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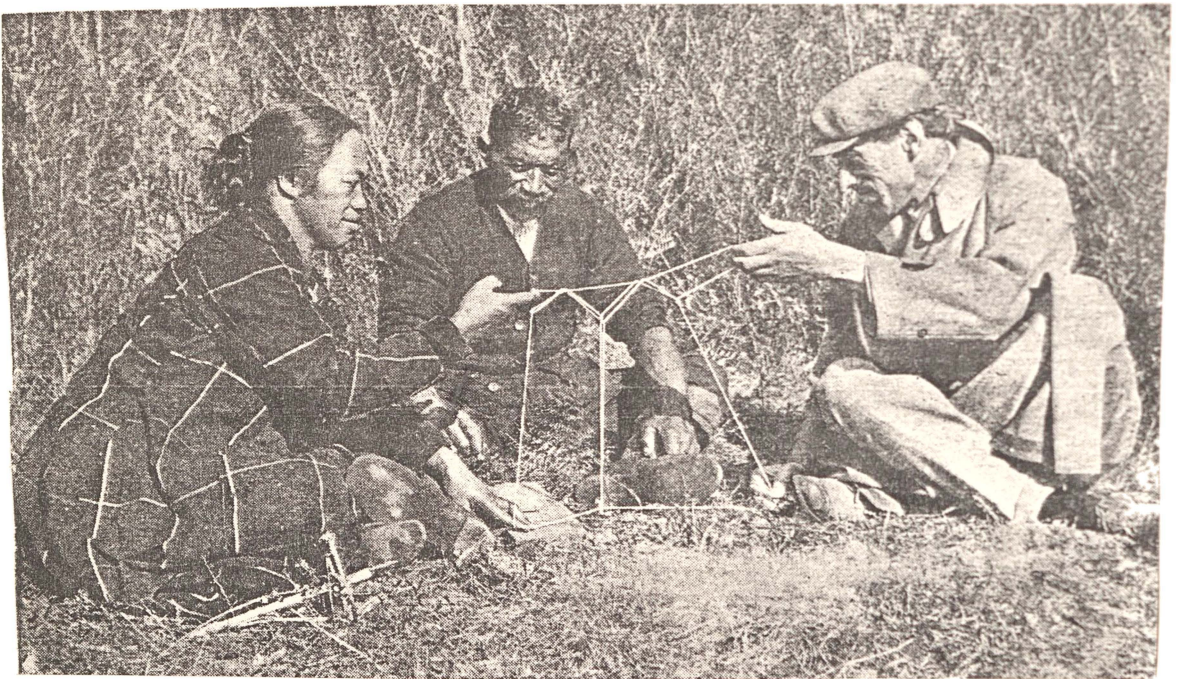
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"GOING NATIVE": A CASE STUDY OF CULTURAL
APPROPRIATION IN A SETTLER SOCIETY, WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO THE ACTIVITIES OF JOHANNES ANDERSEN
IN NEW ZEALAND DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History
at the
University of Waikato
by Peter Gibbons
1992

ABSTRACT

One mode of 'indigenization' in settler societies is cultural appropriation. This involves the utilisation of elements of the culture of the indigenous peoples by incorporating these elements in the signifying systems of the settler society, without the authorisation of the indigenes. The present study exemplifies some of the discursive strategies of cultural appropriation employed by the settler society in New Zealand through focusing on the activities of Johannes Andersen (1873-1962) in the first half of the twentieth century.

In seeking to authenticate himself as an autochthonous New Zealander, Andersen, like other Pakeha around 1900, turned to Maori subjects for prose, verse, and art. His knowledge of Maori culture was derived from books, not from contact with Maori people. After the Great War, encouraged by the prominent ethnologist Elsdon Best, and with the collaboration and authorisation of Maori, especially Apirana Ngata, who sought assistance from sympathetic Pakeha, Andersen recorded traditional lore during four brief visits to Maori communities. This was the limit of his close contact with Maori people, but it provided much of the basis for his reputation among Pakeha as an authority on the Maori, an authority emphasized by his books, lectures, and broadcasts, in which he encouraged other Pakeha to develop an interest in Maori subjects. Many Pakeha

came to 'know' the Maori through the reductive constructions of authoritative commentators such as Andersen. Andersen's influence extended to scholarly anthropological circles through his editorship of the Polynesian Society Journal. As editor he privileged versions of New Zealand traditional history which accorded with his own intellectual preferences, and deflected revisionist interpretations.

The divergence between Ngata's hope of enlisting the aid of Pakeha for Maori purposes and Pakeha desire to appropriate Maori cultural resources for their own use, is particularly evident in the case of *Nga Moteatea*, the classic collection of Maori 'songs'. Andersen, whose failure to learn the Maori language blocked his access to the material, persuaded Ngata to prepare a bilingual version. He also attempted to invest the translated 'songs' with those qualities which he considered to characterise English literature. Shortly thereafter, Ngata, critical of a range of Andersen's activities, acquiesced in a move by Pakeha critics of Andersen to replace him as editor of the Polynesian Society Journal.

Andersen was but one of many Pakeha who incorporated aspects of Maori culture into Pakeha signifying systems in an attempt to develop a sense of identity. The practice has significant implications for intercultural relationships, and in recent decades some Maori have expressed resistance to cultural appropriation.

PREFACE

On the morning of 1 May 1979, students from the School of Engineering at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, were disrupted during a practice of their 'comic' haka, an item which had for some years been performed by engineering students as their contribution to frivolities associated with the annual graduation week of the University. The disruption was made by a group of Maori, who subsequently called themselves He Taua. The haka is a vital ritual of encounter in Maori culture, and many Maori people believed that the mock haka was offensive. After requests for the abandonment of the mock haka had been ignored or rejected, several Maori had decided that a deliberate interruption was necessary to halt the cultural offence.¹

What was unusual about this episode was the physical intervention of Maori, which resulted in a court case and much publicity. The use of elements of Maori culture by Pakeha New Zealanders for their own purposes, on the other hand, had long been widespread, even if in most instances not as intentionally demeaning as the mock haka. Pakeha who condemned the mock haka as culturally insensitive, as some did, probably did not appreciate that it was an extreme example of a largescale cultural phenomenon which in general was apparently felt by Maori to be offensive, even if their views were for the most part expressed in ways which went unnoticed by Pakeha. How had this situation arisen? For that

matter, how was it that a succession of engineering students over a couple of decades or so had felt themselves entitled to employ significant elements of another culture for their theatricals?

A broad answer to such questions is that cultures and societies borrow from each other - this is the process usually called acculturation. Just as Maori incorporated elements of European into their customs and traditions, so did Pakeha draw upon Maori culture. The present study indicates that the process is much more complex.² The settler society, it is argued, seeking to legitimize itself as truly indigenous, deliberately appropriates elements of the culture of the indigenes as a means of acquiring authenticity. The detailed exposition of the process of cultural appropriation which this study provides is organized around a recapitulation of the writings and other activities of Johannes Andersen, author, editor, librarian, and ethnologist, in the first half of the twentieth century. The range of Andersen's activities, including his extensive interaction with other significant individuals, his institutional contacts, his participation in many aspects of both 'high' culture and 'popular' culture, and his persistent interest in Maori culture over some fifty years, make him a suitable focus for exemplifying cultural appropriation in New Zealand. The graphic materials appended to the study illustrate some of Andersen's activities, making the point also that 'culture' has a physical dimension.³

This study may be regarded as a contribution to several lines of enquiry opened up by scholars in recent years. These include the nature of colonial discourse and the semiotics of conquest and colonisation; the cultural politics of representing traditional cultures; biculturalism; and the current concern with matters of culture and identity, particularly the debate about the ‘invention of tradition’ which has been initiated by E. J. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger.⁴ From any or all these perspectives, the present study will be valuable as a close-grained, empirical account of how settler societies appropriate aspects of traditional cultures.

During the preparation of this study, I was asked to contribute a chapter on nonfiction writings to the Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English, edited by Terry Sturm. Though its content and arguments were to some extent shaped by the general plan for the History, I was able to include in that chapter a discussion on ‘the discourse of colonisation’, with a good number of examples of significant or typical books and writers. Since the present study was already very lengthy, and the History was due to appear about the time this dissertation was completed (the volume was published in March 1991), I have omitted a general survey of New Zealand writing and its relationship to colonisation. This study and the chapter in the Oxford History thus complement each other in certain respects.⁵

A number of caveats and limitations to this study may be noted here. There are few substantial biographical, institutional or intellectual studies of many aspects of New Zealand's cultural history mentioned in the present study. For example, there is no history of the (formerly Honorary) New Zealand Geographic Board, the Maori Purposes Fund Board, the Alexander Turnbull Library (though there is a useful essay which sketches the period when Johannes Andersen was Librarian), or the Dominion (now National) Museum, and the major work on the Royal Society of New Zealand (formerly the New Zealand Institute) and its constituent philosophical societies is a work of record and reference rather than evaluative or analytic history.⁶ A history of the Polynesian Society is at present in preparation. Historical work on science in New Zealand, on publishing, and on anthropology is very limited in extent.⁷ There are no major biographical studies, as opposed to encyclopaedia entries and obituaries, for S. P. Smith, W. H. Skinner, J. A. Thomson, James Cowan, Herbert Williams, W.R.B. Oliver, or Roger Duff, to mention a few important figures who appear in subsequent pages. The substantial though not altogether satisfactory biographies of Elsdon Best and Peter Buck have very little detail on the period when the subjects were most closely associated with Andersen.⁸ There are brief essays only on H. D. Skinner.⁹ A biography of the Maori leader Apirana Ngata might take several volumes and require in the biographer crosscultural expertise to match Ngata's own, but essays by M.P.K.

Sorrenson in his edition of the Buck-Ngata correspondence illuminate this major figure.¹⁰ The lack of secondary materials dealing with many of the institutional topics relevant to this study has in some cases been partially remedied by recourse to both unpublished and printed sources, but much of this information has not been included in extenso since it would have unduly lengthened an already wordy text. However, it has been necessary in Chapter 2 of this study to give in some detail the intellectual and institutional background to the Polynesian Society during the 1920s, since this essential information is not otherwise available. Further amplification of several points is provided in endnotes.

The nature of cultural interaction between Maori and Pakeha, and indeed between colonists and indigenous groups in other settler societies, is so intricately complex that its fuller elucidation will require a very considerable number of theoretical and evidential studies, in addition to what has already been done. Cultural interaction is a two-way process, or rather a dialectical process, and no attempt is made in the present study to report the broader ramifications of the dialectic, such as, for example, Maori incorporation into Maori culture aspects of Pakeha perceptions of Maori culture.¹¹ What this study does is to isolate for investigation one aspect of the process. I have called this aspect cultural appropriation. It is, in my opinion, a largely unexplored, even uncommonly identified aspect of cultural exchange or acculturation. This study attempts to

indicate how cultural appropriation may have operated in practice in one settler society over a defined period by setting out detailed evidence relating to one person. (The single-person focus permits a kind of ‘thick description’ (to use Clifford Geertz’s phrase) of Pakeha cultural practices.) The notion of cultural appropriation (there is insufficient theoretical formulation to term it a concept) may now be tested by other researchers with reference to other individuals, activities, and periods in New Zealand or elsewhere - and in New Zealand alone, there are ample records for such research. Moreover, while it is true that the term ‘cultural appropriation’ carries a judgmental weighting (my justification for using the term instead of the more neutral ‘acculturation’ is given in the Introduction), my concern, as I note in the Conclusion, is ultimately with the structural rather than the moral issues, though ethical and political questions are, in the nature of the exercise and its subject matter, of recurring significance. But it is important to note that this study does not attempt to provide a complete, ‘balanced’ or ‘rounded’ account of Pakeha engagement with Maori culture. There is no discussion, for example, of the significant ‘positive’ mediatory aspects of Pakeha interest in Maori culture: since this has often been remarked on by Pakeha commentators, there is no need to traverse such ground in the present study, which emphasises a rather different approach. Eventually, if the notion of cultural appropriation proves to have

analytical validity, scholars may weigh the mediatory and appropriative contexts and produce a new synthesis. But that kind of exercise does not find a place here.

Nor is there any intention of making Johannes Andersen a scapegoat - he is simply a suitable focus for the exposition.¹² The interests he developed and expressed through a long life, his range of activities, and the records which survive of these interests and activities, provide both substance and detailed evidence of the kinds necessary for the type of study which is presented here. Moreover, I believe the study is given a certain piquancy and point by centring upon a person who was understood to be sympathetic to Maori and their culture, rather than upon people who were antagonistic toward Maori. In case anyone feels I have underemphasized interests in other areas, I should add that I am at present preparing a fullscale biography of Andersen which will, I hope, give his activities, including many not mentioned here, a satisfactory life-and-times context. (It is, incidentally, an advantage for the present study that Andersen's reputation is not hedged about by scholarly pieties, and what is argued is not likely to be resisted by readers because they feel they have intellectual debts to Andersen. While Andersen was in middle life a person of considerable influence and prestige in certain circles in New Zealand, he was by no means a culture-hero for a later generation of scholars and cultural critics.)

In the Introduction I suggest that such terms as ‘national identity’ and ‘nationhood’ may be regarded as problematic, and this is also the case with a number of other important words and phrases. Some of these are so frequently used that it would be tiresome for the reader if I were to consistently place such words in quotation marks, or invariably add qualifying comments like ‘so-called’, though I have done so from time to time as a reminder. The most significant are ‘New Zealand’, ‘Pakeha’, and ‘Maori’. While New Zealand is unarguably a geographical entity, and was in the period within which this study deals, c.1900-1950, an uncontroversial political entity (only in recent years has the usage ‘New Zealand/Aotearoa’, or simply ‘Aotearoa’, been given limited currency), ‘New Zealand’ is also a huge cultural artifact produced (or ‘invented’) by the settler society. Johannes Andersen’s attempts to invent a New Zealand which he found congenial make up a major aspect of this study.

‘Pakeha’ and ‘Maori’ remain in the 1990s what they have been for many decades, highly charged terms of abuse and recrimination, self-ascription, legal definition, cultural, political and ‘racial’ identification, and so on, depending upon the contexts in which they are used. Apirana Ngata, the Maori leader and politician whose name recurs throughout these pages, used ‘Maori’ as a term of self-ascription, and ‘Pakeha’ as a label both for non-Maori individuals and non-Maori society generally. Johannes Andersen, like most non-Maori, made his own

decisions about when to employ 'Maori' (as noun and as adjective), without reference to or deferring to the usages of people such as Ngata who identified themselves as Maori. In many places in this study such phrases as 'Maori music' and 'Maori art' are ellipses for 'what Andersen presumed to call Maori art' or 'what Pakeha would have termed Maori art'. The difficulties are compounded by the tendency of Pakeha (including Andersen) to use 'Maori' in a generic sense, while Maori (including Ngata) sometimes used 'Maori' in an oppositional sense - 'Maori' as opposed to 'Pakeha' - while preferring specifically 'tribal' attribution when the use of 'Maori' in an oppositional sense was not required.¹³ This was significant in the case of Nga Moteatea, the collected 'songs' or 'chants', as will be shown towards the end of this study: the 'songs', for Ngata, were the work of Ngati Porou, or Ngati Kahungunu, or Tuwharetoa; for Andersen these materials were 'Maori poetry'. In short, 'Maori' and 'Pakeha' should be read as problematic terms on every occasion.

I have tried to avoid, not altogether successfully, the phrase, or term, 'the Maori', with the definite article. It is redolent of the process of objectivisation which is critically considered in this study: it was 'the Maori' that Polynesian Society scholars wanted to study, a type, indeed a stereotype. In some places I have used the term without quote marks because it characterizes the attitudes of Pakeha which are being investigated. No doubt I have used it inadvertently in

other cases. Sometimes a little periphrasis has been necessary as a result - 'Maori people' or 'Maori culture'. Since the word Maori without the article can signify the language as well as the people, there is occasionally a potential ambiguity but in most instances the context will make the meaning clear.

I have not seen it as part of my task to define 'Maori culture', or to analyse the validity of statements and actions by Maori people who appear in the present study.¹⁴ A number of Maori have expressed the opinion that Pakeha have in various ways, often without authorization, used elements of Maori culture for Pakeha purposes, and that this practice is sometimes offensive to Maori. Several of these statements are quoted in the Introduction, and others are referred to in the endnotes. They should be accepted as expressions of what some Maori regard as right and proper. This is not to deny that there were, and are, a variety of viewpoints among Maori, and that attitudes of groups and individuals have changed from time to time.¹⁵ An important figure in this study, Apirana Ngata, was prepared to contribute a Foreword to a book published by Johannes Andersen in 1907 which took Maori lore as its subject.¹⁶ In 1940 Ngata referred to 'the remarkable interest evinced in the Maori people and their culture by young New Zealanders', adding, approvingly, that 'Sympathetic community of interest between pakeha and Maori can be mutually self-supporting'. But this 'mutual interest', while it might 'in time lead on to that greater goal...[of a] real community of

understanding between the two races', did not necessarily involve 'the cultural absorption of the one race' by the other.¹⁷ At the same time, Peter Buck, whose career as an anthropologist had become based in Hawaii during the 1930s, wrote that 'The Maori has dowered New Zealand with a wealth of mythology, traditions, legends, history and poetry that forms a rich storehouse from which the future writer, artist, and poet of either race may draw inspiration and material.'¹⁸

The integrity of cultural inheritances has been a matter of international discussion in the period of decolonisation since the Second World War. Starting with the Hague Convention of 1954, UNESCO has produced a series of conventions and recommendations on 'Movable Cultural Property'.¹⁹ Some of these have been ratified by member states, and other states have incorporated many of the principles in legislation. In 1982 the United Nations General Assembly created the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, which has been charged with producing a Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Among the business transacted by the Working Group during its eighth session in July 1990 was 'The establishment of an indigenous peoples task force to research the implications of intellectual property for indigenous peoples - in particular to examine methods to ensure the legal protection (e.g. copyright) of traditional knowledge and the aspects of a nation's cultural heritage.'²⁰

In New Zealand there has been some response from Pakeha in recent years to demands made by Maori for crosscultural sensitivity. Archaeologists, professional and amateur alike, now seek permission to 'dig', and Maori wishes and protocols are respected. Atholl Anderson, in his book When All the Moa Ovens Grew Cold (1983), signals clearly to his readers at the end of the Introduction that his research has been conducted according to various requirements: 'I would like to emphasise that all the recent archaeological excavations referred to here were carried out, as the Historic Places Act of 1980 requires, with the permission of the Historic Places Trust, the landowners and appropriate Maori authorities.'²¹ Anne Salmond observed of social anthropologists in 1985 that 'Many of our Pakeha graduates have been so taken aback by the vehemence of criticisms directed at Pakeha writers on Maori topics that they have begun to avoid, not only Maori topics but the relationship itself'. One question she posed was 'whether, given political and economic relations between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand, individuals can act decently in Maori-focussed research, without exploitation and effective appropriation'. Her uncertain answer was that 'it is certainly very difficult but I think perhaps, in research expressive of both traditions, commissioned and guided by Maori groups, and in fully collaborative relationships, it may be possible.'²²

Tipene O'Regan, a Ngai Tahu spokesman, gives one version of the Maori perspective in his statement that 'New Zealand's past belong[s] to all New Zealanders - but first it is ours!' In practical terms he demands a bicultural perspective through which Pakeha defer to the signifying systems which give coherence and vitality to Maori. 'To inquire into my history or that of my people, you must inquire into my whakapapa. My tupuna may be dead but they are also in me and I am alive. To know them, you must know me! In order to deal with them, you must deal with me! To me', O'Regan continues,

that is all quite straightforward and not a bit contrary, but it does seem to pose difficulties for Pakeha scholarship. In essence it denies scholars any absolute right to study my past without my consent. It demands respect from them for who I am and what I am. It says that my past is not a dead thing to be examined on the post-mortem bench of science without my consent and without an effective recognition that I and my whakapapa are alive and kicking. It says that I am the primary producer of my past.²³

Nevertheless, Maori people are quite prepared to share their cultural treasures (as the word *taonga* is customarily translated) under circumstances which, in their view, maintain the integrity of such knowledge, and it is perhaps worth noting some examples of the way knowledge, or technological residues of the past,

can be treated in culturally appropriate ways. The Executive of the New Zealand Historical Association (NZHA), an organisation which draws its membership largely from academic historians, from historical researchers, archivists, and librarians in nonacademic institutions, and from teachers involved in teaching history to secondary school pupils, was in 1988 engaged in planning a conference to be held in January 1989. The NZHA Executive, then located in Hamilton, had invited the Maori Queen, Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, to be patron of the conference, an invitation which she accepted; and there were other efforts to indicate a bicultural perspective, not least because the conference would be held at Waikato University which had strong links with Tainui people of the Waikato region. It was thought appropriate by the organisers that in the evening when initial registration for the conference took place, historical films emphasising Tainui might be shown, particularly a film which dealt with the launching of an important canoe. The New Zealand Film Archive, to which enquiry was made, replied that the nominated film would probably not be available, but other films could be shown, and it was suggested there be 'a special showing of the Four Films of James McDonald' as part of the programme. Besides a rental fee, there would be 'travel and accommodation expenses for a kaumatua and someone from the Film Archive to accompany them'. The NZHA secretary was also advised to consult with local Tainui people before making a decision: 'Although Dame Te Ata has

attended showings of these taonga in other centres, they have never been seen in the Tainui area. Local people may consider some mihi is appropriate.’²⁴

In the event, the NZHA, which elicits subscriptions only to cover running expenses, was unable to provide the financial contribution necessary for the screening.²⁵ Nevertheless, the point made in the correspondence is that the films are not just films, but taonga, which while technically the property of the New Zealand Film Archive are culturally the property of the people whose ancestors (in the case of the McDonald films) or contemporaries (for more recent films) are the subjects of the films. The ancestors must be accompanied by a kaumatua, or elder, to ensure that they are treated with due respect. This is further emphasized by the suggestion that a mihi, a formal welcome, be accorded the ancestors by the local tangata whenua, as newcomers to a particular territory and its inhabitants.

Though these protocols are relevant, indeed were deemed necessary, for all the Maori films which the New Zealand Film Archive proposed to make available, including programmes filmed as recently as the 1970s and 1980s, the case of the McDonald films is especially germane to this study, since these are the films, or portions of the films, which James McDonald shot on four Dominion Museum expeditions between 1919 and 1923 which are discussed later in the present work. It is not that films are per se taonga in a different way to published materials such as books and articles (though images of ancestors such as photographs are accorded

a special status by Maori), but rather that the films, which in the late 1920s quickly passed out of sight and circulation and had fallen into a state of decay, were restored in the 1980s when bicultural perspectives had greater prominence, and crosscultural sensitivity on the part of Pakeha was if not widespread at least not unknown. Significantly, the New Zealand Film Archive also uses Ngā Kaitiaki O Ngā Taonga Whitiāhuā as its title.²⁶

In a rather more roundabout way, a similar situation developed with dictaphone recordings made on the same four expeditions. What remained of the performances by Maori which were recorded on wax cylinders was finally given permanent form in the 1970s, and is now held in the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music at the University of Auckland, where the director, Mervyn McLean, ensures that the material is kept and used in culturally appropriate ways for purposes acceptable to the kaumatua or elders whose advice on such matters is invited and heeded.²⁷ The films and the sound recordings, or what remains of them, made during the 1919-1923 expeditions thus serve the purpose intended: they preserve traditional knowledge which can be utilized by the tangata whenua, though under appropriate conditions Pakeha and non-New Zealanders may be authorized to draw upon the material for ethnological and other purposes. Those who sponsored the projects and who are the subjects of the projects remain, through their descendants, in control of the knowledge.

The bicultural emphasis has also been manifest in The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, planned from the middle 1980s, the first two volumes of which (covering the period before 1870) were published in 1990. Maori people were involved in the project almost from its inception, took some responsibility for choosing the appropriate biographical subjects, and some part of the task of researching and writing such biographical entries. These essays form a substantial part of the first volume; the second volume, Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau, consists entirely of Maori language versions of the essays on Maori persons included in the first volume. Those who cannot read Maori may consult the English language essays of volume one, and in that sense the information is freely available. In the second volume the subjects are appropriately set in the context of one of their own signifying systems, the Maori language, while another basic signifying system for Maori, whakapapa (or genealogies), absent from the English-language volume, are included with several of the entries for Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau; and that volume was launched, as it was at least to a certain extent inaugurated and carried through, with the proper protocols.²⁸

Like the example of the bilingual in-film captions to the silent McDonald films, the bilingual Dictionary suggests that, even if a bicultural perspective cannot be reduced to a single enabling aspect, use of the Maori language is a sine qua non of nonexploitative crosscultural contact involving Pakeha. In an essay published in

1984, Hirini Moko Mead observes that the ‘principal commentators of the past’ on Maori art - he lists Augustus Hamilton, H. D. Skinner, W. J. Phillipps, Gilbert Archey, and T. Barrow - ‘did not meet the research requirements laid down by [Franz] Boas and by a generation of anthropologists in both the United States and Great Britain. None of them became proficient in Maori, and not one thought it worthwhile to meet the language requirement as a necessary preparation for more effective research and as a way of giving weight to Maori conceptions about their own art’.²⁹ His strictures might be applied to Pakeha commentators on other Maori subjects, people who were sympathetic to Maori culture but, without facility in the Maori language, could not give ‘weight to Maori conceptions’ and thus drew Maori knowledge into their own signifying systems. While it may not be impossible for Pakeha to teach themselves to read Maori language texts,³⁰ almost all people, Maori and Pakeha, few though the latter may be, who acquire a proficiency in the language, do so from Maori speakers who are themselves Maori and whose knowledge of the language is steeped in, and bound up with, all the other signifying systems which are specifically Maori. Pakeha who learn the language are therefore almost certain to learn along with it the basic protocols of Maori communities; and they are likely to learn also that the particular protocols which obtain for different Maori communities are known in their fullest extent only to the elders. None of this will stop Pakeha from breaching protocols, of course; but

Maori-speaking Pakeha are at any rate aware of some of the limits of their crosscultural knowledge, and as a consequence they will probably be sensitive to the potential damage and distortion which may result from inappropriate use of that knowledge.³¹ (It is doubtful, nevertheless, whether this can be read ‘backwards’: in an earlier period, when many among the first generations of colonists were seeking to subjugate the indigenous people more directly by conquest, a number of the colonists who acquired Maori language skills, interpreters, magistrates, land court officials and agents, and so on, used their bilingual and bicultural skills to subvert and dissolve Maori autonomy.)³²

It is tempting of course for commentators in the dominant culture to emphasize the positive features of crosscultural activity by Pakeha. Certainly, many Pakeha have been, for various motives, ‘sympathetic’ to Maori; and Pakeha writings on Maori have undoubtedly been instrumental in predisposing many Pakeha readers and Pakeha society generally to a positive if often paternalistic view of Maori. What is not always apparent is that what is viewed favourably is a Pakeha construction of Maori culture and society, at best a partial, and therefore distorted, and distorting, representation of the Other. Lack of knowledge of the Maori language magnifies the distortions.

Though the present study is limited to New Zealand, in both the introduction and the conclusion the term ‘settler societies’ is sometimes used in its

plural form. While the differences between various settler societies are immense, those who read contemporary materials relating to several settler or colonial communities, and who may thereby move beyond the circumscriptions of national histories which emphasize so diligently the particularities of experience, cannot fail to be struck by the similarities of the historical record. Some of these similarities are no doubt discursive (as Peter Hulme demonstrates in Colonial Encounters (1986), for example).³³ Others are either historical or structural, depending on one's epistemological preferences in these matters. Terry Goldie's recent book, Fear and Temptation (1989), demonstrates the rhetorical regularities in the literary creation of images of the indigene in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.³⁴ A sampling of histories of art, literary histories, compendia of cultural artifacts (such as stamp and coin catalogues), and the like, confirms that the deliberate incorporation of elements of indigenous culture is an authenticating strategy for at least the majority of settler societies.³⁵ Apart from what is indicated elsewhere in endnotes, an incident which was reported in the newspapers during the preparation of this study may stand as an example of a multitude of cognate activities, and serve as a reminder that the process of cultural appropriation continues right up to the present. In 1988, the Australian government produced a special ten-dollar banknote to mark the bicentennial of the founding of (European) Australia. Some time after the issue of the banknote it was suggested that Australians were

‘unwittingly gazing on an Aboriginal ceremonial object not meant for everyday viewing’, a ‘totem-pole-like object’ which was included in the design of the banknote. The Aboriginal artist claimed that he had not authorized the use of his art, and ‘other Arnhem Land Aboriginals are said to be angry about the mass reproduction and display of the object.’³⁶ It is interesting to note that the newspaper report described the Aboriginal artifact by reference to an artifact of another indigenous culture (the American Indians of the Pacific seaboard). The intention of the banknote designers, of course, had been to create a banknote which was authentically Australian, and they had therefore turned to the culture of a people who were beyond any argument authentic Australians.

* * * *

[The text of this study was completed in August 1990. Some changes, primarily excisions from the draft, were subsequently made to the Introduction and Conclusion; and during 1991 a handful of newspaper items quoted in the Conclusion were replaced by more recent epistolary examples, in an attempt to evoke an atmosphere of contemporaneity. Certain secondary materials which bear

on the issues discussed in the text which have been published, or have become available, since the text was completed have been incorporated in the notes.]

P. J. Gibbons

1991

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A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY AND CITATION

The orthographic forms deployed in this study represent a number of compromises between convention and prescription in an attempt to be sensible even at some cost to consistency.

Words given in quotations are in the same form as in the original. Typographical errors are silently corrected but odd spellings and misspellings are uncorrected; as far as possible I have avoided the intrusive '[sic]', and while there are no doubt inadvertent errors in transcription, quotations should be regarded as true to the original in the form in which they appear in this text.

Outside quotations, Maori words are usually given without italicisation (= underlining in this typescript). There are, however, a few exceptions. The names of string figures (whai), notably in Chapter 2, are italicised, both to set such names off from the rest of the text, and because they were italicised in Maori String Figures (1927), the book in which J. C. Andersen recorded them.¹

'Nga Moteatea' is more difficult, since the term refers to the title of several published volumes and series of publications as well as generically to the classic corpus of waiata, whether published or unpublished (or even not written down for that matter). In the text *Nga Moteatea* is left unitalicised in every case; in the notes, *Nga Moteatea* is italicised when reference is made to specific published volumes.

In Chapter 5, a section of which includes a discussion of whether Maori words also used in the English language should be italicised, the words are in roman or italics as befits the discussion. For example, whakamaa is italicised, and spelt with doubled last vowel because that is the form used by Joan Metge in the book by her which is cited; and likewise the words referred to by William Satchell are also italicised.²

‘Tribal’ names are in the form used in He Korero Pūrākau Mo Ngā Taunahanahatanga a Ngā Tūpuna: Place Names of the Ancestors: A Maori Oral History Atlas (1990), compiled by Te Aue Davis for the New Zealand Geographic Board,³ with Ngai Tahu preferred to Kai Tahu and Ngati Mamoe to Kati Mamoe to avoid unnecessary complexities in Chapter 1 especially; but place names customarily undivided are left undivided - thus Hokianga, not Hoki Anga.

Readers should be aware that although some Maori employ doubled vowels to indicate lengthened vowel sounds and thus, for example, spell Maori as Maaori, the use of the diacritical macron to indicate a longer vowel sound is now widespread. But use of the macron in printed Maori was fitful, even rare, during the period upon which this study is concentrated - the first half of the twentieth century. To avoid the awkward effect of macron-less quotations and frequent appearances of macrons outside quotations, macrons have been omitted entirely, except on the odd occasions where they appear in quotations or titles. It does not

seem appropriate to follow the recent example of New Zealand Geographic Board publications, including He Korero Pūrākau mentioned above, and Ngā Tohu Pūmahara (1990),⁴ and add macrons to the titles of books which originally appeared without macrons. But whether the Maori Purposes Fund Board, which now uses a macron in its title, should have one for the 1930s, when the Board did not use a macron, is a moot point. At any rate, the Board's precursor, the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, did not use a macron.

CORRIGENDA

- p. iii, line 6: insert the word 'culture' after 'European', to read 'elements of European culture into their customs'.
- p. v, line 7: the National Museum (once the Dominion Museum and even earlier the Colonial Museum) is now known as the Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa.
- p. v, line 10: the history of the Polynesian Society referred to as being in preparation has been published since the completion of the present study: see M.P.K. Sorrenson, Manifest Duty: the Polynesian Society over 100 Years (Auckland, 1992).
- p. 186, line 10: the Smithsonian is of course in Washington, D.C., not New York (cf. p. 248).
- p. 194, line 5: Dr Mervyn McLean, formerly Director of the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music, University of Auckland, has pointed out that Andersen's phrase about the collection of '150 songs' refers to the total collected at both Gisborne in 1919 and Rotorua in 1920, not, as the text suggests, to songs collected only at Rotorua. Since the completion of the present study, a full catalogue of surviving recordings made on the Dominion Museum ethnological expeditions has been published: see Catalogue of Museum of New Zealand Cylinder Recordings of Traditional Maori Songs 1919-c 1935, eds Mervyn McLean and Jeny Curnow (Auckland, 1992).
- p. 224, lines 6-7: the later history of the cylinders is authoritatively discussed by Mervyn McLean in his Introduction to the Catalogue of ... Cylinder Recordings, eds McLean and Curnow, pp. 5-25, especially pp. 13-22. See also below, pp. 755-56, notes 183 and 184.
- p. 285, lines 9-11: in commenting on the statement that Andersen 'demolished' Keith Kennedy's article, Mervyn McLean says that 'in fact Kennedy was mostly right and Andersen mostly wrong. The difference in the results obtained by the two men did not result from Kennedy's failure to appreciate microtones but from blowing variability of the flutes'. McLean to P. J. Gibbons, 7 September 1992. These matters, and further discussion on koauau, including a detailed and critical consideration of Andersen's various reports on the instrument, are set out in Mervyn McLean, 'An Investigation of the Open Tube Maori Flute or Kooauau', JPS, vol. 77 (1968), pp. 213-41. See also McLean, 'A Chronological and Geographical Sequence of Maori Flute Scales', Man, new series, vol. 17 (1982), pp. 123-57.
- p. 645, line 3: insert the word 'not' before 'adhere' to read 'certainly did not adhere to'.
- Plate XVI: The woman in the photograph may be Wharemutu rather than Mrs Gordon: see also p. 196, above.
- Plate XIX: Dr McLean has reminded me that although captions to this photograph customarily indicate Peter Buck as being the figure on the right, J.C. Andersen's own identification was that the figure on the right is Te Kani. Andersen inserted a copy of the photograph in his own copy of Maori Music, adding the following caption: 'At Waiomatatini: recording on dictaphone flute-song by Iehu Nukunuku Figures in the picture: Elsdon Best, reclining. Myself, bending over the machine[.] Iehu Nukunuku speaking through his flute[.] Te Kani, son-in law of Sir Apirana T. Ngata[.] (Iehu is bare-footed; he had never worn either shoes or stockings)' (photograph and caption inserted between pp. 230-31 of Andersen's copy of Maori Music, in possession (1983) of Mr L. S. Andersen, Auckland). See also p. 214, above.
- Plate XLVI, line 3 of the caption: for 'Nine of the thirteen stamps' read 'Nine of the fourteen stamps'. Compare p. 454, above.

[The] expropriation of knowledge and its transformation from the spoken to the written word is just one of the many facets of colonisation.

Ranginui Walker, Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End (1990), p. 36.

Indigenous peoples have the right to revive and practise their cultural identity and traditions, including the right to maintain, develop and protect the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites and structures, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technology and works of art, as well as the right to restitution of cultural, religious and spiritual property taken from them without their free and informed consent or in violation of their own laws.

Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, recommended by the delegates at the 1991 meeting of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, reported in Programme on Racism Newsletter, no. 26 (October 1991), p. 4.

INTRODUCTION: CULTURAL APPROPRIATION

‘I have now given you a slight sketch of the history of New Zealand from the earliest time’, wrote E. M. Bourke in the conclusion to her Little History of New Zealand (1881), ‘and will conclude with a few remarks upon the climate and general aspect of the country. Every thoughtful person must be struck with its progress.’¹ This progress she renders as follows: ‘One hundred years ago New Zealand was a wilderness, fertile and beautiful indeed, but utterly unknown to civilization, inhabited only by wild and untaught savages, incessantly at war, and in the constant practice of cannibalism and many other barbarous customs. To-day we see fair cities and fertile, cultivated plains.’

Railroads traverse the country, steamboats daily and hourly plough our waters, and all the comforts and pleasures of civilization are within our reach. The native inhabitants mingle in our occupations and share in our advantages. Clad in European dress - with churches, schools, books, and newspapers of their own - they present an example of the advancement which it is possible for a savage race to make in a short time.

Vast forests have disappeared, and farms and homesteads may be seen where a short time ago miles of bush and tangled undergrowth had place. English fish, such as salmon

and trout, introduced by the colonists, exist in many rivers; and English birds may be seen on every side. The skylark, thoroughly acclimatized, makes his voice heard as loudly as in an English meadow. Pheasants abound in all parts, and a day's shooting is as easily obtained as in England Red and fallow deer are also acclimatized, and in some places are seen in numbers.²

At the end of the conclusion, Bourke refers to New Zealand as the "'Britain of the Southern Seas'", a phrase which encapsulates the general argument of her conclusion: what was admirable and notable about New Zealand was its progress towards the model of civilisation offered by the metropolis, Britain.³ It was the recreation of the world from which the settlers derived that was desirable, and the 'thoroughly acclimatized' skylark, its 'voice heard as loudly as in an English meadow', was a fitting symbol of the transformation of the 'wilderness'. Even the 'native inhabitants' are praiseworthy in so far as they approximate metropolitan norms.

Bourke's general perspective is echoed in many other accounts of the first half century of British colonisation in New Zealand: the programme of colonisation was the displacement of the wilderness, including the 'wild and untaught savages', by what was introduced - railroads, steamboats, farms and homesteads, skylarks, pheasants, deer. There was also, nevertheless, a growth in

the sentiment that New Zealand was a particular and distinctive part of the world, even if this claim of distinctiveness was sometimes based upon a pride in the speed with which the settlers had recreated a 'Britain' in the 'Southern Seas'. Bourke herself comments in the Preface to the Little History that she had been 'led to compile the ... unpretending little work by observing the ignorance prevailing amongst many New Zealand children concerning the history and early settlement of their own country'.⁴ A newspaper review, quoting Bourke's statement, added that it was 'to be hoped that the time is not far distant when children will be required first to have an acquaintance with the development of their own country before inquiring about that of other countries.'⁵

Such sentiment was apparently fitful, or at least not widespread, before the 1890s. Thereafter, increasingly it would seem, a voluble minority of European New Zealanders spoke and wrote about the need for a sense of New Zealand identity. The manifestations of a local sense of identity and the reasons for its development which have been advanced are various: historians have noted, *inter alia*, that in the 1880s for the first time a majority of European New Zealanders had been born in the country; that European New Zealanders fought as New Zealanders for the first time in an overseas conflict during the Anglo-Boer war, 1899-1902; that when overseas commentators praised political reforms in the 1890s there was local pride in such outside interest; that there were calls, and

responses to such calls, for a ‘national literature’; that W. P. Reeves through The Long White Cloud (1898) provided New Zealanders with a sense of history (which built upon the jubilees of around 1890, celebrating fifty years since the foundation of various settlements); that in 1905 a successful rugby football team’s tour of Britain allowed New Zealanders to proclaim that in sport as in war the colonists had matured to the extent that they were a match for the British. In fact, the identifications of New Zealanders were multiple: they still believed fiercely in Empire, in Britain as both the Motherland and as ‘Home’, in London as the centre of the world. Often a sense of local identity was constructed within the imperial framework, as when the scions of British royalty visited and New Zealanders cast about for specifically local emblems and rhetoric to affirm the depth of their imperial loyalty.⁶

What was specifically ‘New Zealand’? Certain pieces of the landscape, attractive to visitors who wrote about them with enthusiasm, and promoted by the tourist industry as scenic wonders (sometimes, as the nomenclature suggested, as antipodean versions of European wonders): the Southern Alps, especially Mt Cook; the southern Fiords, especially Milford Sound; the Waitomo Caves; the ‘thermal wonderland’ near Rotorua; the larger lakes and the snowcapped mountains. Photographs helped make these places emblematic: most New

Zealanders could readily identify Mitre Peak, the Sutherland Falls, the Franz Joseph Glacier and similar icons, though few had been to such locations.⁷

The indigenous birds and the rain forests, customarily called the 'bush', were also recognised as specifically New Zealand phenomena: among birds, the extinct moa, the kiwi, the tui, the bellbird, the kea; among trees, the kauri tree, the 'white pine' or kahikatea, rimu, totara, kowhai, the cabbage tree. In the 1890s, the New Zealand Post Office organized a competition for postage stamp designs which would be pictorially redolent of New Zealand, and the thirteen designs finally developed from the great number of entries sent in by the public indicate what many New Zealanders, as well as the judging committee, felt to epitomize New Zealand: they include Lake Taupo with the Tongariro group of mountains in the background; Mt Cook, on two stamps; Lake Whakatipu; Milford Sound; Mt Ruapehu, awkwardly inset upon a mountainous Otira Gorge scene; the still-celebrated-but-by-then-destroyed (through volcanic eruption in 1886) silica formations called the Pink and White Terraces; a pair of huia birds; an angular kiwi; the ornithological monstrosity of a kea and a kaka together on a tree branch; numerous cabbage trees; several ferns; a flax bush; clematis; kowhai. There is a certain eclecticism evident which suggests a groping for suitable icons, as if neither competitors nor judges were too sure what did or could symbolize New Zealand.

On the other hand, the stamps, the lower values of which were of course very widely circulated, helped to establish the subjects as symbolic of New Zealand.⁸

Amongst the prevalent scenery, flora and fauna in the stamp designs is also a Maori element. The eightpenny stamp included a Maori 'war canoe' in the lower circle of a large central '8': almost as if to balance or even properly subordinate the canoe, the upper circle of the '8' includes a crown, the only imperial object in the entire set. The stamp might be 'read' as the imposition of the 'new' colonial order upon the 'old' precolonial polity. From another perspective, it is significant that, along with the mountains, lakes, birds, and trees, a 'Maori' subject was deployed to epitomise New Zealand.

Though the pictorial stamps of 1898 served a publicity function beyond New Zealand, since the higher-value stamps were used for the postage of goods to other countries, they were essentially 'internal memoranda', defining New Zealand for New Zealanders. There were also special occasions when New Zealanders needed to define themselves and their country to non-New Zealanders, such as the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York in 1901, or the International Exhibition held at Christchurch in 1906-07, and the use of 'Maori' decorations was very evident in these situations.⁹ Perhaps in no case were the definitions more self-conscious than for the visit of the 'Great White Fleet' of United States naval ships in 1908. Visits

of foreign naval ships to New Zealand waters were by no means uncommon, but the 1908 visit, at the request of the New Zealand Prime Minister, Joseph Ward, was invested with all the ceremonial trappings and even some of the rhetoric of an 'alliance'.¹⁰ Consequently, New Zealanders introduced themselves to the Americans not only as British but as a distinctive British community with its own geopolitical destiny and cultural heritage.

The specifically local note was struck from the start when Ward presented the American admiral, Charles Sperry, with an illuminated address to be conveyed to President Theodore Roosevelt: the portfolio contained painted views of New Zealand scenery and was, gold, silver, wood and all, as Ward proudly told the Admiral, 'made entirely of New Zealand materials'. On behalf of the government, Ward handed to Sperry a souvenir for the admiral himself. It was made of greenstone, 'enframed in New Zealand silver'. Six pedestals, representing New Zealand fern leaves, supported the centrepiece of the object. In the middle of the front panel were crossed New Zealand and American flags in silver, with an eagle in gold above and a kiwi in gold below. There were also silver reliefs of 'native clematis', and, on the lid, 'a Maori, in silver, sits among native shrubs, holding in his hands a taiaha and mere'. The Auckland Harbour Board, in whose waters the battleships lay at anchor, had their own souvenir for Sperry:

The casket is of solid silver, and is supported on four silver fern fronds. In the centre of the front panel, raised on a polished surface, is the head of a Maori chief, surrounded by gold lettering in relief, "Naumai Ki Akarana," the whole surrounded by engraving of native carving.

The casket additionally featured kiwis, greenstone, heads of lions, fern leaves, and 'engravings of typical native shrubbery'.¹¹

The Harbour Board's contribution to the welcome also included the 'landing stage' where the sailors of the fleet stepped ashore, and this was 'transformed into a veritable area of native bush' with masses of foliage, from which shone the words 'Haere mai', picked out in electric light bulbs. Indeed, the whole central city area was festooned in bunting and banners, with large numbers of nikau fronds, cabbage trees, and other greenery, and illustrated greetings such as 'Welcome to the Fleet', and 'One Race, One Destiny', including, in amber lights, 'Haeremai', 'Tenakoe', and 'Kia Ora, Katou'.¹² A special souvenir book printed by the government for issue to the American visitors contained, as well as royal and presidential portraits, what a journalist described as 'plenty of reproductions of typical bits of New Zealand scenery, views of the principal cities and provincial towns, and Maori sketches'. The book began with an official greeting from Ward,

which referred to ‘a special pride in our old Anglo-Saxon race’ and concluded with ‘Haere-mai! Haere-mai!’.¹³

These are but prominent examples: there were other depictions of Maori and other uses of Maori words and cultural items in the illuminations, the specially-made souvenirs, and the publications, including special editions of newspapers. None of them, however, were made at the instigation of Maori, or represented the efforts of Maori. Certainly, in the official welcoming party, in amongst the cabinet ministers, consuls, mayors, senior civil servants and the like, there were four Maori parliamentarians, two of whom, dressed in ‘handsome native mats’, were presented to Admiral Sperry.¹⁴ The ceremonial welcome from Maori people was quite singular, separate and distinct, held several days later at Rotorua.¹⁵ (It went ahead, despite criticism in some quarters that it was not advisable because of the ‘colour-line’ in the United States, since Maori people wished to confer upon the visitors what Peter Buck called the ‘highest honour’ they could provide - a ceremonial welcome according to Maori custom.)¹⁶ Rotorua apart, the use of Maori words, both for the street illuminations and by Ward in his statement in the souvenir booklet, and the incorporation of Maori designs and figures in gift portfolios and caskets - all of these examples were a result of the efforts of Pakeha New Zealanders to deploy for their American visitors the symbols of New Zealand.

Superficially there is a great contrast between, on the one hand, Bourke's exultation over the displacement of the wilderness by railroads, farms and homesteads, and over the presence of skylarks singing in New Zealand as loudly as in English meadows, and, on the other, the promotion of the New Zealand landscape, flora, fauna, and Maori as symbolic of New Zealand, as if there had been a major change in consciousness. Yet the 'making over' of the land by the settlers continued apace: the 'vast forests' Bourke noted as disappearing continued to disappear, indeed at an accelerating rate; the railroads lengthened; the farms and homesteads multiplied; the acquisition of land from Maori reached new heights around the turn of the century; and Maori people themselves were subjected to a variety of legal and social pressures - including, for example, a military expedition in the north to deal with 'Dog Tax' defaulters.¹⁷ The displacement of the wilderness continued, and the progress of civilisation, as it was called, was celebrated as stridently as ever. What had changed since the issue of Bourke's Little History was that pride in the progress of civilisation was being supplemented by the incorporation of some of the indigenous phenomena of New Zealand into the rhetoric and symbolism of the settler society.

The motivations for the incorporation of indigenous phenomena into the rhetoric and symbols used by the settler society were various. The general progress of settlement and development did not per se distinguish New Zealand and New

Zealanders - since the aim was to reproduce, or even improve upon, metropolitan models and to match, or outdistance, the efforts of other settler societies. As has already been suggested, there was sometimes a need to specify the distinctiveness of New Zealand to outsiders, and therefore there was an emphasis on what was unique to New Zealand. Even if most New Zealanders were still set on transforming New Zealand, there was with the passage of time more familiarity with, and thus less distaste for, what was peculiar to New Zealand. Moreover, as more of the settlers were born in New Zealand, knowledge of the metropolis was increasingly vicarious, and the internalised metropolitan paradigms for the physical and social landscape became attenuated. In such circumstances, indigenous phenomena for later generations seemed less 'alien' than for earlier settlers. Whatever development remained to be completed, there was now no doubt that the settlers effectively occupied the country, and the former urgency to obliterate the 'wilderness' had become less frantic.

These are for the most part negative or at least casual influences, which help to account for a lack of resistance to the promulgation of indigenous phenomena as symbols of New Zealand, or, in situations such as the visit of the Great White Fleet, an acceptance of the use of indigenous phenomena for emblematic purposes. However, they do not altogether account for what is also evident in the 1890s and afterwards - the deliberate and persistent utilisation of indigenous phenomena as

subjects for both 'high' and 'popular' cultural expression by many writers (journalists, poets, fiction writers, scientists and other intellectuals), by graphic artists (painters, illustrators of books and journals, photographers), and some of those engaged in various kinds of theatre (playrights and drama groups, musicians and composers, early film-makers).¹⁸ In particular, a wide range of Maori subjects - the people, their traditional history, their art and music, indeed virtually every aspect of Maori culture except the contemporary social and political condition of Maori people, unless transmuted into 'humour' - became subject matter for Pakeha cultural expression, on a much more extensive scale than hitherto.

This development has been remarked upon by a number of cultural historians. For instance, writing in 1940, E. H. McCormick, whose literary and artistic contemporaries for the most part eschewed Maori subjects, gently mocked the public taste for things Maori which had been formed by the previous generation:

To claim for themselves an ancient pedigree is a vanity common alike to families and to new countries. So it is that the modern New Zealander, seeking his spiritual and cultural origins, looks back beyond the year 1840 to that uncertain but distant time when these islands were first settled by Polynesian voyagers. In a country still raw from pioneering it reassures him to think that there stretch behind him, not a

meagre hundred years, but centuries during which a gifted people composed poems and speeches, recited their ancient traditions and genealogies, invented their folk-tales, and expressed themselves in varied forms of art. From contemplating this first and longest age of New Zealand art and letters he derives the feeling - perhaps the illusion - that he belongs to a country with an age-long tradition.¹⁹

J.O.C. Phillips, in an article published in 1983, also pointed out that for Pakeha intellectuals around the turn of the century, Maori culture provided 'an instant history and mythology in a new and unlettered land'. Maori culture 'could help provide Pakeha settlers with a New Zealand home in thought'.

The great problem of intellectual life in new societies has always been that the cultural traditions and historical associations of the settlers are attached to a home across the seas. If Maori legends and Maori history could people the New Zealand landscape with myth and meaning, then feelings of alienation and the sentimental pull of the English home might partially be overcome.²⁰

In his lecture The Native Born: the Origins of New Zealand Nationalism (1986), Keith Sinclair observed that 'the early New Zealand nationalists had almost

nothing that could be regarded as Pakeha cultural items, so they tried to plunder parts of Maori culture Not only did the haka and Maori art designs become recognisable New Zealand symbols, but writers made innumerable attempts to poeticise Maori myths and legends.’²¹

Such statements, and other similar statements, describe and explain Pakeha utilization of Maori subjects for cultural expression in terms of an attempt to develop a national identity for New Zealanders, an identity partly based on or derived from indigenous materials. However, the ultimate considerations of these cultural historians are aesthetic. For McCormick ‘The writers were enthusiastic, often deeply in earnest, but they lacked poise and self-discipline Their minds were immature, their work provincial in its form and outlook.’²² Phillips follows McCormick in estimating that the strength of the tradition lay in the writing of history and anthropology’, but states that ‘The poetry and fiction of the Maori school was undeniably bad’.²³ Sinclair observes of the ‘innumerable attempts to poeticise Maori myths and legends’ that ‘these efforts almost invariably failed’, meaning, presumably, that the writers were sadly lacking in terms of aesthetic achievements.²⁴ Furthermore, McCormick, Phillips, Sinclair, and others, see the utilization of indigenous materials by Pakeha attempting to create a sense of national identity as an episode in the evolution of a national literature (or, for art historians, a national art). There are certain difficulties which arise from these

approaches. First, the unfavourable aesthetic judgments, no doubt justifiable in terms of the accomplishments of later New Zealand artists and writers, suggest that the works of what Phillips calls the 'Maori school' were too banal and possibly too trivial to be given serious historical consideration, and perhaps this explains in part why such an extensive and bulky set of cultural productions has been so little investigated.²⁵ Secondly, while the efforts of the 'Maori school' were in the context of the formation of a national literature (or national art) significant only for a limited period, since later writers whose works have been given canonical status by historians did not use the materials (and seem often to have deliberately avoided using the materials) favoured by the 'Maori school', the utilization by Pakeha of Maori materials continued long after the period regarded as significant, and still continues in New Zealand today. This suggests that Pakeha utilization of Maori subjects for cultural expression should not be regarded as an episode in the evolution of a national literature (or art), but as a major normative cultural practice by Pakeha in New Zealand.

What is required, then, is an enabling analytic framework which excludes distorting aesthetic judgments and which sees Pakeha utilization of Maori subjects in cultural productions in terms other than as an episode in the development of a national art and literature. A useful tool is the idea of a discourse as developed by Michel Foucault. Beginning with Histoire de la Folie (1961; English language

edition, Madness and Civilization, 1971), Foucault elaborated the notion of the phenomenon often now referred to as a 'discourse of power'.²⁶ Foucault's concern is to show how perceptions are structured as systems of thought or discourses and to demonstrate that these structured perceptions have real consequences for people. In certain of his works Foucault emphasized the intimate relationships between power and knowledge (pouvoir/savoir): 'Once knowledge can be analysed in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power.'²⁷ Foucault also sets aside aesthetic judgments, and indeed regards as of secondary importance the customary divisions between 'high culture' and 'popular culture': his definition of a discourse, 'a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation', dissolves conventional categories (or 'unities') such as oeuvre, book, science, literature, even author, so that the 'field' is 'made up of the totality of all effective statements (whether spoken or written)'.²⁸

One of the most substantial and significant works to employ Foucault's theories in exemplifying a discourse of power has been Edward Said's Orientalism (1978). 'Orientalism' in Said's exposition is the study of 'the East' by European scholars. It is a discourse which allows Europeans to 'know' the East, to explain it, to classify it, to manipulate and control it. 'A field like Orientalism', writes Said,

has a cumulative and corporate identity, one that is particularly strong given its associations with traditional learning (the classics, the Bible, philology), public institutions (governments, trading companies, geographical societies, universities), and generically determined writing (travel books, books of exploration, fantasy, exotic description). The result for Orientalism has been a sort of consensus: certain things, certain types of statement, certain types of work have seemed for the Orientalist correct. He has built his work and research upon them, and they in turn have pressed hard upon new writers and scholars. Orientalism can thus be regarded as a manner of regularized (or Orientalized) writing, vision, and study, dominated by imperatives, perspectives, and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient. The Orient is taught, researched, administered, and pronounced upon in certain discrete ways. The Orient that appears in Orientalism, then, is a system of representations framed by a whole set of forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western empire.²⁹

Orientalism authorizes (and even encourages) Europeans to make judgments about the Orient and its people: Orientals (Arabs, Hindus, Chinese, for example) are supposedly fatalistic, passive, careless of human life, fanatical, given to sensual

habits, inclined to despotism rather than democracy, and so on.³⁰ Said also points out that for the Orientalist, the Orient 'tends to be static, frozen, fixed eternally. The very possibility of development, transformation, human movement ... is denied the Orient and the Oriental when the Orient is being approved, such phrases as "the wisdom of the East"' are used.³¹

'Orientalism' is the discourse which Europeans have constructed and maintained about 'the East'. Europeans also fashioned discourses about 'the New World' and its inhabitants.³² Those 'new' territories and peoples which European explorers encountered in the fifteenth century and afterwards were initially described in terms of existing discourses; but existing discourses were amplified and corrected by the experiences gathered in successive encounters to the extent that new discursive patterns were established through works such as Bartholomew Las Casas' History of the Indies, Shakespeare's The Tempest, and a host of other writings. The discourse of the 'New World' was projected upon further 'new worlds'. For example, New Zealand, the country in which the present study is situated, entered metropolitan discourse when it was 'discovered' by Abel Tasman in 1642. The instructions given by the Dutch East Indies Company to Abel Tasman and his councillors in 1642 warned them to be on their guard in the presence of any indigenous peoples because of the many experiences of treachery mariners had suffered in America, the instructions thereby prefiguring the conflict

in Murderers Bay (as the Dutch called it) when New Zealanders killed four Dutch sailors.³³ An account of what the Dutch perceived to have happened at Murderers Bay was eventually printed, translated into other languages, and disseminated through works which summarized voyages of exploration - works which were consulted in the preparation of various later voyages, or were even carried on the explorers' ships as works of reference.³⁴ There were vast accumulations of information over the years, and such knowledge was eventually used by explorers, by missionaries, by merchants, by colonisers and others in executing their plans to christianize the indigenous people, to 'civilize' them, to trade with them, to settle amongst them, to conquer them.³⁵

An awareness of the existence of this discourse, even if it is not always called a discourse, informs such works (to take two notable examples from a large number of studies dealing with the Pacific) as Bernard Smith's European Vision and the South Pacific and Bill Pearson's Rifled Sanctuaries. These works critically review European literary and artistic artifacts which seek to record, typify and explain the Pacific world. As Pearson says of the writers at the end of his analysis: 'We have seen that even in the most gifted, their perception of Pacific cultures has been limited or distracted by European philosophical preoccupations or by desires that originated in European culture'.³⁶

The utilization of Maori subjects for Pakeha cultural expression may be seen as a part of the general European discourse which sought to record, classify, explain and control the non-European world. But in the context of a settler society, this discourse has a more specific and localised strategic role than in the general project of European imperialism. Terry Goldie concisely indicates the specific process in his discussion of 'the image of the indigene' in the writings of Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders.

The white Canadian looks at the Indian. The Indian is the Other and therefore alien. But the Indian is indigenous and therefore cannot be alien. So the Canadian must be alien. But how can the Canadian be alien within Canada?

There are only two possible answers. The white culture can attempt to incorporate the Other, superficially, through beaded moccasins and names like Mohawk Motors, or with much more sophistication, through the novels of Rudy Wiebe. Conversely, the white culture may reject the indigene: "This country really began with the arrival of the whites." This is no longer an openly popular alternative, but its historical importance is reflected in things like the "native societies" that existed in all three countries in the late nineteenth century, societies to which no non-white, no matter how native, need have applied.

In their need to become 'native', to belong to the territory in which they reside, suggests Goldie, 'settlers in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia have adopted a process' which he calls 'indigenization'. A peculiar word, Goldie admits, 'it suggests the impossible necessity of becoming indigenous. For many writers, the only chance for indigenization seemed to be through writing about the humans who are truly indigenous, the Indians, Inuit, Maori, and Aborigines.'³⁷

Indigenization, then, is a programme of incorporating the Other which is instituted by colonists in order to transform themselves from aliens into indigenes. In this process, selected components of the culture of the indigenous society are transposed into the culture of the settler society.³⁸ These transposed components are statements by the settler society to itself that it is becoming indigenous. (They are also perhaps, albeit implicitly, statements to the indigenous society that the settler society is seeking cultural authenticity or autochthonous status: we (the settlers) can be like you (the indigenes) and belong to this territory - indeed, we are superseding you as indigenes.) The signs mentioned by Goldie such as the beaded moccasins and the commercial by-line Mohawk Motors, the use of Maori words in the illuminations to welcome the visiting American fleet, the inclusion of Maori design motifs on stamps, what Sinclair calls the 'innumerable attempts to poeticise Maori myths and legends', and other examples referred to above - all these

apparently trivial and often ephemeral cultural borrowings are part of a discourse which proclaims the authenticity of the settler society.

Such cultural borrowings need to be distinguished from those which result from the general discourse of imperialism. Metropolitan societies have from time to time indulged in passing fads for exoticism: the occasional European taste for chinoiserie, for example, or Edward Fitzgerald's versification of Omar Kayyam's *Rubāiyāt* which enthused generations of English readers, or the cult of the 'primitive' in twentieth-century art. Often there has been actual looting, as cultural artifacts were physically removed to the museums and private collections of the imperial powers. But, looting aside, these cultural borrowings were primarily augmentations, and sometimes evanescent ones, of metropolitan culture - even if they additionally served as affirmations of the global sway of imperial power.³⁹ In a settler society, however, cultural borrowings from the indigenous society are essentially constitutive: they are designed to legitimise the settler society as an indigenous community.⁴⁰ When the Prime Minister, Joseph Ward, concluded his text of welcome in the souvenir book for the American fleet with 'Haere-mai! Haere-mai!',⁴¹ he was 'speaking' the language of the indigene, and so made his claim to be an authentic New Zealander, at the same time extolling the 'Anglo-Saxon' fraternity of which the truly indigenous Maori was not a part.

