

***The Colonial Reinvention of the Hei Tiki:
Pounamu, Knowledge and Empire, 1860s-1940s***

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Abstract

This thesis examines the reinvention of pounamu hei tiki between the 1860s and 1940s. It asks how colonial culture was shaped by engagement with pounamu and its analogous forms greenstone, nephrite, bowenite and jade.

The study begins with the exploitation of Ngāi Tahu's pounamu resource during the West Coast gold rush and concludes with post-World War II measures to prohibit greenstone exports. It establishes that industrially mass-produced pounamu hei tiki were available in New Zealand by 1901 and in Britain by 1903. It sheds new light on the little-known German influence on the commercial greenstone industry. The research demonstrates how Māori leaders maintained a degree of authority in the new Pākehā-dominated industry through patron-client relationships where they exercised creative control.

The history also tells a deeper story of the making of colonial culture. The transformation of the greenstone industry created a cultural legacy greater than just the tangible objects of trade. Intangible meanings are also part of the heritage. The acts of making, selling, wearing, admiring, gifting, describing and imagining pieces of greenstone pounamu were expressions of culture in practice. Everyday objects can tell some of these stories and provide accounts of relationships and ways of knowing the world.

The pounamu hei tiki speaks to this history because more than merely stone, it is a cultural object and idea. In this study, it stands for the dynamic processes of change, the colonial realities of Māori resistance and participation and Pākehā experiences of dislocation and attachment.

The research sits at an intersection of new imperial histories and studies of material culture. The power of pounamu to carry multiple meanings and to be continually reinterpreted represents the circulation of colonial knowledge, and is a central contention of the thesis.

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Abbreviations

AAG	Auckland Art Gallery, Toi o Tāmaki
AJHR	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
ANZ	Archives New Zealand
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BM	British Museum
CWT	Imperial hundredweight: 112 pounds (lbs), approximately 51 kilograms (kg)
DNZB	Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, now located at <i>Te Ara, The Encyclopedia of New Zealand</i>
ILN	Illustrated London News
IWM	Imperial War Museum
MCH	Manatū Taonga, Ministry for Culture and Heritage
NFU	National Film Unit
NZH	New Zealand Herald
NZJH	New Zealand Journal of History
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OYB	New Zealand Official Year Book, Statistics Department
RAF	Royal Air Force
Te Ara	The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, Manatū Taonga, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, https://www.teara.govt.nz
Toitū	Toitū Otago Settlers' Museum, Dunedin
WWII	World War Two

Glossary

Kaitiaki	guardian, caretaker
Kapeu	ear ornament, curved at one end
Kuru	ear ornament, of long cylindrical shape
Hapu	subtribal grouping
Hei tiki	neck pendant of human form
Iwi	tribal grouping
Kāinga	home village
Koru	loop or spiral design, a symbol of creation
Mana	power, prestige, status, authority
Mauri	essential spirit, a life force
Mere	short, flat hand-held weapon
Pākehā	non Māori person
Pātaka	storehouse raised on posts above ground
Pekapeka	endemic bat, a common design for neck pendants
Pounamu	the minerals nephrite and bowenite, also known as greenstone, tangiwai or jade
Rangatira	chief or leader
Rūnanga	council or governance structure for iwi or hapu
Taiaha	long wooden weapon, both spear and club
Takiwā	area or district
Tapu	sacred, under religious restriction
Taonga	treasure, highly prized possession or cultural property
Tikanga	custom, way of doing things
Whakapapa	genealogy, line of descent
Whānau	extended family and kin
Whare	building or dwelling
Whenua	land and domain

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Introduction

“To my sister Jeanne Beauchamp I leave my piece of greenstone” attested Katherine Mansfield in 1922, as she wrote her will in Switzerland five months before her death in France.¹ The kuru-shaped bowenite pendant, a tapered piece of translucent greenstone on a length of ribbon, was already a family heirloom before the writer catalogued it with manuscripts and other personal effects to bequeath to relatives and friends throughout the British Empire. Originally worn by her beloved brother Leslie ‘Chummie’ Beauchamp, Mansfield received it after his death in a munitions accident in Belgium in October 1915, along with his military cap and a clump of turf from his grave.² Chummie was gifted the pendant by Wellington surgeon Albert Martin as a farewell token on his departure for London to enlist in the war. Martin was the Beauchamp family doctor and helped to deliver Chummie into the world when he attended his birth twenty years earlier. The last time Katherine Mansfield saw Chummie alive, in August 1915 in London, the meeting inspired her to write the semi-autobiographical short story *The Wind Blows*, “with its curious time-shift or dream-shift”. In the story, adolescent siblings, brother and sister, lean over the rail of a ship leaving Wellington harbour to bid “good-bye, little island, good-bye...”³

Jeanne Beauchamp treasured the pendant for 57 years before she gifted it to Mansfield biographer Nora Crone, who kept it for 18 years before donating it to the Katherine Mansfield Birthplace Society to mark the 110th anniversary of the writer’s birth in 1998. As a symbol it commemorates childhood and cycles of birth, life and death, and represents the memories of a land mass, sea journeys, and imperial war. As a Beauchamp-Mansfield heirloom it remains a treasured object held continuously in guardianship. As a

¹ Will of Katherine Mansfield Murry, 1923, MS-Papers-7224-06, part of Murry, John Middleton, 1889-1957: Papers relating to Katherine Mansfield, MS-Group-1038, Alexander Turnbull Library (hereafter ATL)

² Miscellaneous papers 1993-1998, MS-Papers-9349-041, part of Katherine Mansfield Birthplace Society: Records, Series 1 KMB General Records, 1986-2005, MS-Group-1779, ATL; and, Papers relating to Leslie Heron Beauchamp, 1912-1917, MS-Papers-7224-05, part of Murry, John Middleton, 1889-1957: Papers relating to Katherine Mansfield, MS-Group-1038, ATL. All following references to the provenance of the pendant are from the Birthplace Society Records. Bowenite, also known as tangiwai, is a form of pounamu.

³ Antony Alpers, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield*, London, 1980, p.182; and Katherine Mansfield, “The Wind Blows”, Antony Alpers (ed.) *The Stories of Katherine Mansfield*, Auckland, 1984, p.194

stone of undeniable New Zealand provenance it paradoxically evokes the culture of the British literary communities in which Mansfield moved, and the mobility enjoyed by imperial travellers of the early twentieth century. The power of greenstone pounamu to carry multiple meanings as stone, object and idea, to be continually re-interpreted and to assume the identity of people and place, in this way to represent *knowledge*, is a central contention of this thesis.

Jane Stafford has investigated the meanings attached to another Mansfield pendant, a hei tiki made of bone.⁴ Worn by Mansfield during her last period of residence in New Zealand, the pendant has been read as a sign of the writer's affiliation to her 'little islands', even as a cultural signifier. Most likely made of cattle bone, the carving technique and the patina of the hei tiki prompted one anthropologist engaged by the Katherine Mansfield Birthplace Society to question whether it was comparable to works of a notorious forger of Māori artefacts, James Frank Robieson.⁵ Robieson's career in the Tourist and Publicity Department began circa 1903-4, a date which coincides with the acquisition of a bone hei tiki by Mansfield's father, Harold Beauchamp.⁶ Stafford's research seeks to "complicate" the hei tiki's provenance by considering it in the wider context of its owner's life and times. She observes that multiple characterisations of Mansfield emerge from biographical studies of the author, which are "riddled with narratives of what we desire her to be": rebellious, nostalgically affiliated to New Zealand, exceptional, a genius.⁷ For Stafford, the hei tiki, like its owner, can be read from a number of angles. She suggests the Beauchamp family was reasonably conventional for its "participation in 'Maoriland' culture of late colonial New

⁴ Jane Stafford, "Katherine Mansfield's Hei Tiki", Annabel Cooper, Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla (eds.), *The Lives of Colonial Objects*, Dunedin, 2015, pp.206-211

⁵ Notes taken by Birthplace Society founder Oroya Day of a conversation with Dr Robin Watt record: "Not unlike – Robieson (Pakeha) artefact. Opinion – may or may not be", see 'Gift of Hei Tiki Worn by KM to KMB Society Inc', 20 February 1998, Miscellaneous papers 1993-1998, MS-Papers-9349-041, ATL. The notes also suggest it is made of "oxen" bone not whalebone, although it is described as whalebone in Laurel Harris, Mary Morris and Joanna Woods (eds) *The Material Mansfield: Traces of a Writer's Life*, Auckland, 2008, p.42. See also Robin Watt, "The Fake Maori Artefacts of James Edward Little and James Frank Robieson", PhD Thesis in Anthropology, Victoria University of Wellington, 1990; and T. Barrow and H.D. Skinner, "The Faking of Maori Art", Henry Devenish Skinner, *Comparatively Speaking: Studies in Pacific Material Culture 1921-1972*, Dunedin, 1974, pp.181-192

⁶ Watt, "The Fake Maori Artefacts of James Edward Little and James Frank Robieson", pp.90-91; 'Gift of Hei Tiki Worn by KM to KMB Society Inc', MS-Papers-9349-041, ATL

⁷ Stafford, "Katherine Mansfield's Hei Tiki", p.208

Zealand, where indigenous objects were shifted from their original context to become the decorative markers of a mild form of settler nationalism.”⁸ Yet Stafford believes Mansfield was less than careful with her cultural signposting. The way Mansfield wore it at a 1907 Wellington party was not rebellious or exceptional, but mainstream, a nod to colonial fashions.⁹ Nevertheless, questions persist about the use and meanings of the hei tiki. Mansfield’s sister later recalled “this Maori Tiki was shown and worn by me and my sister K.M. when as school girls, in LONDON, we wished to be identified as New Zealanders.”¹⁰ The sisters were in London between 1903 and 1906, where they wore the hei tiki not merely as a fashion item but as an expression of distinct identity, beyond geographic confines of colony and nation. The object, like its owner, resists easy interpretation. Both represent an accumulation of histories. The “narratives of desire” suggested by McCarthy and Mané-Wheoki, the layered meanings of what we wish objects to be, are histories of “cosmopolitan diversity, moving, not static”.¹¹ These reflections encourage us to be aware of complications, of how meanings are constructed, of incomplete colonial archives, and of historical evidence which is open to multiple interpretations. Their injunctions and the edited collection in which they are contained, *The Lives of Colonial Objects*, are an important stepping off point for this thesis.

Mansfield’s hei tiki and others discussed in this thesis are complicated because they challenge binaries. What made these objects authentic or fake? Were they primitive artefacts or modern fashion? Did they represent the exotic or the familiar? Who was a New Zealander, a Briton, or alien? When did hei tiki become part of settler culture? What made it a Māori taonga or a Pākehā valuable – the maker or the wearer? Could it be a national symbol if rejected for the coat of arms? These questions focus attention not just on the materiality of the objects, but encourage analysis of the context of their use, on cultures of colonialism. Tony Ballantyne offers another stepping off point for this thesis with his reminder that colonialism was “a ‘cultural project’ as well as a set of unequal political or

⁸ Stafford, “Katherine Mansfield’s Hei Tiki”, p.208

⁹ Ibid, pp.210-211

¹⁰ Harris, Morris and Woods, *The Material Mansfield*, p.43

¹¹ Conal McCarthy and Jonathan Mané-Wheoki, “Afterword: The Wharenuī Mātaatua, and some Thoughts about Things”, Cooper, Paterson, Wanhalla, *The Lives of Colonial Objects*, pp.315-316

economic relationships”.¹² Unsettling binary meanings helps to make sense of the colonial story of New Zealand, a story which did not just unfold on the shores of these islands. Pounamu objects, especially hei tiki, were valued and desired, copied, produced and traded. In this way, they were continually reinvented. A central tool of reinvention was the power of knowledge, endlessly circulated and reinterpreted in imperial spaces and contexts. This thesis examines the reinvention of the pounamu hei tiki between the 1860s and 1940s and asks how the process constituted contemporary understandings of colonial culture.

Before considering the hei tiki in a colonial space it is useful to traverse the pre-colonial context, as far as the historiography allows. Earlier histories of hei tiki and pounamu objects are most prevalent outside History, as a discipline. The diversity of scholarship has produced a variety of assessments through the lenses of anthropology, archaeology, art history, English literature, geology, law, Māori studies and museum studies.¹³ Amateur ethnologist and New Zealand Wars veteran Horatio Gordon Robley was one of the first authors to publish pounamu research outside the realm of scientific journals. In his 1915 treatise Robley wrote of the pounamu working methods and hei tiki design he had observed during three years in New Zealand in the mid-1860s, widened by his decades of study of much older objects in European institutions and private collections.

There is one special class of ornaments which, from their remarkable form, the extreme care lavished upon their production and preservation, and the feeling almost approaching veneration with which the Maori regarded them, demand detailed notice. These are the *hei-tiki*, neck ornaments, grotesquely shaped as male or female human figures, which were worn by the Maori as memorials of specially dear relatives or venerated ancestors...*Tiki* are cut from a single piece of greenstone,

¹² Tony Ballantyne, “Paper, Pen, and Print: The Transformation of the Kai Tahu Knowledge Order”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2011, Vol. 53 (2), p.233

¹³ Relevant works include: Dougal Rex Austin, “Hei Tiki: He Whakamārama Hōu”, MA Thesis In Māori Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 2014; Russell Beck and Maika Mason, *Pounamu: the Jade of NZ*, Auckland, 2010; Russell J. Beck and Maika Mason, *Mana Pounamu*, Auckland, 1984 (2002); Barry Brailsford, *Greenstone Trails: the Māori and Pounamu*, Hamilton, 1996 (2nd ed.); Deidre Brown, Ngarino Ellis, Jonathan Mané-Wheoki, *Does Māori Art History Matter? Gordon H. Brown Lecture*, Wellington, 2014; Ngarino Ellis, “Te Hei Tiki: Between Tradition and Modernity”, *Art New Zealand*, Issue 117, 2005-06, pp. 47-51; Rolf Herzog, *Tiki: Uber Originale und Imitationen von Nephrit-Objekten der Maori*, Berlin, 1990; Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: a History of Colonial Cultures of Display*, Wellington, 2007; Dorota C. Starzecka, Roger Neich and Mick Pendergrast, *The Maori Collections of the British Museum*, London, 2010; Nicholas Thomas, (ed.), *Artefacts of Encounter: Pacific Voyages and Museum Histories*, Dunedin, 2015

and vary in length from two to eight inches. They are carved on the front with rude representations of the face, neck, arms, body and legs.¹⁴

Robley also took care to note what the hei tiki was not: a deity. He drew on the authority of Māori and Pākehā observers of cultural practices in the early nineteenth century. The missionary James Stack, born “in a tent in a Maori pa” on the Hauraki Plains in 1835 and raised in Māori communities around Ruatoria in the 1840s, later wrote that tiki “did not represent a god but the spirit of a deceased relative. It was worn to keep in memory some beloved one, for the same reason that our ladies wear lockets containing the likenesses of those who had passed into the other world.”¹⁵ Ngāi Tahu chief Hakopa te Ata o Tu was also cited by Robley as an authority. In an 1882 letter to Canon Stack, the Kaiapoi-based Hakopa, thought to be then more than 80 years old, observed “I never saw the making of a hei tiki in my childhood. The North Island natives were the people who made *hei-tiki*...Maoris never worshipped the *hei-tiki*. It was only an *oha tupuna*, *he tohu ki ona uri*, a relic of an ancestor, a sign to his descendants.” Hakopa was considered an expert on pounamu and was briefly held captive by Ngāti Toa chief Te Rauparaha in the 1830s after an argument between their tribes over a block of the stone.¹⁶

Following the contribution of Robley, the next significant monograph on pounamu hei tiki was written by the first professionally-trained anthropologist in New Zealand, Henry Devenish Skinner. In a booklet originally published in 1940 he noted the hei tiki signifies “a pendant or amulet in human form. It is believed that the idea of such an amulet was brought from Polynesia to New Zealand by Maori ancestors and that ancient forms of it were made of ivory or bone.”¹⁷ In his classic 1949 text *The Coming of the Maori*, Te Rangi Hīroa Sir Peter Buck made much use of Skinner’s research.

¹⁴ Horatio Gordon Robley, *Pounamu: Notes on New Zealand Greenstone*, London, 1915, (Christchurch, 1997), pp.51 and 55. Emphasis in original.

¹⁵ Canon Stack quoted in Robley, *Pounamu*, p.53. Biographical detail from Janet E. Murray, “Stack, James West”, *DNZB*, 1990, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1s21/stack-james-west (accessed 17 March 2017)

¹⁶ Hakopa te Ata o Tu quoted in Robley, *Pounamu*, pp.74-75. Emphasis in original. Hakopa was immortalised in a painting by Gottfried Lindauer around the turn of the twentieth century and in a special stamp issued by New Zealand Post in 1980. See Ngahiraka Mason, “Hakopa te Ata o Tu, undated”, Plate 66, Ngahiraka Mason and Zara Stanhope, (eds), *Gottfried Lindauer’s New Zealand: the Māori Portraits*, Auckland, 2016

¹⁷ H.D. Skinner, *The Maori Hei-Tiki*, Dunedin, (1940) 1966, 2nd edition.

The tiki made of nephrite in human form is the best known of Maori ornaments and, since its reproduction by lapidaries for trade, the most common...the *hei tiki* was developed as an art form following established conventions in wood and bone carving but influenced by the character of the material and the initial form of the pieces cut for working. It is evident that what was originally a valuable ornament in itself was later converted into an amulet.¹⁸

Two subtle but important shifts are noticeable in the knowledge recorded by Robley in 1915 and Te Rangi Hīroa in 1949, shifts which are not accompanied by explanatory comment in the sources. The first relates to Te Rangi Hīroa's slight distinction between *ornament* and *amulet*. At face value, this notes the transition from an object designed to be held or looked at, to an object designed to be carried or worn on the body. Amulets also have a wider and more complex meaning, often personally subjective, involving the power of charms and talismans which are considered to offer protection or good fortune to the wearer. The second shift in meaning between Robley and Te Rangi Hīroa's works confirms *hei tiki* were no longer the unique preserve of Māori, for whom they had 'venerated' and ancestral meanings. Te Rangi Hīroa confirms that by 1949 *hei tiki* were manufactured commercially and were commonly available throughout the wider population. This thesis will discuss both of these evolutions in cultural knowledge: the imagined power of the *hei tiki* as a lucky charm; and the factors behind the growth in manufacturing and trade in *pounamu hei tiki*, up to around the time Te Rangi Hīroa published his work.

Anthropology's associated field of study, archaeology, emerged as a more professional academic discipline in New Zealand from the 1950s especially after significant finds of human remains and material objects at Wairau Bar in Marlborough.¹⁹ Janet Davidson's research into Māori 'prehistory' places several types of *pounamu* pendant in the archaeological record at around 1500 CE, but she speculates they may have originated earlier as they were seldom discarded. Her injunction that "much remains to be learned about personal adornments" acknowledges the difficulties of resolving historical questions

¹⁸ Te Rangi Hīroa, Sir Peter Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, Wellington, 1949, pp.291 and 295. Emphasis in original.

