *Nga Moteatea*.²⁶⁹

For Andersen, *Polynesian Literature*, if much slighter than the major volume he had envisaged at least as early as 1931, and merely the beginning of a grand project rather than its completion, was essentially a further development

along the lines he had been working on over a considerable period, and congruent, to his mind, with the broad aims of the Polynesian Society since its founding in 1892 - hence his suggestion that a portion of the print-run of Polynesian Literature might be issued by the Society as a memoir volume.²⁷⁰ The book preserved in print the traditions of Maori both in the original language and with English language translations. The translations and notes might aid students, Maori and Pakeha, who wished to learn the Maori language. The work as a whole would reveal to Maori that they had a literature of which they could be proud, and would reveal to sceptical Pakeha there was indeed a Maori literature which could rank with the 'beautiful creations in English literature', including such works as Milton's 'Lycidas' and Shelley's 'Adonais'.²⁷¹ The exemplary format was one suitable for fine literature; and Andersen had practised in Polynesian Literature the orthographic consistency which he had so long enjoined upon others.²⁷²

For Ngata, if he considered Polynesian Literature at all, the book may well have reinforced his growing doubts (doubts which would be expressed in a speech a few months later in 1947) that the aspirations of the Polynesian Society, and of Andersen especially, were not altogether convergent with his own and those of other Maori who sought to maintain and vivify traditional knowledge. In particular, Ngata and Andersen, even while their correspondence remained cordial, had not seen entirely eye-to-eye over the preparation of *Nga Moteatea* for

publication. Moreover, in other ways, as reviewer in and editor of the Polynesian Society Journal, Andersen had recently been indiscreet and, to at least some Maori, had given offence. For once, some of the subjects of cultural appropriation made their feelings known not just by silence (as in Ngata's failure to acknowledge Polynesian Literature) but in ways which left traces in the written and printed records. These circumstances are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6: NGA MOTEATEA

In the 1890s, the Urewera country was little known to Pakeha New Zealanders: most of the few Pakeha who had entered this rugged area were members of the colonial militia forces and Armed Constabulary which had sought to bring the prophet Te Kooti and his followers to battle in the late 1860s and early 1870s. During the 1890s surveyors and roadmakers made the first peaceful (or relatively peaceful) Pakeha incursions.¹ Among them was Elsdon Best, and, probably at the behest of his Polynesian Society associate, Percy Smith, then the Surveyor-General, he prepared a small book on the region, its Tuhoe people, and their traditions, which was published by the Government Printer in 1897 as Waikare-moana.² At the opening of his account, Best describes how he ‘looked forward with keen pleasure to viewing the mountainous region of the little-known parts of the famous Urewera country’ with a ‘desire to look upon the unwrought wilderness’ where ‘neolithic man ... opened up the trails ... by which the incoming pioneers of the Age of Steel shall pass along, to leave behind them ... thriving hamlets [in place of] stockaded pas, fields of waving grain for jungle and for forest.’ Here Best is indulging in the conventional inflated rhetoric of colonisation; but he extended it in a less usual way: ‘And with this there also comes that strange sensation of vivid interest and pleasing anticipation which is felt by the ethnologist,

botanist, and lover of primitive folk-lore when entering on a new field for research. For the glamour of the wilderness is upon him, and the kura huna - the "concealed treasure" (of knowledge) - loometh large in the land of Tuhoe.³ Thus does Best convey the frisson he experienced in his anticipation of acquiring new information, wealth hitherto untapped by Pakeha.

Johannes Andersen used a similar metaphor when writing to John Houston of Hawera in 1933. Houston, a member of the Polynesian Society, collected traditions from Maori in the Taranaki district, and corresponded with Andersen about his interests and activities from time to time. 'Sir Apirana', Andersen told Houston, referring to Ngata, 'has been spending a lot of time examining old songs and has so far published, with copious annotations, a hundred, and another hundred ready. The trouble for us Pakeha', admitted Andersen, 'is that they are all in Maori, notes and all'. Still, they were at least on record, 'and will be a mine of wealth in the future.'⁴ 'Mine of wealth' is very much a metaphor of colonisation: the 'old songs' were a resource which might be exploited by literary miners at some later date. For Andersen, however, they were to remain a concealed treasure as long as they were 'all in Maori, notes and all'.

Despite good intentions, Andersen had never managed to acquire any significant fluency in the Maori language. His earliest attempts with Mr Hansard at

Christchurch in 1908 may not have been particularly successful or prolonged.⁵

‘Toku awha kia koe’, Gerald Allhusen began his letter to Andersen dated 3 ‘Oketopa’ 1909. ‘Kua tae mai to pukapuka, ka nui taku pai ki tenei.’ At the end of the letter, which was in Maori, Allhusen added a postscript in English: ‘Here’s something to puzzle you. It is probably full of idiomatic errors but if it appeals to you I should be more than pleased to receive a reply in the vernacular. By this means we may possibly acquire a passable fluency.’⁶ Andersen’s reply is not on record, but every one of Allhusen’s later letters to Andersen was in English.⁷

Allhusen lived as a labourer and sawmiller in various settlements in Taranaki and Northland, and had a great deal of day-by-day contact with Maori: this provided him with opportunities to learn the language which were not so readily available to the townsman. But Andersen evidently made a new resolve in the 1920s. In a newspaper article on ‘Maori Ethnology’ published in 1922, Andersen noted of the European ethnologist: ‘Very little of value can be obtained unless the collector knows and speaks [the Maori] language, or in default has with him a mutual friend who may interpret for him; but complete ignorance of the language is an almost insuperable obstacle.’⁸ In Andersen’s case, the ‘mutual friend’ was Best, though Buck also provided assistance on the Dominion Museum ethnological expeditions of 1921 and 1923,⁹ and the mutual friend no doubt encouraged Andersen to learn Maori. In his diary of the expedition to the East Coast in 1923, Andersen admitted

in one place he knew ‘nothing of the language’, and added, ‘really must get hold of it’.¹⁰ During 1924, Andersen wrote at least a few letters to Buck partly in Maori : ‘it is good to write in Maori what you think in English’, Buck replied encouragingly on one occasion, ‘because you get practice yourself and give great pleasure to the recipient of your note.’¹¹ No doubt both Best and Andersen were too busy with their various writing projects in the later 1920s for tuition to continue; hence Andersen’s comment to Buck in April 1944, ‘I wish I knew the Maori language’.¹² And in 1947, when engaged upon research for The Mair Family, Andersen requested officers of the Native Department (as it was then called) to translate a letter written in Maori by Rewi Maniapoto in 1888 to W. G. Mair: ‘It may not be a letter of any importance, but to me it is of considerable interest because of the writer.’ J. H. Robertson sent a translation, adding: ‘It appears to be merely a letter to the Judge of the Native Land Court in connection with certain land cases then before the Court.’¹³ If Andersen’s knowledge of Maori was insufficient to deal with such straightforward matters, it was utterly inadequate for unthreading the richly allusive materials of Nga Moteatea. Lack of the language was certainly an ‘insuperable obstacle’, unless Nga Moteatea were to be translated into English.

During the Second World War, Ngata gave some attention to a general scheme for the publication of Maori materials, outlining a multi-volume proposal

to Andersen in 1942. After Ngata was defeated in the parliamentary elections of 1943, Andersen manoeuvred Ngata into preparing for publication not the unpublished sections of *Nga Moteatea* which Ngata most wanted to get into print, but a bilingual version of the already-published sections to which Andersen so much wanted access. In this complex situation, the development of which is discussed in detail below, the divergence between the cultural designs of Andersen and Ngata gradually became more apparent, to Ngata at any rate. Andersen's orthographic prescriptions for *Nga Moteatea* were also projected, in a rather ungenerous manner, upon the work of one of Ngata's associates, J. H. Mitchell; and he offended some Maori by printing in the Journal of the Polynesian Society a very controversial article by two Pakeha researchers. When Pakeha in the Polynesian Society decided to remove Andersen from the editorship of the Journal, Ngata acquiesced in, and perhaps even encouraged, the change, since he was critical of the ways the Society, perhaps especially Andersen, had failed to assist Maori projects in the way Ngata had envisaged. Even after this loss of the editorship, and a loss of contact with Ngata, Andersen still strove to make *Nga Moteatea* more widely available through the separate publication of the small amount which had appeared in translation: in his perspective, *Nga Moteatea* remained a 'mine of wealth'.

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On 9 September 1943, Andersen wrote to Peter Buck in Honolulu. 'I am not sure if I told you that the Maori Purposes Board wanted the Polynesian Society to print a new issue of Nga Moteatea section by section in the Journal', he informed Buck. 'I said Yes, with great pleasure, if we were given the translation with each song. "Print the Maori first, and we will give you the translations later." "Not a single one" said I; "who will do the translations." "You will always have Peter Buck." I was dubious; not of Buck though, and said that our readers mostly read English and the Maori would be lost on them. I asked for half a dozen to start with: that was over a year ago. At the last meeting of the Board I brought up the question again, and was told there were some ready for me: on enquiry after the meeting I found there were two. But that at any rate was a start, and I took them, and they are now being set, with notes, and I see a start of Maori and Polynesian literature being recorded.'¹⁴

Apirana Ngata's letters confirm at least the basic points of this transaction. He told J. H. Grace in 1944 that he was revising parts of Nga Moteatea, 'and at the request of the Polynesian Society am rendering also into English'. Later in the same letter Ngata wrote: 'When the Maori Purposes Board, which had voted £500

for printing the Maori version of Part III, asked the Polynesian Society to undertake the job the latter insisted on an English version as well and that it should commence from Part I. I appreciated the importance of the Maori-English of course & that increasingly those who are concerned with the future of Maori culture must look to the intelligentsia among the Pakeha for support-informed backing. But the contemplation of the magnitude of the job at my time of life was to say the least dismaying.¹⁵

The publication of *Nga Moteatea* was a major portion of Ngata's scheme for providing reliable texts in the Maori language of the chief forms of traditional literature: this production of texts was from one perspective part of his long-term plan, envisaged before 1910 and perhaps originating much earlier,¹⁶ activated initially in the 1920s, to vivify Maori culture; from another perspective it was Ngata's share of the burden assumed by Peter Buck, Maui Pomare and himself to place on record all aspects of Maori culture.¹⁷ The volume of proverbs planned for the Polynesian Society's centennial memoirs had been set aside for the foreseeable future,¹⁸ and the 'Songs', *Nga Moteatea*, were the other traditional materials Ngata was perhaps keenest to complete and make available. Parts I and II had been printed in the late 1920s, though these, he recognised, needed revision and correction.¹⁹ The preparation of Parts III and IV was urgent, since the uncorrected and unreliable (and often unannotated) texts of songs were scattered in

various (usually highly inaccessible) printed sources, and some existed in manuscript versions only. There was not even a comprehensive listing of or index to the materials for Part IV. He must therefore press ahead with the printing of authentic versions for Parts III and IV, and it was Part III for which the Board had provided funds.²⁰

The only avenue for publication appeared to be the Journal of the Polynesian Society: the songs could appear as memoir supplements and later be cumulated into a full-sized volume. Publication in 'serial' form would break the task into manageable proportions: to attempt the preparation of a whole volume would delay the publication even further. Was not the Journal the proper place for such materials? It did after all receive considerable money from the Maori Purposes Fund Board. The days of Toa Takatini and Te Wananga were long gone, and the Journal would be an appropriate place.

Andersen was, however, definite on the need for an English translation to accompany the Maori. Who would say, in any case, that it was not a good idea? Buck wrote to Andersen, 'I think you are quite right in refusing to print sections of Nga Moteatea without the English translations. The native text is already recorded and there is no advantage in printing them again without a translation.'²¹ Bruce Biggs, beginning his interest in linguistics which would lead to a notable career, wrote to the Polynesian Society secretary, C.R.H. Taylor, early in 1945: 'I see that

Sir Apirana is still keeping up in this issue of the journal. The translations are real good stuff and fill a long felt need as Nga Moteatea was pretty much of a mystery even to a good Maori linguist. I've often asked old Maori to help me translate parts of it and they've been as much at sea as I was myself.'²² But the idea of translation was clearly Andersen's own.²³ Ngata acquiesced in the proposal because he had no choice: at least, if the Journal was willing to provide space to print Nga Moteatea, he would not turn aside the opportunity of completing a project so important to him by arguing about the matter of translation. Ngata had no objections in principle to translation of Nga Moteatea.²⁴ But as the extracts quoted above make clear, it was on this occasion a proposal that he went along with for the sake of seeing the Maori texts printed. His reluctance or resistance is not strongly expressed, and in fact must be inferred from his comments that the plan for translation was not his but that of the Polynesian Society (i.e. Andersen), and that the prospect of additional work was dismaying at his time of life.

Ngata was not present at the annual meeting of the Maori Purposes Fund Board in 1942. However, he was in Wellington, and he and Andersen discussed by telephone the publication of Nga Moteatea.²⁵ No record of the telephone conversation seems to have been kept: but evidently Andersen said to Ngata something along the lines of 'we'll print the stuff if you give us translations, but set out your detailed proposals so that we have some sort of general scheme'. The

general scheme discussed apparently included prose texts: when Ngata wrote to Andersen on 18 June 1942 enclosing a 'prospectus' of the 'Maori Poetry' project, he said that a plan for prose writings would follow when he had finished drawing up a schedule of Maori prose texts. In the meantime, he was sending his proposals for Part III of *Nga Moteatea* in which all, text and notes, would be rendered into English as well as Maori. 'Now that my interest in these things is reawakened by the decision to publish Part III and to have English versions for that and the two preceding parts I'll push on as far as I can.' The translations could be done by a committee of experts - Pei Te Hurinui Jones would be one of those on such a committee; and he might have to ask Buck to do some of the work: it would keep Buck's mind off worrying about Japanese attempts to invade Hawaii. The war was on Ngata's mind too: 'I find the work an excellent tonic for the anxiety about Tobruk and Sebastopol', he reported.²⁶

Both Tobruk and Sebastopol had fallen to German forces by the time Andersen wrote his reply on 9 July 1942. His response was largely in terms of how the text and notes would appear on the printed papers. He did not fancy Ngata's preference for explanatory material before each song, for example (the reason for this Ngata was to emphasize later); and he suggested that 'Any lengthy explanation ... is much better at the end - where any one really interested in the song and its history will readily go, as I went, and I am sure you did too, to the end

of our Clarendon text-books of the Shakespeare plays: what a world of old and strange lore, of the vicissitudes of words, we found there'. There couldn't be too many notes, said Andersen. He used to enjoy and he still enjoyed, so he told Ngata, the notes to Shakespeare as much as the plays themselves.²⁷

He was concerned too about the size of the page: he told Ngata he would prefer a smaller page than that of the Journal.²⁸ (The Journal was then 25 cm (or a little more before being trimmed).) A few days later, Andersen wrote to Avery and Sons, the printer, on the same matter: while the Journal was the right page size for an anthropological publication 'which is semi-scientific in character', it was not so appropriate for literary works. It would be better, said Andersen, to use the smallest octavo page, with 8-point type for the text and 6-point type for the notes. He thought the first volume would have twenty-five to thirty pages.²⁹ (Presumably Andersen intended that Avery and Sons would print Nga Moteatea on the usual page size so that it could be bound in with the Journal, but it would be printed with very generous top and bottom margins so that when the material was separately issued it could be trimmed down to small octavo.) From the outset of the project, therefore, Andersen was concerned not just to establish a text with translation but the physical appearance of 'literary treasures', small, dainty, tasteful volumes. These early preoccupations were to recur.

Though Andersen heard nothing further until his enquiry at the annual meeting of the Maori Purposes Fund Board in 1943 brought forth the response that some translations had been made, as he had reported to Buck,³⁰ Ngata was giving the matter considerable attention between all his various duties and responsibilities. The Jones brothers, Michael Rotohiko (usually called Mick) and Pei Te Hurinui, among others, were put to work on translations; and J. H. Grace was also drawn into the project, though Grace felt diffident about his capabilities, at least compared to the skills of Ngata. Ngata himself was sensible of the burden, not just of work, but of the standards of two societies. 'If you are conscious of the Maori Elders standing over you as you work and of University Professors in many countries scanning the printed matter you are keyed to do your honest best', he wrote to Grace.³¹

It was Michael Jones, apparently, who delivered the first two songs to Andersen; while Jones may have had Ngata's permission to hand them to Andersen, he probably acted on his own initiative. We might suppose that when the item, printing expenses for Nga Moteatea, came up on the Maori Purposes Fund Board agenda, Andersen asked Jones when he would see the materials for printing, and Jones replied that he had copies of some poems in translation. Catching up with Jones 'after a meeting', Andersen 'found there were two' songs in

translation.³² Ngata himself did not want any precipitate action. When he received proofs of the first two songs, he told Andersen: 'I know what is involved in the new "Nga Moteatea" series and do not care to launch out on it this side of New Year'. He continued: 'I asked Mick Jones to let me have back the versions I "ran" off. These are subject to corrections'. Ngata had apparently made carbon copies or mimeographed copies to hand round to the experts for their opinions, and it was copies of two such songs which Andersen acquired from Jones at the Board meeting and then had set in type by Avery and Sons. Nga Moteatea was therefore inaugurated by a fait accompli. However, it was a fait accompli which distorted Ngata's original plans, for the songs Andersen was given were from Part I, not Part III. 'Such resources as [the Board] had I preferred should go towards the publication of Part 3', wrote Ngata, 'so that my own plan of getting the texts circulated to Maori communities to obtain their comments and criticisms might be furthered.' The tone and substance of these remarks indicates that the first proofs were printed without authority - at least without authorization from Ngata, and probably without the express permission of Jones.³³

Andersen spent a great deal of time preparing the material for the printer, copying out the Maori text and notes to make them clearer for the typesetter.³⁴ When the first galleys were returned to him there were so many amendments to be made that he asked for a second proof; 'as this will form the basis for University

books the time is well spent', he told Avery and Sons. He had hoped for 9-point type, but some lines of the English translation were too long, and the smaller 8-point had to be employed to keep the lines unbroken. Andersen was very conscious that as the project began, so it would continue: 'I should like two pulls of the corrected galleys so that I can send one to Sir Apirana Ngata, with a long letter of suggestions so that a definite scheme may be adopted, as started in these two songs, to be followed in subsequent printing'.³⁵

He sent off a long letter to Ngata on 16 November 1943, and enclosed the proofs. 'I have long intended writing, especially after the elections. I wondered if you felt disappointment, or relief, at the result.'³⁶ He also wondered how Ngata liked recent articles published in the Journal. Having thus cleared his throat, the editor went through twenty-one numbered items of suggestions and questions. In some stanzas there were not the same number of Maori and English lines; there were questions about material in the notes; Andersen wished 'chiefess' to be used instead of 'chieftainness': but most of the seven double-spaced typed pages discussed matters of orthographic practice. They were questions which Andersen had worried over for years. Here was his great opportunity to fix once-and-for-all the printed forms of the Maori language, and to remove the inconsistencies. The definite article? Ngata had Ahuahukiterangi and Te Ahuahukiterangi; Te Ariuru and te Ariuru, and so on: 'no doubt either form is correct, but it is as well to be

consistent'. The use of hyphens in names, both personal and place names, could finally be resolved: Ngata had written Tikitikiorangi in the English translation, Tikitiki-o-rangi in the Maori version - could there not be a definite form? Tribal names: Ngata used Ngati Porou, but Andersen pointed out that in the New Zealand Illustrated Magazine of 1899 there was this photograph of 'a handsome youth in his twenties in his mortar-board and gown', one Apirana Ngata, who was called a member of the 'Ngatiporou tribe'. Presumably Ngata himself had given this version of the name to the editor? Ngai Tahu, Ngai-Tahu, Ngaitahu? 'I trust you will not think all this labour in vain, Sir Apirana'.³⁷

Ngata took it all very seriously; one senses occasional impatience in his reply, but there is good humour for the most part, and both general principles and particular instances are considered in detail. He would not have chiefs or chiefess 'no matter who has used them'³⁸ (Andersen had noted as examples for such usage the O.E.D., Chambers's Dictionary, and Peter Buck).³⁹ Yes, Ngata agreed, there were inconsistencies over Te, over the use of internal capitals, and with hyphens. He referred Andersen to 'page after page' of his Maori Place-names for examples of hyphens. 'Shall we commence an agreement on these matters in the "Nga Moteatea" series?' Tribal names: Ngata suggested that the hyphens should be dropped where the name was 'broken up' as in Ngati Porou. Usage had confirmed Ngaitahu, Ngapuhi, and so forth, but it had 'not yet rendered common or

happy this combined form in Ngati Maniapoto, Ngati Tuwharetoa ... and others You must therefore leave it to the expert Maori author to decide.’ ‘Te’ and ‘te’: their use with names was ‘largely governed by euphony’ and English language patterns of expression. Hyphens: ‘The temptation to use the hyphen is irresistible when you imagine a Pakeha student to be looking over your shoulder. You at once start to break it into its component parts.’ But there were problems with long names which were compounds - Waiorongomai, Whanganuiatara. At some point this stringing together would become embarrassing to authors, composers and readers. ‘We do not want to run up against impossible names such as the Welsh or the Russian’, and thus Ngata preferred Whanganui a Tara. However, the hyphens could be dropped; though perhaps they could be inserted, as Andersen suggested, inside bracketed respellings in the English notes - this would indicate to readers of the English version the separate words which in combination made up the unhyphenated name used in the Maori text.⁴⁰ (Despite this agreement the hyphenated respellings were left out of the printed version.)