In the 1970s and 1980s in New Zealand, there has been a good deal of resistance expressed by Maori people to the utilisation of aspects of their culture by Pakeha. The most spectacular example was the disruption of the engineering students' mock haka by He Taua, mentioned in the preface to this study. The reported responses of Maori people to this incident clearly indicated if not universal approval for the physical disruption by He Taua then certainly general disapproval of the students' ridiculing of a central ritual of Maori culture, and comprehension of the He Taua response to cultural insult.⁴² There were many less spectacular incidents. Ranginui Walker, chairman of the Auckland District Maori Council, expressed his own feelings and recorded those of other Maori about Pakeha use of Maori culture on several occasions in his regular column in the New Zealand Listener. For instance, in November 1980, Walker reported Pakeha and Maori reactions to a set of postage stamps which bore the images of heads of Maori leaders. He noted that a Pakeha journalist had praised the stamp issue in a major newspaper, seeing it as a 'philatelic affirmation of mana Maori'. The stamp issue, said Walker, 'does indeed seem to be a worthy tribute - in Pakeha terms - to Maori leaders, but it is a tribute some Maoris would prefer to forgo for it contradicts their own value system.' When the topic was first brought up at a hui (a traditional Maori gathering) by the Postmaster-General, himself Maori, there had been a negative response. 'The head in traditional Maori society', explains Walker, 'was

considered tapu in the sacred sense. The higher the rank the greater the tapu. Therefore the greatest insult to a defeated enemy was to eat him, thus making him noa (common), and to turn his head into a trophy of war, a plaything for children. Likenesses of the head, whether in photographs or on stamps, are considered an extension of the person.' One man at the hui 'raised the objection that licking the stamps would give cultural offence ... the next best thing to debasing the person by eating him.' The 'long periods of silence' indicated not acquiescence but dissent. When the Postmaster-General suggested that elders pick out examples of moko for the stamps, 'One of the widely respected elders ... put the matter clearly and bluntly in the Maori idiom. If it is the Maori tattoos the Pakehas admired then some of the finest examples are depicted on the buttocks. Put those instead of heads on the stamps and see if Pakehas would lick them'. But the stamp issue proceeded. 'If they are subsequently withdrawn because of Maori objections', concluded Walker, 'the stamps will rise in value which will only compound the cultural insult as the philatelic head-hunters vie to obtain these modern-day trophies of Maori-Pakeha cultural conflict.'⁴³

Three years later, Walker discussed a display of 'Maori souvenirs' organized by an antiracist group. He explained carefully how the various objects, 'tasteless wares', debased the culture of Maori, and gave offence. 'The themes of racism, sexism and cultural denigration which underlie Maori souvenirs are too

consistent to be attributed to ignorance or our Kiwi sense of humour.’⁴⁴ When a selection of his ‘Korero’ columns from the Listener was published in book form in 1987, as Nga Tau Tohetohe, Walker wrote in his Introduction for the collection, ‘Since the coming of the Pakeha to New Zealand in the nineteenth century, millions of words have been written about Maori people by Pakeha authors in books, magazines and newspapers. The result has been a variegated mishmash of romanticism, myth-making, fact and fiction with liberal lashings of stereotyping, denigration and distortion of history.’⁴⁵ It is a passage which indicates how weighty this extensive Pakeha discourse feels to Walker.

The resistance is chronicled from a Pakeha viewpoint by Michael King in his autobiographical Being Pakeha (1985). After the publication of King’s Te Puea (1977), a biography of the celebrated Waikato Maori leader, and a book authorized and supported by those who spoke for the Tainui people, the response was generally favourable, but a Pakeha wrote to King of how descendants of one family which had been in conflict with Te Puea had ‘been deeply wounded by the way they come out in this book In dealing with Maori things we have to remember that nga mahi o nga tupuna have a place in contemporary life ... you can’t make the separation of the generations’.⁴⁶ When King in 1983 published Maori: A Photographic and Social History, and another biography of a Maori leader, Whina, a number of prominent Maori spoke out in public; and among the negative

responses he records in Being Pakeha, King quotes Keri Kaa as saying: 'We have kept quiet for too long about how we truly feel about what is written about us by people from another culture. For years we have provided academic ethnic fodder for research and researchers.'⁴⁷ King also includes in his account part of a statement by Professor Hirini Moko Mead in 1978: 'Pakeha are reaching into Maori culture and pulling out features with which they can identify, taking hold of quite generous portions which they then try to fit into a Pakeha cultural world'.⁴⁸ Mead's comment is a succinct characterisation of the process of incorporating the Other by Pakeha to which he and many other Maori were opposed.

Maori have also indicated how in their perspective Pakeha incorporation of aspects of Maori culture has involved appropriation, a term which, at first sight, seems better suited to describe the plundering of material artifacts than Pakeha utilization of elements of Maori culture. Discussing a book by Margaret Orbell, Te Aue Davis says it is 'liberally sprinkled with Maori proverbs, whakatauaki, bits of karakia (incantations) and lines taken from ancient waiata (song poetry). They are frequently used', Davis claims, 'out of context to give substance and meaning to the text. To knowledgeable Maori, clipping a few lines from traditional waiata and using them out of context is a transgression - a form of theft.'⁴⁹

'Mechanical, spatial time in white culture really got off the ground with print', writes Donna Awatere. 'The written word allowed communication and

information carrying that did not depend on oral tradition. However the tasks and skills of writing remained in the hands of the rulers.’⁵⁰ In July 1989, the Governor-General of New Zealand, Sir Paul Reeves, himself of Maori descent, talked in a lecture about two recently published books, both written by Pakeha: James Belich’s I Shall Not Die, which told the story of Titokowaru’s campaigns against imperial and colonial troops in the Wanganui region during the 1860s, and Hazel Riseborough’s Days of Darkness: Taranaki, 1878-1884, which analysed Pakeha reactions to Te Whiti’s resistance at Parihaka. The two historians, Reeves pointed out, were particularly sensitive to Maori concerns about the way the past should be dealt with, yet, he said, ‘the uneasiness remained’. ‘I have read them both’, said Reeves of the books. ‘But now, it is as if our history is running loose around the books and the libraries and has a life independent of us.’⁵¹ This comment, which reports the response of the elders as well as of Reeves himself, identifies a vital characteristic of Pakeha discourse: when knowledge is rendered into print, it does indeed have ‘a life independent’ of elders, who in a traditional society maintain knowledge and mediate its oral transmission.⁵²

Hinewirangi has expressed her feelings in a poem entitled 'Historians'
(1986):

You come white historians
with your expertise on me

...

White historians,
we opened our marae to you,
never seeing

hidden agendas,
degrees,
doctorates.

You
sit in your whare wananga
telling me about the history
of my people.

I shame:

Elsdon Best
tells me
I am a savage, a barbarian.

R. D. Long
considers me
a dirty savage.

The very Reverend James Buller says
I am a devil worshipper.

You, white historian,
the expert on me?⁵³

Tipene O'Regan, a Ngai Tahu spokesman, commented in 1987 (he was particularly referring to archaeology) that 'Modern scholars seldom find the Maori person a source of the sort of knowledge that is being sought. It's in the archive, or in the ground, or in the museum. Increasingly the person descended from that knowledge, the one who feels connection to it, is distanced by social class, by education and by circumstances from the sources of modern scholars. Faced with the research areas of our museums, the atmosphere of our libraries and archives, many Maori people ... find such settings inhospitable to their feelings about their heritage.' O'Regan suggests that for Maori, 'The absence of knowledge is destabilising', and when Pakeha have access to that knowledge the effect is increased: 'One feels resentment that some person in a white coat in a museum or another in a snug university office may well have a deeper knowledge of your tribe, and therefore of you, than you have yourself. That resentment used to provoke withdrawal. Today it evokes protest. It fosters the sense of dispossession and dislocation that is so much a part of modern Maori resistance.'⁵⁴

Wharehuia Hemara has made similar comments about libraries. He believes that 'Maori people have become alienated from the writings by Maori which are held in public collections.' Manuscripts by Maori were often donated to repositories by Pakeha, and 'Maori were being alienated from what was rightfully

their intellectual property, as they were from their land. It was being locked up effectively in Pakeha fortresses, physical and intellectual.'

Pakeha academics and librarians oversaw the use and maintenance of Maori material. They published learned tomes and articles in such publications as the Journal of the Polynesian Society. This was mainly for an academic readership. Thus while Maori society was becoming more isolated from the primary sources, secondary sources were being produced that were unintelligible to them.⁵⁵

The settler society has the technology of print, which not only fixes information but reproduces it in quantity, so that it can be consulted by anyone who is able to read and has access to books; and these considerations apply, mutatis mutandis, not only to printed words, but also to the mechanical production and reproduction of stamps, coins and banknotes, symbols and logos, photographs, films, and prints of paintings and sketches. Using print and other reproductive technologies, Pakeha have been able to reify Maori people and aspects of their culture. The consequence, in Terry Goldie's startling phrase, is that 'The indigene is a semiotic pawn on a chess board under the control of the white signmaker'.⁵⁶

In other words, Pakeha can valorize and utilize elements of Maori culture as they please, without direct experience of Maori people or their culture, without any

appreciation of how the cultural elements relate to their whole original cultural context, and without any authorisation from the proprietors of that culture.⁵⁷ This is no doubt a kind of acculturation, but the circumstances under which components of the indigenous culture are adopted by colonial society, including both the settler society's desire to legitimise itself as indigenous and resistance by the indigenous peoples to utilisation of elements of their culture, make it advisable to employ a more specific term than acculturation to clarify the nature of such crosscultural encounters. The suggestion here is that the process may be called cultural appropriation. A working definition might be formulated as follows: cultural appropriation involves the unauthorised utilisation of elements of the signifying systems of the indigenous people by a settler society through incorporation of these elements into the signifying systems of the settler society.⁵⁸ The bulk of this study is a detailed demonstration of how cultural appropriation operates in a settler society, focussing on the manifold activities of one Pakeha New Zealander during the first half of the twentieth century.

* * * *

The critical and negative reactions of Maori to Pakeha utilization of aspects of their culture which have been firmly expressed in the 1970s and 1980s are not so evident in records kept by (or available to) Pakeha in earlier years. To some extent this is because most Maori, the great majority of them living geographically apart from Pakeha in the first half of the twentieth century, were then less aware of the extent and forms of cultural appropriation practised by Pakeha - many Maori had little access to books, newspapers and magazines, or even postage stamps.⁵⁹ What criticism there was from Maori people was likely to be expressed in private or on the marae, and perhaps often took the customary form of 'long periods of silence' like those which the elders had used to indicate their disapproval of the stamp proposals in 1980.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, there are traces in the printed record of Maori disapproval of cultural appropriation by Pakeha. An article on Maori death customs published in the Journal of the Polynesian Society in 1945 drew protests from Te Akarana Maori Association, and a letter from Rev. Paora Temuera of Otaki asking the editor of the Journal to protect the taonga, or cultural treasures, of Maori.⁶¹ In 1947, Sir Apirana Ngata, exhorting Maori to greater efforts in maintaining their traditions and their language, was critical of some of the activities of the Polynesian Society while at the same time appealing for the Society's support in preserving Maori lore. In the same speech, Ngata was disdainful of Pakeha who took a 'dictionary approach to Maori place names'; and he suggested

that a ‘big tome’ on Maori place names recently published by the Polynesian Society was ‘vitiated’ by the mistaken notion that the names were applied ‘in some poetical sense’.⁶²

The editor of the Polynesian Society Journal addressed by Paora Temuera in 1945 was Johannes Andersen, who had by then been editor or joint-editor of the Journal for some twenty years. Andersen was also the author of the ‘big tome’ criticised by Ngata - Maori Place-names (1942); and his interest in Maori place names and in other aspects of Maori culture went back more than forty years before Ngata made his comments in 1947. During that period, Andersen had written several books on aspects of Maori culture, had given lectures on Maori to interested Pakeha audiences, and had even influenced in some measure the incorporation of Maori designs on postage stamps and coins. Andersen’s interest in Maori initially derived not from contact with Maori people and their culture, but from the contemporary example of other Pakeha who in the first decade of the twentieth century were utilizing Maori subjects for verse, art, prose fiction, music, and so forth. The kinds of Pakeha practices criticised by Te Akarana Maori Association, by Paora Temuera, and by Ngata in the mid-1940s were therefore long-established.

Because Johannes Andersen persistently displayed his interest in Maori subjects over such a lengthy period, his activities form a suitable focus for the investigation of cultural appropriation which this study seeks to make. That is not

to say that Andersen was a typical figure amongst those Pakeha who in various ways utilised Maori culture; but rather that Andersen's activities exemplify many of the most important discursive strategies employed by Pakeha. One reason that the process of drawing the indigenous people and aspects of their culture into the signifying systems of the Pakeha settler society remains unexplored as a whole discursive practice is that Pakeha discourse, like European discourse generally, is often formulated and critically reconsidered in more or less discrete epistemologies or disciplines: there is, for example, anthropology (which may be further divided into physical and social (or cultural) anthropology), archaeology, sociology, theology, linguistics, and so on; and there are the different signifying systems, such as speech or rhetoric, writing, kinesis (or gesture, dance, and the like), music, and the graphic arts (photography, sculpture, painting, printing). This intellectual and aesthetic division of labour is of course a positive strength in the articulation of a discourse. However, it also obscures the totality of the discourse and its strategic realities - that it is (to use Said's phrase) a 'system of representations'⁶³ of one people (the indigenous inhabitants, Maori) by another (the settlers, Pakeha). Concentration on an individual with multiple interests rather than upon a single discipline or genre allows these strategic realities to be demonstrated, since Andersen's interests and activities included such diverse manifestations and

enthusiasms as fiction, verse, music, anthropology, mythology, speech, film, and the fine arts.

Andersen was not an innovative intellectual: he conformed to (while enlarging and extending) established patterns rather than inaugurating them. Andersen's abiding interest in Maori people and their culture might be explained in biographical terms as the result of personal imperatives. This study, however, places limited emphasis upon the volitions of the individual subject and instead stresses the subject's role as an agent in the articulation of the discourse: Andersen is primarily regarded as a vehicle in the process of cultural appropriation rather than as a transcendent individual.

While the present study is not a biography of Andersen, a little biographical information is in order. Johannes Carl Andersen was born in Jutland, Denmark, in 1873, and his family emigrated to New Zealand in 1874, arriving when Johannes was eighteen months old. He was therefore a 'native born' New Zealander in Keith Sinclair's sense that 'What mattered was where a person grew up'.⁶⁴ He spent the next forty years of his life in Christchurch, leaving school, where he had been very successful, just before his fourteenth birthday, to work in the Christchurch office of the Government Lands Department: he remained with the Department, in the same office, from 1887 until 1915. He moved to Wellington in 1915, where he had been appointed an assistant in the Parliamentary Library. From 1919 to 1937 he was the

first Librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library, a unique collection of literary and historical research materials, books and manuscripts, bequeathed to the nation by a reclusive Wellington merchant. Andersen lived in Wellington after his retirement until 1946, when he moved to Auckland. He died in his ninetieth year, in 1962. Born a Dane, then, he lived most of a long life in the New Zealand cities of Christchurch and Wellington, and was for fifty years a government employee, first a clerk, and then a librarian.⁶⁵

Andersen's intellectual and cultural interests were wide-ranging: he has been described, more or less seriously, as an 'antipodean polymath'.⁶⁶ Self-taught and well-read, he regarded his own abilities very highly and was not shy about displaying his learning. His published writings were considerable: more than a score of books (some of them very large), contributions of several chapters to edited books, dozens of articles and reviews in scholarly journals, hundreds of articles, letters, stories and poems in newspapers and other ephemeral publications. The extant unpublished materials are extensive as well: manuscripts or typescripts of several books which were never printed; thousands of official letters and memoranda; and several hundred private letters. He edited for nearly a decade the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute (now called the Royal Society of New Zealand), and for more than twenty years the Journal of the Polynesian Society, two of the handful of learned journals then published in New Zealand. He was also

a popular speaker, and frequently gave lectures on his various enthusiasms, including Maori subjects, to schoolchildren and groups of adults.

From about the age of thirty onwards, Andersen's writing and speaking was broadly, though not quite exclusively, directed towards 'inventing New Zealand'⁶⁷ - like many others of his generation and the next, he sought to define a cultural matrix with which he could identify, in his case based upon local phenomena. Andersen's particular interests were native flora, native fauna (especially birds), and 'the Maori'. The extent to which he was eventually regarded as an expert upon these phenomena and at the same time as a promoter of such phenomena as signifying 'New Zealand', is evident in the response of members of the New Zealand Numismatic Society in 1946 when Andersen, for several years President of the Society, announced his impending departure from Wellington to reside in Auckland. In his valedictory speech, W. D. Ferguson said of Andersen, 'Although born overseas, he was brought up in Christchurch, one of the few parts of New Zealand where one could not find much native bush and there were few Maoris or native birds there, yet these were three of the principal of Mr Andersen's interests.'⁶⁸ Andersen was presented with an illuminated address, which his successor as President of the Numismatic Society described thus: 'New Zealand motifs had been incorporated in the borders, which showed, in colour, the golden and scarlet kowhai, the pohutukawa, manuka blossoms, and Maori carvings. Also,

there was a representation of the design of the New Zealand penny depicting the tui, symbolising Mr Andersen's association with the selection of coin designs.⁶⁹ The specific cultural artifact, the illuminated address, can be regarded as a signification of the larger cultural artifact which Andersen had helped to create - a 'New Zealand' in which flora, fauna, coins, and 'Maori carvings' all played an emblematic part.

For Andersen himself, and in the way his activities were viewed by other people, his interest in Maori subjects was bracketed with his enthusiasm for native birds and trees - all were facets of his 'New Zealand'. In the present study, the birds and the trees are not much mentioned, except occasionally when in his speaking or writing he brought the birds, the trees and 'the Maori' together in a single discussion, as he sometimes did.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that the deference shown by Pakeha listeners and readers towards his views on Maori subjects was often reinforced by their interest in and approval of his enthusiasm for birds and trees.

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The exposition of this study is broadly chronological. Chapter 1 discusses how Johannes Andersen, seeking New Zealand subject matter for his verse, and especially for an epic poem, turned, like a number of contemporaries in New Zealand around the beginning of the twentieth century, to Maori myths, legends and traditions as recorded in works published by Pakeha. Though the epic was not published, he refashioned his material into a compendious book of prose, Maori Life in Ao-tea (1907), which established him among Pakeha as something of an authority upon the Maori. Andersen then argued vigorously in lectures and articles for Pakeha New Zealand poets and (especially) artists to make use of Maori myths and legends. At the same time, he extended his own knowledge of Maori subjects, including Maori place names. Though already regarded as an expert on the traditional Maori, Andersen had no contact with Maori people, a few individuals excepted, until some very brief meetings in 1908-11 when he was gathering information on place names. He did make an attempt to learn the language; and information given him by a Ngai Tahu leader in 1911 made him sensible of the injustices perpetrated by Pakeha settlement in the Canterbury region. Essentially, however, in the period from about 1900, when he began to develop an interest in Maori subjects, up to 1915, when he left Christchurch, where he had lived for forty years, Andersen's knowledge of Maori was derived from books and gathered for his own literary and historical purposes.

When Andersen went to live and work in Wellington in 1915, he was drawn into a network of individuals and institutions which encouraged his interest in Maori culture. He accompanied the noted ethnologist Elsdon Best on ethnographic expeditions; and Best persuaded Andersen to join with him in editing the Journal of the Polynesian Society from 1925, when the headquarters of that Society was re-established in Wellington. The ethnographic expeditions and the Polynesian Society reorganisation were supported by the Maori leader, Apirana Ngata, who enlisted the aid of sympathetic Pakeha in his efforts to maintain and revive aspects of traditional Maori culture. Chapter 2 explains how Andersen was invited to become a participant in ethnological fieldwork, and provides details of Andersen's experiences on four ethnographic expeditions between 1919 and 1923. These occasions were the first, and, as it turned out, the only substantial close contacts he had with Maori communities. His research was carried out at the behest of Maori, and published with the approbation of Ngata and his colleagues - indeed, his book on Maori string-figures was published by the Board of Maori Ethnological Research set up by Ngata.

The chapter then provides a context for Andersen's activities in the Polynesian Society, describing Ngata's plans for the reinvigoration of the Society, the intellectual disputes between Pakeha scholars which were beginning to surface in the 1920s and in which Andersen would, in the longer term, play such an

important role, and Andersen's involvement in editing the Polynesian Society Journal with Best from 1925.

After Best's retirement from editing the Polynesian Society Journal in 1930 (he died the following year), Andersen not only continued as editor, but, against the attacks upon Best's work by revisionists, used his editorial powers to maintain the orthodoxy on Maori prehistory established by Best and S. P. Smith. This forms the substance of Chapter 3, which, by the rehearsal of much detail, demonstrates how intellectual preferences may be privileged by those who control the production of discourse.

At the same time as he was deflecting revisionist contributions to the Journal from scholars, Andersen publicised his own views on Maori - prehistory, myths and legends, art, history, religious beliefs - to the Pakeha community more generally through lectures, radio broadcasts, books and articles: these activities are described in Chapter 4. Many Pakeha New Zealanders 'knew' Maori primarily, or even entirely, through the information disseminated by Andersen and by other Pakeha who were active in similar ways. Andersen's perception, or production, of 'the Maori' and their culture was regarded by most Pakeha as authoritative, since he was recognised as an expert.

Chapter 5 discusses Andersen's interest and efforts in textualising 'the Maori', and identifies a crucial difficulty he faced in rendering aspects of Maori

culture into print: without adequate knowledge of the Maori language (though he had made another attempt to acquire such competence in the 1920s), Andersen had no access to untranslated materials. He therefore promoted the idea of bilingual publication of Maori (and Polynesian) traditional knowledge, especially ‘songs’ and folklore which he was certain would, when printed, come to be recognised as great literature. Andersen’s small derivative collection of ‘Maori Poetry (Waiata and Tangi)’, the subtitle of his Polynesian Literature (1946), was designed to be both the forerunner of a series of such publications, bilingual and extensively annotated, and a spur to Apirana Ngata to complete his translation of *Nga Moteatea*.

Nga Moteatea, the classic collection of Maori waiata, or ‘songs’, had been printed in the late 1920s only in part, and without translation. Ngata hoped that the Polynesian Society would serve Maori purposes in the way he had envisaged in the 1920s by publishing in its Journal the balance of *Nga Moteatea*. Andersen, seeking access to what he anticipated were literary treasures, insisted as editor of the Journal upon translations, and then attempted to make Ngata’s translations more poetic. The episode, which is discussed in Chapter 6, reveals the divergences between Maori views of their culture and Pakeha attempts to utilize elements of Maori culture for Pakeha purposes.

In summary, the present study discusses the production of certain Pakeha cultural artifacts as an important aspect of the process of cultural appropriation in New Zealand. The exposition concentrates on the activities of one person, Johannes Andersen. Andersen's efforts to utilize elements of Maori culture for Pakeha purposes persisted right through the first half of the twentieth century and his wide range of writings and other activities exemplify a variety of discursive practices, so that he forms a suitable focus for an examination of cultural appropriation in, and by, a settler society.

CHAPTER 1: LEAVING THE GREEK, TURNING TO THE MAORI

‘Those who lack links with a place’, David Lowenthal has written, ‘must forge an identity through other pasts. Immigrants cut off from their roots remain dislocated; discontinuity impels many who grow up in pioneer lands either to exaggerate attachments to romanticized homelands or stridently to assert an adoptive belonging.’ Lowenthal goes on to give the example of Wallace Stegner whose ‘history-starved boyhood on a frontier prairie’ in the United States ‘was assuaged only by emotional ties with his ancestral but never-visited Norway.’¹ The New Zealand town of Christchurch in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was perhaps not quite such an isolated social environment as the prairie farmlands, and it is unlikely that Johannes Andersen was as ‘history-starved’ as Wallace Stegner, but the son of Danish migrants apparently felt some lack of identity. Like Stegner, Andersen sought ‘emotional ties’ with his ‘ancestral’ Denmark (where he was born but which he had been taken away from when only eighteen months of age and which he was to revisit only once, very briefly, when more than sixty years old), by learning to read Danish, and by encouraging his mother to sing Danish songs. He also immersed himself in English literature, especially poetry. His interests in English verse and Danish literature continued, with varying intensity, through much of his life, but from the age of about thirty Andersen began (in

Lowenthal's phrase) 'stridently to assert an adoptive belonging': his development of a sense of identity was henceforth centred primarily on New Zealand, especially its indigenous phenomena, including Maori culture. This chapter describes the initiation of Andersen's interest in Maori, just after 1900, when he was working in the government service, in the office of the Lands Department, Christchurch, as a clerk, and the forms in which this interest was expressed to about 1915, when he left Christchurch to live in Wellington.

In Wellington, as will be explained in Chapter 2, Andersen was drawn into certain networks of discourse which provided him with unusually favourable opportunities for developing his interests in Maori subjects. In Christchurch, however, there were no special opportunities of the kind he was later to find in Wellington, and he largely made his own way in developing and expressing his interest in Maori. These circumstances were probably very similar to those of other Pakeha New Zealanders who, both then and later (and possibly still today), developed an interest in Maori subjects, and tried to express such interests through verse, art, prose fiction or non-fiction, whether they published their efforts or not, and whose knowledge of matters Maori was primarily derived from printed materials, photographs, museum exhibits, and so on. In outline, then, the story of Andersen's growing interest in Maori subjects between about 1900 and 1915 may approximate that of other Pakeha. The detail, on the other hand, is specific to

Andersen, but, somewhat paradoxically, the detail may serve to indicate generally how Pakeha, once their interest in Maori subjects had begun, were likely to be caught up, imaginatively and intellectually, in the pursuit, and the production, of the Other.

* * * *

Under the Civil Service Act of 1886, permanent clerks, however diligent, could not advance beyond a certain salary level unless they had passed the Senior Civil Service Examination.² Johannes Andersen, a permanent clerk in the Canterbury office of the government Department of Lands, hoped that success in this examination would provide an avenue to preferment and a welcome increase in remuneration. German (a language was compulsory), Euclid, shorthand and other subjects Andersen could teach himself from the textbooks, with a little help from friends and from colleagues on the Lands Department staff. English literature, also compulsory, was not so amenable to self help methods, especially for the son of Danish parents. Though the periods, authors and works were prescribed in advance, the questions could be testing: an 1891 question, for example, required

the candidate to mention S. T. Coleridge's chief literary works, give some idea of the characteristics of his poetry and prose, and of his influence on nineteenth century thought.³ It was customary for candidates to prepare for examinations by attending classes at Canterbury College, and Andersen duly went to evening lectures, one of many unmatriculated students. 'I sat under Professor Macmillan Brown', he recorded, 'a lecturer who was a powerful source of inspiration to any one who had a taste for English literature and language'.⁴ Andersen had a taste for English literature beyond the requirements of the civil service examination and seems to have attended classes 'for some years',⁵ not only 'under' Brown, but also Oscar Alpers, a young Dane, Brown's replacement when he was on leave, and Arnold Wall, Brown's successor. Andersen kept in contact with Brown after the latter retired from his professorship in the middle 1890s, and the interest in Polynesian origins and migrations which Brown thereafter developed no doubt encouraged Andersen to follow similar trails.⁶

Brown at any rate encouraged Andersen's literary interests; and Alpers, convivial and talented, was a splendid model of how a Danish migrant could excel in English literature. The heroes of literature were the poets, and Andersen, noting the immortality of the finest poetry, wrote lyrics himself. Verse, or much of it, he had discovered, followed set forms, like Euclid, or the conjugations of German verbs. From 1895 his verse appeared fairly frequently in magazines and in the

literary pages of the Saturday newspapers - the Auckland Graphic, the Christchurch Star, the Canterbury Times, the Christchurch Weekly Press, and even in the prestigious Sydney Bulletin. Until 1898, if he gave more than his initials, his by-line was 'John C. Andersen', thereafter (perhaps an indication of his current interest in his Danish heritage) he signed himself 'Johannes C. Andersen'. For his first Bulletin contribution, 'Moonrise', published on 23 June 1900, he used 'Ahau', the Maori word for 'I'. This use of 'Ahau' may signal his first interest in Maori matters, or, just as likely, Andersen considered that the Bulletin, which constantly referred to New Zealand as 'Maoriland', would appreciate the playful by-line.⁷ None of this verse displays either originality or charm to a latter-day reader and perhaps did not to Andersen's contemporaries, but there is a certain dexterity in the formulaic ballades, rondeaus, rondels, villanelles and so forth. When Alpers edited the Jubilee Book of Canterbury Rhymes in 1900, he included three of Andersen's lyrics, and Andersen attended the special dinner in honour of the editor together with the other notable versifiers of the province, including Mary Colburne-Veel, G.P. Williams, Hon. Christopher Bowen, and Hon. William Steward; W.P. Reeves's mother represented her son.⁸ This was a measure of recognition for the young poet, if not quite immortality.

He was also beginning to work in other languages: Schiller's aphorisms appealed, and so did other short pieces by German poets, and a few of his

translations were published. In addition, he taught himself Danish. Danish was spoken in the household of the Andersen parents; the Andersen siblings used a mixture of Danish and English in each others' company away from the parental home. When Johannes was small, the Danes of Christchurch had from time to time gathered in the Andersen home for singsongs, and a kind of Danish club or society had existed for a while; but by the 1890s all that was long past, and the children, though they might speak Danish phrases, had learned to read and write only English. However, Johannes was intrigued by the folksongs his mother still sang, and worked away to become literate in Danish, so that he could translate what she sang.⁹

The broader result was that he thereafter had access to whatever folklore and mythology was available in printed form in the Danish language, and to Danish verse and prose of the modern period. The greatest of the moderns, the Danish laureate, the Goethe of Denmark, was Adam Oehlenschläger, a major figure of the Romantic period. Oehlenschläger had made modern epics out of ancient sagas, drawing some of his inspiration and subject matter from the myths and legends of Scandinavia. The northern myths and legends are complex; and in the nineteenth century they were widely drawn upon by European writers and other creative artists. How extensive Andersen's knowledge of the myths was we cannot be sure; but he probably became acquainted with all the major stories, including such basic

elements as Yggdrasil, the cosmic ash tree, on which Odin hanged himself; and the time of Ragnarok, in which the gods marched to their doom against the forces of evil and Loki burned the heavens themselves to cinders with a raging fire.¹⁰ At any rate, the identification was strongly felt by Andersen: he named his first child, born in 1902, Hrolf, and his second, born four years later, Sigurd, both names drawn from Norse mythology.¹¹ He made an English translation of Oehlenschläger's verse epic Hrolf Krake; and he took the classic story of Sigurd and worked it into a verse drama, Sigurd and Brynhild. This latter he considered might be suitable for a wider audience than Christchurch offered, and he sent it to Herbert Tree, the eminent impresario then reinvigorating the English stage with ostentatious productions at His Majesty's Theatre, London, and soon to be knighted for his efforts. 'Mr Tree', his secretary replied, 'has now had an opportunity of considering your play "Sigurd and Brynhild", but although he finds the subject very interesting, he regrets that he does not think it would be suitable for production at his theatre.'¹² (Tree's production at the time he read Andersen's play was Shakespeare's Anthony and Cleopatra, a subtler text than Andersen's Sigurd and Brynhild.)¹³

Sometime between 1900 and 1902 Johannes Andersen discovered 'New Zealand', and Maori as subjects for prose and poetry. Certainly, he published his first 'Maori' story in the New Zealand Illustrated Magazine in August 1902. Some sense of local identity, however ambiguous, was being manifested in various ways, as has been noted in the Introduction to this study: Andersen was doubtless aware of most of these events and activities, and he would have noticed the frequent, perhaps increasingly more frequent, efforts of versifiers, some of whose poems were published on the same literary pages as his own contributions, to incorporate New Zealand 'colour' in their poems. In addition, Andersen wrote for and himself read regularly two periodicals which advocated literary nationalism: the Sydney Bulletin and the New Zealand Illustrated Magazine. The latter had begun to appear in 1899; its explicit commitment to a distinctive New Zealand literature announced in the first issue and reiterated in the tone and content of many articles, especially those by James Cowan, was also suggested by the inclusion of photographs of New Zealand scenery which when they featured on the covers were surrounded by Maori designs and motifs.¹⁴ With all these cumulative influences, the only surprise must be that Andersen turned his pen so belatedly to New Zealand subjects.

The transition may be observed in his contributions to the Illustrated Magazine. In the fifth issue, that of February 1900, Andersen's poem 'Ex animo'

was published, and he had further poems in the issues for August 1900, February 1901 and October 1901; none of these has any New Zealand content.¹⁵ In December 1901 his contribution was a short story with a Christmas theme, entitled 'Grandfather's Story'. Grandfather tells his grandchildren a tale of Christmas eve 'over fifty years ago' in a land which though unnamed is clearly Denmark. The snow is heavy, the lake nearby is frozen over 'some feet in thickness', and the young men of the village decide to have 'torch-light skate-racing' on Christmas eve. Grandfather is Karl Christian, his rivals are Peter Jansen and Niels Neilson; there is a Hans Anders too. Karl Christian's special interest is in Hanna Winther. The final event of the evening is the 'race for champion' and Karl, with one last great effort, slides to victory. The villagers have brought food for all, and when the feasting and the speeches are over, Karl and Hanna walk home together and declare their love for each other. Grandfather does not tell the end of the story: Hanna dies in childbirth, but the child is now Mother who takes the children off to bed while Grandfather dreams of long ago.¹⁶ It is a neatly-crafted sentimental story, if not an original one, the prose pictures of the dark northern winter and the skaters in the light of burning torches neatly complemented by Trevor Lloyd's illustrations.

'Grandfather's Story' is told in New Zealand, 'this pleasant country': in the other place 'Christmas comes with the cold, and the beautiful snow; not with warmth and sunshine as here', says Grandfather.¹⁷ Trevor Lloyd emphasised the

two traditions in his decorative title: the ‘G’ of Grandfather is a leafless limb with snow thick upon it, but behind are two rata (or pohutukawa) blooms with a bird on each. Lloyd, in fact, through the graphic title, gave the story a New Zealand perspective that goes well beyond what can be read in Andersen’s words.

Andersen’s next piece for the Illustrated Magazine, published in August 1902, was in marked contrast to ‘Grandfather’s Story’. It was a very deliberate piece of ‘New Zealand’ writing called ‘The Wooing of Hine-ao’. As the title suggests, it was a ‘Maori’ story. Hine-ao and Waita are in love but Hine-ao is betrothed to Poro-tama. There is a battle between war-parties of neighbouring tribes during a sandstorm on the coastal dunes. Waita kills one of the enemy, turns to deal with another man who has struck him, and with the weapon of the dead enemy dispatches the second assailant. It turns out to have been the jealous Poro-tama.¹⁸

The plot is unimportant: the content and rhetoric are more significant. Whereas the prose in ‘Grandfather’s Story’ suggests the northern landscape without recourse to ‘foreign’ words - no Danish terms are used - that of ‘The Wooing’ is elaborately exotic, with the local colour consciously displayed in sentence after sentence. ‘The glade was gay with the yellow clusters of kowhai flowers; hanging from the trees, high and low, festoons of the canary-yellow pikiarero, a small clematis, waved in the lazy breeze that stirred in the tree tops. Here and there at the

edges of the glade, and in the less dense parts of the bush, stood tall drooping ponga tree ferns, whose fronds, silver beneath and green darkening almost to black above, are at times from ten to twelve feet long'.¹⁹ There is a great deal of botanical information: "'And your giving-away, your pu-kaha, is to be ere the falling of the kotukutuku leaves?" This is the native fuchsia,' Andersen explains, 'the only New Zealand tree that stands leafless in Winter. It bears a black edible berry which the natives call konini, a name often applied by the pakeha to the tree itself'.²⁰ Ethnographic information is imparted in the same way: in the battle, as Waita closed with his chosen victim, 'he received a spent blow from a taiaha - a wooden sword curved towards the point'. The finer points of language are indicated: 'However, it was mate, an accident, and Poro', too, was mate, dead'.²¹

The technique of using italicised Maori words whenever possible for objects, natural phenomena and ceremonies makes the story appear exotic, but this is balanced, though not reduced, by the explanation for each term: the italicised words are not so frequently used as to make the story incomprehensible but are employed regularly enough to keep an impression of strangeness. Here and there Maori behaviour is 'normalized' by reference to European equivalents: Hine-ao 'had given him the ropa, the Maori girl's way of beginning a courtship by squeezing the hand. Maori girls are not the only ones that know of te ropa.' Or again: 'The haka was danced, to bring the warriors to a state bordering on frenzy;

this was the Maori's fighting spirit - a species of Dutch courage.' Or: 'their news was bad, but was only coloured with their own experience. The Maori is not singular in this.'²²

The sandstorm was probably written out of personal experience upon the dunes of New Brighton beach.²³ The rest of 'The Wooing' is taken from research into books. The succinct but relentless explanations of Maori lore and Maori nomenclature indicates not only a didactic purpose, to instruct as well as entertain the reader, but also Andersen's own desire to understand the material he worked with and to make it accurate: the italicised terminology was new to him, it would seem, for 'pa' and 'kumera' are neither italicised nor explained - these words he judged were within his own experience and that of his readers - while wahine and raupo are italicised but not explained, and mere is explained only by context and through Trevor Lloyd's illustrations.

'The Wooing of Hine-ao' is the first published work in which Andersen takes Maori as a subject. We do not know if Andersen was pleased by the result or whether anyone commented favourably or otherwise, but the effort that must have gone into the research suggests a very conscious attempt to create literature which is specifically 'New Zealand' in subject matter. A second 'Maori' story by Andersen appeared in the Illustrated Magazine for May 1903. It contains less ethnographic information, and (whether the decision of Andersen or the editor we

do not know) the italicised Maori words are absent; but the point of the story turns on an ethnobotanical detail, again book-derived, which Andersen adds when the love-triangle has been played through: ‘Tutu berries, unless prepared in a certain way, are poisonous. Hinau berries, which resemble them except in size, are used as food’.²⁴

The extent to which Andersen had been deliberating on the nature of ‘New Zealand literature’ is evident in his article, ‘A little New Zealand Anthology with comments by the way’, which appeared in the Illustrated Magazine for June 1903. He gives extracts from eight poets (Alfred Domett, A.H. Adams, Mary Colburne-Veel, Thomas Bracken, ‘Roslyn’, W.P. Reeves, Dora Wilcox, and Jessie Mackay) and comments in a digressive and highly rhetorical manner on the nature and success of ‘New Zealand’ verse and how it might further develop. He draws the attention of the reader to the ‘many echoes of chords struck in other and older lands, but echoes reflected from rocks that frown on alien hills, over strange, bush-clad ravines and placid waters, where dryad and naiad give place to nukumaitore and taniwha’. Domett’s verse epic Ranolf and Amohia is ‘not natural, but naturalised; native and pakeha strands, woven with pakeha fingers’. Mary Colburne-Veel, in ‘Resurgam’, ‘felt in her the power of the English Autumn’ even though ‘she was born in New Zealand’ for she had found ‘an English influence through cultured parents and study of English writers’. On the other hand,

Adams's 'The Dwellings of our Dead' displayed 'a true touch of the New Zealand Autumn'. After quotation, Andersen decides 'This is poetry; and if any poetry has a name, it is New Zealand poetry'. Bracken, however, was denied 'perfect gift of utterance'. Andersen prefers the work of 'Roslyn' who has 'feathery Pungas' and 'Graceful Rimu' in her verse, and of Dora Wilcox, and Jessie Mackay, all of whom, like Reeves, not only take up New Zealand themes but lament in their poems the passing of indigenous birds, bush, and people. 'The forest and flowers and birds[,] Tane's children, are slowly disappearing like Tane himself: in place we have the fir, the poplar, the laurel: hyacinths, anemones - a wealth of Greek memories; but what are they to us? here is no Pantheon; no Idalian vales ... and sackings of Troy! We have Maui fishing up his Island' ²⁵

Almost simultaneously with the appearance of Andersen's 'New Zealand Anthology' article in June 1903, his first volume of verse was published by Whitcombe and Tombs. It was called Songs Unsung (a working title for an earlier collection was 'Rosebuds and Clematis').²⁶ The handsome book, beginning with a slightly foppish photograph of the Poet Himself and a cautiously approving introduction by no less an authority than Professor J. Macmillan Brown, contained a generous selection of Andersen's published and unpublished verse since 1895.²⁷ 'The Sage', who reviewed Songs Unsung in his 'Literary Chat' column of the Illustrated Magazine, noted that 'Mr Andersen' was born in Denmark and 'has the

old Scandinavian legends by heart' but 'is ... happiest when his songs deal with the country of his adoption', commenting favourably upon the 'New Zealand' verses; and he reminded readers of the 'Anthology' article which had appeared in the Illustrated Magazine the previous month.²⁸

Andersen's new-found enthusiasm for New Zealand subjects is implicitly emphasized in Songs Unsung by the first heading in the subject index, 'New Zealand themes', under which eight items were listed. Most of these were 'New Zealand' only by title - for example, 'Pikiarero (The Yellow Clematis)' and 'Te Tahou (or silver-eye)'. The two major exceptions were 'Home-Echoes' and 'Patito'.²⁹

'Home-Echoes', a long poem of ninety lines in ten stanzas, was given emphasis and importance by being placed first in the book. It is, essentially, a manifesto in verse along the lines of his article, 'New Zealand Anthology'.

Year after year, age after age,
The white-topped billows of the unwearying sea
Have beaten out on shell-white sands their rage,
Or lost it, rolling past majestic walls
Clothed in green forests or white waterfalls.

This is New Zealand, 'A virgin land, of untaught unharmonies':

Bright, sunny beaches; fiords imperious, cold;
 Plains, forests, lakes, and mountains skyward roll'd

The first people to arrive are 'the adventurers, wanderers, falcon-eyed' (echoing Keats?): 'In their sea solitude they charmed the years away'. The Polynesians thus have their place in the historical sequence but it is no more than a place.³⁰

Altogether more significant are the later arrivals, not 'they' but 'we':

Then we, from countries hoary in the ways
 Of man from ancient days

....

From that far North which gave us birth,
 Wind-beat, we baffled half this watery earth:

He identifies three peoples from 'that far North'. The Scots he represents as

...from mountain-land of lake, ravine,
 Where heather blooms between,
 Whence the fierce hardy clans of chieftains sprang,
 Where Ossian lived and sang -

The English are from

That land all flowery meadowed, many streamed,
 Where Chaucer lived, and Spenser dreamed;-

The third group of people, the Scandinavians, for whom he works up a considerable drum-roll, are from the region

... where in Time's young reign
 Balder the good was slain,
 Where Thor the angry in the thunders roll'd,
 Where dragon-ships breasted the peopled waves,
 and Odin's skalds in rhythmic, lettered staves
 Praised gods and heroes bluff and great in that good
 Age of Gold.

Andersen thus asserts an equality for the Scandinavians with the Scots and English, although they are cultural rather than political categories, thereby giving himself a common 'far North' heritage with other colonists ('we'). In each case the poets are invoked, for his concern is with the poets and singers of the future.

We came, our hearts impress'd
 With ancient hills, great castles, ruins gray,
 ...
 Full of old scenes and memories we came

And feigned the old and new might yet become the same

But all was new

In sound, in shape, in hue.

All was most strange, tho' fair³¹

And yet, though 'all was new', he found 'the old familiar things seemed haunting everywhere'. Willows, elms, poplars, oaks 'tempted Oldworld Spring,/And Autumn'. The lark, the thrush and the blackbird 'pour their careless notes' and their 'cadence' reminds us of 'that land where we first knew life and love'. 'We' are caught between memory and reality:

Fain would we have the holly, mistletoe,

To herald Christmas with December snow:

But here, in Summer-day,

That season comes, and sadly goes its way,

Where only silver-foliaged, purple-tasselled ratas blow!

All experience 'Finds a far echo in our earlier home'. While the new and the old can be seen 'side by side', and we can tell 'The new is beautiful', we still continue to speak of the new land in terms of the old world - 'Our sad interpretation' of this new world is 'thro' the old'.³²

The final stanza looks forward to a time when the new land can be regarded in its own terms.

How long, before our voices will outgive
 In song, those beauties in whose midst we live?
 The quaint, sweet-throated birds; the men
 Whose songs and legends wail from hill and glen.
 How long, before our hearts will see and hear
 The charms themselves, not those that youth makes dear?
 How long, - Alas! We wean ourselves with pain
 From that which, while desired, we know comes not again.³³

There is a good deal of striking a pose in all this. 'Full of old scenes and memories we came', he writes; but all his scenes and memories of 'the old' were vicarious: he had no direct experience of 'ancient hills, great castles, ruins gray', only the indirect knowledge which came to him through family and through literature, and thus any echo was very much a 'far echo'. The willows and the elms and the thrushes and the blackbirds which reminded people of 'that land where we first knew life and loves' could not awaken 'home-echoes' for him personally, for the land where he first knew life and loves was colonial Canterbury, and that was a reason why he had to turn from the lark to the 'quaint' indigenous birds, from the

sagas of the North to the indigenous people 'whose songs and legends wail from hills and glen'.

The final line can perhaps be regarded as addressed to other poets, and other colonists, who should accept their antipodean exile and look upon it positively rather than negatively; but 'that which, while desired, we know comes not again' was also a recognition that whatever cultural identification with the Scots, the English and the Norse people he may have 'desired', he could never claim actual as opposed to literary memories - what 'comes not again' had never been for him. Those 'old familiar things' which were 'haunting everywhere' stood in the way of expressing the identification he could make, which was with 'the new'. Therefore he must 'learn/Those true, peculiar charms' of the new land, 'The charms themselves' rather than those imprinted memories that the migrant 'makes dear'.

Andersen, like so many others, migrants or 'native-born', had found Christmas a cultural difficulty. Instead of 'Christmas with December snow', it was hot summer; in the place of holly and mistletoe only 'purple-tasselled ratas'. In his reference to the season 'sadly' going its way we perhaps have an indication of his parents' sense of dislocation; and possibly against this he places his hope of celebrating the rata as a Christmas emblem; it is one of the charms of the new. 'Home-Echoes' is thus a manifesto for local people, particularly for local poets.

They must, as did Ossian and Chaucer and Spenser and Odin's skalds in their times and places, give 'In song, those beauties in whose midst we live'.

The two last items in Songs Unsung are both blank verse: the final one is 'In the Forest', where the Norse jarls Sivard and Knud fight over Hilda; Scene I, 'Glade in a pine-forest on a hill-side overlooking the upper arm of a fiord', is 'The fourth morn after Odin's feast'.³⁴ The other blank verse offering is 'Patito', in which an old warrior returns from death and from 'REINGA the dreary' to test whether his son's skills are equal to his fame. Andersen supplied a page of glossary for 'Patito' so the reader could appreciate the references to Maui, Tane and other characters of Maori mythology. The juxtaposition of 'In the Forest' and 'Patito', when read in conjunction with 'Home-Echoes', makes the point that one implicitly represents 'old' subject matter, and the other the 'new'.³⁵

Among the reviews of Songs Unsung was one by Richard Coupland Harding, which was published, anonymously, in the Wellington newspaper, the Evening Post. Harding was of Danish descent and able to read Danish literature in the original language. The reviewer asked why Andersen had included in his selection translations from German poets, such as Schiller and Heine, but none from Danish poets. What about Oehlenschläger? Andersen hastened to explain in a letter: Oehlenschläger was one of his 'favorites' and he had in fact translated the whole of Hrolf Krake, but 'Scraps were useless for inserting in my volume.' 'It

may seem strange', he continued in his letter to the reviewer, 'that I could find nothing of my Native tongue to include: but while I have translations from Grundtvig, Winther, Ingemann & others, none struck me as suitable'. He thought the chief feature of Danish poetry was its 'national character', and that was 'untranslatable'. While he still hoped to use 'a mass of material from Scandinavian sources including the Northmen's mythology', he would be glad of the reviewer's opinion 'on a subject still nearer to my heart at present. I wish my chef d'oeuvre to be a treatment of the Maoris; their myths, legends &c &c. but for the life of me I cannot strike on a suitable style'. He had been 'reading up and collecting books for years with this special object in view', but in all the various styles he had tried 'the spirit seems lacking'. 'Patito' in Songs Unsung was one experiment, but it too was 'unsatisfying'. Perhaps the reviewer could give him a suggestion.³⁶

Whether Harding gave Andersen any advice on 'style' we cannot tell. What we can say is that he had already begun to compose his epic by the time he wrote to Harding in the middle of 1903. His report that he could not 'strike on a suitable style' and that the spirit seemed lacking can be taken as a comment on his doubtfulness about the poetic success of what he had so far accomplished; but it did not stop him pressing ahead with the project.

The epic seems not to have had a particular title. When Andersen wrapped its remains in brown paper years later, he wrote on the outside of the parcel: 'Maori

Life in Aotea/Earlier form; in Verse/Rewritten in prose for publication', so the 'epic' has only the retrospective title of its prose successor, and we must refer to it as 'Maori Life'. Its arrangement followed closely Andersen's translation of Hrolf Krake: each major section was labelled 'Song I', 'Song II', and so on, and each 'song' had its own title. As he had done for Hrolf Krake, he used rhyming couplets:

Thus ran the words of Moki, and as his hot harangue
 Grew louder and grew fiercer, chief after chief upsprang
 And called aloud for vengeance; but sat down one by one
 Deep-breathing, fierce and quivering, till Moki's speech were done.

The lines were numbered by fives, this enumeration serving as a key to explanations for Maori words and customs, and references to authorities appeared on the page opposite the text: '20. whata. A food-store, raised above the ground to preserve food from rats.' To further facilitate comprehension the manuscript was marked ('Moki' above is an example) for the printer to set gods, persons, and natural phenomena in different types; and Andersen compiled a comprehensive set of indexes as the material was drafted.³⁷

The form of the 'epic' was more or less that followed in the prose version of Maori Life in Ao-tea which is discussed below.³⁸ Briefly, a slight narrative was

the framework, and his protagonist, Mokeke, was told the lore and legends of his people along the way: there were stories within a story. The sources were primarily the works of John White and George Grey, but the references to authorities suggest a wide reading and much diligent research. A scholarly approach could not keep the epic from becoming banal. We may take as an example the end of the 'Song of Maui' sequence, when Maui proposes to enter the goddess of death and earn immortality for humans.

'O sir!' the little birds replied, - they really were afraid, -
 'You'll certainly be killed outright!' - but Maui' answer made,
 'No, no; though if you start to laugh before I'm well inside her,
 I will be killed; but otherwise I'll win, - and woe betide her!

The fantail cannot keep its mirth under control:

And seeing all its screwed-up friends, and seeing Maui' after,
 That bad tiwakawaka burst in tiny hearty laughter!
 "'E! What is this?' - old Hine' woke: - off flew the scared beholders;
 She looked, - she nipped, - and Maui's trunk fell severed at the
 shoulders.³⁹

Small wonder that even to Andersen the spirit seemed lacking.

He asked for advice from Gerald Allhusen, a young Englishman who had literary interests: they had been introduced by Macmillan Brown. 'I am deeply interested in this new work of yours', wrote Allhusen from Urenui. 'I have frequently thought what a splendid scope of material is offered for a great epic in the Maori legends. Handled by a person of Genius the Story of Maui is capable of producing an epic equalling The Odyssey of Homer or Aeneid of Virgil. In contemplating a work of this kind, the metre is of course the most important item and I believe you have chosen the right one'.⁴⁰ Allhusen's judgment was made without a reading of 'Maori Life'; later he asked that he 'might have the unique pleasure of perusing it' when Andersen reported that he had laid aside his epic, already 10,000 lines long, because nobody would read it.⁴¹

Besides the disappointment that people would not read the manuscript, Andersen had at least one alarm about pre-emption of his topic: Edward Tregear, it was announced, was bringing out a book, a comprehensive account of the Maori race. When Andersen wrote to Tregear in September 1904 he had finished the first section of 'Song VI', and with prodigious industry had piled up a total of 7500 lines, all in rhyming couplets. Tregear had been ill, and was in Rotorua taking the waters, and he did not reply until January 1905: 'You will not find my book "The Maori Race" to be a competitor or rival of your poetry - there is plenty of room for both of us, and, indeed, you might find subject matter in the prose work that would

help the poetry'. Andersen doubtless already knew by then that Tregear's Maori Race was a prose ethnography;⁴² but he may have been cheered by Tregear's favourable comments on Songs Unsung and his approval of the 'Maori Life' project: 'I am sure in your hands it will be well done and of great interest', wrote Tregear. 'Since Domett wrote "Ranolf and Amohia" we have not had any sustained attempt at Maori poetry from a competent hand'.⁴³

Sometime later in 1905, when he had made a fair copy, marked ready for the printer, of 9915 lines, he decided to take a rather different approach. 'I am a poet', he wrote to Elsdon Best in November, '& have roved in many fields, English and foreign, but have decided to make a N.Z. subject my life work. With this end in view, I have for many years been collecting books on N.Z. subjects and the Maori, and about two years ago commenced writing an Epic. I have latterly come to the conclusion that I would get a much wider field of readers if I wrote it in prose. I am therefore rewriting the whole (over 10,000 lines) [...]'. He described the work as 'a romance of old Maori life' in which he would introduce 'manners & customs, describing muru, house & canoe building, cultivating, omens &c.' Mythology and traditions would have a prominent place, and likewise natural history - 'birds, insects, trees, fish &c.' Whitcombe and Tombs, the publishing firm, had told him he could reproduce plates they had used for Hutton and Drummond's Animals of New Zealand⁴⁴ and other works, 'so I will be able to

illustrate the work well'. He hoped he could finish the book in time for it to be published when the proposed International Exhibition would be held in Christchurch, in the latter part of 1906.⁴⁵

His reason for writing to Elsdon Best was to ask him questions: he probably knew of Best's ethnological work through numerous articles in the Canterbury Times and had perhaps read in earlier years Best's brief essays in the New Zealand Official Year-Book. 'My ground work', Andersen told Best, 'is John White, Colenso, Maning and Tregear's Dictionary'.⁴⁶ But the authorities did not always agree. When did the Maori year begin? 'White in one place says it begins with the first new moon after the appearance of Puanga: if Puanga be Rigel, that would make the year start with Summer, as that star rises in October & November Taylor ... says Matariki (Pleiades) is the great winter star; whereas the Pleiades rise in October and set in April Colenso is wrong in the one instance when he speaks of a star, Aotahi (Canopus); for he speaks of its appearance (in April I think he says) - whereas it is visible all the year round'. Did the people 'among whom you have been so long' know the star names? And what was the 'native name' of the mantis? There were many other questions he would like to ask 'but a first interrogatory must not be too voluminous'.⁴⁷

Best replied with a 'note': Andersen in turn sent more questions about stars and the beginning of the Maori year. 'Another lot of names I should like to see

identified is that of the sea-shells'. From Tregear's Dictionary and 'other places' he had drawn a list of more than eighty names, and marked thirty-five of them, some less than certainly, with the scientific names. 'The more I read of the ancient Maori', he told Best, 'the more I am struck with wonder at the extent of his knowledge'. The sources of information, however, were so incomplete: Best's way of taking a single tribe and assimilating its lore 'was the right way'. Andersen himself hoped 'one day to visit the Maori in his home', after he had 'finished with his ancestors'. Of course, it was presumption on his part to attempt his present work 'when I do not know Maori and have seen nothing of Maori life', but 'the present life' was not what he wanted. 'Here there is no Maori within many miles, and the nearest within a hundred miles are utter decadents who would only spoil the ideals I at present am working up to'. Andersen concluded by saying that if he worried Best too much with 'knotty problems', he would instead content himself with 'being chatty with one who is in the midst of my brown-skinned friends'.⁴⁸

These letters are revealing in several ways, and for a commentator they form a kind of base-line for Andersen's attitudes and activities. His attitudes towards Maori people are on the one hand patronising and benevolent, and on the other less than positive - thus he refers to 'my brown-skinned friends' within a few sentences of calling local Maori 'utter decadents'.⁴⁹ His emphasis is on 'the ancient Maori' rather than the contemporary Maori. He presumes 'old-time Maori life' can

be 'best gleaned from myths and legends' as recorded, in the English language, in books by Pakeha - his admitted lack of knowledge of the Maori language means he will not be able to use the Maori text of White's Ancient History of the Maori: people may be known indirectly, as it were, through texts. Yet he hopes 'one day to visit the Maori in his home' and believes Best's field work with a single tribe is the 'right way' of gathering material: there is a glimmering here of acquiring information more directly in the future, and a hint that the 'tribe' is the appropriate focus of enquiry.

To place Andersen's attitudes in the perspective of 1905 is difficult: his views were, broadly, of a piece with those of the leading members of the Polynesian Society, which is unsurprising since in reading the published materials of such people as Best and Tregear he was influenced by their attitudes. Insofar as we know much at all about the often inchoate and contradictory attitudes of Pakeha in general, he did not share their antagonism towards Maori people; or to the extent that he did, he was willing to revise his opinions - for example, in his comment that he was 'struck with wonder at the extent' of their knowledge.

* * * *

When Andersen began to 'rewrite' his rhymed Epic as prose, he was known in Christchurch if at all as an enthusiastic but minor literary figure. By the time the prose work was published he had achieved a measure of local fame, with a dash of notoriety, as the poet who wrote the Exhibition Ode. Alfred Tennyson had written an ode for the first of the great exhibitions, in London, 1851. Since then there had been numerous exhibitions and many odes. For Canterbury Jubilee Exhibition of 1900, for example, Oscar Alpers had written an ode, and indeed had discussed it with his young friend Johannes Andersen.⁵⁰ The 1906 International Exhibition was on an altogether larger scale, and to mark the occasion the Exhibition Commissioners announced a competition for a 'Commemorative Ode', of between eighty and one hundred lines, with a first prize of £20, a very substantial sum of money.⁵¹ Andersen's offering, after Oscar Alpers had commented on a draft,⁵² was one of about sixty submissions from throughout Australasia. These, shorn of identifying marks, were submitted to the judge, no less than Professor J. Macmillan Brown, who awarded first prize to 'No. 5', which happened to be Andersen's Ode.⁵³ When it was published there was some critical comment about its merits, and there were people who stated their preference for efforts of the three minor prizewinners whose odes also were published; but whether favourable or unfavourable, these reactions made Andersen something of a household name in

Christchurch and gave him a reputation, if an ambiguous one, in the antipodean literary world: he was made the subject of cartoons, and slyly satirical versions of his Ode appeared in the newspapers.⁵⁴ Set to music by the celebrated Australasian composer Alfred Hill, who conducted the Exhibition choir and orchestra, the Commemorative Ode proved perfectly suited to popular taste. The first public performance, at the start of the Exhibition, was a triumph: 'At its conclusion the great audience was vociferous in its enthusiasm'. Hill bowed again and again to the applause; and then 'the call "Author, Author" resounded through the hall, and Mr Andersen rose and bowed his acknowledgements'.⁵⁵

What is significant for the present study in all this is that Andersen incorporated the Maori into his Ode. Taken as a whole, the Ode echoes the settler ideology: building on the virtues and labours of the Pilgrim founders, the colonists, in the midst of beautiful scenery, have established cultivated lands, industries, the arts, and 'social laws' which meet 'labour's needs', and have founded a 'Nation glorious'. This ideology is made more explicit in 'The Argument', a prose explanation which Andersen attached to the Ode. It includes the comment: 'A glance of regret is cast towards the Maori, who must be fought ere the perfect peace was attained, but who now with his white fellow-colonist, enjoys the peace'.⁵⁶ Thus the Maori are given a place in history, and in verse, only as they fit into the story of the settlers.

But the Ode itself says a little more. The 'glance of regret' is in the third of the seven parts of the Ode. The two stanzas run:

Not unsought the Isles were found
 Not unfought the Isles were won;
 Ere the head with peace is crowned
 Strife must end and war be done
 In their southern solitude,
 Nature's children dwelt in feud.