¹⁹ Atholl Anderson, "Wairau Bar: Ancestors and Archaeology", Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, Wellington, 2015, pp.100-101

across disciplines. Davidson notes a lack of scholarly agreement about the age of “ornate and unusual pendants in stone and ivory.” She refers to apparently unique items in New Zealand museums which have no corresponding examples in other fields of knowledge, such as archaeological sites or documentary records of first contact between Māori and Pākehā.²⁰ Davidson records polarised opinions about whether innovations and development in Māori material culture were the result of conquest, migration or economic factors. She is inclined to suggest that adaptations were the result of “friendly contact and gift exchange.”²¹ Writing specifically of pounamu, Atholl Anderson identifies extensive use of pounamu ornaments as a signifier of status throughout the North Island by the seventeenth century. He suggests the distribution of pounamu from the South to North Island was incidental to tribal migrations and “probably followed a colonising mode.” A more regular trading network was in place by the eighteenth century yet most design and carving was at that time done by southern Māori.²² The accelerated changes in design and manufacture and other innovations between the eighteenth and twenty-first centuries are apparent in Anderson’s feature on the hei tiki in *Tangata Whenua: an Illustrated History*.²³

By the time of the 2005 exhibition *Te Hei Tiki* at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, the evolution in meanings of the hei tiki placed it outside the earlier realms of ethnology, anthropology and archaeology. Art historians now assessed the aesthetics of different forms and materials, and brought a critical eye to vernacular expressions of style and design in a wide-ranging examination of the hei tiki’s place in New Zealand material culture. The exhibition was curated into spaces marked ‘taonga’, ‘historic and ephemera’, ‘modernist and post-modern art’, ‘contemporary and popular culture’ and finally, ‘kitsch’. It surveyed “works ranging from pounamu to plastic that represent 500 years of making, collecting and

²⁰ Janet Davidson, “Maori Prehistory”, in Starzecka, *Maori Art and Culture*, pp. 16-20. The reference to ivory is to that obtained from sea mammals, for example whale teeth.

²¹ Ibid, p.15. For a range of perspectives on evolution in the form of the hei tiki before the late nineteenth century see: Neich, *Pounamu*, pp.21-29; Skinner, *The Maori Hei-Tiki*; Te Rangi Hiroa Sir Peter Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, pp.291-296; Robley, *Pounamu*; F.R. Chapman, “On the Working of Greenstone or Nephrite by the Maoris”, *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, 1891, Vol. XXIV, pp.520-522

²² Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*, p.91

²³ Ibid, pp.40-41. See also footnote 1, p.505 for the observation by J.S. Polack in 1838 that “the original cause for their manufacture is forgotten.”

responding to our most refined and iconic adornment item.”²⁴ Curators Ngahiraka Mason and Jane Davidson intended the variety of hei tiki forms in the exhibition to contribute to “an active korero or dialogue about transformation points in New Zealand’s spiritual, cultural, social, political and art histories.” In his speech to open the exhibition, anthropologist and Māori Studies scholar Hirini Moko Mead agreed with the premise that the hei tiki is a “very distinctive part of our national heritage”. But he cautioned that “overall we have little light to shine upon the issue of meaning.”²⁵ Roger Neich, an anthropologist and museum curator, has separately conceded “it is only natural that such a potent image as the hei tiki would be subject to continuing reinterpretation [but] any search for the ‘original meaning’ of the hei tiki is probably futile.”²⁶ While meanings are elusive, Mead argued function and form are not. He suggested Māori tend to regard the hei tiki as an heirloom to pass through the whānau with one person designated as kaitiaki or guardian; while non-Māori tend to consider it a type of amulet or charm for good luck and protection. As an heirloom, “the hei tiki takes on the mana of the whanau and all of those who have passed on...it can become very tapu...when its keeper and the person who regularly wears it dies. The level of tapu increases but can be lowered again once the event is over.”²⁷ Mead’s comments are significant for the dual Māori/Pākehā perspectives with which he frames the hei tiki. They confirm the complexities of the layers of meaning and knowledge which can reside in the same object.

Both Mead and Ngahuia Te Awekotuku consider the anthropomorphic object to be almost exclusively female and in a minority of cases to be genderless. Neither is aware of a single hei tiki which represents the male form. Henry Skinner, curator at Otago Museum in the early twentieth century, reported he had never seen a male hei tiki amongst three hundred hei tiki he was familiar with.²⁸ Te Awekotuku regards the hei tiki as “the most famous of all Maori jewellery items” but also subject to many contradictory theories. She

²⁴ Ngahiraka Mason and Jane Davidson, “Te Hei Tiki walltext copy”, Te Hei Tiki Exhibition File, 2005, E.H. McCormick Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery, Toi o Tamaki (Hereafter AAG), p.1

²⁵ H.M. Mead, “The Hei Tiki Today”, 10 June 2005, Te Hei Tiki Exhibition File, 2005, E.H. McCormick Research Library, AAG, pp.8 and 12

²⁶ Roger Neich, *Pounamu: Maori Jade of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1997, pp.24-25

²⁷ Mead, “The Hei tiki Today”, p.9

²⁸ Ibid, p.8; Ellis, “Te Hei Tiki: Between Tradition and Modernity”, p.47; H.D. Skinner, “Maori Amulets in Stone, Bone, and Shell”, *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 41, No. 163, 1932, p.206

considers suggestions that it might represent a woman in childbirth as speculative but possible, and points to oral and family histories of “women, previously barren, who conceived on being given *hei tiki* by their husbands or parents.”²⁹ Te Awēkotuku looks to *hei tiki* and other treasured material artefacts as vital tools for reconstructing how Māori lived, felt and imagined the world. The reconstructed lives are “densely layered with evidence and assumption”, formed of Māori oral traditions, Pākehā observations and material objects. For artefacts especially, each one “tells a story, comes from a particular community, and holds the creative, making power of human hands, of human thought.”³⁰ The power of human hands and thought she describes is central to the process of knowledge creation about the *hei tiki*. Te Awēkotuku outlines a useful approach for histories of colonial and post colonial culture with her emphasis on context, especially the context of how an object was created, how it was thought about, and how it was used. These are historical contexts as much as material contexts, and are central to the way this thesis approaches the colonial reinvention of the *hei tiki*.

The context of an artefact’s creation, meanings and consumption continues to have relevance as an analytical perspective in post colonial settings. A recent judicial inquiry applied both a jurisprudential and cultural framework to illuminate the ways *hei tiki* were continually reinvented in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In 2011 the *hei tiki* was considered within the framework of Māori intellectual property and the law. The Waitangi Tribunal applied mātauranga Māori principles to its *Wai 262* inquiry in order to reflect a “unique Māori way of viewing the world, encompassing both traditional knowledge and culture.”³¹ The Tribunal distinguished between “taonga works”, both ancient and new objects which invoke ancestral connections and reflect “traditional” narratives and stories; and “taonga-derived works”, or hybrid innovations of Māori and Pākehā design which incorporate Māori elements in a generic or derivative way.³² It concluded the intellectual

²⁹ Ngahuia Te Awēkotuku, “Maori: People and Culture”, D.C. Starzecka (ed.), *Maori Art and Culture*, London, 1996 (1998 ed.), p.43. Emphasis in original.

³⁰ Te Awēkotuku, “Maori: People and Culture”, p.49

³¹ “Preface”, *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei: A Report Into Claims Concerning New Zealand Law and Policy Affecting Māori Culture and Identity*, Te Taumata Tuatahi, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2011, p.xxiii. Hereafter *Wai 262 Report*. The Tribunal suggested “in essence, the *Wai 262* claim is really about who (if anyone) owns or controls Māori culture and identity.” See p.17.

³² “Chapter 1: Taonga Works and Intellectual Property”, *Wai 262 Report*, p.56

property of the latter category does not deserve the same level of legal protection as the former. Although a hybrid hei tiki is “identifiably Māori in nature [it] has neither mauri nor living kaitiaki in accordance with tikanga Māori.”³³ The Tribunal also noted that hybrid tiki have often been used as “a marker of New Zealand identity and pride.”³⁴ The time period of this thesis, spanning the decades between the 1860s and 1940s, marks the emergence and initial flourishing of this hybrid style of hei tiki.

For chronological purposes, this thesis locates the reinvention of pounamu hei tiki between an 1860s colonial space and a 1940s Dominion context. It opens with the gold rush to the West Coast of the South Island and closes with the imperial trade preferences adopted in response to World War II. Movement and transformation between these points is considered in terms of the stones in the ground, the objects in production, and the ideas in circulation. Pounamu and hei tiki made separate and coincidental journeys through imperial networks. During this process, the forces of migration, commerce and everyday popular culture appropriated indigenous knowledge and resources to construct new forms of the Māori icon on an unprecedented industrial scale. A single German factory is believed to have produced up to 100,000 hei tiki from imported pounamu. German anthropologist Rolf Herzog estimates that from 1867 to 1938 New Zealand greenstone was used in the manufacture of 50,000 to 100,000 imitation hei tiki by the Ruppenthal family firm in Idar-Oberstein, a centre of gemstone mining and manufacture from the Middle Ages.³⁵ The Ruppenthals were just one of at least fourteen family enterprises who worked with New Zealand greenstone in water-powered cutting and polishing mills on a tributary of the Rhine. Tens if not hundreds of thousands of German-made hei tiki were returned to New Zealand for sale and distributed throughout Britain and Australia. Pounamu and its alter egos greenstone, nephrite and jade were turned into a myriad of decorative objects by silversmiths and jewellers from Birmingham to Dunedin.³⁶ The meanings attributed to these

³³ *Wai 262 Report*, p.56

³⁴ *Wai 262 Report*, Plate xxiii following p.254. The Tribunal gave examples such as tiki designs on clothing, military badges, and as titles and graphics in print publications. It recommended the creation of a legal mechanism to enable public objection where taonga-derived works are used in a derogatory or offensive way.

³⁵ Rolf Herzog, *Tiki: Über Originale und Imitationen von Nephritobjekten der Maori-Kultur*, Berlin, 1990, pp.79 and 113

³⁶ The colonial greenstone industry in Germany, Britain and New Zealand is discussed further in Chapter V.

objects and the context of their use is at times tacit or explicit, obscured or heroic. This thesis traces the eighty-year journey from stone to object to idea by using multiple vantage points. It suggests that by WWII the pounamu hei tiki had been reinvented as a unique cultural reference point for both Māori and Pākehā, an object strongly associated with Māori knowledge and with New Zealand as a place. It asks how and why this happened and explores the roles played by wider colonial networks in this process.

The cross-disciplinary scholarship from the late nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries discussed above is marked by efforts to distinguish between the hei tiki's original meanings, its modern functions and evolutions in form. Social and cultural history can offer further perspectives. The contemporary symbolism of the hei tiki is especially evident in primary sources which are examined further in this thesis. Keith Sinclair, for example, noted tiki designs were not considered suitable for the formal heraldic requirements of the country's coat of arms when it was reconsidered and reinvented between 1906 and 1908. The 103 entries in the public design competitions for the new symbol of the nation were dominated by variations on a theme of stars and the Southern Cross, the silver fern, kiwi and crown.³⁷ Tiki designs were submitted, but in very small numbers. The low public appetite for tiki as a formal representation of the nation was again evident in the proposal to redesign the flag in 2015. There were no tiki designs in the long-list of forty options produced by the Flag Consideration Project, which also found a predilection for stars and the fern leaf in the top two spots, followed by the spirals of the koru.³⁸ Flags, unlike coats of arms, rarely include anthropomorphic or human characters.³⁹ Nevertheless the experiences of 1908 and 2015 suggest the two-dimensional tiki motif was not viewed as a nationalist symbol or a universal marker of external identity, despite its popularity as a tourist souvenir and brand logo. In another example, twentieth-century historical sources also help to decipher the contemporary symbolism and human relationships implicated with the pounamu hei tiki presented by prophetic leader Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana to Prime

³⁷ Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for a National Identity*, Wellington, 1986, pp.188-193

³⁸ "Flag Consideration Panel Report", 7 August 2015, p.7. The Panel noted the most common themes of the designs were "Maori culture, nature and history", see "Flag Consideration Panel Meeting Documents", 11 August 2015, p.13. Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, www.dpmc.govt.nz/dpmc/publications/nzflag-process. Thirty-nine options featured stars, the fernleaf or a koru, the one exception was 'Red Peak'.

³⁹ Belize and Malta are exceptions.

Minister Michael Joseph Savage. At their 1936 meeting Rātana ascribed pounamu with the authority and nobility of Māori people, and the hei tiki spoke of loss of mana arising from Treaty grievances and European laws. The exchange of pounamu secured a relationship which was to shape Māori politics for the next sixty years through the Labour-Rātana alliance which dominated representation of the Māori electorates.⁴⁰

The public design competitions at the beginning of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries highlight one of the binary puzzles flagged at the outset. Why is a hei tiki, described by Atholl Anderson in 2016 as “a symbol that speaks of these islands”, not considered a suitable nationalist symbol?⁴¹ The question helps to establish a useful benchmark for interpreting meanings. As a reference point it affirms that personal identification with the three-dimensional hei tiki, an object of material culture which can be worn or carried, resonates with more individually constructed significance than a two-dimensional tiki design. Identification with the material hei tiki is not a relationship or an idea formalised by the state or carrying the endorsement of external authorities. The popular interpretation of the hei tiki springs from another cultural history source. Anderson points to a possible space in which to locate its meaning: *these islands*. In ‘these islands’ hei tiki speak “as historical taonga, as high art and within popular culture.”⁴² The idea of these islands has always existed outside the idea of the nation.⁴³ These islands are the hei tiki’s domain. Constructed from a shared vernacular language, sometimes indigenous and sometimes native, these islands have enabled the continual reinvention of this iconic cultural artefact.

Thinking outside the nation is one of the central themes of the ‘new’ imperial histories. Giselle Byrnes and Peter Gibbons have discussed how the nation state is itself a powerful expression of the colonising project.⁴⁴ The ‘old’ imperial narratives, which

⁴⁰ The Rātana hei tiki is discussed further in Chapter IV.

⁴¹ Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*, p.41

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Chris Hilliard, “Island Stories: the Writing of New Zealand History 1920-1940”, MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1997, pp.154-155

⁴⁴ Giselle Byrnes, “Reframing New Zealand History”, Giselle Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne, 2009, pp.1-18; Peter Gibbons, “The Far Side of the Search for National Identity:

surveyed the British Empire outwards from a geographic and cultural core are challenged by the new histories, which prefer to let non-elite voices speak from across the metropolitan and peripheral spaces.⁴⁵ This approach finds colonisers in the metropolitan spaces of London and Birmingham who never left Britain; and it records imperialist agendas practised between the inhabitants of colonies at the periphery.⁴⁶ John Mackenzie suggests “historians have largely ignored” the cultural dimensions of new imperial thinking until the late twentieth century.⁴⁷ The power to bring together transnational peoples and commodities clearly signifies an imperial status for the metropolitan nation. Further, the networks of imperial knowledge also had the power to bring together imagined places and culture. The development of imperial knowledge, a somewhat intangible concept, can be an elusive process to track in the archive but nevertheless deserves attention as a force which shaped colonial culture. In terms of pounamu, much of that knowledge was mediated by Māori, especially in the early years of colonial exploitation of the mineral. Michael Stevens suggests the diverse nature of Māori knowledge since the early nineteenth century can be understood by engaging with questions about how Māori existed within the Empire. “While at the dawn of the nineteenth century almost all Māori kin-groups were apart from the British empire, within a few decades all of them were a part of it, albeit unevenly. Accordingly we should look more fully and frequently to the likes of the new imperial history as we continue to unpack the post-1800 Māori past.”⁴⁸ He questions for instance why “Germans and turbans” do not feature more in Māori history despite European and South Asian migrants being part of nineteenth-century life for his Kai Tahu community in Bluff.⁴⁹

Reconsidering New Zealand History”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, [NZJH] 37.1, 2003, pp.38-49. A survey of recent postcolonial histories which address this question is discussed in Giselle Byrnes and Catharine Coleborne, “The Utility and Futility of ‘the Nation’ in Histories of Aotearoa New Zealand”, *NZJH*, 45.1, 2011, pp.1-14

⁴⁵ A useful survey of the literature is offered by Tony Ballantyne, “The Changing Shape of the Modern British Empire and its Historiography”, *The Historical Journal*, 53.2, (2010), pp.429-452; and in Catherine Hall, (ed.), *Cultures of Empire: a Reader*, Manchester, 2000

⁴⁶ For example, Katie Pickles and Catharine Coleborne, (eds.), *New Zealand’s Empire*, Manchester, 2016; Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand’s London: a Colony and Its Metropolis*, Auckland, 2012; Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand’s Colonial Past*, Wellington, 2012; Antoinette Burton, *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing and Teaching British Imperialism*, Durham and London, 2011; Philippa Levine, *The British Empire: Sunrise to Sunset*, Harlow, 2007; Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, Cambridge, 2006

⁴⁷ John M. Mackenzie, “Empire and Metropolitan Cultures”, Andrew Porter (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume III: The Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, 1999, p.271

⁴⁸ Michael J. Stevens, “A ‘Useful’ Approach to Māori History”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 49.1, 2015, p.56

⁴⁹ Stevens, “A ‘Useful’ Approach”, p.70. The history of lascars, sailors most likely from Bengal, and of Chinese miners and merchants in the far south of New Zealand in the early-mid nineteenth century is discussed in Tony

This thesis establishes that Germans in particular had a hugely transformative impact on the trade, production and consumption of pounamu objects in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and accordingly seeks to write them into New Zealand's imperial and colonial history. In writing them in, it highlights the fluid identities of some German colonists. Some made an easy transition to reinvent themselves as Anglo-Germans, encouraged by the marriage and blood ties of the monarch, Queen Victoria. Empire, as a place, had an extended reach through trade and family networks into continental Europe. The discussion of the reinvention of hei tiki illustrates how the circuits of imperial knowledge helped make and remake colonial identities and cultures.

An extensive body of historical scholarship of the 'Maoriland' period, circa 1870 to 1920, describes unique colonial forms of art, culture and literature.⁵⁰ Pounamu jewellery was the somewhat lowbrow cousin of this romanticised idea of Maoriland. Greenstone was a popular and ubiquitous expression of identity and place because it was cheap and readily available. More highbrow Maoriland art forms appropriated Māori design, performance or practices as the so-called 'decorative markers' of colonial culture, and were overwhelmingly produced by settlers or migrants. One of the first observers of efforts to locate a place for this romanticised culture was James Cowan. He wrote in 1900 of the way colonists searched for evocative Māori names for their houses or homesteads, and despite making "queer blunders...the spirit is there, the craving for a home-name which shall be redolent of the soil."⁵¹ Anna Petersen's research into the popularity of Māori architectural features and furniture in pre-WWI Pākehā homes suggested "the modern European appreciation of Maori art...can also be seen as part of a Pakeha move towards creating a home environment

Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney, "Asia in Murihiku: Towards a Transnational History of a Colonial Culture", in Ballantyne and Moloughney (eds.), *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts*, Dunedin, 2006, pp.65-92. This thesis preserves the dialectal Kai Tahu spelling where it is used in quotes or in context, such as kāika, taoka and Ōtākou, but otherwise uses the northern spelling, such as Ngāi Tahu, kāinga, taonga, and Otago.