A few of Andersen’s suggestions to fix the basic form of the text and keep an exact relationship between Maori and English ran counter to Ngata’s primary concern, which was the provision of a Maori text. For Ngata, the text had to represent, that is, to re-present, oral performance. Andersen had pointed out where a line of the Maori text had been divided into two in the English translation,

‘appropriately, as there is discontinuity in the thought’. Should not the Maori also be divided: ‘Te kuri a Tarawhata,/E kore nei a taea, na!’⁴¹ ‘The lines of the stanzas in Maori’, Ngata admonished, ‘are arranged as sung. This is important among other things for "scanning" and most of all when learning the airs. Here is a case where one standard has to prevail over the other’. Ngata preferred to leave the text as it was at the risk of upsetting Andersen’s ‘natural desire’ to make the lines of the Maori text conform to the translation. In fact Ngata then found he was after all able to make an adjustment to the English version, and to remove that particular difficulty. He added guardedly, ‘Let us stick at present to the job of laying sound if not ornate foundations.’⁴²

On another matter, Ngata asked that Andersen follow his instructions. This was the placement of the general notes before the text. We have seen that the matter was disputed in 1942 when the initial plans were mooted.⁴³ In the first galley proofs Andersen seems to have relocated these notes to the end of the text. ‘One thing I must insist on’, said Ngata, ‘is that what were the headnotes in my ... Maori versions should be restored to their former prominent place. They were intended for a Maori public, which is very greatly interested in claims of authorship, and in the history of the compositions. If relegated to the foot-notes they will lose any influence they might have in attracting the interest of the people,

who should be carrying on the whole complex of Maori singing and poetry.’⁴⁴ The following day, when he posted the corrected proofs back to Andersen, he made the point again in a covering letter. The headnotes and references ‘are our bibliography’. The brief story of the composition was, in Ngata’s view, one of the chief omissions in other collections such as those by Grey and McGregor.⁴⁵ In effect, Ngata was reminding Andersen that there was not simply a printed icon, a standard text with a curious history to which the readers of marginalia could refer after considering the poem as a poem; but that the text had its own genealogy and it should come into being in a printed form with all these traces upon it.

Ngata was not the only person to be sent proofs of the first two songs. Before he had received Ngata’s replies to his various questions, Andersen had posted a set to Peter Buck. He needed to reply in any case to letters from Buck about one of his articles for a forthcoming Journal, but Nga Moteatea was on his mind, the proofs were on his desk, and Buck had expressed enthusiasm when he had heard that there was a likelihood of a start to printing Nga Moteatea. Buck also had been much interested in questions of orthography, especially as his ethnographic studies had taken him to various parts of Polynesia where the languages were cognate with Maori though vocalised (and thus written) differently, and through missionary or bureaucratic efforts there was much diversity in the relationships between roman script and European anticipations of how that

script would be spoken. Andersen and Buck had discussed these questions many times over.⁴⁶ Sending the proofs might help resolve matters. If the 'style of setting-out [were] to be adopted i[n] all future songs' then the expertise and opinions of Buck would also be useful. Possibly Andersen entertained the thought that Buck might be able to influence Ngata in favour of Andersen's preferred forms. He told Buck he had struck out the hyphens in names such as Tikitiki orangi and intended that the parts should be closed up when printed in the texts, but divided in the notes. 'Thus, Ahuahukiterangi (Ahuahukite-rangi). Once you have the division, the whole name is easy.' But what about the situation when a proper name was part of a larger name: well, Whanga-nui a Tara ought to be Whanganuiatara - 'the caps. must disappear'. It was more difficult with tribal names. 'Originally I suppose Whanau was not a proper name at all, any more than "clan" or "family" are; but te whanau a Apanui has come to be regarded as a name, whence Te Whanau a Apanui You would not write the Clan Mackay but the clan Mackay.' It was names like Ngati Porou which were in 'real contention'. 'Sir Apirana says you lose the personal name if you do not use the cap But was the name lost to the Maori when he spoke the name before he knew anything about cap. or lower case? - certainly not: the cap. is nothing more than a grammarian's device'. He was hoping Ngata would say 'Adopt Ngatiporou'. 'I write you too,

so that we may come to some agreement - all for the sake of uniformity and consistency'.⁴⁷

Buck was cautious in his reply. 'I doubt whether we will ever get consistency in writing Maori or Polynesian proper names. The trouble with a rule is that all the material refuses to be put into the same pigeon hole. Here [in Hawaii], we hyphenate compound words when we know the correct composition. It saves the reader from breaking them up incorrectly. Such a procedure might not be necessary for readers who know the language well, but most of our readers do not.' Buck was also able to suggest a change in a word of the English translation, and to question the Maori of one line.⁴⁸ (They were to return to discussion of tribal names and the form of the definite article before proper names when Ngata had made his own preferences known.)⁴⁹

In the last weeks of 1943 and into 1944, Ngata was very busy with Nga Moteatea.⁵⁰ Possibly there was a decline in other duties over the holiday season; probably there was some space for literary activity now that he had shed his parliamentary duties and the organisation of the Ngarimu V.C. scholarship fund was behind him; perhaps the sight of the proofs as evidence of Andersen's determination to (as it were) press ahead encouraged him - for some or all of these reasons he was able to give the preparation of Nga Moteatea detailed attention. He had Michael Jones collect up translations made by various experts and send them

on to him at Ruatoria.⁵¹ Ngata hoped to 'shorten the work' by interpolating the revisions and additions within the text of the earlier printed volume,⁵² but he thought this was likely to lead to confusion, so everything which had been printed before had to be typed out again. He sent Song 3 to Andersen on 8 December 1943. On 9 January 1944 he posted off Songs 4 to 6, and on 23 January Songs 7 to 15. Songs 16 and 17 were sent several months later, on 23 June 1944, 18 and 19 on 12 November, songs 20 through 23 went to Andersen on 14 December 1944, and for various reasons that was the last of the sequence received by Andersen.⁵³ Put another way, by the end of January 1944 the editor had received the bulk of what he was ever to have in his hands, fifteen songs out of twenty-three.

This seems like very slow progress, but what was made ready for printing was just a fraction of Ngata's work: as well as preparing Part I for editor and printer, he was also busy with the songs for Parts II and III, and there were several hundred songs altogether. The magnitude of the task is difficult to convey. Some of the texts already printed were corrupt: 'With a European as recorder, or a Maori not sufficiently literate, some of the words were wrongly spelt'.⁵⁴ There were disputes about authorship; and there were different versions of songs to be reconciled. Several times Ngata lamented the lack of a 'dictionary of references' - what Andersen called a *Polynesian Lemprière*.⁵⁵ Though he had his own private library at Ruatoria, Ngata did not always have the necessary books to hand.

Ruatoria was rather out of the way for consulting many experts from other tribes, and Ngata had to post manuscripts or proofs to authorities for emendation and confirmation.⁵⁶ (Andersen was worried that proofs thus circulated might not be returned in time to meet printing schedules, but this problem was overcome by sending a few extra proof copies to Ngata, so that Ngata could return his own proof even if the other dispersed copies were delayed beyond printing time.)⁵⁷

At times the songs had to be left entirely for other responsibilities. In early winter, the elders Tai Mitchell and Weihana Delamere died, and a little later Mrs Materoa Reedy - three great leaders of Arawa, Whanau a Apanui and Ngati Porou whose 'obsequies' took much of Ngata's time; and in between he had to escort a ministerial party through the East Coast, Bay of Plenty and Rotorua districts for a fortnight.⁵⁸ But Ngata's enthusiasm for getting along with the literary work was considerable, and he relished the prospect of seeing himself in print in the Journal for the first time in a generation.⁵⁹ Moreover, the work happily dovetailed with another project. No longer tied to Wellington for weeks on end by parliamentary duties, he was able to set up in his home district two branches of a 'School of Culture'. 'The plan of the course to combine maps, whakapapa tables, extracts from narratives and poems and from the writings of students of Maori and Polynesian to tell the story of the settlement of this district is proving a success. Many of those who attend the lectures find, that they can make contributions to the

tale and fill in the skeleton, which the lecturer has pieced together.’⁶⁰ The great need for the School was printed matter. Andersen sent Ngata bundles of ‘separates’ from the Journal and other publications, ‘with my arohanui’, for he thought they would be more useful to Ngata, though he valued them himself. Ngata was very grateful for the ‘kind thought’, and was indeed able to use the material for the School of Culture.⁶¹ (Probably Andersen intended these valued separates to be of use to Ngata personally, in his *Nga Moteatea* work, and even as an encouragement to that work, and did not anticipate that they would be distributed more widely.) When the first sixteen pages of *Nga Moteatea* appeared, Andersen sent thirty instead of the usual twenty separates: these were quickly taken up by Ngata’s students, and he cabled for fifty further copies. This was a problem for Andersen: the type was melted down after printing and the fifty extra copies could only come out of the 400 copies set aside for binding in the completed memoir volume. As it happened, fortuitously, the type had not yet been broken up, and the extra copies were supplied on this occasion and for later issues.⁶²

A few months earlier Ngata might not have been able to have his extra ‘separates’ because of paper shortages, a consequence of the war. The Journal was thus restricted in size, and Andersen anticipated that he could make not more than sixteen pages of each issue available for *Nga Moteatea*. Early in October he made an appeal to the paper controller, and was allowed to increase the Journal from

sixty to 120 pages for December 1944 and March 1945 - and therefore the songs might be increased from sixteen to twenty-four pages each issue.⁶³ But Ngata was finding the slow pace dispiriting, and his work had been interrupted or slowed by the illness of his wife and granddaughter in the spring. 'It would be a real filip to me to see the printing speeded up'.⁶⁴

On 14 December 1944, Ngata sent back to Andersen the proofs of Songs 18 and 19, and forwarded the typescript for Songs 20 to 23. 'On the eve of the New Year', added Ngata, 'I must confess to some disappointment with the published output of the "Nga Moteatea" series.... I think we could have done better than 16 pages a quarter.' At that rate, he said, it would take another three years to see the end of Part I. However, he felt that with the material forwarded he could 'sit back for six months', for there were other studies which had to be 'pushed on' and in the normal expectation of life (Ngata was now 70) he could not look forward to many more years of literary activity. He would like to see Part I 'out of hand' by September 1945 and a beginning made with Part II in twelve months time - which is to say he anticipated that the first songs of Part II would be printed in the December 1945 issue. 'That will be a more difficult volume than the first one, and as to Part 3, you get into the most abstruse stuff in the language.'⁶⁵

There is a measure of impatience expressed here: for 'some disappointment' we should read 'very considerable disappointment'; another

sixteen pages in the December number, about to be issued, would add up to sixty-four pages in a year - seventeen translated and annotated songs, plus the Maori text of Song 18 without notes or translation. It must have all seemed to Ngata unbelievably slow. Indeed, he seems to have felt discouraged - but all would be well if a major step forward could be taken in 1945, if he could see substantial progress, Part I completed and Part II started.

He was not so discouraged that he did 'sit back for six months', nevertheless; at least not immediately. Over the Christmas-New Year holidays of 1944-1945 he made good progress with his work, and thought he would soon be up to Song 40: it perhaps helped take his mind off the casualty lists from the Italian campaign which he found 'jolting'. Could Andersen help by providing him with copies of Shortland's Traditions and his Maori Mythology, and Grey's Maori Proverbs? The lack of these sources was a handicap in making annotations.⁶⁶

'I assure you that I too have felt disappointed that not more has appeared', replied Andersen. It was difficult to do much with the paper controls, to get around the restrictions. But he had told Avery and Sons to put thirty-two pages of Songs in the next issue, the March 1945 Journal, 'so I hope it will not be necessary for you to "sit back" quite so long'.⁶⁷ If he had felt chided by Ngata (though the editor laid the responsibility on those who caused the paper restriction), Andersen was willing to make amends. And he may have feared that if Ngata sat back and

had his attention diverted to other projects (for Ngata never sat back in the sense of doing absolutely nothing), then Nga Moteatea might never progress to any sort of comprehensive form.

Then again, the prospect of a thirty-two-page instalment just might have been a sugaring of the pill: Andersen's letter went on to offer very considerable suggestions for a revision of the translation which Ngata had made of Song 21, and a few more for Songs 22 and 23.

The English language translations had, of course, been Andersen's main concern throughout; beyond all the arguable matters of orthography and lay-out was the revelation of the poetry of the Maori people. Ngata's early intimations, as we have reported above, were that fixing and printing the Maori texts was paramount, and the English translation was, because of the conditions laid down by Andersen, a necessary corollary. (And this, we may be reminded, was another reason for Ngata's impatience with the slow progress in printing - he wanted to hasten through Parts I and II so he could get into print the materials for Part III which had never been brought together in a critically considered edition.) But making the translations, whatever his initial reservations, was something that Ngata enjoyed. In a sense, the job of translating assisted the elucidation of the original:

he told J. H. Grace, 'I am finding that the production of an English version of text, historical & other notes compels one to get down to tin-tacks'.⁶⁸

To Andersen he wrote: 'In the English versions I have sought to bring out every twist and turn of the Maori without elaboration, except where decency calls for an Euphemistic rendering.'⁶⁹ [A]ny paraphrase is left to the notes. Between the notes and the somewhat literal crudeness of the English version future students can make their own embellishments.'⁷⁰ Three days after that comment he touched on the matter again: this indicates his concern that Andersen should understand why the translations took the form they did; and it may also suggest that Ngata's own literary conceits were involved - that he could write better verse but that wasn't the purpose of this exercise. 'I am finding the job of providing English versions very interesting and difficult. Strange to say the simpler songs are more troublesome, because of the difficulty of expressing what seem to be slight variations of an incident or sentiment. This is when I am conscious of my own shortcomings in expressing myself in the English language.' He hoped Andersen would 'keep an eye on the English versions and suggest improvements in the rendering'. And again in the same letter: 'I have sought in the translations to bring out every shade of the Maori thought without the elaboration that might embellish a poetical composition[.] The result is a stilted unrhythmic rendering,

which gives a poor picture of Maori poetry. But I hope that the aim of providing foundation texts is being achieved'.⁷¹

Such comments some scholar will eventually have to examine within the context of a biographical and literary study of Ngata. Here we may observe that Ngata, like Andersen, had been exposed to the Victorian tastes of Professor J. Macmillan Brown, and this no doubt coloured if it did not altogether define his views on 'poetical composition'.⁷² Making something more 'poetical' out of the translation could be left to 'future students'. Ngata therefore accepted the possibility that at some later date the translations would be worked up into more formal verse, less yoked to the Maori version; or at least the line-by-line correspondence would be uncoupled. It is interesting, nevertheless, that he does not name any English poets. When Ngata says the translations give 'a poor picture of Maori poetry' he does not mean that the verse is inadequate in terms of the great poems of the English tradition but that they do not convey the fluency and rhythm of the originals.

'To read your English', replied Andersen at the end of January 1944, by which time he had received translations of fifteen songs, 'no one would ever suppose that you had experienced any difficulty in expressing yourself in that language, and I always bear this in mind whenever I venture to make suggestions.'⁷³ He did make 'suggestions' occasionally. In the first song 'dropping' became 'pendant' (this was Peter Buck's idea);⁷⁴ for the third song

Andersen offered in place of 'what stage it is of the moon' 'what phase it is of the moon'.⁷⁵ These alterations and some other small revisions to text and notes Ngata accepted after careful consideration.

Andersen had anticipated that *Nga Moteatea* would be great literature and he was not disabused of this hope as Ngata's material arrived. He picked out the phrase 'soaring gently' in Song 3: the same idea occurred in Virgil and Homer, he pointed out to Ngata.⁷⁶ 'You should note these parallels for comment in a review of the quality of Maori poetry', responded Ngata. The songs 'read so well', Andersen told Ngata, when he had looked over the proofs of Songs 7 to 14 in April. 'I feel that these have in them the elements of immortality, and will always be appreciated, not only by the Maori, but by the Pakeha too'.⁷⁷ A few weeks later, in June 1944, he said that *Nga Moteatea* appealed to him 'more and more as we go on; it assumes a classical *ahua* that pleases me, and will I am sure please many who like the superior aspects of English literature'.⁷⁸ Again: 'I am full of admiration for the classical Polynesian light of literature that illumines your mind, a glow from which will also irradiate the minds of the better thinking Pakehas'.⁷⁹

All this was praise indeed, though the last quoted seems a very fulsome metaphor. Elements of immortality the translations might indeed indicate; but for Andersen that final polish of regular form was lacking. He had inserted an extra

parenthetical note before the start of the English translation of Song 1: ‘The English version is by Sir Apirana Ngata. It endeavours to be faithful to the Maori original, thereby perhaps sacrificing the ornate to the literal. The future student may embellish, but he should begin with a correct foundation, as far as that can be achieved in the process of translation.’⁸⁰ The note is cobbled together very largely from phrases used by Ngata in his letters to Andersen.⁸¹ It is from a general point of view a superfluous note; but it is significant that Andersen could not resist setting it in print, could not resist indicating that the translations still had some distance to go before they could become in the fullest sense English literature.