Pioneers found the land,
 Torn by battle-loving band;
 Pioneers have but done
 What by Nature was begun,
 Brothers, less by this our shame:
 Ye were dying when we came!⁵⁷

In these lines the settler displacement of the Maori through conquest is downplayed, and the emphasis is placed upon strife between Maori - before the arrival of the Pakeha they 'dwelt in feud' and the land was 'Torn by battle-loving band', while the depredations of the colonists are cloaked in a double negative - 'Not unfought the Isles were won'. Andersen does not fully exculpate the settlers: there is 'shame' for what the settlers did to their 'Brothers'. But it is lessened by the

belief that the Maori were already dying out before colonisation began. The orthodoxy of the time, both popular and 'scientific', was that the indigenous phenomena - flora, fauna, Maori - were being extinguished by the superior immigrants - exotic flora and fauna, and the colonists. This was rationalized as the survival of the fittest. It was alarm at the displacement of the indigenous phenomena which led some colonists in this period to argue for sanctuaries and reservations where endangered species, especially native birds, might be saved from extinction.⁵⁸ The notion that Maori, and perhaps some of the birds, were dying out prior to the disruptions consequent upon colonisation was a variation of the broad quasi-darwinian attitude. From what source Andersen acquired it is impossible to say; but for the prose version of his Epic, which was being researched and written while the Ode was composed, he used J.F.H. Wohlers's Memories of the Life ... (English language edition 1895), and in that book as well as in articles published in the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, Wohlers had argued for the decline of Maori quite apart from the impact of colonisation.⁵⁹

Andersen's view did not go unchallenged. William Baucke, son of a Chatham Island missionary and an acknowledged expert on Maori subjects, contributed, as 'W.B.', regular articles to the New Zealand Herald, a selection of which had been published as Where the White Man Treads in the previous year. In April 1906, shortly after the prize-winning Ode had been published, he wrote a

scornful letter to the Herald. Either Mr Andersen possessed exclusive evidence of the numerical strength of the Maori, 'data which the scientific world is anxious to obtain, and pay for - or with the usual arrogance of our race he makes assertions which even poetical license does not permit'. Andersen, noted Baucke, admitted there was shame, 'But instead of freely admitting it in its entirety, and proposing remedial measures, he attempts to minimise its enormity with the incredible excuse: "You were dying when we came."' Baucke recognised and worried about the likely or possible influence of the Ode, 'selected as the best for an ode to celebrate the first marking of high flood on the Nilometer of New Zealand's twentieth century prosperity', in forming public opinion.⁶⁰

The composer was also disconcerted. 'The line about the Maoris dying before we came', Hill wrote to Andersen, 'seems to offend most of the Maori scholars I have spoken to & it may be wise to alter it even now.'⁶¹ Alfred Hill had composed a cantata, Hinemoa, and a 'Maori opera', Tapu; and he was regarded as something of an authority on Maori music. His 'Maori scholars' were probably Pakeha scholars on Maori subjects, perhaps some of the Wellington-domiciled members of the Polynesian Society. Andersen did not change the words, for which Hill had already completed the musical setting at the time he raised the question of an alternative. As Andersen no doubt intended, the third part was scored in 'Maori' style, the tempo marked by Hill 'In time of the "Haka"'.⁶² James Cowan, another

of the Pakeha experts on Maori subjects, wrote in the official account of the exhibition of ‘the bold, barbaric Maori rhythmic movement of the number in which the battle-loving brown men of old New Zealand were described, a number characteristic of the savage spirit of the haka; then in high contrast the pleasant peaceful pastoral melody’ of the next passage.⁶³

* * * *

While the crowds thronged the International Exhibition, Andersen used his hours away from the Lands Department office to complete his prose version of the Epic.⁶⁴ As he was doing so, he began to develop ideas of a national art based in part on Maori subjects. He seems to have first published these notions in a letter to the editor of the Christchurch Press which appeared on 2 July 1907. Local artists, Andersen thought, would be gratified by the comments the Press had made about the art exhibition just closed, but he had a question: ‘in what way are we endeavouring to produce a characteristic art?’ Certainly, there was the landscape, ‘a never-failing source of inspiration in the varied scenery of these islands’. But, he further asked, what constituted the ‘grandeur’ of paintings such as Ulysses Defying Polyphemus and the ‘beauty’ of Dido Building Carthage? It could be

objected that the old myths and legends were out of date, though they remained a source of inspiration. 'And their out-of-dateness is precisely the point I am coming to. Leave the Greek alone ... leave the Greek and turn to the Maori.' He knew the Greek and Scandinavian myths, and he knew the Maori; once the Maori had 'ceased to be the subject of burlesque he will inspire a new series of mythological masterpieces'. There was enough 'grandeur and tenderness, humour and seriousness' in the ancient Maori to keep the world going 'for a decade or two'. Who could picture the climb of Tawhaki from earth to heaven? Who could depict 'the mystery of Maui struggling with Death, even as once did Hercules?' The 'colour' of Maori had been argued as an objection but this was not a problem with Spanish and Italian women: 'and there were olive-complexioned Maori women, such as the beauty Puhi-huia', and it was such 'high-born, fair-complexioned women' who figured in the tales. 'The Maori', Andersen pronounced, 'was the noblest uncivilised race on the face of the earth'. He was convinced that if 'New Zealanders will apply themselves to the limning of this land's ancient people as they have done to the scenery, a new and original school will be created'.⁶⁵

The name 'Johannes C. Andersen' now held a certain cachet as the author of the Exhibition Ode who had a few months earlier announced in a prospectus his forthcoming book Maori Life in Ao-tea,⁶⁶ and his views had to be treated with some seriousness. W. Menzies Gibb, himself an artist, thought the ideas absurd.

‘Anything more inartistic than a tattooed Maori could hardly be found, and in depicting the Maori maiden in her national costume, what chance would the artist have of getting graceful lines into his work?’ Gibb could not imagine ‘anything conceived in any age, in any country more hideously inartistic’ than the Maori village set up at the recent International Exhibition. Painters would ‘go on depicting the Greeks with their beautiful colour and flowing drapery. The dark-skinned, tattooed Maori’ could ‘never enter the realm of high art’.⁶⁷

Andersen was quick to reply. He had not meant civilised Maori as subjects, though the artist Goldie had shown that something could be made of them. ‘The modern and civilised Maori ... need be no more a deterrent than the modern and civilised Greek. True, he is in our midst, and it is hard to fashion the ideal in the midst of the degenerate which stands for the real’, but it was up to the artist to use imagination, ‘guided by the legends, to remove the Maori and reanimate him in the wonders of his past’. While the ‘Maori mat’ was ‘ungraceful’, it could, ‘like the crinoline or other adventitious garb’, be removed when its presence was not necessary. As for ‘colour’: ‘The Greek was not so white as he is painted, nor was the Maori so black as he is pictured’. Kahukura, after all, was able to mix on a moonlit night with fair-skinned, yellow-haired fairies, ‘learning from them the art of making nets’.⁶⁸ The Sketcher, a Christchurch publication of comment upon topical matters, carried in its August number a cartoon of Andersen painting

‘Hinemoa’s Bath’ while Menzies Gibb and two other local artists, Robert Herdman-Smith and Sydney Thompson, duly followed the lesson of ‘The New Art Master’, the cartoon accompanied by another brief satirical version of the Ode.⁶⁹

Andersen’s crusade for a ‘characteristic art’ ceased for the moment, in the newspapers at any rate; it was to be reiterated in Maori Life in Ao-tea which also appeared in August 1907. The newspaper debate of July 1907 indicates a certain consciousness about ‘colour’; even though Andersen made a sly dig about the Maori not being ‘so black as he is pictured’ (by Pakeha, that is), the comments were racist. The contrast between the ‘ancient Maori’ and ‘the degenerate’ of the present is important to Andersen’s argument, and it was to recur; likewise the contrast between the ‘high-born’ and those of lesser status. Neither Andersen nor Gibb were disposed to consider Maori as Maori, only as subjects for Pakeha art: it was the artistic utility of Maori which was at issue, and both Andersen and Gibb agreed on the terms of the debate, though their conclusions differed.

* * * *

Though even friends and acquaintances had steered away from the manuscript of 'Maori Life' in rhyming couplets, the Christchurch publishers Whitcombe and Tombs showed interest in the prose version. James Hight, who for a period worked as editor and reader for the firm, was able to report to Andersen in the middle of 1906: 'I did read the specimen chapters you submitted and found them very interesting. I am sure they represent a vast amount of laborious research'.⁷⁰ 'I made nothing out of the publication', Andersen told a correspondent thirty years later; 'in fact I lost a good deal'.⁷¹ The book was expensive because of what Hight called its 'extreme length' and 'the added cost of production necessitated by the different kinds of type used'.⁷² It is likely that Andersen himself paid a significant proportion of the costs of production.

Though Andersen later destroyed most of the correspondence relating to Maori Life in Ao-tea,⁷³ the 'vast amount of laborious research' is manifest in the book itself which is at once a compendium of myths and legends, an encyclopedia of Maori lore, a dictionary of natural history, and, in a very limited sense, a work of prose fiction. Andersen invents a tribe, or iwi, which he calls 'Nga-ti-tama', always in quotation marks. The book begins with the planting of kumara, and the slave Mokai has his questions about kumara answered by his father, Kapa. The house of a rangatira of this hapu burns, and Pare-inu-ora, Pare' for short, is subjected to the stripping of his possessions, or the custom of muru, by relatives

from another hapu. A new house, or wharepuni, is built for Pare'; but one of his wives dreams that her brother Tama-kuku has been killed as part of an embassy visiting a neighbouring iwi. The matakite, or seer, Hika-rangi, interprets the dream to be the reality; and so the survivors of the embassy later report, and thus there is a tangi. Meanwhile, Moki, though a slave, is shown favour by Pare', and in his company he learns a great deal from him. Moki eventually confirms his exit from slave status by his physical prowess: thenceforth a toa, or warrior, he is renamed Motete. His father, Kapa, also redeems himself from slavery by a display of courage.

Within the tribe there is discussion between two tohunga, Mura, the older of the two, and Tama-kere. The former loses power and prestige when a taua, or war party, finds a neighbouring kainga deserted of men, and in default Mura kills a woman; the belated return of the taua is just in time to aid their own hapu while it is being attacked by those very warriors absent from the adjacent kainga. Mura, his reputation in tatters, is eventually killed. Then, after the building of new canoes, a huge war-party sets off to attack another tribe. On the way the warriors are diverted into an attack on a riverside pa, but the besiegers are themselves besieged and forced to retreat. The war-party continues to its intended prey, and makes a victorious attack. After the confusions of the battle, Kapa, assumed dead or taken prisoner, reappears to say he has escaped from the enemy: he advises a further

attack. In fact, Kapa is seeking revenge for the destruction of his own hapu years earlier, and has arranged with the enemy to lure his comrades into an ambush. After the catastrophic ambush, the forty warriors who are left return home, but when they arrive at their own village, only the burier-of-corpses remains: the village has been overwhelmed by the people of the riverside pa who were gratuitously and unsuccessfully attacked on the way to fight the designated foe. 'Despair clutched at their hearts; and gazing fearfully each in the eyes of his fellow, he saw there the death of hope. By whom shall the despair be lifted, or the hope renewed?'⁷⁴ (These final sentences Andersen may have intended as a rhetorical question about the parlous present position and probable grim future of Maori people generally.)

Within this general story of conflict, Andersen presents many minor characters in more peaceful situations. However, there is little dramatic development in the fabricated base-story of the 'Nga-ti-tama', and the story, or series of episodes, loses its way in the mass of digressive material which is presented within the attenuated narrative. The relationships between various 'Nga-ti-tama' people, and the conflicts between 'Nga-ti-tama' and their neighbours, are simply devices for the presentation of other materials. When Pare' takes Mokai hunting, for example, little of moment to the plot occurs; the bulk of the material is the information imparted to Mokai by Pare', about birds and trees, with the relevant

associated myths, legends, and karakia.⁷⁵ When their own settlement is first attacked, the people think of revenge, and the men troop off to the whare-matoro, or meeting house; there Karika is induced to tell tales of Tawhaki. Elsewhere in the book, when marriage ceremonies have taken place, Rau-mumu tells Piri at length the story of Puhihuia: ‘ye have witnessed the courtship of inferiors, hear now of daring and romance’.⁷⁶ In this chapter the interactive conversation between Rau-mumu and Piri, designed in any case to convey information on customs, takes up four pages; the story of Puhihuia, ostensibly spoken by Rau-mumu but in fact drawn from White’s Ancient History of the Maori, covers the remaining forty-six pages of the chapter.⁷⁷

The text, then, is intended to convey recondite information as well as, or rather than, to entertain. To facilitate the understanding of the reader, Andersen makes full use of print-technology, at least to the extent that the plant of Whitcombe and Tombs, the printers as well as publishers, could make available. ‘It being a common complaint of readers that they are unable to decide, from inspection, if a native proper name is a mountain, a god, a canoe, a man, a monster,’ Andersen explains in the preface, ‘a device has been adopted whereby the distinction may be seen at a glance’.⁷⁸ The device is typographical variation. Briefly, male gods were printed in italic large capitals, female gods in roman large capitals, families of deities in roman large capitals enclosed in single quotation

marks; men appeared in small capitals with a large capital initial, women in small capitals, 'tribes' in small capitals enclosed in single quotation marks. There were further distinctions of type-size and quotation marks to indicate animate objects, inanimate objects, stars, climatic-calendrical phenomena, places, and songs.⁷⁹

However, the *karakia* and songs were set in a contrasting smaller point size for which Whitcombe and Tombs either had no italic or if they had could not readily set it with roman. It was therefore necessary to adapt the original scheme by, for example, printing male gods in bold capitals, and losing the distinction between climatic phenomena and names of places in *karakia*.⁸⁰

In addition, the right-hand margin of each page carried numerals, marked every tenth line and numbered consecutively throughout each chapter. These provided a key to source notes and explanatory notes printed in small type at the foot of pages. A double-page opening which included *karakia* as well as ordinary-sized print and several footnotes was thus typographically variegated and visually complex.⁸¹

There were further aids to people who might consult the book. More than 150 pages were given to a series of indexes. The first was the 'Index of Proper Names' in which the headwords of gods, men, women, places and so on were printed in the type-size and style of the main text, and the English language equivalents were added, with the caution that they might not in all cases be correct

and were 'given more as an indication of the poetic nature underlying their nomenclature'.⁸² The fictitious personae of the base-story had their names prefaced by a dagger. Each entry in this index carried an indication of relationships and context. Secondly, there was an 'Index of natural objects' which contained as well as the Maori headword and references to the text, the popular or generic English name and the binomial scientific term, together with synonymous names or names of varieties.⁸³ These two indexes were the largest. They were followed by an 'Index of Tales and Anecdotes Introduced'; an 'Index to Karakia', listed by first lines; a list of 'Months of the Maori Year', with details of rising and setting stars, flowers, fruit and birds which by their presence or absence or condition distinguished these periods; and a 'Glossary and General Index', including cross-references to other entries and to other indexes. The list of months aside, each index carried identifications by line number as well as page number. The indexing was in scale and detail like that for a scientific handbook; and its completeness made it possible for curious readers to assemble almost any kind of information they wished to utilize. Readers could also pursue further reading through some of the source references.

The illustrations, limited to some extent by what was readily available since Andersen used existing blocks to save expense, are less an integral part of the text, though the captions to the illustrations include relevant page and line references to

the text. At least a couple of Andersen's own sketch maps were not reproduced; but the diagram of Maori Cosmology, the plan of a wharepuni, and details of canoe construction were the results of his own draughtsmanship and neat lettering.⁸⁴ The draft preface contained the comment, 'The diagrammatic figure of the Maori cosmos is original, and so far as I know, unique', though this phrase was later deleted. Likewise deleted, for reasons unknown, was work by James McDonald, 'modeller of the Maori group set up for the Exhibition'.⁸⁵

The purpose of the book is made explicit in more than one place. The work was 'Dedicated to the Older Maori People of Ao-tea-roa and to the Younger Poets and Artists of New Zealand, with hopes for the immortality of the one at the hands of the others'.⁸⁶ This refers to the notion of the 'dying race': only in the hands of the poets and artists might the Maori live in the future. Maori myth and tradition, Andersen stated in the preface, was so far 'practically untouched' and the book was 'an attempt to hasten' the time when 'the world's art will be enriched with scenes from Maori legend'. Those who would 'break away from old-world fetters' would find 'a mine of wealth' almost equal to Greek or Scandinavian mythology. If 'dusky skin' was a problem, and marble thus unsuitable, 'is there not bronze?' The book supplied the artists of New Zealand with ample rough material for quarrying if they would 'but turn their dazzled eyes from the whiteness of the Arcadian nymphs and goddesses'.⁸⁷

To conclude, I would appeal to the artists of New Zealand: do not let the scenery, entrancing as it is, to constitute the main subject of study; seek inspiration from the ancient indwellers ... the scenery is after all no more than a frame. Has no man the magic to picture a Maui defying death, a Tawhaki hurling his lightning? There has been too much of burlesque; and too little of the literature and art that must, in time, become world-wide in its influences and inspiration.’⁸⁸

Andersen intended Maori Life in Ao-tea to ‘transport the reader into a new world’. The reader accompanied ‘The old Maori fisher, the bird-hunter, the warrior’ on their expeditions; was by the side of the cultivator, the weaver, the canoe- and house-builder; even would ‘feel the prophetic twitchings of Io’. In short, the reader was ‘with the ancient Maori people in their every-day life’. In a broad sense, Andersen attempted a crosscultural translation: he left out of his prose reference to ‘roses, lions, gold, gems and other old-world poetic accessories’; in Ao-tea ‘no man could be lion-hearted; he must fight bravely like the shark: no maiden might have rosy lips, for that would involve a double error; roses were unknown, and lips darkened with tattoo were preferred’. The text is replete with Maori words for natural phenomena, all italicised, which are explained in the indexes and sometimes in a footnote on first appearance. Andersen went even further: since there was no ‘s’ in the ‘Maori alphabet’, neither plurals nor

possessives were used for Maori words. All these textual gestures were designed to give authenticity to the work.⁸⁹

So was the foreword, written by Apirana Ngata, just as Macmillan Brown's introduction to Songs Unsung, Andersen's first book, was calculated to provide a stamp of approval for his verse. Ngata was a member of parliament, the best-known among Pakeha of the younger generation of Maori leaders; like Andersen, Ngata had been a student of Brown (but a matriculated one: Ngata graduated MA, LLB), and, if he did not know Andersen from Canterbury College days, it is possible that Brown helped with the introductions and recommendations which led to one writing a foreword for the book of the other.⁹⁰ What Ngata wrote in the foreword seems tinged with caution, including a hint of less than whole-hearted approval: his command of English was superb and it is not likely that he said other than what he intended. Ngata emphasizes the 'enormous amount of research': Andersen had 'amassed a great deal of information, and succeeded in presenting a fairly accurate, a readable and entertaining description of early life in Aotearoa and Te Waipounamu'. He thought the reader might complain 'that the conscientious attention to detail has here and there impaired the vividness of the portrayal'; but 'the narrative is enhanced by just such details, the absence of which would subject the author to the criticism of sacrificing truth to mere attractiveness in his presentation'. Ngata's final sentence is striking: 'As a Maori, albeit a degenerate

and much-contaminated, I have to acknowledge my appreciation of the conscientious, painstaking and interesting effort of the author to re-construct for us the scenes of the past'. The phrase about being 'a degenerate and much-contaminated' Maori must have been an irony addressed to all those Pakeha scholars of Maori, so concerned about the past, especially, as Ngata noted, the 'debatable field' of the "'Whence of the Maori'" (a topic Andersen avoided), whereas Ngata's own political emphasis was on the contemporary situation and the possibility of a more hopeful future for his people.⁹¹

For any readers who did not appreciate how carefully measured Ngata's praise was, and perhaps even for them, the foreword did not simply add authenticity to the volume but also authorized it: Ngata's words, 'As a Maori', provided an imprimatur. No doubt it was partly for this reason that Andersen asked Ngata to write the foreword: as a Pakeha writer, he required some seal of approval for the subject matter. What Ngata did not do was to underwrite explicitly the purpose of the book as expressed by Andersen in the dedication and the preface: that the work should serve as a source of inspiration and subject-matter for poets and painters.

The reception of Maori Life in Ao-tea was hardly exuberant, though individuals could be enthusiastic: Leonard Cockayne, the botanist, who had helped Andersen with the 'revision of the scientific nomenclature of the plants', received a

free copy, to his delight, and he wrote: 'Pray ... accept my grateful thanks not merely for the gift but for the book as a book'.⁹² James Hight, when he had read the specimen chapters in 1906, had warned Andersen that 'the devices proposed for distinguishing meanings of Maori words are somewhat too complicated (though absolutely simple enough) for the general reader I doubt whether he will take the trouble (slight though it may be) to learn the key'.⁹³ The reviewer in the Wellington newspaper, the Evening Post, agreed. He thought that from a literary point of view the work was too much of a patchwork but the book was one that would 'grow on the diligent and attentive reader'.⁹⁴ The Lyttelton Times critic considered it 'quite the most considerable of recent contributions to the literature bearing on the subject, and it represents an enormous amount of painstaking and patient study', but he could not 'prophesy that it will ever prove a popular book': the text was overloaded with Maori words and phrases, the style was a little too stilted, and there was little life or movement in the chapters.⁹⁵ A reviewer in the Adelaide Register also thought there were too many Maori words, and some sections, such as those on weaving and clothing, were very technical: 'The book is hardly designed for miscellaneous reading'. Still, the author deserved 'high praise for the tact and delicacy with which he has evaded the obvious grossness of some of the famous legends'.⁹⁶

The reviewer in the Times Literary Supplement, London, took seriously Andersen's suggestions that Maori mythology was 'almost' the equal of Greek and Scandinavian mythology, but decided that 'Hesiod's cosmogony [presumably the Theogony] is poetry' whereas Maori cosmogony was 'only philosophy and rhetoric'. There was a 'cold eighteenth century intellectuality' which would 'always prevent' Maori myths and legends 'from coming very near to our simple barbarian hearts'.⁹⁷

Though none of these reviewers failed to praise Andersen, the most favourable comments, perhaps, came from a quarter which Andersen doubtless particularly appreciated, from the doyen of Polynesian scholars in New Zealand, Percy Smith, cofounder of the Polynesian Society and editor of its Journal. Smith used half of his review space to promote his own ideas on the 'whence of the Maori' and on the religious beliefs of Maori. Turning to Maori Life in Ao-tea, he wrote that he liked the form of the book: it was similar in some ways to White's Ancient History of the Maori, but the latter did not make such interesting reading as Andersen's book. As for the typographical devices - these would be very useful for students. The work was relatively free from errors. Then Smith concluded with another of his own hobby-horses: he appealed for the study of the literature of the Polynesians and other aspects of their culture, and hoped that a chair of Polynesian Ethnology and Philology would be established.⁹⁸

Smith understood well enough what Andersen was about because Andersen's interests, or purposes, were, broadly speaking, the same as his own: Polynesians, including 'the Maori', were a subject for study, a subject on which information was to be recorded, classified, and disseminated by print. The proposed university chair would be an adjunct to all this activity, at present carried through mainly by a handful of enthusiasts in the Polynesian Society. Smith just possibly may have felt Andersen's stated specific aim, to provide materials for artists and poets, was beside the point, even frivolous; but the typographical devices which others reckoned difficult or confusing Smith considered favourably in terms of making information accessible to students, and the great weight of indexes would have confirmed him in this view. Smith also was concerned, in a way that other reviewers were not, with accuracy: that the errors were few was for him more important than literary and aesthetic aspects.

Two other comments by reviewers are relevant in forming a perspective on Andersen's Maori Life in Ao-tea. 'He has absorbed the Maori spirit only too well', wrote the reviewer in the Times Literary Supplement; 'The narrative has too little of the dramatic in it, too much of the descriptive Mr Andersen is too Maori also in his language; one must always have a thumb in the glossary. "A man who pursues kotuku rather than kaka has no food in his whata and no wife in his whare." The Kailyard school never equalled this.'⁹⁹ In the Wellington Evening Post, the

reviewer suggested: 'Of the Maori he has little if any personal knowledge; we are not sure that he has ever come into real contact with them, for he is a South Islander, and the native is almost an alien and a foreigner in the South.'¹⁰⁰ Certainly, there were few Maori in the South Island, both absolutely and by contrast with the North Island; but, indeed, Andersen had in fact not had 'real contact' with them. This makes rather ironic the Times Literary Supplement opinions that Andersen had 'absorbed the Maori spirit only too well' and that he was 'too Maori ... in his language.' Whatever 'Maori spirit' Andersen had absorbed was drawn entirely from books and articles in the English language, written, or at least compiled, by Pakeha. (He did use the Maori language passages in White to discover the Maori terms for natural phenomena where these were not otherwise available.) He was 'Maori ... in his language' in the sense of using Maori words frequently in the text, italicised, as if they were 'foreign' words, or otherwise marked typographically. (The Kailyard school mentioned by the reviewer had in the late 1880s and through much of the 1890s used a Scots vernacular vocabulary in their fiction in a similar way: J. M. Barrie was one of the practitioners.) But Andersen's knowledge of the Maori language was limited to words and phrases derived from published works.¹⁰¹ He could neither speak nor read Maori. The indexes to help the reader were the result of Andersen's own

methods of keeping track of the information he acquired for his own purposes, the writing of the book.

Maori Life in Ao-tea is very much a book written out of other books, a compilation. Andersen's preface (as well as the reference notes) make plain this indebtedness: White's Ancient History he called his 'base-work';¹⁰² he owed William Colenso his 'deepest debt of gratitude'; he expressed 'warmest admiration' for Elsdon Best among living writers. Best had also given 'many useful hints and valuable information', presumably through correspondence. Among other works dealing with Maori subjects, Andersen lists books by James Buller, Percy Smith, Richard Taylor, Horatio Robley, Edward Tregear, Ernest Dieffenbach, William Yate, F. E. Maning, George Grey, Edward Shortland, James Stack, Augustus Hamilton, J. F. H. Wohlers; and the Journal of the Polynesian Society and the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute.¹⁰³ Thomas Hocken, in his great Bibliography of 1909, annotated the entry for Maori Life: 'An excellent compendium, from the best sources ...', which is accurate enough - Andersen did use the 'best sources', and for the most part used them well and wisely, if it be accepted that the 'best sources' were writings, or compilations, by Pakeha.¹⁰⁴

Maori Life in Ao-tea exemplifies the process by which most Pakeha New Zealanders 'knew' Maori or at least the 'ancient Maori': not by 'real contact' (to use the reviewer's phrase), but through writing, more particularly through what was

printed. Andersen could, and did, become an expert on Maori by consulting a shelf of books, without any direct reference to Maori people themselves. He could manipulate these sources, bend them to his own requirements. 'If the ideal side has been kept more in view', he wrote in the preface, 'it has been rather as a set-off against the gross, which has been too often dwelt on, and too strongly emphasised.'¹⁰⁵ At least one reviewer felt he deserved 'high praise for the tact and delicacy with which he has evaded the obvious grossness of some of the famous legends'.¹⁰⁶ One may applaud Andersen for placing less emphasis on 'the gross'; but the point is that it was possible to render Maori according to taste.

Maori Life, itself a rewriting of earlier writings, made it possible for other Pakeha to 'know' about Maori without 'real contact': Andersen's book took its place on bookshelves, and it could be used as a work of reference. Did a person wish to have information on the indigenous people of New Zealand, then Maori Life, with its comprehensive glossaries and indexes, was a very handy book. It certainly went on to the bookshelves of members of parliament. Andersen must have appealed to Ngata to see if some financial assistance could be afforded: 'I am very pleased indeed', Ngata wrote on 6 September 1907, 'that the Premier has seen his way to assist you to the extent of £100. The book has been supplied to members and is creating a favourable impression'.¹⁰⁷ The legislators at least had it to hand. So did some officials: a copy was placed in the library of the Department

of Tourist and Health Resorts.¹⁰⁸ And no doubt there were people who read the book or consulted it and had reactions akin to those of G. J. Roberts, Chief Surveyor of Westland, who told Andersen: 'your "Maori Life in Aotea" is simply hopeless to me; possibly because it is too high and uplifted for me to comprehend. Withal, I am a New Zealand Native, my Father, Mother and Relations all spoke Maori fluently and I acquired a certain colloquial facility, in that language early in life, afterwards employing Waikato Maoris on my Party living with and conversing wholly with them in their tongue, all of these educated men and I have sojourned with our coloured friends here for over 30 years. Nevertheless your compilation is no doubt extremely valuable to the Expert and forcibly compels me to admit how little I know of the subject.'¹⁰⁹ Roberts had had 'real contact' with many Maori, and was able to make his own judgments about Andersen's book.¹¹⁰ Others, then and later, without such contact, took the work at face value as reliable, truthful, accurate, comprehensive; and there was Ngata's foreword as an imprimatur.

* * * *

Though Andersen made the attempt to ‘transport the reader into a new world’ in Maori Life in Ao-tea, and tried to deal with the subject on its own terms, so to speak, by avoiding non-Maori metaphors (‘no man could be lion-hearted; he must fight bravely like the shark’),¹¹¹ he made many references in the footnotes to other societies and their customs, and to what he considered parallel beliefs and expressions in various literary works. His reason for doing so was to ‘normalize’ the Maori, to indicate that what might seem peculiar to the reader was in fact the case in other societies. A good example is given at the end of chapter 2, after detail has been provided on the kumara and the preparation of other foods and materials: ‘Lest any man should think the Maori people absurdly ceremonious,’ the note begins, ‘let him remember our own many ceremonies on various occasions: hear, too, the charm of the Anglo-Saxon farmer against bad times, as given in Morley’s “English Writers,” vol. II, page 325 ...’, and a lengthy quotation follows.¹¹² Other references are to works such as Pope’s translation of the Iliad, Dryden’s rendering of the Aeneid, the scriptures, Chaucer, Spenser, Milton’s Paradise Lost, and so on. Andersen likewise contrasts Maori myths with those of Scandinavia and the ancient Mediterranean world - including Sigurd and Brynhild, Endymion and Diana, Orpheus and Eurydice, Proserpine.¹¹³ While this was an attempt to show how in content as well as aspiration Maori myths were the equal of those from elsewhere, it had the effect, perhaps, of depreciating the particularity of Maori lore, so that it

became to some extent merely an antipodean variation of the classic metropolitan forms.

Andersen showed his own determination to make Maori myths equivalent to those of Scandinavia and Greece in his second volume of verse, The Lamp of Psyche, published in 1908. Attempts to reconcile science and religion had exercised Andersen for several years, and in the Lamp he felt he had finally dealt with the issue to his own satisfaction. The poem is in 24 substantial parts. In two places Andersen made reference to Maori myths and legends. In part XVI Maui appears; and he is explained in the extensive notes, with the appropriate scholarly opinions: 'Max Müller supposes him to be one of the world's many solar myths: Andrew Lang believes him to be no more than the expression of man's conception of the continual strife between life and death.'¹¹⁴ The last part of the Lamp, XXVI.2, uses an image from the Tawhaki myths, and the note of explanation begins: 'Tawhaki was one of the good great gods of Polynesians. Living on the earth for a time as a mortal, he was, like Endymion, loved by a goddess.'¹¹⁵ Other mythologies are used much more extensively in the Lamp: the notes provide background to Jason and Medea, Yggdrasil, Neptune, Diana, Echo, Pygmalion, Heimdal, the bridge Bifröst, and many more, including Psyche of the title. The Lamp of Psyche seems not to have been read very widely when it was published in 1908, and it is likely to have had few readers since. Andersen expected otherwise,

since the debate over the 'New Theology', often shrill, seemed of fundamental importance to him.¹¹⁶ To the extent that he anticipated the Lamp would be pondered not just in New Zealand but wherever philosophers and theologians who could read English sought to elucidate the great questions of the age, his inclusion of Maui and Tawhaki was notice to the world's thinkers and readers that Polynesian mythology could illuminate truth as readily as Scandinavian and Classical myths.

Andersen probably had more readers for an article on 'The Maori in Art' published in the Christchurch Press than for the Lamp. 'The Maori in Art', which appeared early in March 1908 and was an essay of more than 3000 words, elaborated the ideas he had put forward the previous year about Maori mythology as a suitable subject for artists, especially painters. 'The beauty and poetry of a myth', Andersen suggested, 'may long lie dormant until some mind come, capable of giving it re-birth in poetry or in the sister arts'. Keats achieved this in 'Hyperion', Thorwaldsen in his statuary, and Sir Frederic Leighton in his mythological paintings. Before Leighton's Andromeda there had been versions by, for instance, Tintoretto and Lemoine, 'but neither in any degree approaches the poetry of Leighton's inspiration'. In some of Turner's paintings too, especially Dido building Carthage, and Ulysses deriding Polyphemus, 'there is intense poetic imagination over and above the craftsmanship of delineation'. Certainly, the Maori

‘had no iron for weapons nor gold for ornaments, nor metals for any purpose; he had no elaborate costumes, no flowing draperies ... no stone buildings, monuments, no fortified cities’: but ‘He had a human heart; he had heroes; he had imagination Human suffering, monstrous persecution, miraculous deliverance - upon these the picture is based, and based most securely’.¹¹⁷

One objection was that the Maori ‘is low in his ideals, crude in conception, and vulgar in expression’. Andersen granted that Maori, like all peoples, had tales that were repulsive, but ‘he has more that are noble and inspiring, more that are superbly imaginative’. Moreover, ‘His apprehension of the infinite is hardly beneath our own Nineteen infinities, each extending "tens and thousands and unlimited years," rolled one from another, like cloud from darkness, and cloud from cloud, from gloom to light, from death to life.’ Andersen then told in great detail the story of creation from the separation of Rangi and Papa onwards, including Tawhaki, Maru, Rohe, Miru, Hinenuitepo, Tane, Karihi, Rongomai, and Mataora, some incidents briefly noted, others given at greater length. Nor was the material available for artists confined to the gods only: there remained the ‘demi-gods’, such as Maui, and the ‘heroic and wonderful doings of men’ - Rata, Whakatau, Hatupatu, Tura and his encounter with the fairies, among others. ‘No one who has read ever so little of Maori myth and legend will deny that there is ample material for art.’¹¹⁸

And the subjects themselves? 'It is here the differences of opinion will most violently clash'. People familiar with 'the Maori of civilisation' have contempt for him, whereas those 'who know him from his legends - who are able, in the abstract, to re-create him ... will declare him a perfect subject for art.' Achilles was not to be judged 'by a Greek hawker', nor Odysseus 'by an itinerant musician', so 'neither should we [judge] a Maori hero by his modern degenerate'. He asked whether those who were contemptuous were as familiar 'with the Maori aristocracy as with Maori plebeian'. Reading what remained of their knowledge of astronomy, meteorology and navigation proved they were 'a race of high mental endowments', and their carving, weaving and reed-panelling showed they were 'on the high road towards art'. Andersen admitted that, physically, 'the modern Maori is more often slouching than stately, fleshly than muscular', but this 'falling off in physique' was due to circumstances, and it was 'small wonder that in these more indolent days the Maori form should degenerate', though even now 'fine specimens of men and women are met with, and these individuals give a good idea of the past physique of the whole race'. There were stories of great physical strength which indicated how they had once been.¹¹⁹

'Colour' Andersen devoted little space to: black and white would do in any case. 'Nor need the tattoo be a blemish; it need only be faintly indicated if it be found a deterrent - there were many men who went without it altogether.' As for

those who said that the 'flax mat' was inartistic: the answer was, 'do without it'. He had heard from men who had been 'in the midst of the Maori where [they were] still little influenced by civilisation' that many of the chiefs wore it 'in a manner graceful and beautiful'. However, 'in war there was no mat'. The Greeks had armour, certainly, but they used deadly weapons, whereas the combats between Maori were 'gladiatorial'. Even Apollo's priest did not need vestments: 'the Laocoon remains the finest nude composition in existence'. Artists could discard the coverings, letting 'us' have 'the Maori heroes and demi-gods in all the glory of their strength.'¹²⁰

Andersen could not conceive of any other objections. And to show his own ideas were not 'hazy', he offered a 'word picture', which he hoped artists could make use of.

A woman is standing on the steep bank of a New Zealand stream, facing the water, her hand resting on the branch of an overhanging tree, say, a fuchsia. Before her, in the stream, a monster, half human, half eel, eyes her as she swims; behind her, hidden from the monster, lies a powerful man, a greenstone axe in his hand. Close above her in the fuchsia sits a parrakeet, and a pukeko peers from a tuft near at hand. The forest is of the usual New Zealand trees, with totara and others with red sap, and ferns, etc., but no vines.

Those who were familiar with Maori mythology would 'at once recognise the scene - the slaying of the monster Tuna-rua'. Maui determined to avenge the monster's insult to his wife, and used her as a lure, killing the monster as it rose from the water, and cutting it into pieces: the head became the conger-eels in the sea, the body became fresh-water eels, the tail sinews which were thrown to the forest became vines, parrakeet and pukeko were splashed with blood, and the trees such as the totara likewise splashed 'have red sap to this day'.¹²¹

There were 'countless scenes' for the artist to choose from. Dittmer, the German artist, had touched the grotesque elements in his recent book,¹²² but 'even in that he has not grasped the "spirit" of the Maori', and as well he had made the whole grotesque 'when that term can be applied only to a part'. New Zealand artists had 'an opportunity for creating a distinctive school of art', and if they did not seize the opportunity others, like Dittmer, would do so.¹²³

The article is carefully and cogently argued. For all that, however, Andersen reiterates various Pakeha stereotypes of Maori, particularly that of the noble Maori then and the 'degenerate' Maori now, and including a division between the 'Maori aristocracy' and the 'Maori plebeian'. While there is affirmation of Maori accomplishments, these are ranked on an evolutionary scale which posits a European norm - they were 'at least on the high road towards art'.

Above all, the article is an invitation, or an incitement, to Pakeha, 'to re-create him and his past surroundings'.

To ensure his message was fully considered, Andersen sent off nearly a dozen copies of his article to various people. One went to his sawmilling friend, Gerald Allhusen, then working at Kaponga, Taranaki; another to Apirana Ngata; yet another, with some unrelated requests for information, to Percy Smith. 'I think there is no question', replied Smith, 'that an opening exists for the establishment of a branch of art which shall be local - The Auckland Art Society started on somewhat those lines over 20 years ago, but they have not followed it up.'¹²⁴ Copies also went to the major urban newspapers;¹²⁵ the New Zealand Herald, Auckland, made a clever précis of the article, and the North Otago Daily Times quoted the greater part of the original article.¹²⁶ The Wellington Evening Mail discovered the article in the Christchurch Press and made an admonitory editorial comment: 'For reasons which Mr Andersen himself must recognise, real knowledge of the subject is necessary unless the result is to be painful burlesque'. Lately there had been published an 'absurd drawing' of Maui 'crawling into the mouth of Hine-nui-te-po, whereby the fine old myth is reduced to nonsense.' There had been some 'deplorable' imitations of Japanese art when it was all the rage in America and Europe.¹²⁷

Andersen also sent copies to two teachers at the Canterbury School of Art, Robert Herdman-Smith and Sydney Thompson. Herdman-Smith had already noted the article in the newspaper: 'I should be pleased to have the opportunity of hearing your views more fully.'¹²⁸ One upshot was that Andersen delivered an address on 'The Maori in Relation to Art' to the Arts and Crafts Guild at the School of Art, thus presenting his views to quite a number of local artists. He repeated his argument that Maori myths and legends provided artists with subject matter, and gave instances of legends 'which would lend themselves to pictorial treatment'. He evidently also suggested that there were elements of the 'primitive decorative forms of the Maori' which 'could be utilized by modern designers', though the newspaper report does not specify these elements.¹²⁹

A second upshot was his own patronage, in a minor way, of some local artists, and the execution of a number of illustrations for a booklet, Maori Fairy Tales.¹³⁰

Whitcombe and Tombs, the Christchurch publishers, began to produce in 1907 a 'New Zealand Booklet Series'. The booklets were usually about 30-34 pages in length, illustrated, often profusely, with drawings or photographs, and had distinctively New Zealand subjects. James Drummond wrote the first and third in the series, Feathered Friends of the Bush and In Maoriland: Old Times in a New Country; and his The Romance of the Moa, published in 1908, was the tenth of the

series. The second and sixth booklets, New Zealand in Picture and Song and The Beauties and Wonders of New Zealand, carried no author attribution; the fourth was New Zealand Wild Flowers by R. M. Laing; the fifth New Zealand Rhymes Old and New by Jessie Mackay. (The seventh, Antarctica..., by C. R. Ford, who had been on R. F. Scott's Discovery Expedition, was a New Zealand topic in the sense that Scott and, lately, Ernest Shackleton, had made Lyttelton a major port of call for their probings in the deep south.) Later contributors to the series were B. E. Baughan, Edith Howes, and James Cowan. Since the first dozen titles included several of the most celebrated literary names of the day, among them a number of Andersen's friends, it is not too surprising that he should express his enthusiasm for New Zealand in the same series. Whether he approached the publisher or was commissioned by Whitcombe and Tombs is not known; but Maori Fairy Tales appeared in 1908 as 'New Zealand Booklet Series No. 8'.

The 'fairy tales' were 'Pare-hutu' and 'Hatu-patu'; Andersen had given a version of the former in Maori Life in Ao-tea, where he had drawn upon White's Ancient History of the Maori; the latter, referred to only in passing in Maori Life, was probably taken from George Grey's Polynesian Mythology.¹³¹ Both tales had appeared in other Pakeha renditions; for example, in Edward Tregear's Fairy Tales of 1891, as 'The Winged Ogress' and 'The Great Swing'.¹³² Andersen's versions lack the neat conciseness of Tregear's, or the drama of the 'originals', and indeed

the intrinsic interest of the stories barely survives his handling. Very likely he told them aloud to a class at the School of Art - 'I had offered a prize for best illustrations to a couple of stories at the School of Art', he recorded many years later.¹³³ There are eleven illustrations in the booklet, two each by A. E. Abbott, A. Polson, and H. McIntyre, three by C. F. Kelly, one by S. G. Brister, and another in which the artist's name is not identifiable. It is not possible to guess whether Andersen talked with the artists as they sketched, or even whether there were other compositions which he rejected. The styles are various, eclectic, but the pictures do illustrate aspects of the stories, and whatever Andersen thought of them, he, and the publishers, let them be printed.¹³⁴ Maori Fairy Tales would have had a much wider circulation than The Lamp of Psyche, and 'Pare-hutu' and 'Hatu-patu' were established, or further established, as New Zealand phenomena, along with Laing's wildflowers and Drummond's feathered friends and the other various New Zealand beauties and wonders.

There were perhaps other activities by Andersen along the same lines. In a notice on the death of C. E. Nelson early in 1909, the Canterbury Times deplored how little of the Maori lore known to Nelson and others had been placed on record. It noted, approvingly, the decision by the Senate of the University of New Zealand, in response to representations from a Maori Conference, to accept the Maori language as a matriculation subject. There had, it added, been a call to preserve

‘ancient Maori chants’, and nothing had been done in that field since George Grey’s work ‘over half a century back’. The ‘impulse’ had been felt in art as well. ‘We are not aware whether the other art schools have been as busy as the Christchurch school in illustrating the life and copying the handiwork of the ancient Maori. That this impulse has been so strong among our artists is owing largely to the patriotic efforts of Mr Johannes C. Andersen, who has brought both enthusiasm and cyclopaedic knowledge to bear on the subject’.¹³⁵

In August 1909 Andersen was again talking to the Arts and Crafts Guild, telling myths and legends, especially ‘the long and dramatic tale of Tawhaki, the lightning god, a tale full of incident and movement, furnishing many situations suitable for artistic representation’, and the circumvention of Uenuku by Tama te Kapua. Finally he told ‘the children’s tale of Rata and the fairies’, arguing that ‘if these tales were told to the children they would grow up with a truer and better feeling and greater admiration for the people who gave these tales being’.¹³⁶ The latter comment may indicate Andersen’s concern with contemporary depreciation of Maori among Pakeha children. Two or three weeks after this talk Andersen went into print again on the subject, at length, in an article entitled ‘Maori Myths and Maori Art’, on this occasion in the Lyttelton Times. In the annual Christchurch Art Exhibition, then on display, there were several portraits of Maori subjects, at least some of them the result, directly or indirectly, of his own advocacy. He hoped

these portraits would 'prove more and more attractive to a greater portion of the public as time goes on'. In this field Goldie, whose 'minutely-finished studies' had already been exhibited in Christchurch, had for some years stood almost alone, but 'We have now a second artist in the field, Mr S. L. Thompson an artist of high technical skill, and, speaking from personal knowledge, he is acquiring an enthusiasm for the Maori that promises well for the future of Maori art in its pictorial phase.' The picture with a Maori subject by Thompson in the current exhibition was 'only one, and not the best, of the results of Mr Thompson's recent stay among the North Island Maoris'. Andersen was apparently a little afraid that Thompson's painting would be taken as evidence of the difficulty, or impossibility, of making good art from Maori subjects: 'It is no doubt very difficult to get behind the average Maori of the present day and catch a true glimpse of the Maori as he was - intellectual, poetic, artistic, so far as those terms can be applied to a race that was just on the verge of civilisation before being rudely awakened by civilisation itself in the advent of the pakeha.' To indicate what could be found in the way of subject matter, Andersen would discuss the myth of Maui, 'as one familiar even to many Europeans'.¹³⁷

Andersen then retailed the story of Maui's fishing - 'Nearly everyone is familiar with his feat of fishing up the North Island of New Zealand from the bottom of the sea'. In fact, decided Andersen, echoing recent views from the

comparative mythologists, 'Maui was never in the neighbourhood of New Zealand. The scene of his exploits was in Hawaiki, the fatherland of the Maori people.' The myth, as was usual with myths, had become localized. 'When, therefore, we see an artist representing Maui as a fisher ... hauling from the ocean a huge object roughly representing a submerged North Island, we may be sure the artist has for once lost his artist sense, and has perceived only the externals of the legend.' Since everyone regarded the tale as 'ridiculous', the artist could not follow the tale in all its details unless he wished to produce a 'travesty', as Dittmer had done. Another result of a literal rendering is that 'the Maori is looked on as puerile'. But Maui should be thought of as a sun-god. 'Let the artist, then, depict a rosy sea dawn; the sun, a Maui if he will, in his canoe, as the Greek sun was Apollo in his chariot The interpretation almost rises to the sublime from the ridiculous.' Again: 'in the slaying of Tunarua by Maui, we are reminded of the slaying of the python by Apollo.' Maui's conversation with the moon 'is extremely obscure, until we remember that the moon, Marama, and the sun, Ra, were sister and brother In Scandinavian mythology, too, these two were consanguineous ... and in Greek mythology, Apollo and Diana, the respective deities of the sun and the moon, were twin-born brother and sister.'¹³⁸

Then there was Maui's 'struggle with the great woman of Night': 'Here, too, any bald interpretation is dangerously near the ridiculous', and Maui should be

seen as the sun-god, while the Great Woman of Night is 'a finely poetical name for the darkness of the west, where the sun disappeared'. It was in the interpretation of the myth that the artist must discriminate, for tales and myths 'viewed in one light, are absurd, but in another are splendid, inspiring an admiration beyond expression.'¹³⁹

He sent copies of the article to Elsdon Best, Percy Smith, R. Coupland-Harding, Sydney Thompson, and Apirana Ngata.¹⁴⁰

Andersen was still promoting the cause in 1910: his lecture on Tawhaki to the Arts and Crafts Guild at the School of Arts on 24 June 1910 was described as 'the third of a series of lectures on Maori lore'.¹⁴¹ He explained that some myths seemed ridiculous and others sublime because 'there were two strains of blood in the ancient representatives of the race - an aristocratic and a plebeian or slave strain - and wherever the absurd element obtruded itself, it was due to the myth having had an agglutination from the plebeian Maori'. He also drew attention to two incidents in the Tawhaki story 'of which parallels were found in the life of Christ'. Herdman-Smith, who chaired the lecture, said 'he intended to take up the [Tawhaki] story with one of the [art] classes'.¹⁴² He added that 'great difficulty had been experienced in obtaining Maoris to sit for the students'. In fact, he had persuaded only one, 'an educated Maori girl, to sit for a short time'. This he thought would be the greatest difficulty - securing models for 'the correct colour

for the flesh of Maori figures'.¹⁴³ In this perspective Maori people became objects as well as subjects.

Sydney Thompson resigned from the School of Art in 1910 and went to Europe in 1911, where he spent several years. The circumstantial evidence is that Andersen was an important influence in directing him, for a short period, towards Maori subjects; and in that sense Andersen's crusade for Pakeha artists to paint Maori myths becomes a footnote to New Zealand art history.¹⁴⁴ More significant is Andersen's influence upon the Arts and Crafts Guild members who listened to his lectures, upon the 'general public' who read his letters and articles in newspapers, and possibly upon the artists who did work for Maori Fairy Tales: these people had presented to them, in speech and in print, the argument that Maori subjects were appropriate for New Zealand artists, they were given versions of Maori myths and legends, and, in Andersen's remarks about 'modern degenerates' and 'plebeian' strains, information about Maori, past and present. Whether listeners and readers shared his views is impossible to estimate. And there were in any case many other people making judgments on Maori people and their ways, 'ancient' and contemporary. For most of his audience Andersen would simply have been another voice among many, and even in the matter of painting, the example of such artists as Walter Wright was doubtless more important, among artists, than Andersen's prescriptions.¹⁴⁵ But he made friends with the newly-

appointed life instructor at the Canterbury School of Art, Richard Wallwork, who took up his position in 1911, and his wife, Elizabeth Wallwork, also an artist, and no doubt pressed his views upon them, views to which Wallwork's students and associates may also have been exposed. As we will see in Chapter 5, Wallwork himself was later to execute illustrations for one of Andersen's books.¹⁴⁶

* * * *

As a clerk in the Lands Department office, Andersen acquired, almost by osmosis, a great deal of topographical knowledge about the Canterbury Land District, an administrative successor to the former Canterbury Province. In time he also developed an interest in the history of Canterbury, and, more particularly, in the names of places.¹⁴⁷ He explained his 'motive' in a letter to T.D.M. Burnett, a runholder in the high country, in a letter written in October 1908, part of correspondence seeking the origins of place names:

I have always taken an interest in things olden, and consequently when I discovered in these old buildings [the Canterbury Provincial Council Buildings, serving as the office of the Lands Department] large quantities of documents, pamphlets, & other papers relating to the

Provincial days of Canterbury (before 1875), stowed away in garrets & turrets, encumbered with rubbish, damaged with damp &c., I approached the powers to be, got authority to sort & sift the papers, rescue all that were of historical value & hand them over to the Public Library, to be kept in a strong room for reference of people interested in the early days. I did have an idea of writing the history of Canterbury, but as poetry is more in my line than prose, that idea is at any rate put aside for a time. Amongst the papers were files of the Lyttelton Times from the very first number, the Timaru Herald from the first, & other newspapers, innumerable pamphlets & papers historically very valuable, and so much was I taken with the olden doings that I wrote a series of ... articles on the origin of the Canterbury Settlement Whilst doing this, it struck me that the names of places would be more interesting to the younger people if they knew their origin & history, so as I went along I jotted down such particulars as I could glean of any place within the Province. Later one of the members of Parl[iamen]t [H. G. Ell] approached me on the same subject, saying he very much wished to see a Topographical Dictionary of Canterbury produced: would I do it?¹⁴⁸

He wrote a little earlier to W. McHutcheson of Invercargill: 'The whole of Canterbury is beginning to have living associations for me: it is peopled with

bygone pioneers and hardy explorers, so that now every time I look at a map of the Province my thoughts are carried to the past I shall do my utmost to picture it for the reading of coming generations, so that they may know something of the founding of this, their Fatherland.’¹⁴⁹ There was, then, a strong (or at least strongly stated) identification with European settlers, but even at the outset of the project, or soon after he began, Andersen decided Maori place names would form part of his material.¹⁵⁰ As he told a correspondent who sent him a list of Maori names, ‘I am including native as well as European names ... and many of the former have fine interesting historical associations.’¹⁵¹

His starting point for Maori place names was what had been recorded in Rev. J. W. Stack’s various publications, and it was possibly this investigation which led him to Stack’s writings generally: Stack, whom Andersen may have met before his retirement to Britain in the 1890s, was the accepted Pakeha authority on South Island Maori history, especially for the Canterbury region.¹⁵² There were other published materials on Maori place names, which had long exercised the curiosity of Europeans, seeking, from James Cook on, to fix local nomenclature.¹⁵³ One of the first articles in the New Zealand Illustrated Magazine had been written on this subject by James Cowan, an avid collector, and W.H.S. Roberts of Oamaru had published papers on Otago names.¹⁵⁴ If Andersen’s interest was at first merely a consequence of his general search for place names in Canterbury, he

gradually developed a more particular fascination with Maori names, and with the difficulties in elucidating meanings and origins.

It was his pursuit of information about place names that brought Andersen into contact with Maori people for the first time. The word 'first' may not be accurate in the very strictest sense: there were a handful of Maori students at Canterbury College in the early 1890s when Andersen attended evening lectures, and it is not impossible that the paths of Andersen and Apirana Turupa Ngata crossed then, though if there had been more than formal introductions it is likely that Andersen would have indicated this later somewhere in his papers. Andersen no doubt visited the Maori village at the Christchurch Exhibition, and perhaps saw performances of Maori groups there as well.¹⁵⁵ Though Maori people did not mingle much with Pakeha in European centres of population, Andersen had probably seen Maori from time to time. He was at least aware of their reputation: as he had written to Elsdon Best in 1905, 'there is no Maori within many miles, and the nearest within a hundred miles are utter decadents who would only spoil the ideals I at present am working up to.'¹⁵⁶

Some time in the latter half of 1908, Andersen was in Wellington where he met two or perhaps three of the four Maori members of Parliament; he wrote to Ngata in September 1908 with questions about the origin of the name Ohaoha, a bay on the south-west side of Banks Peninsula which was then, as it remained, 'a

linguistic puzzle'.¹⁵⁷ 'You have no time for ethnology', Andersen wrote to Ngata - the latter may have meant either that he was too busy with other duties to attend to ethnological matters or that he did not think highly of ethnology as an intellectual concern, and had apparently told Andersen so in person or in a letter - 'but', continued Andersen, 'you will perhaps refer my question to Mr Parata - for whom I conceived quite an affection when I met him when in Wellington lately.' He probably met Maui Pomare on the same visit: 'I was very much pleased with the chat of Mr Pomare, & his old chants'. Tame Parata was the member of parliament for Southern Maori, Maui Wiremu Piti Naera Pomare for Western Maori, Ngata for Eastern Maori. Andersen added in his letter to Ngata that he was 'slogging in at Maori with Mr Hansard, who is a good teacher - so that I may be able to follow the Natives in their own tongue.'¹⁵⁸ This is the first record of any attempt by Andersen to learn the Maori language. The reference to following 'the Natives in their own tongue' indicates that he intended to talk with, or listen to, Maori people.

It is possible to be quite precise about places, dates and names in Andersen's early meetings with Maori people because he made detailed written records. The records were in part made to set down information on place names; but they are also an indication of Andersen's feelings that these meetings were notable occasions, red letter days, when he had his initial contacts with the Other

society. One version was written into his 'Old Identity Book No. 1' and 'Old Identity Book No. 2', essentially diaries of conversations with people who provided topographical and historical knowledge, and the sections on Maori informants are very extensive. A second version collected together these early meetings with Maori in an essay called 'Some Maori friends', which made up the last dozen pages of a bound unpublished 30-page manuscript entitled 'History Notes, Pakeha and Maori'.¹⁵⁹ The two accounts are very similar, and large portions are identical: the recapitulation suggests Andersen's concern to extract the fullest significance from what were for him very special experiences.

The first was at Kaiapoi on 25 and 26 November 1908: he took 'plans' (maps, held by the Lands Department in Christchurch) to a sitting of the Native Land Court. 'In the morning I had spoken to a Mr Ellison, seemingly a half-caste, and Mr C. Parata, or Pratt, son of the Maori member [of parliament], and the latter said he would see some of the natives with reference to [place] names &c.' Andersen spent the morning and the early part of the afternoon at the Court: 'Natives were present from Kaikoura to Temuka, and I was much taken with their gesticulating volubility and good humour.'¹⁶⁰ 'Forty or fifty stood behind the rail and there was a good deal of shuffling and subdued chattering.'¹⁶¹ Andersen spent the late afternoon with the local representative of the Christchurch newspapers,

whose office was across the road from the Court, looking at his literary 'treasures', early maps, almanacks, and Lee's Maori Grammar (1820).¹⁶²

At the hotel where he stayed Andersen was introduced to J. C. Rickus. As with several other Maori he met then and later, Andersen wrote a detailed physical description of Rickus: he was 'a little above medium height, on the spare side, fair-skinned for a half-caste, brown eyes, short grey side-whiskers and moustache, with a broad-pointed nose.'¹⁶³ It is difficult to guess whether Andersen was making notes on a new species, or whether he was determined to keep a full record of what most Pakeha believed to be a vanishing race. He asked Rickus about 'Hoani Kaahu, or Johnny the Hawk, of whom I had heard as an old-school Maori'.¹⁶⁴ Soon after 'a Maori with European cast of features, straight mouth with prominent side-lines, "knowing" eyes, and longish but thin pointed grey beard, came in in a gait like the comic villain in a play, bending well at the knees at every step.' This turned out to be, in fact, Hoani Kaahu, and Andersen drew from him stories about the naming and meanings of Temuka, Tengawai, Haehaetemoana, and Hakataramea. He talked, Andersen noted, 'in fairly good English'. 'I was delighted with the amount of "by the way" information the old man gave; he evidently kept his point in view, the details introduced all bearing on it more or less. He told his tales with much wagging of the head, and curious mouth action, as if he were mouthing out the words with his lips.'¹⁶⁵

Later in the evening the younger Parata, Taare, talked with Rickus in Andersen's presence about Te Rauparaha and Kaiapoi. Parata was 'constantly' interrupted by Rickus: "'What rot!" "Absurd!" "How can you talk like that Pratt?"' Parata took more than three hours to give his version; 'when at last he did finish it was only because it was 20 to 12 and we had to go to bed.' Parata's tale, Andersen observed, 'stuck fairly closely to the book', which meant, no doubt, the historical accounts recorded by Stack.¹⁶⁶ Some time earlier the same day Andersen met 'Tu-tu-taua, an old Native of Little River, and his son Tamaperi, from whom names and meanings were obtained verbally at Kaiapoi, through Taare Parata'.¹⁶⁷

Perhaps he also talked with Rickus on 26 November; he certainly did so a year later, for he visited Rickus at his Temuka home, on 23 November 1909, when he was returning from his first visit to the mountains. Rickus, at first reluctant to say much, probably warmed to Andersen's sincerity. Rickus 'seemed to know the genealogy and history of all the Maoris in the South Island'.¹⁶⁸ Andersen copied some of the genealogies, and while he was doing so, a name would 'strike' Rickus, 'and he would call up the past'. Andersen found the style of story-telling 'rambling'. "'Isn't that funny?" he will constantly say, when the thing isn't funny at all "My father died at 85," he said, "and I was born in '44; - isn't that funny?"' Andersen 'failed to see it', an example of his literal-mindedness.¹⁶⁹ In

the evening, Rickus's wife, Hana Pohio, was also present, and supplemented her husband's stories with information in Maori, which Rickus translated. Hana Pohio sang a Waiata to go with the account of Tu-te-kawa's death, and Andersen wrote it down from dictation.¹⁷⁰

* * * *

Andersen was a member of the Christchurch Savage Club. The nature of such a group is indicated by an account of a Savage Club meeting in Wellington during the 1920s, by C. C. Nutting of the University of Iowa. 'In the evening Mr. Hislop took me to the Savage Club, a social organization found in all places of importance of New Zealand and corresponding in part to our Rotary clubs at home. We found the hall packed with men, most of them smoking, and witnessed the installation of a new Chief Savage, who sat on a small platform on which were hangings to represent a tent, and provided with a gavel made of a human thigh bone.... There was an excellent orchestra of about thirty pieces, and a lengthy program [sic] occupied most of the evening. Real ability was shown in the various stunts which were put on after the orchestral numbers. I was told that the audience represented the brainy element of Wellington'¹⁷¹ Andersen seems to have

been an enthusiastic Savage: he was one of the two Christchurch vice-presidents in 1911, and he contributed items to club programmes, including his clever improvised 'Boutes Rimes', which formed the sixth item in the first part of a Savage Club Ladies' Night concert in August 1911. (Other offerings were the Prelude to Act III of Wagner's Lohengrin, performed by the orchestra; an aria from Il Trovatore sung by 'Savage Fleming'; and sketching by the artist Richard Wallwork.)¹⁷²

The second part of the programme began with one of Rachmaninoff's Preludes, but the main entertainment of the second half, and perhaps of the whole evening, was 'A Maori Fragment'. 'The fragment', so the printed programme advised the audience, represented 'a small portion of a tomo, or betrothal ceremony.' A 'home party' was led by 'Savage Hansard', who had at one stage tutored, perhaps still was tutoring Andersen in the Maori language; the 'visiting party' was led by 'Savage Andersen'. The songs at least were sung or chanted in Maori, but we may suppose that dialogue and orations were in English. The presentation included a 'Canoe song' and a 'poi song'. Those on the stage, sixteen in all, were no doubt dressed in fitting attire: the programme lists 'Costumier: SAVAGE URU'. 'The songs and tunes', the programme stated, 'are genuine Maori compositions, and the tales are relations of actual historical occurrences.'¹⁷³

A second performance, perhaps not under the auspices of the Savage Club but

including the same personnel, renamed, 'Maori Hansard', 'Maori Andersen', and so on, was given at Merivale School, in aid of the organ fund, in September.¹⁷⁴

Whether the 'Maori Fragment' was intended as serious or as comic entertainment is not clear: some years later Peter Buck wrote what he called 'a kind of a Maori play or review or semi-comedy' for Ladies' Night at the Auckland Savage Club.¹⁷⁵ If Andersen did not write the 'Fragment', he was at least a major participant. Probably 'Maori Uru' maintained some authenticity in the clothing worn. (Uru may also have created the moko on faces: Andersen recorded on a later occasion, 'a tattooing item at the Savage Club was one that took very well, & I learned the design'.)¹⁷⁶ The performances are nevertheless striking but by no means singular examples of Pakeha 'playing Maori'.¹⁷⁷ It is difficult to believe that the gratuitous inclusion of a 'lament on the death of Te Heu-heu' would not have been distressing to Tuwharetoa people, had they been present.¹⁷⁸

* * * *

Some of the results of Andersen's quest for place names were indicated in an article published in the Lyttelton Times on the occasion of the diamond jubilee of Canterbury, 16 December 1910. 'After Sixty Years', he called it; in fact the

article was a survey of Canterbury history before the arrival of the 'Pilgrims' in 1850. He began with two paragraphs on the Maori - before any Europeans lived in the area 'the dusky Maori explorer had traversed the plains and hills of Canterbury, and had found them teeming with satisfaction for his simple wants'. The streams and swamps 'swarmed with eels and silveries', the plains 'were alive with rats and wood-hens', there were 'pigeons and kakas' in the forests of the Peninsula, pollen and roots of the raupo to be used, and the pith of cabbage trees; and though 'kumera' would not grow south of the peninsula, 'Canterbury was regarded with favourable eyes by the Maori settler'. The chief 'Tu-te-kawa' lived at Waihora, Lake Ellesmere, for 'the fatness and the plenty of the flounders and eels', but he and his people were conquered by the Ngai Tahu. The conqueror 'had only a few principal kaingas, but many scattered villages of a temporary nature, used during the hunting and fishing seasons'. There was a 'stronghold' at Kaiapohia, and from there parties searched the plains for food. That Kaiapohia fell to Rauparaha in 1832 was 'a matter of history'; over a thousand people were slain.¹⁷⁹

Andersen then details early European whalers settlers and explorers: Hempleman, Smith, Sinclair, Hay, the Deans brothers, Tuckett, using their reports and others to judge the condition of the landscape before organised settlement began, and discussing whether Maori had fired forests in the region. His summary

of the state of the area at the time it was acquired by the Pakeha, and his characterisation of the acquisition, is, to say the least, succinct:

In that luxuriance of vegetation, with its fish and bird life, of river, lagoon and plain, roamed a few hundred of the neolithic Maori, living on the voluntary products of a nature never yet stirred to fuller and more prolific country by spade and plough. The pakeha was hailed with the "Haere" of the Maori, and in 1848 the swart brother ceded to the British Crown all his rights, excepting a few reserves, to these plains, which for fertility, have been compared to those of Lombardy, and which shall equal those of Lombardy for their wealth.¹⁸⁰

This was Andersen's view of precolonisation Canterbury history before his visit to Rapaki in 1911.