⁵⁰ Recent works which address the romanticisation of indigenous art include: Peter Brunt, Nicholas Thomas and Stella Ramage (eds.), *Art in Oceania: a New History*, London, 2012; Anna K.C. Petersen, *New Zealanders at Home: A Cultural History of Domestic Interiors 1814-1914*, Dunedin, 2001; Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: a History of Colonial Cultures of Display*, Wellington, 2007; Roger Neich, "The Māori House Down in the Garden: a Benign Colonialist Response to Māori Art and the Māori Counter-Response", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 112, No. 4, 2003, pp.331-368; Marianne Schultz, *Performing Indigenous Culture on Stage and Screen: A Harmony of Frenzy*, Basingstoke, 2016; and Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Maoriland: New Zealand Literature, 1872-1914*, Wellington, 2006

⁵¹ James Cowan, "Maori Place Names", *The New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, June 1900, pp.647-656

based on the European model but distinct to New Zealand.”⁵² Petersen argued domestic interiors were more than decorative trivialities and instead represented “an act of homage and interaction with Maori culture...a critical re-evaluation of Maori art.”⁵³ Roger Neich in turn looked to the exteriors of domestic European dwellings. He investigated landscape designers and property owners who installed carved Māori houses in private suburban gardens in England and New Zealand. This “period fashion” of the 1880s to 1930s is framed by Neich within a “colonialist milieu” of unequal economic and political power, appropriation and commodification. Yet he concludes the garden follies did stimulate a “sympathetic attitude toward Māori art as something to be valued, preserved and nurtured.”⁵⁴

Jane Stafford and Mark Williams describe English-language literature of the Maoriland period as an early form of cultural nationalism, marked by both modernity and nostalgia as ways of dealing with Pākehā displacement. “In the use of Māori material to shape a locally marked literature are to be found the sources of an ongoing identity politics and a favourite mechanism by which Pākehā have continued to represent the nation.”⁵⁵ They suggest early writers spent less time thinking about personal identity, the question of “who am I”, than they spent on the puzzle of “where is here?”⁵⁶ Stafford and Williams note that Mansfield rejected a sentimental Maoriland literary style as well as the stifling intellectual and social climate of the colony, for the aesthetic modernism of London. Nevertheless she could not transcend Maoriland completely. Her “deliberate self-fashioning” in London, embellished with the character of a bone hei tiki, prompted the college principal to call her “a little savage from New Zealand.”⁵⁷ The competing impulses to

⁵² Anna K. C. Petersen, “The European Use of Maori Art in New Zealand Homes, c. 1890-1914”, in Barbara Brookes, (ed.), *At Home in New Zealand: Houses, History, People*, Wellington, 2010, pp. 57-72

⁵³ Petersen, “The European Use of Maori Art in New Zealand Homes”, p.64

⁵⁴ Neich, “The Māori House Down in the Garden”, pp. 333, 337 and 366

⁵⁵ Stafford and Williams, *Maoriland*, p.14

⁵⁶ Stafford and Williams, *Maoriland*, p.271. Canadian writer Northrop Frye originally posed the question in a literary context in 1965, in relation to the nationalist works of Anglo and French settlers. See Jean O’Grady and David Staines (eds), *Northrop Frye on Canada*, Vol. 12, Toronto, 2003, p.346. Another literary theorist, Edward Said, also points to the power of the novel in the formation of colonial attitudes, such as the island “fiefdom” imagined in Daniel Defoe’s 1719 work *Robinson Crusoe*. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, 1994, p.xii

⁵⁷ Stafford and Williams, *Maoriland*, pp.143 and 169

escape the past and to place it nostalgically in the modern present are also noted by Conal McCarthy's study of early twentieth-century museum practices.⁵⁸ Pākehā museum officials and Māori leaders approached the business of collecting, preserving and displaying artefacts with disparate motives and uneven power. Yet McCarthy notes this did not prevent willing participation and compromise by both sides, as objects once considered by Pākehā as curios or trophies were reinvented as taonga Māori, including a suit of armour gifted by King George III to Ngāpuhi leader Hongi Hika.⁵⁹ The constructed cultures of Maoriland discussed here are anchored in the landscape, in the soil of real and romanticised islands, in domestic private homes and tribal dwellings, in colonial spaces. Pākehā ideas of a lost past circulated through their material present and an idealised culture of the future. The popular embrace of pounamu and hei tiki shares some of these attributes. Yet a significant difference is discerned in its scale and reach. Pounamu, as an element of popular culture, was reworked and reimagined outside highbrow ideals of art and literature, away from museums and private collections, and beyond the geographic confines of colony and nation.⁶⁰ The increasingly commonplace colonial pounamu object sits within a wider historical narrative and has its own story to tell.

This study of the hei tiki is influenced by histories which examine the potential of everyday objects as sources of knowledge. The objects speak of imperial and colonial relationships and their post-colonial aftermath. The provenance of objects can connect people, events and ideas in general and specialised histories. A history of post-WWII objects from glamorous and routine experiences of the 1950s and 1960s, Bronwyn Labrum's *Real Modern*, contextualises them within the transition to a more modern society and economy.⁶¹ The material culture of the First World War examined by Kate Hunter and Kirstie Ross illustrates a new history of connections between the New Zealand home front and the European front line and provides emotive and descriptive accounts of war.⁶² Works

⁵⁸ McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori*, pp.46-60

⁵⁹ Ibid, pp.56-57

⁶⁰ Visibility of colony and nation is discussed in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, "Introduction: Being at Home With the Empire", Hall and Rose, *At Home with the Empire*, pp.2-5; Stephen Howe, *Empire: a Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, 2002, pp.29-34

⁶¹ Bronwyn Labrum, *Real Modern: Everyday New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s*, Wellington, 2015

⁶² Kate Hunter and Kirstie Ross, *Holding on to Home: New Zealand Stories and Objects of the First World War*, Wellington, 2014

in the edited collection *The Lives of Colonial Objects* explore not only the meanings of Katherine Mansfield's hei tiki but rekindle the colonial senses attached to forty-nine other objects. Research by Elly van de Wijdeven into the rise and fall and eventual renaissance of paua shell jewellery in New Zealand after WWII offers insights into emerging nationalism, trade protectionism, growth in global tourism and craft revivalism, and ultimately a renewed Pasifika outlook in the late twentieth century.⁶³ Ray Waru explored non-paper records of Archives New Zealand to provide an outline of "the family tree of the nation".⁶⁴ The story of the early tourism industry, *Selling the Dream*, is celebrated through visual arts, mainly posters and travel ephemera.⁶⁵ Frank Trentmann argues histories of objects and consumption are not frivolous exercises concerned with luxuries or distractions from more worldly imperatives. He notes that possessions can do "emotional work [as] carriers of identity, memory and emotions...things are friends and family, not dead matter."⁶⁶ The histories of material objects are a welcome addition to the literature which until the turn of the twenty-first century has been largely the domain of anthropologists. Anthropology has provided important frameworks for historians of material culture but has tended to focus on objects exchanged at moments of first contact, or on theories of economic value or commodification, or of institutional display and exhibition.⁶⁷ Social and cultural historians have built on this work to incorporate discussion of the power of human agency and relationships, the processes of change, and the persistence of some beliefs and customs.

Tracing the history of the hei tiki introduces us to a series of individuals who reshaped the commercial pounamu industry. Brief biographical sketches in this thesis offer context of their direct or indirect historical agency and join the dots on some important colonial relationships. Some individuals, such as Ngāi Tahu leader Hōri Kerei Taiaroa and prophetic figure T.W. Rātana are already well known in histories of politics and tribal affairs.

⁶³ Elly van de Wijdeven, *Vintage Paua Shell Jewellery: Art Souvenir, Tourist Kitsch, Kiwi Icon*, Auckland, 2015

⁶⁴ Ray Waru, *Secrets & Treasures: Our stories told through the objects at Archives New Zealand*, Wellington, 2012, pp. 11-21

⁶⁵ Peter Alsop, Gary Stewart, Dave Bamford, *Selling the Dream: the Art of Early New Zealand Tourism*, Nelson, 2012

⁶⁶ Frank Trentmann, *The Empire of Things: How We Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-First*, London, 2016, p.686

⁶⁷ For example, Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value" in Appadurai (ed.) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in a Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 3-63; Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific*, Cambridge and London, 1991

The Scottish-born Devlin brothers are likewise recognised by archaeologists and museum curators for their significant role in the early greenstone industry of Dunedin. Yet others have been subject to only fleeting or narrow study, such as colonial jewellers Frederick Lewisson and Frank Hyams, or members of the German diaspora such as the Klein, Heinemann and Jerusalem families. Some Māori individuals remain frustratingly nameless in archival records, including many Taranaki Māori prisoners exiled to Otago, or North Island chiefs who participated in the colonial greenstone industry of Dunedin.⁶⁸ An object can also be treated as an entity with a biography, an assembly of meanings and emotions. Biographical approaches are one way to track the hei tiki through colonial circumstances. They help to frame the experiences of historical actors and the life, circulation and fate of objects. The edited collection *The Lives of Colonial Objects*, for example, attributes life narratives to inanimate objects in both its title and schematic outline. Objects not only live, they “speak”, “excite emotions”, relate to each other as “neighbours”, are “energised by whakapapa and animated by the mana of former owners” and subsequently “come to life in new ways for later generations”.⁶⁹ As metaphor, the attribution of a certain vitality to objects is readily understood. It acknowledges that objects function and exist alongside the lived experiences of the communities through which they move.

Jill Lepore considered the distinguishing features of biographies and micro histories and their versatility in drawing “attention away from the subject and toward the culture.” Micro histories, which she notes have “thrived” among historians of early modern Europe, follow a method of using people, characters and anecdotes as allegorical devices.⁷⁰ Micro histories of a number of hei tiki in this thesis offer a window into understanding the historical weight of symbolic objects. The episodes lend themselves to analysis through a social history of relationships and a cultural history of shared ideas, the histories shaped ‘from below’. The emphasis in this thesis is on object-driven history rather than object-

⁶⁸ Around twenty Taranaki prisoners who died after succumbing to disease and deprivation in Dunedin were named in newspaper and Parliamentary reports of the period. See Jane Reeves, “Maori Prisoners in Dunedin 1869-1872 and 1879-1881: Exiled For a Cause”, BA (Hons) in History, University of Otago, 1989, pp.14-15

⁶⁹ Cooper et al, *The Lives of Colonial Objects*, pp.13-19

⁷⁰ Jill Lepore, “Historians who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography”, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 88, No.1, 2001, pp.141-144. See also Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, New York, 1984

centred history. Object-driven studies typically make use of the ‘thick description’ cultural theory of Clifford Geertz, and utilise close observation and contextual interpretation to produce an historical account.⁷¹ In turn, object-centred studies follow a pattern of description, deduction and speculation to identify physical attributes, emotional responses and the wider relevance of an object, such as the assessment of a painting.⁷² In object-driven studies, the object is a type of wordless historical source considered in context of the written documents and human relationships which surround it.

This study of pounamu hei tiki engages in a close reading of archival sources which include the wordless as well as the textual. Jewellery, cutlery, portrait photographs, lost and found advertisements, museum collections of objects, jewellers’ catalogues, ephemera, remnants of popular culture, and sometimes the elusive or absent object are discussed. Structured mostly chronologically and partly episodically, the thesis is divided into three sections, which discuss pounamu and hei tiki as stone; object; and idea. The narrative approach links to some extent with Te Awēkotuku’s contextual frame which considers how an object was created, how it was used, and how it was thought about. The eighty-year longitudinal perspective of the research opens foremost with the assertion of state and settler power over the mineral treasure pounamu. Ultimately it concludes with the consolidation of authority over greenstone by state and industry - a tightening of national borders around these islands.

Part One considers the treasured qualities of the stone, which takes the character of pounamu for indigenous Māori and nephrite for new German arrivals in the 1860s. Colonisation meant the loss of Ngāi Tahu’s precious resource to the Crown despite assurances from land purchaser James Mackay. The Arahura Purchase of 1860 was very shortly followed by exploitation of the mineral by sojourner gold prospectors and settler farmers and merchants. The 1860s marks the effective origin of the commercial pounamu

⁷¹ Karen Harvey, “Introduction”, in Karen Harvey (ed), *History and Material Culture*, Abingdon and New York, 2009, pp.2-8; and Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973, pp.3-30

⁷² Harvey, “Introduction”, p.2

trade within New Zealand and soon afterwards with Europe.⁷³ The trading relationships built on pounamu established networks to Britain and Europe where ideas began to circulate about a 'native' material culture. Pounamu was represented as characteristic of these islands and of great value to Māori and to migrants. It was a taonga and a gemstone.

Part Two describes a more detailed and extensive history, a period of immense innovation in the manufacture of pounamu objects. The significance of the 1901 Royal tour as a moment of self-reflection and colonial self-fashioning placed pounamu in the emergent Maoriland period of hybrid cultural expression. Some greenstone jewellery even spoke Māori, as necklaces and brooches bore engraved mottos such as *kia ora* or *ake ake*. Pounamu objects were no longer just taonga, or of particular interest to the curio hunters and ethnographic collectors. Everyday and versatile, greenstone, as it was then more commonly described, was immensely popular throughout society. Its colonial appeal and commercial availability placed it into the home or onto the body of almost anyone who desired it. Portable, precious and fashionable, this was the start of the boom times for the greenstone jewellery industry. The hei tiki begins to assert itself in the thesis at this point, and enters colonial culture as a mass produced object for the first time in 1901.

Part Three considers the hei tiki once it stepped off these islands. Its ambassadorial identity in the late colonial and early post colonial period was that of a Māori god and a lucky charm, a type of talisman. The hei tiki became an outpost of colonial knowledge in London, where it appeared in mass produced quantities by 1903. Remade by industry and repurposed through transnational circulation of ideas, the pounamu hei tiki took on new significance as a lucky charm in the theatres of imperial sport and war. Empire again frames the conclusion of this section. Trade protectionism resulted in a Crown intervention on behalf of Pākehā commercial interests to block further exports of the stone after WWII.

⁷³ Commercial here implies monetary, distinct from the earlier trade and exchange networks of Māori.

The pounamu hei tiki, an object in human form with the accumulated mana of ancestors or the providential power of imagined gods, exercises historical agency. It is considered here as an historical agent rather than an historical actor. It is in possession not of human agency or its own consciousness but of meanings and power ascribed to it by humans. This history of its imperial life and its reinvention as a material object of colonial culture extends the literature on its pre-colonial origins, and quickens our understanding of its later meanings, functions and forms.

Part One: *The stone*

Chapter I: Pounamu and Māori

The pre-colonial origins of the hei tiki discussed in the introduction offer a broad overview of a rather more complicated process of evolution in the production, exchange and use of pounamu objects. The historical periodisation of this thesis, which opens with the emergence of a new commercial trade in pounamu in the 1860s West Coast gold rush, imposes a type of sequential approach to the narrative. It is important to acknowledge this is not a universally shared way to consider changes which affect taonga Māori such as pounamu. Dougal Austin's research into hei tiki "addresses the problem that while hei tiki are the most culturally iconic of Māori adornments, there still remains much uncertainty concerning their origins, lineage of development and cultural use."⁷⁴ Austin analysed museum collections of pounamu hei tiki which are catalogued by the dates when they entered the documentary record, that is, between 1769 and circa 1850. His comparison of stylistic developments over time and across regions traverses difficulties with the evolutionary sequences described in twentieth-century scholarship. He found "there appears to have been considerable unevenness throughout the various regions of New Zealand in the transition from the archaic to classic phase of Māori culture."⁷⁵

Deidre Brown and other art historians also explored the difficulties shaking off the chronological frameworks of their discipline when trying to communicate a story for Māori art. They identify an alternative temporal model to the "developmental or episodic sequence of events", where time is considered as a three-dimensional concept and art is created "within a whakapapa, which moves up, down, and across generations."⁷⁶ Atholl Anderson argues a narrow pre-occupation with how material culture appears in the archaeological record has limited the ability to understand how the "transitional phase" unfolded for Māori society between the years 1450 and 1650. Anderson places particular emphasis on the processes of climate change and population growth in the "re-shaping [of]

⁷⁴ Austin, "Hei Tiki: He Whakamārama Hōu", p.ii

⁷⁵ Ibid, pp.8-9

⁷⁶ Deidre Brown, Ngarino Ellis & Jonathan Mané-Wheoki, *Does Māori Art History Matter? Gordon H. Brown Lecture*, Wellington, 2014, pp.18-19 and 26

the cultural landscape during the middle phase of Māori archaeology.”⁷⁷ Likewise, in the telling of histories, Judith Binney’s influential scholarship on Māori oral narratives demonstrates “these accounts are focussed quite differently from the linear history, or diachronic order, of the European historical tradition...The contradictions in what constitutes history – oral and written – cannot be resolved. We cannot translate other histories into our own. We can merely juxtapose them.”⁷⁸ This scholarship on the challenges of some historical sources and approaches informs Part One of this thesis. Records which illustrate hei tiki specifically and pounamu generally are acknowledged to offer only partial understandings of Māori perspectives of the impact of colonisation on this taonga. However historical records continue to provide an important framework for Part One. This part explores dual understandings of pounamu as a consequence of a colonial event of great historic moment, the discovery of gold on the West Coast. It offers context for one strategy of Māori resistance to colonisation and explores how colonists from Germany shaped the trade in pounamu, or nephrite as it was more commonly understood in that country.

There are layers of histories, and historical sources, regarding the pounamu resource of Poutini Ngāi Tahu on the West Coast of the South Island. An extensive discussion of the Arahura land purchase in 1860 and Ngāi Tahu’s long search for redress for the Crown’s failure to keep promises in that agreement, and others, is outside the scope of this thesis. However the Waitangi Tribunal’s *Wai27* report offers an unequivocal summation.