As the issues of the Journal appeared in 1944, Andersen may have felt regret that the translations did not have more the appearance (and thus for him the nature) of ‘real poetry’. Probably it was partly to indicate the possibilities to Ngata that Andersen sent him copies of his two booklets, Songs for the N.Z. Anglo-Danish Society. ‘As the Danes like singing, and cannot get Danish song-books, and have half-forgotten their songs, I asked them to name their favourites, and as I have a fair collection of their songs, a love for which I inherited from my mother, I said that I would translate them for the benefit of the half-danes or wholly Pakeha portion of the Society, and I am getting them printed, a few at a time, and for the information of the Anglo part of the Society I am adding historical notes, for

the songs are like the Maori in talking with historical allusions. I am sending you the first two numbers so you may see what fine things these songs are.' The historical notes apart, Ngata would have been able to see 'what fine things' the songs were only in the translated forms which were regular in rhyme and metre. The connection between the projects in Andersen's mind was alluded to at the end of this letter: 'I hope soon to get more proofs of Nga Moteatea, the publication of which I am enjoying: would I knew Maori even as well as I know Danish'.⁸²

These matters were juxtaposed in another letter to Ngata in October. Andersen quoted from the poem 'Takrouna', recently published in the third series of New Zealand New Writing.⁸³ Ngata would have an interest because it was in the battle of Takrouna that soldiers of the Maori battalion had greatly distinguished themselves, and a Ngati Porou kinsman, Moana Ngarimu, had been awarded a posthumous Victoria Cross. 'The sentiment is all right', admitted Andersen, 'but it is not poetry; merely prose made abrupt by dislocating its members; not nearly so taking as your rhythmical Maori songs'. The final lines of 'Takrouna' he thought had been 'cribbed' from Wordsworth. 'I hope all goes well with you, Sir Apirana', he continued: 'for me, we had a Danish meeting in Palmerston North last Saturday, to celebrate the birthday of King Christian 10 of Denmark, when some of the songs I translated were sung'.⁸⁴

Ngata several times reported 'difficulties' with Song 21, for it was full of names and allusions.⁸⁵ Even before he had seen the typescript, Andersen had very considerable expectations of this song. 'Songs such as you say 21 is', he wrote to Ngata in December, 'are the ones I like to see coming out; they are like the Lycidas and L'Allegro kind, full of allusions that make them dear to those who know, and justify the student for the trouble he takes to follow the old poet in his flights of reminiscence and imagination: they are like the Danish songs; the romance is woven round historical incidents in which a whole people are concerned, even when, as is sometimes the case, the poem is largely personal.'⁸⁶ Milton; the Danish songs; 'romance'; 'a whole people': Andersen was conjuring up an extravagant context for Song 21 to be placed within. Perhaps as a result it was inevitable that he himself should engage in the reconstruction he thought necessary for the song to fit his literary prescription.⁸⁷

The typescript for songs 20 to 23, which Ngata had posted to Wellington from Ruatoria on 14 December, did not reach Andersen for a month. He had gone north to stay with a nephew on his Hokianga farm. Mrs Andersen had sent on the mail to Rawene, but heavy rains in the second week of January had delayed for several days the eleven mile journey from the farm to the Post Office.⁸⁸ When he eventually picked up the much-travelled parcel (on 14 January 1945), Andersen no doubt had other correspondence to deal with as well, but in the Whirinaki valley,

on a farm, away from his books and papers, the temptation to fill in otherwise empty hours with a little revisionist penmanship was too great to resist. Two days later he sent off a very long letter to Ngata: 'I have been going over your last songs, and have written a note or two for your consideration.' For Song 20 Andersen had a couple of minor questions and several observations about names of birds and plants. Song 21, 'A Lament for Te Whetukamokamo', the song which was to be 'like the *Lycidas* and *L'Allegro* kind', received the attention of the poet as well as the editor. 'I can imagine the trouble you had with the translation of this one,' this section of his letter to Ngata began, 'but it is worth it, - it and the most interesting notes.'⁸⁹

'I remember you said earlier', he went on, 'that you were only bothering about the literal translation; that the possibly more poetic translation could come later, from students, not recorders. - I agree; but when the literal can also be made a little more poetical without much trouble, is there any objection?' This was not quite accurate: Ngata had clearly taken a great deal of trouble with his translation, 'to bring out every shade of the Maori thought', so it was something a little more than a literal translation. The notes for Song 21 reveal Ngata's extreme sensitivity to the relationship between the Maori original and the English translation.⁹⁰ While Ngata had indeed asked Andersen to 'keep an eye on the English versions and suggest improvements in the rendering', he probably did not expect a full scale

rewriting. 'Would you read the following first', requested Andersen, 'without comparing it with your translation, then comparing it? - You may perhaps find some of the suggestions worth adopting. If a few suit, I shall feel pleased; if all are rejected, I shall not feel displeased; - I am only striving for the best result.' The very first word, 'Mesdames', struck Andersen as 'too French, far from the Maori E kui ma e!': he preferred 'Matrons' which (to his mind) had the classic spirit as in Greek and Latin.⁹¹

He then offered his own poeticization of 'A Lament for Te Whetukamokamo', the whole sixty lines of it. To quote extracts only is to destroy the integrity of the exercise; and since what Andersen was about can best be illustrated alongside Ngata's translation, the latter is mangled likewise. However, to set out the full version would be tedious. At least Ngata's version in print can be resorted to by the reader. But the following may serve as illustrations; Ngata's translation is given first.⁹²

Mesdames, liste ye
 To the sound of voices;
 They are shouting and dancing exultingly.
 Is it a canoe full?

- 5] You sit there open and care free;
 While intently I gaze at the rock, Kaiwaka.
 Let there be no cause for murmuring,
 That I feel pain within me for a friend,
 Now missing from his wonted place in the company.

- 17] Below here I feel enervated,
 For I have lost my lucky fish-hook

- 57] Pursue and catch him, if you can,
 And soar upwards even over Takurangiwatea;
 You cannot win in the chase of the little fish,
 By which Tamarereti was choked and Maungaroa fell.

Andersen's version was:⁹³

Matrons! - list ye
 To the sound of the voices;
 Shouting are they, and exultingly dancing,
 Is the canoe full laden?

- 5] Open and care-free, there you sit,
 While I intently gaze on the rock Kaiwaka.
 Be there no cause for murmuring
 That I feel pain within me for a friend
 Now missing from his wonted place in the assembly.

- 17] Below here, enervated do I feel,
 For I have lost my fish-hook, luck endowed

- 57] Pursue him; catch, if so you may
 And upward soar, even over Takurangiwatea.
 The chase of the little fish you cannot win
 By which Tamarereti was choked and Maungaroa fell.

Andersen had available to him the original Maori verse as part of Ngata's typescript but had no linguistic access to it; nor did he know the 'tune' to which the first two stanzas (lines 1-30) were sung. Thus Andersen's version is nothing more than a reworking of Ngata's translation. 'I have kept a copy of the 60 lines above', he told Ngata, 'so if you have any instructions regarding them, the line number will be sufficient. If your more literal version still stands, well and good; they shall be printed so.'

Perhaps emboldened by his recasting of Song 21, Andersen performed the same operation on the much shorter Song 22. For line 1, "swallow" seems to jar, naturally you swallow if you eat, but is not the idea that the swallowing is with difficulty, as when disinclined for food?' asked Andersen. He suggested 'listlessly' instead. Was living in line 2 a noun or a verb? - 'if noun, it would mean the people living; if verb, when it refers to the singer, "the" should be omitted'. After other similarly gratuitous comments, he recast Song 22.⁹⁴ Ngata had written:⁹⁵

I eat and swallow my food,
 But my many thoughts keep welling up.
 I cared little, if at all, for the living,
 But should death come remorse will be my lot

Let death quickly overtake me,
 That my spirit may the sooner reach Taupo;
 Lest it remain earth wandering and yearning
 Towards the cloud glowing from the south
 Over the mountain at Tikirau;
 Beyond are you, my dear ones, who gnaw at my heart.

Andersen's suggestions for 'A song full of feeling' were:⁹⁶

Listlessly my food I eat,
 For my thoughts keep welling up.
 For the living, little, if at all, I care,
 But should death come, remorse would be my lot

Let death, then, quickly overtake me,
 That sooner may my spirit come to Taupo;
 Lest it remain on earth, wandering and yearning,
 Toward the cloud there, glowing from the south
 Over the mountain held at Tikirau;
 Beyond are you, my dear ones, who cause my heart's
 distress

For Song 23 he limited himself to inverting the word order in four of the twenty-eight lines, turning 'Of you I talk to myself' into 'Of you to myself I talk', for

example, and 'Whether basking in the sun, I centre my thoughts' into 'Whether, in the sun basking, my thoughts I centre'. 'These complete my suggestions.'⁹⁷

Did he expect Ngata to adopt his versions? Perhaps not all, but some of them. 'I have sent on the typescript to Averys', he informed Ngata, 'but have told them ... they had better hold over the translations till I tell them to go on: if you agree to any of the amendments, let me know and I shall send them the revised text.'⁹⁸ At least he had sufficient doubts not to tell Avery to set his own text unless he advised them otherwise.

Ngata's immediate reaction does not appear in the records. Whether he was irritated or amused, or both, we cannot say. He had spent much effort on Song 21 particularly, and was not likely to have considered the revisions as a serious proposition: a quick glance should have satisfied him that not only was his rendering preferable because it was the translation, but that it was preferable as a literary artefact - his fluency and clarity was greater than Andersen's whose revisions were pompous and consisted largely of clumsy inversions. The folder for Song 21 still has the various renderings in manuscript and typescript, including Andersen's, but while Ngata had made a few small revisions to Song 21 by the time it appeared in print, not one was a change suggested by Andersen.

Songs 20 to 23 did not appear in the Journal for March 1945. There are several explanations for this and they cannot all be rehearsed in detail here. The

latest material, when added to what was already set but not yet published (the notes for Song 18, and tables, texts, and notes for Song 19), added up to 22 pages, not the 32 which Andersen had made available. He asked Ngata for extra songs to make up the further ten pages.⁹⁹ These were not forthcoming; neither were the corrected proofs of Songs 20 to 23 returned. Finally, in April, he sent a telegram to Ngata: 'Are proofs of songs coming or shall Journal issue without'.¹⁰⁰ The March Journal appeared with just eight pages of Nga Moteatea, including the Maori text of Song 20.

Ngata had become so dissatisfied with the progress of publication in the Journal that he wished to issue the whole volume as soon as possible. For other reasons, discussed elsewhere in this chapter, he was not altogether pleased with the Journal and its editor; and Andersen's gratuitous poeticizing (and the prospect of more of the same?) may have been a further irritation. Early in May, he advised Andersen that he was revising the Nga Moteatea 'separates' (the material already printed) so that they could be made ready for the full volume. 'I am very pleased with the arrangements made about pushing on with the publication of the Nga Moteatea collection and am returning home [to Ruatoria] determined to complete my part of the job this winter.'¹⁰¹ Andersen replied to this letter, but his participation in Nga Moteatea thereafter lapsed, except for ineffective proposals he made about publication after Ngata's death. Ngata was unable to complete the

project. Songs 20 to 23, in proof from early in 1945, did not appear in print until the June 1953 issue of the Journal, long after Andersen's editorship had been terminated, and some years after Ngata's death.¹⁰²

Our concern here, nevertheless, is not with the convoluted history of later successful efforts to complete and publish *Nga Moteatea*, but with an examination of the significance of Andersen's enthusiasm for the project as a whole, and his attempt to rework Ngata's translations of Songs 21 and 22. Andersen's importance to *Nga Moteatea* is in fact for the most part marginal: he established the lay-out for the whole vast project, he guided the printers, he encouraged Ngata to make certain decisions on orthographic matters which were not insignificant. For those who applaud the beauty and accuracy and utility of Ngata's translations, there ought to be a small thought to spare for Andersen who insisted upon the translations - without his insistence there would have been translations, certainly, in manuscript, incomplete, or in competing versions, but no authoritative renderings of the first twenty-three songs, and perhaps less in manuscript than there actually was when Pei Te H. Jones and his associates followed through what Ngata had begun. The other side to this is that Ngata might have advanced further with the Maori texts and notes to Part III, and with his analysis of forms, and indeed with other literary projects, if Andersen had not diverted him into the English language versions. Thus it is not altogether inappropriate that in all the various introductions and

prefaces and forewords and explanatory notes which are prefixed to the four volumes of *Nga Moteatea* there is only one reference to Johannes Andersen and that mention an ambivalent, almost slighting one.¹⁰³ *Nga Moteatea* exists and existed quite apart from Andersen.

Moreover, his versions of Ngata's translations of Songs 21 and 22 are of no consequence to *Nga Moteatea*. Andersen's renderings were not used, were not influential, were never published, and even in any future study of Ngata's role in the creation and transmission of Maori literature are unlikely to be given the dignity of a footnote.

What is important is not what Andersen failed to do, but what he tried to do, and why. What he tried to do was to convert Maori poetry into a form which could be utilized by Pakeha. Almost all other aspects of Maori culture were accessible to those Pakeha who wished to draw upon them for subject matter, illustration and decoration. Andersen had participated in this process of appropriation for some forty years; he encouraged others to do the same. He had advocated the use of myths and legends by artists and poets; he had helped to place 'Maori' images and motifs on books and stamps and coins; he had 'explored' the landscape and written its indigenous nomenclature into his books and entered the rest on cards for future publication. But, save for translations here and there made by Best and Cowan and a few others, the 'songs' of the indigenous people were -

one must choose the ironic phrase - a closed book. Why did this matter when so much else was 'on record'?

For Andersen, poetry was the highest form of literature and, either contoured and formalized or in its folk forms, it expressed the most characteristic and the most intimate beliefs of a people. Ngata himself held this point of view: the Maori language, he wrote, 'was the language of that noble generation of singers who sang with their hearts and interpreted that which they sang with shimmering hands and eloquent eyes, after the manner of their race; who depicted, as they sang, the loves and the hates, the joys and the sorrows, the elations and the disappointments, that men of every race enjoy or suffer, but find the most satisfying expression in the languages they inherit.'¹⁰⁴

Without a knowledge of the Maori language, Andersen had no access to these traditional and collective expressions of 'their race'. He might as a writer and an editor help to record in print such a literature but untranslated it remained a mysterious terrain. The translation was crucial. Without translation the songs were like the Easter Island scripts, or would be in time.

Andersen had long since put aside the 'dying race' scenario; apart from his own experiences in Maori communities in the 1920s, the work and the attitudes of Ngata and Balneavis had shown him that the will and capacity of the Maori people to survive as Maori people (or as Ngati Porou and Tuwharehoa and so on) would

ensure their continued existence, quite aside from the evidence of census figures;¹⁰⁵ and he knew that another generation, in which the Jones brothers (for example) were prominent, had taken up the cause. On the other hand, Andersen had not altogether rid himself of the notion that the Maori language was a dying language. He had been ambivalent about its educational utility in Maori and Education in 1931. He supported efforts to maintain the language; he hoped it would survive; but perhaps it would not - the evidence seemed to suggest that its use was diminishing.¹⁰⁶ In this context, we must remember that Andersen echoed the view of Best and others that there were 'aristocratic' and 'plebeian' Maori people; that just as the 'aristocratic' Maori had, as Best and others thought, evolved and maintained the monotheistic Io without the participation or knowledge of the 'plebeian' Maori, so with Maori language and literature only the most erudite people were the repositories of the lore, and it was their specialized knowledge which was most precious and (like Ngata's informants) most likely to die without being left in the form of a written record. Colloquial, everyday Maori embalmed the treasures no more than ordinary English.

If the Maori language in the sense of the songs and proverbs of the 'aristocratic' Maori people was dying out, then preservation should be in English as well as Maori - just in case. The translations would help those younger Maori who wished to learn the language - as at Ngata's school on the East Coast in 1944.

And if their programmes did not work, and only colloquial Maori were to survive, or perhaps eventually none at all, then the printed poetry of the people would still be accessible like classical Greek and Latin, like Homer and Virgil.

Andersen's belief that the printing of the original or authenticated texts together with translations would be of assistance to the Maori people was a genuine one. Nevertheless, it was overlaid by, and even less important than, the matter of personal access. When Andersen went to Rawene on 14 January 1945 to collect the mail in which he would find the typescripts for Songs 20 to 23 of *Nga Moteatea*, he posted a letter to Ngata which used the palisade image again. Andersen had heard from Pei or Michael Jones that Ngata had been asked to write a paper on Maori religion 'which I shall naturally be much interested to see, to correct what errors I may have made on that same subject'. He would ask Mrs Andersen to send to Ngata Buck's book on Polynesian religion. 'Best told me a Pakeha must always regard himself as outside the palisades; there are certain things which must always remain unknown to him, because not understandable by him.'¹⁰⁷ Language, of course, was a palisade for Andersen, though not for Best. Translation removed some of the difficulty, and notes as extensive as Ngata could make them would be of help too: these were breaches in the palisades that kept the Pakeha out of the (shall we call it?) 'inner world' of the Maori people. It was more or less the last uncolonised territory. There was another metaphor, also a metaphor

of colonisation, which Andersen used in a letter to Ngata when he reported that he had just received the proofs for Songs 16 and 17: 'I am still charmed with the songs; still sure they are a literary mine.'¹⁰⁸ Andersen had used this metaphor of a 'mine' when writing about Nga Moteatea to John Houston in 1933.¹⁰⁹

This is the exercise he begins, in a small way, with the rewriting of Songs 21 and 22: to make the translations approximate the forms he feels they must display in order to take their place in English literature. It was intended as a compliment to Maori, no doubt: they had in their songs, as in their myths and legends, the same sorts of materials (and he mentioned all these names to Ngata in correspondence about Nga Moteatea during 1944) as Homer, Virgil, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Wordsworth. As with 'Takrouna', the sentiment might be good but the form must be adequate, and the correct forms were those of English verse. Maori poetry too must conform to the 'laws of verse', which were natural forms.¹¹⁰ Such an operation he had performed upon the Danish songs when he had made his metrical and rhymed translations for his booklets: these translated songs would have, and did have, their own validity and integrity quite apart from the Danish language originals. It could be the same for Maori poetry. He had already begun to plan another publication, to bring into existence in printed

form a Polynesian literature.¹¹¹ He hoped this new project would be an example for Ngata to follow and an encouragement for him to continue his work.

‘You will notice’, Andersen wrote to Buck in January 1946, ‘that we discontinued the Maori songs in the Journal; that was because Sir Apirana found the three-monthly spells inconducive to steady work: so I asked if he would go ahead and finish the first 100 if we printed the lot at once’. They were to have been ready by Christmas 1945 but Andersen had not heard how it was all progressing, and he was ‘rather apprehensive of asking’. Still, he told Buck, he was ‘longing’ to see the first volume issued - ‘it will be one of the most literary things yet issued in Newzealand’.¹¹² Thus Nga Moteatea, ‘scattered pieces from many canoe areas’, was perceived by Andersen as New Zealand literature.

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Andersen’s concern to establish a standardized orthography for printed Maori, through Nga Moteatea particularly, was simultaneously projected upon two other major works: Leslie Adkin’s Horowhenua research, and a tribal history of the Ngati Kahungunu, Takitimu, by J. H. Mitchell (Tiaki Hikawera Mitira),

published in 1944.¹¹³ Previous histories of tribes issued in book form had been compiled by Pakeha, notably Percy Smith's History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast (1910), and The Peopling of the North (1897), T. G. Hammond's Aotea (1924), and Best's Tuhoe (1925).¹¹⁴ While Takitimu may be seen as an addition to this group of publications, it was also the first of several distinguished tribal histories by Maori writers. Apirana Ngata was impressed with the result, and in 1944 wrote to J. Te H. Grace (who was some years later to produce another in the sequence, Tuwharetoa),¹¹⁵ 'Jack Mitchell of Wairoa has just published (per A. H. & A. W. Reed) his history of Takitimu & Jack is a very proud man The printing has been well done. The Reeds are doing very good work in furthering publication of Maori material & it is useful to know that one has an alternative to the heavy-footed Journal of the Polynesian Society.'¹¹⁶ The latter phrase indicates Ngata's exasperation with the Society, which meant Andersen particularly, and with his dependence upon the Society as an avenue for publishing Nga Moteatea.