The place names were discussed in the last portion of the article, beginning with Maori names and their persistence. How was it that in some cases the proposed English names were adopted, 'and in others the Native names have asserted themselves and defied the English?' Ashley had supplanted Rakahuri, Wakaepa gave way to Selwyn, Hakatere to Ashburton, Waiariari to Hook; but Waimakariri prevailed over Courtenay, Waitaki over Molesworth, Waihao over Stafford, Rakaia over Cholmondeley, Rangitata over Alford. He deplored the

mispronunciation of Waimakariri as 'Waimak'. Waianiwaniwa was 'of perfectly simple pronunciation' yet he knew of only one person who had not 'boggled at the name' - it 'fell from his lips softly as a ripple of water'. Most of this discussion was taken up with the 'successive waves of names' given by Europeans. The article finished with a pious invocation: 'What day could be better than the one now present to call to mind the energy, the perseverance, the cheerfulness of those early moulders of the wilderness, who made Canterbury the pleasant land that we know it? To those who, after sixty years, still remain of the early band, we of the younger generation may look with respect, almost with reverence; and may we be roused to a determination to further on its good path the work which they began so well.'¹⁸¹ For all Andersen's delight in the survival of Maori place names, and his regret that some were not correctly pronounced, the reference to the 'moulders of the wilderness' indicates the colonisation ideology which informs the whole article. It is likewise visible in the comment about the plains providing for the 'simple wants' of the Maori, the 'neolithic Maori', while the brief reference to the cession of 1848 is a case of either suppression or ignorance. His next contact with Maori people, however, was to change, or considerably extend, his views on the impact of colonisation.

* * * *

Just after the Easter break of April 1911, Andersen attended a hui at Rapaki. Almost certainly he did not go unbidden: he very likely had quizzed someone about place names and had been told that the hui would provide an excellent opportunity for collecting information. He was given leave from the office, which he left in mid-afternoon, Tuesday 18 April; travelled by train to Lyttelton; and then walked the short distance, about three miles, to the small settlement at Rapaki.¹⁸² As he drew near to Rapaki, he came across three Maori 'boys' (so he termed them, on what basis cannot be divined) with a dress-basket who were changing their clothes. Were they placing their new or their old clothes in the basket, Andersen asked. Their new clothes, they replied: "'It wouldn't do to let the Maoris see us in our best clothes," said one of them!¹⁸³ This seems a fatuous answer to an impertinent question: the 'boys' may have given the answer they thought would please the inquisitive Pakeha.

It must have been late afternoon when he reached Rapaki.¹⁸⁴ Henare Uru, whom Andersen knew through the Savage Club, noticed his arrival and told him, in an apposite colloquial phrase, to make himself at home. A general meeting of Ngai Tahu and Ngati Mamoe elders in the Runanga hall was still in progress but about to

break up: when it did so soon after, Andersen, no doubt a little anxious as an outsider, was pleased to notice a familiar face among those coming from the hall, Johnny the Hawk or Hoani Kaahu; and he went up to him. 'He was seated when I accosted him, and shewed the instincts of a gentleman by standing when we shook hands & conversed, not sitting till I sat.'¹⁸⁵ They sat and talked, first about the Ngai Tahu leader Tuhawaiki and the circumstances of his death, then about the place name Orakipaoa. Should it be Orakipaua? No indeed: "'You take an egg, and throw it on the ground; that's paoa; and raki is the sky'", explained Kaahu, 'with appropriate actions and gestures'. The name indicated 'the sky splashed like a broken egg'. And Te-wai-a-te-ruati? Kaahu knew the place well; he had been born there. Te Ruati was 'chief man of the place', and by a coincidence the 'big burly man, with bulging eyes' who sat beside them was the son of Te Ruati.¹⁸⁶

Andersen was curious that the meeting should be termed a gathering of Ngai Tahu and Ngati Mamoe: he had thought, he said to Kaahu, that there were 'no pure Ngati Mamoe left'. Kaahu indicated a person Andersen had already noticed, 'an elderly man, with square grey beard, intensely dark skin, of very spare figure, bent at the knees, ordinary European clothes and bowler hat, walking up and down alone, hands in pockets, as if ruminating.' This man had married a Ngai Tahu woman, said Kaahu "'but he is pure Ngati Mamoe.'"¹⁸⁷ Andersen was no doubt excited by this information and by the prospect of meeting someone who was

for a Pakeha a very special piece of living history. James Stack, the Pakeha authority on the South Island Maori people and their traditions, had in his writings elaborated a sequence of conquest (just as Percy Smith was to do for New Zealand as a whole): strong invaders by turn conquering and virtually obliterating the incumbent people. In this interpretation the Ngati Mamoe had arrived from the North Island and subdued the Waitaha; and then during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Ngai Tahu had in turn arrived from the north and gradually subjugated the Ngati Mamoe. This simplified and possibly erroneous version of traditional history was known to Andersen; and he like others believed that the Ngati Mamoe had been more or less absorbed by the Ngai Tahu.¹⁸⁸ But here he was, if Kaahu were correct, in the presence of a 'pure' Ngati Mamoe. Andersen was 'determined to get into conversation with him if the chance offered'.

The conversation with Kaahu was brought to an end when a 'burly Maori' came out of a marquee calling 'Haere mai, - haere mai ki te kai', and most of the gathering rushed off to eat. Andersen was not altogether enthusiastic: 'On a table at the head of the marquee were piled loads of barracouta, fried inanga, mussels, pipi, potatoes, smelling not bad, but looking not too savoury.' The inanga were not whitebait but 'smelts' fried like whitebait - 'that is, whole'; and as they were 'ten times as big' as whitebait and their eyes looked back at the observer, Andersen 'didn't fancy them a bit'.¹⁸⁹ The Ngati Mamoe man was in no hurry to join in the

meal either and Andersen took the opportunity to move away from the food and talk to him.

Were the rock paintings up the Te-ana-wai done by Ngati Mamoe? No, said the man, by the Waitaha. Names: Kakahu near Temuka should be Kakaho and pronounced Kaakaho (with a long first syllable). 'He spoke English fairly well: and when he explained anything, it was a pleasure to see his eyes open and light up when he saw his explanation was seized; the opening of the eyes then showed the red of the lids; and that', Andersen added, 'was characteristic rather than pleasant.' Kokoro was 'exceedingly hard on his "ks"', Andersen noted: in the South Island dialect Ngati became Kati and Ngai became Kai (the 'k' pronounced almost like the 'g' of go), and his informant's forceful use of the hard 'k' caused Andersen to wonder whether the different geographical frequency of 'k' in place of 'ng' in South Island place-names might not indicate Ngati Mamoe persistence in certain districts.¹⁹⁰

Soon some people had had enough to eat and left the marquee, 'so as there was more room we went in'. Henare Uru showed Andersen to a seat at one of the two long tables. Uru remarked to Andersen (whose diffidence may have been apparent) 'that the food might taste a little peculiar, as some of it had been cooked in Maori ovens, there not being enough pakeha ones to cook for so many people'. Andersen passed up the inanga, which seemed to be highly relished by others, and

settled for roast mutton, potatoes and mixed pickles. The potatoes tasted of barracouta and there was rather more mutton than he could manage (or perhaps stomach). 'Two young fellows ran up and down between the two tables with tea, calling Tea oh; who says tea? - A good many said tea; I said it three times; and I relished what others complained of - the tea was weak.' He discovered another acquaintance, one of the Ellison family whom he had met at Kaiapoi, and sat by him.¹⁹¹ The Ngati Mamoe man, Ellison told him, was called Kokoro. Andersen recognised the name. Kokoro had been a shearer at Burnett's Mount Cook Station and a rock in the bed of the Tasman river was named after him, so in the end meeting Kokoro had been 'like meeting an old friend'.¹⁹² As he talked with Ellison he felt 'two hands laid lightly' on his shoulders: 'being at Rome' he took no notice, but when the hands were removed he 'observed that they belonged to a pretty little Maori girl who was looking after the guests'. When he pushed aside his plate, unable to finish the mutton, she asked if he would have rice and prunes. 'I would, and enjoyed it.'¹⁹³

Ellison talked to Andersen about the Ngai Tahu claim, which was the major business of the gathering, told him what had been discussed at this current meeting, and lent him a copy of the evidence which the Ngai Tahu petitioners had presented to a Parliamentary committee the previous year. Andersen told Ellison he wanted to

write an article on the subject for the Lyttelton Times.¹⁹⁴ To Ellison this might have seemed like the prospect of useful publicity.

While Andersen listened to Ellison, he was also watching the people and the surroundings. He found himself surprised to see how up-to-date everything was - 'table with white cloth and set in good style' - but checked himself: why should he be surprised? He was particularly impressed by the use of acetylene gas to light up the marquee as evening fell. He watched the behaviour of the children: 'the youngsters were disobedient enough'. One woman called her little girl four times and the girl paid no attention, so the mother went and took the girl by the hand and the girl was willing to be led away. The mother, Andersen noted, 'said no word of remonstrance'. The incident may have offered him a contrast with parental attitudes to small children in Pakeha society, perhaps in his own family.¹⁹⁵ He calculated there were nearly two hundred people present: 'The elder, mysterious eyed women; the noisy, unchecked, jolly children; the sedate old men; the young men, gathered in groups before tea, with always a humourist among them, who constantly laughed'. He wished he could understand their mirth. Altogether he 'thoroughly enjoyed the tea'. Before he left to catch a train from Lyttelton he found another old friend, Toby Green, nearly blind, and still anxious (as he told Andersen) to get his Ngai Tahu genealogy into print.¹⁹⁶

In the train Andersen read the printed material given him by Ellison, though he thought it didn't give him much more insight into the matter than he had had previously.¹⁹⁷ At home he immediately set to work on his article. He finished after midnight and walked into town to deliver it to the office of the Lyttelton Times so that it could appear in the next day's paper. After this effort he was very disappointed when the article was not printed next day, so disappointed he did not return to Rapaki as he had intended: 'I was vexed; as I wished the Maoris to see the statement before they dispersed'. He was slightly mollified when on Friday the Times not only printed his article but also 'a favourable sub-leader': the addition of the editorial made 'some amends'. However, his intended gesture of personally delivering copies to the 'leading natives' at Rapaki had been dashed.¹⁹⁸ Perhaps Andersen felt he had made some kind of a promise to Ellison and did not wish to be added to the long list of Pakeha who had not delivered on their promises to the Ngai Tahu people.

The article, 'A Native Grievance/Purchase of Canterbury/from the Maori', was several thousand words in length. Andersen's name was not attached to it ('Contributed' was the by-line), probably because a civil servant could not publicly engage in comment upon government policy, though in the Lands Department office his authorship can have been no secret. The article was a clear summary of the circumstances under which Europeans had acquired the land and of subsequent

efforts by Ngai Tahu and a few Europeans to correct the injustices. There was a good deal of quotation and close paraphrase; virtually all of it was drawn from the documents Ellison gave Andersen, material which itself contained several quotations from earlier documents. The final phrases may have been Andersen's own: 'The Maori had no written word; his word of mouth was his deed'; was he, the last sentence asked, 'forever to suffer because he trusted to the word of his white brother?'.¹⁹⁹

What is particularly interesting (and was probably enlightening to most readers of the Lyttelton Times if they read so far) is a passage earlier in the final paragraph. It states how European 'settlement' had disrupted the basis of Maori life. For the Ngai Tahu 'their mahinga kai, a term including all their cultivations, fishing and hunting grounds, and all sources of food supplies whatsoever, were open to them for many years after the settlement of the country'. This continuing availability of food resources (and a lack of documentary evidence about the European claim to virtually total possession of the area) was a reason why the Ngai Tahu had not brought their claim forward until the 1870s - a tardiness for which they had been much criticised and which to some Europeans seemed to render their claims suspicious. But by then the situation had changed: 'as land became more densely occupied their food preserves became more and more restricted. Runholders prohibited the hunting of wekas, and the wekas suffered equally with

the rabbits when poisoning was resorted to. Fish were imported, and the rivers became subject to acclimatisation laws; their fish supplies were cut off; their bird snaring was at an end. One by one the means of subsistence failed him.’²⁰⁰

Neither the ideas nor the phrases were novel; indeed they were words used by Alexander Mackay and others many years before, lifted almost verbatim from the printed sources given Andersen by Ellison.²⁰¹ That Andersen chose to include this simple summary of the disruption of the traditional Maori economy instead of using the space to provide further detail on or examples of the interminable negotiations over the years is an indication of the significance he himself found in the remarks. It was in essence an argument that the impoverishment of the Maori was due to colonisation, not inherent cultural (or ‘racial’) incapacity. If Andersen had known or understood this before his visit to Rapaki he had never said so; and the fact that in his article he closely paraphrased or virtually repeated the words of others, and did not have his own verbal formulations, suggests he had not previously understood the full ramifications of European settlement, or perhaps had not thought very deeply about the effects upon the Maori people. Less than half-a-dozen years before, the line in the Exhibition Ode had read: ‘you were dying ere we came’. Just four months previously, in his essay ‘After Sixty Years’, published for the diamond jubilee of Canterbury, he had written: ‘In that luxuriance of vegetation, with its fish and bird life, of river, lagoon and plain, roamed a few

hundred of the neolithic Maori, living on the voluntary produce of a nature never yet stirred to fuller and more prolific country by spade and plough. The pakeha was hailed with the "Haere" of the Maori, and in 1848 the swart brother ceded to the British Crown all his rights, excepting a few reserves, to these plains'.²⁰²

The visit to Rapaki in April 1911 had been a brief one - perhaps not more than four hours. Andersen did acquire a small amount of information on place names. He also acquired, through the materials given him by Ellison, a new understanding of the disruptive effects upon Maori of European settlement, and this appreciation was to be expressed in print in future. He had discovered that local Maori were not 'utter decadents', and found, to his surprise, that tablecloths and acetylene gas lighting had been incorporated into their gatherings. It appears that his Rapaki excursion brought Andersen some distance from the bookish world of myths and legends to a consideration of contemporary Maori society and the historical circumstances which generated and justified the Ngai Tahu 'struggle for their rights'. However, it seems that his appreciation of the Ngai Tahu 'struggle for their rights' derived more from Andersen's reading of the printed matter given him by Ellison than from meeting with and talking with people at Rapaki.

There is another significant perspective. This Pakeha had written extensively on Maori subjects - short stories, verse, newspaper articles on art with Maori themes, a small booklet of myths and legends, and the large-scale Maori Life

in Ao-tea - and was regarded by many other Pakeha as something of an expert on Maori lore, yet he had not, until April 1911, visited 'the Maori in his home' (as Andersen had put it in his letter to Best in 1905). Moreover, his meticulous records of this visit reveal not only an intense curiosity but a self-consciousness that he was observing 'different' people. His hosts were, in the process of writing, turned into his subjects.

* * * *

Andersen hoped to be relieved of some of his Lands Department work while engaged on his 'Topographical History of Canterbury', or alternatively he anticipated that his historical research would become a part of his salaried work; but although he was treated generously by the Department in requests for leave to carry out research, and his pursuit of information was sympathetically encouraged, it remained after hours work, an addition to his ordinary duties.²⁰³ One result was that for all his amazing diligence the project proceeded slowly; and the task became, as he said, burdensome. Andersen had looked towards early publication: the expectation of appearing in print acted as a spur. As the prospect of the

Canterbury place names volume receded, though it never disappeared, he welcomed the opportunity to write a book on the history of South Canterbury, especially since he would be able to incorporate in it some of the Canterbury place names research he had already carried out. Moreover, there was an emolument attached.²⁰⁴

Much of the detail of the drawn-out story of the compilation and publication of the Jubilee History of South Canterbury, which eventually appeared in 1916, falls outside the scope of the present study. In summary, the Jubilee Committee, meeting from time to time in Timaru, the chief town of the region, wanted a 'Popular History' - 'something readable, a literary work, plus, if necessary, a diary of events of importance that cannot be well worked into narrative or description'.²⁰⁵ Andersen was advised by the Committee to 'please make it as "light and airy" as possible so that it shall be readable for people who have no personal interest in the subject sacrifice fact to fancy a little if necessary to make it attractive to the general reader'.²⁰⁶ Instead, the Committee, and ultimately the readers, got a massive volume, nearly 800 pages in length, Crown quarto size, replete with an extraordinary amount of detail, tabulated as well as in prose; and the printers, Whitcombe and Tombs, had to cable to London for more paper when their supplies ran short.²⁰⁷ The book was in bulk and organisation quite unlike any other local history published in New Zealand up to that time.

The comprehensiveness which Andersen essayed ensured that Maori would be given a place in the Jubilee History, but even at the planning stage there was a little contention about how significant and detailed this place should be. John Hardcastle, then the editor of the Timaru Herald and a friend of Andersen's, and perhaps because of this friendship usually the member of the Jubilee Committee deputed to write to Andersen about matters connected with the History, observed in January 1910: 'I think the summary of contents you send would about do, with a little explanation here & there. Personally I think you should not give much space to the Maori & Pre Maori times - the "successive waves of native occupation" should be rather outside the record.' In place of the last six words Hardcastle had originally written: 'would be of little interest to our folk I fear'.²⁰⁸ Much later, in January 1915, when commenting on the proofs of the 'History', Hardcastle wrote: 'Early acclimatisation & Maori interesting, though the elucidation of the mixture of races will not interest many - for to many a Maori is a Maori, & there's an end.'²⁰⁹

Nearly all references to Maori people in the Jubilee History are contained in the first three chapters; elsewhere in the book Maori appear only in erecting a church at Temuka, in a discussion of the forms and meaning of the name Temuka, in comments on Maori knowledge of Alpine geography, and, graphically, in a photograph entitled 'Part of the pa at Arowhenua, shewing remnant of bush: about 1880'.²¹⁰ Of the initial three chapters, the first, 'Geology, fauna, etc.', has

incidental references to Maori in connection with the use of weka for food, their knowledge of an off-shore fishing bank, and their use of freshwater silveries, ‘smelts’, whitebait, and lampreys as food;²¹¹ and the third chapter, ‘Appearance of the White Man’, refers to Maori people giving assistance to Edward Shortland, Frederick Tuckett, William Mantell, and Charles Torlesse during their journeys through the South Canterbury region between 1844 and 1849.²¹² The substantive discussion is restricted to chapter 2, ‘The Maori: Nomenclature’, and of the thirteen pages of this chapter, the last deals with ‘European names’.²¹³ The Jubilee History is thus overwhelmingly an account of settler activities and accomplishments, though not altogether an uncritical one.

The first third of Andersen’s dozen pages on Maori contains a brief recital of traditional history, based largely upon Stack’s version of successive invasions and conquests, a sketch of the ‘Kai-huanga feud’ within Ngai Tahu, a summary of Te Rauparaha’s activities and Ngai Tahu responses, 1827-1838, and comments upon trading between Maori and early Pakeha, and on speculative purchases by Europeans in 1839 and 1840. Andersen works into his text the account of the death of Taiaroa, ‘Bloody Jack’, which he had been given by Hoani Kaahu at Rapaki in 1911.²¹⁴ None of this material is specific to South Canterbury; but it is germane to the general ebb and flow of Maori affairs, especially of the Ngai Tahu, in the first half of the nineteenth century.

He then deals with the purchase of Canterbury in 1848, noting that the price paid by the New Zealand Company was in effect 'a little less than a farthing an acre', but that the deed stipulated 'all places of residence of the Maoris, and their plantations, were to be reserved, the Government to make further reserves at its discretion on the final survey of the land.' This latter provision, Andersen emphasizes, 'was in accordance with that pursued in other similar purchases'. Furthermore, 'other stipulations, made verbally ... induced the Maoris to sign the deed', including the promise of schools and hospitals. No hospitals were ever provided, no schools until 1873, and the single 'native school' in South Canterbury was not opened until 1895. The reservations which were to be (he quotes from the deed) 'ample for their present and prospective wants' actually amounted to fourteen acres per individual. 'Again and again', Andersen writes, 'the Maoris have petitioned for justice; their claims have been admitted; a committee of the House of Representatives appointed in 1872 reported that promises of an important character that had been made, had not been kept; they recommended the immediate settlement of the claims "in order that the good faith of the Colony pledged to the Natives in the Middle Island may be honourably kept, and a fair settlement made of a claim which will become more serious and important with every year of delay." The Maoris are still urging their petition: the claims are still admitted, - but still unsettled.'

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Andersen then detailed the Maori population of South Canterbury from the count made by Shortland in 1844 to the census of 1911, pointing out that additional areas were reserved for them in 1868 after an appeal in the Native Land Court by Horomona Pohio was supported by W.B.D. Mantell and Alexander Mackay. The implication, not spelt out, is that since the population had increased considerably after 1868, further reserves were appropriate. H. K. Taiaroa, the M.P., 'was ever active in endeavouring to urge the House [of Representatives] to recognise the claims of the Canterbury Maoris, but whilst Commissions were appointed, and favourable recommendations were made by them, little was done.'²¹⁶ Curiously, while Andersen mentions that 'Tamaiharoa' led his people from Arowhenua up the Waitaki river, he fails to note their heavy-handed eviction by officials.²¹⁷

This is followed by an explanation of how food was gathered from the area by Maori. The root of the ti 'was one great staple food of the South Canterbury Maoris'; raupo root was eaten and bread made from the pollen of raupo flowers; eels, silveries, and whitebait were taken from swamps and rivers; the plains had native rats in abundance and 'teemed with wekas' - two Pakeha had helped to transport three tons of preserved weka in about 1870. However, it was evident

that as the country became more closely settled, the hunting grounds of the Maoris became more and more restricted, and they began to feel the pinch of poverty where they had

formerly enjoyed plenty. The country was burnt year by year; the fern and the ti trees disappeared; swamps were drained, and raupo and eels dwindled in quantity and number; rabbit poisoning and constant molestation slowly but surely exterminated the weka.

As well, the Acclimatisation Society controlled the rivers and streams they had stocked with introduced species, 'and the Maori lost the freedom of the waters as he had lost the freedom of the lands'. Andersen refers to the appeals of Rawiri te Maire before an enquiry into claims in 1891, and quotes the exasperation expressed by Natanahira Waruwaru shortly afterwards. 'Every passing year', Andersen comments, 'aggravates the complexity of this Maori grievance, and makes any satisfactory settlement increasingly difficult. Over and over again it has been recognised that injustice has been done, until it would seem that the very magnitude of that injustice is becoming a factor to prevent any remedy being administered.'²¹⁸

Before the discussion of 'Nomenclature', Andersen includes two maps, first drawn by Maori for Europeans in the 1840s, redrawn for the Jubilee History by Andersen himself, and he makes acute observations on the cartography: of the map of South Island sketched in about 1841 he suggests that 'Allowance must ... be made for a different basis as between European and Maori estimating distance

between and importance of localities. Two places would probably be shewn on a sketch close together if the journey between them could be made quickly, or far apart if the journey were difficult or occupied a lengthy space of time. Again, a good harbour would be shewn larger than a poor one, their relative importance rather than their relative size being indicated.' Further, 'The Alpine passes were all known long before the arrival of the Europeans; - indeed it was from native information that the passes were in most instances re-discovered.'²¹⁹

The discussion of nomenclature, or place names, is more a consideration of the difficulties of elucidating the correct form, origin, and 'meaning' of Maori names than a resolution of disputes or a listing of information. Andersen believed 'The place names of the various migratory waves in South Canterbury' to be 'mingled beyond hope of separation'. But the distinction between 'ng' (of Ngai Tahu) and 'k' (of Ngati Mamoe) might indicate the 'faintest line of demarcation' - where the Ngati Mamoe were spared by their conquerors the 'k' persists, where the Ngai Tahu were the sole occupiers the word has the 'northern' form: thus Waitaki rather than Waitangi, but Rangitata rather than Rakitata. Into this discussion, Andersen introduces a mention of his own efforts to acquire information: 'when listening to Kokoro, one of the few still living Ngati-mamoe, the writer has noted ...'; and to illustrate the 'extreme difficulty' of working out the origin of a name, he instances his conversation with Hoani Kaahu about Hakataramea. With some

reluctance, he questions the usually given ‘meaning’ of the name Timaru; and finally refers to Julius von Haast and James Cowan when talking of the ‘native name of Mount Cook’.²²⁰

Little of what Andersen writes about the Maori in the Jubilee History is specific to the South Canterbury region: the detailed material dealing with South Canterbury alone rather than the whole of Canterbury is limited to the census figures and some careful conjecture on place names. Nevertheless, he gave Maori a place, slight though it was, in the text, and thus in the South Canterbury past. Moreover, he gave prominence to the issues which derived from the purchase of 1848 and subsequent European settlement; and he made it clear these issues were current, and that the numbers of Maori people were, in general terms, increasing. Such a view may be contrasted with his brief comment on the 1848 purchase in his jubilee article of 1910. The conclusion must be that the Rapaki experience in April 1911, and the materials which had been given to read on that occasion, had substantially altered or enlarged his views. What Andersen expressed in the Jubilee History was more or less what he had written in his article immediately after visiting Rapaki; but in the Jubilee History such attitudes were given a much more permanent form than in a newspaper.

Yet, his statements about the need to remedy the problems which had arisen from colonisation are confined to a few pages in a single chapter: his views do not

leaven the work as a whole, and elsewhere in the text the Pakeha settles and develops the region without reference to the Maori. The reader may draw conclusions; but Andersen did not do so for the reader.

* * * *

Andersen completed his draft of the South Canterbury history sometime around the middle of 1913; since he had undertaken to see the work through the press, he continued to deal with other details of publication, including illustration captions, indexing and proofreading, well into 1915.²²¹ By the time the Jubilee History was published, in 1916, Andersen had moved from Christchurch; he took up a job as an assistant librarian in the Parliamentary Library, Wellington, on 1 May 1915. When he read in the newspapers of Andersen's new appointment, James Hight, by then Professor of History and Economics at Canterbury College, wrote: 'You will no doubt feel a still keener impulse, if such is possible [,] to literary work'.²²² Probably it was with the hope of carrying further his literary projects that Andersen had applied for the job in Wellington.²²³ He perhaps did not foresee that so much of his 'literary work' would in future be on Maori

subjects, and that some of it would be composed under rather different circumstances than in Christchurch. Eventually, many years later, portions of his place names research and even a fraction of his labours on 'Maori' epics were to be published; and the interests he had developed in Christchurch were never jettisoned.²²⁴ These interests were, nevertheless, greatly supplemented by new interests and activities which grew out of close contact with people and institutions in Wellington. The move from Christchurch to Wellington led to a change in the scale and breadth of his activities: in Wellington he was drawn into a network of personal and institutional relationships which enabled him not only to indulge his interests in Maori subjects much more consistently than hitherto but also to disseminate his views much more extensively and to influence a wider range of Pakeha New Zealanders.

Yet the development of Andersen's interests in Maori subjects during the first years of the century in Christchurch should not be seen simply as prefatory to his expanded opportunities and activities in Wellington. His discovery in Christchurch that Maori mythology, traditions, history and other aspects of their culture could be diverted to Pakeha ends was by no means singular. In communities throughout New Zealand, then and in later generations, other Pakeha similarly developed interests in Maori subjects: they collected relevant books;

attended lectures and, in their own localities, sometimes gave them; now and again wrote to newspapers to share their wisdom with others or to correct erroneous views on 'the Maori' past and present; a few wrote a book (or two); many fossicked about old sites, with increasing expertise as amateur archaeologists as the century advanced; many helped to establish or support museums, or local historical societies, and perhaps joined for a period the Polynesian Society. They were active, or aspired to be active, in similar ways to Andersen in Christchurch before the Great War, though their efforts were not usually as concentrated as Andersen's, instead extending in a measured way across many decades. Many of the more influential and notable are mentioned in later parts of this study, as are some of the less well known - W. A. Taylor, W.H. Ross, T. W. Downes, W. J. Elvy, G. M. Henderson. It is a list which could be considerably extended to include such names (chosen at random) as Louis J. Vangioni, H.A.H. Insull, G. L. Pearce, and J.B.W. Robertson.²²⁵ Eventually we will need studies of these individuals and the institutions and societies in which they were active, and of the membership of these institutions and societies, investigating the networks of interest and influence at local and regional levels and their contacts with national organisations. In the meantime, the story of Andersen's early enthusiasm for Maori subjects, how it was generated, and how it was expressed between about 1905 and

1915, may stand as one example of a host of Pakeha who were through contemplation of the Other to find, or try to find, local affinities.

CHAPTER 2: NETWORKS OF DISCOURSE

In Christchurch, Johannes Andersen had spent twenty-eight years working for the Lands Department in the old Canterbury Provincial Buildings, the most impressive part of which was the Gothic-style Canterbury Provincial Council chamber. In Wellington, from 1915 until the end of 1918, he worked in the General Assembly Library, another example of Colonial Gothic, but one built rather more recently than the Canterbury buildings since its construction had begun in 1898. The General Assembly Library had been attached to Parliament House, but the older section adjoining the Library had burnt down in 1907, since when the parliamentarians had used the nearby Government House, formerly the residence of governors. The new Parliament Buildings, a stone's throw from the Library, had been started in 1912, but when Andersen arrived in Wellington in 1915 the structure was still many years away from completion.¹ If Andersen walked from the General Assembly Library around the uncompleted new buildings, he eventually arrived at Bowen Street: and on the other side of Bowen Street he could see the property of Alexander Turnbull, a Wellington merchant of means, reputed to have one of the finest collection of books in the country. Turnbull kept in close contact with scholars and bibliomaniacs - Percy Smith, for example, and Edward Tregear, founders of the Polynesian Society; Captain Gilbert Mair, veteran of the

wars of the 1860s and an authority on Maori lore; and Archdeacon Herbert Williams, grandson of the William Williams who had compiled the first dictionary of the Maori language. Herbert Williams was then in the process of revising the dictionary for a new edition to be published in 1917. Alexander Turnbull had also helped Leonard Cockayne, the botanist who had revised the scientific nomenclature for Andersen's Maori life in Ao-tea, when Cockayne required some rare botanical manuals for reference.²

In 1914 Alexander Turnbull had sold most of his property; but in 1915 he remained living in 'Elibank', the old family home off Bowen Street, while his new house, half of which was to be a home for his library, was being built. The designer of this new residence was Thomas Turnbull (no relation of the book collector) who had designed the General Assembly Library. Alexander Turnbull's new house did not get under way until late in 1915, or substantially until early 1916, and Andersen watched it take shape as he went to and from work at the General Assembly Library: the house was not another example of Colonial Gothic but what was later described by Turnbull's biographer as 'eclectic' in shape, with, 'in the final drawings ... a suggestion of the substantial Jacobean grange, strong hints of Morris's Kelmscott Manor, and in the steep gables perhaps a touch of Scottish baronial.'³ From the beginning of 1919, Andersen would come to know this house very well as a workplace, and he would be in charge of the collection of

books and manuscripts built up by Alexander Turnbull. At present, Turnbull himself, who as it happened was in the last three years of his life when Andersen arrived in Wellington, was hardly ever to be seen.⁴ Nearly opposite Turnbull's property, a little closer to Bowen Street than to the General Assembly Library, was a rambling old wooden building which housed the exhibits and collections of the Dominion Museum, and provided inadequate facilities for its staff. Here, too, the Wellington Philosophical Society held its meetings.

In this small area of the capital city, between Alexander Turnbull's library and the General Assembly Library, and including the Dominion Museum, cultural life flourished in close proximity to political power, and the politicians, for a variety of reasons, nurtured cultural life, both through the involvement of some of them in intellectual pursuits, and through infusions of money. Though private citizens with means nourished the arts and sciences, the most substantial patron in New Zealand was the government, and much of its patronage was expended (lavished would be a misleading term) upon institutions within a short walk of Parliament itself: the General Assembly Library was of course an integral part of Parliament, though its considerable resources were available to other approved citizens; the government supported the Dominion Museum, and provided large subsidies to the parent organisation of the Wellington Philosophical Society, the New Zealand Institute, for the publication of its annual Transactions.⁵ The Board

of Science and Art, established in 1913 to promote and systematize the pursuit of knowledge in New Zealand, was a recent government creation.⁶ This Board was soon to publish a journal (the Journal of Science and Technology) and a series of memoir volumes. The government was involved, directly and indirectly, in a good deal of publication, not only of parliamentary papers and official reports, but also of other worthy scientific and literary works the merits of which had been sufficiently impressed upon parliamentarians by their authors and sponsors: the Government Printer, in premises between Featherston Street and Lambton Quay, a few minutes walk from the General Assembly Library, was the largest publisher in the country.⁷ In 1918, by bequest of the late Alexander Turnbull, his library (the new building as well as the books and manuscripts, when certain financial intricacies were sorted out) became an institution of the government also.⁸

Andersen was drawn into this network of institutions, cultural and political personalities, and government patronage both by his employment, first as an assistant librarian at the General Assembly Library and then as Librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library, and by his intellectual interests. Being part of this network gave him prestige, and, in cultural affairs, a measure of influence (though his power to shape important political decisions about cultural matters was minimal). While being part of the network provided him with outlets for his enthusiasms, his contributions were welcomed by various people who sought to

utilize his talents in ways which furthered their own cultural programmes and policies. For Best, Andersen was a welcome new recruit to the small world of colonial ethnology; for Dr J.A. Thomson, Director of the Dominion Museum and Chairman of the Board of Science and Art, Andersen was another potential worker on the local frontiers of scientific knowledge; for Apirana Ngata, Andersen was one of those sympathetic Pakeha whose energies might be directed into the cause of Maori cultural revival which Ngata hoped to forward.

The chapter which follows describes the ways Andersen became caught up in those aspects of intellectual life in Wellington which involved the study of Maori people and their culture. The first part of the chapter explains why Best, Thomson, and Ngata, for reasons not altogether congruent, promoted ethnological expeditions, and how Andersen was invited to share in this work. Andersen's participation in the ethnological expeditions, between 1919 and 1923, which is described in the second part of the chapter, and in the Polynesian Society, from 1924, provided him with a basis for claiming, and being accorded, expertise and authoritativeness on Maori subjects. This was a consequence that Ngata, in particular, had not foreseen. The third part of the chapter details Ngata's plan to move the headquarters of the Polynesian Society from New Plymouth to Wellington so that it could be added to the network of institutions through which he hoped to assist Maori causes. The fourth part of the chapter discusses the nature

of the Polynesian Society and its intellectual dispositions, as manifested in the scholarly Journal of the Polynesian Society, at the time it was shifted to Wellington, in 1924. In particular, certain revisionist views of New Zealand prehistory developed by H. D. Skinner had begun to appear in the Journal in 1924. The fifth section describes the joint-editorship of the Journal by Best and Andersen from 1925 to 1930, in the course of which Andersen absorbed Best's intellectual preferences. By 1930, when Best had to give up the editorship because of ill-health, Andersen's position as editor was secure and his expertise was highly-regarded. From 1930 to 1946, as will be described in Chapter 3, Andersen's control of the Polynesian Society Journal enabled him to influence to a quite startling extent the development of debates on New Zealand prehistory, in which he privileged the version favoured by Best and denigrated and deflected the contributions of the revisionists. This chapter, then, explains Andersen's initiation during the 1920s into the discursive networks which provided him with intellectual authority.

* * * *

In Wellington, Johannes Andersen met his correspondent of earlier years, Elsdon Best.⁹ Best, ethnologist at the Dominion Museum, worked in a cramped office, turning his field notes and documentary researches into definitive descriptive works on Maori culture. Though Best's articles appeared from time to time in the Journal of the Polynesian Society and in the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, the Museum had been distressingly slow in publishing his major books - in fact, apart from a very substantial work on implements published in 1912, and another on storehouses, in press and shortly to appear,¹⁰ Best's big volumes remained unpublished when Andersen first worked in Wellington, and the shortages caused by the Great War betokened further delays. Though Best is particularly remembered for his studious sojourns among the Tuhoe of the Urewera, his determination to see what he had collected put into print was just as remarkable: when his research was in print, so he believed, no one else would be able to tinker with it.¹¹

Neither Best nor Andersen made friends easily or often but there were some similar characteristics which perhaps allowed for reasonably close companionship. Both were fastidious about personal cleanliness, though Andersen eschewed the sartorial neatness which Best affected. They each enjoyed walking as recreation and as exercise: this was a solitary activity, rarely if ever a shared one, but it helped maintain their leanness in a period when so many contemporaries were inclined to

be physically gross. Andersen was more socially adept than Best but could be equally stiff and abrupt with people who wasted his time: what some people might call rudeness they possibly recognised in each other as justifiable, even necessary behaviour in order to pursue their intellectual and literary interests, particularly their writing. And here there was a remarkable similarity: the obsession both men had with writing, with textualising their experiences and knowledge. Many of their various struggles with unsympathetic bureaucrats, over which they could offer each other confirmatory condolences, were to a large extent occasioned by the frustrations they had in getting their materials into published form.

That Best was a 'self-taught' expert without formal education at the higher levels would have been approved by Andersen, who also lacked higher education and was increasingly dismayed during the early 1920s at the intrusion of what he regarded as narrow-minded, academic scientists into local intellectual life:¹² ethnology apparently was one of the last fields in which the autodidact might excel. Quite apart from the fact that anthropology was an area of inquiry which attracted Andersen, he must have been grateful, even if unconsciously, that Best was available as a model of what the 'self-educated' person might achieve in intellectual endeavour.¹³

While it is not improbable that Andersen introduced himself to Best at the Museum, and nearly as likely that, since both were energetic walkers, they made

personal acquaintance with each other in the environs of Parliament, it is safe to assume that they made regular contact through the meetings of the Wellington Philosophical Society. Andersen had been an active member of the equivalent group in Christchurch, the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury, reading papers there on prosody, on verse metre, and on the songs of New Zealand birds - several of these papers had been published in the Transactions.¹⁴ By 1916 he was a member of the Wellington Society, and he probably regularly attended their meetings before then.¹⁵ He may well have heard Best deliver a paper to the Society on 'Maori and Maruiwi' in October 1915.¹⁶

Andersen delivered his first paper in Wellington a year later, on 25 October 1916: 'New Zealand Bird-song: Further Notes' was his fifth altogether on this subject,¹⁷ his examples, with musical annotation, taken from his visual and aural observations in parks and bush areas near the centre of Wellington. In this paper he prefaced his examples with a more general set of questions about the nature of birdsong - whether it was at all similar to 'the song of human beings', whether birds sang precise notes, or used a recognisable scale, and so on, much of the discussion being quite technical, and with overseas authorities duly quoted. By way of arguing one point, he said: 'Moreover, standards of taste in human song differ: to most European ears the song of the Maori is monotonous and unmusical in the extreme. Yet the Maori thoroughly appreciates his own music, and

appreciates in addition the music of the European, singing it, as well as his own, with facility, fidelity, and undoubted art. Birds, too, are able to learn human tunes In Maori music, it is not the apparently small compass of the song that makes it distasteful to many ears, but the free use of quarter-tones.* Then why is not the song of birds with small compass distasteful?' In the printed version of the paper, published in the Transactions, the asterisk denoted a footnote referring the reader to the appendix on Maori music by J. A. Davies in the second (1885) edition of George Grey's Polynesian Mythology.¹⁸

Andersen had himself heard at least a little Maori music: apparently from Maui Pomare when Andersen visited Wellington in 1908; probably in items given by Maori groups at the Christchurch Exhibition in 1906; very likely from 'Savage Uru' when he prepared the Savage Club group for their 'Maori Fragment' performance in 1911; certainly when Hana Pohio sang a waiata at Temuka in 1909; and certainly also at Rapaki in 1911 when, in the marquee that was a whare kai (he recorded), a woman 'started a song in a high-pitched, thin, rather disagreeable voice'. He had then wished 'she would sing more, as I was interested in the rhythm, which seemed to run in 3-time'. He noted that 'The quavers gave a somewhat trembling hurry to an otherwise deliberate rhythm. There were plenty of long drawn terminations, and these seemed to end in a chorus in which those at the table joined.' He took down the rhythm in musical notation, just as he customarily

did when recording birdsong in his notebooks while in the bush.¹⁹ And once, years before, in Christchurch, he had briefly mentioned the Maori in connection with poetry and rhythm in a paper on 'The Verse-unit', in which he argued that 'sentences' in verse were as long as 'the average length of a breath'. 'As the people emerged from barbarity', he suggested, 'evolving music and dance with its poetry, a finer rhythmic sense developed. In the Maori language poetry may be studied in many stages, from unrhythmical laments and love-chants to perfectly rhythmical war-songs, some of which were on the verge of becoming rimed and metrical, when their development was rudely interrupted by civilization.'²⁰ In this paper of 1910 on the verse-unit, as in the paper given at Wellington in 1916 on birdsong, these mentions of Maori 'love-chants' and 'love-songs' were merely by-the-way comments, suggesting neither profound interest nor extensive knowledge. Apart from the few instances noted above, Andersen's information on Maori music seems to have been drawn from the standard published European authorities, including Davies's appendix referred to in the footnote: that is, his knowledge was taken from books rather than from experience.

Whether Best was present at the Philosophical Society's meeting in October 1916 when Andersen read his paper on birdsong is impossible to say, though Best would have seen the paper when it was published in the Transactions in any case; and there was another birdsong paper presented by Andersen in October 1917,

likewise published in the Transactions.²¹ The latter paper made no mention of Maori music.

Andersen also made the acquaintance of Dr J. A. Thomson, Director of the Dominion Museum, an active member of the Wellington Philosophical Society, and a member of the body recently established by the government, the Board of Science and Art, which sought to extend scientific enquiry in New Zealand, and to organize it more systematically. When Andersen made plans to visit the bird sanctuary of Kapiti Island over the Christmas holidays in 1916-17, Thomson, aware of Andersen's ornithological expertise, and like others at the time concerned about the threats from goats, sheep and predators to the bird populations, asked him to report on the situation, which Andersen subsequently did, in some detail, on 19 February 1917.²² It was people like Andersen, neither academic nor professional but nevertheless with enthusiasm and skills, that Thomson and others who supported the Board of Science and Art's advisory role hoped to draw into broad research schemes.²³ Thus from his Kapiti holiday Andersen might not only gather material for another birdsong paper but also ornithological observations which could help in formulating policy for Kapiti Island and for protection of native bird species generally.

To Thomson's mind, ethnology was one of the sciences;²⁴ indeed, when the New Zealand Institute had established the prestigious Hector Medal a few years

earlier, it included ethnology as one of the six specified areas of science in which the annual award would be made sequentially. In 1914 it was the turn of ethnology, and Elsdon Best became the first Hector Medallist in ethnology. Under the previous director of the Museum, Augustus Hamilton, Best had outlined his programme for publishing bulletins on 'the technology of the Natives a field of enquiry that has been much neglected.' One of these bulletins, 'E', would deal with 'Amusements; exercises; games; music'. 'So far as the collection and collation of matter pertaining to the ethnography of the Maori of New Zealand is concerned', Best reported in 1915, 'it is clear that future students must depend largely on the work done by this Department within the next few years.' He emphasized the need for 'field-work'.²⁵

In 1915 Thomson made his first annual report as Director, and appended a wide-ranging special report on the state of the Museum, the proper purposes of the Museum, and plans for the future.²⁶ The document, comprehensive and progressive, included a discussion of the 'Responsibilities of the Dominion Museum for Research Work', with 'a list of the more important departments of science in which there is room for renewed or increased interest'. One item on this list was 'Cinematographic and Phonograph Records'. It was 'desirable', wrote Thomson, 'that phonograph records of Maori music and the rhythm of old Maori songs should be secured.'²⁷

Though the Museum continued to function, though the Board of Science and Art, established in 1913, finally began to meet in 1916 and plan for the future, and though Best went on with his research and writing, the war effort effectively delayed implementation of the grander projects, halted any field trips, and Best's manuscripts remained unpublished, including bulletin 'E', now called 'Games and Pastimes of the Maori', completed in draft form in 1917.²⁸ In other small ways, however, including appeals for material to form a National Historical Collection, Thomson was able to begin various new activities.²⁹ In April 1918 he asked for permission to purchase a dictaphone. He needed an assistant with special qualifications to help in the classification of Museum specimens; but perhaps a dictaphone and a less well paid assistant typist would together serve the purpose. The dictaphone might also 'be given a thorough trial as a medium for obtaining historical records'. Thomson pointed out that at the inaugural meeting of the Board of Science and Art, early in 1916, he had 'mooted the desirability of obtaining for the Museum a gramophone recording apparatus for obtaining permanent records of Maori intonation and speech as well as other historical records.' Since then he had been in touch with various overseas institutions, and the American Bureau of Ethnology informed him of a dictaphone used by their workers for recording American Indian songs.³⁰ Given approval to try the equipment, he reported in July that he had made a thorough trial of the dictaphone and it had proved quite

satisfactory for the Museum. As far as creating 'historical records' was concerned, the cylinders were made of wax rather than more substantial vulcanite, but Thomson had received advice that permanent records could be made from the wax cylinders. Approval was then given for purchase of the dictaphone, supplied by the Columbia Gramophone Company of England.³¹

Thomson's plans converged with those of Apirana Ngata, from 1905 a member of parliament. As long ago as May 1909, Peter Buck (Te Rangihiroa), a graduate in medicine and subsequently a Medical Officer for Maori Health, had written from Kaikohe to Apirana Ngata about their shared hopes for projects which would record important features of Maori society and culture. Ngata proposed a revision of Grey's collection of songs for use as a university text book. Buck envisaged an 'anthropometrical survey', and 'the taking of phonograph records' of Maori music. Buck had been in touch with the Australian composer Percy Grainger, then in London and developing an interest in folksong: 'Percy Grainger has promised to write the music of any records we may send him in the interests of science', he told Ngata.³² The making of phonograph records was an idea that Ngata evidently kept in mind, and he no doubt heartily supported the proposal made by Thomson before the Board of Science and Art in 1916. When the Armistice of November 1918 brought the war in Europe to a halt, projects long postponed could again be discussed with some prospect of realisation. On 1

December 1918 Ngata went to see his fellow parliamentarian, G. W. Russell, who as Minister of Internal Affairs was responsible for the Board of Science and Art and the Dominion Museum, and made a proposal: 'One of the largest Native gatherings in my [Eastern Maori] electorate will be held the first week of March, 1919, to augment the Maori Soldiers' Fund and to unveil the monument to the late Wi Pere. That would be an excellent opportunity for taking good records, for there will be no more representative gathering of Maoris in any part of the Dominion.'³³

Maori dances and pois, thought Ngata, could be described in writing, but only the 'picture film' could 'convey a tithe of the vigour and perfect uniformity of the former or the grace and beauty of the latter'. The lakes, forests and mountains had been filmed by the Tourist Department, but 'no whole-hearted attempt has yet been made to record characteristic scenes from Native Life'. As far as the Maori language was concerned, the new enlarged Dictionary revised by Herbert Williams set 'at rest any anxiety that students may have had as to the preservation of a complete record, so far as writing can record any language, of the vocabulary of the language of the aboriginal race'; and 'The words of the old songs and incantations, comprising the poetry of the race' - these had been saved by George Grey and others.

But a language, which lacks a literature like Maori, and which depends for its preservation in the finest form on the inflection and modulation and for its correct use on principles of euphony, must be recorded in the "speech" form - must be heard spoken by the fast passing generation of elders. I, therefore, make the suggestion that phonographic records be made by the Government throughout the two islands.³⁴

By the end of the year planning had so far advanced that (in the absence of Thomson, the Director) the Acting-Director, James McDonald, was able to ask for formal approval of the Dominion Museum expedition to Gisborne. While no extensive use had yet been made of the dictaphone for recording Maori speech, Te Heuheu Tukino and Hare Hongi (Henry Stowell) had 'recited short pieces in the native tongue and these reproduce very clearly.'³⁵

James McDonald was a man of many parts and much experience: regarded by some Pakeha as an authority on Maori matters, he had been at the Christchurch Exhibition in an official capacity (where he had met a young poet called Johannes Andersen, and told him that his use of the term teko-teko in Maori Life in Ao-tea was incorrect: the word should be pou-teko, which Andersen corrected in a footnote referring to an anonymous 'verbal authority').³⁶ McDonald was an artist - painter and sculptor - and ran the Museum from time to time in lieu of sick and

dying directors. He was also both photographer and cinematographer, and would have his hands full with his own equipment at Gisborne; though such was his versatility that perhaps it was assumed he would operate the dictaphone as well. Best would be the other half of the expedition. Who had the idea of adding Johannes Andersen is not known.

Andersen had recently come into some prominence in that little world which stretched along Molesworth Street to Bowen Street. At the end of July 1918, Thomson had called a meeting of those interested in talking over the possibility of forming an Historical Section in the Wellington Philosophical Society. Some luminaries like Edward Tregear could not be there; but among those who braved the night air were Mr Justice Chapman, whose paper on greenstone had been unwontedly praised by Elsdon Best; Dr A. K. Newman, M.P., author of Who are the Maoris? (1912); two professors from the local university college; Elsdon Best; and Johannes Andersen, who was made secretary pro tem.³⁷ During the meeting Andersen seconded the motion to form an Historical Section; and when the formal constitution of the section was made at a meeting of 10 September, he was elected honorary secretary.³⁸ Best was elected chairman. At the first ordinary meeting of the Historical Section, two papers were read: the first by Andersen on the place names of Banks Peninsula, and the second by Best on the early visits by Cook and de Surville and native tradition on the death of Marion du

Fresne at the Bay of Islands in 1772.³⁹ By then Andersen had been appointed as librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library, that new treasure house of books and manuscripts which the late merchant had bequeathed to the nation; and though he had not actually taken up the job yet, Andersen was the cynosure of all eyes.

Briefly, Andersen was known to Ngata, Thomson, and Best, and was in close contact with at least the latter two during 1918; he had acquired some prestige as the man who was about to take charge of the Alexander Turnbull Library; he was a scholar with a keen interest in Maori subjects; and on the evidence of his Transactions papers on birdsong, he had a great deal of musical expertise - specifically, he could reproduce the songs of birds with flageolet or by his own whistling, and in the bush could reduce the sounds of singing birds to orthodox musical notation. Best reported that the 'study of native songs and singing' was 'a highly interesting subject, but unfortunately', he regretted, 'I am not capable of dealing with it. I have long hoped that some one would take up this line of study, and am exceedingly pleased to hear that Mr. J. C. Andersen has resolved to do so.'⁴⁰ Best does not quite say that it was he who persuaded Andersen.

In February 1919, Thomson informed his superior, the Under-Secretary or departmental head of Internal Affairs, that the minister had approved the expedition to Gisborne 'to obtain records of Maori speeches and songs, and films of Maori life

and action'. He enclosed a letter from Andersen 'in which he asks that he may accompany the party officially for the purpose of studying Maori songs, music, and games.' Andersen had recently been making a study of the 'Maori flute' using specimens in the Dominion Museum, 'and has been able to get notes from the mouth flute, but none so far from flutes played by the nose.' Thomson 'heartily supported' the proposal; and Andersen was added to the party.⁴¹ Since Ngata was fully consulted about the expedition,⁴² it may be assumed that the addition of Andersen met with his approval also.

The success of the 1919 expedition, and Andersen's own praiseworthy efforts, led, directly and indirectly, to his participation in three further expeditions in the next four years, and others were planned, though for various reasons they did not take place. Through these expeditions, Andersen cemented his relationship with Elsdon Best, developed a friendship with Peter Buck, who was extending his ethnographic interests, and earned the approval of Apirana Ngata. Andersen's work on these expeditions and the lectures and publications which were a result of this work are detailed below. His enhanced standing as an ethnologist made him, especially in the eyes of Best, a most suitable ally when Best, with the encouragement of Ngata, took up the editorship of the Journal of the Polynesian Society, and, effectively, the leadership of the Society.

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Between 1919 and 1923 Andersen took part in four ethnographic expeditions organised by the Dominion Museum: to Gisborne, to attend the hui aroha, in 1919; to Rotorua, where Maori gathered for the visit by the Prince of Wales, in 1920; to settlements up the Wanganui River, in 1921; and to the East Coast, in 1923. Excepting his brief call at Rapaki in 1911, Andersen had not hitherto met Maori people in what might be called Maori situations. The Dominion Museum expeditions provided him with new and unusual experiences, and a store of knowledge which he drew upon frequently for conversation, lectures, articles and books during the rest of his life. This section describes the four expeditions, with an emphasis upon Andersen's activities, and also provides details of the talks and publications which he derived from his work on the expeditions.

As Elsdon Best, James McDonald and Johannes Andersen, equipped with cameras, notebooks, dictaphone and 72 wax cylinders, make their way by the S.S. Arahura from Napier to Gisborne, where they will stay in the Arcadia Hotel,⁴³ we may usefully and appropriately consider Andersen's situation. His membership of this Dominion Museum expedition, in the company of New Zealand's foremost

ethnologist, Elsdon Best, provided Andersen with the opportunity to participate very actively in the process of collecting ethnographic information from Maori people with their approval, and indeed encouragement, and in what was essentially a Maori setting. He was, it could be said, trebly authorized: by the scientific community wishing to accumulate ethnographic data; by Elsdon Best, who personified the ethnological autodidacts of the Polynesian Society and others of their kind, seeking to record the traces of 'the Maori as he was' before the 'race' disappeared; and by leading Maori scholars, who were concerned to capture for future use in cultural revival and revivification the still living if sometimes possibly endangered traditions of their people. To a considerable extent the attitudes of these groups were contradictory; but in 1919, as on earlier and later occasions, they appeared congruent, which superficially they were.

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Though Andersen probably kept detailed notes of his observations at Gisborne in 1919, such a record does not seem to have survived; nor does he much mention his experiences there in his various talks and publications. Of the hui, or

gathering, itself, the most graphic record is McDonald's film. Best's subsequent report ran thus:

In May I accompanied Messrs J. McDonald and J. C. Andersen to Gisborne for the purpose of attending the big Native meeting held there in order to welcome the returning Maori troops The records of Maori songs, games, &c ... greatly exceeded my expectations. Long experience has taught me that social meetings of Natives do not, as a rule, afford a collector good opportunities for collecting ethnographical data. The attractions and distractions are so numerous that it is usually difficult to obtain matter the procuring of which demands the close attention of Natives. Moreover, Europeans going among Natives to whom they are quite unknown are heavily handicapped in any attempts to collect such data. It is therefore with much pleasure that I acknowledge our indebtedness to Mr Balneavis, private secretary to the Minister of Native Affairs, who, at the request of Hon. Mr. Ngata, placed himself at our disposal, and was indefatigable in his efforts to induce Natives to fall in with our wishes. Being a Native of the district, he is acquainted with all the local Maoris, and was most successful in his endeavours. His own interest in the work resulted in that enthusiasm that ensured success. The interesting collection of Native songs, games, &c., may truly be said to be almost entirely due to his efforts. This

unexpected assistance removed all disabilities under which we were labouring, and far surpasses anything I could have accomplished. I found that my best course was to stand aside, and hence my share of the work is best represented by profound silence A long-cherished desire for phonographic records of Maori songs has at last been fulfilled. The collection of dictaphone records is exceedingly good, and comprises Native songs of many kinds The field is a new one and will provide material for very interesting papers.⁴⁴

Some of the contradictions between Maori and Pakeha perspectives may be read from Best's comments, including his notion that 'social meetings' were not, usually, the best circumstances for ethnographic work.⁴⁵ More particularly, the help given by Balneavis, at Ngata's behest, indicates how the Maori leaders who 'sponsored' the project saw the cameras and dictaphone as being in their service, employed in the cause of providing material for the future use of their own people, whereas Best thought in terms of 'material for very interesting papers'.

Andersen may have been disappointed, or at least bewildered, by some of his experiences. He had taken with him a koauau, or flute, from the Dominion Museum collection, hoping to find out at Gisborne how the koauau was played. A local man, Aporo, described by Andersen 'as a man of parts ... being proficient in

string games ... a bird-tamer, a teacher of speech to the tui, a weather-prophet, something of an impromptu poet and singer, and a dog-trainer', whose own dog 'was able to do several supercanine tricks',⁴⁶ was given the koauau to try, but was unable to elicit a sound. 'After trying for some time, he turned it about, examining it; and finding a small worm-eaten portion near the upper aperture, he knew the reason for his failure. "It's no good," said he; "worm-eaten; it wants some putty,"' and he handed it back to Andersen, who left Gisborne still not having heard the sound of a koauau apart from his own experiments.⁴⁷ (Aporo's talents nevertheless proved useful, as we shall see shortly.)

Then, too, much of the music was not the 'ancient' music of the Maori. There was 'Hoea ra te waka nei', for example, which used a Pakeha melody, and had 'another quality that made it Pakeha and not Maori; it was harmonized', though it was infused with 'a Maori spirit'; and 'He Aroha Nui', 'with other popular Pakeha airs, sung by young Maori women'. None of these were 'Maori music', nor were the words 'genuine old Maori poetry'. This did not lessen Andersen's admiration, especially for the poi dances, in which 'the metamorphosis of the Maori melody [had] not affected the poi except in adding to it a charm that causes it to appeal irresistibly to both races'.⁴⁸ For Andersen's purposes Best made the distinction between which of the songs and chants were 'Pakeha and not Maori', and those which were 'true Maori, and typical of the old Maori style', and

it was this latter music that was recorded on the cylinders.⁴⁹ Andersen's brief report stated that 'Among the songs, &c., are many good, and several excellent, examples of music.' Most of what had been recorded could be 'written down in the ordinary notation', and he intended to do this as soon as possible; but for some recorded songs there would need to be a 'modification of the ordinary notation ... so that the quarter-tones may be shown', especially the 'tangis, some of which are difficult and intricate within a small range of tones'. He thought there was 'much fine recitative', and he discerned a style 'approaching operatic music of the florid Italian school'. As a practised prosodist, he was on firmer ground with rhythm, though his perspective here was evolutionist: some rhythms followed 'ordinary modern accentual rhythms', while others showed 'to perfection the old Greek and Latin quantitative rhythm ... the most conservative and ancient of songs'. There was a 'good deal of work to be done' copying out the songs and analysing the styles, 'but the result will be a revelation'. There was music of a kind he had never heard before, 'two distinct rhythms, ancient and modern, living side by side', and as well 'fine music whose art would shame no composer of the present day'. In all these remarks there is no sense of cultural context, and much measurement of Maori music by European norms, which Andersen recognised in his comment that he was able to speak 'only from the standpoint of European music.'⁵⁰

Amidst the hustle and bustle of the hui aroha, Andersen developed, almost accidentally, it seems, another interest, when (in his own words) ‘one day by chance [he] saw a party of young girls collected round one who was making a figure with string. He watched, and seeing that the figure was not the usual European cat’s-cradle, his interest was aroused, and he enquired its name, and learned the setting up. It was Mouti. They knew no other figure, but referred the writer to an elderly man, Aporo, who knew fifteen.’⁵¹ Whether Andersen was an adept in ‘cat’s-cradle’, as string games are customarily called by Europeans, we do not know, though as an adult he maintained a passion for pastimes and activities which involved both dexterity and intellect; but since cat’s-cradle is (or perhaps was) almost universal among children, he doubtless had looped and twisted string when younger.⁵² We might guess that, initially, his fascination with cat’s-cradle at the hui aroha was not just the happy recognition of a pastime which belonged as much to his own culture as to that of the Maori, but also delight that he could ‘talk’ to Aporo and others without the presence of an interpreter, simply by using string, gesture and facial expression: many of the people at the hui aroha no doubt spoke English; but detailed cultural matters such as the ethnologists sought were were not necessarily readily translatable.

These string figures had ethnographic significance: Best knew that string games were a traditional activity of ‘the Maori as he was’, and he had in earlier

years collected information on the names of figures,⁵³ so McDonald now added the filming of string figures to his other camera work. What further details could be gathered? Few Maori, Andersen recorded, were able to give any information about the games, 'and very few were able to make the figures', but as the days passed 'more and more were called to mind' as people recollected a pastime which had largely been forgotten.⁵⁴ For some figures, no one could remember the names. For Mouti, however, there was a chant: when the figure was completed there were two loops on the string, one representing a man, the other a woman, and the fingers of the left hand could cause the 'man' to chase the 'woman' (he invariably caught her), while the watchers recited -

Moti, moti, moi haere, moi haere,
 Moti, moti, moi haere, moi haere,
 Ana kapeape au noa, ka raparapa noa,
 Aue! Arara!
 Haere ki te tihoihoi ... e.