The tribunal found that in none of the deeds of sale did Ngai Tahu agree to part with any pounamu...The tribunal found that although Ngai Tahu wished and intended to retain possession and control of all pounamu both throughout the remainder of the Arahura block and in all other blocks sold to the Crown, the Crown failed in breach of the Treaty principle requiring it to protect Ngai Tahu's right to retain this taonga and further failed to respect the tino rangatiratanga of Ngai Tahu over their taonga, contrary to article 2 of the Treaty.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Atholl Anderson, “The Making of the Māori Middle Ages: J.D. Stout Lecture 2016”, *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, No. 23, (2016), pp.2-3

⁷⁸ Judith Binney, “Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two Forms of Telling History”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 21.1, 1987, pp.27-28

⁷⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngāi Tahu Report, (Wai27)*, Wellington, 1991, p.128

The *Wai*²⁷ report itself marked the end of one historical phase for Ngāi Tahu and the beginning of another. The iwi subsequently negotiated new impediments to the return of its kaitiaki status for pounamu. Legislative redress, the return of statutory control over the taonga, did not occur till 1997, and was contested at the time by both Pākehā and Māori interests.⁸⁰ Theft of pounamu continues to be prosecuted on Ngāi Tahu's behalf in the twenty-first century, including a high profile case of offending on a commercial scale where helicopters airlifted boulders worth \$300,000 from Cascade Plateau in South Westland.⁸¹ The development of a Resource Management Plan to guide the ongoing use of pounamu concluded in 2002 after five years of discussion within Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and its sub tribal councils. Implicit in the management plan is recognition of the persistent desire of non-Ngāi Tahu to acquire pounamu by lawful or unlawful means. Casual and small-scale removal of pounamu from West Coast beaches is permitted under the plan, because "Ngāi Tahu recognises that fossicking for small amounts of pounamu is an important cultural activity for all New Zealanders."⁸² The chance discovery of early pounamu artefacts like hei tiki as a potential consequence of soil erosion or commercial land development is also anticipated by the management plan.⁸³

Indigenous guardianship and control of pounamu is thus clearly a feature which stretches well into the past, pre-colonisation, and extends perpetually into the future, post-settlement, for events which are yet to occur. The colonial-era gold rush is located as something of an abrupt break in this sequence, a point of significant transformation. In the interests of historical precision, this thesis identifies the year 1866 as the effective origin of the commercial pounamu trade in colonial New Zealand. Even this date can however be contested. Greenstone objects had been bartered between Māori and Pākehā, pillaged by imperial soldiers in wartime, stolen in civilian settings, or fossicked from riverbeds, coastlines and abandoned pa sites by anthropological collectors since the arrival of James

⁸⁰ Māori Affairs Select Committee, Submissions on Ngāi Tahu (Pounamu Vesting) Bill, unpublished papers, Ref: MA/97/1-54, Box 1997/30, Parliamentary Library

⁸¹ *R v David Anthony Saxton and Morgan David Saxton*, Court of Appeal of New Zealand, [2009] NZCA 498

⁸² Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, *Ngāi Tahu Pounamu Resource Management Plan*, Christchurch, 2002

⁸³ Pounamu artefacts unearthed in this way are automatically the property of the Crown, i.e. the Department of Conservation or Ministry for Culture and Heritage, which works with Ngāi Tahu to determine ongoing conservation and protection.

Cook one century earlier. But the creation of a colonial business in greenstone, based on monetary exchange and shaped by Māori-Pākehā encounters, is the origin of a history of imperial circulation. The circulation of resources, commodities, knowledge and people is part of the domain of cultural colonisation discussed by Tony Ballantyne.⁸⁴ Commercial pounamu items were colonial jewellery in both name and form. The mountings and chains were made of gold which was sometimes described as colonial gold, that is, mined in New Zealand.⁸⁵ The gold mountings were often engraved with Victorian and Edwardian scrollwork. But local motifs worked in gold were also added, such as ferns, kiwi, and te reo mottos *Kia Ora* or *Ake Ake*.⁸⁶ For many of these objects, the gold was likely extracted from the same West Coast river valleys as the pounamu.

The sudden appearance of commercial jewellers and lapidaries who worked with greenstone in the archival record of the mid-1860s is directly attributable to the discovery of gold on the West Coast, and the subsequent population boom around Hokitika in 1865.⁸⁷ Prospectors who searched for alluvial gold deposits used high-pressure water sluices to dislodge riverbanks and hillsides, which also uncovered vast quantities of greenstone boulders.⁸⁸ Jewellers in Greymouth, Nelson and Auckland sold locally-made greenstone items from 1866, and newspapers reported significant finds of greenstone boulders in gold

⁸⁴ Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*, Wellington, 2012, pp.264-282

⁸⁵ For example, the Greymouth jeweller Broadbent and East, see *Grey River Argus*, 15 December 1866, p.3; and the Nelson jeweller C. Ludwig, see *Nelson Evening Mail*, 29 June 1867, p.3, and 16 October 1867, p.3. The Auckland jeweller F.H. Lewisson also advertised greenstone and colonial jewellery, see *Daily Southern Cross*, 24 March 1866, p.1; and *Auckland Star*, 11 September 1871, p.1. Lewisson's Queen Street shop was very near the premises of H.E. Partridge, the collector of Lindauer portraits. Lewisson and Partridge are likely to have moved in the same business and philanthropic circles, and were both frequent donors of prizes for amateur sports and community events, e.g. "Auckland Railway Employees Excursion Trip", *New Zealand Herald*, 26 February 1877, p.3; and "Irish Famine Relief Fund", *Auckland Star*, 16 February 1880, p.3. It is not known if Lewisson donated jewellery or props for Lindauer to use during portrait sittings

⁸⁶ "Kia Ora Brooch", *Manawatu Times*, 3 December 1903, p.3. Greenstone pendants and brooches in the shape of tiki and with the *Ake Ake* and *Kia Ora* mottos were advertised in Australian newspapers too. See *Evening News* (Sydney) 5 December 1905, p.4; *Freeman's Journal* (Sydney), 28 November 1907, p.5; and *Sydney Stock and Station Journal*, 5 December 1907, p.8

⁸⁷ I have been unable to find any pre-1866 advertisements which promote commercially made greenstone jewellery. The population of the West Coast fluctuated between 10,000 and 35,000 people in the late 1860s and Hokitika's growth was so rapid that in 1866, two years after the township was founded, thousands of people were still living in tents and there were no formed roads. See Philip Ross May, *The West Coast Gold Rushes*, Christchurch, 1967 (1962), pp. 498-502; and *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1906, pp.484-486

⁸⁸ William Frederick Heinz, *New Zealand's Last Gold Rush*, Wellington, 1977, pp. 57-8

diggings that year, one weighing up to 512 lbs (230 kg).⁸⁹ In 1870 a monster boulder, a 1500 lbs stone (680kg) billed as “the greatest wonder of the age” was displayed at the Auckland premises of jeweller F.H. Lewisson, who described it as the largest greenstone ever found in New Zealand.⁹⁰ A minor part of proceedings in the trial of the notorious Maungatapu murderers in Nelson in September 1866 also related to the emergent prosperity of the new industry. In an attempt to disprove claims he was short of money, one of the gang, Thomas Kelly, indicated to the court that shortly before the multiple murders he took a piece of greenstone to a jeweller in Hokitika to be “worked up”, or cut or polished to create a more saleable item.⁹¹ A trade directory lists ten jewellers in Hokitika in 1866, including the Revell Street business of German migrant Joseph Philip Klein, later to become a pivotal figure in the internationalisation of the pounamu trade.⁹²

It is difficult to quantify the scale of greenstone extraction during the gold prospecting of the nineteenth century. Sales were informal transactions as the mineral, which was an ancillary find to gold claims, was not subject to regulation or licensing like other precious substances, such as gold or coal or even kauri gum.⁹³ Historian William F. Heinz estimated that one goldfield alone, the Kumara diggings on the banks of the

⁸⁹ For jewellers’ advertisements see *Daily Southern Cross*, 24 March 1866, p.1; *Grey River Argus*, 6 October 1866, p.2 and 15 December 1866, p.3; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 29 June 1867, p.3, and 16 October 1867, p.3. For the 1866 boulders, see “West Canterbury Goldfields”, *Lyttelton Times*, 13 April 1866, p.1; *Southland Times*, 29 May 1866, p.3; and *Lyttelton Times*, 30 July 1866, p.3

⁹⁰ “The Greatest Wonder of the Age”, *Auckland Star*, 5 August, 1870, p.3. Lewisson deserves in depth biographical attention in his own right. He appears to be the first commercial jeweller working in greenstone in Auckland, and was a noted philanthropist, who most famously helped promote early female endurance athlete Catherine Wiltshire. He died aged 57 having never stood for public office and had no children, perhaps an explanation for the absence of any examination of his legacy. He also helped establish the first Jewish *Taharah Prayer House* at Waikumete Cemetery. See “Death of Mr FH Lewisson”, *Auckland Star*, 14 December 1887, p.5; David Colquhoun, “The Remarkable Mrs Wiltshire: ‘Greatest Female Pedestrienne in the World’”, *Turnbull Library Record*, 45, 2013, pp.12-25; and *Waikumete Cemetery Conservation and Reserve Management Plan*, May 2003, p.26, at www.waitakere.govt.nz/cnlser/pbr/plans/pdf/waikumete/fullplan.pdf

⁹¹ “The Maungatapu Murders”, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 15 September 1866, p.3.

⁹² *Harnett & Co’s West Coast Goldfields Directory, 1866-1867*, p.87, Hokitika Museum collection. The other jewellers listed are remarkable for the apparent North European origins of their surnames but more biographical work is required to determine if they were German migrants like Klein. The jewellers surnames were: Christenson, Cohen, Hayman, Hewson, Klein, Lindsay, Penzholtz, Procter, Shappere, Trautvetter.

⁹³ Kauri gum was regulated in 1898 with the passage of the *Kauri Gum Industry Act*, which set aside reserves and introduced a licensing system. The Minister of Mines also included statistics from the kauri gum industry in his annual statements to Parliament, see for example “Mines Statement by the Minister Of Mines, The Hon. W. J. M. Larnach, C.M.G. Delivered On Tuesday, 6th July, 1886”, *AJHR*, 1886-I, C-02, pp. 2, 13, 15; and also Carl Walrond, “Kauri gum and gum digging”, *Te Ara*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/kauri-gum-and-gum-digging (accessed 13 October 2016)

Taramakau River, produced “thousands of lumps of greenstone...many of which were over a ton in weight”.⁹⁴ The true scale of the extraction is clearly exponentially larger, as several other West Coast alluvial goldfields were co-located with known pounamu deposits, from around Greymouth Mawhera in the north, through the Arahura, Taramakau and Hokitika Rivers, and the Mahitahi River at Bruce Bay in south Westland. Heinz named a German migrant, the butcher Louis Seebeck, as a type of early middle-man for the greenstone export trade, “arranging for the purchase of these stones....for export to Germany where for decades they were cut and polished into jewellery.”⁹⁵ Little else is known about Seebeck’s role, and his trade as a butcher in the goldmining town of Kumara may have been a factor in attracting the custom of gold prospectors who serendipitously discovered greenstone in their claims. The precarious nature of gold mining resulted in a subsistence lifestyle for many miners, and the ability to exchange a greenstone boulder for meat from Seebeck’s butchery may have conceivably saved the impoverished miners from starvation.⁹⁶



Figure 1: Sluicing for gold on the West Coast
Image: Gold mining-026, ca. 1880s, History House Museum, Greymouth

The resident Ngāi Tahu population of Te Tai Poutini West Coast was very quickly swamped by the new arrivals. The 1867 census records the Māori population in the entire South Island, excluding Nelson, as 1433 people. Nevertheless Māori actively resisted and contested the European claims to pounamu as soon as gold miners arrived. One historical marker of this period of profound change can be

⁹⁴ Heinz, *New Zealand’s Last Gold Rush*, p.57-8. Heinz spells the river by its earlier incorrect form, *Teremakau*. An imperial ton equates to 1016 kg. Heinz’s anecdotal knowledge may be due to his German-born grandfather, also called William, who migrated to Hokitika in 1864 and made steel pipes for the mining industry. See *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1906, p.516

⁹⁵ Heinz, p.58

⁹⁶ While the meat for greenstone suggestion is speculative, the hardships of life on the goldfield are discussed in May, *The West Coast Gold Rushes*, pp. 275-282, where he notes that on some diggings, the dietary staples were flour and alcohol. Carl Walrond suggests “In the 19th century discovering gold was a way out of poverty”, “Gold and gold mining”, *Te Ara*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/gold-and-gold-mining> (accessed October 2016)

found in newspaper accounts of a court case in 1866 over the disputed ownership of a pounamu boulder.⁹⁷ Haimona Tuangau and miner James Reynolds had several confrontations over the stone, found in Greenstone Creek, a tributary of the Taramakau River which empties into the sea between Hokitika and Greymouth.⁹⁸ In one angry episode, Reynolds clashed with Tuangau outside the Melbourne Hotel in Greymouth, called him a fool for refusing to share the pounamu, and stormed off. When the two prospectors met again on the outskirts of town in March 1866, Reynolds served Tuangau with a summons which alleged he had unlawfully taken the stone. It was a retaliatory gesture after Tuangau had enlisted the help of the local magistrate and police to protect his own interests. By August 1866 the matter was in court in Hokitika. It was extensively reported in local newspapers, which described it as the “celebrated” greenstone case and the “great greenstone trial”.⁹⁹

The pounamu from the boulder was estimated to have a market value of £2,500.¹⁰⁰ It was a fantastic sum in early colonial West Coast, capable of buying hundreds of heads of farm livestock, and a fortune compared to the wages offered to new immigrants.¹⁰¹ Tuangau, referred to in court documents as “Simon, a Maori”, found the boulder in February 1864 while prospecting for gold. With the help of his wife Betsy Pahati and friend Samuel Iwipau they spent three days using skids to move the boulder to the edge of the creek, where they covered it with branches and stones.¹⁰² Tuangau and others worked the stone in

⁹⁷ The account of the case in the following paragraphs is drawn from court reports in Hokitika’s *West Coast Times* newspaper, published between 8 August and 14 August 1866. Additional sources will be noted.

⁹⁸ The river is often incorrectly referred to in the reference sources as *Teremakau*. Correct spelling is used here, unless in direct quotation. Greenstone Creek is also known as Little Hohonu River. The area where the boulder was found is roughly halfway between Kumara and Lake Brunner.

⁹⁹ *West Coast Times*, 10 August 1866, p.2; and “The Supreme Court”, *West Coast Times*, 11 August 1866, p.5

¹⁰⁰ The market value was set by a jury, although Reynolds claimed the stone was worth up to twice that figure. “Supreme Court-Westland District”, *West Coast Times*, 8 August 1866, p.2; and “Reynolds v. Simon, a Maori”, *Wellington Independent*, 16 October 1866, p.5

¹⁰¹ Livestock calculations based on prices for sheep and cattle, in “Commercial Summary”, *West Coast Times*, 11 August 1866, p.4. In more affluent Canterbury, wages for new immigrants were around £75 per annum for a married couple, up to £60 per annum for a ploughman, and up to £35 per annum for a domestic servant. See “Labour Market”, *Lyttelton Times*, 13 April 1866, p.4

¹⁰² There are many variations on the spelling of these names in contemporary newspapers and other sources. Haimona Tuangau’s surname is also spelled *Tuakau*, *Tuangou*, and *Tuanga*. Betsy Pahati was also known as *Irihapeti*, and her surname sometimes spelled *Patahi*. A funeral notice taken out by her husband referred to her as *Betty Haimona*. See “Correspondence”, *Wananga*, 2 October 1875, p.257. Samuel Iwipau is also referred to as *Samuel Iwikau* and *Iwikau te Aika*. The spelling in the relevant reference material is used here.

addition to their nearby gold claim during the following months. However in December 1865 Reynolds discovered the site, and shortly afterwards used drills and explosives to blow the boulder into smaller pieces. More than 1800 lbs of stone, about 840 kg, was packed into sixteen bags. The sheer volume of the haul required a boatman to make three trips to transport them downstream. But through a complex intersection of local goldfields regulations, the power of the colonial judiciary, and what was presented in evidence as Māori customary practice, Tuangau exercised his rights and retrieved his pounamu.

A mounted constable travelled south from Greymouth to seize the greenstone from the boatman on the banks of the Taramakau River. The trooper acted on a warrant signed by goldfields Warden and Resident Magistrate William Horton Revell, for whom the main street of Hokitika is named.¹⁰³ A few days later the constable also arrested Thomas Reynolds for larceny. The court case in Hokitika and a subsequent referral to the Court of Appeal in Wellington went in Haimona Tuangau's favour. His lawyer successfully argued his client's traditional property rights predated the goldfields regulations, which otherwise enabled prospectors like Reynolds to peg out their claims in creek beds and river flats. The lawyer called witnesses who attested to the way "native law" applied to finds of "pooenamoo".¹⁰⁴ Werita Tainui testified in Māori that he was the local chief and that 'Simon' asked him to break pieces from the stone soon after it had been found.¹⁰⁵ He was reported as saying that under native law, the stone belonged to Tuangau, even if he left it unattended in the creek for periods of time. Werita Tainui was in fact a rangatira of Ngāti Waewae, a hapu of Ngāi Tahu, and one of the signatories to the Arahura land purchase. Ngāti Waewae controlled much of the pounamu trade with North Island tribes from its base at Mawhera, Greymouth.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1906, p.485. The Irish-born Revell was also the district returning officer and its coroner.

¹⁰⁴ "Wednesday August 8", *West Coast Times*, 9 August 1866, p.3

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. The newspaper incorrectly named him as Waita Tainui.

¹⁰⁶ Maika Mason, "Tuhuru Kokare", *DNZB*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t111/tuhuru-kokare (accessed November 2016)

William Revell also gave evidence to support Tuangau's defence. Revell arrived on the West Coast with something of a reputation for courage and a determination to uphold the law. As a Kaiapoi-based policeman in 1862, Revell and two fellow officers unsuccessfully tried to stop a "famous prize fight on the banks of the Waimak[ariri River]", by challenging a



Figure 2: Werita Tainui, leader of Poutini Ngāi Tahu

Image: H. Williams photo, 'Werita Tainui Glassplate', ca. 1870, History House Museum, Greymouth

crowd of several hundred men to break up their unlawful assembly.¹⁰⁷ As the goldfields Warden and Resident Magistrate on the West Coast, Revell responded to Tuangau's complaint by travelling to the Greenstone Creek goldfield. He warned Reynolds he had no claim to the greenstone boulder, as "it was the property of the Maoris, and he was not to touch it."¹⁰⁸ The Goldfields Act and Regulations applied only to gold, and Reynolds could not lawfully peg a claim to other minerals. In the criminal case, the presiding judge concluded that he wanted to rule against Reynolds, but needed to refer the matter to the Court of Appeal in Wellington on a point of law. Two months later that court found unanimously for Tuangau, and awarded him costs.¹⁰⁹ Haimona Tuangau's success in fighting off newly-arrived gold miners,

navigating colonial legislation, and dealing with police, magistrates, wardens and judiciary in 1866 was unusual. Tuangau is known to have corresponded with Colonial Governor Sir George Grey on other matters. One letter which survives in the Grey archives complains that he is poor and unwell, because Pākehā in Hokitika had stolen his horses and robbed him on four separate occasions in as many years.¹¹⁰ His courtroom victory is remarkable for the knowledge it offers of the historical moment when profound changes began to affect

¹⁰⁷ George Ranald Macdonald, "William Horton Revell", *Macdonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biography, 1952-1964*, Canterbury Museum, <https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/persons/88311>

¹⁰⁸ "Wednesday August 8", *West Coast Times*, 9 August 1866, p.3

¹⁰⁹ "Court of Appeal, This Day", *Evening Post*, 25 October 1866, p.2

¹¹⁰ Haimona Tuangau, Letter to Te Kawana, written at Hokitika, *Sir George Grey Special Collections*, Auckland Libraries, Manuscript No. GNZMA 306, undated. [Annotations indicate it could be circa 1866]

the extraction and trade in pounamu. New Zealand greenstone soon became a global trade item, an object of material culture subject to forces of colonisation wider than just those of the British Empire. Almost exactly one hundred and thirty years after the “great greenstone trial” gripped the Māori and Pākehā citizens of Hokitika, legislation was introduced to Parliament to enable ownership of pounamu in almost all of the South Island to return to Ngāi Tahu.¹¹¹

Haimona Tuangau’s greenstone boulder illustrates contest at specific sites and with recognised agents of colonisation: a West Coast river; the merchants, wardens and magistrates of a goldfields town; the Appeal Court bench of the capital city; and the correspondents of a competitive and parochial newspaper industry. It also offers evidence of dual strategies of Māori resistance and participation in the colonisation ‘project’, previously described by Ballantyne as a set of uneven cultural, economic and political relationships. The pounamu boulder and the objects at the heart of this research, hei tiki, serve as historical documents which reveal a complex pattern of colonial trade and commerce. Greenstone jewellery also serves as a template for the construction of colonial culture, such as everyday fashion and other objects of desire. A number of other non-textual primary sources, including portrait paintings and formally-posed studio photographs, as well as illustrated jewellers’ advertisements, reveal the popularity of new colonial greenstone jewellery amongst both Māori and Pākehā.