Mitchell did not long survive the publication of Takitimu: Ngata attended his tangi at Rotorua early in May 1944, the first of the three 'great leaders' virtually in succession.¹¹⁷ Andersen told Ngata he was sorry to hear of the deaths; 'and I should like you to extend my sympathy where you may consider that it would not be considered an intrusion, seeing that I am only a Pakeha and perhaps not sufficiently known for those affected to care at all for the expression of my

sentiments.’¹¹⁸ This convoluted expression of condolence at least displays Andersen’s concern not to offend Maori protocol, and his understanding, however limited, that the world of Maori, in which he was ‘only a Pakeha’, was differently ordered from that of the European.¹¹⁹

Takitimu was reviewed in the Journal for March 1945, by ‘W.G.’, presumably William Greenwood, since 1943 Treasurer of the Polynesian Society, and author of a Polynesian Society memoir, The Upraised Hand (1942).¹²⁰ Greenwood’s review is careful, and generally favourable, though ‘critical of the author’s placing Kuhungunu in the third degree of consanguinity with Tamatea of the Takitimu migration’ - like other Pakeha scholars, Greenwood was interested in using whakapapa as genealogical tables in the strict European sense. Greenwood also included near the start of his review an extract from Mitchell’s preface which explained why, as far as Ngatikahungunu were concerned, ‘no detailed account of the migration [from Hawaiki] has been published.’ (The significance of this quotation to Andersen’s activities will be made clear further below.)

The learned Maoris of the past regard their history as being exceedingly sacred and the imparting thereof to an ordinary person or stranger rendered it polluted or common. The old experts obtained their knowledge by its being imparted to them under the strictest rules of tapu in the sacred college of

the *whare-wananga*, which forbade them telling it to any common person or stranger or in public places. This high ideal of the Maori was very much against the use of sacred history and the names of ancestors being published in common books and thus being put in common places or near food. They would have been horrified at their treasured past being used for commercial purposes.

The *Takitimu*, being the most sacred canoe of all the canoes of the migration, her history was held strictly *tapu*, and it was on this account that the historians of the past were unable to record the story of this migration. Even I, myself, met with many obstacles, and it was only because of the fact that this undertaking was for the sole purpose of recording the history, and not for monetary gain, that much of the information was given by the elders.¹²¹

At the end of the review, after the initials of the reviewer, there was a notice boxed by thick black lines: 'We have to note, with great regret, that quite recently the author, J. H. Mitchell, passed away. Hine was good so far that she allowed him to finish his canoe and see it launched before she called him home.'¹²² The placement of this notice and its wording suggest it was inserted by the editor.

It may have been something of a surprise for readers to find in the next issue of the *Journal*, that for June 1945, a second review of *Takitimu*, on this occasion by the editor. 'This book has already had a notice in these pages', the

review began, ‘but it is a book of such importance that some further notice is called for, especially in view of the fact that it is possibly the precursor of other tribal histories, as it is sincerely hoped that it may be. What I wish to say to the author, therefore, I also wish to say to future writers of similar histories.’¹²³ There is a slight difficulty about this opening: the reviewer refers to the previous review, at the end of which had appeared the obituary notice of Mitchell, but the author is addressed as if he were still alive. From a comment later in this second review, it seems that Andersen began to write up his notes on Takitimu before he heard of Mitchell’s death, and subsequently, perhaps just prior to publication, added the phrase about a previous review.

Andersen’s interest in Takitimu was not the substantive matter of that book, as had been the case for Greenwood, but rather the presentation of the text, and orthography in particular. Just as the early songs in Nga Moteatea would set a standard for others to follow, so might this tribal history, if indeed it were to be ‘the precursor of other tribal histories’, be used as a model; and Andersen clearly regarded Takitimu as a poor model. He listed fifty-one proper names used by the author, and on the opposite page set out his alternatives. ‘To take first a name which the author holds very important - number 5 on the list - Te-O-Tane. This is the form most favoured by the author, but he allows himself, and puzzles the reader, with other forms - Te-O-tane, Te-o-Tane, and Te O-Taane The four

forms ... cannot all be right; even though they all mean the same, there should be consistency in their use; one form should be taken and adhered to.' Andersen then demonstrated that Te Otane, or Te O Tane, would be the most efficient usage. He dealt in the same detailed fashion with other forms of names. For example:

In tribal names, too, the small letter does not hide the fact that in name 25 of the list, Ngati-porou, -porou is a personal name, and the fact that the author has used that form shows that it presented no difficulty to him; and in [the examples numbered] 23 and 24 he has both Ngapuhi and Nga-Puhi. Occasionally he has the form suggested in column 2 - Ngati Kahu-ngunu, name 28, and Ngati Raukawa, name 26. The author likewise has the name Ngai Te whati-a-piti, where, strange to say, he has whati without the capital; and in 37, he prints the same name Ngai-Te-Whati-apiti, where again he has broken loose in hyphens and capitals, but now makes a-piti one word, apiti. In all this, who can say what is correct? Is it not logical to adopt once and for all one of the forms in column 2? - especially seeing that the author uses one or other of all three suggested forms, as does every other writer who prints Maori names.

Let the names be placed one below another to show how clear-cut the distinctions are:

Te Atero-o-Te-Arawhiti	(author's form)
Te Aterootearawhiti	(suggested form with divided

(Te Atero-o-te-arawhiti)

form following in

crescents, as in col.2)

Te Atero o Te Arawhiti

(alternative form without
hyphens)¹²⁴

The review continued with examples of quotations altered by Mitchell from the original sources: ‘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.’ A story quoted from Thomas Lambert’s The Story of Old Wairoa (1925) had been changed by the author with the comment: “We are making some alterations to this story to accord with local versions.” ‘This is not quoting at all’, says Andersen: ‘and the author who does that can be trusted neither in his quotations nor in his own statements.’¹²⁵

At this point there appears the following, boxed in thick black borders: ‘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.’¹²⁶

Andersen thereafter takes issue with other examples of orthographic inconsistency, corrects what he regards as factual mistakes, identifies

misquotations, and notes errors by printers or proofreaders. He also introduces into the review an account of how Maori first acquired a knowledge of printing. Now 'The Maori is beginning to produce a literature - his own - and the book under review is a sign of the times; a sign of what yet may be expected; a most hopeful sign. But let this warning be recorded; the writer of history must not tamper with his authorities.*' The asterisk referred the reader to a footnote: 'For the full story of the introduction of the printing-press to the Maori see Johannes Andersen, "Maori Printers and Translators", and "Maori Alphabet", in A History of Printing in Newzealand, Wellington, 1940.' Finally, Andersen emphasized the author's disclaimer of any personal benefit, since the proceeds from sales of the book, together with a large donation by Mitchell himself, would be used to set up a scholarship. 'This is a liberality and disinterestedness that one who knows them would expect of a Maori, and it is gratifying to have the opportunity of saying so', Andersen concluded.¹²⁷ That positive if somewhat patronising statement hardly diminishes the sharpness of the criticism that is levelled at the book, a sharpness possibly emphasized by the fulsome reference to the death of the author.

As we have seen in earlier examples, such as his correspondence with H. D. Skinner in the early 1930s, Andersen's didactic forays could sometimes become hectoring in tone if he thought the issues especially important, and this strained voice may also be heard in the review of Takitimu. The important issue in this case

was the inconsistent orthography used in the first published tribal history by a Maori writer - from Andersen's point of view, as he wrestled with precisely the same issues for Nga Moteatea, a disastrous precedent should others follow suit. Certainly, as he insisted, the criticism was addressed not just to Mitchell, but to all those other Maori writers who contemplated placing material in print. Nevertheless, the approach was rather heavy-handed, and, though no immediate reaction is recorded, seems likely to have irritated readers of the Journal who had known Mitchell, and who thought that Takitimu was an important work. By what right did the Pakeha editor of the Journal presume to lecture an elder on the correct forms of self-ascription? And did Andersen not appreciate Mitchell's courage in committing to print the 'sacred history and the names of the ancestors' after he had 'met with many obstacles' in collecting information from Ngati Kahungunu elders? It was not out of 'liberality and disinterestedness' that Mitchell forwent the profits, but, as he had explained in the passage quoted by Greenwood in the earlier review, to make clear to the elders that the history was not set on record in book form 'for monetary gain'. Andersen can hardly have failed to notice Mitchell's prefatorial remarks, for his detailed review suggests that he went through the book almost line by line; and in any case he must, as editor, have read (and proofread) the passage quoted by Greenwood. Nevertheless, there is no indication in his own review that he reflected on the 'sacred' nature of the material. Instead, print was print, and

matter rendered into print was subject to commentary. Had he survived to read Andersen's review, Mitchell might well have re-read with some dismay what he himself had written: 'The old experts obtained their knowledge by its being imparted to them under the strictest rules of tapu ... which forbade them telling it to any common person or stranger or in public places.' It is inconceivable that at least some Maori readers of the review, or Pakeha readers sensitive to such matters, did not consider that the editor had breached protocol. Quite apart from questions of protocol, sharp-eyed readers could have criticised Andersen for not following his own rules. He had made a great fuss about changing originals in quotation; yet in the footnote which followed the pronouncement that 'the writer of history must not tamper with his authorities', Andersen, in his obsessive crusade to change New Zealand into a single printed word, had altered the title of A History of Printing in New Zealand to A History of Printing in Newzealand.¹²⁸

Critical readers of the June 1945 issue of the Journal had more substantial quarry in their sights than Andersen's review of Takitimu. The single article in the Journal for June was 'Contemporary Maori Death Customs' by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole. Andersen had received the manuscript towards the end of April 1945, and, with proper caution, forwarded it to Ngata. Ngata responded with a brief memorandum: 'This seems to be worth recording as an intensive informed study of mortuary customs persisting in a Pakeha environment a century & three quarters

after Cook.’¹²⁹ This comment Andersen very reasonably took as approval for publication.

The article was based on studies the Beagleholes had undertaken at Otaki, in the Horowhenua district, the substance of which was shortly to appear in the book Some Modern Maoris.¹³⁰ ‘The following account’, wrote the Beagleholes, ‘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.’¹³¹ The material was presented in the form of a day-by-day recital of the circumstances surrounding the death of ‘Rata’, an old woman, together with much domestic detail. Towards the end of the article, the Beagleholes widened their focus to discuss other tangi, very briefly, and in their conclusion scouted Pakeha criticisms of tangi, deciding that ‘Whatever idleness, irresponsibility, and casualness are occasioned by the tangi, these are only the negative side of a type of community-activity that reaffirms for the Maori a sense of belongingness, provides him with a technique of social control and gives him a method of emotional catharsis that helps to heal grief and thus bridges activity from crisis back to normal life.’¹³²

The ‘Death Customs’ article by the Beagleholes brought into the open that conflict for so long implicit between the fabricators of discourse and the subjects of

the discourse, perhaps especially because the study was of a 'contemporary' situation but at the same time involved the description of several of the most fundamental traditional values and practices of Maori communities. There were several communications to the editor of the Journal about the publication of such matter, the most significant from George Graham, of Auckland, on behalf of Te Akarana Maori Association.¹³³ Graham asked that Andersen make his letter available to the Beagleholes; and though Graham's letter was not printed, the December 1945 issue of the Journal included a reply by the Beagleholes, entitled 'The Study of Maori Life'. 'Mr Graham suggests, first, that the article is "very offensive and in its tone belittles and humiliates the Maori in respect of their intimate domestic affairs"', wrote the Beagleholes; 'Secondly, he states as "general Maori opinion" that the article is "of no educative value and is very misleading to students of Maori sociology."' On the second matter, a question of fact, the Beagleholes explained why they did not believe their study was misleading. 'As to the assertion that the article is offensive because it probes into intimate Maori domestic affairs, then, by definition, most of modern psychology, sociology, medicine, psychiatry, and anthropology are offensive because these studies too probe the intimate lives of persons, whether civilized or preliterate, upper class or lower class, normal or sick. They do this, not to muckrake nor to offend, but for the very good reason that unless the scientist has knowledge he has no

understanding, and unless he has understanding he has no possibility of prediction and therefore no power of control.’ Their study, they suggested, could be compared with those of Dr Cora Du Bois into Alor culture; or to the categories for investigation classified in the Outline of Cultural Studies prepared by anthropologists at Yale University. ‘Thus we come back to the fact that the basic idea behind all modern science is the disinterested pursuit of truth.’ The Beagleholes did not believe ‘that New Zealanders, Maori or Pakeha’ had anything to lose ‘from freedom of social science research’, nor would New Zealanders gain anything ‘from crude attempts at censorship. When Mr Graham and his Maori friends’, continued the Beagleholes, ‘suggest that our article "should never have been admitted to the pages of the Journal" and "hope that the like of it will never again so appear" they are directly setting themselves up as arbiters of what should be studied and published in the field of Maori anthropology.’ New Zealanders, concluded the Beagleholes, had a ‘tremendous job’ creating ‘unity out of two diverse cultural heritages’. This would never be accomplished except ‘on the firm rock of mutual understanding’. Such understanding meant ‘knowledge and appreciation of the ways of life, the cultural values, standards and achievements of the two peoples’, knowledge that could ‘only be secured by the rigorous and vigorous pursuit of the human sciences.’¹³⁴

What the Beagleholes defend, then, for all the best motives, is the integrity of Pakeha, and European or 'western', discourse. J. Ekblom Gullberg had made a similar point in the Journal in 1924.¹³⁵

The viewpoint of some Maori was given most cogently in the next issue of the Journal, that for March 1946, in a letter from Paora Temuera.¹³⁶ Temuera was the Anglican priest at Rangiatea, the celebrated Maori church at Otaki. He knew 'the two gentlemen; the writer and the critic', but expressed himself 'unable ... to compare their peculiar intellectual gifts, and ability to judge what is good and valuable or otherwise to students of Sociology'. However, 'Being a humble member of the Maori race by birth, I should like to express my opinion touching the article under review'. Temuera was not surprised that 'Mr Graham was greatly disturbed by the fiction portion of the article', for although 'Mr Graham is a full-blooded Pakeha' he was very knowledgeable of the 'true way of life' of Maori. Temuera was aware, too, 'of Mr Beaglehole's academic standing', 'but to demonstrate his research in exposing the characteristics of Maori life by means of a fiction story' was 'very unappetising to the Maori palate'. To Temuera's mind, the article seemed calculated 'to amuse the student and create in him contempt and a superiority complex towards the Maori people'. The Maori of today was not the Maori of yesterday. 'Bus rides, beer, cards, T.B., smoking and all the rest of the vices dished up in the story ... were they not the introductions of the Pakeha'?

Temuera thought the article presented ‘a picture of the Maori as a filthy, diseased, ignorant, beer-sopped individual, doomed to extinction’.¹³⁷

Temuera’s letter was not merely addressed to the editor as a customary rhetorical device: he included a message at the end specifically for the editor. ‘E te kai tatari o nga korero, o te kete kai ma te hinengaro o te tangata, tena koe, tena koe. Tiakina ta taua taonga kia tapu tonu, kaua e tukua kia tamaotia e nga korero hangahangarau a te mahurehure.’ This was given in English in a footnote, perhaps translated by Temuera himself or by another: ‘To you who edit the volume containing the inner thoughts of man, greeting: preserve for us our possessions; keep them ever sacred; do not permit them to be trodden under foot through specious words that disguise the truth and steal away its virtue.’¹³⁸

But Temuera had not yet finished. ‘This sentiment’, he suggested, had been ‘well expressed’ by Shakespeare:

Who steals my purse steals trash; ’tis something, nothing;
 ’Twas mine, ’tis his, and has been a slave to thousands;
 But he that filches from me my good name
 Robs me of that which not enriches him,
 And makes me poor indeed.¹³⁹

Temuera may have quoted Shakespeare (the passage is from Othello) without knowledge of Andersen's susceptibility to arguments drawn from literature; but he could hardly have chosen a better 'scriptural' authority on which to rest his case. His appeal to the editor to keep the taonga 'sacred' was perhaps unanswerable. At any rate, it was left unanswered. Andersen's response in the Journal was brief: 'Let this letter be the last word on this subject; further discussion would be fruitless. - ED.'¹⁴⁰ It is not possible to discern from this whether he accepted Temuera's strictures (effectively Temuera was left with the final word), or whether he feared that continuing debate would merely reiterate already-established positions.

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The Annual General Meeting of the Polynesian Society was held on 3 September 1946. As usual, there was a small attendance, 'about 14 present';¹⁴¹ unusually, Johannes Andersen, because he was now resident in Auckland, was not part of the small attendance. 'Regret was expressed', read one portion of the summary of proceedings, perhaps prepared for publication in Journal though not in

fact published, 'that the removal of Mr Johannes Andersen to Auckland necessitated a change of editorship, and the appointment was referred to the Council. The feeling appeared to favour an editorial committee. Mr Andersen was asked to carry on till the end of the year, and a tribute was paid to his great and valued labours for the Society over the past twenty years.'¹⁴² This summary tells rather less than the full story, which can be partially reconstructed from documents and recollections.

In accordance with the rotational system, three members of the Council retired - Ernest Beaglehole, M.R. ('Mick') Jones, and Andersen. All were available for re-election. Those elected to fill the vacancies were Beaglehole, M. R. Jones, and J. M. McEwen.¹⁴³ McEwen had already been on the staff of the Maori Affairs Department for more than a decade, and had been appointed secretary of the Maori Purposes Fund Board at the beginning of March 1945.¹⁴⁴ Whether or not Andersen was nominated is not recorded, but he was not elected to the Council of which he had been a member since 1925.

The other major item of business was the editorship of the Journal. The secretary, Clyde Taylor, made the following notes, probably (from their appearance) during the course of the meeting:

Editorship

Mr Adkin spoke objecting to editorial policy in the past. Mr Bagnall spoke on same lines. Dr Oliver ditto. Reviews - spelling of Maori names etc.

[rule]

Bagnall 2 Dr Oliver

Incoming council inform Mr Andersen that editorship going t[o] Auck presents difficulties, & position ['under' crossed out] to be reviewed for other prov[ision?]¹⁴⁵

The minutes slightly expand these notes: 'The matter of the editorship of the Journal was discussed. Mr G. L. Adkin expressed disagreement with the present policy, and in particular the matters of reviewing and of Maori place-names were considered to represent inadequately the opinions not only of the meeting, but of members and students elsewhere. Mr A. G. Bagnall, Dr Oliver and Dr R. Stout spoke in similar strain. It was resolved to leave the question of editorship in the hands of the new council. Moved by Mr Bagnall, seconded by Dr Oliver.'¹⁴⁶ It seems as if no fewer than four of the 'about 14' members present spoke against some of Andersen's editorial practices, especially his idiosyncratic and inadequate reviews and his prescriptive orthography for Maori place names. Adkin, of course, had particular reason to be less than happy about the latter, which had delayed the appearance of his work on the Horowhenua district.¹⁴⁷ At least one of the four must have consulted other 'members and students' about Andersen's deficiencies.

There is no record of anyone speaking in favour of Andersen, though that does not necessarily mean all members present were opposed to his policies or his continuing as editor. In the absence of any evidence, it is difficult even to speculate on the reason for shifting the final decision on the editorship to the next Council meeting.