'This flight and pursuit', Andersen noted, 'is the object of the figure, and its action causes never-failing amusement'.⁵⁵ Best wrote down the words of the 'ancient verse'.⁵⁶ Andersen was sufficiently intrigued to learn how to make Mouti, either from Aporo or from the children. He also learned, from Aporo, Toemi, the net,

which like Mouti included movement in the final figure as the mouth of the net is made to open and close over and over; and he learned as well the related figures of Tane and Wahine, possibly by following Aporo's movements. He acquired another three figures, or whai, since he now knew the Maori word, from Henare Ruru; and Best recorded the names while McDonald captured the figures on film. For some whai the hand was quicker than the eye, and Andersen was unable to duplicate the movements; but in two cases he was later shown the sequence of movements by the daughter of Archdeacon Herbert Williams, and by the end of the hui aroha he could construct ten of the figures, nearly half of the total observed.⁵⁷ While Best stayed behind in Gisborne to visit old pa sites, McDonald and Andersen returned to Wellington on 16 April, having spent a fortnight in Gisborne, with a haul of films, wax cylinders which had impressed upon them some of the earliest traditional Maori music ever recorded,⁵⁸ and, unexpectedly, a good deal of information about string figures.⁵⁹

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Back in Wellington, Andersen's energies were very much taken up with sorting out the materials of the Alexander Turnbull Library, for new acquisitions

had piled up in the last few months of Turnbull's own life, and earlier orders and serials continued to arrive after his death; it was in fact to take Andersen many years to turn this private library into a public repository. Yet he found time and enthusiasm in the weeks after returning from Gisborne to develop his knowledge of string figures, and to place his studies on a firm ethnological basis. Best supplied him with the lists he had collected over the years, from Ngati Porou, Tuwharetoa, Tuhoe, and odds and ends from other districts: some names appeared in two or three of the lists.⁶⁰ He also pointed out to Andersen that there were brief comments on whai in manuscripts left by John White. Andersen worked his way through earlier publications on Maori society and extracted what the writers had said about whai.⁶¹ He located two major studies of cat's-cradle in different societies, one by Caroline Furness Jayne, published in 1906, with an introduction by the eminent British anthropologist, A. C. Haddon, contrasting the string figures produced in various societies, and another by Kathleen Haddon, published in 1911.⁶² And in addition to the figures Andersen had learned to make in Gisborne, including the two which Miss Williams had explained to him, he managed to work out Tonga-raurepe from watching the sequences in the film taken by McDonald and reconstructing an identical figure from the Caroline Islands.⁶³ By 15 July 1919, just four months after his return from Gisborne, Andersen felt sufficiently in command of his material to read a paper on 'Maori String Games' to the Historical

Section of the Wellington Philosophical Society. This was rather a different proposition to talking about myths and legends at the meetings of the Arts and Crafts Guild in Christchurch, where the audience had been uncritical, of the Maori material at least; now, in Wellington, he was analysing ethnological data in front of such experts as Elsdon Best, who chaired the meeting, and Colonel T. W. Porter, a veteran of the New Zealand wars, knowledgeable on Maori matters, and married to a Maori, who preceded Andersen with a paper on 'Camp-fire anecdotes of fields, battles, and bivouacs'.⁶⁴

Part of Andersen's paper was a review of what had previously been written about whai, including the belief that whai had originated with the 'demi-god' Maui, hence the phrase *te whai wawewawe a Maui*. Now largely discarded, whai had in former times 'provided amusement during the long winter nights' for both children and adults. Some whai represented scenes in mythology, so it was said, other shapes represented 'men, canoes, stars, houses'; several had accompanying chants, though the meaning of the words had been lost, 'and they were as meaningless to the present race as many of our own nursery rhymes were to us'. Then Andersen drew a cord from his pocket, and demonstrated the figures he had learned at Gisborne or (like Tonga-raurepe) had worked out since then. Some of the figures were, in their completed form, the same as those collected in other parts of the world; but the method of construction elsewhere was different, as he showed the

audience. Thus the figures, 'Whilst an interesting study in themselves ... were also interesting from an ethnological viewpoint, as showing parallel working of the human mind in remote regions.' He drew from his examples the suggestion that when 'the same result was obtained in different parts of the world by quite different means, it was reasonable to suppose that the origins had been independent.'⁶⁵

The paper was printed in the New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology, in three instalments, and appeared there rather than in the Transactions, Andersen recorded, 'so as to get it out sooner'.⁶⁶ Andersen's live demonstrations were neatly adjusted to print technology: he gave careful prose descriptions of the various movements required to produce the completed figures, with a selection of the movements illustrated in close-up photographs of Andersen's hands, which showed the string in the appropriate positions; McDonald was the photographer. Seven of the whai from Gisborne were described and illustrated in detail; for six of these figures Andersen gave a 'Comparison', a cat's-cradle with a similar final form, the examples taken from the books by Caroline Jayne and Kathleen Haddon, and McDonald also supplied photographs of these figures-in-the-making to complement Andersen's step-by-step descriptions.⁶⁷ Near the start of the paper, Andersen introduced a very proper note of caution: 'It must be noted that it is impossible to say whether the figures now recorded are genuine Maori patterns, or whether they have been introduced from elsewhere by

early Europeans or others.’ Nevertheless, he exhibited good commonsense in suggesting that ‘Figures that do not occur elsewhere are possibly true Maori, as also are figures whose resulting pattern is the same [as elsewhere] but whose working out is different.’⁶⁸ For the last figure discussed in detail, illustrated but unnamed Andersen supplied two ‘comparisons’, one from the Caroline Islands, the other ‘known in Africa’; ‘This figure’, he commented, ‘is of especial interest, as it is produced in at least three widely different parts of the world, and in all three by a different method. This difference argues for an independent origin of the three forms, and there may be other ways of producing the three diamonds [the visual shape of the completed figure includes three diamonds], ways already known or to be discovered.’⁶⁹ Andersen also indicated the incompleteness of what had been accomplished: the final three photographs illustrated figures which had been obtained ‘without the method of procedure’. One was, perhaps, Paekoku; another was certainly Tutae takahuri, displayed by Aporo, who appeared in the photograph in a floppy white hat. The last was known as the four Maui, the figure representing the four brothers of the demi-god, and since it required two people to make the figure, Aporo (in his white hat) is assisted by Andersen, whose hat is black and formal, as is his bow-tie - strange accoutrement for an anthropologist in the field.⁷⁰

Andersen ensured that his paper on string figures would receive wide circulation by sending copies of his ‘separates’ or ‘reprints’ (what today would be

called ‘offprints’) to various individuals and institutions.⁷¹ Miss Williams, the Archdeacon’s daughter, received one, and so did Henare Ruru, and various New Zealand friends and acquaintances, like the caretaker of Kapiti Island. Two copies went to Balneavis, four to Ngata, and one to the minister of Internal Affairs, G. J. Anderson. Dr A. C. Haddon of Cambridge University, who had been interested in an academic way in string games since the Torres Strait expedition of 1888, was sent a copy, and so was R. H. Compton of Cape Town, whose paper on String Figures in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands had just been published. Many of the most notable overseas ethnological institutions were given a copy: the Bishop Museum in Hawaii; the Smithsonian Institute in New York; the Royal Anthropological Institute, London; Société d’Anthropologie, Paris; Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts; the Dansk Naturhistorisk Forening, Copenhagen; the Königliches Zoologisches und Anthropologisch-Ethnographisch Museum, Dresden; and several more.⁷² The institutional acknowledgments, usually formal, eventually reached Andersen; the assistant secretary of the Royal Anthropological Institute also sent relevant articles from Man published in 1908 and 1914, and promised to send another currently in press when it had been published.⁷³ Thus Aporo of Te Aitanga-a-Makaki and his floppy white hat made their way into the wider world of anthropology.

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It is less easy to report with any certainty on Andersen's progress with the 'songs' which had been recorded at Gisborne. Ngata felt the dictaphone was not altogether satisfactory for the purpose, and the Museum Director, Thomson, made further enquiries overseas 'as to the most suitable type of apparatus'. The Gramophone Company Ltd told him that 'the making of permanent high quality gramophone records' was 'a business purely for the experts'. Thomson was very much aware that the wax cylinders were impermanent unless, or until, they could be reproduced in vulcanite; but he had not found the time to try making electrotypes. Even so, he thought it worthwhile to continue recording by the dictaphone - and McDonald had also 'obtained records from various Natives' who had visited the Museum - because the music could be studied from the wax versions, 'and Mr. Johannes Andersen is at present studying the records we obtained at Gisborne', with the intention of writing a paper.⁷⁴

Since better equipment was then unobtainable, Ngata agreed that the dictaphone records would 'have to serve'. He was particularly keen for traditional material to be gathered at an even bigger occasion than the hui aroha, the

‘forthcoming gathering of the tribes at Rotorua to welcome the Prince of Wales’. He hoped Best, Andersen and McDonald could be sent to Rotorua a fortnight ahead of the royal visit so they could make ‘a good job of the records, photos etc.’ The director agreed, and so did the Minister: the trio would arrive in Rotorua about the middle of April 1920. Whatever doubts Ngata had about the recording apparatus, he was keen for the trio to continue their researches.⁷⁵ By early in April all accommodation in Rotorua had been fully booked, and Thomson appealed to the Public Works Department for the loan of three tents, about 10 ft by 8 ft in size: ‘it has been decided to camp near the Maoris, an arrangement which will probably be found the most satisfactory for working purposes.’⁷⁶

The three weeks were brimful of interest and excitement. There was, for example, a visit to Captain Gilbert Mair at Ohinemutu. Mair, the son of a Bay of Islands pioneer of pre-Waitangi days, had seen extensive service in the New Zealand wars, especially as a leader of Arawa against Te Kooti and his forces.⁷⁷ His knowledge of Maori lore was vast; two of the legends he told Andersen and Best were recorded on wax cylinders.⁷⁸ Mair also retailed the story of Wehipeihana who (because he was nervously liable to let his gun fire when silence was essential) was excluded by Mair from a fighting column, and who, in mortification, deliberately immolated himself in a thermal pool of boiling water, was dragged out by Mair, scalded himself again, was a second time rescued by

Mair, and despite the administration of rum internally and ‘salad oil’ externally, died expressing more anger at Mair than bodily pain. While Best and Andersen listened, Andersen ‘noticed wisps of steam coming through the closed doorway at the back of the room An extra puff came through as he finished his tale. On my remarking on it [Mair] said, "Yes, that is steam; behind that door is the very pool in which the old man sat. It is scalding hot. I had it closed in, and I draw the hot water from my bath from it."’⁷⁹

Andersen was able to ask Mair about musical instruments. Rotorua lake was the setting for the legend which since the publication of Grey’s Polynesian Mythology in 1855 had been better known to Pakeha than any other: the story of how Tutanekai, on Mokoia Island, in the middle of the lake, together with his friend Tiki, played music which could be heard by Tutanekai’s beloved Hinemoa, living in Ohinemutu, whereafter Hinemoa swam from the shore to the island.⁸⁰ Mair told Andersen that ‘about dusk, from almost every house in the kainga, could be heard the soft sounds of the koauau; "but that was long ago," said he; "now you never hear it at all."’ Andersen communicates his own sense of excitement in recollecting the moment: ‘It was dusk as he spoke - a romantic hour at that romantic spot: the island Mokoia shadowy in the distance across the glimmering lake, and musical Maori voices and laughter coming from the neighbourhood of the

many steaming pools and springs. Instead of the sounds of the koauau, [Andersen] more than once heard, in the evening, the sounds of its supplanter, the brass fife.⁸¹

At Ohinemutu also they met Kiwi-amohau, a kaumatua whom Andersen plied with questions, using Best as an interpreter. The koauau, said Kiwi-amohau, was usually the length of the forefinger, and the holes were opposite the joints of the straightened finger. The holes were called wenewene, and each had a separate purpose in softening, strengthening, or 'correcting' the sounds. Human bone made the best sound, better than the wood of whau. Two or more flutes might be played together, or the koauau and the putorino might be played together, as Tutanekai played the koauau and Tiki the putorino to send a message to Hinemoa; and all tunes had words, and it was thus that Tutanekai and Tiki had conveyed a message to Hinemoa. 'Kiwi said that no person then living at Ohinemutu had seen the putorino played, and no one now heard the koauau.' Andersen had again brought with him a koauau; but to his disappointment Kiwi-amohau (like Aporo the year before) was unable to make it sound.⁸² Nevertheless, McDonald took a photograph of Kiwi attempting to play.

Best had had a great deal of experience in camping out: he liked to think of himself as an old bushman, as indeed he was in a rather unusual sense; and McDonald had travelled nearly the length and breadth of New Zealand in a variety of conditions. Andersen's experiences of roughing it were rather more limited, but

his keenness was undoubted; and there can be no argument that Thomson was correct in his view that being part of the 'Maori camp' was an excellent way of acquiring ethnographic materials. The camp was on the Rotorua racecourse, and Andersen recorded:

The racecourse ... was dotted with tents as for the encampment of an army. Hundreds upon hundreds of bell tents, double-poled and treble-poled marquees, long raupo-sided houses, and other temporary buildings, were scattered over a wide space of ground. Nor were they scattered haphazard. Groups of the small tents were gathered about two or three of the marquees, and in the neighbourhood of one of the raupo-sided houses; the groups were arranged in squares and clusters, the whole set out in blocks and streets as if in a town; and the various blocks and streets were named after the tribes that occupied the tents The smaller tents were for their sleeping, the marquees were their meeting-houses; and in the long raupo-sided buildings they had their meals⁸³

Within this tented township, the Pakeha ethnologists lived for some three weeks, and Andersen, rather more than at Gisborne, lived among Maori people, if in somewhat strange circumstances. The party was greatly helped, Best reported, by

two officers in the 'reception camp', Major Peter Buck and Captain H. R. Vercoe.⁸⁴ Buck had given up his parliamentary career to serve in the Great War, during which he had been decorated; this was probably the first time he and Andersen met.⁸⁵

McDonald took a large number of photographs and films 'of old Native games and occupations'; he and Best were especially pleased when Rangiuia, 'one of the younger men' of Tuhoe, produced fire by traditional methods of friction in very quick time indeed, and McDonald captured the whole performance on film. At Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu McDonald took photographs of Maori carvings: Best had a notion that the lizard motif represented Whiro, who was 'in Maori myth ... the personified form of darkness, evil, and death', and had 'in view a paper on the subject'.⁸⁶ And if the koauau remained disconcertingly silent, Andersen was able to hear a tremendous amount of traditional music as Maori people from many districts gathered at the reception camp.

This was, it seems, the first time Andersen saw marae etiquette being observed, though he probably knew the general principles from his reading, and Best was on hand to explain the finer points. 'On a party arriving, the procedure was usually the same, though the songs differed. The local people sat on the marae, the visitors advancing slowly. From the ranks of the local people an armed man ran out alone toward the visitors, grimacing and brandishing his taiaha in

challenge. The challenge would be accepted by one of the visitors, who, similarly armed, would leave the ranks of his party; these two, after a mock encounter, returned to their respective parties, the visitors slowly advancing amid welcoming cries. They paused when a space of about 30 feet separated the two bodies of people, when the keening [i.e., lamenting] took place. Suddenly the keening ceased and the visitors began their chant This was a wailing chant The local people immediately followed with a rhythmical monotone [chant] The usual speeches by both parties followed the chant ... and the local people then sang a third song.’⁸⁷ Probably Andersen wrote down these chants in his notebook just as he did for birdsong,⁸⁸ trusting to his ear, for the dictaphone was effective with a single person singing into a ‘microphone’ but had no apparatus for recording groups or people at a distance from the machine. The chants by local people were repeated many times for different parties as they arrived, and Andersen could thus refine and revise his notation; and besides he had heard at least one chant ‘similar in all respects’ to the Arawa chant sung by Tuhoe people at Gisborne the year before. Whether he regularly noted the chants of the visitors, which varied group by group, and were not repeated, we do not know, but he did write down the chant of the people who arrived from Wairoa, and at least a handful of other chants, including one by a woman at four o’clock in the morning - ‘It sounded very strange, rising from an otherwise quiet camp.’⁸⁹ He also noted the rhythms of haka

and poi dances: 'In the night might be heard the sounds of singing, the various parties of dancers practising their poi dances in their marquees, keeping them secret from the eyes of other tribes'.⁹⁰ Yet there was still time and opportunity to persuade individuals to sing into the dictaphone, and Andersen, in a letter to H. D. Skinner, Dunedin, wrote: 'we have got some 150 songs & karakia, many good.'⁹¹

H. D. Skinner's specialty was material culture. Many years later, as is discussed further on in this study, he and Andersen were to have some very fundamental disagreements; but in 1920 they were enthusiastic tyros, and happy to exchange knowledge. Though it mentioned the songs recorded, Andersen's letter to Skinner was mainly about string figures: 'what I got at Gisborne', he told Skinner, 'was nothing compared with what I got at Rotorua. I secured 18 new figures, with a goodly number of synonyms: among the figures are Maui, and Te ara pikipiki a Tawhaki, & other beauties. You see, I went to Rotorua more prepared: I did not expect anything of the sort at Gisborne, being after songs, so had no "tools" in the way of nomenclature.'⁹² He employed the simpler terms drawn from Caroline Jayne's book, rather than the more technical or jargonish terminology of Kathleen Haddon. Even so, as he reported in a second letter to Skinner, there were difficulties in getting information: 'You will find a little trouble in getting the people to do every movement slowly; there are certain little seeming insignificant movements, bends of a finger or slipping of a string, which

lost throws out the whole pray for a patient teacher - you will have amusement sufficient, and will wonder at the stupidity of your fingers!’⁹³

He was helped by both Arawa and Tuhoe. At Ohinemutu, Mrs Gordon, an Arawa woman, showed him the procedure for Ikiiki, which Henare Ruru had made at Gisborne but which Andersen did not then learn the movements for; Ruru had also set up Ngutu koko, and Kiwi-amohau now went through its movements.⁹⁴ An Arawa woman known as ‘Bella’, a guide to the thermal wonders of Whakarewarewa, showed him a continuation of Waka a Tama-reti, seen at Gisborne and the details acquired from Miss Williams, called Te moana nui a Kiwa. When Andersen set up the figure at Ohinemutu the people there said it represented seven lakes, which they named, and Mt Tarawera.⁹⁵ The Tuhoe visiting Rotorua, immensely pleased to see Elsdon Best once more, entered into the spirit of the exercise. The splendid Maui figure, of which McDonald had taken a photograph with Aporo in his hat, was shown again, this time by Makurata, and Andersen finally acquired the procedure.⁹⁶ Makurata and her husband Paetini set up a figure which required two persons, Kotiro punarua, but while McDonald got photographs, Andersen could not sort out the method. He may have been a little in awe of the pair: Makurata had been ‘an ardent adherent’ of Te Kooti, and Paetini was known as the last survivor of the defenders of Orakau in 1864; they were especial friends of Best.⁹⁷ Another Tuhoe women, Wharemutu, demonstrated the

hitherto mysterious opening for Tonga raurepe, and the procedure for Te kuri a Tuatini, both shown at Gisborne, as well as several new figures, including Te pute kai a Tawhiri and Matamata karehu.⁹⁸ McDonald's pictures hint at Andersen's methods: he stands behind Wharemutu, then sits beside her on a bench, following her movements, while Best, sitting on a board at ground level, watches, and perhaps interprets.⁹⁹ Wharemutu and her husband Te Rangiuā together set up the spectacular Te ara pikipiki a Tawhaki: thirteen steps were needed to produce Korokoro o Kiwi, two more for Te hoe a Kupe, three more to Turuturu a Maui, the next produced Ruaumoko ('Ru who causes earthquakes'), the penultimate was Te kumekume, and the twentieth and final Te ara pikipiki a Tawhaki, in which a horizontal loop represents Tawhaki climbing to rangi tuatahi, 'the first heaven'. The story of Tawhaki's ascent Andersen had told to the Arts and Crafts Guild in Christchurch a decade before, unaware that there were string figures on such subjects. McDonald took a photograph of the trio sitting amid the grass and bracken, Wharemutu holding two corners of Ruaumoko and Andersen the other two, while Rangiuā relaxes behind the figure.¹⁰⁰

Clearly, Andersen adapted well both to living in the reception camp and to the demands of ethnological work. He learnt to ask for figures by names: 'I usually ask the Maori now - Do you know so & so - or can you set up so & so - & if they cannot, supposing they return in a few days, often they can; - having got it

in the meantime from some friends', he told Skinner.¹⁰¹ But the knowledge he had gathered from Jayne's and Kathleen Haddon's books also made him cautious. One girl began a figure which she said she had been shown by a Maori boy but she could not remember the finish. Andersen completed a figure he knew. 'Was that it?' Yes. She would get the name of the figure from the boy next time she saw him. When Andersen left Rotorua he had heard nothing more, but the figure would be recorded 'for further enquiry'. He thought it was probably introduced, as it did not start with a 'Maori or Pacific opening, but with the one common in Europe.'¹⁰² Still, he could not resist the temptation to display his skills: 'I was teaching the Maori children whai before I was through at Ohinemutu; I had 12-14 round me on a hillock one sunny afternoon, all learning. One girl learned 10 in 3 afternoons.'¹⁰³

Eventually the Prince of Wales was welcomed (the displays included the use of wooden 'spears' which Best, McDonald and Andersen had to help retrieve afterwards)¹⁰⁴ and the camp was broken up, and the ethnologists returned to Wellington. Andersen duly presented the new string figures to the Historical Section of the Philosophical Society, at a meeting on 20 July 1920.¹⁰⁵ He gave a brief account of his impressions of the welcome for the Prince in Rotorua in the School Journal; his article was written at the request of the editor, T. A. Fletcher, and published, with a few others, in a 'Special Souvenir Edition'. This article

probably had a wider circulation than anything else Andersen wrote about Maori.¹⁰⁶

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There could hardly have been a greater contrast between the visit to Rotorua and the circumstances of the third ethnological expedition, up the Wanganui River, in March and April 1921. Whereas there had been considerable crowds at Rotorua, and, on a lesser scale, at Gisborne, the supervisor for the Wanganui River Trust, T. W. Downes, a notable scholar of Maori lore himself, feared that most of the small upriver settlements might be deserted: T. W. Ratana, the Mangai or prophet, was meeting the 'natives' at Pipiriki towards the end of March, and there was no saying, in Downes's opinion, when the meeting would be over.¹⁰⁷ (This event did not in fact cause any disruption to the schedule; and Downes himself was able to spend a little time with the scientific party.) Up the river, the ethnologists would be well beyond some of the appurtenances of civilisation: there was no electricity, and the dictaphone therefore needed its own source of power.¹⁰⁸ The civil servants would even be beyond the direct reach (or reproach) of their superiors: when the Under-

Secretary replied to a telegram asking for permission to give the Maori hosts gifts, he addressed it 'Koriniti or forward'.¹⁰⁹ From Wanganui the highway was the river, and Hatrick's riverboat service was the regular link with the outside world.¹¹⁰

They arrived at the little village of Koriniti, or Corinth, on 17 March 1921: Best knew some of the older people of this settlement. Though they had brought tents, a small house had been set aside for their use. 'There were troops of dogs', wrote Andersen, 'but, whilst they barked vociferously on our arrival, after an hour they knew we were part of the village, and took no notice of us whatever.' The chief 'wore a tatterdemalion grey shirt' and much-patched 'ancient ... trousers'; the Pakeha privately christened him 'Bull's-eye', a name suggested by the patches.¹¹¹

The three from Wellington were joined the next day, as planned, by a fourth from Auckland, Peter Buck, who had leave from his duties as Native Health Officer to pursue ethnographic work, in particular his enquiries into traditional forms of 'weaving', as the plaiting was customarily but erroneously called. When Buck arrived by boat on 18 March, he was received 'with hongis and tangis', and the full party was formally welcomed. 'Bulls-eye' and another leader made speeches, and Buck replied. While Andersen was listening to the whaikorero, he felt his chair being 'gently shaken', and was surprised to find a young pig rubbing its back on a chair leg. However, 'After the first day, one quite forgot to note the pigs that have free range of the village The pigs allowed no rubbish to lie about, and, through

living in the open, were themselves perfectly clean.’ When the visitors had left Koriniti, Andersen found that he missed the ‘companionable grunting’ of the pigs.¹¹²

The visitors were under a little suspicion when they arrived: did their notebooks mean they were tax-collectors? But once this matter had been straightened out during the powhiri, and the local people had learnt not to be afraid of the ‘moving-picture camera’, the visitors were royally treated. Except for breakfast, they did not even have to cook their own meals, and Andersen relished the fare; for example, on one day they had mutton with potatoes and parsnips, both boiled and roasted, and cabbage, followed by rice and stewed quinces. Their hostess apologised. ‘We have nothing to cook for you men, no dried shark, no rotten corn, no nothing.’ While the Pakeha had the ‘freedom of the city’, Andersen soon found that also meant that ‘Your house is everybody’s house’. Their day might last from eight o’clock in the morning until midnight. ‘If some of our friends grew tired, others would come on, and whilst information was flowing we must be there with our pitchers. I have gone to bed so tired that sleep has been instantaneous, awakening again at once, so it seemed, to be told it was seven o’clock and time to get up.’¹¹³

All four were very busy. McDonald took over 300 still photographs and exposed more than 5000 ft of cinema film; the people of Koriniti were proficient

in traditional technology, and while Best learned about eel-weirs, Buck studied the manufacture of baskets and garments. Andersen did not find the songs ‘very varied in character’, but there were ‘excellent examples’ of characteristic Maori rhythm, and the Wanganui dialect was recorded: altogether they used more than fifty wax cylinders.¹¹⁴ He made his reputation with string-figures early on, and the incident has been preserved in Buck’s humorous account: Andersen was by then ‘able quickly to detect what the figure would be although a different tribal name was given beforehand at Koriniti I asked a group of women if they could show the pakeha visitor some string figures. The local speed artist assented and smiled somewhat superciliously as Andersen produced two strings from his pocket. She started off with her first figure with Andersen closely following her movements. He recognized the figure she was about to produce and completed it before her. She became serious and tried some others but Andersen recognized them all and finished each one before his instructress. With a look of chagrin on her face, she exclaimed, "Aue, kua mate au i te pakeha kei!" (Alas! I am beaten by this white man). In justice to my country-woman,’ Buck concluded, ‘I may say that she had probably not touched a string for years.’¹¹⁵

Andersen obtained a number of new string figures, though, in his words, ‘few [were] of any great complexity’.¹¹⁶ Several reflected the riverine culture, including Koura and Koura-papatea, Hapuku; and the figure which was called Te

Kuri a tuatini by Tuhoe, and which Henare Ruru had shown at Gisborne without providing a name, was known as Te Pa-harakeke among the Wanganui. 'In Koriniti', Andersen noticed, 'there were several of these pa - small enclosures where from twenty to thirty flax-plants grew to supply the constant need for blades in the manufacture of food-baskets, kete of all kinds, kawe or carriers &c. - and the similarity of the figure to the radiating of the flax-fans at the butts of the plants was striking.'¹¹⁷ He also acquired the procedure of Kotiro-punarua, which Makurata and Paetini had shown him at Rotorua, at the next village up the river, Hiruharama, but not without a little anxiety. When they arrived at Hiruharama a woman made the figure, and named it, but when Andersen subsequently used this name she was unable to produce the figure. 'She went through her repertoire several times, but not until one night towards the end of the stay did she set it up again. Then she confessed she did not know its name; but the procedure was secured.'¹¹⁸

For other figures already known, Andersen gathered the Wanganui synonyms. Mouti, the 'universal favourite', was called Pionioni at Koriniti. As well as the little chant about the man chasing the woman which he had learned at Gisborne, Andersen had heard from James Cowan that the Arawa linked the Mouti figure with a famous legend, Kae and Tinirau.¹¹⁹ [Tinirau suspected Kae had eaten his pet whale Tutunui. Kae was identifiable by a gap in his teeth, but when a party of girls went to search him out, the old man they met would not open his

mouth. After many efforts, the girls finally constructed Mouti which, with the chant, made Kae laugh, and the missing tooth revealed his identity.] When an older man at Koriniti, Rangi-tahua, practising his whai, constructed Mouti, or Pionioni, he started a song but could not finish it, and there was a long consultation while about a dozen men reconstructed the song entire. Peter Buck then took down the words, twenty-three lines of them, and with the help of the men puzzled out the meanings. 'This is quite untranslatable', pronounces Andersen, no doubt echoing Buck's opinion. 'It abounds in terminology for which no equivalents exist except in the phraseology of anatomical experts, and specialists at that; so that were it rendered into English it would still be practically incomprehensible. It is an example of the extraordinary knowledge of the Maori in anatomical minutiae.' Buck's medical experience was certainly a great help in the exercise, but he declined, to the delighted laughter of the local men, to sing a version of it in his own language. All Andersen conveys is that the song was 'composed by a man in the olden days. This man's wife in gossip with her friends had represented her husband as possessed of a certain abnormality; whereupon in shame he had composed this song, attributing to her an abnormality yet more pronounced, singing it whilst sitting in a public place in the village. As he sang he enacted the final movement of mouti, keeping time with the to-and-fro movement of the

string.’¹²⁰ Perhaps that was as much as Buck told Andersen; Rabelaisian might be the nearest European adjective.

For his skill with string figures, Andersen was called Whai or Whairoa, thus having a Maori name himself while sojourning in these villages, Koriniti, Hiruharama, and, further up, at Pipiriki.¹²¹ ‘The collector must be prepared to conform rather more than less with Maori ways’, he noted.¹²² McDonald’s photographs show Andersen dressed far more casually than at Rotorua or Gisborne - in fact, by civil service standards positively dishevelled. It was, indeed, the first time he saw contemporary Maori living in the conditions which were fairly typical of many Maori communities. They were self-supporting and the river setting was very beautiful, but there was poverty too. The £12 allowed the expedition members for goods to present to their hosts had all been spent upon the people of Koriniti, and the visitors purchased further goods to give to the people of Hiruharama (£2.15s) and Pipiriki (£2.2s). McDonald paid this out of his own pocket, and when he sought a refund from the Government he pointed out that ‘the value of the records secured, apart from the articles presented to the Museum, greatly exceeds anything given in return.’¹²³ Andersen received not only recorded songs and string games, together with day-by-day hospitality, but the honour of a farewell song as they left Hiruharama:

Haere Whai i to hiahia,
 Kaua e mahara mai,
 Waiho au kia tangi no,
 Haere Whai, haere ra.¹²⁴

Once more Andersen arranged his results quickly after his return to Wellington, and he presented his third paper on string figures to the Historical Section of the Philosophical Society on 19 July 1921, dealing with what he had learned up the Wanganui river. He read a second paper at the same meeting (Andersen's efforts made up the entire programme after an initial discussion on the need for an historical journal to be published), entitled 'An Introduction to Maori music', his first attempt to grapple with this subject.¹²⁵ What he said about Maori music on this occasion is impossible to reconstruct exactly; though the Transactions in which a paper by the same title was published record that the paper was read on 19 July 1921 and received by the Editor on 20 July 1921 (the celerity is explained by the fact that Andersen himself was editor of the Transactions, although decisions about which papers would be published were made by a committee and he could not simply decide himself to accept his own papers), the published paper includes material collected on an expedition to the East Coast region in 1923, and the paper read on 19 July 1921 was later amplified and to some extent revised, but to what extent can only be unsatisfactory guesswork.¹²⁶

Andersen now regretted that he had let his string figures papers go to the Journal of Science and Technology, since publication had been delayed, and the Journal itself was, with general government retrenchment, under some threat of closure. However, putting later papers in the Transactions would have denied readers the necessary introductory remarks that had already appeared in the Journal.¹²⁷ His second paper, on the whai at Rotorua, was still in press when he reported to the Historical Section on what he had gathered among the Wanganui people, but the Rotorua paper was eventually published later in 1921 and Andersen once again sent out the 'separates' to individuals and institutions, including Apirana Ngata. Ngata wrote a letter of thanks: 'I am glad to see that the good work commenced at Gisborne is being continued. I suggested to Mr McDonald the other day a visit to my district with the dictaphone to secure records of Maori songs. There is a tremendous lot to be done yet in that direction - the tunes must be recorded now if they are to be caught at all.'¹²⁸ Ngata, not unreasonably, showed more concern for songs than whai, but his note indicates his approval of the Dominion Museum expeditions and support for Andersen's contributions.

A week later, enthusiasm for another expedition was expressed by Peter Buck. He and Andersen had kept in contact after the Wanganui River journey: Buck enjoyed the company of Best and Andersen (and 'Mac', as he called McDonald); and while the experience of working closely with Best had been for

Buck a revelation, it seems that he and Andersen, closer in age, were especially companionable. He began his letter to Andersen 'Dear Tarawhai', a usage that continued in correspondence for many years: Tarawhai means, very broadly, the fast maker of whai, though perhaps Buck's sense of fun incorporated other connotations. Buck had been on medical duty in the Bay of Plenty, Rotorua and Taupo districts where there were 'tons of ethnological material scattered about'. At Wanganui he had mastered the intricacies of plaiting, only to find there were so many other 'starts and finishes' elsewhere that he was 'heartbroken'. His first paper on the subject would concentrate just on 'the mats and kits etc that we did at Koriniti', and he would add more later. 'Let me know well beforehand whither the Expedition seeks material in 1922. I am looking forward to it.' He signed off with the affectionate phrase, 'na te hoa aroha poua'.¹²⁹

However, for a variety of reasons, including Best's health, there was no expedition in 1922;¹³⁰ or at least no ethnological expedition, though Andersen went on an expedition of a different kind, climbing in the Southern Alps around the Godley Glacier district; and he and another of that party, the editor of the School Journal, T. A. Fletcher, regaled the Historical Section with their climbing stories and with 'lantern slides' of the alpine scenery.¹³¹ But ethnology was by no means forgotten at the Historical Section meetings. In July, when Best was absent through illness, Buck read Best's paper on 'The whare-wananga', and Ngata made

‘eulogistic’ comments on the paper and its writer. At the September meeting, Best was well enough to read his own paper, ‘Comparative Anthropology, with Maori examples’, after which Buck moved a vote of thanks, seconded by Ngata.¹³²

Buck’s keenness for another expedition if anything increased during 1922. In a letter to Andersen in November he talked of an expedition to Taupo, perhaps to the Cook Islands. He had just spent a long day with J. F. Stokes, a visitor from the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii, talking about weaving and other subjects. On one matter he thought he would consult ‘Mac’, for another, ‘I must drop Peehi [Best] a word about this. You see,’ Buck added in his letter to Andersen, ‘how I have to come to the Wellington triple alliance for comfort.’¹³³ In fact, the next party went neither to Taupo nor the Cook Islands, but, as Ngata had hoped, to the territory of his own people, Ngati Porou, the East Coast district north of Gisborne.¹³⁴ ‘We will have a splendid time as regards work, interest, and fun’, Buck wrote to Andersen.¹³⁵

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Andersen kept a detailed day-by-day diary of his impressions and experiences during the East Coast expedition between the middle of March and early April in 1923.¹³⁶ The account provides not only information on the itinerary, the landscape, and the people, but reveals, sometimes deliberately, sometimes inadvertently, Andersen's attitudes towards Maori people he met, and perhaps towards Maori people in general. For example, the valley behind the settlement of Tokomaru Bay he thought 'very beautiful', and it would be more beautiful in future 'when there are more people, more houses, more trees'. What struck him constantly north of Tokomaru Bay was 'how empty the country is; there is room for thousands & thousands of people'; and he had thought something similar about the Wanganui River area on the previous expedition.¹³⁷ He can only have meant room for Pakeha settlers, and possibly had migrants in mind. It is the viewpoint of the coloniser. At Te Araroa, there was 'a lovely stretch of water out here before the hotel, but beyond a fence with nasturtiums & a scraggy lawn with ngaio trees, there is no attempt at garden or beautifying'.¹³⁸ That, too, is the voice of the coloniser, intent on 'improvement', ironically so, since Andersen was a stout advocate of conservation (in the sense of preservation) of the wilderness. He was ambivalent about some values. An old man set up the string figure Moko: "'the wahine's place" said he, suiting action to the words & holding his private parts. Then he set up Mouti, & explained what it signified - "Man", said he, "woman" -

then at the catch he explained their act, & further explained with his fingers & lips - there was no mistaking him - & this in the midst of young & elderly women. I do not know if they are better or worse for their early learning & familiarity with this intimate act'.¹³⁹ He remained sensitive to 'colour' and 'caste': he developed, as was his wont, some affection which was just a little more than platonic in intention for Mary Maxwell - 'She & her sister may be only three-eighth cast, but she is very fair, even where her skin is exposed; it is only in her hair & her eyes where she shews the Maori characteristics', whereas her grandmother 'is out & out Maori'.¹⁴⁰ In talking of Mary's demeanour (and clothing), he wrote: 'Most of the young people seem much freer in their manners, - yet strangely the Maori girls themselves - the pure Maori I mean - seem much more reserved & diffident'.¹⁴¹ Mary, who was fourteen or fifteen years of age, features more and more in the diary towards the end of the expedition; Andersen recorded how much, or intimated how little, she was wearing on various occasions, and wondered if she might have a better life in the city. Andersen usually developed a romantic dalliance, in thought if not in fact, with a young woman, wherever he was - train, library, lecture, social occasion - but with Pakeha women he did not contemplate playing Professor Henry Higgins.

It was not all gazing into the eyes of young women, however. The visitors began their work at Whareponga - Best, Andersen, McDonald, Buck, and Mrs Buck, with Ngata in attendance. 'A seat on a nice flax floor mat stood in the

marae, & on it we four men visitors sat while we underwent the speechifyings, which lasted two hours.' He was glad to have dinner - 'roast steak & onions, koura & onion fritters, stewed jelly', seafoods, which, as usual, he left alone, cake and plum pudding.¹⁴² Andersen met the children at the local school who 'knew' him well from his regular articles on birds, moths and other creatures in the School Journal. After tea that day he and Ngata recorded songs, and continued to do so the next morning and evening. He 'saw several new [string] figures. An old man offered to name the figures if I set them up; but he could not do it'.¹⁴³ When they left Whareponga, Andersen was given a few more names in honour of his interest in whai: 'Ngata remarked that these were some of my forty-five names'.¹⁴⁴

They went north to Waiomatatini, Ngata's home, and stayed in his house, though Ngata himself had to leave on political business for several days.¹⁴⁵ While an old man made a crayfish trap, McDonald took a film of his progress: "'Speak on; speak on'", the man addressed the whirring machine, "'I shall go with the pictures to London, to Japan, to so & so.'" Others wanted to be filmed - what should they do to be in a picture? "'Do some new whai"', said Andersen.¹⁴⁶ McDonald had brought with him the films he had taken up the Wanganui and on earlier trips and showed them in a hall. Later the films were shown again at Te Araroa: 'I was sitting with some Maori girls', notes Andersen (no doubt contriving another dalliance), '& they were much taken with the pictures - even the Maori

part, of which one would suppose they had had enough.’¹⁴⁷ There was tremendous applause for the movie of a haka at Gisborne in 1919 as some of the participants were local people. Buck talked; then Andersen talked about music, played three records, and spoke about string figures. He was amazed that one of the girls had never been out of the district, and had seen neither train nor tram. The days were full: Rev. Kohere and Te Kani and their spouses together with Mrs Ngata hosted the visitors while Ngata was away; Andersen rode horses, not always comfortably, talked to the schoolchildren, spent a day helping dig and stack kumara, and saw Mary and her brothers and sisters as often as he could. Best was unwell at the start, and had to rest; but Peter Buck enlivened both visitors and local people, and was in high good humour. On more than one occasion Andersen made a speech, and sang as a waiata at the end a Danish song, which Buck facetiously interpreted to the local people ‘as having reference to the widows of the tribe & [Andersen’s] desire to settle down for a time with one of them’.¹⁴⁸

Andersen’s gathering of whai is best exemplified in his description of a visit to the Reedy residence, just out of Ruatoria, on 6 April.

There was a big gathering of people there, & we were soon in the thick of it - Best talking to the old men - I at whai with the old women. There was one between 80 & 90 years of age, who had known many whai, but who had forgotten many. She set up another Rerenga wairua, but it was hard to

follow her, as I discovered after a time that the fingers of the two hands worked differently. She would say "Nei" drawing attention to one hand, then working differently with the other without drawing attention to it. However, I secured it before we left¹⁴⁹

She also showed me a continuation of the last figure of tutae takahuri, - the thief, which I think I have seen before - not among the Maori, but in Mrs Jayne's book - the second paralleled by foreign figures so far I supposed I was going to see the woman who first set up Aratia paua & the Toemi continuation; but I did not see her - she did not set up the figures at any rate - but I got these other three; and the Rerenga wairua is a good one. Just before tea I was surrounded by a company of "hard cases" as Mrs Ngata called them. They set up certain figures I knew; one set up Tongaraurepe, & on my turning it into wahine they began singing a little song with gestures; but made so much noise that we interfered with the talking of Mr Best & the old man, so adjourned to the kitchen. There I set up wahine again, & four of them stood before me looking at the figure whilst they sang, first the man's song, then the woman's (or the reverse) with appropriate gestures. I wrote down the songs as nearly as I could, but as they are very free I do not know that I had better use them As they appeared to be getting at me I thought I had better get back, so set up the butterfly, & made it wave its wings - at which the noise became most uproarious - they evidently saw the same significance in it

that the Islanders see Then someone suggested they should give me their names as the singers of the songs, so one of their number - the liveliest of all, wrote some names, which I knew at the time were fictitious! ... - "Now you can get out," said the hard case; "we want to get tea ready"¹⁵⁰

On 10 April, a bright clear day, Andersen had to postpone a ride with Mary Maxwell because the koauau expert was expected. He arrived just before lunch, and Andersen, together with Ngata, back from his political duties, sat on Ngata's lawn where people were carrying out tukutuku work and rafter painting. It must have been a satisfying time for Ngata, seeing his people display their skills, and with Pakeha there too, and the koauau to be sounded after lunch. The flute turned out to be 'a piece of gas pipe, about 10 inches long'; but the old man, Iehu Nukunuku, played it, and 'the result was pleasing, & recorded very well'.¹⁵¹ McDonald took photographs: there, on the lawn, is the machine, Buck is holding the dictaphone horn, Iehu Nukunuku, with his white beard, is making music with his gaspipe, Andersen, face obscured, leans over the dictaphone, possibly fitting or adjusting a wax cylinder, a few others watch and listen, and behind, relaxing in the sunlight, the only one without a hat, is Elsdon Best.¹⁵²

Two days later the expedition was over, and there were farewells all round. Ngata gave Andersen a flax cloak 'in memory of the visit', and Andersen gave Mrs

Ngata a bottle of lavender water.¹⁵³ Mary Maxwell promised to write. At Gisborne, McDonald, Best and Andersen said goodbye to the Bucks. As they approached the township of Wairoa towards noon the next day, Best asked Andersen if he remembered the line of verse, 'How rolls the Wairoa at your world's far end'. Robert Browning had posed the question in his poem Waring, addressed to his friend, Alfred Domett, who had migrated to New Zealand and, after a very active period in colonial politics, had written that vast verse epic, Ranolf and Amohia.¹⁵⁴ "'As you see'", said Best, indicating the Wairoa River, "'it doesn't roll'". Andersen wrote in his diary that it was 'a slowly flowing stream'.¹⁵⁵ They were well on the way back to the world of libraries and museums.

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There were no more expeditions, or at least none with Best, Buck, Andersen and McDonald together. The visit to the Tuwharetoa people of Taupo, long mooted, nearly began in March 1924: the purchase of 100 wax cylinders had been authorized, and on 9 March 1924 the departmental Under-Secretary was asked to sanction leave for McDonald and Andersen, who would begin the expedition about

eight days later; but Best had been unwell and wanted to press ahead with writing, and Buck had difficulties with his own leave through pressure of work, and the expedition was postponed.¹⁵⁶ 'With you', Buck wrote to Andersen, 'I shall miss the association of civilisation with barbaric life.'¹⁵⁷ Age, illness, and unavailability in other years scuttled later plans, and then Buck went overseas. Andersen did no more research in the field, despite the best of intentions, and the four Dominion Museum expeditions between 1919 and 1923 comprised virtually the full extent of his experience with Maori communities.

In 1923, however, these disappointments lay in the future, and Andersen set to work, in his usual diligent way, to sort out the material he had gathered. He gave what had become his almost traditional mid-year paper on the results of the most recent expedition, not, as in previous years, to the Historical Section, in which interest and attendance was now declining, but to the more numerous audience of a general meeting of the Wellington Philosophical Society. On this occasion he dealt with both whai and music. 'The string games', a newspaper reported, 'have become a familiar spectacle to many people, but they never weary of them as displayed by Mr Andersen'. He then played some of the wax cylinders to illustrate his comments on Maori music. 'With two exceptions, the songs ... were of a gentle and melancholy type', the newspaper said. Then came the surprise. Andersen produced a koauau, 'the famous Maori flute ... of which all known specimens are in

museums'. He played the record of Iehu Nukunuku with his piece of gaspipe, 'but there was no comparison', the newspaper report went on, 'between its tone and the fine quality of the notes produced by the lecturer from the genuine wooden instrument'.¹⁵⁸ (But, one may observe, if Nukunuku had been given an opportunity to try the museum specimen, as Kiwi-amohau was in 1920 at Rotorua, he might have performed better than Andersen.)

Experimentation in the cause of ethnology is a dubious procedure. Andersen sometimes tried out alternatives with string games in an attempt to discover by trial and error figures whose setting up he had not obtained. A 'young Maori girl' at Ohinemutu intervened in the Ikiiki figure when Andersen made it, and produced Wahine. 'On repeated subsequent trial' Andersen was unable to follow the girl's method, but he worked out his own variation; he also recorded how 'Wahine may be obtained from Kopu', but provided no attribution, and probably worked out this movement himself; and there are other examples.¹⁵⁹ On the other hand, he wrote: 'Many variations of Ikiiki, some of them of considerable beauty, have been worked out; but, as they have not been seen amongst the Maori, they are not detailed here.'¹⁶⁰

He at least was quite explicit about why he tried out different koauau. There was 'only one way by which the scale employed by the Maori of old, if any were employed, might be detected As it has been repeatedly said by the Maori

that there were no tunes without words, presumably the intervals on the koauau would correspond with the intervals used in singing.’ Since he could discover no Maori able to play the koauau, he must try himself. ‘It was only by repeated experiment that he was able to sound some of those in the Dominion Museum collection’.¹⁶¹ Andersen held the koauau perpendicular and blew across the top, like blowing across the top of a bottle; he must have been pleased to see Nukunuku use a similar technique, except that he held his gaspipe more or less horizontal.¹⁶² Efforts to sound bone flutes, both in the Wellington collection and examples in the Otago Museum, were fruitless.¹⁶³

The paper on music Andersen had previously read to the Historical Section, with additional information gathered on the East Coast expedition, was published in the Transactions, volume 54, which appeared in December 1923; but the paper was ‘issued separately’ six months earlier, in June 1923.¹⁶⁴ The title, ‘An Introduction to Maori Music’, suggests the provisional, even tentative nature of the information. ‘The few references to Maori music in the writings of early voyagers and early residents in the country’, Andersen began, ‘do not assist much in enabling a conclusion to be arrived at as to whether the Maori had any definite system of music - that is, whether music had with him become a conscious art.’¹⁶⁵ In 1923, it seems, Andersen’s framework for analysis of Maori music remained much as it had been in 1919 when he made his brief comments after the Gisborne

expedition. The basis of judgment was European, or western, music, and the viewpoint was evolutionist: 'The appreciation of melody, except as mere accompaniment, was apparently in the earliest stages of development'. He took the same attitude towards rhythm: 'It is especially in the song accompanying the dance that the sense of rhythm is most manifested The rhythm is very often on the point of becoming metrical, and often actually is metrical.'¹⁶⁶ His most important question was whether there was 'any kind of scale'. He discussed the ideas of J. A. Davies (Andersen had discovered that Davies's essay 'On the Native Songs of New Zealand' was 'much fuller' in the first (1855) edition of Grey's Polynesian Mythology than in the second (1885) edition he had used earlier), that the Maori used an enharmonic scale, and concluded that if it was enharmonic, it was 'not the Greek enharmonic scale'. Technicalities apart, he did not disagree with Davies's supposition that the Maori used quarter-tones.¹⁶⁷

Andersen then discussed the koauau: since 'there were no tunes without words, presumably the intervals on the koauau would correspond with the intervals used in singing', and proceeded to describe the features of koauau, contrasting three examples by measuring their dimensions and the arrangement of notes, without being able to elucidate any particular principle.¹⁶⁸ Other instruments - putorino, nguru, putara, pumoana - could not produce 'graduated series of notes' and were therefore 'of no value for detecting any scale that may have been

used.’¹⁶⁹ Only in the last third of the paper does Andersen deal with ‘songs’, and the treatment is summary, even perfunctory. He very briefly discusses such terms as karakia, waiata, tau; and he indicates ‘sub-divisions’ of these songs, and the more specialised terms, such as pihe and kaha, for songs which by subject matter might simply have been called waiata tangi. He describes, with a few annotated examples, the chants and songs used in welcoming tribal groups to the camp at Rotorua, noting that ‘With very little modification the Maori chant 3 [an example he has given] would correspond with the hexameter’, and that the second movement of Beethoven’s 7th Symphony had an almost identical rhythm.¹⁷⁰ Andersen’s discussion seems more sure-footed in his examples of haka, perhaps because the rhythm was not too difficult to reproduce in notation. For chants in which rhythm was relatively unimportant, he wrote, rather vaguely, ‘Watch-songs, love-songs, laments, lullabies, taunting-songs - all have their distinctive character’. He had the impression that the singer in each case ‘dwells chiefly on the best note of his register’. Maori did not seem to have ‘a word-sense as we have it’, for a break for a breath could be taken in the middle of a word. Apart from acknowledgments, his final sentence is: ‘Analysis of some of the complicated melodies may be undertaken in a later paper.’¹⁷¹

The phrase ‘may be undertaken’ indicates some doubt, and the reference to ‘complicated melodies’ hints at the degree of difficulty which Andersen found in

making any kind of sense of Maori music. Printed immediately after his 'Maori music' paper in the Transactions was another of his birdsong series, and the article is, like earlier articles on the same subject, full of musical annotation illustrating the complex songs of various birds, together with detailed prose comments.¹⁷² Of course, Andersen was more practised in discussing birdsong; he did not have a dictaphone recording of tui to compare with his transcription; and the birds were not likely to be concerned about accuracy, while Ngata and others would be quick to point out errors in the rendering of Maori music. But compared to Andersen's papers on birdsong, and his series of articles on verse metre, with their very sophisticated classificatory systems and morphological analysis, 'Maori music' was thin fare. Later he was to write: 'there is extreme difficulty in taking down the real Maori songs either from singing or from the phonograph, though in the latter they may be repeated over and over again. The only transcript of my own that I was at all satisfied with was the Porahakere song', taken at Gisborne in 1919.¹⁷³ 'I was pleased to see your paper on "Introduction to Maori Music"', wrote Buck, 'and will look forward to the next'.¹⁷⁴

Andersen looked forward to the next paper, too, and had high good hopes that someone else would do at least a part of the work. Between 200 and 300 'genuine old Maori songs' had been collected, and, he told the Under-Secretary, he hoped to include in his second paper 'a number of representative melodies so that

they may be made known, for comparative and other purposes, ethnological and musical, throughout the world'. He had begun 'picking out' the melodies 'but as my time is extremely limited, it will take me a long time to do the work which should be done.' However, Doreen Walsh of Auckland, 'a musician with an excellent ear and a gift for composition', had offered to transcribe the records free of charge, as the work would help her in her own composition.¹⁷⁵

This proposal proved acceptable to the Under-Secretary: Doreen Walsh did the transcribing first in Peter Buck's house - she knew Buck, and it was through him the contact had been made - and later in her own home.¹⁷⁶ There were problems: the dictaphone machine broke down, and so, at times, did communications between Buck and Walsh; Walsh did not know the Maori language and required the words from Ngata before she was able to make progress.¹⁷⁷ And, as Balneavis warned, 'The fact ... should not be lost sight of that the constant use of these phonographic records prior to transmission to permanent cylinders may impair their clearness and usefulness for that purpose.'¹⁷⁸

'Taihoa is not the monopoly of the Polynesians', Buck observed to Andersen when recounting his lack of contact with Walsh.¹⁷⁹ Eventually the Board for Maori Ethnological Research received three transcripts, and Andersen was asked for his opinion. He considered that they were 'fairly satisfactorily made'; and though this might sound like 'faint praise', it had to be remembered

that the transcripts were ‘an attempt to render in our notation music that was composed independent of any notation, and any such attempt must be approximate only.’ He had persuaded a violinist to play the tunes, and he had compared the transcripts with the original records, ‘and they do give some idea of the songs as sung’, though he would have liked Ngata to hear the violinist’s efforts, ‘as he knows the songs’. He suggested Miss Walsh be paid two guineas per transcript. On the other hand, she had taken a long time, it had been hard to get the machine back, one of the mechanisms was damaged, and all the identification slips had been removed from the cylinders. ‘I myself have transcribed one song’, he declared, ‘in order to see what could be made of the cylinders, and how long it would take - it really takes only a short time, if it can be done at all.’ (This does not quite square with his earlier comments on how difficult the job was.) Andersen concluded that while the cylinders were reasonable for recording, the machine was not suitable for transcribing: ‘the only satisfactory way to transcribe a song will be first to absolutely learn it from Maori lips and then write it down direct without intervention of any machine.’¹⁸⁰

The trails hereafter diverge. Doreen Walsh went overseas, and her transcripts do not appear to have been published: many years later Andersen commented, without naming Walsh, that some transcriptions ‘were attempted by a trained musician, who had the records in her possession for the purpose; but on

having the transcripts played on a violin, for the reproduction of the quarter-tones, the result was so unlike the original that I concluded the attempt to be useless, and I am not putting the transcript on record'.¹⁸¹ The Board for Maori Ethnological Research acquired a machine which recorded on discs, and in the years that followed Ngata organized for quite a number of items to be so preserved.¹⁸² The wax cylinders underwent various vicissitudes, being 'rediscovered' every so often;¹⁸³ eventually, fifty years later, the sounds of the surviving cylinders were given permanent form.¹⁸⁴ Though Andersen was to write several articles on Maori music, and give many lectures on the subject, and indeed produce a large book in the 1930s, he made no substantial addition to the knowledge of Maori music beyond what he had set out in his paper of 1923.

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The string figures were, however, dealt with more straightforwardly and expeditiously: more than was the case for the music, Andersen's expertise was adequate to deal with most aspects of the subject, and whereas the music transcriptions were in the dilatory hands of Doreen Walsh, living in Auckland, the

string figures required only the 'transcription' of photography, which McDonald, handily placed in Wellington, was willing to supply. The final article, dealing with the figures collected on the East Coast expedition of 1923, was not published like the previous papers in the New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology: the material was instead incorporated, along with recensions of what had already been published, in a book.

Whether the notion that the material on string figures could be published as a book by the Board of Maori Ethnological Research originated with Andersen or with members of that Board (either Balneavis or Ngata) cannot be readily ascertained. Andersen submitted his 'short treatise' to the Ethnological Board on 7 September 1926, and that Board, meeting the same day, promptly passed a resolution that 'Maori String-figures' be published by the Board. Balneavis had very likely told Andersen that the Board was about to meet, and that if the material was made available a favourable decision could be expected; but perhaps the initial idea came from Andersen, who already had the Wellington firm of Ferguson and Osborne in mind as printers. Balneavis forwarded the Board's resolution to Andersen, and asked him to gather printing estimates from the Government Printer and other printers as well as Ferguson and Osborne.¹⁸⁵

But there were some other protocols to be observed: the bulk of the material 'belonged' to the New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology, and

Balneavis had to obtain permission from the Department of Internal Affairs. The articles, Balneavis argued to the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, were ‘only available to subscribers of that Journal and are unknown to the general public and especially to the Maoris, and it was because of the demand for copies by the Maoris that the ... Board suggested to Mr Andersen that it would be prepared to publish [them] as a separate publication provided it could be published as a Memoir of the Board’. Moreover, it seemed unlikely for some time to come that the Board of Science and Technology would be in a position to publish the articles as a memoir.¹⁸⁶ Andersen apparently made known his views that the octavo page favoured by the Ethnological Board was more suitable for his relatively brief work than the larger page used by the Dominion Museum for its bulletin series; and besides, the photographic figures had been designed to fit the octavo page size.¹⁸⁷

When the matter was referred to him, the Director of the Dominion Museum, Dr Thomson, pointed out, as Balneavis was aware, that information had been collected on expeditions under the auspices of the Museum, and the ‘rather costly illustrations’ had been made at the expense of the New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology on the understanding that the complete work would be published as a Dominion Museum bulletin. However, the Museum was agreeable provided proper acknowledgement was made in the preface to the part played by

the Museum 'in facilitating the collection of the Games'. The Minister of Internal Affairs then gave his formal approval.¹⁸⁸

Andersen subsequently arranged for McDonald to take the additional photographs he thought necessary, and Ferguson and Osborne, who had provided a satisfactory estimate, printed the book in 1927.¹⁸⁹ One thousand copies were supplied to the Ethnological Board; Andersen received twenty-four as author's copies, a generous allowance, early in September 1927.¹⁹⁰

Though Andersen was later disappointed over the awkward procedure (and thus slow pace) by which the Ethnological Board disposed of the copies of Maori String Figures, he was in 1927 pleased with the handsome production from Ferguson and Osborne, and happy with the Board's sponsorship. While he duly acknowledged his indebtedness to the Dominion Museum in the Preface, he was rather more fulsome in his praise of the Board: 'Finally, I murmur a little karakia of thanksgiving to the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, who have played the part of Tane, as it were, in enabling this volume to see the light.'¹⁹¹ Whether he fully appreciated the honour conferred upon him by the Board's accolade is a moot point: to be published by the Board was a mark of approval from Balneavis and Ngata, and, however indirectly, from Maori more generally. Maori String Figures epitomized the assistance from sympathetic Pakeha that Ngata believed would be valuable to his people.

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Upon his experiences ‘in the field’, always in Best’s company, were built Andersen’s claims, implicit and explicit, to ethnological expertise, and the recognition by others of his expertise. The four expeditions in which he participated took up a total of a few weeks.¹⁹² Earlier, as we have seen, Andersen’s contacts with Maori people in what we might call Maori situations were few and brief; and in later years, after 1923, they were only slightly more numerous.¹⁹³ Though Maori and Pakeha from the 1860s through to the 1940s or 1950s largely lived apart from each other, thousands of Pakeha, officials, farmers, teachers and others, had frequent, occasionally almost continuous contact, with Maori people; but while some of these people might claim to know Maori, and indeed sometimes expressed this familiarity in unpleasantly negative and even racist ways, their knowledge and their crosscultural experiences were not treated by others - not perhaps even regarded by themselves - as significant, occasional exceptions notwithstanding.

Andersen's limited crosscultural contact, on the other hand, was privileged because it was 'authorized' - by the scientific sponsorship of the Dominion Museum; by its association with Elsdon Best, doyen of the amateur ethnologists; and by influential Maori leaders, especially Ngata - and because his experiences were given discursive articulation in lectures, articles and books. In Maori String Figures especially, Andersen's interests in Maori subjects and his enthusiasm to record information in the permanent form afforded by print coincided with the desire of Maori to use publication as a means of preserving and disseminating traditional knowledge and to call upon the services of sympathetic Pakeha to facilitate such aims. This coincidence was not to recur: as later chapters indicate, Andersen's interest in Maori subjects remained anchored to Pakeha perspectives.

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In 1924 Johannes Andersen became involved with the Polynesian Society for the first time, excepting only his communication to the editor of Hana Pohio's *Waiata* which was printed in the Society's Journal in 1912. From 1925 to late in 1946 Andersen was a member of the Council of the Society, and throughout that period

either joint-editor or sole editor of the Society's Journal. His contribution to the Society was considerable, and from the 1930s his influence within the Society was immense. There is a background to the Society's affairs that needs to be given in some detail before Andersen's role can be seen in context; and, in particular, just before he joined the Society, its intellectual and financial position had been much changed.

The story of the Polynesian Society from the early 1920s needs to be set inside a double framework. One frame is that in which the Polynesian Society was initially constituted and continued to operate: it was an organisation for Europeans to express their interest in 'primitive' cultures, a local variation on an institutional and intellectual practice which recurs throughout the colonising states in the nineteenth century. The other frame is the vigorous manifestation of Maori consciousness in what came to be called Maoritanga. The leading spokesperson for Maori sociocultural development, at least in the European perception, was Apirana Ngata. Highly educated by European standards and a member of parliament, he was by education and political position strategically placed to command both resources and attention. His schemes for land development are reasonably well-known; his concern for language, lore and culture has received less attention from historians, but his proposals in the early 1920s included the notion of using the Polynesian Society for his purposes. What Ngata managed to

have done through the Polynesian Society was in the end probably considerably less than he had envisaged: in a sense it could be suggested that the Society simply took the money Ngata provided and went its own way. Throughout the period we are discussing, from the early 1920s to the late 1940s, Ngata and his vision remain as a frame of reference for judging the accomplishments of the Polynesian Society. His long-term failure to incline the Polynesian Society, and its editor, to his purposes would, as is discussed in Chapter 6, lead to a breach between himself and Andersen.