The work of Bohemian-born artist Gottfried Lindauer is renowned for his depiction of subjects wearing pounamu ornaments, including identifiably colonial jewellery. Regarded as the first “specialist in Māori portraiture”, Lindauer’s work was immensely popular with his sitters who commissioned work and the viewing public.¹¹² Auckland businessman Henry Edward Partridge opened the Lindauer Art Gallery in Queen Street in 1901 to display his

¹¹¹ “Preamble”, *Ngai Tahu (Pounamu Vesting) Act 1997*, Reprint 2013. The bill was introduced on 1 August. 1996. The takiwā of Ngāi Tahu is legally defined by section 5 of *Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu Act 1996* and extends south from a survey line between Cloudy Bay in Marlborough and Kahurangi Point in West Coast-Tasman.

¹¹² Leonard Bell, “A Perspective from New Zealand: Lindauer’s Paintings in the Settler Colonial World”, Ngahiraka Mason and Zara Stanhope, (eds), *Gottfried Lindauer’s New Zealand: the Māori Portraits*, Auckland, 2016, pp. 39-50

private collection to visitors. It attracted leading figures of Māori and Pākehā society.¹¹³ Lindauer's Māori portraits are sites of what curator Chanel Clarke calls "cultural crossings", where the clothing and adornment of the subjects offer "compelling visual clues to the dynamic nature of the environment that Māori found themselves in during the nineteenth century."¹¹⁴ At least two early Lindauer portraits of Māori women depict them wearing modern pounamu and gold jewellery.¹¹⁵ Karawhira Kapu, a woman of mana in South Waikato and Taupō, was no more than 24 years old in 1883 when she was painted wearing a fashionable pounamu drop earring with gold mounting, accentuated by intricately worked gold leaves. In another painting an unidentified woman wears both a pounamu hei tiki around her neck and a pounamu brooch at her collar. The brooch is a repurposed kapeu earring which has been embellished with three bands of engraved gold. Art historian Ngarino Ellis suggests this portrait juxtaposes "the old with the new", the kapeu "modernised" with gold as a display of wealth and fashion.¹¹⁶ The production of these pounamu and gold objects was entirely the domain of Pākehā commercial jewellers and lapidaries. Yet there is much evidence of Māori clients acting as patrons or commissioning specific pounamu items to their own design, and of Māori agency and active participation in the industry.

The history of the pounamu jewellery industry between the 1860s and 1940s is shaped by commercial and cultural relationships. The relationships highlight the complicated nature of imperial knowledge networks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries, networks which were trans-imperial. There is pronounced German and Dutch interest in collecting the cultures of empire, especially nephrite objects made to Māori designs. The Dutch perspective involved the ability to look through the arrival of James Cook in 1769 to the ill-fated antecedent arrival of Abel Tasman in 1642, the first

¹¹³ Ngahiraka Mason, "Life and Image: the Partridge Collection", Mason and Stanhope, *Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand*, pp.51-60

¹¹⁴ Chanel Clarke, "Cultural Crossings: Victorian and Māori Dress in Lindauer's Portraits", Mason and Stanhope, *Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand*, pp. 237-240

¹¹⁵ Gottfried Lindauer, *Karawhira Kapu*, 1883, oil on canvas, Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira, PD-1951-1-3, reproduced as Plate 43 in Mason and Stanhope, *Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand*; and Lindauer, *Portrait of an Unknown Maori Woman*, not dated, oil on canvas, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, reproduced on p.245 of Mason and Stanhope.

¹¹⁶ Ngarino Ellis, "He iti, he pounamu: Lindauer and personal adornments", in Mason and Stanhope, *Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand*, pp. 241-246

moment of European-Māori contact. A strong Dutch interest in the material culture of waka, especially waka taua or war canoes, persists into the twenty-first century.¹¹⁷ But it is the role of German colonists in particular which had the greatest impact on the commercial greenstone industry which sprang up in the late nineteenth century. New Zealand's place in trans-imperial networks, and the colonising practices of non-British Europeans, is examined in the following chapter.

¹¹⁷ The National Museum of Ethnology in the Netherlands commissioned Northland waka builder Hekenukumai Busby to construct a new vessel, *Te Hono ki Aotearoa - The Link to New Zealand*, for an exhibition in 2010, and it is now on semi-permanent loan in the museum's collections. The project is the subject of a documentary film: Jan Bieringa, Director, *Te Hono ki Aotearoa*, BWX productions, Wellington, 2012

Chapter II: Nephrite and Germans

The earliest attempt at a New Zealand-wide scholarly survey of indigenous knowledge and practices of working with pounamu was carried out at the request of a German professor. In 1881, Heinrich Fischer of the University of Freiburg approached colonial jurist and ethnologist Frederick Chapman. Chapman was an imperially mobile intellectual, born into an elite New Zealand legal family in 1849 and schooled in Australia, France, Germany and Britain before returning to the colony. He helped found the Polynesian Society in 1892 and was an enthusiastic private collector of Māori artefacts, which he later donated to Otago University.¹¹⁸ Professor Fischer sent Chapman a list of eighteen questions about the processes for making hei tiki, the meanings of the object, and wider Māori beliefs and traditions regarding nephrite or greenstone. Chapman circulated the questions to colonial figures he considered learned in Māori culture, such as the English-born former Native Secretary Edward Shortland, the German-born Foveaux Strait missionary J.F.H. Wohlers, and the native-born Reverend Stack in Canterbury.¹¹⁹ The men mediated the knowledge of their Māori informants and sources, including Hakopa te Ata o Tu, the Kaiapoi chief discussed in the Introduction. The replies were translated into German, Hakopa's first translated from Māori to English, before they were forwarded to Fischer. He was researching a larger global hypothesis about nephrite from Oceania, later repudiated by another German academic. Fischer unsuccessfully sought to argue that nephrite ornaments and weapons found in European and Central American archaeological sites were actually manufactured in Asia and Oceania, and were transported through prehistoric continental migrations of native peoples.¹²⁰ While Chapman's research on behalf of Fischer has left New Zealand scholars with important first-person or eye witness accounts of pounamu production, use and exchange in nineteenth century Māori societies, it also highlights the complicated global systems of scholarly networks. Collecting practices and early

¹¹⁸ Peter Spiller, "Chapman, Frederick Revans", *DNZB*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3c10/chapman-frederick-revans (accessed March 2017), Chapman was also the presiding judge at the 1916 trial of Tūhoe prophet Rua Kēnana.

¹¹⁹ F.R. Chapman, "On the Working of Greenstone or Nephrite by the Maoris", *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, 1891, Vol. XXIV, pp.479-539

¹²⁰ Adolf Bernhard Meyer, "The Nephrite Question", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 1, No.3, 1888, pp.231-242

anthropological work were not confined by colonial or imperial borders, and by implication, neither was the idea of the culture of 'these islands'.

John Mackenzie has identified a cooperative model of European imperialism in the nineteenth century which was strongly internationalist in tone.¹²¹ He distinguishes between an earlier eighteenth century mercantilist era, marked by aggressive trade and economic competition between European empires, and a later period of intellectual and cultural cooperation throughout Britain and Europe. In science, environmental practices, Christian missions and the establishment of colonial museums in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, "the appearance of non-British names in key areas of imperial endeavour is now a familiar phenomenon," noted Mackenzie.¹²² German geologists Julius Haast and Ferdinand Hochstetter in colonial New Zealand are included in his assessment. It does not require a significant conceptual leap to consider the circulation of knowledge of Māori cultural treasures outside New Zealand colonial borders, outside the British Empire, or indeed outside the Māori world entirely. This porous trans-imperial world, particularly of European nations, reflected some of the consequences of the new commercial trade in pounamu.

The Dutch university city of Leiden is a collection of empires and ages. It occupies a significant imperial crossroads, built from a long historical association with elites and their subjects from Spain, France, Bavaria and Britain. Non-state imperial actors have also shaped Leiden, such as East India spice merchants and the Pilgrim religious dissenters who subsequently departed to found a colony in New England. The knowledge of local and far-flung imperial spaces has been systematically acquired and exhibited to visitors since the nineteenth century in one institutional place, *Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde*, the National Museum of Ethnology. It claims to be the oldest ethnographic museum in the world, with its origins in Dutch colonial collections beginning in 1816.¹²³ Objects from Oceania were acquired *in situ*, by explorers and Dutch East India Company officials who passed through

¹²¹ John M. Mackenzie, "European Imperialism: a Zone of Co-operation Rather Than Competition?", Volker Barth and Roland Cvetkovski, (eds), *Imperial Cooperation and Transfer, 1870-1930: Empires and Encounters*, London, 2015, pp.36-41

¹²² Ibid

¹²³ David van Duuren and Tristan Mostert, *Curiosities from the Pacific Ocean*, Leiden, 2007, p.9

Batavia, now Jakarta, and purchased from private collectors.¹²⁴ A significant purchase of hei tiki and other objects made of New Zealand nephrite is examined here briefly in order to highlight one of the paradoxes about cultural meanings which can be constructed around material objects.

In 1908 the Volkenkunde purchased 21 objects made of New Zealand nephrite, mostly items of adornment.¹²⁵ The purchase from the German gemstone-dealing business *Jacob Wild XIII* was a significant one-off acquisition, and now amounts to almost ten per cent of the museum's collection of Māori material culture.¹²⁶ The purchase included ten hei tiki, seven kapeu and kuru ear ornaments, three kākā pōria bird rings, and one pekapeka-shaped pendant. Importantly however, the objects were qualified from the very moment of acquisition with the adjective 'imitation'. There was also transparency about their place of production, in Idar-Oberstein, Germany. One of the largest objects, a hei-tiki, is described in the collections database as "Imitatie van een Maori-hanger (hei-tiki), gemaakt in Idar-Oberstein (Duitsland) van nefriet dat uit Nieuw-Zeeland werd geïmporteerd", or, "Imitation of a Māori pendant (hei-tiki), made in Idar-Oberstein (Germany) from nephrite which was imported from New Zealand."¹²⁷ The modern reproductions fulfilled part of the museum's collecting functions without a pretence or falsification of any Māori provenance. The nine-centimetre high pendant is still a highly valued part of the collection. It was valued at €5,500 in 2011, and its photograph illustrated a book to accompany the museum's 2010 *Mana Māori* exhibition.¹²⁸ Valuable in 2011 and desirable in 1908, the meanings associated with hei tiki continue to unfold. The acquisition of the Jacob Wild collection in Leiden serves as a midway point between chronologically fixed events of the 1860s and 1940s. It is a useful moment to take stock of what material culture looked like in the imperial spaces of the first decade of the twentieth century. As a consequence of the trade in pounamu, German industry was producing imitation Māori objects from New Zealand greenstone to sell to a

¹²⁴ Duuren and Mostert, *Curiosities*, pp.9-14; and Wonu Veys, *Mana Māori: the Power of New Zealand's First Inhabitants*, Leiden, 2010, pp. 86-88

¹²⁵ The descriptions are based on metadata in the Volkenkunde's unpublished collection database, provided in personal communication from its Curator Oceania, Dr Wonu Veys.

¹²⁶ The museum's online database has 236 records for Māori collections: <https://volkenkunde.nl/en/collection>

¹²⁷ "borsthanger/imitatie", RV-1640-1, unpublished database, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde.

¹²⁸ Ibid, and Veys, *Mana Māori*, p.33. The photo caption includes descriptive detail of the hei tiki's German and New Zealand origin.

Dutch colonial museum for the broad purpose of educating visitors and ethnographers from around the world. The enterprise was shaped by the broader trans-imperial project of acquisition, collection and display of places, people and objects. New Zealand's place in the British Empire did not preclude colonisation by other empires. The ability of German industry to produce such objects can be traced to the 1860s gold rush.

Joseph Klein and Louis Seebeck were amongst hundreds of German migrants on the West Coast who followed the gold rush as either prospectors or small businessmen and skilled artisans. By the 1870s German-born migrants made up an estimated five per cent of the total population of Westland, which the 1867 census recorded as 15,418 but which may in fact have been many thousands more.¹²⁹ Some migrants indicated a sense of semi-permanence or at least an intention to play a role in the community. A German Association was established at Rosstown (now Ross) south of Hokitika in 1866, as a venue for "music, cards, chess, debating, libraries...and mutual relief funds".¹³⁰ Seebeck, Klein and later migrants were part of a wider international German diaspora which retained strong family and commercial contacts in their homeland. While early items of pounamu jewellery were made by New Zealand-based jewellers, the bulk of production shifted to German factories from around 1868 onwards.

The first known commercial exports of greenstone occurred in mid-1866.¹³¹ Raw boulders sourced from West Coast rivers and goldfields were traded with Australia, France and Britain. The Ngāti Kahungunu leader Te Manihera arranged for a stone weighing about one cwt (50 kg) to be shipped to England, cut to his specifications and returned to Māori in the Wairarapa.¹³² A block weighing 500 lbs (230kg) was exported to Australia to offer to

¹²⁹ The five per cent German population estimate is from I.H. Burnley, "German Immigration and Settlement in New Zealand, 1842-1914", *New Zealand Geographer*, no. 29, 1973, pp.45-63. The 1867 census figures are from "Abstracts of Certain Principal Results of a Census of New Zealand, taken in December 1867", *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, Session I, D-01, pp.4-5

¹³⁰ "The Month", *West Coast Times*, 13 August 1866, p.2

¹³¹ There was possibly a one-off shipment to China in 1842, from "Milford Haven" in Fiordland. The greenstone in this location is not nephrite but is known as bowenite or tangiwai, a translucent type of stone. Nevertheless it is still captured by the sense of the word *pounamu*. The shipment to China is referenced in "Lecture on Geology", *New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser*, 9 September 1842, p.2

¹³² Untitled, *The Daily Southern Cross*, 18 April 1866, p.4

“the celestials” of the Chinese community in Melbourne as jade. When they declined to buy it, the stone was shipped to Auckland and advertised for sale at a Queen Street store for £2,000.¹³³ Shipping records show a Canterbury merchant sent a case of greenstone worth £250 from Lyttelton to England along with a shipment of wool, although little else is known of the commercial arrangement.¹³⁴ Also during 1866, a Nelson newspaper reported a story from the West Coast of a local man who supposedly earned £1,000 from the sale of a boulder weighing 100 lbs to a merchant in France, where it was to be turned into jewellery.¹³⁵ Statistical returns for the export of greenstone are largely absent from government records during the nineteenth century. In the 1894 *Official Yearbook* the only listed mineral exports are coal, gold, silver and ‘other’. The archival imprecision of ‘other’ cannot necessarily be taken to include greenstone. In the 1880s, the annual statement to Parliament by the Minister of Mines referred to gold, silver, coal, copper, antimony, manganese, zinc, sulphur, haematite, and “other minerals not specified”, but not greenstone, pounamu or its scientific name, nephrite.¹³⁶ By the twentieth century some limited returns are available, although the information is sporadic. Between 1901 and 1907 the known exports of greenstone fluctuated between a low of 60 cwt and a high of 338 cwt annually, or between 3,000 to 17,000 kilograms. In total, 1096 cwt of greenstone exports were recorded between those years, or 55,679 kilograms.¹³⁷ Averaged over six years, there was an effective export trade of 9.28 metric tonnes of greenstone per year in the early twentieth century. The figure provides a rough reckoning only and knowledge of the true scale of greenstone extraction remains elusive. As previously discussed, William Heinz estimated the Kumara goldfield alone produced thousands of boulders, many weighing more than a ton. In the archival silences of the late nineteenth century, anecdotal sources are relied upon for an imperfect gauge of greenstone exports, including newspaper reports, local histories and memoirs, and correspondence. They indicate a thriving trans-imperial trade in the stone.

¹³³ Untitled, *The Argus* (Melbourne), 12 May 1866, pp. 4-5, and *The Daily Southern Cross*, 13 June 1866, p.3

¹³⁴ “Summary of wool, sheepskins, &c”, *Press*, 14 July 1866, p.2

¹³⁵ Untitled, *Colonist*, 11 September 1866, p.2.

¹³⁶ “Mines Statement by the Minister Of Mines, The Hon. W. J. M. Larnach, C.M.G., 24th July 1885, *AJHR*, 1885-I, C-6, p.15

¹³⁷ Figures compiled from *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, Census and Statistics Department, online at http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/digital-yearbook-collection.aspx

J. P. K L E I N

BEGS respectfully to inform his numerous friends and the public that he has received by the Panama mail Two Cases of Goods direct from Germany, consisting of a large variety CUT STONES and GEMS of the following description :—

Amethyst for Rings, Brooches, and Ear-rings

Topas do do

Jasper or Blood Stone, Crosses, Pendants, Ear-rings, Rings, Beads, Buttons, Seals, &c.

Cornelian Pendants, Ear-rings, Pen-holders, Crosses, Seals Stones, Ring Stones, Brooches, Buttons, Shirt Studs, Sleeve-links, &c.

Onyx Ear-rings, Pendants, Shirt Studs Collar Buttons, Brooches, Beads, Crosses, &c.

Agate Pendants, Rings, Brooches, Pen-holders, Pipe Mouth-pieces, Pencils, Buttons, Shirt Studs, Sleeve and Collar Buttons, Brooches, Ear-rings, Cane and Whip Handles, Walking Stick Heads, &c.

Coral Beads, Brooches and Ear-rings
Rock Crystal Crosses, Seals, Pendants, Ear-rings, Hearts, Beads, Bracelets, &c.

Cameo Brooches and Ear-rings
GREEN STONE PENDANTS,
PINS, EAR-RINGS, &c.

Cornelian Match and Snuff Boxes
Loose Diamonds, Opals, Rubies, Pearls
Garnets, Turquoise, &c., &c. for settings

Figure 3: Advertisement for German-made greenstone objects

Image: *West Coast Times*, 29 October 1868, p.4

Two years after the first commercial greenstone shipments left New Zealand, a small advertisement for imported greenstone jewellery appeared in the Hokitika newspaper, the *West Coast Times*. The watchmaker and jeweller's firm of J.P. Klein on Revell Street was one of several commercial ventures owned by Joseph Philip Klein, who also owned the *Times* newspaper itself. The advertisement advised locals that Klein "has received by the Panama mail Two Cases of Goods direct from Germany, consisting of a large variety of CUT STONES and GEMS of the following description:...GREEN STONE PENDANTS, PINS, EAR-RINGS, &c."¹³⁸ The classified advertisement amounts to an archival scrap, almost ephemera. Yet as an historical source it offers a landmark piece of evidence. It testifies to the power of the 'informal' empire, the family networks of German migrants in shaping the greenstone trade.