After the meeting, Taylor, as secretary, wrote to Andersen. He enclosed the cheque for an honorarium 'that has been usual of recent years'. The proceedings, wrote Taylor, with some understatement, 'were much as usual, but the matter of the Editorship is being left over for the Council, because members ... felt the editor should be resident where the Council meets. The tenor of the discussion suggests an editorial committee here'. Members would however 'appreciate it if you can carry on till the end of the year, by which time the other can be arranged. After twenty years or so', Taylor suggested, no doubt hoping the bait would be taken, 'I rather think you may not be sorry to part with an onerous task, so that you can give time to other loves.'¹⁴⁸ Taylor made no mention of the criticisms of Andersen's editorial policies, and the possible change was represented to Andersen as a logistical difficulty consequent upon his removal to Auckland.

Though it was dated 3 September 1946, the day of the AGM, Taylor may not have sent this letter immediately. Andersen's response, written on 17 September, began: 'Yours of 3rd inst. to hand; - is 3rd correct? - not that it matters,

only it seems a long time'. Perhaps Taylor had been in no hurry to convey to the editor news the secretary realized would not be greeted with great enthusiasm. 'I shall be quite ready to relinquish editorship if the members wish it', Andersen continued, 'though quite ready to carry on: you are quite right when you describe the position as an onerous one - the new editor, if a new one is appointed, will soon realize that: I wonder I am not greyer than I am .' The phrase 'if a new [editor] is appointed', together with his expressed willingness to carry on, conveys Andersen's reluctance to let the editorship go to other hands. He emphasized the amount of work on hand - Leslie Kelly's Tainui was at the printer's and Pei Jones's 'Tawhiao' manuscript had arrived:¹⁴⁹ 'these are two biggish jobs for the new editor if a new one is appointed' - and the 'big worry' of having sufficient material for the quarterly issues of the Journal - 'sometimes there is practically nothing in hand'. He tried another angle in the hope of holding on: 'I should like you to tell Sir Apirana what the members say: he may have something to say too.'¹⁵⁰

Three days later, on 20 September 1946, Andersen sent Taylor another letter, enclosing the proposed title-page of his Polynesian Literature book for that portion of the edition which, Andersen anticipated, would bear the imprint of the Polynesian Society. 'I suppose the annual meeting went off all right?' he asked Taylor; 'it is the first I have missed for some time, and I didn't like being away'. He had had a note from Harry Skinner to tell him Skinner had sent a paper 'c/o the

[Turnbull] Library'. Andersen supposed it would come to him in due course, 'or did you decide you would prefer the editor to be in Wellington?' Andersen was clearly dwelling on the matter.¹⁵¹

In the meantime, Taylor had written to Ngata, at Ruatoria, informing him with pleasure that he had been elected President of the Society once more. 'The only change results from Mr Andersen's removal to Auckland. The meeting has referred the matter of the editorship to the Council ... but the feeling was that the editor should be located in Wellington, and the rules appear to support this. Mr J. M. McEwen replaces Mr Andersen on the Council, and of course the new Governor [-General] replaces Sir Cyril Newall [as Patron].'¹⁵²

Ngata's reply, written from Ruatoria and dated 23 September, provided support for those who wished to replace Andersen. 'The Editor should certainly be located in Wellington', wrote Ngata to Taylor, 'and I should like to see you undertake the office. It is a very important one just now, as the selection of material for the Journal can be improved. I think that better use can be made of the available space. Reviews have taken up too much space & not always helpful. Studies such as those of the Beagleholes should have had more consideration before publication.' Ngata added that a possible arrangement was an editorial committee comprising an 'editor-in-chief' together with a couple of others for

consultation.¹⁵³ This was effectively, if inadvertently, a reply to the suggestion Andersen had made to Taylor: 'I should like you to tell Sir Apirana what the members say: he may have something to say too.' Indeed he did: but what Ngata had to say was just what other members who desired a change were saying.

* * * *

The Council meeting scheduled for 1 October was not in fact held until 13 November, when a resolution was proposed that Andersen be made an Honorary Life Member of the Polynesian Society in recognition of his long and valued services to the Society and the Journal. This was carried 'with applause'; and the secretary was instructed to write a suitable notice for the Journal. An editorial committee was formed, consisting of William Greenwood, McEwen, and Taylor, 'and it was urged that the principle of referring articles to other authorities should be followed as far as possible', an echo perhaps of the controversy about the article by the Beagleholes, but also a commentary on the way Andersen had for years made decisions without much consultation. The notion that an era had ended was no doubt reinforced when Council members stood in silence in memory of W. H.

Skinner: Skinner had been an original member of the Society, and, incidentally, was the editor of the Journal in the two years immediately before Best and Andersen had taken charge.¹⁵⁴

Andersen published 'A Last Word From the Editor', dated 24 December 1946, in the final issue he put together, that for December 1946, which appeared early in 1947. Although the 'last word' was not ungracious, Andersen made it quite clear that he had not given up of his own accord: 'Having left Wellington to reside in Auckland, and so being away from the centre where the Executive of the Society meets, it has been thought advisable that I should relinquish the editorship of the JOURNAL, an editorship which I have enjoyed for twenty-two of the JOURNAL'S fifty-five years of publication'. He expressed his thanks to contributors, and assured them they had given him much pleasure, 'and I regret that that pleasure will not be mine in future except from the reading of the printed pages'. He also bid farewell to the readers of the Journal: 'most of whom I have not known personally, but to all of whom I have spoken, sometimes in notes, sometimes in reviews, which were written with them in mind as well as the authors and publishers.'¹⁵⁵

The new editorial junta for its part treated Andersen handsomely: a photographic portrait of Andersen was the frontispiece to the March 1947 issue of the Journal (and thus a frontispiece for volume 56 as a whole), and the 'suitable

notice' by Taylor, which appeared opposite the portrait, was a splendid acknowledgment of his services: '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.' Taylor referred to Andersen's career, and his many books: 'Now in his 75th year this eminent Dane can take a rest'. As for the Journal, Taylor made some judicious comments: '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.'¹⁵⁶ Andersen may not have been vastly amused by the reference to collaboration with Skinner (he had mentioned Elsdon Best but not Skinner in his own 'last note'), but he ought to have been satisfied with the tribute and the portrait, though he probably took it as no more than his due.

Some thirty-five years later, Taylor recalled that Andersen had given up the editorship very reluctantly, and this is borne out by the documents quoted above.¹⁵⁷ When Taylor was asked to comment upon a reconstruction of events similar to that given above, he observed that he did not 'think that all the bones of biography

should be disinterred.’¹⁵⁸ Graham Bagnall was somewhat freer in his comments. ‘In a sense we all looked at it [=in the light that?] for JCA editing the Journal was his war-time job and later when circumstances changed there was general agreement that this was it.’ Thus, ‘JCA had made his contribution and Clyde [Taylor] in particular was anxious to take over the editorship he organized a triumvirate of himself, Jock McEwen ... and Garth Roydhouse ... to take over. I was supposed to be part of it but was far too busy ... nor, to be honest - did I think that the joint editorship would work.’ Bagnall did not think the AGM at which criticisms of Andersen had been voiced had been heated, and his own ‘scrappy diary’ made no mention of the meeting, which suggested that it was ‘a peripheral routine’ like other Society business - Bagnall had acted as Treasurer during the war; though he allowed that ‘Adkin, like many of us, could be difficult and prickly at times, certainly if he was frustrated by such as JCA’. Altogether Bagnall thought the supposition that the dispute over Adkin’s work was the occasion rather than the cause of the change in editorship ‘would be correct’.¹⁵⁹

It is not clear from Bagnall’s recollections that Taylor organized the ‘triumvirate’ before the 1946 AGM: the original editorial committee of Greenwood, Taylor, and McEwen became a foursome, Taylor, McEwen, Roydhouse, and Bagnall himself, from the AGM held in July 1947. Nevertheless, it appears that there was some broad agreement before the 1946 AGM that

Andersen should not remain as editor, and his departure from Wellington for Auckland provided an opportunity and even an excuse for a change. There was no technical reason why Andersen could not have performed editorial duties in Auckland, since he always dealt with the New Plymouth printers, Avery and Sons, by correspondence. Taylor's suggestion in his letter to Ngata that the Society's rules 'appear to support' the idea that the editor should be resident in Wellington was probably an afterthought:¹⁶⁰ and of course Ngata as President was ex-officio a member of the Council yet not resident in Wellington, so that although no one remarked on Ngata's situation, a strict interpretation of the Society's rules was probably not a very discreet line of argument to pursue.

While Andersen's editorship of the *Polynesian Society Journal*, and in consequence his influence in the Society's affairs more generally, was terminated by Pakeha members for their own various motives, Ngata's attitudes were important in facilitating the changes. Ngata took little part in the affairs of the Society: he had been elected President every year since the death of Herbert Williams in 1937, but before his electoral defeat in 1943, parliamentary and related duties took up most of his time in Wellington, and after his electoral defeat he was in Wellington less frequently, while his residence near Ruatoria was, in Pakeha terms, in a remote corner of the country. His prestige was great among both Pakeha and Maori, and his knowledge of Maoritanga was unrivalled among those

Maori who maintained a high profile in the Pakeha world, so that his presidency, however nominal, was important in a symbolic sense to the Polynesian Society. Ngata's views were bound to be treated with great respect. It is unlikely that the removal of Andersen as editor would have been undertaken without at least the tacit consent of Ngata; just possibly one of the reasons the postponement of the formal decision from the 1946 AGM to the next Council meeting was arranged was in order to acquaint Ngata with the changes contemplated. Ngata was no doubt aware of the feeling in some quarters against Andersen, and his comment to Taylor, 'I should like to see you undertake the office', must have been made with the knowledge that Taylor was keen to be more closely involved with editorial work.¹⁶¹ Ngata's opinion that 'Reviews have taken up too much space & not always helpful' was neatly congruent with the opinions of several others; he may well have had Andersen's very recent review of Takitimu in mind with his comment that reviews were 'not always helpful'.¹⁶² Andersen might have been a little astonished if he had seen Ngata's remark that studies like the 'Death Customs' article by the Beagleholes 'should have had more consideration before publication', since he had asked Ngata's opinion of the manuscript and Ngata had indicated publication was appropriate.¹⁶³ Perhaps Ngata himself had not given the article sufficient consideration, or simply had had no time to read it thoroughly. At any rate, he had changed his mind: the article had given offence to Maori, and

Ngata was above all sensitive to insults towards Maori expressed by Pakeha. Ngata's letter of 23 September 1946 to Taylor was in effect a withdrawal of support for Andersen and his policies, and a promise of support for Taylor and an editorial committee who would make 'better use' of the 'available space' in the Journal, or so he hoped.

A few months after these changes had been effected, Ngata took the opportunity of spelling out his policies for cultural revivification, and in the process cast a critical eye upon the past. The occasion was a busy day in Wellington on 10 June 1947. There was a dinner in his honour, attended by members of the Diplomatic Corps, members of the Polynesian Society, and distinguished members of the Maori community from several parts of the country. Immediately after the food had been consumed, speakers, many of them Maori leaders, praised Ngata's accomplishments.¹⁶⁴ Ngata made a brief reply, in the course of which he reminded members of the Polynesian society that he would be speaking further to them later in the evening. He did say that it was in Napier

that I recollected I was president of the Society. I had forgotten about it until then, because I never attend the meetings. How[e]ver, I saw my name figuring on the cover of the Journal and so I remembered that I was president - a very important position. Up until now it has been purely

honorary. I have always taken an interest in the publication and the works of the men who contribute to it. I always envy them the facility with which they write in order to fill its pages. It is mostly good stuff, with only a little bit of rubbish. Every man is guilty of writing rubbish. It is not all wisdom that leaks from one's pen. There is a lot of rot written sometimes even in the office of an Under-Secretary.¹⁶⁵

This was an after-dinner speech, of course, and Ngata was good at after-dinner speaking as he was with all other types of speaking; but there is serious comment within the banter. He had been, it could be estimated, a 'purely honorary' president in the past because he had not been invited to take a more active role, and also perhaps because he had not altogether approved of the Society's activities. Ngata's joking about the facility with which people wrote in order to fill its pages was close to the mark as well.¹⁶⁶

Later in the evening he gave his set-piece address, entitled 'Some Aspects of Maori Culture'. He acknowledged once again that he had been president of the Society for nine years 'although always absent': he thought perhaps he had been kept on as President because in the past he had been of some assistance with research into Maori matters, especially in providing money through the Ethnological Board. In the fifty-five volumes of the Polynesian Society Journal

there was the history of every tribe in New Zealand, even if not always in detail, but, Ngata claimed, some tribes were not altogether satisfied with the records made by H. J. Fletcher about Tuwharetoa, or by W. E. Gudgeon on the East Coast Tribes, or by Percy Smith in his history of the Taranaki Coast. The job had been 'imperfectly done', and the material had to be put 'in proper order'.¹⁶⁷

Ngata then told his audience that Maori culture still flourished among the majority of Maori people, most of whom lived in rural areas, and that the differences between Maori and Pakeha not only strong but 'a good thing If we were all the same the world might not be so good a place to live in'. Preservation of the Maori language was crucial to the preservation of the culture: 'If you are proud of this Maori culture, you must realise that its very foundation, and the gem in it, is the language.' While the language should be transmitted 'through the ear, and only secondarily in writing', there was a need for republication of Maunsell's Grammar and Williams's First Lessons; and Williams's Dictionary needed revision and republishing - 'No matter how great Herbert Williams was as a Maori scholar, he was not a Maori, and he made mistakes that a Maori scholar, who was himself a Maori, would not make'.¹⁶⁸

The 'job ahead of the Polynesian Society', Ngata suggested, was to publish, in revised editions when necessary, books which had gone out of print. 'I know the Society is faint-hearted because there is only a thin dribble of pounds reaching its

treasury', but the funds could be secured if people got to work. The Society might try asking Maori people, who Ngata thought had never had so much money as at present, but sending circulars was not the right approach: 'The Maoris are human beings. Talk to them. You will find that it will bring results'.¹⁶⁹

He appealed to the Maori people present, and their kin, to make their own efforts to collect funds: 'There is a duty on the young Maoris to take hold of the things that belong to themselves: they must get behind an organisation to raise the funds'. They should do research, too. 'It is time', Ngata said, 'some young men devoted themselves to a study of Maori names, whether of persons or places'. There were Pakeha groups interested in Maori place names, but 'a lot of mischief' had been done by looking up words in a Maori language dictionary - 'That method often results in ludicrous English equivalents'. Moreover, 'We, the Polynesian Society, recently fathered a big tome on Maori place names. It is vitiated by the misconception about Maori place names, that they have always been thought to have been given in some poetical sense, and people have always been looking for a poetical meaning in the names. This is a compliment, though a mischievous one, to the poetical genius of the Maori. Historically, you get brought down with a thud when you find a name has a very humdrum origin, arising out of such a happening perhaps as a man slipping over a stone.'¹⁷⁰

The last part of Ngata's address emphasized the importance for young Maori in mastering the Maori language - 'there must be interest and pride in it because it is a great language'. He repeated that there was a need to republish, after major revision, the 'Williams dictionary': 'I am suggesting that this Society should take the revision of the dictionary in hand, and I will do all I can to help.' There were 'other things' Ngata wished to say to the Council of the Polynesian Society, 'but perhaps they might not like those things said now. We are publishing a certain amount of rubbish in the Journal and wasting money. There ought to be a keying-up of the editorship of this magazine in order that worthwhile material will be published. Rubbish should not fill the pages of the Journal to the exclusion of material that we really want to collect and put on record.' Articles on 'things which belong to to-day ... should not be in the Journal just now'. Ngata concluded by saying that he 'cordially' supported the Society's appeal for increased membership. 'If the appeal went over both islands a worth-while fund could be got together to encourage the Society to go on doing its work, especially the republication of books now out of print.'¹⁷¹

Ngata's speech was directed to two groups in his audience: Maori people, and those who ran the Polynesian Society. Maori, both leaders and young people, he encouraged to feel pride in their culture. With knowledge of the Maori language as a basis, Maori should carry out their own research to maintain and strengthen the

culture. 'If you are going to be a Pakeha', Ngata told the language 'grasshoppers', 'for God's sake be one, and get out of the road'.¹⁷² While he intimated that Pakeha had performed valuable work, the Percy Smiths, the Fletchers and their like, even the learned Herbert Williams, had not always got matters correct, since they were Pakeha and to some extent ignorant of Maori ways. The Polynesian Society he saw as busy in a supportive role, providing an organisation for collecting funds and sympathisers, and arranging publication of materials.

What Ngata said in 1947 needs to be considered as a reiteration, and to some extent a clarification, of what he had proposed in 1923, when he was making proposals for the establishment of the Ethnological Board and judging how the Polynesian Society might assist in his own efforts and those of his associates to invigorate Maori culture. In 1947, as in 1923,¹⁷³ he in effect invited the Polynesian Society to assist Maori in ways that Maori defined as fruitful. In the 1990s this might be termed a challenge to become engaged in bicultural activities. Ngata, in his after-dinner talk, had referred to 'the thing we prize above all things in this country - the preservation of Maori culture, not in museums but as a living thing. Our old people', he reminded his listeners, 'did have a live culture. But you waited until they were all gone and then looked in the museums for it. We do not want that sort of thing.'¹⁷⁴

Implicit in such statements is Ngata's view that at least some of what the Polynesian Society had carried out since 1923 had been less than helpful to Maori : in that sense, his address in 1947 may be seen as a criticism of the Society; since Andersen had been prominent in the Society after 1925, and a (perhaps the) major influence from the early 1930s, and had been principal editor of the Journal in the same period, then Ngata's criticism included Andersen's activities. Recalling Ngata's comment to Taylor about the reviews being 'not always helpful', it is difficult to avoid the impression that some of the material in the Journal which Ngata called 'rubbish' was penned by Andersen himself; and in any case, as editor Andersen bore some responsibility for publishing the 'rubbish' he received from other contributors.

Ngata's attack on Andersen's Maori Place-names was more direct. If the work was unknown to the diplomats who were present, and probably to several of the Maori leaders, all the Polynesian Society members in the audience were well aware that the 'big tome on Maori place names' which had been 'recently fathered' by the Society was Andersen's work. Andersen had not said that Maori place names were 'always ... given in some poetical sense', and in that respect Ngata's claim that the book had been 'vitiated' by such a 'misconception' was inaccurate and unfair. Nor did Andersen approve of 'the dictionary approach to Maori place names' which Ngata derided; in fact, in Maori Place-names he condemned those

reductive kinds of nomenclatural interpretations by quoting Herbert Williams's admonitory examples.¹⁷⁵ Andersen's presumption, as a Pakeha with a limited knowledge of Maori culture and no facility in the Maori language, was probably what worried Ngata. He mentioned in his address how Herbert Williams had been prepared to recommend him for the degree of Doctor of Literature: Ngata's response to Williams (so he reported) had been: 'What do you know about Maori poetry, and how can you conscientiously advise the University authorities that I deserve it on things you don't know?'¹⁷⁶ Earlier in his address, when talking about tribal histories, Ngata said: 'You have to be careful in dealing with tribal history that you do not set up comparisons among tribes belittling one or other. The ignorant Pakeha puts his foot in it on almost every written page.'¹⁷⁷ In sometimes pretending to expertise in matters Maori, Andersen was (in Ngata's terms) another 'ignorant Pakeha'.