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Elsdon Best fretted a great deal about the slow pace at which his writings were placed in print, and Apirana Ngata was also not happy with the delays, for much of Best's material recorded traditional Maori customs and beliefs which Ngata hoped to preserve and as far as possible see revived among Maori people. Towards the end of 1920, when the Great War had been finished for nearly two years, Ngata apparently decided to exert some political pressure over the continuing tardiness in the publication of these materials - Best could be outspoken,

and often was, but as a civil servant there were limits to his influence, whereas Ngata, an M.P. of much experience, had more significant weight. Ngata joined with two other Maori M.P.s., Tau Henare and Maui Pomare, the latter a cabinet minister, on 21 October 1920 in an approach to W. H. Herries, the Native Minister: 'We desire to bring under your notice the desirability of granting assistance out of the Native Civil List towards the publication of Maori records.' Best, they understood, had a large amount of material, including some bulletins, ready for printing; other portions of his material would probably be published by the Polynesian Society. All of it, they had been assured, was 'of great value'. They suggested a sum of £500 from the Native Civil List, spread over two years, would be appropriate. In addition, they told Herries, the Minister of Internal Affairs, G. J. Anderson, was willing to make a similar provision of funds through his department; and the M.P.s were prepared to appeal to their own people to raise a sum of £100 which would be placed in the hands of any authority the government might appoint.¹⁹⁴

Ngata also wrote to the founder of the Polynesian Society, and editor of its Journal, Percy Smith, who had some years before the war retired to New Plymouth and made that town the headquarters of the Society. Smith indicated in his reply some of the difficulties the Society faced. Increased postwar costs of printing and paper were 'tending to curtail our efforts in matter of presenting original

information that ought to be placed on record in print for the use of later generations of New Zealanders, and the world in general.’ There were particular costs in printing ‘Native languages’, and Smith believed that original matter ought to be reproduced in the language in which it was received. An annual subsidy, he told Ngata, would assist the Society, ‘but this I fear is out of the question, though this Society is actually doing what in most countries is done by the Government.’ Failing a subsidy, a grant would help with the printing of accumulated material, especially Best’s Tuhoe records, Stephen Savage’s Rarotongan traditions, the Maori language part of Rarotongan traditions collected by Smith, and ‘Te Matorohanga’s Taewa traditions &c’, besides other manuscripts. Smith pointed out to Ngata that in the last issue of the Journal, the Rarotongan history of Whio had been printed only in translation, which he feared would be the case with a considerable amount of other matter. He was anxious to get such valuable records in print ‘as I am now in my eighty first year, [and] I have not much time left to finish it.’ He remembered to thank Ngata for his help years before in the publication of the first volume of the Lore of the Whare-wānanga, ‘quite the most important contribution to Maori literature ever produced in my opinion.’¹⁹⁵

Smith’s letter confirmed for Ngata the magnitude of the problem. Herries, like G. J. Anderson, was sympathetic: ‘I think this should be done, if it is in order to do so’, he told his under-secretary;¹⁹⁶ and Ngata was able to write

encouragingly to Smith, and no doubt told Best personally of the bright prospects.¹⁹⁷ There were, however, difficulties. The under-secretary pointed out that 'The Civil List is set apart for definite purposes and the printing of this material can scarcely be held to come within the terms "of the benefit of the Native Race".' It might be better, decided Herries, to place an amount on the Estimates, in the usual way; but because of the early end to the current parliamentary session, the sum would have to be placed on the Estimates for the next session.¹⁹⁸ The Minister of Internal Affairs, Anderson, was able to do a little better: he had approved a vote of £500, half of which would be placed on the Department's supplementary estimates for this year, and the balance next year.¹⁹⁹

All this left the financing of ethnographic records very much at the whim of politicians, and (as in the example just given), somewhat at the mercy of parliamentary timetables; and although Ngata was a skilled lobbyist and knew that he had the sympathy and support of several ministers, among them J. G. Coates, whose political star in the government was rising very rapidly, he probably hankered after more permanent arrangements, and hoped to place matters more under the control of Maori. It is not clear whether he was working out a new scheme before the death of S. P. Smith in April 1922, but it is certain that Smith's death provided an opportunity to draw the Polynesian Society into the framework he envisaged.

Smith had been the dominant figure in the Polynesian Society since he and Edward Tregear had established the Society in 1892. When Smith had retired to New Plymouth, the headquarters of the Society went with him, and so did the *Polynesian Society Journal*, of which Smith was editor: the *Journal* was the most significant portion of the Society's activities. Smith's death left the Society in a certain amount of crisis: it had lost its effective leader, and while there were a considerable number of important and knowledgeable members in and around New Plymouth, they worried about whether they had the time, energy and expertise to carry the burden previously assumed by Smith. There was even a prospect that the Society might cease to exist.²⁰⁰ On the other hand, there were some notable scholars in Wellington who might make a larger contribution if they could be drawn more actively into the Society's affairs - and the most significant of these was Elsdon Best. In short, the Society needed assistance, and Ngata might help provide assistance while at the same time using the Society for his purposes. Relocation of the Society's headquarters to Wellington was now possible after the death of Smith. This would suit Best, and it would suit Ngata.

Ngata's specific proposals were made at a meeting held on 26 July 1923, in the office of H.R.H. Balneavis, private secretary to J. G. Coates, the minister for native affairs. Present besides Ngata and Balneavis were the other Maori members of parliament, Maui Pomare (minister for Cook Islands, who took the chair), Tau

Henare and H. W. Uru; Best (president of the Polynesian Society); Peter Buck; R. N. Jones (under-secretary for the department of native affairs and chief judge of the native land court); and K. S. Williams, M.P. for the Bay of Plenty electorate. Two who could not attend were W. H. Skinner, editor of the Society's Journal, who was ill, and his son, H. D. Skinner, an archaeologist who taught anthropology at Otago University and was also a curator at the Dunedin Museum. The substantial business was to discuss a bill which would be presented to parliament as an amendment to the Maori Antiquities Act of 1908; a rough draft of the bill was presented by Jones, no doubt worked up by him but very likely according to designs worked out by Ngata and Balneavis.²⁰¹

'I explained the purpose of the meeting in detail', Ngata afterwards reported to W. H. Skinner.²⁰² The explanation survives as a lengthy paper, 'Proposals in regard to the finance and Organisation of Maori and Polynesian research'. 'The present meeting', Ngata began, 'is convened to consider certain proposals for the creation of a Fund, to assist research into Maori and Polynesian History and Ethnology, and for the administration of such Fund'. He listed 'The circumstances that have given rise to the necessity for the intervention by Parliamentarians at this time': first, an appeal by the Polynesian Society for money to spend on Journal illustration and on publishing its memoirs; secondly, an 'allegation of the Society and some of its most active New Zealand contributors to its publications' that there

was an accumulation of material awaiting publication and that some writers had 'had to take advantage of American resources'; thirdly, increasing interest in 'the ethnic problems of the Pacific' as shown by American, Hawaiian and British organisations whose expeditions appeared to be 'exceedingly well-equipped' while in New Zealand, which 'should be among the most prominent promoters', interest seemed to be languishing. Now, said Ngata, there was a prospect of funds for 'Maori purposes' which could include 'Polynesian research' but there was no 'organisation sufficiently in touch with probable sources of assistance' which could 'assess the claims for assistance and endeavour to make provision accordingly'.²⁰³

Having thus demonstrated that there was 'a need for the creation of a fund devoted to the special purpose of Maori and Polynesian Research' and for 'a body specially changed with the duty of arranging for that fund and of seeing that it [was] expended in the most profitable way', Ngata thought five questions could be asked: was the council of the Polynesian Society 'the best body to control the proposed fund'; what amount was required to clear the accumulation of manuscripts, and what would be required to continue a publication programme thereafter; 'What special conditions are attached' to the proposed fund; and how much money would be available in fact. He answered these in reverse order, and thereby established very clearly and in detail that the money would come 'almost entirely from Maori sources', through land boards, district funds, native trustee

accounts and so forth. Since the Maori people provided the money for the fund, they should have some say as to how it might be expended: 'The consideration that appeals to the Maori mind is that with such a fund collections of Maori traditions and history, whakapapas, songs &c will be published and made available to them'. His next statement is significant for the gap it deliberately opens up between his aims and interests and those of the Polynesian Society, between those like himself who wished to vivify an existing culture and those, like so many members of the Polynesian Society, who wished to dissect and inter on the printed page 'the Maori as he was'. These 'traditions and history, whakapapas, songs &c', he said, 'are not thought to possess as high a value ethnologically as the results of investigations carried out in accordance with the latest methods of the science.' It was to be 'understood at the outset that while not claiming preference for the publication of tribal histories and collections of songs and so on, there will be an insistence on some assistance from the Fund towards such publications'. Indeed, the board controlling the fund could relieve the Society of the expense of publishing material of that kind which had already accumulated. To make his general point plainer, he appealed that 'Anything that can be done to provide suitable reading material in the best Maori language extant should be done', and instanced as desirable projects reprints or revisions of 'Grey's *Nga Hakirara* [i.e. *Nga Moteatea* ..., 1853] and White's *Ancient Maori*, and cullings from the *Waka*

Maori'. When he added that there were 'enough Maori scholars living to attend to such editions', he did not mean the cognoscenti of the Polynesian Society.²⁰⁴

He then posed the hitherto implicit question directly: was the Council of the Polynesian Society 'the best body' for controlling the proposed fund; and he answered just as directly: 'I do not think that it is'. He did not mean to suggest 'any disrespect or insufficient appreciation of the splendid work of the Council and the Society'. Nevertheless, it was 'not sufficiently in touch with the financial resources on which a levy is being made' (in other words, it was out of touch with the Maori people and their urgent circumstances), and it was 'too absorbed in its special department to make comprehensive decisions when the occasion demands'. Instead, the fund should be administered by the Board of Maori Ethnology with up to ten members: Ngata suggested the Native Minister, the undersecretaries of the Native Affairs and Internal Affairs departments, the four Maori members of parliament, and two or three others to be appointed by the Governor-General - and of the latter, 'At least one representative should be nominated by the Polynesian Society'. The Polynesian Society would thus have its place in Ngata's scheme by being drawn into the general organising body, but the proposed Board would clearly be dominated by those who were sympathetic to Ngata's concern for Maori to manage their own affairs.²⁰⁵

How did he envisage the contribution of the Society henceforth? Significant manuscript matter in the Maori language should be handed over to the new Board for publication through the Board, but the Society's Journal would be increased in size by an injection of funds both to clear any accumulation of unpublished materials and to publish in future ethnological material which had had in the past to be 'scattered' through other journals such as the New Zealand Institute's Transactions and, more recently, the Journal of Science and Technology. The supplementary funds from the Board were to be 'on conditions assuring speedy publication of the most urgent material'. The quid pro quo for financial support, then, was that the Society should include in its Journal materials which were primarily for the use of Maori people.²⁰⁶

Ngata had some advice on how the Society should be improved: the headquarters might be removed to Wellington, membership could be increased by a 'vigorous campaign', memoir supplements, hitherto ultimately accumulated as separate volumes, should be published in the latter form immediately and instalments removed from the Journal. It is necessary to place this critique in its full perspective: Ngata's cause was not particularly to reduce the influence of the Polynesian Society but to increase Maori self-esteem and cultural vigour under Maori auspices. His final comments returned to this basic theme when he called

for consideration of 'the educative value of Polynesian literature in our schools and particularly in the Native schools'.²⁰⁷

The records do not indicate any dissent at the meeting, and the proposals were approved. Ngata reported a few days later to W. H. Skinner that the response had been very enthusiastic. He could also report to Skinner that he had talked with his son, H. D. Skinner, and Dr H. E. Gregory of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, then visiting New Zealand, and both were in favour. To W. H. Skinner he sent his 'remarks' made at the meeting (which have been quoted extensively above) and in his letter summarized the way in which he saw the future participation of the Society: there would be up to £3000 a year available to the Board, which would arrange to publish itself certain types of memoirs previously undertaken either by the Society or by the Dominion Museum; the Journal, divested of 'heavy' memoir material, could be enlarged since the Board might subsidize the Journal £1 for £1 up to £300 a year; and there were to be funds for the Society for its own programme of memoirs and reprints. In addition, the desirability of bringing the Council of the Society into closer touch with the new Board might mean moving its headquarters from New Plymouth to Wellington. 'I am sure,' wrote Ngata, that this general proposal marks 'the turning point in the history of Maori & Polynesian Research work in this country.'²⁰⁸

One cannot imagine that Apirana Ngata felt much trepidation in the week before W. H. Skinner replied. Ngata would have pressed ahead with his Board in any case, though the compliance of the Polynesian Society while not essential would be useful. What he presented to Skinner was a virtual if not yet statutory fait accompli, and Skinner no doubt recognised that. William Henry Skinner, a retired surveyor, was a foundation member of the Society, a frequent contributor of short papers to the Journal, and currently editor. When the initiator and mainstay of the Society, Percy Smith, had died in 1922, Skinner took upon himself the burdens of ensuring the Society did not die with its founder. He was fully aware of how much the active membership was concentrated in and around New Plymouth. On the other hand, it seemed that Elsdon Best concurred with Ngata, and Best was the most distinguished member of the Society; Dr Buck approved; and so did Skinner's own son. There was also the prospect of much-needed funds, official approval and encouragement, and an increase in the size of the Journal.

Skinner spent three or four days contemplating the issues: he 'read & reread' Ngata's letter and memorandum 'most carefully'. Possibly he discussed the matter with members of the Council or some of the many ordinary members of the Society who lived in New Plymouth. The caution expressed in his reply may have been his own, or have reflected the doubts of those he talked to, or have been procedural - he could not commit the Society until the matter had been formally

considered. '[T]aken on the whole, the policy outlined' appealed to him. He could not see his way 'at present' to concur with some of the suggestions for the Journal - probably he referred to the exclusion of memoir instalments. Nevertheless, if the 'financial part of the scheme' was put on 'a thoroughly sound basis', he did not think there would be 'much difficulty in getting the Council, & a majority of the members to agree' to the reorganisation, and he would call a special meeting of the council to discuss the proposals. 'I have also written Best on the subject',²⁰⁹ he finished. Any reservations expressed by Skinner were not likely to concern Best who at last had before him the prospect of speedy publication of his manuscripts.

We need not follow here all the details of consequential events. Ngata had the tacit approval of Skinner and the open approval of Best, and thus of the Polynesian Society; and Parliament rapidly enacted the legislation to establish the Board of Maori Ethnological Research.²¹⁰ A motion about the transfer of the Society's headquarters to Wellington was prepared for discussion at the 1923 annual general meeting of the Polynesian Society held in January 1924: Skinner introduced the motion, spoke of his own approval, and noted that 'in the past the work of the Society had been carried on by the late Mr Percy Smith and one or two loyal co-workers'. Whereas locally 'none of the younger generation' were coming forward to assist, 'There was new blood in Wellington'. Despite prior notice of

motion, and an extensive supply of information about the transfer published in the Journal, only about a dozen members were at the meeting; though a couple of them worried about the fate of the Society's extensive library, the motion for transfer was carried unanimously.²¹¹ Until the transfer arrangements were complete, Skinner continued to edit the Journal: already the new Board had granted £300 for 1924 and the size of the Journal, somewhat enlarged in 1923 when the Native Affairs Department had made a grant, was greatly increased.²¹²

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Best made arrangements at the Wellington end for the transfer of the Society's headquarters to Wellington. He compiled a list of Society members in Wellington, and sorted out who he wanted, or perhaps which members were willing, to serve on the Council. A rough manuscript aide-memoire indicates his thoughts. Under the heading 'As Council' he wrote, first of all, 'Andersen will act in Council'; the other four names he listed were 'Sir F. C.[hapman] as Chairman', Balneavis, [?] M. Jones, and himself.²¹³ A meeting of members 'resident, or at present, in Wellington', was held in the Native Affairs Committee Room, in the evening of 24 July 1924. Chapman chaired the meeting; and those elected to the 'provisional

Council' were Pomare, Chapman, Thomson, W. Bird, Balneavis, Andersen, M. Crompton Smith, and H. A. Huggins, Crompton Smith to be secretary, and Huggins treasurer.²¹⁴ Andersen was not one of the 17 present at this meeting, perhaps for the very simple reason that he was not yet a member of the Society, but Best was apparently determined that he should be on the Council anyway. There was a subsequent difficulty when it was discovered there were more on the 'provisional Council' than allowed by the rules of the Society: Balneavis pointed out that unless some of those elected withdrew, there would have to be another meeting and another election, but, he insisted, Pomare and Balneavis himself would have to be on the Council as representatives of the Ethnological Board.²¹⁵ This may be taken as an indication of the determination of Maori to exert influence on the affairs of the Society when in future it expended money provided by Maori.

The final annual meeting of the Polynesian Society to be held at New Plymouth gathered together in Miss Hampton's library, as had been the custom in recent years, on 27 January 1925. Having responded to a local member's concern about the 'identity' of the Society by saying it would continue 'without undue influence from outside interests', W. H. Skinner formally moved that the headquarters be shifted to Wellington. When this motion had been carried, Elsdon Best, who it was understood was to inherit the editorship, proposed Skinner in succession to himself as president. A formal decision to expand the Council was

then taken: previously five strong, it was now to consist of the treasurer, secretary, and five others; eight altogether when the president joined in. Accordingly, as arranged by the Wellington caucus, Best, Maui Pomare, J. C. Andersen, H.R.H. Balneavis, and Dr J. Allen Thomson, the director of the Dominion Museum, were elected to the Council; M. Crompton Smith, son of Percy Smith, was made secretary, H. A. Huggins treasurer. One New Plymouth member of the retiring Council expressed disappointment that so few of the Wellington members were present: of the new Council only Elsdon Best and Crompton Smith had turned up and they were neither of them fresh faces. Still it was done, and little else remained except to thank Miss Hampton and to dispose of the bookshelves.²¹⁶

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The membership of the Polynesian Society had never been large. Beginning with 112 members in 1892, there were few more than double that number at the beginning of 1924 - 240 if three patrons are included. A dozen of these were foundation members: death, lack of interest, sometimes impecuniosity (members two or more years in arrears with their subscriptions were periodically struck off the roll), had removed the rest of the original members. Indeed, there

had always been considerable fluctuation in membership. Of the 214 'ordinary members' at the start of 1924, 48 had Taranaki addresses, most of them in New Plymouth. The total of 227 'ordinary' and 'corresponding' members included 45 outside New Zealand proper, 10 of which were institutions and 35 individuals, with addresses spread from Tahiti, Rarotonga and Niue, to the United States, Ecuador, Mexico, Japan, China, the Netherlands and England. Seven people in the Hawaiian Islands were members: the links there were strong and would become closer as the years went on. Included among the ten honorary members were a former New Zealand Premier, three former presidents of the Society, and some distinguished British anthropologists, Sir J. G. Frazer, A. C. Haddon, and S. H. Ray among them.²¹⁷

For the rest, the veterans of the armed conflicts of the 1860s, the so-called Maori wars, had nearly all passed on, and the list featured a heterogeneous set of clergy, public servants, politicians, farmers, and a good number of institutions - public and special libraries most usually. Few members were Maori: apart from Buck, Balneavis, Uru, Pomare and other such public figures, nearly all the Maori members were of the same iwi as Ngata - Ngati Porou of the East Coast region. A number of Pakeha members were highly learned in the Percy Smith tradition of having had close contact with Maori people, being well-versed in local traditions, and speaking the Maori language well or having a reasonable knowledge of it: they

included George Graham, James Cowan, T. W. Downes, and Rev. H. J. Fletcher. A few were expert linguists, like Rev. J. G. Laughton and Archdeacon Herbert Williams. A proportion of members probably agreed with E. Earle Vaile who believed in firm, paternalistic treatment for his Maori friends.²¹⁸ There was a lunatic fringe too, for example, A. J. Vogan of Sydney, and Professor J. Macmillan Brown of Christchurch, both of whom propounded strange theories about the settlement of Pacific lands.

Only a minority of members were contributors to the Journal, and a very small proportion contributed regularly. The majority merely received the quarterly issues, and perhaps read them. Though the Society had a certain prestige in the New Zealand community generally, its status in the international anthropological community was very high. In addition to institutions which subscribed to the Journal, a further forty-five, at the start of 1924, exchanged their publications with the Society.²¹⁹ For those few local members who could get access to the Society's library, this amounted to a vast pile of anthropological material from all around the world. It also meant that the Polynesian Society Journal was consulted, inter alia, at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington and the Peabody Museum at Harvard, in the rooms of the Royal Geographical Society in London, the Société d'Anthropologie in Paris, and the Gesellschaft Anthropologische in Vienna.

The 'vigorous campaign' for increased membership in New Zealand that Ngata had requested in July 1923 produced by the start of 1925 a considerable number of new enrolments: when Andersen was elected a member in September 1924 he was one of twenty-five 'duly elected' at that council meeting, and 19 further names were added in December; out of those forty-four, eighteen (many of them Maori) were proposed by Ngata, an indication of his energy in the matter.²²⁰ Yet despite the rise in the number of members in the middle 1920s, and the addition of several Maori subscribers, the nature of the Society did not change: it was still, as it was to remain for the next twenty years and more, a European institution for the indulgence of European curiosity about a 'neolithic' people (to use a favourite word of Best's), though as the years passed academic influence in the Journal increased and the amateurs contributed less. Best, an amateur who had professionalised his collecting, saw the Journal, and thus the Society, very much as an instrument for the publication of his own researches and for the promulgation of his own views. These views ran counter to some recent developments in the study of New Zealand prehistory.

In his two years as editor, W. H. Skinner had brought about, or presided over, some considerable changes by contrast with the days of Percy Smith. The size of the Journal had increased and the grants from the Ethnological Board which allowed this increase had also been used for the presentation of photographic

plates, previously rare, on a quite lavish scale. The latter change, as well as a new emphasis on archaeological papers, was probably inspired by the editor's son, H. D. Skinner, who also contributed much news of ethnographic work elsewhere in the Pacific. Some of the most frequent contributors of the past, like Percy Smith himself, and W. E. Gudgeon, Elsdon Best's brother-in-law, were dead, or had ceased writing, like Edward Tregear. H. D. Skinner had, however, encouraged the submission of articles from a wide range of new contributors, several of whom he had met recently at a science conference in Australia. He also promoted a revisionist version of New Zealand's prehistory through three articles published in the 1924 Journal, two by himself, and one by a protege of his, David Teviotdale.

The March 1924 issue, the first for the year, began with 'Excavations near the Mouth of the Shag River, Otago' by David Teviotdale, followed by H. D. Skinner's 'Results of the Excavations at the Shag River Sandhills'. Skinner's 'Results' provided a context for of Teviotdale's 'Excavations'. The December issue, the final issue for the year, started with an essay on 'The Origin and Relationships of Maori Material Culture and Decorative Art' by Skinner, illustrated with twenty-five plates; the essay placed some of the ideas offered by Skinner and Teviotdale in March into a much wider context (this essay had originally been read to anthropologists at a science congress in Adelaide).²²¹

H. D. Skinner had early acquired through his father and through his own childhood experiences in Taranaki an interest in Maori artifacts which was not uncommon among Polynesian Society members. Some experience with the collections of the Otago Museum, where some artifacts were arranged in typological sequences, subsequent study at Cambridge under A. C. Haddon, and exposure to Polynesian collections in British Museums in the course of his research, raised Skinner's interest in artifactual objects from the customary antiquarianism to a rigorously analytical level.²²² In 1923 he had reported on the material culture of the Chatham Islands through a Bishop Museum bulletin;²²³ this work was reviewed by Peter Buck in the Polynesian Society Journal of March 1924. Buck gave the work due praise, particularly for the figuring of the adzes. He found a 'difficulty' in the section dealing with clothing, partly because Buck, then writing up his own study of Maori clothing, had a more sophisticated knowledge of the techniques involved, partly because he found that extrapolation from Skinner's arguments about garments invited questions about historical beliefs which were the orthodoxy. Earlier in the review Buck had tried to grapple with the implications of Skinner's revision of accepted beliefs. Percy Smith and Best had constructed a sequence in which the earliest human inhabitants of New Zealand were partly Melanesian (thus 'inferior'); this people, the remnant of which lived on in the Chathams, had been displaced by the Polynesians. One source referred to

the earliest peoples as Muruiwi; the people on the Chathams were Moriori (variously spelled).²²⁴ Skinner's evidence, which Buck had no reason to dispute, showed that in 'craniology, linguistics and material culture' the Moriori of the Chathams were Polynesian; indeed their culture was (according to Skinner) clearly derived from the same eastern parts of Polynesia as that of Maori. Thus the Moriori were not descended from the part-Melanesian Maruiwi. Very well, said Buck, in the meantime, until we know more, the Maruiwi and Moriori are 'two distinct waves'. 'We cannot agree, however, with Mr Sk[i]nner that all the Matorohanga material is rendered doubtful by the Maruiwi origin of the Morioris proving to be incorrect.'²²⁵ The authenticity of the 'Matorohanga material', some of which had been published by Percy Smith as The Lore of the Whare-wānanga, was to be a major occasion of dispute for the next quarter-century.²²⁶

In the same issue which carried Buck's review, Skinner and Teviotdale were raising such questions not just about the Moriori of the Chathams but about the earliest inhabitants of New Zealand itself.²²⁷ The Shag River site had been dug from time to time by all manner of investigators and entrepreneurs: it was an area full of artifacts and moa bones. Teviotdale, without training in archaeology, spent a decade excavating the site at least more systematically than previous curio-hunters. Skinner made contact with him and helped in arranging what was recovered. Teviotdale's article recorded his finds; Skinner's article classified

them, and came to some highly significant conclusions: the people who lived at the site were 'Moa-hunters'; they were 'probably the first inhabitants of the district'; their material culture was Polynesian; their material culture and that of the Otago Maori at the time of European arrival was more or less the same. Skinner's implicit message was there for all to read: the Shag River investigations revealed no Melanesians, and no 'Muruiwi', though true believers doubtless could console themselves with the thought that this finding referred to one region only, even one site.²²⁸ At the start of his article, Skinner had questioned the evidential utility of traditional evidence. It was possible to find out about the earliest inhabitants of New Zealand either by using traditional sources or by analysing archaeological data; tradition on the earliest inhabitants, 'placed on record by the late T. Whatahoro', was, Skinner observed, 'considerable in bulk and peculiar in character, though whether its accuracy is equal to its precision may be doubted'.²²⁹

In his paper for the December 1924 issue Skinner engaged in speculation on cultural, regional, linguistic and artistic relationships of the Pacific and the Asian rim, heady stuff but hardly more than sleight of mind. He managed to incorporate another attack on the Whatahoro-Smith-Best school and their Melanesian-Maruiwi hypothesis. The tradition, he noted, was 'drawn from a single source', and 'the reliability of this tradition ... wherever it can be tested ... collapses.' Nevertheless, he noted, it still had 'the determined support of the strongest of our New Zealand

ethnologists'.²³⁰ It is likely that H. D. Skinner also had a hand in preparing an unsigned 'note' in the October issue, 'The Polynesians as Navigators', which reported debate in an Auckland newspaper about Polynesian navigational capacities. The note summarized the debate in terms which called into doubt traditional evidence. John Bollons, a sea-going master and for many years captain of the government steamer, argued for settlement by random drift voyages; Peter Buck, George Graham and others held to the traditional version, 'oblivious of the fact that since the reliability of traditions in general was being called into question, such evidence was inadmissible'. William Baucke was quoted approvingly for pointing out that it was hardly reasonable to pick from legends what suited your argument and then discard as fabulous what you did not want (Baucke had been invited to add his opinions on the Moriori (he had lived many years on the Chatham Islands) when H. D. Skinner a short time thereafter published supplementary material for his Moriori bulletin).²³¹ The note concluded by saying that the issue had been faced in America and 'many authorities, including [Robert] Lowie' had 'refused to accept tradition as reliable evidence in working out tribal history. At the other extreme', the anonymous writer summarized, 'stand the orthodox traditionalists of Polynesia who reconstruct racial history by the simple method of cutting out the miracles, and where two traditions conflict, adopting the one that appears the more likely.'²³² Perhaps coincidentally, but possibly as an

indirect riposte, Best provided a short paper on 'The Maori as a Deep Sea Voyager' for the December issue: 'How Pahiko sailed for the Isles of Polynesia. Circa 1675' - 'The initiative and endurance that distinguished Polynesian voyagers of yore is illustrated in this story of Pahiko', wrote Best.²³³

The second and last year of W. H. Skinner's editorship, therefore, had seen the Smith-Best orthodoxy under fairly sustained attack, most directly in the articles and notes written by H. D. Skinner but also indirectly in the space given over in articles and notes to material culture generally. It is not necessary to suggest any deliberate connivance between father and son: H. D. Skinner's work was worth publishing, and he had the overseas contacts that his father did not. Nor were the traditionalists excluded - Best had articles in three out of four issues, and there were the usual smaller pieces from George Graham. We may suppose that the editor did not have a superfluity of material from which to pick and choose, and now that the Journal was larger than ever before, W. H. Skinner might have found the space difficult to fill without the help of his son who, besides his own articles, reviews and notes, brought in other contributions for the editor. That H. D. Skinner's views should suddenly be given prominence is quite explicable: he was now beginning to write up what he had done on artifactual classification during and after the war, and around this period he also published papers in other places than the Polynesian Society Journal.

Whether H. D. Skinner could have guessed that under Best's editorship his influence might be diminished is impossible to say, but Best quickly discarded some of Skinner's plans.

Skinner wrote to Andersen, the new joint-editor of the Journal, in July 1925, that he had 'just received a letter from [C. E. Fox, Solomon Islands] in which he says he is proud to be an Associate Editor and is busy collecting material.' Would it be possible, asked Skinner, for Andersen to write to Fox and the other associate editors, T. G. Thrum of Honolulu and E.E.V. Collocott of New South Wales, telling them they were associates no longer? 'The idea of Associate Editors was mine, so far as the J.P.S. is concerned', continued Skinner, 'and a glance over last year's numbers will indicate how fruitful it was. It is, of course, used by most scientific journals at the present time.' Andersen declined to write the suggested letters: 'I came in afterwards'.²³⁴ The complex of contacts that Skinner hoped to attach to Pacific scholarship through the Society and its Journal was thus jettisoned.

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Best's invitation to Andersen to be a joint-editor of the Polynesian Society Journal was no doubt motivated by more than his recognition of Andersen's keenness and capacity for ethnological work. Best, elderly and not always well, was busily racing against time to complete his bulletin manuscripts, and while a quarterly Journal augmented in size offered more space for publication, it also meant a great deal of editorial work. Andersen revelled in such editorial work and he was good at it. He had possibly had at least as much practical involvement in book production as Best. Moreover, he was currently editor of the other major learned journal published in New Zealand, the Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute, and had been since 1920. The Transactions had become titanic as an annual volume; the papers were, most of them, highly technical. Andersen altered and improved the layout, eased a new printing firm into the production of the Transactions, and inaugurated a detailed, almost exhaustive annual index to take the place of a previously perfunctory list of authors and papers. To have made such changes while maintaining high editorial standards (the potentialities for typographical errors in scientific terminology were massive) was an accomplishment of considerable magnitude, and the scientists were duly appreciative. Best obviously reckoned on Andersen performing these functions for the Polynesian Society Journal.

Best probably did not have much trouble in persuading Andersen to participate in the Polynesian Society's affairs after its operations were transferred from New Plymouth to Wellington in 1924. The Historical Section of the Wellington Philosophical Society had faded away entirely; and though he continued as editor of the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute until 1929, Andersen had become disenchanted with a good many scientists. The Polynesian Society was more his métier. And, of course, it was an honour to be asked by Best to share in his interests, including the editing of the Polynesian Society's Journal. Ngata probably added an approving nod: Andersen was one of those sympathetic Pakeha who, as he had proved in the ethnological expeditions, could be so useful in providing help for Ngata's wider plans.

While Andersen did carry out many of the more mechanical editorial duties - nearly all communications with the printers, Thomas Avery and Sons of New Plymouth, were through Andersen - he took his place on the Polynesian Society Journal as at least a junior partner, not simply as an office boy. His response to H. D. Skinner when the latter complimented him on his editorial appointment was: 'Yes, I thought I should like to act with Mr Best in editing the Journal, and hope we may be able to keep it up to standard'.²³⁵ 'Act with' suggests a responsible role, though a shared one. Initially he signed letters as 'Hon. Assis. Editor' but by the middle of 1925 his by-line on correspondence was 'Joint Editor'.²³⁶ Inside the

front cover of the pink paper-wrapped quarterly issues the heading was 'Joint Editors'.²³⁷ Collaboration over the fine detail for each issue became relatively simple when in 1925 Best was given an office at Andersen's workplace: 'Mr Best is here with me in the Alexander Turnbull Library', reported Andersen to the printers.²³⁸

On technical matters, Best let Andersen have his own way: arabic numerals quickly replaced roman in the Journal (he had previously made this adjustment in the Transactions); the Society's membership roll was printed in strictly alphabetical order, not in order of seniority of membership under each alphabetical head as had previously been the case.²³⁹ Nevertheless, Best had the final say on substantive and policy issues. An extensive review of one of Macmillan Brown's books was to have a paragraph added to the copy which had been posted to the printers, and Andersen would not send on the addition while Best was away in a period of inclement weather: 'I wish to consult Mr Best about it' was his explanation for the delay.²⁴⁰ Both men being in the same building, most such consultations were face to face and there are few editorial pronouncements from Best in the editorial records. The following communication is of interest for Best's reflection on the purpose of the Society and the proper function of the Journal. It may also serve as a written example of his customary vehemence in making decisions and judgments. The memorandum was undated, written sometime in

1929; it was probably addressed to Andersen (as the last sentence indicates), and refers to a paper submitted by C. M. Churchward of Sydney.

A hair splitting paper[.]

The Polynesian Society was established with the avowed object of placing original data on record. Generalising, theorising, and such papers as Knapp's tentative classification scheme for stone artifacts were held to be of secondary importance. Such papers as C's come under the same heading. This is 2nd class matter, apart from the question of its soundness, and should give way to such a paper as Kennedy's. The latter should be put through in goodly slabs and not in small parts[.] Many important Maori institutions, social customs &c have not yet been described in Journal, crowded out by tribal feuds, Bwaidoga, Knapps and other driftwood.

C's paper should at least be held over, if not declined. Note W's [Herbert Williams's] arguments, which can be used without mentioning his name. And we object to C. using F and G in Maori[.]

I object to C's paper being printed at this juncture[.]²⁴¹

The immediate result of this memorandum was a letter from Andersen to Churchward returning his materials with various explanations:²⁴² Best's objection

was accepted by Andersen, and this indicates that Best had the final say. On the other hand, Best's exasperated communication may also indicate that he had not recently bothered much with editorial matters and that he was not altogether happy with what his joint-editor was accepting for publication. Diamond Jenness and A. Ballantyne's 'Language, Mythology and Songs of Bwaidoga' had taken upwards of twenty pages for each issue since December 1926 and the last instalment, for March 1929, was going to press at about the time Best wrote his memorandum (the Bwaidoga material was also issued as volume 8 of the Memoir series).²⁴³ F. V. Knapp, who had published an extensive paper in W. H. Skinner's time as editor, had written on 'Maori Scrapers' in June 1928.²⁴⁴ Best, it would seem, had been thumbing through recent issues and was apparently not altogether pleased. At any rate, D. G. Kennedy's 'Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands', started to appear (in 'goodly slabs') in June 1929.²⁴⁵ In the case of the Bwaidoga materials, Best may also have worried about printing Melanesian rather than Polynesian matter while the Ethnological Board was providing so much money to maintain the Journal.

However loose Best's editorial control over Andersen may have been, his potential veto (possibly indicated afresh by the memorandum on Churchward) was recognised by Andersen on another occasion in 1929. H. D. Skinner wrote to say that David Teviotdale was being considered for an Otago University prize, and

wondered whether Teviotdale's latest paper was to be published. Teviotdale's paper was in the 'box' for the next but one issue of the Journal, replied Andersen, 'so the next he will learn of it will be the proofs probably. I say probably because Mr Best is not here at the moment; he has been a little off-colour; - but we should not be holding the paper at all were there any doubt about it. I shall see Best when he comes down, and write at once if there's any chance of its not going in; but I'm pretty sure it's all right.'²⁴⁶

Best had not been 'off-colour' so often in the middle 1920s, and together the pair made a formidable editorial partnership on Maori subjects: Best drew on his experiences in the field and from an extensive knowledge of books and manuscripts; Andersen's own experience and knowledge was slighter, but from his reading he retained much recondite information, and what was not in his head was in the books of the Turnbull Library - to hand, in fact. They went over one of Peter Buck's papers and Andersen 'had to alter some of his quotations slightly as they were not literal'.²⁴⁷ Raymond Firth was also corrected, but about his conclusions rather than his quotations. H. D. Skinner sent a Note which he had contributed to Nature earlier in the year: in it Skinner summarized Firth's article on Maori 'primitive industries' which had been published in the Economic Journal.²⁴⁸ Best's corrections of Firth's views were printed in the Polynesian Society Journal immediately following the note. In a memorandum to Andersen,

Best had written, 'Firth is a young beginner and naturally makes errors, but herein Prof. Skinner a leading expert seems to agree, or at least passess [sic] the errors without comment.'²⁴⁹ In the Journal this remark was amended: 'Mr Firth is a young beginner, and naturally a few errors creep in, as into the work of the oldest veterans; and these errors must be pointed out, in one case as in the other.'²⁵⁰ It amounted to a private rebuke for Skinner. Whereas Buck had been quietly corrected, out of sight, and Firth had been taken to task on the printed page, there was another future luminary who did not get so far. Skinner, visiting the United States in 1927, persuaded Margaret Mead to send her thesis to the Journal. After careful consideration, and apparently with some reluctance, the editors turned it down: for the Maori section Mead had quoted the remarks of writers who in the opinion of Best and Andersen were not authoritative, and the editors feared that unreliable authorities might have been used for the other parts of Polynesia included in her study. While the editors might annotate with corrections the Maori sections, they had not the knowledge to do likewise for the remainder. Mead received a gallant letter from Andersen. The work rejected, it must be noted, was not Coming of Age in Samoa: that was published elsewhere the following year and Mead became an anthropological celebrity in due course.²⁵¹

Other people of lesser stature, present or future, had papers turned down: E. Gold of Petone was told his theories of Manganian ancestry based on their facial

features did not have sufficient “body” for publication.²⁵² There was a little fuss also with the Director of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu, which is discussed in Chapter 3, but which involved the rejection of two short papers sent in by that Museum. Most of what was sent from overseas was welcomed. ‘E Ta!’, Best noted: ‘A good paper from H. I. Hogbin just in If short [of material] for March No this will serve better than mine.’²⁵³ Best kept some small articles ‘on the side’ for filling issues which might be short of material, a matter of occasional concern with the greatly augmented size of each quarterly number.²⁵⁴

The issues of the Journal between 1925 and 1930, including the Memoir supplements, aggregated between 350 and 460 pages a year. Communication between Andersen and Avery and Sons, the printers, were regular, swift, and without significant misunderstandings. Bulky as the Journal had become, Andersen was still able to process contributions and proofread the galleys without much delay: his years of work on the Transactions provided the necessary experience. W. H. Skinner was moved to write from New Plymouth on 2 October 1926 that he had received the September issue the previous evening, which he thought was the ‘most prompt’ issue of the Journal ever made.²⁵⁵

There were, nevertheless, but not surprisingly, complaints about what was printed in the Journal - or what wasn’t printed. Norman Potts of Opotiki wanted more on Maori language and ‘mentality’: the ‘material culture’ itself would be

permanently available for scholars, but language and mentality were disappearing. Karakia in particular should be recorded. '[A]s editors', Andersen told Potts, 'we are largely dependant upon what material is sent in to us for publication, and have only limited choice as to whether we publish papers on the mythology, mentality etc. of the native races, or papers on their material culture.' He told Potts that others had complained there was not enough on material culture; and in a sense the two aspects were not separate: 'the material culture is an expression of [Maori] mentality, and his beautiful carving and plaiting and feather-work speak well for the mentality and ideality of the Maori.' Andersen's own inclination, he admitted, was for 'the mental' over 'the material', but 'we must not neglect the latter.'²⁵⁶

Alfred Eccles of Dunedin wrote in November 1928 that there should be a 'popular' article each issue: we may suppose that after 'Maori Scrapers' and more Bwaidoga in June, he had just leafed through his September issue, finding yet more Bwaidoga, as well as Churchward on the origin of the 'Polynesian Passive', Herbert Williams on Polynesian verbs, Frank Stimson on 'Diacritical Marks Designed to Facilitate the Comparative Study of the Polynesian Languages', together with an equally esoteric 'Tahitian Names for the Nights of the Moon'. Andersen replied to Eccles that he agreed with his viewpoint (and this need not simply have been conventional politeness, for Andersen felt language should make

the world accessible not arcane) but that what he published depended on what was contributed.²⁵⁷

Most of what was contributed was indeed accepted. The lengthiest matter was that printed serially and later bound up as memoirs: in the period when Andersen and Best were joint editors, three memoirs were successively regular make-weights - Buck on Maori Clothing, Jenness and Ballantyne's Bwaidoga, and the earlier parts of Kennedy's Vaitupu.²⁵⁸ In the middle 1920s, R. W. Firth wrote several articles. Herbert Williams submitted vocabularies and articles on linguistic matters, as did Churchward and J. Frank Stimson. Shorter papers on artifacts and earthworks were regularly provided by George Graham, T. W. Downes, W. J. Phillipps, and H. D. Skinner. Many issues contained articles, often substantial, by Best. The Notes were a mixture: information on overseas expeditions and publications was usually sent by H. D. Skinner. Other notes were from members of the Society who had found strange artifacts and felt they should be recorded. Best continued Percy Smith's practice of annotating whenever he felt correction or amplification was necessary. Normally there were several pages of book reviews.

In one sense Andersen wrote very little: he provided a single article on the insignificant question of whether some artifacts in the Otago Museum were 'Fish Gorges or Shell-fish Extractors or Spillikins?' He had sent a version of this paper to the New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology, probably before becoming

editor of the Polynesian Journal, but the editor of the Journal of Science and Technology would neither publish it nor return it, so Andersen had to rewrite.²⁵⁹ A short article on the 'Spillikins' appeared in the issue for September 1927.²⁶⁰ Since his 'String Figures' series had begun to appear in the Journal of Science and Technology, they continued there. 'Spillikins' apart, nothing else appears under Andersen's name or above his initials until December 1929 when he provided a short review of Best's Te Whare Kohanga, the title misspelt 'kowhanga'.²⁶¹ In 1930 a notice of a German edition of a book previously published in English bears his initials, 'J.C.A.', as does a review of Best's memoir, Fishing Methods.²⁶² Elsewhere in the issues for 1930 'Editors' is maintained for reviews, notes and annotations, except for a review of Orokaiva Society (F. E. Williams), which is signed as 'Editor' - just possibly a typographical mistake, but since this was published at a time when Best's ill-health had meant the cessation of most of his Journal activities, and the prose style, organisation and content of the review are all unmistakably Andersen's, the singular 'Editor' is probably intended and correct.²⁶³

In another sense Andersen wrote a good deal for the Journal in the period from 1925 to 1930, over the signature 'Editors'. 'Most of the reviewing is mine', he wrote to Joseph Kinsey in December 1927, 'either solus or in collab[oration] with Best and Williams, it usually goes in as "Editors"'.²⁶⁴ In November 1930 he asked H. D. Skinner, 'I suppose you know how we do these reviews in the case of

worth while books? Best reads it and makes his notes, Williams also, if there is etymological detail, then myself; our notes are pooled and I write the review, submitting the result to my collaborators.'²⁶⁵ Thus identification of Andersen's not terribly felicitous style does not necessarily mean the ideas or information come from Andersen. An example is the three reviews in the issue of June 1928: they resound with the Andersen rhetoric. However, he commented on those reviews to Kinsey, 'I have tried to get a little humour into them too, so commend them to you. Best is concerned in them to[o], so I can commend them without feeling it is self commendatory.'²⁶⁶ Still, 'Editors' does not invariably mean Andersen's involvement or composition. 'Notes on the Korotangi or Stone Bird', attributed to 'Editors' in March 1929, is one exception.²⁶⁷ 'Your disposal of the Korotangi', Buck wrote to Andersen from Rarotonga, 'is a good thing and if you clean up the Tamil bell we will get rid of a few things that have been hanging around our necks from the not too remote past.'²⁶⁸ But 'your disposal' here must be taken to refer to the editors, not Andersen as an individual: the style of 'Korotangi' was unmistakably Best's (perhaps with an interpolation by Williams), and Buck probably recognised that incisive, impatient way with words. An undated letter from Andersen to Herbert Williams makes it plainer in any case: 'I also send ... some notes by Peehi [Best] on the Korotangi...and remembering you

have some devastating (not to say iconoclastic) particulars regarding the same bird, can I induce you to train your cross-bow on this albatross ...?'²⁶⁹

It was only as Best's health declined and his visits to the Turnbull were made less frequently that Andersen changed from being an editorial secretary, copy editor and proof reader to an editor in the fullest sense. The year 1930, in a very approximate way, marks the transition: 'editors' is still used, but more of the notes and reviews are Andersen 'solus', and after 1930 the initials 'J.C.A.' are entered with increasing frequency. Andersen wrote to H. D. Skinner in November 1930: 'Best is feeling he must drop out from the [editor's] position officially, though he will still help as before.'²⁷⁰

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From the beginning of 1925 to the end of 1930, when Best gave up the editorship, Andersen had proved himself to be a diligent joint-editor of the *Polynesian Society Journal*. Best made, or heavily influenced, major policy decisions, and clearly maintained a general superintendence over the content of the *Journal*, even when he left the bulk of the more mundane editorial work to

Andersen. Andersen was keen to do Best's bidding. If Andersen sometimes deviated from what Best regarded as desirable for the Journal's contents, as the memorandum on Churchward's article indicates, this was a result of inadvertence rather than disagreement with Best's views. Andersen's admiration for and faith in Best's ethnographic skills, confirmed by his experiences with Best on the ethnographic expeditions sent out by the Dominion Museum, were increased by his close contact with Best between 1925 and 1930. In addition, he imbibed Best's antagonism towards and deep suspicion of the work of academically-trained or influenced ethnologists, whose close association with the Journal, inaugurated by H. D. Skinner during his father's editorship in 1923 and 1924, had been scuttled by Best in 1925 and after. At the same time, while learning from Best about the pitfalls of the materials left by John White in the Ancient History of the Maori, Andersen acquired a heightened respect for the traditional history of Maori as recorded in the Lore of the Whare-wānanga. These intellectual preferences, or prejudices, Andersen would display as editor of the Journal between 1930 and 1946, with results that are characterised in chapter 3.

Though tangential to Andersen's editorial apprenticeship with Best, one other development of the later 1920s was to have a significant indirect impact on Andersen's editorship of the Journal in the 1940s. Ngata had intended that the Board of Maori Ethnological Research should publish its own journal, and the

Board resolved, on 14 August 1928, 'that the time had arrived to establish a periodical wherein could be published material less scientific in character than is usually associated with the Journal of the Polynesian Society'.²⁷¹

In his letter to Andersen describing the scope of the new magazine, Ngata indicated how the journal was planned to complement the Polynesian Society Journal:

"Te Wananga" should appear in September [1929]. It will be the same size and type as the Journal though not the same quality of paper - though this is being considered as it is intended to run the Maori mss of Te Matorohanga, Nepia Pohuhu & other Wharewananga matter through the periodical as Memoir supplements. These will be carefully edited as to the Maori texts and I hope also annotated. Whatahoro's arrangements of the texts will be maintained throughout with notes & references to the Lore of the Wharewananga & matter that has appeared in the Journal.

For the rest, "Te Wananga" will deal rather with the Modern Maori and his activities, though occasionally articles of historical & Ethnological interest will be published.²⁷²

The new publication was not the result of Ngata's disappointment with the Journal:

'Ngata was in yesterday', Andersen wrote to Herbert Williams in July 1928, 'and

he liked our June number very much'.²⁷³ But the Journal did not have the kind of specifically Maori focus that Ngata felt Te Wananga could provide.²⁷⁴ There was, too, a suspicion by Ngata and Balneavis that the Polynesian Society was, at bottom, a Pakeha business: the 'Explanatory Preface' for the first issue of Te Wananga stated that 'An opportunity should thus be afforded to a larger body of workers, whose diffidence prevents them aspiring to the domain of the expert contributors to the Journal of the Polynesian Society'.²⁷⁵ After the appearance of four numbers in 1929 and 1930, which included a good deal of Maori language material, Te Wananga expired, for a variety of reasons. When in the 1940s a decline in parliamentary commitments allowed Ngata to actively consider once more the publication of Maori language materials, the Journal of the Polynesian Society was the only organ available and suitable for such a programme; and it had, moreover, been financially supported over the years by the Board of Maori Ethnological Research and, later, the Maori Purposes Fund Board, so that it was quite appropriate for Ngata to look to the Society and its Journal for sympathetic assistance.²⁷⁶ How the editor, Andersen, and Ngata managed in these circumstances is discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 3: EDITING: JOHANNES ANDERSEN AND THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY JOURNAL, 1930-1946

A very large study might be written about Andersen's editorship of the Polynesian Society Journal between 1930 and 1946. In these years the quarterly Journal and the memoir supplements bound in with the regular issues aggregated something over six thousand pages, made up of hundreds of articles by a large number of individual contributors. Andersen corresponded with a good percentage of the contributors, and with some subscribers, and took an important part in the general administrative and financial affairs of the Society.¹ Through all this activity Andersen helped to shape both the intellectual and the physical dimensions of the Journal, and thus exerted a major influence upon ethnological discourse in New Zealand, and in some measure in other parts of the Pacific where Europeans made the textualisation of indigenous peoples and traditional cultures their hobby or their profession.

What follows here has a more limited focus. One of the more spectacular aspects of Andersen's editorship was his dispute with certain scholars, especially some archaeologists, who wished to revise the orthodox version of New Zealand prehistory propounded by S. P. Smith and Elsdon Best. From the perspective of

modern Pakeha anthropology, Andersen's resistance to the revisionists may appear a wholly negative obscurantism. Such a perspective sanctifies (and decontextualises) the current orthodoxy.² Whether Andersen or his critics were 'right' or 'wrong' is not at stake in the subsequent discussion. The disputes of the 1930s and 1940s are reconstructed, in so far as they concern Andersen and his editorship, primarily because they display in a reasonably straightforward manner the ways in which discourse is mediated by print, by the circumstances of publication, and by the machinations of those who editorially control the selection and rejection of subject matter in learned journals. The same processes might be demonstrated, though less easily and at greater length, by a review of Andersen's editorial practices relating to a host of less spectacular and less controversial matters.

At issue in Andersen's debates with the revisionists was whose versions of Polynesian prehistory, based upon which evidential materials, would prevail. Andersen's editorial tactics are described with much attention to detail, especially in his arguments with H. D. Skinner, joint-editor of the Journal with Andersen between 1931 and 1934. The details make clear how complex are the contingent circumstances which attend the production of 'truth'; and there are good reasons to believe that Andersen is not the only editor of a scholarly journal to have behaved, *mutatis mutandis*, in the manner set out further below. With the Polynesian Society

Journal, however, it is necessary to emphasize that the subjects of the scholarly discourse were the progenitors of the Maori, and that what was being disputed was which Pakeha account of the Maori past would be accorded the status of 'truth'.

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The Andersen-Skinner controversy, highlighted by the discussion which follows, is part of a larger series of controversies or debates of long-standing in New Zealand and elsewhere: what Andersen and Skinner write and say marks neither the beginning nor the end of debate, the initiations of which lie beyond the bounds of this study. In an earlier chapter, however, we have indicated that while his father was editor of the Journal in 1923 and 1924, H. D. Skinner had published certain views which contrasted with what may be called the Smith-Best orthodoxy. This orthodoxy had been cobbled together so recently that in the early 1920s it still seemed arguable (even novel) to some people.³ Had the debate begun in the Polynesian Society Journal in the middle 1920s when W. H. Skinner was editor been thereafter continued, the Best-Smith version might simply have been one

variation among several, even if stamped with the institutional weight of the Polynesian Society and given authoritative status by the prestige of its purveyors, Smith and Best. Since H. D. Skinner did not enter the lists in the latter 1920s, at least in terms of submitting major articles to the Journal, either because he was too busy with other matters or because he did not relish Best sitting in editorial as well as intellectual judgment,⁴ the orthodoxy was not further systematically challenged for some time, and it became the accepted version not only for members of the Polynesian Society but in history books, and eventually in school texts. By the time of Best's death in 1931 the orthodoxy had solidified and ramified to such an extent that it was becoming entrenched in the popular imagination.

Skinner was, it must be emphasised, thoroughly aware of Best's preferences in prehistory. In 1926 he declined to review for the Journal a book on the New Hebrides 'as it would inevitably involve references to Best's view that there was a pre-Maori population probably derived from the New Hebrides from whom Maori curvilinear art is derived. That view of human history in N.Z.', concluded Skinner, 'is best left to expire in silence.'⁵ We may suppose that Skinner expected 'good' scholarship to drive out the 'bad', or that the 'orthodoxy' would die when Best died; perhaps he was biding his time, waiting until death or incapacity removed Best from position and influence. In any case, Best's views were not 'left to expire in silence': Best himself brought some of them forward

again in a large fifty-page compilation of Bay of Plenty traditional evidence for 'Maori and Maruiwi' in the issue of June 1928.⁶ Skinner wrote to Andersen to say that the June issue was excellent: 'I think, though, that the suppression on a considerable scale apparent in Mr Best's paper on Maruiwi does ethnology no service'. Perhaps he hoped to enlist Andersen to the revisionist cause. Andersen promptly showed the letter to Best 'who has been shaky the last week ... we are puzzled to know what you mean by "suppression on a considerable scale" in the Maruiwi paper, for Best put in all the material he had', he told Skinner.⁷ Was Andersen being disingenuous? What Skinner meant, of course, was that Best had not incorporated into his account of 'Maori and Maruiwi' certain countervailing evidence - Skinner's own work on the Moriori, his summaries of Teviotdale's work at the mouth of Shag River. Skinner then wrote to Best directly, which he might have done in the first place.

It is possible that Andersen had not read Skinner's articles in the Journal in 1924 - it was some time before he completed his stock of back numbers - or his memoir on the Chatham Islands.⁸ But it is improbable that he had not heard Best or Peter Buck make deprecatory remarks about Skinner. If Andersen had not previously been apprized of 'Professor Skinner's quaint theory', as Best disparagingly called it,⁹ then he no doubt was given the information forthwith.

There, for the moment, the Maruiwi matter rested. Skinner indeed seems to have appreciated Andersen's work on the Journal, at least in a general way. 'We were sorry', reported Skinner, 'to receive official notification of your resignation from the editorial chair of the Transactions, and are one and all extremely grateful for the vast amount of work that you have done in that connection. I hope that there is no thought of anything of the kind in the matter of the J.P.S.' No, replied Andersen, 'I am keeping on with the Journal'.¹⁰ But while pleased that Andersen kept the Journal afloat, and appearing regularly, Skinner still felt that in certain particular respects it was deficient. This was made clear during a minor dispute with the director of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. In 1924 there had been an agreement that the Journal might carry short articles given the imprimatur of the Bishop Museum director, Dr Gregory. The arrangement had been mooted with Peter Buck, Ngata, H. D. Skinner and W. H. Skinner while Gregory was visiting New Zealand in 1923, and finalised in subsequent correspondence.¹¹ Two papers sent by Gregory on this basis in 1929 were declined by Best and Andersen: on one topic a much weightier article was in press already; the other was a brief study of Polynesian wind instruments which Andersen pronounced deficient, and referred the writer, via Gregory, to his own articles on the subject. Gregory was piqued but got no change from Andersen. Gregory then wrote to Skinner, who in turn reported Gregory's irritation to

Andersen, adding: 'Any way, it is his intention to start a publication of his own which will compete with you. I remember he made the same threat to me when my father was editor, and mentioned the Journal of the American Geographical Association as indicating the kind of thing he had in view. In other words, he fully realises the value of good illustrations and will try to beat you on that line.' Skinner obviously was concerned but also a little gratified by the prospective threat. 'So long as the J.P.S. can maintain its present standard and its present muster of illustrations it need feel no anxiety; in fact the competition may do it good. If I may make a suggestion, it is that there be a continuous effort to represent Oceanic areas beyond New Zealand in the Journal.' Skinner was making a guarded criticism, and he would return to the point. In his letters of explanation for the rejection of the two papers sent on by Gregory, Andersen concluded: 'we can only publish what is sent to us ... Kennedy ... Hogbin We welcome these outside papers, as we reckon they widen the scope of our Journal and widen the circle of its readers.'¹²

Later in 1930 Skinner criticised another aspect of the Journal. He noted that I.L.G. Sutherland had been elected to the Council: why not give him a part of the editorial duties - 'he might take over systematic reviewing Some of the reviews that have appeared in the period of your joint-editorship seem to me to be first class. The review of Macmillan Brown's book on Easter Island was the best

anthropological review I have ever read.’¹³ But, said Skinner, the reviewing had been unsystematic and sometimes quite inadequate. There should have been a full review of Beazley on Pacific fish-hooks. And Emory’s report on the archaeology of Necker: ‘That is a basic piece of work in Polynesian archaeology, and yet it has never been alluded to in the *Journal* If the *Journal* is to take the place it should every important work on Polynesia should be reviewed, and the less important publications should be briefly noted’ as well as works on Melanesia and Micronesia. Moreover, said Skinner, the new journal *Oceania*, published in Australia, was competition in the ‘home territory’ of the *Journal* - and several of its positive features could be favourably considered for imitation by the *Journal*. Andersen replied that he had already hinted to Dr Sutherland that he would like him to help with editing. As for reviews, ‘the trouble is, we do not receive all books issued’, and ‘it is the time required that tells against our being able to do all we should have.’ And yes, he should have asked Skinner to review the fish-hook book: ‘it was particularly in your line’.¹⁴

Whether Sutherland was then more directly approached and whether he declined the joint-editorship is not clear, but the next joint-editor was to be Skinner. At a Polynesian Society council meeting in February 1931, Andersen reported that ‘Mr Best had retired from active participation in editorial work, but was still available for special assistance. During discussion’, the minutes continued, ‘Mr H.

D. Skinner who was just then present, consented to consider the possibility of his giving assistance from Dunedin.’¹⁵ On 2 March 1931 Skinner wrote to Andersen, and referred to a ‘delay in giving a definite answer to the Council’s invitation to join you in the editorship of the Journal’.¹⁶ In a letter composed by Andersen three years later, at a time when the disagreements between the editors were at their fiercest, he indicated that it was his own idea that Skinner be asked to share the editorial duties. By Andersen’s account, the reason was to tap Skinner’s expertise in material culture, Andersen feeling his strengths were on the ‘psychic side’.¹⁷ H. D. Skinner was certainly not unwilling: the delay in answering and accepting the invitation was ‘due to the necessity of first seeking clerical help in [his] museum work’.¹⁸ Help had now been promised, though the helper would not arrive until June and Skinner would not be able to do any work until then. He set out for Andersen his own attitude to the Journal: ‘I do not think that my appearance on the title [page] need make any change in the general policy of the Journal. If I can help to maintain the present standard of the articles and their variety, then I shall be proud of myself’. He believed that even in this time of financial stress it was necessary to keep up a good level of illustrations in order to retain non-specialist subscribers. But there were changes Skinner wanted, features he had tried to emphasise when his father was editor and which, as we have seen, he had mentioned in earlier letters to Andersen. ‘I think improvement is possible on the

side of reviews, and I think we should aim at reviewing, briefly or at length, all books on Polynesia and all important ones on Melanesia and Micronesia.' He would be glad to do his full share of this. And he would like to see the 'regular insertion of personal notes and notes on research plans': he was 'prepared to take full control of this'.¹⁹

'I am glad you find you will be able to take a part of the editing, as there are sides to it which I feel I cannot do justice, such as insertion of personal notes and notes of research plans, which you say you will undertake,' replied Andersen. He agreed about illustrations, and on the points raised by Skinner which referred to the Society's general affairs. 'I agree about the reviews too; these can be made interesting to readers as well as useful (or the reverse!) to authors and publishers.' He enjoyed the reviewing, though at times it became burdensome.²⁰ For all this apparently happy agreement, it is clear that the views of Skinner and Andersen were not altogether convergent. Perhaps Skinner realized this, too. Skinner's world was the academic anthropological network, a few dozen people working in universities and museums around the Pacific and their professorial mentors in Europe and in the United States. Skinner was a scientist, and he expected that the accumulation and organisation of data (in his case artifactual data) would lead the scientists to certain conclusions. Scientists in their different localities were all engaged in a general project: their results should be written up fully and made

available to other scientists. Thus was knowledge acquired, error eliminated. To Skinner the scientist, it was necessary to keep abreast of the relevant literature, to be up to date with the methodologies and the findings of other scientists. If good work was to be done in New Zealand, then the Polynesian Society should, through its reviews and notes, help to keep members, especially local writers, informed of work elsewhere. The Society should be more scientific and professional, just as anthropology was becoming more scientific and professional.