Klein was born in Birkenfeld province on the western edge of the German empire in 1830 and arrived in New Zealand as a 31 year old. His brother Karl remained in Germany, working as a lapidary in the precious stones industry which dominated the settlement of Idar-Oberstein.¹³⁹ The twin towns are on the river Nahe, a tributary of the Rhine. At the time Klein emigrated Idar-Oberstein had a near-400 year history as a gemstone mining and processing centre, based on local agate deposits and access to streams which powered water-driven mills.¹⁴⁰ At the height of the industry more than fifty small grinding mills operated in the area but by 1820 the agate deposits were almost depleted. The decline of the industry was one factor which contributed to the first wave of emigration from Idar-Oberstein, aggravated by food

¹³⁸ "J.P. Klein", *West Coast Times*, 29 October 1868, p.4

¹³⁹ "KLEIN, Philip Joseph", *Hokitika Probate Files*, 1885, ANZ, HK244/1885; and "Resident Magistrate Hokitika to Colonial Secretary 10 October 1867, Letters of Naturalization in favour of Joseph Philip Klein", ANZ, IA1 296 [7] 1867/3486

¹⁴⁰ Rolf Herzog, *Tiki: Über Originale und Imitationen von Nephritobjekten der Maori-Kultur*, [Tiki: the original and imitation nephrite objects of Māori culture], Berlin, 1990, p.75

shortages and political and religious unrest. The migration was part of a much larger German diaspora to European colonies around the world, which ultimately included New Zealand.¹⁴¹ The informal German empire, the empire of family networks, made its first commercial connections with South America. Rolf Herzog has identified a complex resource-based industry with strong links to the life of the village the migrants left behind:

The gem-cutters couldn't make ends meet using local material and needed to import. They imported Indian carnelians from London but this wasn't enough. The son of a gem-cutter found agate in a river in Rio Grande do Sul [Brazil] and the first shipment of these semi-precious stones went to Idar in 1834. From 1840 they were regularly importing agate and amethysts from South America. This was successful which encouraged emigrants from Idar to send news back home from anywhere in the world where they happened to come across valuable minerals.¹⁴²

Klein appears to be the first person to utilise these imperial family networks to commercial advantage in New Zealand. His 1868 Hokitika newspaper advertisement is the earliest documented archival record of imported jewellery made from greenstone. It marks the beginning of an eighty-year period where such items were produced on an industrialised scale in Europe for markets in New Zealand, Australia and Britain. The implications pose a challenge to usual theoretical models where the imperial core exploits the natural resources of the colonial periphery to its own advantage. In nineteenth century New Zealand, jewellers in the commercial greenstone industry instead gained a competitive edge by importing goods produced by a low-wage industrialised labour force and cheap means of production in the imperial core of Europe.

Klein's commercial greenstone interests illustrate his imperial mobility and the full privileges of citizenship he enjoyed at the time. He had the ability to move throughout the German and British empires, to conduct business in New Zealand, Australia, and Germany, to petition for relief from unfair administrative policies, to campaign via a free press, to worship according to his own faith of Judaism, and to own freehold property and land. He

¹⁴¹ Manfred Rauscher and Axel Redmer, *Idar-Oberstein 1900 bis 1945. Eine Illustrierte Stadtgeschichte* [translated: Idar-Oberstein from 1900 to 1945. An illustrated city history], Erfurt, Germany, 2013, pp.16 and 19. The first German migrants to New Zealand settled around the Nelson area as part of the New Zealand Company scheme in 1843. Burnley, "German Immigration and Settlement in New Zealand", p.46

¹⁴² Herzog, *Tiki*, p.75. Translation by Charlotte Simmonds, Victoria University School of Languages, 2016

exercised all of those freedoms.¹⁴³ His privileges were not universally shared with others in the imperial space of the goldfields, including women, Chinese, and Māori. Yet Klein was forced to compromise an intrinsic part of his identity – his national allegiance. Following the passage of *The Aliens Act* in 1866 Klein was required to take an oath of allegiance to Queen Victoria before he was able to own property, a privilege available only to those born in so-called “friendly states”.¹⁴⁴ Sir George Grey signed the letters of naturalisation which enabled Klein to swear an oath to be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria as the lawful sovereign of the Colony.¹⁴⁵ The naturalisation ceremony extinguished Klein’s legal status as an “alien friend” and instead re-created him as a “natural born British subject”.¹⁴⁶ He was now assimilated within the colony, both colonised and a coloniser. Yet he retained a trans-imperial mentality which connected him to German and British networks of trade and culture.

The speed at which Klein and many of his fellow Germans acted to take up their new legal protections and privileges indicates how keen they were to become British subjects. Archives New Zealand records show that in the first two years for which naturalisation Ordinances were published, in 1844 and 1845, all 261 people who took advantage of the process were German.¹⁴⁷ The ease of movement between British and German worlds belies the apparent restrictive language of *The Aliens Act* a generation later. Queen Victoria’s mother was German-born, as was her husband Prince Albert, and their children held the titles of German princes and princesses. The naturalisation oath in her name was an affirmation of allegiance to a broader Anglo-German imperial family, and any real

¹⁴³ For example, Klein posted bail for two Irish prisoners charged during “Fenian” unrest in Hokitika, *Evening Post*, 30 May 1868, p.2 and *West Coast Times*, 25 April 1868, p.2. When Klein initially sought to cash up his effects to move to Melbourne, his assets included “fifteen valuable freehold town properties” as well as the printing press and business of the newspaper, and his entire stock of jewellery, including “greenstone ornaments by the best Continental Lapidaries”: see “Important Notice!”, *West Coast Times*, 31 December 1868, p.3. Klein was one of eighty individuals and businesses who paid for the construction of the first synagogue in Hokitika, “Subscription List”, *West Coast Times*, 1 September 1866, p.3

¹⁴⁴ *The Aliens Act 1866*. Online at www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/aa186630v1866n17195.pdf

¹⁴⁵ Resident Magistrate Hokitika to Colonial Secretary 10 October 1867, Letters of Naturalization in favour of Joseph Philip Klein, IA1 296 [7] 1867/3486 Archives NZ. Klein left his homeland just after the 1848 revolutions. Although German-speaking peoples went through political processes of federation and unification from 1815 onwards, the politically unified North German Confederation was not established till 1867. In his 1867 petition to Sir George Grey, Klein described his place of birth as “Germany”.

¹⁴⁶ *The Aliens Act 1866*, section V

¹⁴⁷ Archives New Zealand, “Research Guide – Citizenship”, Wellington, January 2010, p.2

compromise to birth-identity was only on paper. Klein and many other Germans on the West Coast held a champagne lunch in Hokitika to celebrate the life of the Queen's second son, Alfred, after he survived an assassination attempt while visiting Sydney in early 1868. The speech in Alfred's honour was delivered in German, a toast was proposed to "An United Vaterland", and the singing of the German anthem closed proceedings. The translated speech was reproduced by the local newspaper and indicates undivided allegiances and unquestioning loyalties from the German-British subjects:

the precious life of your Royal Highness was spared — precious so much more to us as descended from a German Principality whose descendants have set such noble example of high German virtue to all other sovereigns....every German heart will willingly give his last drop of blood to uphold that Constitution which confers equal rights and privileges on all nations, and under whose healthy influence we live and prosper. ¹⁴⁸

German migrants found their assimilation into the British colonial system helped, not hindered, by their national and ethnic identity. James Belich suggests Germans were "important allies of Anglo settlement" not just in New Zealand, but in British colonies in Australia, Canada and South Africa.¹⁴⁹ He describes German migrants as one of the outer hulls of "an ethnic trimaran" of Anglo settlers who sailed from Europe in the long nineteenth century. The central hull is composed of English, Scots and Welsh, while Irish migrants make up the remaining outer hull. The 'ethnic trimaran' he portrays is based on racial and religious characteristics. Anglo-Saxon-Teutonic Protestants were perceived by Britons as "good immigrants, second only to Britons themselves, and perhaps even ahead of Catholic Irish."¹⁵⁰ Wary perhaps of reading too much into "racial legend", Belich does explore the "substantial real connections" between Britain, its settlement colonies and Germany.¹⁵¹ He notes in particular the commerce through northern German ports, other active North Sea links, and the dynastic connections of British monarchs and the House of Hanover in northern Germany. The scholarship is classic epic narrative, and does not entirely explain the German populations who were so influential in the New Zealand greenstone industry,

¹⁴⁸ "The German Address to H.R.H.", *West Coast Times*, 14 April 1868, p.2

¹⁴⁹ James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 62-65

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, pp.58 & 63

¹⁵¹ Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, p.64

predominantly Jewish migrants from Rhineland-Palatinate in the south.¹⁵² Yet Belich does underscore an important point when he suggests the role of Germans as colonisers in the British settler world is underestimated. Mackenzie too suggests the British-German connection deserves closer attention, as it was the “most highly developed” relationship in the cooperative internationalist age of European empires, before the disruption and introspection of World War One.¹⁵³



Figure 4: German lapidaries at work in a gemstone-grinding mill

This turn of the century postcard depicts the work environment in water-powered gemstone grinding mills on the river Nahe, a tributary of the Rhine.

Image: *Idar, Inneres einer Achatschleiferei*, [Idar, Inside an Agate Grinding Mill], postcard, ca 1912, Carl Schmidt Publishers, Idar. Private collection, Wellington

Certainly there were differences between the receptions accorded two distinct waves of German migrants who effected change in the commercial greenstone industry, especially regarding their legal and political identities. While Klein and his 1860s cohort transitioned relatively painlessly from alien friend to natural born British subject, a later generation of German arrivals were labelled enemy aliens during WWI. The first group of migrants instituted the circular trade in greenstone, the exports of raw boulders which were returned as industrially produced jewellery and decorative objects. The later generation of

¹⁵² The federal state of Rhineland-Palatinate was formed after WWII, but encompasses the former principality of Birkenfeld, the location of the gemstone industry discussed here.

¹⁵³ Mackenzie, “European Imperialism”, p.47

migrants pioneered the production of imitation hei tiki on a staggering industrial scale. They were also responsible for a more sophisticated approach to the retail side of the business than their predecessors and helped to stimulate aggressive competition between the German-made objects and the local manufacturers, especially those in Dunedin workshops. Eventually a New Zealand-born jeweller of German descent was instrumental in shutting down the international greenstone trade when he persuaded the Government to ban exports of raw stone after WWII in order to protect the domestic industry.¹⁵⁴ The later German influence on the twentieth century greenstone industry is discussed in more detail in Chapter V.

Throughout the late nineteenth century the domestic greenstone manufacturing and retail industry was active, but small. In the first decade after the West Coast gold rush, around 15 jewellers' firms with "at least forty hands" who worked in greenstone were established in Dunedin, and around ten firms operated in Auckland.¹⁵⁵ A handful of silversmiths who worked in greenstone also established businesses in Christchurch, Nelson, Wellington and Wanganui during the 1870s.¹⁵⁶ A jeweller estimated that at one stage in the 1870s, between £300-£400 worth of jewellery was sold in Auckland every week, "the greater portion of this being greenstone." The figure was likely an exaggeration.¹⁵⁷ But the exports of raw stone which began in the 1860s fed manufacturers in Europe, notably the industrial centres of Birmingham and Derby in the British Midlands, as well as the gemstone-grinding mills in Idar-Oberstein. A Royal Commission appointed to travel the country in 1880 to determine which local industries needed help was asked by domestic jewellers to impose a 100 per cent duty on imported greenstone items and two shillings per lb on exports of rough greenstone.¹⁵⁸ Domestic jewellers complained of a number of unfair trade practices by European competitors, who they said profited from superior machinery and the use of child labour. The Dunedin jewellery house of P. Hayman & Co. was singled out for criticism

¹⁵⁴ *Customs Export Prohibition Order 1947*, Order in Council, 2 April 1947 [Gazetted 10 April 1947]

¹⁵⁵ "Report of the Colonial Industries Commission", *AJHR*, 1880-I, H-22, pp.98-100

¹⁵⁶ Winsome Shepherd, *Gold & Silversmithing in Nineteenth & Twentieth Century New Zealand*, Auckland, 1995, pp.26-102

¹⁵⁷ Evidence of Alfred Reynolds, lapidary of Albert Street, to commissioners, 30 April 1880, in "Report of the Colonial Industries Commission", *AJHR*, 1880-I, H-22, p.99. It is possible that Reynolds was overstating the weekly sales in order to make the decline in the industry appear more dramatic.

¹⁵⁸ "Report of the Colonial Industries Commission", *AJHR*, 1880-I, H-22, p.21

due to the advantage it enjoyed from being part of a family business with branches in both Birmingham and Germany. It was implied the firm had caused a slump in the domestic industry by importing large quantities of jewellery made from a block of greenstone it sent to England in 1877, leading to “the complete ruin of the trade here.”¹⁵⁹ Philip and Louis Hayman, like Klein, were imperially well-connected and also had an office in Melbourne, later expanding their merchandising business to Auckland in the 1880s.¹⁶⁰ Other jewellers complained about large blocks of greenstone sent from the West Coast to Germany, and about colonial fern-leaf designs being copied by “Home” manufacturers, frustrating efforts to establish a New Zealand industry in greenstone.¹⁶¹ The Trade Commissioners, chaired by Timaru politician and former Australasian newspaper correspondent Edward Wakefield,



Figure 5: Gold-rush era Hokitika, 1868

This streetscape captures a profound moment of change for greenstone pounamu. It is a snapshot of the colonial space where German industry first exerted its influence on the stone. The premises of J.P. Klein jeweller were in the *Evening Star* building on the left of the hotel, where the newspaper advertising shingle is visible. There is a realistic possibility that the men on the street may include gold miners who extracted the boulders, or customers who bought the first commercially manufactured greenstone objects.

Image: Tait Bros. photo, 'Golden Age Hotel, Revell St', ca. 1868, Image no. 405, Hokitika Museum

¹⁵⁹ “Report of the Colonial Industries Commission”, p.98 and 100

¹⁶⁰ “P. Hayman & Co. Warehouse (former)”, New Zealand Heritage List/Rarangi Korero, Number 4576, online at Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga, <http://www.heritage.org.nz/the-list/details/4576>. The P.Hayman & Co warehouse in Customs Street East in Auckland was built on material taken from the site of the former pa at Britomart as part of a waterfront reclamation. It is now a Category 2 protected heritage site.

¹⁶¹ “Report of the Colonial Industries Commission”, pp. 100-101.

were unmoved and declined to intervene in an industry they described as one of “luxury and art”.¹⁶² Contrary to Wakefield’s characterisation however, greenstone objects were increasingly commonplace and everyday items. As a manufactured good they had utility as functional and decorative household objects, and were widely embraced by non-elites as cheap and readily accessible adornment or gifts.

By 1888 the government came under renewed pressure to intervene in the local industry, following concerns about the stewardship of the economy and its finances. The Colonial Treasurer Harry Atkinson told Parliament that critics in London were unnerving New Zealand’s bankers and there was a need to reduce the deficit and to better assist local industries.¹⁶³ His budget that year introduced tariffs on a wide range of imported goods, including a duty of twenty per cent on cut greenstone. The size of many tariffs introduced in 1888 were kept in check by pressure from free trade lobbyists and by the system of “imperial preference”, where goods from Britain and other colonies were subject to less restrictive penalties.¹⁶⁴ The system of imperial preference had significant implications for the greenstone trade. It resulted in attempts to mask the German origins of many objects by routing trade through British merchants and agents. It did not however dampen trans-national enthusiasm for cheap and ready supplies of the stone.

New Zealand’s greenstone reserves were initially understood by the German-dominated industry in terms of the value of the mineral deposit alone, a semi-precious stone like any other from around the world which could be fashioned into a number of generic objects. But the flowering of the Maoriland period of hybrid cultural expression at the turn of the century turned Pākehā attention to questions of appropriation and representation of indigenous knowledge and design. Caught between the tensions of tradition and modernity, greenstone objects were ascribed with additional meanings of worth and value. Increasingly, they began to circulate through colonial and imperial

¹⁶² “Report of the Colonial Industries Commission”, p.11

¹⁶³ “The Financial Statement”, *Evening Post*, 30 May 1888, p.4

¹⁶⁴ “The Split in the Ministerial Camp”, *Wanganui Herald*, 2 June 1888, p.4, and Megan Cook, “Government and industrial development”, *Te Ara*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/government-and-industrial-development, accessed 15 November 2016

networks as symbolic statements of culture, bearing unique characteristics of land and people. Competing notions of Māori and Pākehā citizenship were thrown into sharp relief by the self-fashioned colonial identities displayed during the grand imperial excesses of the 1901 Royal tour, discussed in the following chapter.

Part Two: *The objects*

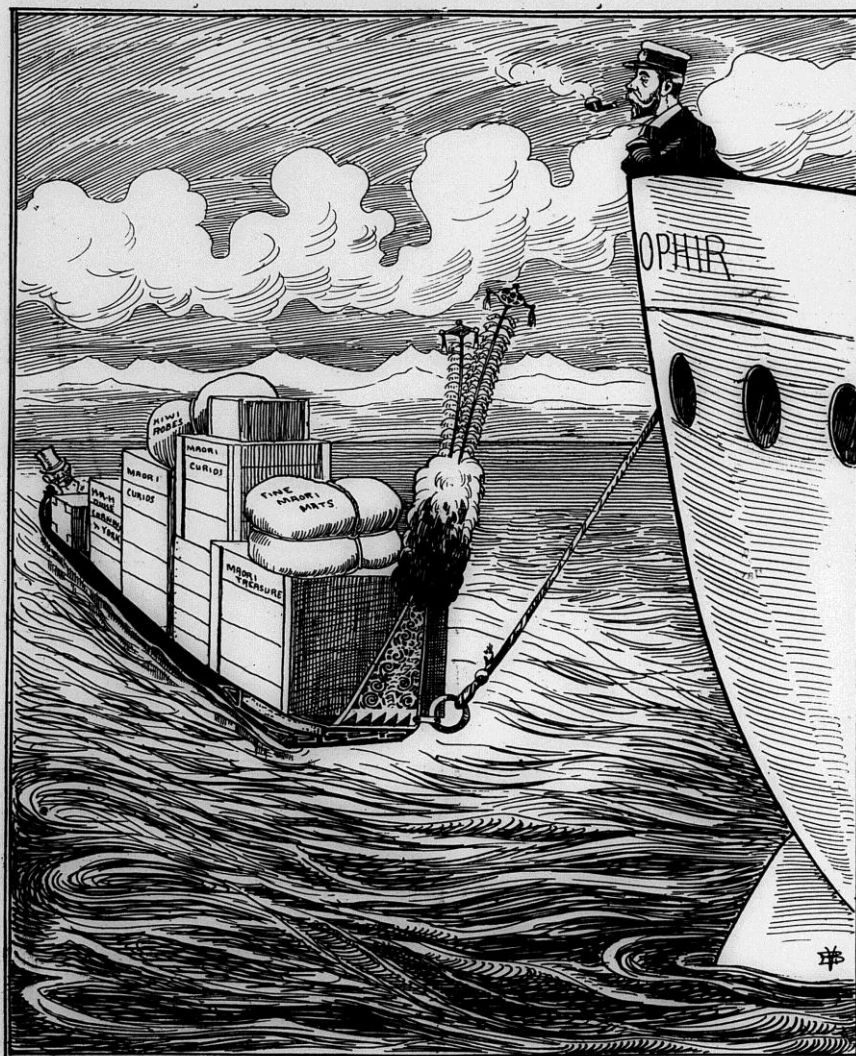
The New Zealand Graphic

And Ladies' Journal.