Ngata had not always felt negatively about Andersen; and his changing attitudes may be gathered from odd comments Ngata made from time to time in his correspondence with Peter Buck, in letters to whom he usually spoke very directly and even unguardedly. In 1929 Ngata explained to Buck that two of the latter's books had not been reviewed in the Journal because neither of the editors, Best and Andersen, felt competent, so Ngata himself and Herbert Williams would have to write the reviews. 'I feel I can do as much justice to either of these [books] as any

of these big guns', wrote Ngata.¹⁷⁸ 'Big guns' suggests the stature, real or assumed, of Best, Williams, and Andersen, though Ngata was no doubt being a trifle sarcastic. Earlier in the same (composite) letter, Ngata wrote to Buck that 'Someone' should 'review ... the work done up to present in regard to (a) Organisation of Polynesian Research (b) The Bibliography & periodical publications in which the results of current researchers are published. (c) The main results so far achieved A chap like Andersen has the industry for this job & access to all sources of information.'¹⁷⁹ It was perhaps the appropriate kind of 'job' for sympathetic Pakeha in Ngata's view of how matters should be arranged. When Andersen dabbled in other subjects, Ngata was not so enthusiastic. 'Andersen did his best work with the String Games', Ngata wrote to Buck, in September 1930. 'In regard to the songs he has a kink about bird music and a fatal facility for versification which take his mind off the reality of the Maori poetry. He has much in common with Cowan, except that Cowan is more readable. Andersen has a literary pose (vide *Life in Aotea* and the *Myths of the Polynesian*) which offends the honest seeker after truth.'¹⁸⁰ And he cannot make the gods and deified heroes converse in the Polynesian manner.' Ngata was not very inspired, either, by the first volume of the new collection made by James Cowan (with the titular assistance of Sir Maui Pomare), Legends of the Maori (1930): 'It looks as if there will be an attempt to produce popular books on the Maori by people who are not

competent to handle the material', he said, apparently in reference to Fine Arts Ltd, the publishers of Cowan's Legends, but no doubt with Andersen's efforts in mind as well, since these comments were all strung together in a single paragraph.¹⁸¹

Maori String Figures was, of course, based on field research, while Maori Life in Ao-tea and Myths & Legends of the Polynesians were written out of other books; and Maori Life and Myths & Legends were massive slabs of prose whereas String Figures was much slighter, well-organized, and very much to the point. There was another distinction, too. String Figures, both the research and the publication, was authorized: Maori, including Ngata himself, had approved the project and co-operated with Andersen in his labours, so that it was fittingly published by the Board of Maori Ethnological Research.¹⁸² For String Figures, Andersen's enthusiasms and talents had been harnessed to Maori ends. When Andersen moved outside this framework, the results, from Ngata's perspective, were more equivocal. For example, Andersen left at Ngata's office the typescript, or perhaps the proofs, of the volume edited by P. M. Jackson, Maori and Education (1931), to which Andersen had made several substantial contributions. 'I was not able to make a close study of the papers ... just a skim through', wrote Ngata to Andersen. 'They should make interesting reading for students of Maori education. With the exception of the report of Buck's Cawthron lecture they appraise the subject from the pakeha angle and judge of the success or failure of the system by

pakeha standards.'¹⁸³ There is a note of disapproval in this comment. On the same day he sent that letter to Andersen, Ngata wrote to Buck about F. M. Keesing, who had earlier published The Changing Maori (1928), dealing especially with Ngata's schemes of amelioration in the 1920s. Ngata had just heard from Keesing that he was in Samoa. 'He will no doubt make a useful contribution for the purposes of the Pacific Institute,' Ngata commented to Buck, 'and yet leave the essentials untouched. He will make much of the surface reactions to civilisation and spread himself out in his peculiar style. It is really a kind of journalese, weaving together as he did in "The Changing Maori" He is a cross between Cowan and Andersen.'¹⁸⁴ Earlier in the year Ngata had written of Keesing: 'He is quite bucked up with the way the Americans ... have taken up his study of the Red Indian. He had a smattering of Maori before he left here. He comes back with a smattering of Red Indian. He will of course, presume on a smattering of Hawaiian and thus equipped he will run round Fiji, the Western Pacific, and Australia and dash off a thesis on the Pacific Dependencies.'¹⁸⁵ Four years later, Ngata compared Keesing favourably by contrast with William Dale who had hoped to make 'a special study of Ruatahuna'. 'I was sure', Ngata informed Buck, 'that he [Dale] only wanted to use our resources and connections for the furtherance of his own ambitions.'¹⁸⁶ Ngata was deeply suspicious of Pakeha who used Maori subjects, and Maori resources, to advance themselves, either academically, as was the case

with Keesing and Dale, or in terms of publications, which was the case with Cowan and Andersen.

It should be added that Ngata was also disappointed in Andersen's study of Maori music. 'I have heard Andersen reproduce', he told Buck, perhaps referring to the notation Andersen prepared for the violinist, and it was 'a ghastly failure.'¹⁸⁷ 'If the writing of books consisted merely of liberal quotations from out of date publications, like Andersen's "Maori Music"', he wrote in 1936, 'the thing would be easy and be merely a matter of financing publications. It is true that our friend Johannes has done good by putting the material before his readers, so that some one or other may make better use of it than he has done - but he has not succeeded in making a good study of Maori Music.'¹⁸⁸ Moreover, as he had intimated for Maori Music, all these projects, like the publication of the Journal itself, were a drain upon limited financial resources: the money could have been put to better use.¹⁸⁹ It was galling for Ngata to see the 'rubbish' which appeared in the Journal.

'I should like you to tell Sir Apirana what the members say: he may have something to say too', Andersen had written to Taylor.¹⁹⁰ What Ngata had to say, on the wider issues, he said clearly in his address of 10 June 1947. Maori should study Maori culture; sympathetic Pakeha, through such organisations as the Polynesian Society, might provide support. It was a division of labour that most

Pakeha did not understand, grounded as it was in the need for Maori to retain their cultural integrity, and their cultural autonomy. Andersen, like many other Pakeha sympathetic to Maori causes, perhaps did not recognise and certainly did adhere to this division of labour. From Ngata's perspective, Andersen had perhaps impeded rather than expedited Maori cultural revitalisation, and Ngata was prepared to hope his successors in editing the Journal and in running the Polynesian Society generally might be more active in ways that were congruent with his own programmes.

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Andersen's loss of the editorship of the Journal of the Polynesian Society and his failure to be re-elected to the Council of the Society in 1946 had consequences for his avenues of publication which throw into relief the benefits he had previously received from his influence in the Society: he could no longer easily and successfully call upon the Society's resources to get into print. The pages of the Journal itself were not closed to him, but he apparently did not offer articles to the Journal, and it seems that the new editors sent no books for him to

review - not surprisingly, since the unsatisfactory nature of his reviews had been a major reason, or excuse, for terminating his editorship. (Roger Duff, however, had some notion that Andersen might be asked to review Buck's The Coming of the Maori in 1949, and was alarmed at the prospect.)¹⁹¹ But, removed from a position of power, Andersen was unable to persuade the Society to underwrite, or co-operate with, some of his other ventures. He hoped that the Society would publish part of his edition of Polynesian Literature (1946): that is, the copies published by the Society would have a separate title page, with the imprint of the Society, and this version would be issued as a volume in the Society's memoir series. The financial side of the proposal is unclear; but presumably Andersen wanted the Society to pay some portion of the printing cost. At the meeting of 13 November 1946, Council members were cautious about the proposal: they wanted to see the book before deciding whether the Society should take 250 copies, the number Andersen suggested. Their chief objection was the size: the page dimensions were much smaller than other memoirs published by the Society.¹⁹² (Ironically, it may have been Andersen himself, in his letter to the secretary, who drew attention to this matter.)¹⁹³ In September 1947, the Council discussed the proposal again, but put off giving approval, and Polynesian Literature continued to make its way in the world without the Society's imprimatur.¹⁹⁴

A second project was Andersen's revision of Elsdon Best's The Land of Tara, first published in instalments in the Journal, and then as a separate book in 1919.¹⁹⁵ In May 1947, the Council referred Andersen's manuscript to McEwen for an expert opinion; and in September 1947, when the proposal for Polynesian Literature was not taken up, the Council also failed to approve the publication of 'The Land of Tara', though 'The desirability of a reprint with brief notes where necessary, was agreed upon, as an objective for the future'.¹⁹⁶ Andersen was impatient, and in June 1948 wrote to Taylor:

... my revision of The Land of Tara runs to 200 pages quarto type, and besides correcting slight errors in [Best's] The Land, this book has a great deal of new matter, some of it very good. There seems to be no chance of The Land being corrected, if correction is needed, so why should this matter lie idle? As revised, it forms the introduction to my place-names of the Wellington district, which already runs to over 400 pages, and about a third is still to do, and I want to get ahead with it, for the years pass. Since you as a Society are not likely to touch it in the near future, what is there to prevent my going ahead Is there anything to prevent my just going ahead with it; I'll not ask any help from the Society in the way of funds, but will see to the printing myself, and you can take copies later if you wish. Supposing I say no more, but just go ahead; who is to say me Nay?

Make this confidential and give me a confidential reply; but
I badly feel like going ahead. Heoi ano.¹⁹⁷

Taylor's reply has not been sighted but Andersen did not publish the material. In 1959, G. L. Adkin published The Great Harbour of Tara, a revision of the place names section of Best's book of 1919, without the imprint of the Society.¹⁹⁸

A third project to which Andersen tried to attach the Polynesian Society illustrates not only his lack of influence upon decisions by the Society after 1946, but also his continuing interest in seeing *Nga Moteatea* issued according to his own aesthetic specifications and including some of his own commentary. He wrote to Taylor in June 1949 about various bookish matters, and referred to the current printing of Maori language texts of Part III of *Nga Moteatea* in the Journal: 'You are printing ... without the translations!' he exclaimed; 'well! do you think you'll ever get the translations? who will do it? there's no one living but Ngata to do it; and perhaps he will in his spare time.' Why not bind the translated songs already printed, he asked Taylor. He had prepared an index, and if the Society would publish the songs, he would send it, if not, he would burn the index, 'for it is so much lumber as it is'. He wouldn't send the index to Ngata, he added, 'for he won't answer letters'.¹⁹⁹ Evidently Ngata no longer bothered to keep in touch with Andersen. Though the Society did not publish the songs, and was unlikely to

do anything of the sort without consulting Ngata, Andersen kept the index out of the incinerator.

He tried again a year later, in more sombre circumstances. Ngata had died on 14 July 1950, and Andersen wrote to Taylor, in his capacity as secretary of the Polynesian Society, just three days later. The songs printed so far, he told Taylor, would make an excellent little volume, complete in itself. He held a typed introduction which Ngata had sent him in 1942, and it would be appropriate to include this in the booklet as it set out Ngata's intentions in full. Andersen had also compiled an index for the songs up to and including page 71, leaving eighteen pages still to be indexed. 'If the Council decide to publish as I suggest, I could finish the index and see the whole through the press, and you would have a volume which would include many of the finest examples of Maori poetry, equal to volumes of English classics such as *Lycidas* and other publications of the Cambridge University Press.' The volume would make an excellent memorial to Ngata's work; and the format should be worthy of the contents. 'My work as editor', Andersen added, 'is part of my tribute to Sir Apirana, and I certain[ly] should like to see this book issued and dedicated to his memory. The phrase 'My work as editor' conveys the impression that Andersen wanted to have charge of the publication; and perhaps (we might speculate) the editor's name would appear on the title page. He mentioned to Taylor that he was to have written 'an introduction

on the technical side of the poetry', but that, like the series of songs, had never been completed.²⁰⁰

Andersen's claim that he was to write at Ngata's behest a commentary on the metrical aspects of Maori poetry was not altogether fanciful. In May 1928, Ngata explained to Andersen that the first volume of the Maori-language *Nga Moteatea* consisted of the songs which had appeared in Te Toa Takatini, but that he had not had the time to add annotations in English or to include a general introduction to the songs. Nevertheless, he had all this material, 'except such as I shall look for from you on "verse" metre etc. I look forward to a study with you on these matters as applied to Maori poetry when the House [i.e., parliament] meets.'²⁰¹ Ngata no doubt expected Andersen to make a technical analysis of the kind he had performed on English poetry in several papers published in the Transactions; and, in April 1928, the month before Ngata had sent his letter, Andersen had just received advance copies of his The Laws of Verse, published by Cambridge University Press, so his expertise in prosody was not to be doubted: he probably showed a copy to Ngata. On the other hand, in the correspondence of the middle 1940s, when *Nga Moteatea* appeared in translation in the Journal, there is no mention by Ngata of any essay to be contributed by Andersen.²⁰² It may be supposed that Andersen's prospective contribution slipped out of sight as Ngata's

attitude towards Andersen became more critical. Now that Ngata was dead, Andersen could revive the earlier idea that he contribute an introductory essay.

Taylor liked the proposal made by Andersen to issue the songs already printed as a separate volume: he agreed that it would be an appropriate memorial to Ngata. He would pass on to other members of the Council Andersen's suggestion.²⁰³ Within days there was an article in the New Zealand Herald, headed 'Unfinished Maori Translations/Last Literary Work of Sir A. Ngata'. Probably Andersen had alerted the Herald; certainly he was quoted extensively in the article, using phrases identical to those contained in his letter to Taylor. The newspaper explained that Sir Apirana had written a preface which was to be supplemented with an explanation of the technical aspects of the poetry written by Mr Andersen. The Herald also reported the views of Pei Te Hurunui Jones, whom Ngata had recommended as competent to carry on the work: Jones said he would like to have a hand in the work, but the successful translation of poetry required leisure time and he was faced with the need to earn a living.²⁰⁴ Andersen, full of enthusiasm, now wrote to Taylor again, indicating that his own Polynesian Literature should serve as a model: 'As you may have surmised, my book of Maori Poetry was built on similar lines, and it was intended as both an example and a spur to Sir Apirana: but, alas, the steed was jaded and could not respond to the spur.' He would send Ngata's proposed introduction when the Society decided to go

ahead with the publication: it is just possible that Andersen kept this typescript as a literary hostage.²⁰⁵

The Society, however, made no decision. Then, on 27 December 1950, for reasons which are unclear, the Herald printed a brief article which was very much a short version of what had appeared in August.²⁰⁶ Early in the New Year, Andersen wrote to Pei Jones, referring to the recent newspaper item in which Jones had been mentioned: 'I saw the newspaper note regarding the continuation of the publication of the Maori songs ... and felt glad that the work is to be proceeded with.' There would be much labour, but the songs were well worth it. 'As a preliminary', asked Andersen, 'don't you think that the songs already furnished, the twenty-three already published in the Journal, should be published separately?'²⁰⁷ The copies are already printed off, and it is only a matter of binding them up. No there is a little more. Seeing that a constant check must be kept on the spelling of all names, I indexed the songs ... and I have the [index] cards which may need printing and a preface written for the book to go ahead.' Taylor had 'approved', Andersen told Jones,²⁰⁸ and on the same day he wrote again to Taylor. Jones's reply is not on record; Taylor replied in May: the Society had deferred the matter, since Avey's, the printer, were fully booked, the Society had several memoirs currently appearing, and the Ngata family had made Sir Apirana's notes available - there might be material in them that should be considered. 'In brief ... the answer is

that as soon as these points are finalised ... the book shall be issued, with, I hope, your editorial material.’²⁰⁹

Taylor’s reply must have been read by Andersen as a definite signal that the book would soon be prepared for publication, and he set to work and drafted an introduction. Andersen began his introduction not with the people whose songs comprised *Nga Moteatea*, but, unsurprisingly, at the point they entered literary history, the publication of Grey’s Maori language version of 1853. He then noted the collections made by C.O.B. Davis, Edward Shortland, Richard Taylor, and others. ‘The figure next to Grey, indeed eclipsing Grey in many respects, is that of the late Sir Apirana T. Ngata, the rangatira who has done more for the welfare of the Maori than any other man, and who yet found time to collect, and annotate copiously, three hundred of the songs of his people, including as his people the whole of the Maori race.’ Andersen referred to the appearance of songs in the periodical Te Toa Takatini, and the publication of the first two volumes of *Nga Moteatea* in the late 1920s. Andersen then explained the genesis of the translated series: ‘Sir Apirana approached the Polynesian Society, and suggested that the songs might be republished there, running corrected and completed songs through their Journal. It was pointed out, however, that the bulk of the readers of the Journal, a great many of them being overseas, were not conversant with Maori, and the songs would mean nothing to them, whilst they at the same time would occupy

much space in the *Journal*. It was agreed, however, that if Sir Apirana would supply translations of songs and text, they would be printed, Maori and English on alternate pages, when they would serve a double purpose; provide reading for those who knew Maori, and good literature for those learning Maori.' Andersen proposed to print with the twenty-three songs the preface sent him by Ngata in 1942, and an explanatory letter, 'as it shows the scope of the work proposed.'²¹⁰

The introduction Andersen sent to Taylor in July 1951, together with the letter and the preface by Ngata, and the complete index Andersen had prepared, all ready for the printer except for a 'short note' Andersen wished to write on the rhythm and metre of the songs. 'Get it in hand as soon as may be', he told Taylor: 'you may be sure that if there is any extra cost (there will be) in making this a handsome memorial volume the Maori [Purposes Fund] Board will come to our assistance. Let me know what the cost is likely to be, and it will go before the next meeting of the Board later on in the year.'²¹¹ Taylor acknowledged receipt of this letter and the text with it, saying he would get a cost estimate as soon as possible.

Again, nothing happened; so, at the end of 1951, Andersen once more took the initiative, writing to Avery and Sons to ask precisely what printed sheets of Nga Moteatea they held. Avery and Sons replied that they held 400 copies of the first seventy-two pages (those printed while Andersen was editor of the *Journal*), but they emphasised that the Council of the Polynesian Society had not yet made any

decision, and they could do nothing without instructions from the Society, almost as if they feared that Andersen might forget he could no longer make dispositions on behalf of the Society.²¹² Andersen was able to reassure them: if he could get a good indication of the costs of printing the book, then he would be in a position to approach the Maori Purposes Fund Board (of which, he reminded them, he was a member) to take over the project, but of course he would ask permission of the Polynesian Society for the Board to complete the publication and issue it. As well as the songs, there was Ngata's introduction, the index, 'and I shall have an Introduction on the technique of the metre of the songs, which additionally may take 20 or 30 pages.'²¹³ The estimate was £75.²¹⁴

His next move was an attempt to work through the Maori Purposes Fund Board, by writing to the secretary, J. M. McEwen, in April 1952. Nothing had been done about the songs by the Polynesian Society, he reminded McEwen, 'primarily, I understand, because of the expense.' Why couldn't the Board take over the whole business and issue *Nga Moteatea* itself - Andersen would be willing to see it through the press, and £100 should be enough. It would not even be necessary to wait for the next meeting of the Board - members could be circularised, and if they approved, the production could be put in hand at once. McEwen, also on the Polynesian Society's Council, deflected this idea by reporting that he had been in touch with Garth Roydhouse, the Journal editor, and they hoped the Society would

be able to get something moving shortly. Andersen may have been busy persuading people in person as well as by letter: on the back of his copy of the minutes for the Maori Purposes Fund Board meeting in October he wrote: 'Send Tirikatene/Maori Poetry/Tu/? Tohunga'. Evidently he had been discussing 'Maori literature' with Eruera Tirikatene, M.P. for Southern Maori and a member of the Board, and had promised him copies of some of his own books.²¹⁵

Andersen made one more try, apparently the last, towards the middle of 1953, setting down on paper his long-delayed discussion of rhythm and metre in the songs, but not to the extent of '20 or 30 pages'. 'What I intended to have written for this volume as introduction to the subject of Maori poetry, was incorporated in the book on Polynesian poetry and music in general, and appears in Maori Music, 1934, pages 372-445 To that volume the reader may be referred, the following being no more than a summary.' As in Maori Music, he took an evolutionist perspective, regarding European poetry and music as the norm: regular line-lengths and regular stanzas had not become the rule in Maori songs, but the tendency in that direction was quite manifest, 'and it was brought about in the same way as in our own poetry (and consequently in our music), by the movements of dance and the necessity for taking breath. The resulting "form" that appeared was the same as our own; the lines became sentences that could be uttered in one breath, the stanzas becoming the carriers of two complete sentences

.... The definiteness had not become as clear in Polynesian or Maori poetry and music as in our own, but it was there, and its reason for being there was the same.' He mentioned how *karakia* were chanted without a break, the chanters taking breaths at different times; and how when 'there was plenty of breath left at the end of a line ... it would be expended in an expressive e.... i.... or the like emotional syllables.' If this seemed 'barbaric', readers could see a similar example in the opening quatrain of Canto XII of Spenser's Faerie Queen, which he quoted.²¹⁶

There was a second paper, left incomplete. It included a discussion of the proper orthography for names, and Andersen's account of how he and Ngata 'agreed to differ' over tribal names, Ngata preferring the proper name to have a separate word and initial capital. Sections of this paper included verbatim material from Maori Music, though the ellipses were not indicated, and there were some other slight changes.²¹⁷ In two places in his second paper, Andersen emphasised his contact with Ngata: 'I was in fairly constant contact with Sir Apirana ... and we had many discussions as to the form to be taken in printing proper names'. Later in the paper he stated: 'Whilst Sir Apirana was to write the general Introduction to the Songs, and this wonderful Introduction appears in this volume, I was to have written on the metre and rhythms of the songs and Maori poetry generally. Sir Apirana knew my book The Laws of Verse, and he knew my book Maori Music,

and he wished me to say a few words to accompany his introduction.'²¹⁸ Even after his death, Ngata's authority might thus be invoked by Andersen.