Andersen, without academic education, untravelled, had no understanding of the network of which Skinner was a part.²¹ Though he too was an accumulator of data, the organisation of Andersen's information depended very largely upon intuition, hunches, flashes of insight. He used whatever pieces of methodology came to hand. Theories appealed to him, it would seem, less because of their internal coherence and utility for explication than for their aesthetic qualities. Andersen's reviews were, to Skinner, garrulous, quirky: Andersen had no notion of systematically relating books to a whole body of knowledge, each book had a life of its own. In time these divergent attitudes would cause strain.

For the meantime there was a matter on which they could be of a similar opinion. The March 1931 issue included the latest of several contributions by Ian Hogbin on Ontong Javanese: this time the subject was 'The Sexual Life of the Natives': it was not only in Samoa and the Trobriand Islands that the inhabitants

were coming of age.²² In the article, decently clothed with a detached prose style, Hogbin not only discussed adolescence, courtship, marriage and related matters but made references to, for example, oral-genital sexual practices. In the 1990s we may find such an article offensive in the way indigenous peoples were clinically textualized. In the 1930s, however, it was not so much intellectual ethics as the explicit references to particular behaviours which some Europeans found objectionable. George Simpson of Dunedin, a friend of Andersen, could control his apoplectic syntax only with great difficulty. The Journal had been 'previously welcomed' and was 'usually laid down' for his family to look over but 'this time portions at least of it will be carefully burned'. Research was all very well, but he failed to see 'in what way a detailed description of the intimate sexual relations of a pervert people is to help us forward.' He felt 'less clean' since he had read the article - 'and you know me not to be prudish'. Any further 'pornographic ... articles' would be returned with 'too filthy for publication' added 'in blue pencil'. J. H. Burnet of Wanganui asked to be taken off the list of subscribers - he fancied the Society would get similar instructions from the local library and the Wanganui Public Museum.²³ Skinner wrote that he had heard three complaints: he had 'replied fiercely in each case' that he agreed with the editorial action of publication. 'All the same, I have not fallen in love with that writer.' 'Hogbin's paper did not

appeal to me either', answered Andersen, 'but we thought it of sufficient interest and importance to overlook its objectionableness'.²⁴

The June 1931 issue was less spectacular: it was the last before Skinner took an active part. Among the 'Publications received' was the first number of another new Australian journal, Mankind, published by the Anthropological Society of New South Wales. The contents were listed. Keith Kennedy, one of the editors, contributed 'The Ancient Four-note Musical Scale of the Maori', apparently the paper sent to the Journal by Gregory in 1929 which Andersen had rejected. Always ready to comment trenchantly when his own areas of interest were engaged, Andersen singled out Kennedy's article and in some 250 words demolished it.²⁵ Presumably Skinner's clerical assistant arrived about the same time as the June issue appeared and he could now take up his editorial duties: in a letter to Andersen in August he repeated his ideas about extensive reviewing, indicating that as well as all books about Polynesia worthwhile articles should be reviewed.²⁶ The September issue contained the first fruits of the new joint editorship. 'Periodical Literature' belatedly welcomed A. R. Radcliffe-Brown's Oceania and mentioned Mankind again: 'we venture the prophecy', wrote Skinner, dividing up the world in a systematic way, 'that Mankind will specialize in discussions of Australian, Tasmanian, and Melanesian archaeology and

typology.’²⁷ He included material from an article on archaeological discoveries in the Philippines which had appeared elsewhere, listed five other ‘recent articles’, and provided ‘Personal Notes’ on the peregrinations of K. P. Emory, Raymond Firth, Mr and Mrs Fortune (Margaret Mead), Buck, Martha Beckwith, and others.²⁸ The September issue contained articles by Raymond Firth on Maori artifacts in the Vienna Museum; Helen Roberts on collecting folk music; Firth and Buck on Maori canoe-sails in the British Museum. These articles from overseas together with Skinner’s notes give an unusual sense of breadth and openness to the Journal. There were also obituaries for two old hands, William Baucke and Elsdon Best. It could have been seen as symbolic: the old order giving way to the new.

Andersen decided that the next available issue should be a memorial number for Best: this would be the March 1932 issue.²⁹ With the help of Skinner and Apirana Ngata (George Graham also had a suggestion) he compiled a list of notable anthropologists and colleagues of Best, from nearly all of whom he elicited suitable encomia.³⁰ Best’s authority was not diminished by his death: the words of praise sent in to the editor confirmed what Andersen himself hardly doubted, that Best was one of the greatest of anthropologists anywhere. At the same time he was making further editorial arrangements with Skinner. ‘I do not know if you would like to see all papers proposed to be included in Journal; I shall tell you of all I receive, and if you like shall send you galley pulls to read through for double

checking and so you may know exactly what is included in each number; all [papers] received from you I shall send to you for proof reading in any case, so you will have your full share of business.’ And Skinner, though in Dunedin, was to be admitted to the inner circle: ‘We have elected you on the [Society’s] Council so that if you at any time should happen to be here when a meeting is on you can be present’ - indeed, if Skinner were in Wellington they would try to schedule a Council meeting for that date.³¹

Skinner then stated his position to Andersen: ‘you, of course, are senior, and have the final say in all matters.’ He thought he should read the proofs of all papers that came through him, Andersen likewise. ‘Where either is certain about a paper there will be no need to submit to the other. Or, rather, I will send everything to you, but there is ... no need for you to invoke undue postal delay by submitting everything to me.’ He made one exception: apart from articles by Andersen himself, Skinner would like to see all notes and articles which had illustrations - ‘I ask this because it happens to be my strong suit.’ He was ‘strong on the view’ that all reviews should be signed or initialled. ‘Perhaps there are occasional books which we could do jointly and then need not sign, but they are few.’³² We may take it that Skinner did not wish to be appended as ‘Editor’ for the kind of review that Andersen wrote. Again Andersen was agreeable - ‘yes, anything that comes from or through you I should like you to deal with the proofs,

though of course I shall take my share of reading too, a double reading is never too much; Mr Best and I both read everything, in galley and in page.’ He agreed about the reviews. ‘As regards illustrations, again it will be as well for both to see these papers; illustrations are important, and I do not at all like (for instance) the haphazard illustrations in Best’s musical instruments [Games and Pastimes of the Maori]; I am using some of these [for a memoir on Maori music], but only some; no need at all to include everything, good or bad, whole or broken.’³³

These exchanges about ‘division of labour’ (as Andersen termed it) are repetitive: Skinner makes his points about reviews over and over; and Andersen agrees. They have been given in some detail to demonstrate particular features. First, Skinner felt the need to spell out his position, and have it ratified by Andersen, again and again. Possibly he thought he had not quite pinned matters down. Nor did Skinner wish to shirk a share of the duties: he had done less editing than Andersen and perhaps did not know exactly what the job entailed. Furthermore, he was a great distance away, in Dunedin, cut off from direct or ready contact with the council, the printers, and the other editor. Secondly, the exchanges of letters were polite, calm: there seems to be no hostility or antagonism - either Andersen had not taken Skinner’s criticism of his reviewing or he refused to be ruffled by it. Andersen, it may be observed, could even make a mild criticism of Best just ten days after he had been a pallbearer at his funeral. It

must have been about then that Skinner submitted his first large article to the Journal for several years: 'On the Patu Family and its Occurrence Beyond New Zealand' appeared in December 1931, the first issue prepared after Best's death - though this may have been mere coincidence.³⁴

The two editors managed well enough negotiations over two contributions which were less than perfect. W. J. Phillipps had written a short paper on three Maori carvings from Mahia. Since the article contained names for patterns, Andersen sent the paper to Herbert Williams. 'You will have noticed an occasional note in the Journal by the same writer, who is in charge of the Maori things at the Farmers building [then used to store some overflow from the cramped Dominion Museum]; not because of any aptitude or qualifications possessed, but because he was the only officer available. We [Best and Andersen] have always pruned his writings considerably'. Williams replied that it was 'not superlative' but there would be 'no harm' in using it.³⁵ (Phillipps was not so lucky next time: Andersen sent his paper to Skinner, who reported it 'hopeless'. Andersen told Skinner that it was 'a calamity' that Phillipps was in charge of the Maori artifacts at the Dominion Museum.)³⁶ T. W. Downes of Wanganui, a frequent contributor, sent in a short illustrated article on some artifacts near Waverley. Since this was 'material culture' and included photographs as well, Downes's paper was forwarded by Andersen to Skinner. The latter asked that better photographs be

secured, 'at least in the case of the prints I have marked X.'³⁷ Andersen did not think they could 'authorize' further photographs. The rest of his comments are worth quoting in extenso, for they reveal certain of Andersen's editorial procedures.

Downes sends good material, but between ourselves often terribly written; Best has at times practically rewritten the paper, and Downes knowing his weakness in writing has approved the trouble taken. This paper is better written than usual; but even if we paid for other photos would they be better? He does not seem to have the power to distinguish poor from good. Mind this is not anything against Downes, whom I respect; both him and his work; but I think we shall have to make the best use of what we get I have rearranged one or two of the sentences; I have also modified one or two expressions which seemed too superlative, or unwarranted.³⁸

The revised version duly appeared in the March 1932 issue, the only article (as distinct from notes and reviews) to appear alongside the memorials to Best.³⁹ Andersen's own appreciation of his late colleague was lengthy - indeed a major biographical article spiced with his some of his favourite anecdotes. That it does not convey a sense of the loss of a good friend is no doubt because the article was

written when Best was alive: Andersen simply reprinted, with a few minor alterations, a tribute to Best published in another magazine some seven years before.⁴⁰ More original if less inspirational was his bibliography of Best's writings, to which a few minor items were added in later issues of the Journal. The numerous newspaper articles noted in the bibliography were probably derived from an examination of Best's scrapbooks rather than research into newspaper files, but the listing remains, sixty years later, the most complete catalogue of Best's published work.⁴¹

As he was feeding the tributes to Best through the press, there arrived from Dunedin a lengthy paper by David Teviotdale: 'The Material Culture of the Moa-Hunters in Murihiku'. The paper was to consider the 'moa-hunter sites' of the South Island, and the central issue was stated in the first paragraph: 'Do these ancient sites show evidence of a culture different from the Maori culture with which we are familiar? Or is the culture closely similar to that of the Maori, and to be regarded as the culture of the Maori ancestors? Has there ever been in New Zealand a race different from the Maori?'⁴² The paper was thus to address the question that Skinner had raised in the Journal in 1924.⁴³ As he reviewed the 'Evidence of Zoology', Teviotdale called up the ghosts of scientists past: W.B.D. Mantell, Dr Haast, Augustus Hamilton, Captain Hutton, even Sir Frederick

Chapman, ancient but alive and now one of Andersen's close local acquaintances.⁴⁴ The effect of Teviotdale's early retrospective section may have been to remind Andersen of the debates in the Transactions and elsewhere before the Best-Smith orthodoxy had been set in place. Then Teviotdale discussed the 'Evidence of Maori Tradition': 'According to a single tradition, written down by T. K. Whatahoro and accepted by the late Elsdon Best and the late Percy Smith, the next visitors to New Zealand were a dark race of low culture'. Teviotdale quoted from Skinner's memoir, Morioris of Chatham Islands, to show how the physical characteristics of the legendary Maruiwi were quite different from their supposed descendants - the Moriori and the Ngati Mamoe. 'These Whatahoro traditions stand alone', stated Teviotdale, for all other South Island traditions claimed descent from 'Polynesians from Tahiti, and all the evidence supports this except Whatahoro's tradition'.⁴⁵ Subsequent sections provided detailed evidence about each site, how and when artifacts were discovered, culminating in a summary of the 'Material Culture of the Moa-Hunters': 'The adzes ... here figured are one and all Polynesian types clearly established in Tahiti and the other groups of Marginal Polynesia and not found in Fiji or the New Hebrides or any part of Melanesia proper.'⁴⁶ The same conclusion could be drawn from fish-hooks found at moa-hunter sites. Teviotdale's summary was that 'In spite of the contradictory stories the greater part of tradition agrees on the Polynesian origin of the earliest

inhabitants and when to this is added the overwhelming evidence of the tools and ornaments from the ancient village sites and the total absence of anything of Melanesian origin, there can be no doubt at all that the inhabitants of Murihiku have always been racially and culturally Polynesian.⁴⁷

The paper was clear and well-organised, persuasive, even-tempered. Quite apart from its positive arguments, it was compelling for the slight attention given to the Best-Smith-Whatahoro material ('These Whatahoro traditions stand alone') by contrast with the great bulk of zoological and archaeological evidence. Nor had other Maori traditions been ignored. Though an attack, rather indirectly, upon Smith and, more particularly, upon Best, the Maruiwi story was not set up and pulled down: it was placed merely as an oddity, a cul-de-sac, in a series of debates and discoveries going back some ninety years. The Maruiwi-Melanesian thesis was out of the main river, up a side creek. 'My thanks are due to a number of people', commented Teviotdale, and in the list of acknowledgments he included 'Mr H. D. Skinner for great assistance in compiling the paper', adding, 'It must not be inferred that these gentlemen agree with the opinions expressed by me on this controversial subject.'⁴⁸ Perhaps not all those thanked did agree with Teviotdale but doubtless Skinner agreed. Skinner and Teviotdale had worked on the paper together, of course, and probably for a long time, given its size. They had, Andersen might well have reflected, waited for Best to die before forwarding the

paper, or so it seemed. When Skinner had sent it on to Andersen he had suggested in his covering letter that another person could put the other point of view. Possibly Skinner felt this would demonstrate how little could be said usefully about the Maruiwi-Melanesian thesis. Perhaps it was a sly hint that now Best had gone his thesis would go as well, that there really was not another point of view to put. 'I like the Teviotdale article', Andersen wrote to Skinner, 'and I too should like to see the other side stated; but I don't know who could state it - the paper may rouse someone.'⁴⁹

Andersen had another paper which questioned Best's work. James Hornell asked, 'Was the Double-outrigger Known in Polynesia', and reviewed the evidence from each island or group of islands. Best had suggested that stories about the canoe Takitimu indicated it was a double outrigger; Hornell gently analysed the evidence and decided not. Herbert Williams added an amplificatory note which began; 'The passage quoted by Best is somewhat obscure, and its value remains in doubt while its source is withheld', and ended by saying Hornell appeared to be correct. Nevertheless, this slight argument was more a matter of interpretation than an attack on Best.⁵⁰

Andersen had also been sent a paper by F. W. Christian which called attention to similarities between words from South America and from Polynesia and elsewhere in the Pacific and South-east Asia. It revived the perennial question

of Polynesian-Peruvian contacts and applauded Macmillan Brown's theories. Andersen, unimpressed, was going to return it to the author, but reconsidered, and instead forwarded it to Williams. 'We shall have to look out,' he wrote to Williams, 'lest now, with Best gone, we get too much material culture' in the Journal. '[W]e must watch the mental and social and spiritual side, but where can we go for our papers?'⁵¹ Skinner was promising to start a series on Maori amulets; there was Teviotdale's big article about to be printed; perhaps the thought of all the prose descriptions and line figures of artifacts arriving from the south made him think more kindly of Christian's effort. Williams replied that Christian's paper had better go in, though the proofs for the theorising were unsatisfactory. Andersen therefore prepared it for printing, even going to the trouble of providing a footnote reference where Christian had simply referred to an article in the Journal 'some while ago'.⁵² Where Christian in his article reiterated Macmillan Brown's contention 'that the Maori of New Zealand also used a mnemonic system of knotted code called tau-ponapona, which exactly represents the Inca quipu', Andersen added a cautionary footnote in which he quoted from Best's The Maori.⁵³ He could no longer consult Best in person, and now had to rely on books written by Best.

The first of Skinner's articles arrived: 'Maori Amulets in Stone, Bone, and Shell'. After a definition, some remarks about fake artifacts, and an explanation as

to why the amulets would be analysed typologically rather than as to function, Skinner began to discuss the hei-tiki by quoting from Best. Best had stated that the ornament was 'the personified form of the phallus' and also that it was 'in the form of the human embryo'. 'These statements are undoubtedly the most authoritative we have as to the meaning and function of the hei tiki. It is necessary to discuss them in some detail'. Skinner spent the next page contesting Best's views, and concluded: 'The evidence indicates that the statement that the hei tiki represents a human embryo is as little tenable as the statement that it is phallic.'⁵⁴ Best disposed of, he proceeded to set out his detailed matter on this first group of amulets.

The attack on Best did not go unnoticed by Andersen; as we will see from a letter referred to below he was irritated, even angered by the attack. The first issue of the year had been devoted to Best's memory and his achievements; the next issue carried an article from Teviotdale (guided by Skinner) which questioned Best's views on the Maruiwi; and the issue Andersen was now preparing for the press was to carry an article in which Skinner took another swipe at Best. He felt the absence of Best, as a friend and as a repository of knowledge, or so he must have reported to Peter Buck around this time, for Buck's reply, from Connecticut, read: 'Yes you must miss Peehi a great deal. His judgment was good though at times it erred overmuch on the safe side of conservatism. However, as you say,

the Bishop [Williams] is a good support especially in linguistics.’⁵⁵ Williams was in Wellington rarely; Andersen no doubt sometimes felt isolated.

Perhaps needled by Skinner’s comments on reviewing in the Journal (though he probably did not comprehend the implied criticism), or able now to write without having to work the contributions of Best into the reviews, Andersen produced some vibrant if idiosyncratic miniature essays in the June and September issues. When the publisher of Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden politely quibbled over his comments on design details he printed the complaint and appended his own less polite reply: its tone might be called gleeful.⁵⁶ (In a private letter he said the publishers were ‘getting a gentle wipe in the eye’.)⁵⁷ This fighting spirit he carried into 1933. As far as the Journal was concerned the aggressiveness was initially applied to a couple of student papers posted up to him by Skinner. His reply on the paper written by Elizabeth Durward took up three and a half foolscap pages of double-spaced typescript. For example:

On p.4 Cowan is quoted instead of the Census from which Cowan quotes; the original source should be gone to. Moreover, Cowan is mis-quoted to the extent shewn by my pencil insertions and deletions, and words have been put in that are neither in Cowan nor the original. Judge Edgar should be Edger; this is correct in Cowan. The short quotation from Pitt-Rivers at foot of the same page has two

mistakes, a comma inserted and one omitted; moreover the author is given as Lane-Fox-Pitt-Rivers, instead of G. H. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers; the name in the volume quoted must be followed, and the full title of the book given.

And so on. Finally, 'If my remarks have seemed sharp here and there the sharpness has not been intentional, but due to quickness in writing, not waiting particularly to choose expressions; all is friendly editorial criticism and I trust will be taken as such.'⁵⁸

The other paper, by Roger Duff, received even more savage treatment: 'Herewith a few comments on Duff's paper', the few comments amounting to nearly four pages of notes such as:

p.25. Another example of misquotation, of Forster: - he inserts a word "black", omits a word "many", indicates words omitted where none is omitted, makes no indication of omission where some are omitted, alters the material of a scroll from "sugar-cane leaf" to "sugar-cane", besides several tamperings with punctuation. What can you think of his work when he treats others' in this way?⁵⁹

Skinner apologised on behalf of Elizabeth Durward; Roger Duff sent his apologies directly. Andersen wrote a kindly note to Duff: if he straightened the

article up, Andersen would put the references right.⁶⁰ Skinner duly returned Durward's paper, 'which has been amended following your notes. I recommend publication'. He had something else to report to Andersen: 'I have to hand a letter from Downes with criticism of Teviotdale's paper I am replying on Teviotdale's behalf as he is in the field and there is not time for him to do it'.⁶¹ This confirmed well enough that Teviotdale's theories were, in large measure, Skinner's theories.

There were now for the joint editors two areas of contention running side by side: the papers by Skinner's students, and the clash over the Maruiwi. Andersen had a look at Durward's revised version: he could still find half a dozen mistakes in quotes or titles which he returned for her attention. 'Copy sent to H. D. Skinner' he noted, probably by way of suggesting that some of the responsibility lay with Skinner.⁶² To Downes on 16 March 1933 he wrote: 'I have ... received from Mr Skinner your letter about Te Whatahoro and Best, and Skinner's reply I am glad you took up the cudgels; it looks as if it were going to be necessary. Skinner had some remarks in his Amulet paper that I felt inclined to challenge - but Best had warrant for what he said of the tiki and his books will bear him out.'⁶³ Shortly afterwards Andersen received Duff's revised paper and was able to use this to bring Herbert Williams round to his side. The Durward paper, Andersen told him, 'whilst local, was not bad', but Duff's was 'rather diffuse and wild' with not a single correct quotation. 'Skinner doesn't seem to think it matters about rigid

quotation; I have had to alter his own.' When Duff's revised version had come back, Andersen told Williams, Duff had written to say that he and Skinner had 'fixed it up. Fixed it up! Look particularly at page 20 and see the hash he has made of the quotation. I altered only as far as the etc. in the margin when I returned it; after he and Skinner going over it no alteration was made after the etc. so I checked it further, with appalling results'. What should he do with the paper? Williams was not impressed: 'The whole paper is undigested. I don't know who Duff is, but it leaves the impression of a school boy's essay. We need something more finished than that'.⁶⁴ So Duff's paper went back to Skinner. Andersen had spent hours on it and 'even as amended I do not think the paper will do. Let me be quite definite ... not a single quotation was made correctly; not one I may say that I got Bishop Williams to read it over, and his strictures are more severe than mine.'⁶⁵

Even before the March 1933 number was issued with Downes's letter on the Teviotdale article, and Skinner's reply on behalf of Teviotdale, Downes was busy preparing a more substantial statement. He asked Andersen to send him a copy of Skinner's Chatham Islands Memoir. 'I should like to add a little more if permissible to try & show Skinner to be an ordinary mortal - liable to mistakes.' Could Andersen get anyone in Wellington to reply to Skinner's hei tiki deductions, which Downes thought were 'apparently written to belittle Best.' He would reply

himself but did not want to have two discussions going on at the same time. Skinner 'seems to me to be exceedingly self opinionated otherwise a real good man'. 'I did not like the hei-tiki remarks myself', responded Andersen; 'he did not get on with Best, you know; but they are only his opinions, and no one would accept them against Best's. Best had ample authority for all he wrote; did not commit himself till he had such authority; and even then he was never dogmatic.'⁶⁶

The March 1933 issue contained a single major article (another instalment of Skinner's Amulets)⁶⁷ at the start, three memoir supplements at the end, and, in the middle, notes, reviews, and correspondence, the latter largely consisting of Downes's lengthy rebuttal of Teviotdale, and Skinner's reply to Downes. The arguments we need not rehearse in detail: Downes was inclined to give weight to the traditional evidence that Teviotdale and Skinner distrusted. But the exchange had its absurdities also. 'Mr Teviotdale', wrote Downes, 'describes Te Whatahoro as T. K. Whatahoro, being in error as to initials. H. T. Whatahoro I knew well, and I was a student at his feet for many years.' Nor did Downes like Teviotdale's reference to Te Whatahoro as author: 'Te Whatahoro and another young man who had learned to write were appointed scribes only; none of the matter originated with them'.⁶⁸ Skinner agreed it was 'unfortunate' that Whatahoro's initials were given wrongly, 'but this does not invalidate Mr Teviotdale's general argument.

Mr Downes himself falls into the same class of error in referring to "Thomas White" which should read Taylor White. Te Whatahoro's function of scribe makes it, in my opinion, quite legitimate to refer to him as the author of the Lore of the Whare-wananga.^{'69} Here Andersen added a gratuitous footnote: 'Even the editor of a book, far more important than the scribe, is never regarded as the author - J.C.A.'⁷⁰ Further on Skinner had this sentence: 'A full discussion of the point, with all the evidence, may be found in Memoirs of the British Museum, 9, 1923, pp.34-41.' Andersen added a second footnote: 'Bishop Museum is intended - a slip like T. K. Whatahoro and Thomas White! - J.C.A.'⁷¹

While some readers may have looked upon these editorial annotations as gross pedantry, others must have found them ludicrously lacking in dignity: here was Andersen making fun of the other editor. Skinner was not amused. 'With regard to your correction of my letter, "British to "Bishop"', observed Skinner, 'that was an error made by my typist and left uncorrected because I did not read over the typescript. As regards your other note ... I have a reply, but I think it better not to publish a discussion with a brother editor.' It was not simply a lapse in taste and judgment by Andersen but a considered gesture, as he had warned Williams before publication: 'I'm giving [Skinner] a little dig - giving him something of his own.'⁷²

Meanwhile, Downes had completed a draft of his more extensive defence of the orthodox viewpoint. He left it to Andersen to decide whether it should be printed as a letter or as an article. 'I have never attempted anything of this sort before', he wrote to Andersen on 22 May 1933, 'and naturally feel a little diffident about entering into an argument that is really beyond me. If you think I have not made out a good case, please consign to the wastepaper basket I am sorry that I have had to cross swords with Mr Skinner but I feel so strongly about The Wharewananga & the honour of my old friend Te Whatahoro that I cannot help it.'⁷³

Andersen had no intention of consigning Downes's offering to the rubbish bin, but instead set about getting it into the best possible shape - 'there are one or two portions of it which may be made more definite'. He added that it would be wise to check with Herbert Williams about the distinctiveness of Moriori language, and Downes should provide specific references to William Baucke's newspaper articles. 'A first reading of your paper suggests the above; and my suggested actions, verifications etc. are of course intended to strengthen the arguments and to back the facts you bring forward. Meanwhile I shall go over your other references and see that all is right there.'⁷⁴ It is hardly necessary to point out that this was highly partisan editorship, and that the checking of references by Andersen in this case was not to make a case about a contributor's carelessness and inaccuracy, but to secure the article against its likely opponents. And when Downes had to

confess he did not have the references to Baucke's material, Andersen wrote to the editor of the New Zealand Herald in an attempt to acquire them.

Herbert Williams, who had been away from home, arrived back at the end of May to find letters from both Skinner and Andersen. Andersen asked him to run a 'critical eye' over Downes's paper.⁷⁵ William's reply to Andersen was carefully considered and perhaps freighted with a warning, or at least caution, about the debate.

I noticed the difference of opinion between Skinner & Downes - It is a pity to squabble about slips as to initials - but that is not the real difference. I had a note from Skinner. I quite agree with him that there is nothing sacrosanct in a theory advanced by Best or S.P.S[mith]. We are all entitled to our opinions - and the fact that Best was one of the most valuable and indefatigable of collectors of Maori-lore does not mean that his deductions therefore may not be challenged - Personally I did not see eye to eye with him on many points: Maruiwi was one of them. He has written in J.P.S. & N.Z.Inst[itute Transactions] several articles - these are less valuable than they might be from the fact that he does not quote his authorities. I shall be glad to see Downes' paper ... I remember that Skinner refers to my paper in a way that showed he had not understood what I had said - possibly my fault for not expressing myself clearly.

The weakness of my position is, that while I am not satisfied with Best's views on Maruiwi I have no theory of my own - So too with many of S.P.S.'s theories.

I may be goaded to writing something of my own if I can find time - if it is only to tell people they must often be satisfied not to know clearly just what happened say 1000 years go.⁷⁶

Andersen hastened to agree about Best's failings, in a minor way: 'I agree about Best and his sometimes exasperating habit of not quoting his authorities; and I knew from his Games and Pastimes [bulletin] that his memory, or his notes, or both, were becoming a little untrustworthy. I am compelled to say so in my Maori Music paper. He says that Kiwi Amohau was one of the last flute-players of the Arawa, and he has a photo of him with flute in position. That photo was taken for illustration purposes; the old man couldn't produce a note; I was there'. But Andersen did not take the general drift of Williams' letter, that the debate was all highly speculative, for he was determined to push back the Skinner thesis. Yes, he would send Williams the Downes paper: 'I want to see that it is as impeccable as it can be made'.⁷⁷

Williams did his duty, and on a visit to Wellington in June discussed the article with Andersen, who then gave specific instructions to Downes. 'Firstly, you say Skinner makes a definite statement, when his statement is really in the

form of a question.’ The references to the Malay language were ‘too slender a cord’ to hang any arguments upon. The words given by Baucke were merely Maori with Moriori pronunciation. Osteological materials were not of much value. Those parts marked in the margin should be omitted so critics couldn’t say anything ‘caustic’. ‘You have already gone to some trouble’, he told Downes, ‘but a paper like this is worth a good deal of trouble; and I am sure that if it went as it is [at present] Skinner would have the best of it. If there is to be a go, I want to see an even go I don’t want to see you wielding rotten sticks.’⁷⁸

Elizabeth Durward’s article appeared in the issue for June 1933, with ungracious editorial interpolations in a couple of footnotes: for example, ‘No dates for The Free Press quoted could be furnished by the author.- EDS.’⁷⁹ In addition to his regular ‘Amulets’ paper, Skinner contributed ‘Archaeology in New Zealand’, a report on diggings in the past and the need for funded, scientific investigation of sites in the future. And what would be the point? ‘The principal one is, of course, whether there has ever been in New Zealand a culture different from that of the Maori. That there was originally a non-Maori race in New Zealand is the general view Views of this kind are put forward in the text-books used in New Zealand primary schools If this view of New Zealand ethnology is correct, then the most ancient sites in New Zealand will undoubtedly furnish stone implements of New Hebridean or Fijian types. Thus far, the reverse has actually

been the case'.⁸⁰ Skinner had also written to Andersen that 'The very substantial and, as I think, important paper on greenstone is nearly completed.' Concerned that the argument not go to Skinner by default, Andersen told Downes in July he had been wondering 'what you are thinking regarding the Moriori paper, hoping you may be able to produce something solely to meet the opinions of the other side'.⁸¹

Downes sent his revised paper at the start of August (his latest concern was that Skinner now disputed the 'through India' theory of Polynesian origins in a chapter of the New Zealand volume of the Cambridge History of the British Empire - so he had been told).⁸² Andersen wrote that he liked the paper 'much better now' and he would get Williams to go over it before publication. Apparently Andersen did a good deal of tidying of Downes's article, for when the author received the proofs he thanked the editor 'for going to so much trouble in revising and correcting'.⁸³ In its final form the paper took up ten pages of the September number. Downes concluded by saying he believed in the Maruiwi-Melanesian theory but could not insist it was proven; neither should Skinner insist that his theory was more than a theory.⁸⁴ In August Williams had given his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Society. His audience of fourteen included Andersen and W. H. Skinner, but not H. D. Skinner or Downes.⁸⁵ Perhaps we can read his speech as containing a few gentle hints. Mentioning 'the recent discovery

of early human remains' in various parts of New Zealand, Williams thought these might 'possibly prove to be of some importance in elucidating the mystery of the early inhabitants of New Zealand', though 'at present, authorities are preserving a wise reticence on the subject'.⁸⁶ Possibly this was an appeal for the argument to be postponed in the meantime.

The relationship between Skinner and Andersen was now hardly cordial, though still correct, if barely so. Ian Hogbin had written to Skinner about Andersen's editorial annotations and Skinner sent the 'amusing' note on to Andersen who replied that he supposed Hogbin was 'right in a way' and that he would in future be 'more chary'.⁸⁷ Skinner worried about not producing the reviews he had hoped to do: Andersen's own reviews had reached sixteen pages of small type in the September issue.⁸⁸ There were disputes over trivial matters. Skinner and Andersen were both Fellows of the New Zealand Institute, and were entitled to write F.N.Z.Inst. after their names, which Andersen, lacking other postnominal letters, was inclined to do, and which Skinner, who could also (but did not) write D.C.M. and B.A., was not so keen about. When in 1933 the Institute became the Royal Society of New Zealand, Andersen addressed Skinner as 'F.R.S., N.Z.' The latter responded, 'I would much prefer that this should be discontinued'.⁸⁹ When Skinner looked over the proofs for the December 1933 issue, he found that a summary of an address by Lord Raglan, in which Raglan had

concluded by saying that 'the historicity of the traditional narrative is a survival from the pre-scientific age', had at the end an editorial statement: 'The above is quite at variance with what we believe of Polynesian tradition' This editorial comment did not represent Skinner's view. 'I think', he told Andersen, 'that it would be wise to have your initials alone at the end of the comment on Raglan'.⁹⁰

Skinner had written to Downes that he would make a reply to his article in the first number of the Journal for 1934. Before he could do so, A. P. Elkin had reviewed the controversy in the Australian journal Oceania, concluding: 'In reality there is little evidence for the acceptance of either viewpoint'. Skinner reported to Andersen that while this afforded him 'five minutes of very hearty laughter', on further reflection Elkin's commentary indicated that 'the average reader is wholly ignorant of our fifteen years of archaeological work here. It is quite clear that I am wholly to blame for this and equally clear that our results must be published as soon as possible'.⁹¹ He had decided not to reply directly to Downes' paper. 'I think he must be dissatisfied with his arguments and has in consequence reached his decision', Downes told Andersen. 'I conclude therefore the victory is mine - thanks for your assistance.' Andersen reported that he had 'heard from three very good men that your remarks are unanswerable, and I think you may claim the victory'.⁹²

Andersen now turned his attention to the amulet series by Skinner. Gilbert Archey, who had dissented from some of Skinner's views about the manaia pattern in the September 1933 issue, indicated his doubts about certain of Skinner's ornament classifications.⁹³ '[C]ouldn't you do a short paper', Andersen asked Archey. 'Some of his comparisons seem far-fetched, and he has already revised some of his early comparisons'. Archey was prepared to do so, for his own reasons, and Andersen was to let him know 'how much space would be available [and] when you want the copy'. Better to wait until the amulet series had finished, said Andersen, 'and if at the end you would write a commentary ... I should be glad to have it; - keep up your written notes in the meantime.' He was, he told Archey, 'frankly ... quite disappointed' with the amulet series.⁹⁴

Towards the end of March 1934 Andersen received Skinner's 'greenstone paper'. Although it had 'a lot of geology in it', he spent the latter part of the morning reading it, he told Skinner, for 'it was so interesting to me that an hour flew like five minutes'. He thought at first that the geological analyses (made by the scientist Dr F. J. Turner) seemed very numerous, 'but they are important for future comparisons of artifacts'.⁹⁵ Five days later, in a period of some financial crisis for the Journal, he had doubts which he expressed to Williams. The detailed analysis of various specimens was very lengthy - 'I am wondering if it is worth

putting in our Journal. It runs to 68 pages of foolscap'.⁹⁶ Early in April he sent the ethnological portion of the paper, the part that was Skinner's work, to Downes, drawing his attention to certain passages and his own pencilled suggestions. 'You may have something else to say; I shall be interested to hear'. Downes thought the paper 'quite passable, though there is little that is new in it'. He drew attention to half a dozen remarks, and agreed with Andersen that phrases like 'Is conjectured to be' could be added appropriately for some of Skinner's comments. Andersen was pleased to have Downes's opinions. 'I don't like Skinner's carelessness in quoting', he remarked; Andersen had been busy checking the references.⁹⁷

He then proceeded to bring his dispute with Skinner to a crisis point, not initially over the greenstone paper, but over two minor items to be inserted in the June 1934 issue. The first was Skinner's restorative figuring of a whale-bone patu remnant: 'as the shape of the ends is quite problematical, does this conjectured restoration serve any purpose?' Andersen asked. 'The trouble is, as it appears to me, that if this is inserted in the journal as even a possible restoration, it may in the future be taken, by a not too careful writer, as an evidence of distribution of that type of patu. Is the scale correct?' And there were further questions. 'The Journal could easily be filled with conjecture, but there is still plenty of fact to record.'⁹⁸

The other matter was the question of the use of certain 'reel-shaped objects'. At the start of his amulet paper scheduled for publication in the June issue, Skinner had noted that these 'reels' were used as beads but asked whether they had ever been used for any other purpose. He mentioned that his father, W. H. Skinner, had once been told by Piripi, an Ati-awa man, that they were used as drill-weights.⁹⁹ Skinner also sent a note on other evidence of this use: it was a newspaper item reporting the views of a Mr W. E. Goffe that the 'reels' could be drill-weights. Andersen immediately tackled Skinner about this. In the newspaper item Goffe had questioned what Best had said about the objects. Andersen wrote to Skinner: 'I have discussed [the use of the reels] many times with Mr Best, and the idea of drill-weight was rejected ... Mr Best suggests, in *The Maori*, p.543 vol.2, that they might have been strung as beads for a necklace'. Andersen then continued:

As regards publishing the description of the drill? - is this necessary, seeing that Mr Best has illustrated it and you say of his illustrations "one of these illustrations is exactly similar to the drill in Mr Goffe's museum except that the spool is missing". Mr Best had one of these drills made when at Koroniti, Whanganui River, and he enquired there as elsewhere about the spools; he enquired when we were up the East Coast, calling at Tokomaru Bay, - and you may

be sure that if any of the East Coast Maori knew of the "Spool" use we should have heard of it, for our coming and our reasons for coming were well canvassed, and the knowing ones were eager and willing to impart. So you will see that your remark "Mr Best ... did not connect the 'spool' with the Maori drill" is not correct; he enquired assiduously and could never get any evidence for so connecting it.¹⁰⁰

Were these quibbles or serious questions? On the use of the reel or spool it may have been that Andersen felt Best had been unable to collect any evidence despite wide-ranging enquiry, and that this was fairly conclusive and ought to be brought to Skinner's notice.¹⁰¹ On the other matter, the figuring of the whale-bone patu, the layperson might indeed express wonder that such a detailed construction could be performed on the basis of a small material residue. Nevertheless, Skinner was an expert on such matters. Taken together, Andersen's questions were very close to accusations. He was doubting Skinner's competence in the area of his specialty in the case of the patu. In his letter on the 'reels', Andersen implicitly contrasted Skinner's museum-based scholarship with Best's work in the field (and was of course reminding Skinner of Andersen's own work in the field alongside Best).

Skinner replied first of all on the matter of the reels. Perhaps the note could be cut down but the substance should appear: 'Up to the present it has been

a case of my father's positive evidence against Best's negative evidence. Now we have a piece of evidence on the side of my father, contributed without any knowledge that there had been a dispute at all. The mere fact that Best had failed to find evidence on the point should not invalidate evidence, collected by someone else.'¹⁰² There seems to be at least a little filial sentiment engaged, but Skinner's point was reasonable. Less reasonable was his letter the next day, sending a shortened version of the note with the comment: 'I want this to go in because, in my opinion, it definitely settles a point that has long been in debate.' This was to claim too much for his 'evidence'. He added, 'Any further cutting down would be unfair to Goffe and to my father and myself.'¹⁰³

Skinner had in this letter much more to say about the whale-bone patu. 'I take the strongest exception to your remark "if this is inserted in the journal as an even possible restoration, it may in future be taken by a not too careful writer," etc.' To Andersen's suggestions of how the patu might otherwise have looked in a figured restoration, he referred to himself 'or anyone else who has the least training in the classification of objects of material culture, or even the least untrained sense of values in that field' as being able to make a correct interpretation of the patu. The restoration of the ends was not conjectural. Skinner had to agree, nevertheless, that the scale had been wrong, but 'this has been corrected'. He dismissed Andersen's other comments, and finished up by pointing out that

‘typological work is the field of my particular study, as music and string games are yours.’¹⁰⁴ Skinner was saying, in effect, you keep to your side of the fence as I keep to mine. He operated in a world (university and museum) which respected, was in fact based upon, division of labour, or of expertise. Andersen, on the other hand, was a generalist, an active dilettante. Skinner could not have guessed that Andersen would turn that final remark about particular fields of study against him.

On 15 June 1934 Andersen wrote two editorial letters. One was to Gilbert Archey - ‘Have you any of those so-called Maori "spools"?' - telling him of Skinner’s claims and his own doubts. ‘Well, I am inserting [the note], but suspect he will have objectors.’ What had Archey to say?¹⁰⁵ His other letter was to Skinner. He began by questioning a usage in Skinner’s amulet paper: Skinner had used the word whakapapa for a genealogy mnemonic but whakapapa was the genealogy itself and the mnemonic was kapou whakapapa. ‘I did not alter your definition, but I think it would be better to have it correct according to Williams [Dictionary]’. Furthermore, ‘though music and string figures may be my particular study ... that does not mean I take no intelligent interest in other parts of the subject many a discussion have I had, in the field and in the office, with Best and Buck, not only on my two subjects, but theirs too; there has been mutual help; and neither of them have ever objected to my criticising their work’. He had, Andersen claimed, merely been querying Skinner’s remarks to give a different

point of view. 'As regards Goffe and his remarks [on the reel as drill weight] I have had the opportunity of speaking to Oliver [W.R.B. Oliver, director of Dominion Museum], and Bishop Williams, [and] neither of them consider his opinion on ethnological subjects worth consideration'. While Oliver didn't have an opinion on the spools, Williams was as emphatic as Best that they were not drill-weights.¹⁰⁶

Andersen then took a whole foolscap page to subject the note sent by Skinner (which was substantially a newspaper report of Goffe's views on the use of spools) to minute scrutiny for correctness - which he found wanting. 'You yourself', he reminded Skinner, 'are keen, and rightly so, on detecting and pointing out "fakes" in Maori artifacts; there can be faked evidence too, the most notable example in the Journal being the interpretation of the Easter Island tablets. After re-examination, do you still feel confidence in Goffe's newspaper note' about the use of the reel as drill weight?¹⁰⁷

Three days later Andersen fired off another letter: 'Herewith a few running notes on your greenstone paper. In the first quotation, p.2, you will find a few amendments The quotation on p.3 is out in more than punctuation; why quote Best's quotation when the original is available? - and you spell the writer of the original Foster instead of Forster. Your typescript says "We asked for its native name and they called it Poenamoo;" both Forster and Best say "We asked for its

native place ...".’ He pointed out that Best did not quote from Forster another piece of information - Andersen inserted it in pencil ‘so you can see if it is not worth noting’. The quotations from Polack and Williams were ‘out’: ‘In Polack’s quotation there are eight departures from the original in seven typed lines’. He proceeded to instance other errors and then read Skinner a lecture about ‘history with myths engrafted’, defending Percy Smith’s technique of turning genealogies into chronology. ‘It must be remembered’, said Andersen, that [J.F.G. Stokes, Hawaii], Smith and others like Best who accepted his conclusions ... had the advantage, which we have not, of knowing the language thoroughly and so being able to sift their evidence before accepting it.’ He was sorry he would not be able to print the detailed analyses of the greenstone and had already told Dr Turner so: the Society’s funds were too low. ‘I must also point out’, Andersen finished, ‘that on your map of the South Island you have quite mistaken the position of the Arahura River. You have actually placed it north of the Taramakau; more than that, you have taken the Ahaura ... to be the Arahura, and have named the Grey the Arahura. The Arahura is south of the Taramakau, and a little north of Hokitika.’¹⁰⁸

It was to be several days before he heard from Skinner. In the meantime he had a pleasant note from Archey who very much doubted that the spools were drill-weights but would get his Boys’ Ethnology Club to try some out; and a

contribution from Roger Duff who questioned the customary opinion that there had once been a large Maori pa near Cust in North Canterbury. After reviewing the evidence, Duff suggested it all rested on the authority of Canon J. W. Stack - and Maori people had been pulling his leg. Duff said he shared the opinions of H. D. Skinner and other recent researchers that the Maori population of the whole of the South Island 'could never have been as large as tradition indicates'.¹⁰⁹

Then, at last, a letter from Skinner, dated 25 June 1934. It was brief: yes, he had used whakapapa incorrectly. As for the note about Goffe's evidence on the use of the reels, 'in view of a number of errors in it demonstrated by you', either it should go in with an additional note initialled by Andersen, or seven paragraphs could be removed and a single one inserted to take their place. He hoped to reply 'tomorrow' to the other matters in Andersen's two recent letters.¹¹⁰ The victory over Goffe's opinion, it could be said, was Andersen's. If his intention had been to keep out of the Journal a note he regarded as of doubtful accuracy, then he would have accepted Skinner's much abbreviated version. But it is apparent that he wished to show Skinner in a bad light. He informed the printers thus: 'I return the notes and queries galley, to which please add the note at foot [a note written by Andersen himself]. I wrote to Mr Skinner about this, and he suggested either adding the note as I have it or omitting it and all he has marked in pencil; but

omitting this and my note loses all the point I wish to make, viz. that the note by Goffe is quite untenable.’¹¹¹

The letter Skinner had hoped to write to Andersen ‘tomorrow’ did not immediately arrive. Andersen had despatched all the material for the June issue to the printers; there was the September number to consider. Duff? He went through his article, or communication, and wrote a reply. It was not an unkind letter, but he tried to demonstrate that Duff’s opinions were insupportable. ‘You will gather from this that I do not think there would be anything gained by inserting your letter in the Journal’.¹¹² Two or three days later he received the belated letter from Skinner. It was an angry letter: ‘I have seen and studied pretty nearly all the Moriori patu above ground, and I have published all the more significant ones. Though I cannot say the same for Maori patu, I have probably seen, and have certainly studied, more than anyone else except Buck Any opinion you could form from regarding the "human-faced" patu was based on the few specimens that I had published. But no sense of the limitations of your study in this particular field deterred you.’ He was sore, too, about the note on the reel: ‘you have three large-sized typed foolscap pages of criticism of minor points, and have, besides, run after Oliver and Bishop Williams to get confirmation of an opinion with which most people, myself included, would agree, namely that Goffe’s theories on ethnological matters are of little weight.’ As for the greenstone paper, it was ‘sent forward in a

hurry' and correction left to the typist. 'When you discovered the first errors, why not refer it back to me for general correction? The answer presumably lies in your enthusiasm for verbal correction It is of interest to read in your letter that Best erred as I have. I followed his quotation for the very good reason that Forster was not available to me at the time I wrote.' He admitted the mistake over the Arahura river - 'I had only the map in the Times Atlas to draw from'. He concluded: 'If one wished, a great deal more might be said; but I have not the time nor the desire.'¹¹³

Andersen sat down to compose a long letter in reply. He had not 'run after' various people; he had taken the opportunity of consulting others, 'especially now that Best is gone', and it was an editor's duty to scrutinize everything for correctness. Getting quotations right was vital. If the greenstone paper was not ready why did Skinner send it? 'Every paper that goes to the printer has to be textually as correct as possible since the mistake of a letter means the resetting of the whole line, and the deletion or insertion of a word may mean the resetting of the rest of the paragraph.' And why should Skinner blame the typist? Andersen recalled why he had asked Skinner to be an editor: 'I did so because of my admiration for your work which I felt after seeing your beautifully set out collections in the Museum at Dunedin, and because I recognised that you had specialized in the material culture side whilst I lean strongly to the psychic side.'

Andersen had thought that the methodical characteristics shown in the Museum displays meant Skinner would be 'equally methodical in writing and checking writing'. The final paragraph was to be an ultimatum: 'I am sorry, Skinner, but it seems to me we shall only be getting more restive and fractious in double harness, and if I am to go on with the editing it may be better if I have someone nearer at hand to help me; or, if you take all over you may have someone near you who can help. Shall I put it to the executive, or can we come to an understanding.'¹¹⁴ He gave the letter to the typist: he would sign it when the typing was finished.

The 'executive' was the Polynesian Society council: Andersen could be sure of majority support on the council. In any case, what grounds could Skinner have for getting rid of Andersen? That he picked up errors? That he was too concerned with accuracy? Of course, an editor in Dunedin was too far from the headquarters at Wellington. Andersen knew that Skinner would not want the time-consuming task of editing, proof-reading, dealing with the printers. There could only be 'an understanding' that Skinner would stand aside.

But the ultimatum was never sent (though Andersen was careful to have his letter bound in with the editorial correspondence as his justificatory piece for the future chronicler to read): at the top of the letter Andersen wrote: 'This was not sent in view of the following letter received before signing & posting the letter'.¹¹⁵ The 'following letter' in the editorial correspondence, dated 3 July 1934, was from

Skinner to Andersen: it read, 'I enclose a copy of my resignation from the joint-editorship of the J.P.S. I have at no time been able to do what I had hoped, and my other work is becoming heavier and heavier. My thanks are due to you for not requiring me to do half the proof correcting and similar duties'.¹¹⁶ The enclosed resignation, addressed to the secretary, gave Skinner's reasons as 'pressure of other work, which does not allow me to devote to editorial duties the time that should be given.' Skinner recalled that when he undertook his duties he had hoped to develop the 'review side' but he had not had time to contribute reviews. 'It must be admitted that in this particular respect the Journal remains lamentably weak.' If the Council wanted to appoint a successor, Skinner gave it as his opinion that all editors should reside in Wellington. 'The geographic division of the joint-editors ... has resulted in Mr Andersen discharging very much the heavier share of the routine editorial work, for which I owe him cordial thanks.'¹¹⁷ In the 'Proceedings' published in the Journal there appeared just this bland comment amongst business for the Council meeting of 24 July 1934: 'EDITOR - The Secretary read a letter from Mr H. D. Skinner, joint-editor of the Journal, forwarding his resignation from that office and a resolution was passed noting this with regret and thanking Mr Skinner for his past services.'¹¹⁸

That was not the end of the matter, even if it was the termination of the joint editorship: there was to be much disagreement yet between Andersen and Skinner,

and between Andersen and the students of Skinner. Even the 'reel' had a further appearance to make six years later. Andersen had acquired a contemptuous attitude towards Skinner and contemporaneous correspondence with Peter Buck confirmed this attitude.¹¹⁹ Buck wrote from the United States in June 1934 that he hoped to visit New Zealand 'to find out how ordinary houses are made' for a comparative study of Polynesian houses. He remarked that 'including Skinner, there are no technologists in New Zealand to complete the work that I started'. The enmity between Buck and Skinner went back many years:¹²⁰ in 1926 they had been the leading prospects for the Hector Medal, the annual scientific distinction which was awarded in the field of ethnology every six years. One of the selection committee, Best, had nominated Buck, the other two had supported Skinner, and Buck had to wait a further six years for his medal.¹²¹ Buck did not recall this when he next wrote to Andersen in November 1934; no doubt Andersen knew the story. Buck reported on this occasion that he was 'much interested in your account of the vagaries of your colleague, H. D. Skinner'. Buck had sent one of his works to the American Anthropologist for review: no review appeared and his enquiries produced the information that it had been sent to Skinner for review. 'I very much wanted to see a review by Skinner on a work of mine no matter how humble that work might be. I would like to get some angle on Skinner's knowledge of Polynesian material culture and his personal animus against me.' Buck was not

surprised to hear from Andersen of the errors in Skinner's quotations and had a few further anecdotes in the same line.¹²²

In reviewing the Andersen-Skinner joint-editorship as a whole, it appears that the status of Best as a scholar and as a support for Andersen was crucial to the beginnings of the dispute. Andersen had relied on Best, and when Best had gone he relied perforce on Best's books.¹²³ When Skinner launched an assault on Best's works from several different angles, he threatened the basis of Andersen's authority and expertise. It would have seemed to Andersen that the critics of Best had waited until he was dead; but while that may have been so, Skinner perhaps had little option but to wait for the opportunity provided by Best's death. Andersen himself had no reason to doubt the accuracy and completeness of Best's research, and he had seen at close quarters how Best had gathered his material: surely the collection of traditions from the subjects themselves was more reasonable than hypotheses arranged around musty artifacts. Above all, how could Andersen be editor, and make judgments on contributions, if the texts he used were undermined? Andersen several times in correspondence with various people referred to the hoax article on Easter Island in the very first volume of the Journal:¹²⁴ he as editor must never allow such a situation to recur, for his own sake, for the sake of the Society, for the sake of anthropology.

If a defence of Best's work had been uppermost at first, Andersen had during the dispute gradually focussed on the shortcomings of Skinner's own work: it was inaccurate, not occasionally but frequently, article after article. Andersen seems to have determined early in 1934 to expose Skinner's faults, to show up his lack of scholarly exactitude. Skinner for his part made lapses because he was, as he said, overworked: he did not have time to check typescripts against originals, not for Duff, not even for himself. Moreover, he did not have printed materials at hand to the same extent as Andersen in the Turnbull Library. He had to carry out his teaching, do his museum work, and sometimes supervise or help people in the field on archaeological sites, while Andersen sat all day in the Turnbull Library, much of the library work there carried out by his assistants so he was enabled to indulge his various literary and scientific interests.

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While the antipathies between Andersen and Skinner were sharp, or had become so, the conflict was not fundamentally based on personal antagonism or even upon different estimates of the importance of accurate quotation from

documentary materials. The conflict was rather between distinct Pakeha perceptions of how to construct the Maori past and what were the appropriate materials to use for such a construction. 'I hope you do the study of the Maori house', Andersen wrote in reply to a letter from Buck in June 1934; 'Skinner will never do anything where he has to consult Maori authorities - living ones I mean - for he is there tongue-tied and out of sympathy. In archaeology he only talks with the past, and it more or less tells him what he wants it to tell him.'¹²⁵ Andersen was particularly suspicious of conclusions based on arrangements of artifacts. He told Heinrich von Haast in 1943 that Skinner's 'specialty is material artifacts, but his establishment of [cultural] "regions" does not carry much weight with me, for there was so much interchange of material and artifacts that it is hard to say where any type was first chiefly manufactured, though the material of which the artifact was made might limit the area, though there is nothing to prevent the material being brought from one place and the artifact being made at another far distant. If you went by collections of artifacts,' he joked to von Haast, 'the British Museum was the chief seat of a great many Maori artifacts.'¹²⁶

Notwithstanding his knowledge of artifacts, Skinner was, in later life at any rate, self-conscious about his limited knowledge of the Maori language. Best had advised Skinner (when the latter was studying in London in 1916), 'you will find it absolutely imperative that you should learn the tongue, otherwise you will be but a

Macmillan Brown, or Newman, or Hamilton, and it would be better to take on bush felling. Na reira kia kaha ki te ako i te reo Maori, tona reo o mua.’ Best may also have worried that at the University of Cambridge Skinner would be persuaded into espousing academic classifications of artifacts, for in the same letter he commented on ‘men of the Hutton and Hamilton type, ignorant of native matters and of the use of tools’.¹²⁷ In 1963, Skinner told Peter Gathercole that ‘one of his first aims on being appointed to Otago [University] was to study a Maori community in Taranaki and extend his knowledge of the Maori language. On the way north, however, he fell seriously ill, and his doctor in Wellington forbade him to go any further.’¹²⁸ The draft of Gathercole’s biographical introduction to Comparatively Speaking (1974) originally contained the phrase ‘learn Maori’; Skinner changed this to ‘complete the process of learning Maori’.¹²⁹

Andersen’s suspicions about artifact classifications, probably derived from opinions of Best, was matched by Skinner’s disdain for what Smith, Best and others, including Andersen, regarded as Maori traditional history. Whether Skinner worked out his own critique, or was influenced by his teacher at Cambridge, Dr A. C. Haddon,¹³⁰ his sceptical views on the Lore of the Whare-wānanga had aroused the ire of S. P. Smith by 1917, and Smith remonstrated with him. ‘Surely you have forgotten the introduction to "The Lore of the Whare-wananga," Part 1,’ wrote Smith, ‘in which I made it as plain as the English language could do, that

[Whatahoro] was the amanuensis of the old priest who taught all that that book contains, and not the author of it, nor the story of the moa. He is in no way responsible for what is there said in any of the papers we have published as received from him.' As for the comment about wings on the moa, what was probably meant, suggested Smith, was the leg of the moa, since the moa defended itself by kicking. 'I give it as my deliberate opinion that Whatahoro is the most learned man of the lot it has been my fortune to meet. If as you say you have been writing to "Man" (a publication I never see), on the subject of Whatahoro, I think you ought to correct what you have said against him.' Nor could Smith doubt, as Skinner did, the Melanesian strain among the Moriori. How could Skinner say that 'the Moriori are probably the purest of the Polynesian people'? If he had had 'daily intercourse with those people' as Smith himself had for thirteen months during a period in the Chatham Islands, 'you would never have made that statement. Though a branch of the Polynesian people, they must be classed with the Niue, and perhaps some of the Fijian, people as the most mixed branches of the race, and are very different from the purer Samoans &c.'¹³¹

Skinner did not share Smith's faith in the reliability of the manuscripts acquired through Whatahoro. Smith and Best believed that their close contact with Maori people, and their knowledge of the Maori language, were suitable

foundations for their ethnographic writings. Andersen could see no reason to doubt Best's careful scholarship, based as it was in Andersen's view upon the testimony of Maori themselves, either in the written form of the Whatahoro manuscripts, or the spoken word collected in the field. Speculating on the basis of artifacts without recourse to Maori testimony, as Skinner did, seemed to Andersen to devalue Maori traditions, and thus Maori people.¹³² Subsequent scholarship has sanctified, while correcting and amplifying, Skinner's approach, both his use of artifactual evidence and his critique of the Lore of the Whare-wānanga. This is not to say much more than that Smith and Best in certain respects appear to have been gullible (the judgment on Smith might even be phrased more harshly), and that the discursive networks of professional or academic archaeologists and anthropologists have in recent decades prevailed over those of the amateur ethnologists, whereas in the 1930s Andersen, a camp-follower of the amateurs, exerted some control over the discourse in the Journal of the Polynesian Society. The ethical and political aspects of the process whereby the colonisers constructed and reconstructed, and objectivised in print, the pasts of the colonised people according to Pakeha intellectual preoccupations remains as problematic in the 1990s as in the 1930s.

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Skinner's paper on greenstone was not published in the Journal of the Polynesian Society: it appeared in the Transactions for 1935. Quite apart from the dispute with Andersen in 1934 over the accuracy of the quotations and the map, Skinner's paper, together with the geological analysis by F. J. Turner, was in aggregate rather lengthy for the shrunken issues of the Journal in the middle 1930s.¹³³ Skinner's series on amulets nevertheless continued to appear: these papers were brief and, while Andersen found the matter disappointing (and looked forward to an article from Archey 'traversing', or disputing, 'many of his conclusions'),¹³⁴ he had no quarrel with Skinner when he stuck to his 'types' and did not openly attack Best. Skinner also contributed to the Journal many notes about archaeological and anthropological work in various parts of the Pacific and beyond, and occasionally sent reviews, usually fairly brief. He was by no means excluded from the Journal.

Nor was the work of his students and associates excluded, despite an impression in some quarters that this was so. W. A. Taylor, in Lore and History of the South Island Maori (1952), discussing Korotuaheka, a location just south of Waitaki, commented: 'The writer would commend the reader to read the

unorthodox views of Mr H. S. McCully, which somehow or other have been allowed to appear in the *Polynesian Journals* for 1941 and 1943.’¹³⁵ Taylor, an avid amateur collector of Maori lore rather like Herries Beattie, did not see eye to eye with Andersen (who was in turn not an admirer of Taylor); and Roger Duff, whose opinion of Andersen was not high, contributed a foreword to Taylor’s book, so that Taylor, though not himself an archaeologist except fitfully, was in a sense reflecting the views of several prominent workers who followed Skinner and Duff rather than Smith and Best. But the New Zealand archaeologists did appear with some regularity in the *Journal*: there were articles by, for example, H. S. McCully, David Teviotdale, G. Griffiths, Leslie Lockerbie, and Roger Duff (though one of Duff’s major offerings, as we will see, was turned aside), besides those from Skinner. Most of this material followed the research methods and the hypotheses developed by Skinner. Cumulatively, it represented a substantial dissemination of Skinnerian material culture history. There was also support for Skinner’s doubts about the *Lore of the Whare-wānanga* in Herbert Williams’s ‘The Maruiwi Myth’, published in the *Journal* in 1937.¹³⁶ This article expressed concerns about the authenticity of the Whatahoro materials which Williams had held at least since 1913¹³⁷ but which would probably not have been written down without the very sharp and divisive debate in the *Journal* in 1932 and 1933: ‘I may be goaded to writing something of my own if I can find time’, Williams had written to Andersen

in 1933. His other comments in the same letter should have been an indication to Andersen of how weak Best's Maruiwi argument seemed to Williams.¹³⁸ Williams's case against the Lore of the Whare-wānanga as expressed in 'The Maruiwi Myth' was unanswerable.

If Skinner took pleasure in Andersen's likely discomfiture over 'The Maruiwi Myth', and if he was likely to have been very pleased by another article in the same issue, in which David Teviotdale reported on the excavation of 'a moa-hunters' camp' at the Tahakopa river mouth, concluding that 'The culture revealed is that of the Maori, and there is no suggestion of any other',¹³⁹ he was himself discomfited by the final article in the same September 1937 Journal, 'New Zealand Anthropology To-day' by Ernest Beaglehole. Beaglehole, appointed to Victoria University College, had recently returned from study overseas, including a period as a research associate at the Bishop Museum, Hawaii, and looked forward to the growth of anthropological teaching and research in the New Zealand University colleges. His article was highly critical of the current situation. 'The best way to show what sort of anthropology should not be taught ... is to examine the University syllabus for anthropology as at present constituted.' After a discussion, Beaglehole suggested that 'the present syllabus would seem to imply a rather curious attempt to train, by one year's study, a professional anthropologist or perhaps a more or less efficient museum-assistant or again a jack-of-all-trades field

assistant.’¹⁴⁰ Skinner was not mentioned by name: but his anthropology courses at Otago University were the only courses so designated in the University of New Zealand, and the syllabus was his syllabus. He took exception to the article by Beaglehole, Skinner told Andersen, which was an attack on himself and his teaching; he would answer Beaglehole privately rather than through the Journal.¹⁴¹ Andersen had found in Ernest Beaglehole another ally against Skinner; he consulted with Beaglehole frequently over the next few years.