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KAPAI THE MAORI!

IT IS SAID THAT THE DUKE OF YORK HAS LEARNED AT LEAST ONE MAORI WORD DURING HIS BRIEF SOJOURN IN NEW ZEALAND; HE IS HERE SEEN SOLILOQUIING IN MAORI.

Figure 6: A Māori waka laden with imperial spoils is towed by the Royal yacht

The heir to the throne is imagined speaking approvingly in Māori as he departs 'Maoriland', in a souvenir issue of the illustrated weekly newspaper *New Zealand Graphic*. The man steering the waka has a moko and top hat, and the vessel is full of *Maori curios*, *Maori treasure*, *fine Maori mats*, and *kiwi robes*. The 1901 Royal tour sparked a debate about the cultural worth of pounamu objects and their removal from New Zealand.

Chapter III: A Royal tour

In the first few years following the West Coast gold rush Pākehā considered pounamu primarily in economic terms. The stone was the product of just one of many extractive industries in the new colony. Greenstone items made by jewellers and lapidaries could be found on shop shelves alongside locket of gold from Thames, pendants of quartz from the Nevis River in Otago, objects of red jasper and black obsidian from volcanic regions and white cornelian stones from Coromandel.¹⁶⁵ The language of classified advertisements did not elevate greenstone above any other semi-precious mineral or substance removed from the landscape. Yet by the turn of the century Pākehā increasingly ascribed new cultural values to greenstone, influenced by a growing knowledge of its worth in the Māori world. Atholl Anderson charts an earlier ebb and flow in the value of pounamu in Māori economic systems of exchange, particularly between Ngāi Tahu and northern iwi. He distinguishes between “the indigenous value of pounamu for tools and weapons, and its trading value”, both of which declined steeply in the early nineteenth century as iron tools became more widely available.¹⁶⁶ However the hei tiki and other intricately worked ornaments remained highly prized by Māori, for reasons of status and scarcity, or for their taonga status within whānau.¹⁶⁷ By the dawn of the twentieth century, Māori and Pākehā notions of a deeper value of pounamu objects were beginning to converge. Contemporary Pākehā contemplated the evocative qualities of greenstone, outside the narrow concept of its economic worth.

Pākehā recognition of the stone’s merit as emblematic of islands and citizens is evident in the heightened introspection of the 1901 Royal tour by the Duke of York. This chapter examines that tour in some detail because of its rich archival record of post-Victorian Pākehā sentiment towards greenstone. Objects made of the stone became a signifier of a Māori past and a shared imperial future. The Royal tour also provides much historical source material of the coincident strategies of Māori politicians and tribal leaders to assert the rights of imperial citizenship. The two-week tour by the Duke and Duchess of

¹⁶⁵ A range of stones and their provenance is described in the price list advertised by F.H. Lewisson, *Evening Star*, 5 March 1873, p.4. Cornelian forms of quartz are also known as carnelian.

¹⁶⁶ Atholl Anderson, “Foreign Exchange”, Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*, pp.157-8

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, pp. 94, 98, 126

Cornwall and York, later King George V and Queen Mary, is a symbolic marker of transition from the Victorian to Edwardian eras. Late colonial New Zealand society was characterised by competing notions of how to move on from nineteenth century and emerge into the forward-looking modern era of the twentieth century. Pākehā leaders were developing a new local identity within the Empire, keen to move on from the era of migration, colonial settlement and internal wars, the challenges of developing infrastructure and the formation of the colony's first responsible government. Māori were not universally ready to consign the nineteenth century to the past. There was unfinished business as iwi grappled with the effects of dispossession and alienation of their lands through war and disregard of the Treaty. A close reading of greenstone objects and elements of performance associated with the 1901 Royal tour provides historical context for the colonial mentalities in a moment of transition.

Queen Victoria had died just five months before her grandson stepped off the Royal yacht *Ophir* in Auckland. New Zealand's status as the colonial domain of the monarch, also an Empress, was unmistakeable. The future King used his formal address at Government House to claim that "Her Majesty [was] ever mindful that New Zealand was the first new possession acquired after her accession".¹⁶⁸ The tour of New Zealand, Australia, Canada and South Africa by George and Mary was also designed to thank those members of the Empire for their support during the "humiliation" being endured by Britain in the South African War.¹⁶⁹ The future King's biographer wrote that while in New Zealand, George V "came to realise and remember that the Empire, so far from being an assortment of geographical areas, was an association of free and rapidly expanding communities, composed of men and women of vigorous, progressive and independent minds, who were proud of both their own past and future".¹⁷⁰ James Cowan's account of the most formal Māori event of the visit, the grand hui in Rotorua, provides a uniquely local perspective of that 'past and future' which characterised the colonial communities of 1901.

¹⁶⁸ "At Government House", *New Zealand Herald*, 12 June 1901, p.5.

¹⁶⁹ Valerie Davies, *Royal Tourists: 120 Years of Royal Visits to New Zealand*, Auckland, 1989, pp. 23-31.

¹⁷⁰ Sir Harold Nicholson quoted in Davies, *Royal Tourists*, p.24.

Writing for the *Auckland Star* under the byline “Our Special Reporter”, Cowan’s reports were reproduced in R.A. Loughnan’s official history of the tour which praised his “lively and able descriptions of Maori life and character”.¹⁷¹ Cowan’s eyewitness accounts in the *Star* provide what few of the twenty local and international correspondents in Rotorua were able to offer readers: an English translation of the haka performed for the new heir to the throne on the morning of Saturday 15 June 1901. Organised by the Native Minister James Carroll with the help of young Māori professionals Apirana Ngata and Māui Pōmare, then aged in their twenties, “the Grand Carnival of the Tribes” was a carefully choreographed statement of how those men wanted to project Māori society at the dawn of the twentieth century.¹⁷² Four thousand Māori men, women and children gathered at the racecourse in the centre of Rotorua, around ten per cent of the country’s entire Māori population, “representing all the tribes from the far South to the Bay of Islands”.¹⁷³ Cowan made a deliberate point of mentioning the participation of the Crown’s former foes. They included individuals and iwi who “followed Te Kooti in his savage raids....fought against the colonial forces in the Hauhau wars... [and] who fought against General Cameron’s forces at Orakau”, especially Tūhoe and other Bay of Plenty region tribes.¹⁷⁴ He reported that 136 members of Tūhoe took part in the Royal hui, including a drum and fife band. It was an extraordinarily precise figure, not reflected in descriptions of other iwi present. The leader of a Tūhoe sub-tribe, Tamaikoha of Ngāi Tama, was one such rangatira singled out by Cowan for his apparent change of heart towards the Crown.

In the old war days he was always inimical to the Europeans and fought against the colonial forces on several occasions, and was noted for his skill in laying ambushes for the whites and friendly contingents. On one occasion he ambushed and killed an Arawa mail-man...but here he is to-day, amongst his old enemies, as anxious as any

¹⁷¹ R.A. Loughnan, *Royalty in New Zealand: the Visit of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York to New Zealand, 10th to 27th June 1901, a Descriptive Narrative*, Wellington, 1902, p.V, J.C. Beaglehole Room Collection, Victoria University of Wellington

¹⁷² Loughnan, *Royalty in New Zealand*, pp. v-vi and pp. 61-145. Loughnan refers to Ngata as ‘Aperana te Ngata’ and credits him alongside Cowan for part of the book’s description of events at Rotorua. Ngata’s account was republished fifty years later by the Māori Affairs Department to preview the visit by Queen Elizabeth II. See *Te Ao Hou: the New World*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Royal Tour Number, Wellington, December 1953, pp. 18-24 and p.58.

¹⁷³ “Royalties at Rotorua”, *Auckland Star*, 17 June 1901, p.5. The Māori population of 43,112 is found in “Census of the Colony of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 31st March 1901”, Registrar-General’s Office, Statistics New Zealand

¹⁷⁴ “The Urewera Tribe”, *Auckland Star*, 14 June 1901, p.5.

of the loyal Arawa to sing “Haeremai” to the grandson of the Queen whose mana he once questioned with his tomahawk and gun.¹⁷⁵

Cowan did not explain why Tūhoe or other former enemies of the Crown should be ‘anxious’ to sing Haeremai to the Duke. The search for historical meanings from the hui highlights the complex and comparatively rapid transitions underway in Māori society. It is possible Ngāi Tūhoe sought to engage on their own terms with the Crown that day, bypassing James Carroll and Apirana Ngata who were regarded as unsympathetic to Tūhoe because of their tribal histories of conflict with the iwi.¹⁷⁶ By 1901 the protagonists may also have had other strategic priorities. Tamaikoha was then aged somewhere around seventy and had long since withdrawn into “sustained and honourable neutrality”. Members of the wider rohe of Mātaatua were in the grip of epidemics, crop failures and famine.¹⁷⁷ Judith Binney suggested “it is known that some waiata sung to the Duke at Rotorua were savagely ironical” and that members of Tūhoe may have been divided over whether to attend the ceremonies for the Royal visitors.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless three years after the event, medals presented by the Duke to Māori chiefs were still being worn at formal occasions on Tūhoe marae.¹⁷⁹ The significance to Tūhoe of sending its band is also unclear, but the decision to participate would not have been undertaken lightly. Members of the iwi, the musicians, their uniforms and instruments, reached Rotorua after “a long and arduous march” through the eastern Bay of Plenty.¹⁸⁰ Even the elderly Tamaikoha had walked to Rotorua from Galatea about 80 kilometres to the south east.¹⁸¹ Tūhoe provided one of three brass bands which performed that day, the others from Ōtaki and Kaikohe. A Dunedin newspaper suggested the Tūhoe band was a marked feature of the ceremony. It “held the position of honor [sic] and played very acceptably”. A Manawatu newspaper reported that Tūhoe

¹⁷⁵ “Royalties at Rotorua”, *Auckland Star*, 14 June 1901, p.5. Cowan records the name as *Tamaikowha*, but it is rendered as *Tamaikoha* in Judith Binney, *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera 1820-1921*, Wellington, 2009, p.32

¹⁷⁶ Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.7

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, pp.614 and 433

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, footnote 26 on p.468

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p.470

¹⁸⁰ *Auckland Star*, 14 June 1901, p.5. Cowan’s suggestion that the Tūhoe brass band was “evidence of the strides which these men, until recently hostile to European influences, are making in the advance towards the civilisation of the whites” seems superficial.

¹⁸¹ Loughnan, *Royalty in New Zealand*, p.114

musicians struck up the national anthem as the Royal party took its seats.¹⁸² Tūhoe and others performed a haka specially composed by Ngāiterangi, a tribe whose members inflicted heavy casualties on colonial troops at Gate Pa in 1864 before surrendering their weapons. Cowan wrote “the combined war dance by the whole of the people (designating themselves for this occasion ‘Mataatua’...) was an excellent one...over 200 men of Tauranga and Whakatane natives and the Urewera tribe, also the Ngatiawa, of Te Teko, Matata, and elsewhere”. They welcomed and praised the Duke and the British Army for its fighting ability against Boer forces.

Who, who is the man
Hastening hitherto across the great seas?
'Tis the Duke of York!
Ah! Shattered is the high citadel of Africa
By the English!
Ha! for the chasing, the smiting
Of the Boer to the mountains of Death! ¹⁸³

Yet Cowan’s report was incomplete and somewhat sanitised. It did not accurately portray the full intent of the wider Mātaatua performance, which made a direct appeal for imperial assistance in grievances with the colonial government. The Mātaatua apakura, or lamentation for the Queen, is reproduced at length in the appendices to the official history of the tour. It included the verse:

Ascend dear mother, to the first heaven,
from thence to the second heaven,
and thence fly to the brink of heaven,
where Christ the Saviour may receive thee.
But who will give effect to the Treaty of Waitangi?
Your son, King Edward the Seventh, will give effect to the Treaty of Waitangi,
so that the Maori may live in peace and prosperity.¹⁸⁴

The appeal for imperial intervention was a theme for other iwi too. Two major North Island tribal groups, Te Arawa and Ngāti Porou, also used the Rotorua hui to appeal directly to the future King to honour and renew the Treaty signed on behalf of his grandmother. The

¹⁸² “Our Royal Visitors”, *Evening Star*, 17 June 1901, p.7; and “The Royal Tour”, *Manawatu Standard*, 17 June 1901, p.4. It is not clear which anthem was performed: God Save the King, or God Defend New Zealand.

¹⁸³ “Scenes at the “Hui”: Some of the Dances”, *Auckland Star*, 17 June 1901, p.5. The spelling of Ngāiterangi reflects the newspaper report, but it is more accurately Ngāi Te Rangi.

¹⁸⁴ Māori and English versions of the haka of each iwi are reproduced at length in the Appendices of Loughnan, *Royalty in New Zealand*, pp.369-375

translation of the Te Arawa performance invokes a deep symbolism attached to the visit: “[r]umour tells of the approach of the Duke, rumbling afar from the distant sky. He has come to fulfil the word of the Queen, he has come to renew the Treaty.” Ngāti Porou’s ceremonial haka condemned the “den of lions” in the colonial capital, Wellington. The men chanted “[y]ea we have suffered. First we strayed in the by-ways of the surveys; then we were lost in the maze of the Land Courts. There was Te Whiti pulling one way; here was Waikato pulling another. What availed it all, since our heritage was ruthlessly crushed within the maw of the land-grabbing Pakeha? Aue!”¹⁸⁵ Judith Binney notes the celebrations of imperial unity were double-edged.¹⁸⁶ Māori, like Pākehā, were keen to demonstrate loyalty to the imperial crown. Yet there was a discrete pan-Maori demonstration too that day, separate from the welcome organised by Māori politicians and Pākehā authorities. Tribes united to appeal directly to the monarchy to intercede on their behalf with the government.

The sanitised, celebratory reports of Māori loyalty suggest the true nature of the relationships between Māori and the imperial Crown, and between Māori and the colonial government, were misunderstood or misrepresented. At the very least they were open to contested meanings. James Cowan was apprehensive about trying to interpret what he had witnessed that day.

It was strange after the departure of the Royal couple to notice how quickly the OLD-TIME MAORI ASPECT of the camp ground was, so to speak, toned down, if not entirely altered. Prosaic coats and trousers of a cut not exactly irreproachable hid the broad dusky frames of the dancers; feathers vanished from their hair and battered hats of many shapes replaced them; spears and axes were put aside and the semi-European aspect of the modern native for the most part replaced the picturesque barbarian whom the Royal visitors had watched dancing his wild tungarahu only an hour since. It seems an anti-climax to mention the transformation...there is no need to dwell on the aftermath of one of the most picturesque functions ever known in Maoriland since the advent of the pakeha.¹⁸⁷

Cowan’s discomfit at finding ‘the modern native’ and ‘the picturesque barbarian’ could be the same person neatly captured the historical moment occupied by some Māori

¹⁸⁵ Loughnan, *Royalty in New Zealand*, pp.369-375

¹⁸⁶ Judith Binney, “The Quest for Survival”, Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*, p.336

¹⁸⁷ “Royalties at Rotorua”, *Auckland Star*, 17 June 1901, p.5. Emphasis in original. A tungarahu is a war dance.

and Pākehā at the turn of the century; the ‘Maoriland’ period of cultural self-reflection. Cowan and Ngata are emblematic of those who felt “caught between the worlds”; on the one hand lamenting a supposed passing of archaic Māori traditions and on the other, determined to find a place for Māori in modern late-colonial society.¹⁸⁸ Within four years of the hui, Ngata the young modernist took his seat in mainstream politics in Parliament, a change of focus from his work in the Māori councils and a more overt gesture of participation in the colonial project.¹⁸⁹ His poem *A Scene from the Past* was included in the official history of the 1901 tour. It was offered as an instructive guide “which the reader will find a great help to the right understanding of the proceedings at the great Hui.”¹⁹⁰ Jane Stafford and Mark Williams suggest Ngata’s intent for the poem was twofold; to celebrate the “positive significance” of past traditions while locating those traditions in “a vigorous, confident present.”¹⁹¹ Ngata’s rhetoric and Cowan’s reportage diverged over whether the past was barbaric or dignified and noble, yet both men were determined to engage with the consequences of colonisation for Māori. Amongst those consequences was the impact on the life of a prized taonga, pounamu.

For pounamu objects, the Rotorua hui also represents an important transition between notions of antiquity and modernity. It sparked a public debate about the potential for Māori traditions and objects to be read as a representative identity of the whole colony. The site of the hui, now the Arawa Park Racecourse, was land gifted by Ngāti Whakaue for geothermal tourism and other colonial development just twenty years earlier.¹⁹² Colloquially known as ‘Geyserland’, the region was an iconic characteristic of the country known as Maoriland. The performance that morning lasted a mere two hours but has a much longer afterlife. Pākehā observers at the time publicly questioned whether late colonial New

¹⁸⁸ Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, “Apirana Turupa Ngata, 1874 – 1950”, *Kōtare* 7, no. 2 (2008), p.126

¹⁸⁹ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, Auckland, 2004 (1990), pp.172-181

¹⁹⁰ Loughnan, *Royalty in New Zealand*, p.v

¹⁹¹ Stafford and Williams, “Apirana Turupa Ngata”, pp. 127-128

¹⁹² The land for Rotorua township was gifted in the 1880 Fenton Agreement, which enabled development of ‘hot lakes’ tourism and other economic ventures by colonial settlers, in return for a partnership arrangement with local iwi whose interests were supposed to be protected in the Native Land Court. The Crown’s failure to honour its undertakings was addressed during the Waitangi Tribunal Central North Island inquiry: Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo: Report on the Central North Island Claims, Stage One, Volume 1*, WAI 1200, Wellington, 2008, see esp. pp.292-302

Zealand truly appreciated the cultural – and monetary – worth of Māori heirlooms like greenstone tiki and mere and the valuable feathers, textiles and wooden artefacts gifted to the Royal couple that morning. Almost ninety years later Valerie Davies, an historian of Royal tours, went further. Davies suggested it was “the most notable event” in the 120-year history of Royal visits to the country. She argued the pounamu and other heirlooms gifted that day must now be “returned to their rightful place in New Zealand”, because to keep them in Britain was to “misunderstand the Maori way”.¹⁹³ The question of what Pākehā understood about the significance of pounamu in 1901 required them to make distinctions about whether it was archaic or contemporary or both. The discussions highlight an evolving Pākehā engagement with the symbolic meanings carried in pounamu - and other taonga Māori - and suggest increasing cultural identification with the objects. For iwi, the hui can be considered within a larger global response to colonisation. Carter and Nugent have observed commonalities in this regard amongst indigenous people across British settler colonies.¹⁹⁴ The monarch, in name or symbol, was incorporated into repertoires of performance and protest. Victoria was the personification of colonial government, or British administrators, or the Empire more broadly. Sometimes she was invoked as an external ally and alternative source of authority for indigenous people. The direct engagement with the symbolism of the monarch was an opportunity for Māori to resist the consequences of land alienation and assert the meanings of their imperial citizenship. It was a higher measure of status than that afforded by colonial institutions.