This second, incomplete paper, however, he seems to have discarded. Andersen wrote to Taylor on 7 June 1953, saying that he had decided it was hardly necessary to repeat what he had already said in Maori Music: 'I trust that you too may think this is sufficient, and let the volume go ahead', presumably including the much shorter paper. He was still very much thinking of his own little book as a model: 'The red and black design on the cover of Polynesian Literature might go on this one', the Nga Moteatea volume; 'Averys have the plate'.²¹⁹ Here the trail peters out. The twenty-three songs were never issued as a separate publication. The first volume of Nga Moteatea, completed by Pei Te Hurunui, was published in 1958 by the Polynesian Society, 25cm in size rather than the 18cm of Andersen's Polynesian Literature, a solid book of more than 300 pages instead of the series of dainty little volumes Andersen had envisaged. Two equally large volumes were published in later years, and, taken up to some extent as a special sesquicentennial project, Part IV was finally issued in 1990.²²⁰ In this final volume, text and notes appear only in Maori, without any English language translation.

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For Ngata, and for J. H. Mitchell in his book Takitimu, resorting to print was an additional way of preserving the vitality of culture in case of interruptions to oral transmission by elders: the technology of the new world, as it were, was called in to redress the disruptions of the old.²²¹ Even if what was preserved in print might be studied by individuals, the eventual expression of the material would be social, in live performances on communal and inter-communal occasions.²²² Print for Maori was an aide-mémoire.²²³ For Andersen, as for other Pakeha, print was not an aide-mémoire for performance, but a distillation of knowledge, a permanent record, the fixing of discourse upon the page. This did not mean it could not be transformed: indeed, it was likely to be reformulated in print, since all writing lends itself to rewriting. Once *Nga Moteatea* appeared in print in an English translation, as Andersen was so keen that it should, it was his to utilize as he wished, and the cultural sanctions through which the elders maintained the contextual significance of *Nga Moteatea* disappeared.

In fact, even though he was unsuccessful in his efforts to have the first 23 songs published as a separate volume, Andersen did make use of *Nga Moteatea*. He attended a Writers' Conference held in Christchurch in 1951, the first collective literary event of some national significance since the New Zealand Authors' Week of 1936 in which Andersen had himself had played a prominent part, and delivered

a paper on Maori poetry. Andersen, in his late seventies, was by 1951 a somewhat faded literary figure among younger writers who had, many of them, from the 1920s and 1930s scornfully turned away from versifying tuis in kowhai trees and like themes much affected by Andersen and his contemporaries;²²⁴ but at the Writers' Conference in 1951 Frank Sargeson, at any rate, found some of the Maori poetry spoken by Andersen of interest. 'Johannes Andersen', Sargeson recollected, with a little gentle irony, 'a man who knew pretty well his New Zealand history, but was immediately attractive for his renderings of what appeared to be some very remarkable Maori poetry: "I have heaped my anxieties upon the moon," he recited: and whenever the words return into my mind I tend always to think no, that's not Rilke, that's ...'.²²⁵ The phrase recorded by Sargeson makes it clear that at least one of the poems was from Nga Moteatea; and if Sargeson's record of Andersen's rendition was accurate, then Andersen had fashioned his own version of 'A Love Song for Te Manana Kauaterangi', Ngata's translation of 'He Waiata Aroha mo Te Manana Kauaterangi', which in Ngata's draft read: 'Yonder is the moon, upon which I heaped/My many anxieties.'²²⁶ Moreover, Ngata's translation of 'He Waiata Aroha mo Te Manana Kauaterangi' had not yet appeared in print, and Andersen must have used as a basis for the version he gave at the Writers' Conference the typescript or proof copies he had acquired as editor of the Polynesian Society Journal in 1944-45. Though Andersen had failed to gain

linguistic access to the greater proportion of Nga Moteatea, the small amount of translation by Ngata was able to be used by Andersen for the purposes he had envisaged all along: he could refashion the translated songs according to his own fancies, and present them as New Zealand literature. In effect, he had begun to exploit the 'literary mine'.

Such a process could continue, of course, without the personal initiatives of Andersen. In The Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse (1960), the editor, Allen Curnow, with the assistance of Roger Oppenheim who provided translations, offered seven items at the start of the anthology under the heading 'Maori Poetry'. All had been previously published, five of them in the Journal of the Polynesian Society. Of those five, one, 'An Ancient Flute Song', was also attributed to Andersen's Polynesian Literature, from which a few words of Andersen's editorial remarks were drawn by way of explanation about the flute or koauau; and three had been selected from the Nga Moteatea songs published in the Journal in 1944.²²⁷ Whether the still-living but aged and frail Andersen ever saw the Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse is doubtful; but while the unrhymed translations of 'Maori Poetry' might have irritated him, he would have approved of the appearance of songs from Nga Moteatea in a canonical work of New Zealand verse.

CONCLUSION

Johannes Andersen spent a good deal of effort through a long life in turning himself into a New Zealander, in forging his own identity by inventing a 'New Zealand' which he found congenial, in promoting his version of New Zealand and in sharing it with other European-derived New Zealanders who, not always so consciously as Andersen, were also seeking to establish a New Zealand in which they could feel at home. It is possible that because he was the child of Danish parents living in an Anglo society, Andersen's search for a New Zealand identity was perhaps more urgent and more relentless than for many other settlers and their descendants: his Danish heritage was attenuated, and the British heritage maintained by other settlers, with greater or lesser enthusiasm, was for Andersen more vicarious than for other colonists - his parents and siblings had no first-hand experience of England or Scotland or Ireland. This distinguishes Andersen in degree rather than kind.¹ His search for a local identification was simply more conscious, explicit, and consistent than for many Anglo-descended New Zealanders who were able, it seems, to develop their identifications with New Zealand while continuing to feel some identity with their British heritage: for example, Alan Mulgan, a contemporary of Andersen's, has left in his book The Making of a New Zealander (1958) an account of his efforts to shore-up a British heritage,

particularly in its English aspects, while subsequently attempting to appreciate and to apply in his own writings James Cowan's celebration of New Zealand phenomena, including Maori culture. Michael King, in Being Pakeha (1985), provides an autobiographical account of the experiences of a later generation.²

Pakeha New Zealanders articulated a local identity in many different ways: some of these have recently been set out by Keith Sinclair in A Destiny Apart (1986), though he pays scant attention to the elements of identity favoured by Andersen. Andersen chose to emphasize indigenous phenomena, particularly fauna, flora, and the indigenous people - the birds, the bush, and 'the Maori': these made up what, for him, was distinctively 'New Zealand'. He apparently found the exploits of New Zealanders in war and sport (shown by Sinclair and other recent writers to be significant factors in the growth of a sense of New Zealand identity) less satisfying, since he paid almost no attention to such activities.³ The celebration of 'pioneering', through which many New Zealanders discovered a resonant local rhetoric and a 'usable past', Andersen also found unsatisfactory: he tried this approach to a limited extent in his Jubilee History of South Canterbury,⁴ but did not pursue it thereafter, perhaps because the pioneer legend conflicted to some extent with the strong conservationist attitudes which he derived from his affection for native birds and native trees. In addition, he was antipathetic towards the adulation of E. G. Wakefield, and towards the myth that the activities of the

New Zealand Company were heroic and civilising, partly because of his disapproval of some of the personal peccadilloes of the Wakefield clan, partly because the New Zealand Company had, in his view, been less than just in its treatment of Maori people.⁵

Andersen's initial interest in the birds, the bush, and 'the Maori' as the distinctive components of 'New Zealand' was not innovative: he followed patterns already established, if not entirely entrenched, by other New Zealanders, and he was by no means singular in these sympathies. However, there were relatively few New Zealanders of his generation who equalled the sheer size and the persistence of his elaboration of this version of New Zealand, though his own promotional efforts, and those of others who had similar interests, helped to make such interests popular and conventional amongst later generations of New Zealanders. Even so, the process of popularising New Zealand as an entity distinguished by the birds, the bush, and 'the Maori' was to a considerable extent collaborative: Andersen and others were influential in projecting their New Zealand because this was the New Zealand, or included elements of the New Zealand, that many people in their audiences, whether in lecture rooms or as readers of books and articles, wanted to have constructed, and in the construction of which they wanted to participate.

While all cultural constructions by Pakeha New Zealanders which sought to produce a local sense of identification were colonising processes in the widest

sense, since they were predicated upon the notion that the settlers and their descendants were becoming 'naturals' in supersession to the indigenous people (and the transfer of the term 'New Zealanders' from the indigenous people to the settlers themselves by the settlers was both a harbinger and an example of this process), the utilisation of particular elements of Maori culture by Pakeha in their own signifying systems, what is here termed cultural appropriation, was a very specific process of acquiring the resources of the indigenous people.⁶ Andersen originally sought mythic and legendary materials for a verse epic, which he found in various books; and when the epic proved unsatisfactory for publication, he produced a prose version of the information he had collected, and added indexes and other glosses to enable his readers to use the book, Maori Life in Ao-tea, as a kind of encyclopaedia upon the lore of Maori. In his book, and in lectures and articles, he encouraged local artists to depict on canvas the myths and legends he retailed: in effect, he endorsed the invitation implicit in the works of other poets, artists, writers of fiction and nonfiction, and made explicit in statements by such people as S. P. Smith and James Cowan, to use Maori material for Pakeha purposes.⁷

In Wellington, after 1915, Andersen's interest in Maori subjects was confirmed and extended by the various networks which he entered or was invited to

enter.⁸ His expertise and enthusiasm was sought by science administrators whose programmes included recording and classifying ethnological information; by amateur ethnologists, and especially Elsdon Best, who, in continuing to indulge their interests in the culture of the Other, wished to collect the vanishing lore of a 'dying race'; and by Maori leaders, notably Apirana Ngata, who hoped to enlist the support of sympathetic Pakeha in their work to maintain and revivify traditional Maori culture in its tribal manifestations. In the early 1920s, Andersen performed ethnological work in the field - that is, among Maori and with their co-operation and encouragement - and he published papers (and eventually his book on Maori String Figures) which served the purposes of scientists, ethnologists, and Maori leaders alike. Subsequently, Best involved Andersen in the affairs of the Polynesian Society, especially through joint-editorship of its Journal. Ngata had anticipated the assistance of the Polynesian Society in developing his programmes, and in the 1920s and afterwards, even when funds were scarce, he helped the Society in its publications with considerable infusions of money from boards set up to promote Maori projects.

After Best's withdrawal from the editorship in 1930, Andersen strove to maintain in the Journal the 'orthodoxy' of Maori prehistory or traditional history which had been established by S. P. Smith, Best, and other early illuminati of the Polynesian Society, first against the revisionism of H. D. Skinner, who partly as a

consequence of Andersen's antagonism withdrew as joint-editor of the Journal, later against the moa-hunter hypotheses of Skinner's protégé, Roger Duff.⁹ Andersen believed that the orthodoxy was based upon a proper respect for Maori traditional history, in contrast to what he saw as the more speculative proposals of the archaeologists; but in this drawn-out debate between competing Pakeha versions of the Polynesian past, Andersen, with no recourse to evidence in the Maori language, assumed an editorial and intellectual authority to pronounce upon the Maori past which had no more authorization from Maori communities than did the excavations and writings of the archaeologists. He also supported, with enthusiasm, Best's argument for monotheism among Maori, and was narrowly saved by the interventions of Kenneth Emory and Peter Buck from enshrining in the Journal some extensive but probably spurious evidence of traditional belief in a Supreme Being elsewhere in Polynesia. As editor of the Journal, Andersen, like his editorial predecessors and most contemporary contributors, treated the artifacts and traditions of the Polynesians, and indeed of other peoples, as intellectual puzzles - even perhaps as intellectual 'playthings' (to repeat Ranginui Walker's word) - rather than as the residues, material and spiritual, sometimes sacred, of the ancestors of still-living cultures.¹⁰ It may be doubted whether the Journal with its augmented funds ever consistently lived up to Ngata's hopes.

Andersen at least agreed with Ngata that the Journal should be an instrument to preserve traditions that hitherto had been maintained by oral transmission. Ngata's preference was for Maori material; Andersen was happy to draw material from a greater geographical and cultural catchment, Oceania in general (though Polynesia took preference).¹¹ Without fluency in a Polynesian language, Andersen hoped to gain access through bilingual versions of texts to the traditional lore of the whole of Polynesia, including Maori traditional lore, which lore could then be drawn upon by Andersen himself and other Pakeha as subjects for their prose, art, and poetry.¹² In fact, relatively little of such material was offered. But the Journal and the Society were useful to Andersen in other ways. In his reviews, and in editorial commentaries, he was able to promulgate his own views, or emphasize the views of which he approved; and, despite problems with indebtedness from time to time, the Society was drawn into publishing two large books by Andersen as part of its distinguished, influential and valued memoir series.

Andersen's knowledge of and sympathy for Maori was much extended by his brief experiences in Maori communities between 1919 and 1923. He also, unusually (though not uniquely) among Pakeha of the time, had come to believe in a promising Maori future as well as a colourful Maori past.¹³ Believing, in general terms probably correctly, that he had support and authorization from the doyen of

ethnologists, Elsdon Best, and from Apirana Ngata as leader of what is sometimes called the Maori renaissance, and that his field-work between 1919 and 1923 had provided him with the special insights which came from direct experience, Andersen, in lectures, articles and books, encouraged Pakeha to think positively and sympathetically about Maori people and Maori culture. As well as displaying his own considerable knowledge of detail, invoking, often casually, the sponsorship of Best and Ngata, and referring to his expertise gathered on ethnological expeditions, Andersen's authoritativeness for his listeners and readers was enhanced by his institutional connections, the most important of which were his editorship of the *Polynesian Society Journal* and his position as Librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library, but which also included, inter alia, membership of the Honorary New Zealand Geographic Board, and of the Maori Purposes Fund Board.

While it was by no means unimportant that Andersen reported favourably to Pakeha about Maori people and Maori culture, and conveyed a good deal of interesting and usually accurate information, albeit constructed within Pakeha frames of reference (and this mediatory process engaged in by Andersen and other Pakeha also deserves further study), he also, and perhaps more significantly, encouraged Pakeha to indulge their own interests in Maori. By both example and precept, he invited Pakeha to take from Maori culture, or Maori culture as he presented it and as it was made available in various published materials by Pakeha,

what was useful for their own purposes: he encouraged Pakeha to acquire knowledge of Maori myths and legends, to affiliate with the landscape by understanding and appreciating Maori place names; to use Maori subjects for verse, art, and fiction; to learn whai or string figures; to incorporate Maori decorative motifs in stamps, coins, and other symbolic productions.¹⁴ Even his intermittent campaign for the correct pronunciation of Maori words can be seen as an appeal for Pakeha to authenticate themselves as New Zealanders.¹⁵

In the early 1940s, Ngata hoped the Journal of the Polynesian Society would print the unpublished parts of *Nga Moteatea*, the ‘songs’ or ‘poetry’ which he considered the essence of Maori cultural life and heritage.¹⁶ Andersen, keen to gain linguistic access to this material, insisted on a bilingual version, which, through various circumstances, turned into a republication, in a revised form and with translations, of some of the ‘songs’ which had appeared in print earlier. Andersen also attempted to prescribe orthographic consistency. Ngata was primarily concerned with creating a repository for the songs, in accurate renditions attested by the experts of the various tribes, for the use of Maori; Andersen looked upon the poems as a potential New Zealand contribution to the tradition of English literature, and attempted to make some of Ngata’s translations more ‘poetic’. The discussions between Ngata and Andersen over the publication of *Nga Moteatea*, polite as they appeared in correspondence, reveal the divergence between the Maori

leader calling upon sympathetic Pakeha to assist Maori projects, and the Pakeha engaged in the process of cultural appropriation. Possibly Andersen's severe criticisms of orthographic inconsistency in a tribal history by another Maori leader, J. H. Mitchell, who, recently deceased, had been a close associate of Ngata, offended the latter. Ngata soon afterwards did not defend Andersen when some members of the Polynesian Society wished to end his editorship, and indeed he later publicly criticised Andersen's book on Maori Place-Names in a speech which contained references to other 'ignorant Pakeha'.