Andersen’s greatest moment of triumph, however, was in resolving the old argument about the ‘spool’ or ‘reel’ artifact. Early in 1939, James Eyles had been digging on his stepfather’s farm at the mouth of the Wairau River, Marlborough. He uncovered a burial site which contained, besides a skeleton, various artifacts, and - most sensationally - the almost complete shell of a moa egg. Eventually the egg and the other artifacts were acquired by the Dominion Museum for its collections.¹⁴² Andersen, a member of the Management Committee of the Museum, found the artifacts especially interesting: they included a whale tooth, and several spool- or reel-shaped items, reportedly strung like a necklace. This, surely, was the archaeological clue to the purpose of the similar-shaped artifacts about which Best and the Skinners, both father and son, had speculated in the 1920s and 1930s. Andersen wrote to W. J. Elvy, of Blenheim, who, as a local authority on Maori lore, had been interviewed by a journalist when the burial site

was first reported in the newspapers. Elvy was a surveyor; he and Andersen had corresponded frequently in 1939 and 1940 over the correct forms of Marlborough place names, and Elvy had supplied Andersen, who was always interested in anecdotes of the psychic, with intriguing stories of Maori presentiment.¹⁴³ 'I shall be glad of any details you can get about the necklace', Andersen told Elvy on 10 June 1940; 'do you know the boy who found it? I should like to know how the necklace was found - that is, how the beads (as you might call them) were strung; if the tooth was attached or separate; the beads are biggish grading off to smaller; was it in situ around the neck? Those particular reel-shaped beads are of all sizes, usually of stone but sometimes of bone. ... The egg was interesting, but not so interesting as the necklace - that is to me.' Could Elvy get hold of the article published in the Blenheim newspaper - or, if not, could he supply the date, since Andersen might look it up in the parliamentary library if the paper was one filed there. 'I am interested partly because I am on the management committee of the museum', he explained.¹⁴⁴

His interest was mostly in demolishing the 'drill-weight' possibility scouted by the Skinners, though he did not say that to Elvy, and his questions about the discovery of the 'beads', which convey a little of his excitement, were to gather, if he could, information which would place the necklace hypothesis beyond doubt. Elvy took until the middle of November to supply the newspaper article: he sent

Andersen a cutting of the report of the burial site find, in which Elvy himself was quoted, from the Marlborough Express of 25 January 1939.¹⁴⁵ Andersen replied that he was glad to see the cutting, 'more particularly since it replied to a question I had in mind - was the necklet round the neck of the long-departed; which apparently it was. Did I tell you that I have an illustration of a necklet from the Marquesas with an artifact of identical shape, perforated, which is part of the necklet? It is so; and the whale's tooth on the present necklet is like the niho-palaoa of the Hawaii necklets. I hope to put a short paper about it into the December number of the Journal.'¹⁴⁶ The December 1940 issue of the Journal was the last of the four especially-augmented centennial numbers; but although Andersen was already extremely busy in preparing this enlarged issue for printing, he still found time and energy to compose his 'short paper'. Moreover, he wrote to Eyles's stepfather in the hope of obtaining the last few items of information which would make his case absolutely watertight: 'I should like to know the date when [the necklace] was found, how deep it was, was the soil sand or stones or both, was there a cord with the necklace and what was it made of? Usually the cord for such a thing would be plaited fibre or human hair, with a loop at one end and a little bone toggle at the other with which to thread the end through the loop. The toggle would be a bit of bone, bird-wing, an inch or so with a hole drilled through which

to thread the cord.' The necklace, he added, was 'of very great interest, as it proves to us what the so-called spools were for.'¹⁴⁷

The article was entitled 'The So-called "Spool" Artifact'. Andersen sketched the circumstances under which the burial site was found. 'A moa-egg, almost perfect, was there, and this object has received the most publicity as do all relics of this most tantalizing bird; but there was more'. He quoted from the Marlborough Express, gave measurements and a description of the objects, summarized and quoted opinions expressed by Best and Skinner, and referred to artifacts in the W. D. Oldman collection, then being illustrated in successive issues of the Journal. Most significant in his argument were drawings of Marquesan neck-ornaments published in David Porter's Journal of a Cruise (1815), which Andersen reproduced with a photograph of the Wairau artifacts. 'The Marlborough spool-beads with the [whale tooth] pendant were found round the neck of the skeleton, and it will be noted that whilst they differ in their form being wider in the middle and tapering slightly toward the ends rather than cylindrical, they are evidently on the same model as the spool-beads on the Marquesas "ornament for the neck"'.¹⁴⁸ While Andersen recorded that Skinner had allowed the probability of the 'reel' being part of a necklace, the article provided evidence that Skinner's conjecture that 'they might also have been used as drill-weights for delicate drilling-operations' was misleading. Andersen's article was henceforth regularly

cited in archaeological literature: 'The necklace was described by Andersen', notes Buck, in The Coming of the Maori (1949), 'who thus made known the real function of the reels.'¹⁴⁹ Duff, in The Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture (1950), comments that 'the necklace [was] described by Andersen ... who was finally able to dispose of two widely prevalent misconceptions about the nature of similar "reels" in stone, that they were either genealogical mnemonics, or fly-wheels for the Maori-Polynesian drill.'¹⁵⁰ Andersen's glee at having worsted Skinner would not have produced much gloom in the latter, for whom scientific advances, from whatever quarter, were all to the good.

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In 1940 Skinner sent D. W. Rutherford's thesis on Maori population to Andersen for possible publication in the Journal. Skinner probably did that as a favour for Rutherford, while no doubt approving of what was in the thesis. Andersen took the opportunity to reiterate some of his own beliefs to Skinner by way of editorial comment on Rutherford's work. There was the vexed question of the moa. Rutherford had written: 'As the moa became more and more difficult to

find, the population probably adjusted itself. If this supposition is correct' Andersen commented: 'Here he makes a supposition, and on it bases an argument; but the supposition is not proved, so the argument will not hold, and I think the whole paragraph would be better out. Then what does he mean by "the moa became more and more difficult to find"? - there would be no difficulty in finding it even when rare.' Andersen did not argue about which people knew of the moa and had exterminated it, possibly because he was then reviewing the evidence on this question in Maori Place-names, the book he was currently preparing for publication. Instead, he suggested that the moa was not likely to have been more than a small part of the food supply. Rutherford 'does not seem ... to have considered what was the covering of the country at the time of which he is writing There were far more water-courses, far more lagoons and swamps, acres and acres of flax-thickets, jungles of toetoe, tumatakuru, and taramea it was out into these thickly-clothed plains that the Kaiapohia bird-snarers, eel and kokopu fishers, went to their various camps to secure food for the main pa.' This was more or less what Andersen had set out many years before in the Jubilee History of South Canterbury.¹⁵¹ 'I believe that at no time was the moa a staple of food: there was plenty without it, and it did no more than add variety: if it had been a staple, and this is important, the Maori would never have exterminated it: on all his foods, bird and fish and rat, there was a rahui, a close season ... so that he lived only on

the increase, not on the main stock' Andersen also disagreed with a suggestion by Rutherford that "the Maoris gradually became nomads." The Maoris were never nomads, and as suggested above the moa had little if any influence on their domestic life, except for the added excitement of big game. They moved about from trapping-station to trapping-station, had temporary kaingas here and there, but no more.' Andersen did not reject Rutherford's thesis as a publication prospect, but it would have to be severely pruned for publication. He told Skinner he would work at excisions and revisions as he found time.¹⁵²

As it happened, Andersen found little time to attend to the revision of Rutherford's thesis. In addition to the enlarged issues of the Journal in 1940, the Polynesian Society had planned to mark the centennial with the publication of a special raft of memoir volumes. The war interfered with the lives of certain prospective authors in unanticipated ways, and their books were either postponed or abandoned. It was decided to fill some of the gaps with Best's two unpublished bulletins. The second volume of 'Maori Religion' went only as far as a few galley proofs,¹⁵³ but Andersen prepared Forest Lore for publication and saw it through the press, quite a considerable task, even though Best had left the manuscript in good shape.¹⁵⁴ Andersen also wrote a memoir himself, Maori Place-names (1942), the only one of the originally scheduled memoirs to appear more or less on time (C.R.H. Taylor's comprehensive Bibliography, interrupted by war and work,

was published in 1951).¹⁵⁵ Some of the writing for Maori Place-names was essentially transcription, as Andersen had accumulated a large card-file from which he extracted relevant (and not infrequently irrelevant) information; but he also developed many very wordy digressions on various hobby-horses, and the printed version added up to a massive 499 pages. While the length of 'this preliminary essay', as Andersen termed it, was entirely his own fault, it demonstrated great industriousness, and unsurprisingly the reconstruction of Rutherford's thesis was, with several other projects, shelved.¹⁵⁶

The question of the moa, however, or Maori knowledge of the moa, was not shelved: Andersen used the opportunity afforded by the publication of Maori Place-names to set out his own views on the moa, and to criticize, or at times ridicule, the hypotheses of other people. Part of the book was organised around the discussion of names 'whose first element signifies "water" in some form or other - wai, awa, manga, roto, whanga - the second element signifying animal, plant, bird, or other object that drew the Maori attention'; and into this list came Awamoa, which (as Andersen pointed out) was strictly a Pakeha name, given by W.B.D. Mantell in 1852 to a river in North Otago.¹⁵⁷ The name nonetheless allowed Andersen the excuse to review Pakeha moa-lore in considerable detail (the discussion covers some fifteen pages). An extensive recapitulation would be tedious. Briefly stated, Andersen claimed on the basis of his analysis of

topographical nomenclature, the views of such writers as J. W. Stack and William Colenso, and various deductions from other shreds of evidence, that the 'Fleet Maori' did not know of the moa, and that where the word 'moa' appears in place names, the word was simply a reference to the 'domestic fowl' of Polynesia.¹⁵⁸ 'The Maori legends have clouded into existence', wrote Andersen, 'since the start of the persistent and unintermitted enquiries by scientists eager to learn the truth and by unscientists eager to learn anything.'¹⁵⁹ At the end of the discussion, he observed: 'The Maori has plenty of stories about taniwhas and kumis and other prodigies, detailed descriptions, too, of their appearance, and the hunting and slaying of them - and the Pakeha smiles, and puts it all down to imagination; but when it comes to the moa, with which the Maori was far less familiar, the Pakeha is inclined to believe every word he is told.'¹⁶⁰

The archaeologists did not escape Andersen's purview. Many bones of the moa had been found after Pakeha settlement, but when it was remembered how many millions of years the moa had lived in New Zealand, 'the wonder is, not that so many bones have been found, but that not more of them have been found.'¹⁶¹ Stack had said that the Ngai Tahu of mid-Canterbury had no record of the moa; Beattie had written that the Ngati Mamoe and Ngai Tahu of Otago and Southland "'frankly admit that they know nothing about the moa.'" Yet it was from these districts that 'there seems to be so much archaeological evidence that the Maori

used the moa as food'.¹⁶² Andersen concluded that 'It must have been the race prior to or contemporaneous with the pre-Fleet Maori which knew the moa and used it as food as revealed by archaeological explorations carried out chiefly in Otago.'¹⁶³ In other words, Andersen did not accept the suggestions of Skinner, Teviotdale and others that Maori (that is, 'Fleet Maori') knew the moa: 'Fleet Maori' had been preceded by 'pre-Fleet Maori'. The necklace artifacts found at the Wairau Bar burial site in 1939 pointed the same way, for 'their use was not known, nor could it be discovered from the Maori; the artifacts had not been used by the Fleet Maori, apparently'.¹⁶⁴

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As Roger Duff later recorded, after Eyles's discovery of a burial site in 1939, 'No follow-up visit to the Wairau Bar was made by any museum, and I, like others, regarded the find as somewhat of a miracle and one not likely to be repeated.'¹⁶⁵ Early in 1942, however, Eyles located another burial site. W.R.B. Oliver, the Director of the Dominion Museum, who had been contacted by Eyles's stepfather, E. C. Perano, reported to Andersen that there were necklaces and adzes

present. Did Andersen think these artifacts should be acquired for the Museum? Certainly they should be acquired, replied Andersen. The new discoveries, he supposed, were 'leading up to a climax; but someone who knows should be there or the end will be an anti-climax. [There] should be excavation such as is being done, as has for some time, [in] the south we want detail of exactly how the artifacts were found; I mean the positions they occupied, and what was with them.'¹⁶⁶ These remarks indicate sound archaeological sense;¹⁶⁷ but Andersen was particularly concerned that the proximity of human and moa remains should be shown, more or less conclusively, to be either contemporaneous or adventitious, and a professional worker would ensure proper records were kept. A week later a letter from Elvy suggested that a trained archaeologist was indeed attending to Wairau Bar, and the 'relics' were going to a museum - but the museum was the Canterbury Museum, and the archaeologist was Roger Duff; Elvy and Duff had had dinner together the previous night.¹⁶⁸ None of this was particularly welcome news to Andersen: 'Dr Oliver seems to have been too late in getting to work, and the Christchurch people have scored in the matter of the artifacts recently unearthed,' he observed to Elvy on 4 May 1942. By then a third burial site had been uncovered,¹⁶⁹ and Andersen had written to the Canterbury Museum Director, R. A. Falla, with whom he had been associated in ornithological matters in earlier years, 'asking if it will not be possible to publish an account both in the Journal and

in the [Canterbury] Museum Bulletin, for which Mr Duff will no doubt prepare a descriptive note.' As an inducement, he suggested to Falla that the Polynesian Society could share the expenses of providing illustrations.¹⁷⁰

Falla may have known that Andersen had previously rejected papers by Duff, and had treated another communication from Duff roughly, and slightly, and may therefore have appreciated the humorous side to Andersen's enthusiastic pursuit of Duff's Wairau Bar report. The intention, said Falla, was to publish a fully illustrated report in the Records of the Canterbury Museum, a copy of which would be sent to Andersen. It was just possible that the Museum would not be able to afford to publish a number of Records in the current year, in which case the Polynesian Society Journal would have the opportunity of publishing the original article. In the meantime, Falla observed, there had been still further discoveries at the Wairau Bar, and Duff had just left for his third visit to the site.¹⁷¹ In his reply to Falla, Andersen could only say that he looked forward to reading an account of the latest finds, which included, so he understood, a second moa egg. 'These finds are very stimulating, and will make archaeology a favourite study.' Andersen like many others had been caught up in the excitement of the discoveries - four more burial sites were found in May, making a total of seven altogether.¹⁷² The hitherto undistinguished Duff had now become dignified by title: 'Mr Duff will understand my not writing to him direct,' Andersen suggested to Falla, 'and you will have told

him that I approached you as Head, and glad I am to have you there to approach.’ Jimmy Eyles, whose speculative digging had started the whole thing off, had joined the Polynesian Society - and a good recruit he would be, thought Andersen, ‘if he has such men as Mr Elvy and Mr Duff to start him on the right lines.’ And should Falla not be able to issue the report on Wairau in the ordinary way, the Journal could arrange a separate publication with Falla’s ‘imprimatur’ - possibly a suggestion of a joint publication.¹⁷³ Andersen was pleased to tell Elvy in June that ‘Mr Duff is going to let me have an account of the last find for the Journal: he asked me if I had a spare of my spool-artifact paper that I could send to young Eyles, who is apparently waking up to the pleasures of the archaeological chase: fortunately I had, so I sent it’.¹⁷⁴

Andersen obviously enjoyed, however vicariously, the ‘pleasures of the archaeological chase’, but by the beginning of 1943 he was faced with editorial decisions on the place the moa might receive in the Journal. Having heard nothing about D. W. Rutherford’s thesis for more than eighteen months, Skinner raised the matter with Andersen in December 1942. Andersen also had on his desk an article from Roger Duff which was somewhat more extensive than ‘an account of the last find’ at Wairau. Andersen wrote both to Skinner about Rutherford’s thesis and to Duff about his article on the same day, 15 January 1943. The replies were related more than chronologically: Andersen had decided, after what amount of

deliberation we cannot guess, that the (in his view) excessive claims of the archaeologists and the denigration of traditional materials had no place in the Journal - though shorn of undesirable features, the contributions of both Rutherford and Duff would be worth publishing.

Andersen suggested to Skinner that the statistics in the appendices to Rutherford's thesis might be made the basis of a paper, with a much shortened text as commentary on the statistical material. Much of Rutherford's 'attempt to reconcile the figures' was 'labour in vain': for a variety of reasons, the population estimates by early observers were unreliable. Many of the differences between figures given by certain writers arose because 'the Maori was always on the move, visiting relations, staying with them often a year or more. Sometimes a whole village would trek in this way, especially when seasonal occupations were in hand, such as certain fishing, weka-snaring, or wild duck snaring.' But the moa were still bones of fundamental contention. '[T]he writer attributes the large population of the South island to the presence of the moa: no, it was due to the peaceful nature of the then inhabitants. The[y] were Polynesians, as were the Fleet-Maori; but they were neither aristocrats nor fighters as the Fleet-Maori were: they were more of the nature of the Moriori, whom Pomare and his men found such an easy prey.' Rutherford assumed that 'the moa was alive in the middle 1700[s] whereas it was extinc[t] before 1350.' Andersen considered the extinction was 'too far back to

affect the population figures: there was always enough food in Canterbury without the moa, and the available evidence shows that the moa was never seen by the Fleet-Maori, though', and here Andersen indicated his tacit acceptance of certain conclusions drawn from the Wairau bar discoveries, 'the race during whose time it was exterminated was certainly Polynesian.'¹⁷⁵ Andersen enclosed 'the part on the moa taken from my book of Maori place-names recently published' as Skinner might 'have time to read my argument on this subject'. There was, too, a reiteration of the importance and significance of tradition: 'When on p.2 the writer [i.e., Rutherford] speaks of "fervent ancestor-worship" and discounts tradition, he should remember that this worship is common in civilized races too ... and colours the history just as much as native tradition; and that our own history is based on Holinshed and the like who were based on tradition equally valuable with that of the Maori.'¹⁷⁶ Andersen left it to Skinner to recast the thesis; it seems not to have been resubmitted for publication. Despite Andersen's sensible remarks about traditional food supplies in his 1941 letter to Skinner and his reasonable comments about statistics in the January 1943 letter, his version of New Zealand's prehistory, and the place of the moa in it, remained at odds with that of Skinner and his students.

Although he had probably by January 1943 seen Duff's 'Moa-hunters of the Wairau' in the Records of the Canterbury Museum,¹⁷⁷ Andersen does not seem to have appreciated all the ramifications of the stunning discoveries made at Wairau in the first half of 1942. The 'necklet' found in 1939 which Andersen had written up in the Journal in 1940 had been made of whale-ivory; some of those found in 1942 had been fashioned from moa-bones, and the moa eggs had been perforated by human beings, no doubt the kin of those people buried at Wairau.¹⁷⁸ Duff, who had helped in the excavation of some of the burial sites, had seen quite clearly that moa had been of crucial significance to the people who lived on the Wairau Bar. The prehistory of New Zealand, or the archaeological perception of it, had been changed by the discoveries of April and May 1942, and, it seemed, the theories advanced by Skinner and others could now be confirmed and extended. However, as he had done with Skinner, Andersen referred Duff to those sections of Maori Place-names where Andersen had discussed the moa. 'Here you will see that I regard the moa-hunters as Polynesians', he advised Duff, 'and call them the pre-Fleet Maori, as opposed to the Fleet Maori of 1350. The earlier occupants were so very numerous, not because they had the moa to eat - they had fish and fowl in plenty without that - but rather because they were of a peaceable disposition compared with the more aristocratic Fleet-Maori, who also, I believe, introduced cannibalism.' Andersen then squeezed more significance out of the reel. 'Their

culture, as regards artifacts generally was very similar, but the artistry of the earlier comers was inferior to that of the later Fleet-Maori. The later comers were from central Polynesia; the pre-Fleet from marginal Polynesia, hence the reel-artifact which they had in common with the Marquesas.' The effect of this useful point he perhaps spoiled by a little more carefree theorizing: 'I am inclined to think that the whistle-flute (nguru) was brought by the pre-Fleet folk from Peru, and was adopted by the Fleet-folk; hence its being usually in stone or bone; the Peru artifact was stone.'¹⁷⁹ When Duff responded that the Wairau archaeological evidence left no doubt that the early inhabitants had hunted moa, Andersen replied that he had no objection to moa-hunters, but the people were also duck- hunters and tui-hunters. The capitalisation of 'Moa-hunter' was inappropriate: it was not a word like Maori and Moriori.¹⁸⁰ Later that year, when Heinrich von Haast, writing the biography of his father, Julius von Haast, asked Andersen what he thought of Duff's findings, Andersen wrote: 'Duff is in my opinion going altogether too far: he is trying to build up a Moa-hunter culture which he is not justified in doing. That is why I rejected his Moa-hunter paper: I did not want to see it in the Journal; I thought it too extravagant; he builds too much on too little'.¹⁸¹

Andersen's comment to Elvy was that Duff had sent him a paper for the Journal, 'but he made the discovery a text for a dissertation on the moa-hunters, bringing in so much irrelevant matter that I considered the paper no use for the

Journal unless very considerably reduced. I sent it back, but I think so far from reducing it he wishes to extend it for a thesis, so it will not go into the Journal.' (Andersen had now decided, so he intimated to Elvy, that 'it was evidently only a short time before the coming of the Fleet-Maori that the last of the moas stalked the land'.)¹⁸² Judging by Duff's later book, the 'irrelevant matter' probably included a discussion of the unreliability of traditional evidence, and a reconceptualising of Polynesian settlement chronology and culture-relationships in New Zealand. But in the meantime, as far as the Journal was concerned, Andersen had saved the orthodoxy.

Duff's Moa-hunters gained currency nevertheless: his article 'The evolution of native New Zealand culture: Moa-hunters, Morioris, Maoris', was published in the Sydney anthropological journal Mankind in 1947;¹⁸³ and he was in the same year in the process of compiling a book to bring together both his critique of the traditionalist literature and his archaeological research. This book, The Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture, was eventually published in 1950. Besides a demolition of the Smith-Best orthodoxy, Duff aimed one shaft straight at Andersen. 'In reply to a correspondent who asked why these people should be distinguished by the title "Moa-hunter", with a capital "M", rather than duck-hunter or tui-hunter in "lower case",' wrote Duff in his introductory chapter, cleverly avoiding any mention of Andersen by name, 'the obvious answer of course is that

while ducks and tuis were hunted until the arrival of Captain Cook, the moa was possibly exterminated over the greater part of New Zealand by the time of the arrival of the Fleet in the fourteenth century, if not before. An alternative term might have been Swan-hunter; as a large swan (Chenopsis sumnerensis) thrived during the period of the moa, was apparently exterminated then, and was completely forgotten in Maori tradition, although in the common tradition of moas standing on one leg or striking with their wings, in the name pouakai applied to a fabulous bird in the South Island, and in the East Cape term of tarepo for the moa, it is possible to recognise the swan.’¹⁸⁴ Much later Duff was forced to defend his Moa-hunter terminology with some special pleading when academic archaeologists preferred ‘Archaic Phase of New Zealand East Polynesian’ as a label for that culture phase; but by then Andersen, who might have relished the attack on Duff, was long dead.¹⁸⁵

Despite his rejection of Duff’s ‘Moa-hunter’ paper early in 1943, Andersen was not to remain for too much longer undisturbed in his broad trust of the Smith-Best orthodoxy. Peter Buck had decided to expand and rewrite his The Coming of the Maori (1925, revised 1929), rather than allow a reprint; and Andersen reported to Buck early in 1944 that he was happy to await this fuller book, which Buck provisionally entitled ‘The Evolution of Maori Culture’.¹⁸⁶ He did not expect Buck’s revelations a few weeks later. ‘I have been devoting much time to the first

part dealing with traditional history and in doing so,' wrote Buck, 'I have had to work analytically through Te Matorohanga's Kauwae raro [the second volume of the Lore of the Whare-wananga] and Grey's native text of Polynesian Mythology. I have come to the conclusion that Te Matorohanga's material was largely composed of the whare wananga and that Te Whatahoro's additions are composed of traditional rumours and fragments made up into imposing narratives that have no authenticity as regards the age of the completed versions. In many instances the material is not only erroneous, but what is worse, misleading. I think the Moriori stuff is bunkum. Percy Smith and Elsdon Best were influenced by the wealth of extra detail and it is just that extra detail that reveals the errors and pretentiousness of the whole work. The details of long past events in Hawaiki had to be made up in New Zealand. Similarly the longer the genealogy, the more the generations that have to be added at the far end.'¹⁸⁷

Grey's book also contained, wrote Buck, 'much interpolated matter' and the English translation not only did not adhere to the original but left out parts the translator could not translate or avoided in case it might be 'unpleasant to the Pakeha reader'. 'I am drawing attention to the various errors in the traditions I deal with', said Buck, 'for I think it now time that we should regard some of these

traditions as literary compositions which in their entirety are not authentic records of historical events. There is too much "Post hoc propter hoc."¹⁸⁸

Andersen took this as much in his stride as he could. 'I like your letter of 24 March, sceptical as it is in regard to some of the old ones', he began his reply to Buck, with a kind of forced approval. 'I myself was inclined to doubt when in the story of Whatonga and Toi' messages were sent by the 'wharauoa between Tahiti and New Zealand.' And he had found that Grey had 'varied his Maori text' in the 'story of Tutanekai and Hinemoa'. Further, there were discrepancies (which he detailed) between Grey's Maori and English versions of 'his Kupe story'. This reminded Andersen that Buck in one of his books had said 'that Maui never was in New Zealand. Aue! and I believe that he was; that he landed in the south, went north overland, and from the Kaikouras looked north one morning and beheld the North island - drew it out of the sea for the first time I wish I knew the Maori language: there is so much recorded in that language that one must read before the fitful light that reveals glimpses of the past may be less fitful.'¹⁸⁹

Aue! indeed. From his faith in Buck's ability he had never deviated, and he did not express doubt in his letter of April 1944 that Buck was correct. Certainly, he raised the question about Maui, which Buck had addressed in another work; but his comments on the Lore and Grey indicate, however reluctantly, that his own doubts on a few details were conformable with Buck's more general critique. In

the end, it was Buck's knowledge of the language which Andersen could not gainsay - 'I wish I knew the Maori language'. And the Moriori were now dead (though they lived on in the popular imagination, in letters to the newspapers, in school textbooks and classroom lessons), even if Williams's doubts in 1937 and Duff's archaeological work at Wairau had already caused Andersen to transmute them into the 'pre-Fleet Maori'.

Buck's book was published as The Coming of the Maori in 1949: Andersen's personal copy bears few annotations and not much sign that he used it extensively. Perhaps by then Andersen had accepted the unreliability of volume 2 of the Lore, or possibly he did not care.¹⁹⁰ Buck's marvellous book is out, and I hasten to congratulate you on your part in it', Duff wrote to Jock McEwen; 'it makes the perusal of all previous books of only antiquarian or historic interest Among so many admirable features I was particularly struck with his critical attitude towards Maori tradition. He has said what many of us have wanted to say for years, and has the mana to say it and be heard. It will be a severe blow to the "Maori tradition is sacred" school Ironically enough much of what Peter says on the early period was offered by me to Andersen for the Journal in 1943 or 1944. Not realizing that Wairau had completely unmasked the Whatahoro version of the Muruiwi, Andersen replied in querulous fashion, so that I withdrew the article and decided to write the Moa-hunter monograph which has been with the printers for

two years, but may appear in 1950? I have the mixed experience of reading in Buck the main outline of the settlement of New Zealand as worked out by myself probably before Peter started to write.' Duff told McEwen it was 'most important' that Andersen 'not be allowed to review Buck' since it should be assessed 'as a contribution to Maori culture history'.¹⁹¹ Duff offered names of possible reviewers to McEwen. What Duff called the "'Maori tradition is sacred" school' was now excluded from the discursive network of which Duff himself approved.

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Though Andersen was able to keep the most direct attack upon the Smith-Best orthodoxy of the Polynesian settlement of New Zealand out of the Journal of the Polynesian Society after H. D. Skinner's challenge in 1933, he was not able to maintain the orthodoxy unaltered in the face of Herbert Williams's carefully rehearsed doubts about 'The Maruiwi Myth' and the cumulative evidence contributed by various archaeologists and accepted for publication in the Journal by Andersen. What he regarded as necessary editorial caution lest an hypothesis be sanctified by print, seems in retrospect to have been thoroughly mixed with

personal loyalty (to Best) and personal antagonism (towards Skinner and Duff), to the extent that he was at times almost malevolent in his rejection of revisionist views. Andersen did not show the same caution when contributors supplemented or enlarged aspects of the Smith-Best orthodoxy. His enthusiastic reception of 'evidence' that the monotheism Best had discerned among Maori was also to be found in other traditional societies of Polynesia forms a kind of counterpoint to his treatment of Skinner and his acolytes. Andersen accepted the capitalisation of deities more readily than that of moa-hunters.

Though there were a few slight references to a deity called Io in records published by Pakeha in the nineteenth century, it was not until early in the twentieth century that Elsdon Best, working upon traditions collected from the Tuhoe and on an account of Io given in the Lore of the Whare-wānanga, placed information about Io into an evolutionist perspective and postulated the development of monotheism among Maori people. Best read widely in the burgeoning anthropological literature on religious beliefs, and realized that evidence of monotheism among 'primitive' peoples was significant as empirical evidence for the theoretical validity of evolutionist anthropology (as important, we might say, as the discovery of a 'missing link' between apes and homo sapiens would be for Darwinian biology).¹⁹² Despite the occasional sceptical voice,

western anthropologists were indeed intrigued by Best's findings.¹⁹³ His early reports were gradually elaborated in Some Aspects of Maori Myth and Religion (1922), The Maori (1924), and the first volume of Maori Religion and Mythology (also 1924). A succinct version of monotheism among Maori was given currency by a section in the popular survey, The Maori As He Was (1924).¹⁹⁴ While there was a tendency for Pakeha ethnologists, and for Pakeha generally who took an armchair interest in Maori, to regard this evidence of the development of monotheism in Aotearoa as further proof of the particular genius of Maori people in contrast to other 'primitive' peoples, including other Polynesians, there was also, for a variety of scholarly and personal motives, some enthusiasm among certain European scholars and casual enquirers elsewhere in the Pacific for finding traces of Io, and perhaps signs of monotheism, in other Polynesian localities.

Before he began to acquire a taste for Maori subjects, and at any rate initially quite apart from his interest in Maori subjects, Andersen had developed an intellectual and philosophical concern about matters of religious belief and practice. The origins of his enquiries into the larger religious questions are unclear, but he seems to have been dissatisfied with conventional religiosity (he was brought up an Anglican, sang in a church choir when a child, when he was a regular church-goer, and appears to have maintained some contact, if intermittent, with the Anglican church well into adult life), and to have felt quite keenly and

personally the conflict between Science and Religion. His The Lamp of Psyche (1908) is one hundred pages of verse (including some explanatory notes) which attempts to synthesize the 'New Theology', scientific knowledge, and human perceptions of the beautiful and the infinite. The result is obscure, both as poetry and as cosmology, and perhaps suggests a kind of evolutionary deism: but his seriousness of purpose is very evident. The Lamp of Psyche had earlier taken the form of verse aphorisms, called 'The Gospel of Evolution'.

'The Gospel of Evolution' was published in the Canterbury Times in 1904, during a period when Elsdon Best contributed a good number of articles to the same newspaper on Maori subjects, including Maori religion. Around the same period, there was a great deal of interest within the inner circles of the Polynesian Society in the notion of a monotheistic Supreme Being among the Maori pantheon. Best was enquiring about the matter among Tuhoe; Edward Tregear wrote a little about Io in 1904, drawing upon John White's Ancient History of the Maori; W. E. Gudgeon in 1905 speculated in the Polynesian Society Journal about a 'purely abstract ... conception of the Deity' which attributed 'the existence of all things to the great god "Io"'; and a 'Geneological Line from Io' was attached to an article by Best also published in 1905.¹⁹⁵ It is not impossible that Andersen read materials which referred to Io; but if he did, monotheism made no great impression, for Io does not appear with Maui and Tawhaki in the Lamp of Psyche, where he would as

a Supreme Being have served Andersen's purposes very well; and the two mentions of Io in Maori Life in Ao-tea (1907) are very brief and apparently drawn from White's Ancient History of the Maori, though one of these references is, judging from the appearance of the fair copy of the manuscript made for the typesetter, an afterthought.¹⁹⁶

By contrast, and as an indication of Best's influence on Andersen, Io receives extensive treatment in Myths & Legends of the Polynesians (1928): chapter XI, 'Io, Tangaroa, and Creation', used material from volume one of the Lore of the Whare-wānanga, together with information from Best's writings; and Andersen added his own gloss on the similarities between Io and Iao, 'the trilateral form of the name Jehovah'. His speculations that 'the Maori deity Io' was 'the same as the circum-Levantine Iao' drew some fire from overseas reviewers, though Andersen did not dismiss the prospect that the names had 'come into existence independently'.¹⁹⁷ Near the start of the last chapter of Myths & Legends, 'Religious Observances', Andersen summarized, rather neatly, Best's argument for the anthropological significance of Io in the evolutionary scheme. 'The direct worship of the gods had not fully developed, but the evolution was in progress. The fact, however, that in most parts of the Pacific a brotherhood of three or four principal gods had come to be recognized, while the innumerable minor deities of the Polynesian pantheon still existed, shows that the thoughts of these Stone Age

poets and philosophers were turning towards monotheism; while the cult of Io, seen clearly in Maori philosophy, and more dimly here and there elsewhere in the wide Pacific, shows that the idea, the ideal, of monotheism had already taken root. The Polynesian was on the path that was trodden by the man of the Bronze and Iron Ages Given the advantages of metals and a temperate climate the Samoan and the Maori especially have shown that the Polynesian can in a generation step from the Stone Age to the Iron Age and hold his own, in energy and in intellect.'¹⁹⁸

In an earlier passage of Myths & Legends, Andersen had suggested that belief in Io indicated the superior intellectual qualities of Maori compared to other Polynesians: 'Most of the information regarding the belief in Io, the Supreme Being, has been derived from Maori sources. It may be that the Maori formed the more virile division of the Polynesian stock, or it may be that his superior virility is the result of his leaving the semi-tropical regions and settling in the temperate islands of New Zealand. Be the reason what it may, the Maori is usually regarded as the best developed, mentally, of the Polynesian race.'¹⁹⁹ He did, however, list the manifestations of Io elsewhere in Polynesia: 'As the name of the Supreme Being, the word occurs in Tahiti in the forms Iho-iho and Io-i-te-vahi-naro. In Hawaiian io means "truth," iu "to dwell in some sacred place," and Iao is the name of Jupiter the planet as the morning star. In Mangaia io is the name commonly used for a god, Mоторo being called Te Io ora (the Living God), because he would

not permit his worshippers to be offered in sacrifice.’ Andersen added a quotation from the missionary, W. W. Gill, that it was most appropriate that the Mangaiians had transferred ‘the name Io ora, or The-living-god, to Jehovah.’²⁰⁰ To someone less diverted by Io and more sceptical of phonological similarities, the comment by Gill might have sounded warning bells, but Andersen was not looking for counter-arguments.

Best’s accounts of Io published in the 1920s not only captivated Andersen, but, like all of Best’s work, provided food for thought for other ethnologists in the Pacific, and no doubt stimulated the already considerable interest in traditional religious beliefs. In 1927, E. S. Craighill Handy’s Polynesian Religion was published by the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. Handy included a few references to the invocation of Io in Hawaiian religious rituals; and though Myths & Legends was written before the publication of Polynesian Religion, Andersen managed to insert Handy’s Polynesian Religion into his appended list of ‘Authorities’, with the annotation, ‘Note. This book is an excellent résumé of the subject.’²⁰¹ There was subsequent interest, too, in an Hawaiian newspaper article of 1931 which discussed Io-lani ‘as a divinity of great sanctity’.²⁰²

Doubts about the pre-European provenance of the New Zealand Io had been expressed from time to time. T. G. Hammond and Herbert Williams were uneasy about possible Christian influence in the materials from which the Lore of the

Whare-wānanga had been drawn; A. C. Haddon, the British anthropologist, had similar questions; and in 1933, a visitor to the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Raymond Firth, a New Zealander who had been Buck's protégé and then taken a doctorate in London, expressed his doubts to a young ethnologist at the Bishop Museum, Kenneth P. Emory. Emory himself had been watching with increasing concern as a colleague, J. Frank Stimson, recorded evidence of Io, as Kio or Kiho, in the Tuamotu Islands.²⁰³ Apart from A. C. Haddon's brief comment before the Great War, the worriers had made their views known to colleagues and associates in conversation and by letter rather than in print. However, Emory had placed in print certain broad issues in the course of a review of Histoire des Religions de l'Archipel Paumotu by A.-C. Eugene Caillot. Caillot had carried out fieldwork in the Tuamotus before the Great War, publishing Mythes, Legendes et Traditions des Polynesiens (1914). The Histoire (1932) was a belated and unexpected supplement, which Emory was happy to suggest would, despite its usefulness, be largely overtaken by the eventual publication of materials collected on the recent Bishop Museum expedition. 'Caillot, in Mythes, Legendes, et Traditions was a little doubtful, but now freely admits', wrote Emory, 'that the accounts of creation he collected are contaminated by Christian influence. "For myself [Emory quoted Caillot as saying], I regard this cosmogony as a fragment altered by the Paumotuans who now have a desire to bring into accord with Christian ideas,

which the missionaries have scattered among them, that which remains of their ancient mythology." Indeed, this desire is of long standing', continued Emory, for various traditions 'we found under [the] date of 1853 when, it [was] stated, it was first written down by a committee of native sages ... [were] obviously for the purpose of saving what could be saved of their ancient lore by recasting it in a Biblical mould.' While some Tuamotuans believed this account contained their ancient teachings, 'many of the older natives are well aware of its most glaring inconsistencies'.²⁰⁴ Emory's review was published in the *Polynesian Society Journal* in 1933, when Andersen perhaps had his mind on his dispute with Skinner; but the criticism of those who accepted as traditional knowledge what had been influenced by Christian ideas was there for Andersen to read, and even if he did not appreciate in 1933 that it was an oblique shaft at Stimson, it is not easy to understand why Emory's review did not take on a more obvious significance when Frank Stimson's bulletins became available several months later.

Perhaps Andersen sometimes heard more direct criticisms of Best's views on Io. Certainly he did so in May 1934, when he received a letter from Norman Potts, a lawyer practising in Opotiki: they had corresponded previously over Polynesian Society matters. Potts, a longtime member of the Polynesian Society, had been re-reading Best's *The Maori*. 'I used to correspond with Mr Best on occasion, have read practically all he has written, and ended with a great admiration

for him', he told Andersen. 'With him I always feel one is on firm ground among shifting sands. I accept all he says as gospel. The exception to this is his doctrine of Io in its general aspects. I simply cannot swallow it.' Best had said that the cult was 'highly esoteric ... confined to a limited number of high-class Tohunga, that the cult amounted to a developing monotheism, that the Maori had developed an exceedingly high standard of philosophy to be able to attain to this doctrine &c. &c. He implies that the Natives were drinking at a fountain common - philosophically - to highly civilized peoples.' Potts could not 'credit a word of all this'. He thought Io 'indistinguishable from other atua, except that he was entirely beneficent and non-malignant.' The local 'Natives' knew of Io, but 'he seems to be only a name in a cloud of obscurity.' Potts took it that Andersen had been 'intimately associated' with Best, and that both he and Best 'would both be keenly interested in the particular cult.' Did Andersen accept Best's doctrine in toto? What were Andersen's own conclusions? And he assumed Andersen to be in close contact with 'Ngata, Balneavis, and other Native political leaders' - he would like to hear from Andersen about 'their attitude in the matter'. 'I cannot see that the matter reaches any high metaphysical plane', Potts added in a postscript. Best, he thought, had been 'influenced by matter foreign to the subject. He spells Supreme

Being with capitals. This alone shows that he was influenced by extraneous ideas.’²⁰⁵

Since Potts raised few substantive issues in his letter, it is possible Andersen did not catch the drift of Potts’s questions. The Opotiki lawyer apparently considered Best’s deductions were unsustainable on the slight evidence he offered. Andersen either ignored or, more probably, misunderstood Potts’s point. ‘I have often talked with Mr Best on the subject’, Andersen replied, ‘and he used to say that had he come earlier he would have got far more of the philosophy’. Potts himself, thought Andersen, was ‘not in the least likely to get anything from local Maoris; certain sides of esoteric knowledge were confined to very few, and of those very few but a small number has come in contact with Europeans sufficiently intimately even to disclose they knew anything out of the ordinary.’ He did not think Best had ‘exaggerated the occasional development of Maori mentality in his writings.’ It was necessary to remember that intellects like Plato and Bacon were ‘isolated, but shew the high-water mark to which it is possible for the intellect to attain’, though the average was nowhere near it: ‘any movement must be judged by its highest developments; it has potentiality for that if it has been once attained.’ He referred Potts to his own discussion of Io and the appearance of the name in other parts of the world as set out in Myths & Legends. Furthermore, ‘comparatively recently confirmatory evidence of Mr Best’s

conclusions (if they are conclusions) have been obtained from the far Tuamotus, published in a bulletin a few months ago by the Bishop Museum.²⁰⁶

The bulletin (or bulletins) to which Andersen referred were the work of Stimson, whose earlier, neatly-typed contributions to the Journal had been accepted by Andersen with great enthusiasm. Herbert Williams, though not uncritical of Stimson's linguistic capacity and, like Andersen, reluctant to approve Stimson's predilection for diacritical notations, was impressed by his work as well; and Andersen passed on the bulletins to Williams for review in the Journal. Bulletin 127 was Legends of Maui and Tahaki, collected on the island of Lagatau; bulletins 103, Tuamotuan Religion, and 111, The Cult of Kiho Tumu, were 'native texts' collected on various Tuamotu islands, published with translations and explanatory notes. The texts disclosed, Williams wrote in his review, 'an ancient cult of the deity known in the Tuamotu islands as Kiho or Kio, whom Mr Stimson identifies, with apparent justification, with the Maori Io; the parallels he adduces being very striking'. Despite the very cautious qualifications, Williams was clearly intrigued by this material: 'The subject of the cult in general is not further elucidated, but the copious notes are often very suggestive.'²⁰⁷

Before the review was printed, a letter arrived in Wellington from Emory. Stimson, he reported, was about to make his first visit to the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and 'I hope Stimson's coming here will enable him to settle my grave

doubts over the esoteric cult of a supreme god named Kio or Kiho in the Tuamotus. I would not accord his "discoveries" under this head too hearty a welcome until the whole matter has been checked rather carefully. It begins to look as if his enthusiasm over finding close parallels between the Tuamotuan and Maori accounts of creation has been contagious with his informants My doubts, in this matter, I want kept out of print until they are confirmed or dissolved, but I do not wish it believed that silence on my part means that I am standing back of Stimson's interpretations.' Andersen's response reveals a struggle between his desire to give due weight to the warning of Emory, whom he had met and whose work he respected, and his predilection for the views Stimson was espousing. 'I was rather perturbed to hear that there may be doubt about the Kio (Kiho) information', Andersen told Emory; 'the bulletins concerning the cult were always so good, and the material so interesting.' He had on hand a review of the bulletins by Williams but thought he had better hold it in the meantime. He would write to Williams 'and let him know what you say so that he may consider his position as a reviewer', but nothing Emory had said in his letter would be published. '[T]ime will show', added Andersen, 'how far Stimson will have to modify his findings, if he has to modify them.'²⁰⁸

Andersen then wrote to Williams, quoting the relevant part of Emory's letter, but before he could post a letter to Williams, the Bishop, who was in

Wellington, called in at the Turnbull Library. Williams considered what Emory had said, 're-read his review, & said it might as well go on; no need to modify it or recant it.'²⁰⁹ Evidently Williams felt he had in the review sufficiently qualified his approbation of Stimson's work. Perhaps Andersen, on the other hand, 'read' Williams's review with less emphasis on the reservations. This would explain his enthusiasm for Stimson's next offering, discussed below. Emory's caution at any rate does not seem to have raised acute larger questions for Andersen, and Williams apparently did not discourage Andersen's interest: 'I was glad to hear you speak with such conviction about Io', Andersen told Williams in February 1937; 'the confidence I have in the existence has long inspired me.'²¹⁰

Early in 1937, Stimson sent Andersen another paper for the Journal. The author was a little concerned that some of the subject matter might make it unsuitable for publication: Stimson had retranslated some Easter Island material collected many years before by another ethnologist, and there were in his retranslation references to copulation between the gods. '[C]ould we not print it separately as part of the Journal but not included therein?' Andersen asked Herbert Williams, to whom he turned for advice. Andersen recalled the 'whirling letter ... from one of our lady subscribers' (Blanche Halcombe) after the publication of an article by Ian Hogbin. 'We might print it as a supplement'. He was perhaps more worried by Stimson's use of diacritical marks - 'shorts, longs, intermediates of two

kinds, etc. etc.', but guessed that 'if we take and print his paper in toto (and it is worth it) he will not boggle at the dropping of some of his diacriticals and will also be more inclined to think of us in the future.' The paper was lengthy, too, '53 pages of small type[script]', of which ten were introduction, eight the text and translations, and the remaining twenty-six contained notes. 'Some may say what a small amount of bread to this intolerable quantity of sack; but the notes please me as much as any of it - almost', Andersen told Williams; 'there's natural history, philology, quasi-interpretation which, even if incorrect, shows the man's reasoning and is therefore more easily rebutted if rebuttal is possible. It is a scholarly paper, and we should take it readily.' The greatest attraction was probably the subject matter: 'The paper fascinated me exceedingly; it is mainly on Kiho (Io)'.²¹¹

Within a few days, Andersen's excitement had abated. 'I had a note from Stimson sending a Kio chant from Easter Island, which looked most attractive', Andersen told Ernest Beaglehole, 'until I got a note (today) from Emory which "throws ominous conjecture on the whole success". You have been working with both, so I should feel glad to talk over matters.'²¹² About the same time he received a second paper from Stimson which provided evidence of Kio in the Tuamotu Islands. Stimson's two papers, if his materials were genuine and his deductions accurate, confirmed for other parts of Polynesia the discoveries Best had recorded among Maori, and added considerable weight to the proposition that

the Polynesians were progressing (from an evolutionist point of view) towards monotheism. But Stimson's reliability had been called into question by one of his colleagues.

The matter of the Easter Island paper, and in a sense the broader issue of Stimson's expertise, was resolved by a letter to Andersen from Buck. The letter was headed 'Confidential', and began with a discussion of financial details. 'What I have to say to you now', Buck continued, 'is strictly confidential. Stimson is a member of the Bishop Museum staff and I would not like him to think that I went behind his back. The fault is really my own for allowing stress of other work to interfere with my writing to Stimson before this.' Stimson had sent Buck a copy of his Easter Island paper, and Buck had been over it with the Easter Island expert, Alfred Métraux. Stimson's interpretations were wrong in a number of instances; he had referred to objects which did not exist on Easter Island; some words had a different local meaning than those in the dialects in which Stimson worked; Stimson had changed words he did not know; he did not work off Thomson's original text but off a typescript copy which included typing errors.²¹³

Buck probably guessed that Andersen would have found the subject matter highly attractive, and the linguistic detail extremely persuasive, for he then provided a detailed example of 'mistaken meanings', so that Andersen could be in no doubt about the expertise of Stimson's critics. Thomson's text had read, 'A

hahamea; Ki ai kiroto Hohoio Kapu te Takure'. Stimson had made this 'A Ha-a-Mea ki ai ki roto Hio ka pu te Takaure', which he translated as 'The god Ha-a-Mea, called Sacredness-of-the-unmentionable-god, copulated with the god Hio begetting the Bee'. Métraux's version was 'A hahamea ki ai ki roto hohio ka pu te takaure', meaning, 'Stinging flies copulating with a swarm of flies produced the common fly'. 'The words hahamea (stinging flies), hohio (swarm of flies), and takaure (common fly) are in current speech in Easter Island,' Buck explained to Andersen, 'as are also the two kinds of flies and the swarms. Thus you see the God Ha-a-Mea, called Sacredness-of-the-unmentionable-god, disappears and the god or mountain of labour produces a ridiculous fly.' 'Ki ai ki roto' in any case did not always mean copulate. 'The whole chant is a simple procreative composition in which insects, plants and fish are personified There is nothing erotic about it'. Buck said he would write to Stimson, advising him to 'withhold' the paper. 'If the Journal publishes the paper,' Buck warned Andersen, 'it will repeat the mistake it made with the translation of the Easter Island tablets by that Sydney doctor some years ago.'²¹⁴

The article on the 'Easter Island tablets by that Sydney doctor' was the same one Andersen had a few years earlier referred to in a letter to Skinner when explaining his need to be careful about what was put into print, so Buck's mention

of the article was timely;²¹⁵ and although Buck very occasionally showed a slight testiness in letters to Andersen (as when Andersen rejected a paper by the aged Hawaiian scholar W. D. Westervelt), this communication was unusually sharp.²¹⁶ The impact of Buck's letter was compounded by another letter from Emory, warning that Stimson's material on Kio in the Tuamotu Islands was not reliable. 'My own observations and studies have opened my eyes to the fact that Stimson is grafting his ideas onto the Tuamotuans', wrote Emory. 'I had in mind an article But we have so much material to work up, that Buck does not want me to stop for an article which might stir up a controversy taking more time than it deserved and leading to ill-feelings. The question will be only met when my material comes out in print, and then, if necessary, I can do a paper giving my reasons for abandoning all faith in an esoteric cult of a supreme god named Kio or Kiho. For the time being, I just want my colleagues to know of my unbelief and to assure them it is not based on a desire to injure Stimson'.²¹⁷

Andersen had been reluctant to pass up the Stimson materials. He had written to Emory, apparently in answer to his earlier letter, and probably before he received Buck's letter of 4 May, 'I was much disturbed by what you say of the Kio business; I have two of Stimson's papers; but what they contain is so good that I felt apprehensive it was too good, and have been in communication with Bishop Williams, and we shall have to consider long and deeply before we admit into the

Journal anything we may later wish out of it Whilst it seems late in the day to learn anything new, still, truth can lie perdu for so long that one never knows; but the exact preservation of the original texts, whether understood or not, is the great thing: understanding may come, as it has in several instances: but if the originals are altered, it may never come.’²¹⁸ The letter from Buck, and Emory’s second letter, settled any remaining doubts: the Stimson papers would not be published. ‘[B]efore I send him back his papers & make heavy his hurt I should like you to glance over them, so excellently set out and so complex and so beautiful to behold’, he wrote to Williams. Perhaps Williams might find something ‘palpably forced & peccable’ in the linguistics which would give Andersen an excuse to reject the papers (he was intending to maintain in his reply to Stimson the confidentiality Buck had requested). ‘I do wish Stimson had not succumbed to the lure of the fanciful and spectacular.’²¹⁹ In the end, the editor had to return the papers to Stimson with a rather vague and evasive letter declining publication. Williams, for his part, had in the meantime encouraged Emory to place his own materials on record. When Andersen wrote to Emory that he had rejected Stimson’s papers, he commented that ‘It was like overcoming an infatuation’.²²⁰

Andersen’s regret that Stimson’s work (as he told Williams) ‘though perhaps beautiful to behold was nevertheless a snare and a delusion’,²²¹ echoes in a letter to Emory in January 1938, when he accepted for publication Emory’s article,

‘The Tahitian Account of Creation By Mare’: ‘I like your paper, even if it discounts somewhat some of the things we have lately been told concerning the cult of Io: it still contains much that is remarkable.’²²² Emory dealt directly with ‘The Tuamotuan Creation Chants by Paiore’ and the misinterpretations of Stimson (and of J. L. Young and F. W. Christian even earlier) in the January 1939 issue of the *Polynesian Society Journal*. His conclusion, it is true, left a faint doubt: Emory advised ‘utmost caution’ in giving credence to the creation accounts of certain Tuamotuans.²²³ But no one reading Emory’s article, and his careful endnotes, with even a half-open mind could henceforth accept some of Stimson’s earlier claims. Nor could Andersen himself. E. S. Craighill Handy’s ‘Perspectives in Polynesian Religion’, published in the *Journal* in 1940, and republished in *Polynesian Anthropological Studies* (1941), incorporated a brief discussion of ‘The cult of Io or Iho as Supreme Being’ - which Handy in any case believed likely to have been ‘transported’ (i.e., diffused) rather than generated locally. As well as Io in New Zealand, noted Handy, ‘The name has recently been identified as Kiho in the Tuamotus, and as Io in Hawaii.’ In the Tuamotus, he added, ‘it is by no means certain where and how ethnologists will ultimately classify Kiho’, while he also admitted that ‘There is no justification in the present state of our knowledge for placing Io in the role of Supreme Being at the head of a pan-Polynesian pantheon,

as I did in my Polynesian Religion in 1927.'²²⁴ Andersen included his own editorial note, effectively strengthening the question mark about Kiho: 'Readers of the foregoing note will not need to be reminded that the existence of the Kiho cult in the Tuamotus is seriously in question, and that several investigative papers on the subject by Kenneth P. Emory have recently been appearing in this Journal.'²²⁵

Io survived as the Supreme Being in New Zealand, nevertheless; of that there was no need to doubt. Andersen himself contributed an article on 'Maori Religion' to the 1940 Journal as one of the special articles, later republished in Polynesian Anthropological Studies, where it sits rather oddly as a contribution by an amateur ethnologist in a volume which otherwise displays the diverse talents of professional anthropologists. 'Maori Religion' is personal, anecdotal, eclectic in its use of materials, a typical piece of Anderseniana, with some very lengthy quotations from J. L. Campbell, T. W. Gudgeon, F. E. Maning, J. W. Stack and Elsdon Best (and with brief asides from Schiller, the Bible, the Oxford English Dictionary, Milton, and Shakespeare's Hamlet).²²⁶ Towards the end of the article, Io gets a significant amount of space; Andersen quotes in this part of his exposition passages from Best's Maori Religion and Mythology (1924), including a paragraph in which Best argues forcefully that any 'thought that this concept of a Supreme Being is but a result of Christian teachings ... must be abandoned.' 'Something further concerning Io will no doubt be collected in New Zealand',

writes Andersen; 'something of the jealously, and rightly, guarded and treasured manuscript may yet be placed on record to supplement the little we know of this superior cult of Io', which he himself regarded as 'the crowning achievement of Maori and Polynesian philosophic thought and religion.'²²⁷

The quotation of Best's arguments against a Christian influence in the material on Io in the Lore of the Whare-wānanga provides circumstantial evidence that the careful enquiry by Emory into the provenance of the Tuamotu records caused Andersen to reconsider, at least briefly, even momentarily, the reliability of the Io tradition; and in his endnotes to 'Maori Religion' he also quoted a considerable passage from Percy Smith's introduction to the Lore of the Whare-wānanga, including the sentence, 'It will thus be seen that [the 'priests' Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu who supplied the traditions] had been taught in the Maori College long before the influence of Christianity reached their tribe - indeed, it was not till about the end of the thirties of last century, that the tribes of Wairarapa had Christian teachers among them'.²²⁸ When Buck a few years later, in his letter of 1944 in which he referred to the 'Mori stuff' as 'bunkum', raised questions about the authenticity of the Lore, his comments were confined to the second volume, Kauwae raro 'or "Things Terrestrial"', probably because he had not yet reached the point in his research which required closer examination of the first volume, 'Things Celestial'. Thus, although the once bright prospect of locating Io

as a Supreme Being in several parts of Polynesia had faded, and largely fallen into ruins (Handy had by 1941 further limited the importance of Io in Hawaii and Emory then whittled away even those modest claims still further),²²⁹ the Io of Aotearoa lived on, undisturbed, in the pages of the Polynesian Society Journal, as reiterated by Andersen in 1940.

Only a few years after Andersen had given up the editorship of the Journal, and lost his broad influence in the affairs of the Society, did Io come under the scholarly microscope. The final section of Buck's expanded The Coming of the Maori (1949) dealt with Religion, and the very last chapter, 'The Creation of the Creators', began with the statement, 'The discovery of a supreme god named Io in New Zealand was a surprise to Maori and pakeha alike.' Though there had been references to Io earlier, 'the full extent of his claims was not fully realized until an extraordinary amount of detail' had been provided by Smith and Best 'from the Matorohanga manuscripts'. Buck noted the doubts of others, and that 'The New Zealand discovery ... led to a search for the same and similar creators in Polynesia, and it is amazing what a mass of secret information was alleged to have been locked away in the minds of cautious Christians who but awaited the inquiry of sympathetic seekers to unloose the floodgates of memory.'²³⁰ Buck then sketched the relationships of the principal deities in various archipelagos, before returning to Io. He disposed of John White's brief references with the dry comment that 'White

supported a page of a god Io with three pages of twitches (io), but capitalization does not convert a muscular twitch into a god.'²³¹ Handy and Stimson were summarily but more kindly dismissed. Sifting the New Zealand remainder, Buck identified the interpolations from Genesis, and Io became 'a local development in New Zealand' which 'apparently originated with the Ngati Kahungunu tribe, from which rumours of the cult spread to a few other tribes.'²³² Such a conclusion did not by any means extinguish Io, but it meant a considerable contraction of the claims developed by Smith and Best. Another scholar, J. Prytz Johansen, came to not dissimilar conclusions in the 1950s.²³³ What Andersen thought of Buck's critique in the last few pages of The Coming of the Maori is not recorded.

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Even if he thought it Andersen's 'sole virtue', H. D. Skinner allowed that he 'carries out the routine business faithfully and gets the journal published on the due date'.²³⁴ Buck was more fulsome. 'I have the greatest opinion of your ability and knowledge in editorial matters', he wrote to Andersen in October 1943, 'and the greatest admiration of your many years of unselfish devotion to the task of bringing out the Journal. No one could have done better work.'²³⁵ Certainly there

was an annual honorarium, but in terms of the time and effort given by Andersen it was slight recompense. There were other, more important rewards than the honorarium. In international circles, much prestige attached to the editorship of the Journal, one of the longest-surviving anthropological journals, sets of which, as Skinner remarked, were 'to be found in most of the important reference libraries in the world'.²³⁶ In New Zealand, the Polynesian Society was widely recognised as a major intellectual and cultural institution, if a somewhat mysterious one to outsiders. The award by the Royal Society of New Zealand of the highly-prized Hector Medal to Andersen in 1944 for his achievements in ethnology was also a measure of the esteem in which the Polynesian Society was held, though Andersen saw it as a personal accolade.²³⁷ In fact, hard as he worked for the Society, he probably derived more prestige from his association with the Society than he brought to it. While scholarly critics were sometimes unimpressed, or even outraged, by his editorial sins of commission and omission, the less well-informed were duly respectful towards the learned editor of a learned journal. Andersen's influence within the Pakeha community generally as an expert on Maori subjects, discussed in the next chapter, was greatly assisted by his position in the Polynesian Society.

The editorship of the Journal of the Polynesian Society also provided Andersen with a certain amount of control over the textual production of the Maori,

since he was able to use his editorial powers (even, in the view of his critics, misuse them) to indulge his own intellectual fancies, and to shape patterns of information and therefore knowledge. He believed, as did those who pushed theories with which he disagreed, that 'truth' was the imperative. In fact, editors, readers, writers, arm-chair ethnologists and scientific archaeologists alike fashioned accounts of Maori and of other peoples of the Pacific into philosophical and ideological conformations which they found congenial. In a sense, the Journal provided an arena where Europeans could make intellectual playthings (to use Ranginui Walker's word) of the beliefs, rituals and artifacts of traditional Oceanic societies. Andersen's concern to defend the Smith-Best orthodoxy, to resist the revisions of Skinner and Duff, and to maintain, and expand if possible, the hypothesis of Polynesian monotheism, was based not just upon his reading of the evidence and his personal and intellectual loyalty to Best (though these were significant considerations), but also upon his need for myths which served his own purposes. Best's 'The Maori as he was' (to use the title of one of his books) was the Maori as Best wanted him to be; and it was likewise with Andersen, and indeed with Andersen's critics. Andersen considered that some of the archaeologists devalued Maori and their culture by doubting the reliability of Maori traditional history. Certainly it was more convenient for Andersen to place emphasis upon Maori traditional history, since such history was readily available to

him in White's Ancient History of the Maori, and in the Lore of the Whare-wānanga, and other volumes, while he had neither archaeological expertise nor easy access to archaeological sites. But, more importantly, he privileged Maori traditional history as evidence because such materials fitted into, and helped to form, his perception of what Maori culture was, or ought to have been. The learned articles in the Polynesian Society Journal thus turned the subjects of the discourse into objects, textual artifacts manufactured by Europeans; and the debates were less about 'truth' (and facts) than about competing European mythologies, decked out with the appurtenances of scholarship. What is more, Andersen's 'unselfish devotion' notwithstanding, the continuance of the Journal, and therefore of the Polynesian Society, rested in part upon funds provided from scarce Maori resources. When Ngata in 1923 had initiated Maori moral and financial support for the Society, he had envisaged the publication in the Journal of materials which would be of benefit to the Maori people. As we will see in Chapter 6, Ngata eventually expressed his opinion that at least some of what had been published in the Journal while Andersen was editor was 'rubbish'. From Ngata's perspective, the Journal remained a Pakeha institution. Andersen believed the Journal served Polynesian, and Maori, causes. The subsidy supplied by the Maori Purposes Fund Board no doubt confirmed him in this belief.