Andersen might have retained his editorship of the Journal and his influence in the Polynesian Society even against the opposition of other Pakeha if Ngata had defended him. Ngata did not do so because he had become increasingly disenchanted over several years with Andersen's activities, and indeed with his whole approach to Maori subjects, culminating, perhaps, in Andersen's attempts to fashion Nga Moteatea according to Pakeha cultural fancies. Even if Andersen was unaware of Ngata's more critical comments on some of his work (such as the negative judgment on Maori Music which Ngata expressed to Buck), he was certainly aware of Ngata's withdrawal from contact through correspondence. Nevertheless, Andersen continued to operate as a Pakeha expert on Maori subjects: the Maori Tohunga (earlier titled 'The Psychic Maori') was published in 1948; Andersen in Auckland lectured on Maori topics to the students of the Teachers'

Training College, and to members of the Auckland Institute;¹⁷ and he remained as a member of the Maori Purposes Fund Board and the Geographic Board until the late 1950s.¹⁸ His last book, The Mair Family (1956), co-authored with George Petersen, celebrated the lives of W. G. Mair and Gilbert Mair, brothers who had lived out in rather more strenuous days crosscultural experiences which other Pakeha like Andersen could not emulate but only admire and applaud, and vicariously share (and invite others to share) through print. To the New Zealand public at large, or to those who took an interest in such matters, Andersen remained an expert on Maori subjects long after his influence with Ngata had waned.¹⁹ When a French ethnomusicologist visited New Zealand in 1953, an Auckland newspaper reported that he hoped to confer with 'Mr Johannes Andersen, the expert on Maori music'.²⁰ Few Pakeha realized that on hundreds of marae throughout the length and breadth of New Zealand waiata were still being sung day after day by Maori who learned them from kaumatua - elders who had never heard of the expert Mr Andersen or read his book on Maori Music.²¹

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Just as the early Pakeha navigators, missionaries, and merchants acquired some of their knowledge of Maori people and their culture from printed materials written by those who had preceded them, so too did the later settlers acquire knowledge of Maori and their culture through the accumulated information stored in books and newspapers. In many cases, colonists and their descendants 'knew' the Maori almost exclusively from printed matter, rather than from any personal contact. Andersen published Maori Life in Ao-tea without any 'real contact', as a critical reviewer of the book called it, with Maori people, and his book was based upon printed sources. Other readers later would consult Maori Life for information upon Maori: they also could 'know' the Maori through Andersen's books, and through the books written by other Pakeha.²² In her novel The Butcher Shop (1928), Jean Devanny has the following passage:²³

"... Besides, we were discussing Maoris, not black men. The Maoris are brown." [Margaret Messenger] waxed enthusiastic, for she was not far from her school days and the lessons on the grandeur of the Maori race, and she had read all the written works on them. "They are a wonderful race. Why, Elsdon Best and Edward Tregear and Johannes Andersen cannot do too much honour to the Maoris. They --
--"

She was interrupted. "They [Maori] are awful liars, and lazy, too. Who are those men you mentioned, anyhow? If

they knew as much as I know about the Maoris they wouldn't honour them."

In her introduction to a modern edition of Devanny's novel, Heather Roberts has commented: 'Interwoven with Devanny's ideas about the family and its future are her theories about "the Maori race". Like Margaret Messenger, Devanny had read the works of Edward Tregear, Elsdon Best and Johannes Andersen on the Maori.'²⁴ Roberts then examines in detail Devanny's ideas on the family and Maori people. Devanny, politically progressive and active, well-read and experienced in political and social issues, obviously thought such matters through more clearly, and in a more sophisticated way, than Tregear, Best and Andersen, but, like 'Margaret Messenger', she acquired substantial knowledge from these Pakeha authorities. The Jean Devannys (and the 'Margaret Messengers') must be multiplied many hundreds of times to even hint at the extent to which the settler society 'knew' the Maori through Pakeha writings. For many Pakeha, the library (or the museum) served, and for some still serves, as a place for 'real contact' with Maori people.²⁵

Much of Andersen's knowledge of Maori people and their culture was derived from books, and his writings have in turn been used by others as sources for their articles and books, since Andersen is one of the reputed authorities on Maori culture.²⁶ Most scholars, of course, weigh his materials carefully, but not all writers are careful scholars, and the less careful may quote, paraphrase, and

précis as they please.²⁷ Moreover, the process of utilizing Andersen's texts over and over is potentiated by reprinting which can be carried out relatively cheaply with modern technology: several of Andersen's more substantial texts have been reproduced in facsimile form, unedited and unannotated, for new generations of readers, commentators, scholars and students to own or to use as reference material. Scores of other New Zealand books, especially those which deal with Maori subjects and the early history of New Zealand, have been reprinted in the last two decades. By contrast, there have been very few critical editions in these programmes of republication, and, paradoxically, many of the critical editions have been works of fiction, which because they are works of fiction are in any case not usually read as 'factual' accounts.²⁸

Though this study has centred upon Johannes Andersen and his activities in the first half of the twentieth century, it must be emphasized that Andersen was but one of considerable number of Pakeha who engaged in cultural appropriation. In the course of this study, several with whom Andersen had contact have been mentioned - anthropologists like the Skinners, cartoonists and illustrators like Trevor Lloyd and A. H. Messenger, the composer Alfred Hill, artists like Richard Wallwork, and many writers, from James Cowan, who, like Andersen, deliberately textualized the Maori, to others who only occasionally took Maori subjects. There were many less illustrious cultural appropriators, such as the schoolteachers

Andersen talked to at the summer schools, and the visitors to the Turnbull Library in search of Maori lore. In 1946, for example, Horace Cottrell and V. May Cottrell presented a trophy to the Women Writers' Society, Wellington, for a literary competition for the best story or poem with a Maori motif. The trophy was a patu aruhe, a fern-root pounder. The donors set out their intentions thus:

New Zealand has a wealth of native folk-lore, legend, mythology and history that has been little used by our authors and poets. Shall we "go native" for ideas and themes for our literary work[?] Half an hour spent in the New Zealand section of a public library will come as a surprise to many. Here will be found an impressive number of books devoted to the Maori This is the opportunity for the writer and poet to grasp the Maori theme and so clothe it in interest and romance that the general public will welcome it In any collection of New Zealand verse there are many references to the golden kowhai, bellbirds and tuis, but very little about the rich folk-lore of the Maori people and the stirring times of the great migration of pre-pioneer days.²⁹

Nor were these kinds of activities confined to the first half of the century. The publishers A. H. and A. W. Reed, who published a handful of Andersen's later

works, produced a great mass of popular, scholarly, and juvenile works on Maori subjects well into the 1970s, during which decade the eponymous founders retired and died, and the firm subsequently continued to publish major works on Maori subjects; while A. W. Reed himself, in addition to his publishing activities, was the author of scores of books, including educational texts, with Maori subjects. Both the Reeds drew some inspiration and information from Andersen, but more from the general climate of opinion which authorised and sometimes applauded their utilization of the indigenous culture.³⁰ The process has continued to the present day; the names of those who have been involved in the last forty years are if not legion at least very numerous.

In addition, other media have been utilized in cultural appropriation. Andersen himself had not only looked to artists and illustrators to depict Maori according to Pakeha requirements, but attempted to employ other media: as well as making radio broadcasts on Maori subjects, he wrote his verse rendition of 'Tura and the Fairies' at the behest of the composer Alfred Hill, so he said, in anticipation that it would be set to music for public performance;³¹ he composed a song called 'The Maori Flute', later recorded by Peter Dawson, the Australian singer;³² and he wrote a film scenario (never filmed) for a romantic episode involving Maori characters and set in Rotorua.³³ In recent decades advances in technology have greatly facilitated mechanical dissemination of aural and visual materials, and

Pakeha working in modern media have on many occasions drawn upon elements of Maori culture as subjects for their own cultural artifacts.³⁴

The American historian Robert Berkhofer has criticised what he calls the "cultural-theft" emphasis of some historians in their writings about relationships between 'white' Americans and minority groups, including Native Americans.³⁵ Such an approach to intercultural history Berkhofer regards as inadequate, a judgment in which the ethnohistorian James Axtell concurs, since 'cultural theft' presents indigenous peoples 'as victims' and 'At best alert[s] us to the moral dimensions of ... history'.³⁶ There are indeed moral aspects to cultural appropriation; but the phenomenon of cultural appropriation is much more than 'cultural theft', and its consequences are structural as well as moral. The kinds of consequences which can occur are illustrated by Hiram Caton in comments about some of the more spectacular results of Margaret Mead's depictions of Samoan life in her seminal anthropological work, Coming of Age in Samoa (1928). In reference to Mead's later works on the Manus people, including Social Organization of Manus (1930, 1969), and New Lives for Old (1956), Caton observes that 'The Manus, having almost no intelligentsia to contemplate expropriation of their culture ... have only just begun to engage the anthropologist in dialogue. The Samoans,' by contrast, 'being a few steps ahead, have eloquently registered the humiliations suffered from Mead's first book. For the men it meant

that their sisters and mothers are exposed to the world as sluts. Samoan women who travelled abroad were embarrassed by overtures from palagi who believed Mead's report [in Coming of Age in Samoa]. Young Samoans entering the universities were distressed by lecturers who, accepting Mead's descriptions, disfigured Samoan custom. These indignities had to be suffered in silence because a mere Samoan was no match for the high authority of the palagi [i.e. Mead] who as a youth had once spent nine months among them.'³⁷

For New Zealand, Te Kapunga Dewes has reported a similar experience: "The native does not know his own culture". This was a statement made in an anthropology lecture which I attended in 1958, and I resented it for a long while.'³⁸ John Rangihau commented, 'the number of people, Pakeha people, who know better than I do how I am to be a Maori just amazes me. I could never be so audacious to suggest to Pakehas that I know better than they do how they are to live as Pakehas.'³⁹ Examples of Pakeha using their knowledge of Maori culture to define what is Maori and how Maori should behave are numerous. A fairly representative collection was generated by an invitation from the Human Rights Commission for submissions, published in Race Against Time (1982).⁴⁰ But similar, unsolicited opinions may be found regularly published in newspapers. In April 1991, for example, the New Zealand Herald published a letter from Ivan Sparks of Glendene, ridiculing a suggestion that Maori in Northland be permitted

to take for food the protected migratory bird kuaka or godwit. 'The Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed traditional rights', wrote Sparks. 'The operative word is traditional. Bird spears and fishing canoes must be of traditional design and manufacture. Any use of the technology of the abominated Pakeha must be vigorously eschewed: no guns, no scuba, no nylons, no engine, no booze. And Maoris', Sparks continued, 'deserve their own traditional system of justice. Instead of wringing their hands, Maori elders should be able to administer a swift patu-tap. They would have an assured export market for traditional preserved heads. No? If they do not want their way, they had better adopt our way and leave the kuaka alone before they exterminate it as they did to the moa.'⁴¹ These comments echo but invert Said's, quoted in the introduction to the present study, that for the Orientalist the Orient is 'static, frozen, fixed eternally. The very possibility of development, transformation, human movement ... is denied the Orient and the Oriental'.⁴² For Ivan Sparks, Maori culture as a traditional culture is indeed 'static, frozen, fixed eternally': there are 'traditional rights' and there is 'our way', and Maori must choose. A month later, J. Jackson of Manurewa wrote to the same newspaper about the recent decision of the New Zealand Geographic Board that the city of Wanganui should henceforth be known as 'Whanganui'. 'Some people forget', Jackson reminded readers, 'that the Maori had no written language when the Europeans came. It was the missionaries and linguists at Oxford University

who spelled out for them their own language. It is therefore contradictory for the Maori now to be telling Pakeha the correct spelling, even possibly the pronunciation. If it had been called "Fonganui" the linguists would have written it as such. It was they who decided the Maori language dictionary.'⁴³ These notions of Jackson and Sparks, and many other newspaper correspondents, are book-derived, taken directly or indirectly from works by Johannes Andersen and Elsdon Best or numbers of other Pakeha writers,⁴⁴ and Pakeha continue to 'know' the Maori, and know about Maori culture, from Pakeha representations of the Other produced by the process of cultural appropriation, rather than through any 'real contact'.⁴⁵

James Belich has recently remarked that Pakeha 'do have something to fear - and gain - from accepting a distinct Maori identity: having to stand on our own cultural feet and define ourselves. The dilemma here', he adds, 'is that Pakeha will not feel culturally self-sufficient until they let Maori culture go, and they will not let go until they feel self-confident.'⁴⁶ But it is difficult to see how Pakeha could 'let Maori culture go' even if they wished to do so, for, just as 'Maori culture' has incorporated all manner of European artifacts, technologies and perspectives, the utilisation by Pakeha of aspects of Maori culture is a fundamental element in 'Pakeha culture'.⁴⁷

Pakeha utilisation of Maori culture is not simply epiphenomenal but constitutive, and has performed, and continues to perform, a strategic role in the wider processes of colonisation.⁴⁸ This may be indicated by reference to Urs Bitterli's Cultures in Conflict (first published in 1986; English language edition 1989). Bitterli discusses the processes of acculturation in several contact situations between European and 'non-European' peoples. Though his emphasis is primarily upon the responses of indigenous peoples to European intrusions, Bitterli adds: 'It goes without saying that acculturation affects everyone concerned, even when the technically superior culture appears dominant'. Quite aside from a small number of Europeans who 'integrated into a non-European culture', there were also many instances in which 'components of an alien culture [were] adopted by white colonial society'. Whereas the adoption of elements of European culture by indigenous peoples often had 'destructive effects' on the non-European culture, Bitterli suggests that such was not usually the case for white colonial societies when they incorporated elements of the indigenous culture. Bitterli further suggests that this 'reveals one of the strengths of Western culture', a strength which he believes, 'in the long run, was perhaps more important than military and economic superiority: the fact that in the course of an extremely varied history,

Western culture has absorbed, transformed and rejected so many alien influences that it has acquired an astonishing capacity for change and renewal.’⁴⁹

Bitterli thus indicates that ‘white colonial’ societies have a kind of cultural flexibility which allows them to incorporate ‘alien influences’ without suffering ‘destructive effects’. Apart from implying that this flexibility derives from a general ‘capacity for change and renewal’ developed by ‘Western culture’ through its many encounters with non-European cultures, he does not provide a detailed analysis of the ways in which these ‘alien influences’ are incorporated. However, he does note that ‘A component of one culture, by being transmitted to another, changes its character, acquiring new functions and meanings’.⁵⁰ One of the most important ‘new functions and meanings’ given to elements of Maori culture by Pakeha in New Zealand, the evidence of the present study would suggest, is that of authenticating the colonising Pakeha as ‘indigenous’: the adoption of aspects of Maori culture by Pakeha enables the colonisers to deproblematize questions of the legitimacy of their presence by claiming, or working towards, autochthonous status.⁵¹ Johannes Andersen indicated the broad process in a comment published in 1942: ‘Elsdon Best, when resident among [Maori], got from them the names of plants and other natural objects, and these, with others gathered in other parts of the country, helped to enrich our natural history books with the Maori names contained

therein, and our anthropological books with many a fragment of folk-lore.’⁵² The acquisition of ‘components of an alien culture’ is a deliberate process, highly selective in what is ‘absorbed, transformed and rejected’, drawing elements from one signifying system and installing them in another cultural context in a way which not only ‘changes [their] character’ and gives them ‘new functions and meanings’ but which severely limits the possibility of these elements having a major transformatory impact on the settler society, since much of the relationship between the colonisers and the colonised is mediated by print and other mechanically reproduced representations of the Other rather than potentially subversive ‘real contact’. The appropriated cultural elements in aggregate make up a systematic representation of the indigenous peoples through which the colonisers ‘know’ the indigenes and thereby ‘take away from [them] the power to define who and what [they] are, and how [they] should behave politically and culturally’.⁵³

It seems probable that one of the ‘strengths’ (to use Bitterli’s word) of settler societies is their capacity to absorb, transform and reject ‘components of an alien culture’ through the process of cultural appropriation. The present study, which has attempted to illustrate how and why cultural appropriation takes place, has been limited to an investigation of the activities of one person (though the complicit activities of other, associated persons have been noted as well) in a single settler society for the first half of the twentieth century. More precise judgments on

how significant cultural appropriation is or has been, what forms it has taken, and how the process might be given fuller theoretical formulation, will have to await further studies of the phenomenon in New Zealand and explorations of apparently similar cultural practices in other settler societies.⁵⁴ If the present study offers only a very provisional and tentative outline of a larger cultural context, it does indicate the possibilities for detailed research which considers not simply the artifacts of 'high culture' or a single genre or discrete intellectual discipline but a wide range of discursive practices, their elaboration and repetition.⁵⁵

It seems probable also that Maori and Pakeha, Samoan and palagi, indigenes and colonisers, natives and settlers alike continue to live with the ongoing consequences of cultural appropriation. In recent years, a growing number of scholars have investigated aspects of the 'invention of tradition'; and studies which have asserted that much of what indigenous peoples' movements claim as authentic tradition is derived from Western constructions of the Other have been resented and contested with bitterness by cultural nationalists.⁵⁶ One insubstantial example of 'the invention of tradition' may be noted here because it indirectly involves Johannes Andersen. W. H. Oliver, general editor of the first volume of The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (1990) has reported on some of the issues surrounding the production of the Maori biographies in the Dictionary in the Maori language as well as in English. 'Early on,' Oliver recalls, 'we had a session

with outside experts and bilingual people on the use of the hyphen.’ Along with other expressions of opinion, one Maori ‘eloquently defended the traditional unhyphenated spellings of his tribal place names.’ Later Oliver discovered that these traditional unhyphenated spellings were (as he puts it) ‘those enforced by the Geographical Board in the 1920s, under the influence of Johannes Andersen, and the board has never liked hyphens.’⁵⁷ As James Clifford has reminded us, ‘written artifacts’, ‘old texts (myths, linguistic samples, lore of all kinds) are now being recycled as local history and tribal "literature". The objects of both art and culture collecting’, he observes, ‘are susceptible to other appropriations.’⁵⁸

Among those cultural nationalists who have rejected academic critiques of modern constructions of traditional culture as inauthentic, one of the most outspoken has been the Hawaiian scholar, Haunani-Kay Trask. She says Hawaiian nationalists know that their future ‘lies in the way of our ancestors, not the colonial world of haole experts We do not need, nor do we want to be "liberated" from our past’.⁵⁹ Trask also quotes with approval the views of Lilikalā Kame’eleihiwa, ‘one of our best living native historians’: ‘"The Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas. Such an orientation is to the Hawaiian an eminently practical one, for the future is always unknown whereas the

past is rich in glory and knowledge".⁶⁰ Trask is clearly not issuing an invitation to 'haole experts' to take the same attitude towards the past, and for haole/palagi/Pakeha to attempt to do so would perhaps be to perform another act of cultural appropriation. Yet Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa's declaration, no doubt inadvertently, suggests some sensible perspectives for 'haole experts'. The past of the colonisers is by no means always 'rich in glory', but a more extensive knowledge of acculturative processes, including an awareness of the ramifications of cultural appropriation, might help to provide if not 'historical answers to present-day dilemmas' then at least an increased understanding of the ways the cultures have become inextricably bound together in a giant double helix which encodes the cultural inheritance of both colonisers and colonised.⁶¹

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As a brief coda to this study, it may be mentioned that there has been, and perhaps still is, an alternative process to cultural appropriation: that is to 'go native', not in the sense used by Horace and V. May Cottrell ('Shall we "go native" for ideas and themes for our literary work'),⁶² but in the sense of crossing cultures

and 'becoming native'. The distinction is neatly conveyed by Bernard McGrane: 'Anthropology's field ethnologist exercises his utmost effort to become a native and herein reveals the paradox ... if he succeeds he fails and disappears [as an anthropologist] if he becomes a native, if he submits to that absolute laceration that alone gives him access to the "other world," he can no longer be an anthropologist, he can no longer do anthropology, for the tiny yet pivotal reason that then "anthropology" does not exist.'⁶³ Hundreds of Pakeha New Zealanders, before, during and after Johannes Andersen's lifetime, have 'gone native' in the sense of crossing cultures and becoming, in various ways, affiliated with Maori communities. However, those Pakeha who sought to promote 'indigenization' (to use Terry Goldie's term) through cultural appropriation generally avoided 'that absolute laceration that alone gives ... access to the "other world"'. In the Christmas-New Year period of 1934-35, Andersen stayed with his younger son, 'Sig', and his daughter-in-law at the town of Morrinsville, near Hamilton, where Sig was managing a picture theatre. 'There are a lot of Maoris here,' Andersen wrote to Sir Joseph Kinsey, 'but mostly very poor specimens; not a noted tribe ... many gross, many malformed - not at all attractive-looking, so I have exchanged no word with them.'⁶⁴ 'There is', Keri Kaa has written, 'a big difference between being an observer of a culture and a participant.'⁶⁵