The opportunity for performance and display in the theatre of the Royal tour was also enthusiastically taken up by Pākehā, determined to reinforce their status in late colonial society. Richard Seddon emerges from press coverage as the most conspicuous of the self promoters. *The Observer* mocked the Premier for his “grovel” in Rotorua, where the presence of a cinematograph film camera saw him “swaggering along bravely with his chest out, and bowing right and left to cheers that nobody was giving, and that would not have

¹⁹³ Davies, *Royal Tourists*, pp.6-7.

¹⁹⁴ Maria Nugent and Sarah Carter, “Indigenous histories, settler colonies and Queen Victoria”, Sarah Carter and Maria Nugent (eds.), *Mistress of Everything: Queen Victoria in Indigenous Worlds*, Manchester, 2016, pp. 1-21

been for Dick if they had been uttered.”¹⁹⁵ *The Free Lance* published a cartoon of a diminutive heir to the throne dwarfed by the looming figures of Seddon and his deputy Sir Joseph Ward. The Duke is pictured pleading for them to “kindly stand aside, and let me have just one peep on tip-toes at the people” who attended a reception in Wellington.¹⁹⁶ Judith Bassett observed that Seddon used the visit to confirm “his place at the centre” of society. The extravagant pageantry was akin to a first-ever national festival which “drew the whole country together in a celebration of New Zealand as New Zealanders wished it to be seen”.¹⁹⁷ Yet Seddon and his cohort did not succeed in distinguishing themselves in the eyes of some colonial opinion leaders. They were condemned for their imperial homogeneity and for being somehow less than authentic, as not quite representative of the unique characteristics of the colony. They did not universally measure up to Bassett’s threshold of ‘portraying New Zealand as New Zealanders wished it to be seen.’ The *New Zealand Herald* gave the honours for the most impressive “soul-stirring” display of the entire tour to Māori who performed in Rotorua.¹⁹⁸ Under the headline “Maori v. Pakeha”, evoking the language of contest and conquest, the newspaper bemoaned the imperial uniformity of the “British cheers” which were put on show for the Duke and Duchess on their global tour.

Though in Auckland we did great things to show our joy at the coming of the King’s son, I am afraid our Maori friends came out on top. After all, our show was but one among many similar sights that the Duke and Duchess must have seen at various times...Yes, when the European displays at Melbourne and Sydney, at Auckland and Wellington, have lost their distinctive features in the recollections of the Royal party...the weirdly picturesque sights and the soul-stirring Maori war dances, seen at Rotorua, will still stand out in bold relief. Such sights are seldom seen nowadays, and once seen are never forgotten. They will probably never be seen again on the same grand scale.¹⁹⁹

The lament for disappearing traditions was echoed by other contemporary observers. Some expressed dismay at the scale of gift-giving by Māori. The Crown had only recently secured control of geothermal tourism and a desire to acquire the symbolism of

¹⁹⁵ *The New Zealand Observer*, 22 June 1901, p.9

¹⁹⁶ “The Rush For the Duke”, *The Free Lance*, 22 June 1901, p.9

¹⁹⁷ Judith Bassett, “A Thousand Miles of Loyalty: the Royal Tour of 1901”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 21, No.1, 1987, pp. 136-138

¹⁹⁸ “Maori v. Pakeha”, *New Zealand Herald*, 19 June 1901, p.3

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

Māori performance and taonga now also appeared evident. A catalogue of treasures was recorded in Loughnan's official history.

For at once a stream of presentations set in with a rush from all sides – mats, cloaks of fur and feathers and flax, *piupius* and *korowais* floated up in willing hands and were piled up in front of their Royal Highnesses...the skin of the Maori dog (*kuri*), extinct for forty years, was much in evidence. The weapons were of every kind - ancestral *meres* of *pounamu* (greenstone), spears, *koikois*, *weros*, *tewhatewhas*, *hoeroas*, *timatas*, *taiahas*, *tokos* of the greenstone with rare carvings, *tikis* of every class, variety and degree...kiwi mats of rare design, greenstone weapons, whalebone *meres*, tough wooden *taiahas* with rare carving, dogskin mats, the most valuable of all, one after the other, by one tribe or another, were heaped up on the stand, forming a collection that many a museum would have given thousands of pounds to obtain.²⁰⁰

The monetary estimate for what a museum might pay for the gifts appears guesswork at best. Another contemporary source suggested the items were worth around £2,000.²⁰¹ Whatever the monetary value of the gifts, newspaper editorials throughout the country expressed horror at the implications of their removal overseas for New Zealand's cultural heritage. McCarthy has discussed the Parliamentary response, which saw James Carroll introduce the Māori Antiquities Act in October 1901.²⁰² But the tone of debates articulated through the press also deserves consideration as a measure of Māori and Pākehā perspectives on the status of greenstone. Newspaper reports articulate a praiseworthy view of the symbolic worth of greenstone objects, but also depict a darker tone amongst some Pākehā. Their regrets were illustrative of the contemporary sense that Māori were a dying race. Once the taonga had gone, and Māori themselves, there would be no trace of a culture. The ideas bely the Māori performances at Rotorua, which excluded the Pākehā colonial government from tribal conversations with the figurehead of imperial authority. The hui was a vigorous assertion by Māori of their imperial presence, and signalled a determination to not only survive but to participate and flourish in the modern colony, on their own terms.

²⁰⁰ Loughnan, *Royalty in New Zealand*, pp.122 and 125. Emphasis in original.

²⁰¹ "The Native Gifts to the Royal Party", *The Press*, 19 June 1901, p.8

²⁰² McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori*, pp.53-54. The entire cost of the two-week tour to the New Zealand government was estimated to be £70,000. See Bassett, "A Thousand Miles of Loyalty", fn. 51, p.138

In response to the hui, the Christchurch *Press* called for a ban on exports of cultural objects, and accused the government of being “remiss in allowing memorials of such an interesting race to perish, instead of taking pains to preserve them for the benefit of future generations. We want relics of this interesting people preserved not merely for the benefit of the passing tourist, but as objects of interest to the colonists themselves, especially to the younger generation...Cambridge possesses a better collection of greenstone objects than is to be found in any museum in this colony.”²⁰³ The *Timaru Herald* was also concerned about greenstone, as well as kiwi feather garments, suggesting they would soon “be numbered with the moa and the [pink and white] terraces as some of the extinct wonders of New Zealand. We shall have to visit a European museum to discover what were the arts and industries of the Maori.”²⁰⁴ In Hawke’s Bay the newspaper did not begrudge the Royal couple being honoured but pointed to a sorry history of loss during the nineteenth century; “the drain on curiosities of this kind has been especially great in the last few months. It was the same when the English troops were here, and every tourist, every globe-trotter, takes away his bit of carving, his mat, or his greenstone.”²⁰⁵ Newspapers in Wanganui and Gisborne protested “We have no wish to see foreign museums enriched with treasures which ought to find a final resting place in our own...the production of choice mats and carvings is a passing art, and the colony has been stripped by tourists and treasure-mongers of most of its finest curios. New Zealand will become the worst place in the world for seeing all that was formerly most characteristic of New Zealand.”²⁰⁶ The Auckland-based *Observer* also foresaw a danger from foreign collectors, especially museums or wealthy individuals; “possibly, the presents will find their way into the British Museum...or in the private collection of some ambitious curio hunters...Vandalism is carried on to an alarming extent in New Zealand by curio hunters, and the Government up to now doesn't seem to have done anything in the matter.”²⁰⁷ The *Observer*’s prescience about the British Museum proved correct, as the Duke decided the following year to transfer the gifts to that institution. In correspondence with the museum, palace official Guy Laking reported the Duke was mindful

²⁰³ “Preservation of Maori Records and Art”, *Press*, June 19, 1901, p.6

²⁰⁴ “Maori Curios” *Timaru Herald*, 25 June 1901 p.3

²⁰⁵ “Maori Curios”, *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 21 June, p.2

²⁰⁶ “Maori Art”, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 21 June 1901, p.2; “Preservation Of Maori Records And Art”, *Wanganui Herald*, 22 June, 1901, p.2; and “Maori Art Treasures”, *Poverty Bay Herald*, 25 June 1901, p.2

²⁰⁷ “Missing Meres and Absent Carvings”, *The Observer*, 1 June 1901, p.2

“he could hardly give the collection as it might offend those who gave it to him”, so it was placed on permanent loan.²⁰⁸ Laking noted “it is really a remarkable collection, but as you may imagine one that is rather a white elephant in a residence.”²⁰⁹ The collection is now scattered and there is uncertainty over the location of many items.



Figure 7: Te Arawa presentation

Major Fox, Te Pōkiha Taranui, (lower centre, in cloak with long beard) advances towards the carved model waka before presenting it to the Duke on behalf of Te Arawa.

Image: J.R. Mann photo, *supplement to Auckland Weekly News* 28 June 1901, p7, Sir George Grey Special Collections, AWNS-19010628-7-1, Auckland Libraries

Three taonga pounamu given as gifts during the visit were personally worn or carried by the Royal couple. Ngāti Pīkiao leader Major Fox, Te Pōkiha Taranui, got out of his sick bed to present the Duke with a prized heirloom. The toki hohoupu or battle adze, with carved wooden handle and greenstone blade ornamented with hair of the extinct Māori dog, was from “from the very old days of Maoriland”.²¹⁰ The Duke carried it publicly over the course of the weekend. Arihi Te Nahu, a Ngāti Kahungunu woman of mana, gave “a splendid greenstone tiki of priceless value...dating back generations”, which was placed around the neck of the Duchess by James Carroll’s wife Hēni Materoa.²¹¹ Wanganui chief Waata

²⁰⁸ The Keeper of the King’s Armoury, also a Christie’s Auction House art adviser, Guy Francis Laking is quoted in Dorota C. Starzecka, Roger Neich and Mick Pendergrast, *The Maori Collections of the British Museum*, London, 2010, p.22. See also Claude Blair, ‘Laking, Sir Guy Francis, second baronet (1875–1919)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53494>, accessed 21 January 2017

²⁰⁹ Starzecka, Neich and Pendergrast, *The Maori Collections of the British Museum*, p.22

²¹⁰ “Valuable Gifts”, *Auckland Star*, 17 June 1901, p.5; “Carnival of the Tribes”, *Auckland Star*, 22 June 1901, p.5

²¹¹ Loughnan, *Royalty in New Zealand*, p.124; and “The Duke in Geyserland”, *Evening Post*, 17 June 1901, p.2

Wiremu Hīpango presented an ancient mere, named 'Te Wehi o te Rangi', which the Duchess also carried during the hui.²¹² James Cowan reported "everyone was astonished to see the way in which the Maori people divested themselves of their choicest possessions in the way of heirlooms...[One] *could not help regretting* that so many priceless souvenirs of a romantic past should leave this country – priceless because mere money could not replace their historic associations."²¹³ Perversely, the official history compiled by Loughnan contradicted Cowan and selectively edited his reports. Its treatment of the episode inverted Cowan's observation to instead read "priceless souvenirs of a romantic past – priceless because mere money could not replace their historic associations – were parted with *without regret*. How else should they fulfil an old Maori custom: the greater the chief, the higher the honour to be paid to him."²¹⁴ Ngata may have had a hand in editing the final text. The preface reveals that part of "the narrative of the gathering of tribal representatives at Rotorua...[is] from his pen."²¹⁵ Conscious of the place of Māori in the official history of the post-Victorian colony, Ngata appeared concerned to situate the Rotorua hui as evidence of an outward-looking, imperially-engaged culture. Assuming that the pen of Ngata is in fact responsible for the voice in the official history which speaks on behalf of Māori, he argued that to embrace the authority of the British Crown was to share the advantages of an empire at the height of its powers.

Let it be noted that the newspapers of the colony have openly expressed regret that so many historic relics have left our shores. Their reports may give foundation to a feeling that the Māori tribes join in that regret. That is not the case. The Maoris went to Rotorua prepared to give of their best to the Royal Highnesses, and from that time till now not one word has come from them to indicate for one moment do they wish they had not been so open-handed and generous. In the case of their Royal Highnesses, who are above all chiefs of all the lands of this earth, generations should pass before any return is made....We may reflect with satisfaction that these rare and valuable relics of the past - unique, not reproducible, priceless threads of Maori history - are now forever the property of the British nation. Now they will find an honoured place in one of the museums at the centre of the Empire: otherwise German enterprise or French or American might have acquired them or they might have perished by fire with some frail whare or – the idea is too painful to dwell on.²¹⁶

²¹² "The One New Thing", *Auckland Star*, 17 June 1901, p.2

²¹³ "Scenes at the hui"; and "A memorable "hui": the trip a brilliant success", *Auckland Star*, 17 June 1901, p.5. Emphasis added.

²¹⁴ Loughnan, *Royalty in New Zealand*, p.125. Emphasis added.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.v

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 125 and 131.

Ngata anticipated the gifts would one day return. Until then it was an honour for them to be housed in a museum in Britain, where by extension they would acquire a new and elevated imperial status. He intended them to have an imperial audience at an imperial institution in an imperial city, in the process affirming Māori as imperial citizens. The intentions of the iwi and individuals who gave the gifts are not recorded in the same way, but it is readily assumed that Māori intended the taonga would leave New Zealand in the personal possession of the heir to the throne, thereby enhancing the mana which already resided in the objects and the mana of those who gifted them.²¹⁷

The British Museum catalogue notes that just three items from the 1901 tour are known with “incontrovertible” evidence to still be in the Royal Loan collection it holds on behalf of the Crown.²¹⁸ The objects are a three-metre long wooden canoe carved by Te Arawa master craftsmen, which required four men to carry when it was presented full of taonga; a model of a carved wooden storehouse given by “the women of Wellington to the Duchess”; and a wool and flax fibre korowai cloak from Rangitāne iwi.²¹⁹ The “definitive” catalogue of more than 2,300 Māori objects in the British Museum concedes that while “there is clear evidence that more items were deposited, no list of items lent could be found either at the Museum or in the Royal Archives”.²²⁰ The three items above are in a group of 14 objects with museum registration numbers which indicate they were also part of the initial deposit in 1902, but they have little or no other supporting documentation.²²¹ Thirty-seven other objects from the Royal tour, including 16 cloaks, were transferred to the

²¹⁷ Ngāti Whātua leader and anthropologist Sir Hugh Kāwharu was asked in the late 1980s by author Valerie Davies to help explain the events of 1901, and he suggested the objects were not so much given as shared in trusteeship. Davies, *Royal Tourists*, p.6-7

²¹⁸ Starzecka, Neich and Pendergrast, *The Maori Collections of the British Museum*, p.22

²¹⁹ Ibid, and pp.26, 33, 118. The Arawa canoe was carved by three men: Tene Waitere, Anaha Te Rahui, and Neke Kapua, see “Royalties at Rotorua”, *Auckland Star*, 17 June 1901, p.5. The model storehouse was the work of Petone master carver Jacob Heberley.

²²⁰ Starzecka et al, *The Maori Collections of the British Museum*, inside front flap and p.22

²²¹ One of these is the toki hohoupu battle adze presented by Major Fox on behalf of Arawa, although the British Museum (BM) refers to it as a *toki poutangata* or ceremonial adze. It also describes the hairs lashed to the handle as from goat rather than dog. The carving style was identified as Arawa by the Auckland curator and scholar Roger Neich. See Starzecka et al, *The Maori Collections of the British Museum*, p.69 and Plate 101. The BM also holds three mere pounamu registered as part of the 1902 Royal loan, but none are identified as that gifted on behalf of Wanganui iwi, ibid, p82. Forty-seven nephrite or bowenite (pounamu) hei tiki are in the BM catalogue, but none have provenance from the 1901 Royal tour. The whereabouts of the Ngāti Kahungunu hei tiki gifted to the Duchess is uncertain.

Imperial Institute in London in 1907; some were subsequently offered to museums in Bristol and elsewhere; while others were returned to Buckingham Palace. Many textile items were never classified as the sheer numbers received meant they were “deemed not worthy of recording”.²²² The Duke highlighted the abundant nature of the treasures in his diary. He noted that as each iwi finished “the tribe presented us with beautiful presents, which were piled up in a heap in front of us, they consisted of greenstone Meres, whale bone Meres, whale bone paddles, carved sticks, feather cloaks innumerable, mats and other cloaks, also reed kilts.”²²³ Palace officials and museum curators were indifferent about precise inventories. But the British Museum catalogue indicates that by 1902 the Royal couple effectively divested themselves of most of the items acquired on the tour, and placed them with institutions on permanent loan.

While establishment newspapers lamented a loss of taonga at Rotorua, of “all that was formerly most characteristic of New Zealand”, there was no such anguish evident in the presentation of significant pounamu items elsewhere.²²⁴ Many pounamu items were created by European jewellers and lapidaries and embellished with sterling silver or fashioned into caskets of native wood. The single most valuable pounamu item gifted to the Royal couple – in purely monetary terms – was an ornate piece commissioned from the well-connected Dunedin jeweller, Frank Hyams.

The British-born Hyams opened a jewellery and watchmaking business in Dunedin in 1885, where he married into the successful Hallenstein family of entrepreneurs and philanthropists.²²⁵ His first wife Henrietta, known as Ettie, was one of four daughters of Mary Hallenstein and her husband Bendix, who founded a clothing, retail and manufacturing empire in Otago.²²⁶ The Hallensteins were part of a large diasporic German

²²² Starzecka et al, *The Maori Collections of the British Museum*, p.22

²²³ The Duke’s diary entry for that day is sourced from the Royal Archives, GV/PRIV/GVD/1901:15 June, and reproduced in Starzecka et al, p.22

²²⁴ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 25 June 1901, p.2

²²⁵ HYAMS James Francis, Dunedin probate files, DAAC 9075 D239 418/9973, Archives NZ. An advertisement, “Exceptional Opportunity”, *Otago Daily Times*, 31 May 1895, p.3, records a shop clearance sale, one month after his wife died, where Hyams stated he had been in business for ten years.

²²⁶ Hallenstein family details sourced from the archive and library of the Toitū Otago Settlers’ Museum (Toitū): Charles Brasch and C.R. Nicholson, *Hallensteins: the First Century 1873-1973*, Dunedin, 1973, ID. 64145; Anon.

family which also had farming and mercantile connections in Australia and London. Ettie died in April 1895 at the age of 28, just days after giving birth to their son.²²⁷ By December 1897 Hyams had remarried to Ettie's cousin Hilda, the daughter of Michaelis and Rebecca Hallenstein in London.²²⁸ The marriage was performed by London's Chief Rabbi at the family home in Bayswater, and the prestigious family circles undoubtedly helped introduce Hyams to the cream of society and the business world. Hyams attended the funeral of former New Zealand Governor Sir George Grey at St Paul's Cathedral in 1898, and sat in the Colonial Stand in Whitehall to watch the coronation procession of Edward VII in 1902.²²⁹ In late 1898 Hyams began working out of a jeweller's *atelier* studio in New Bond Street, in addition to the workshop he still managed in Princes Street in Dunedin.²³⁰ Both businesses specialised in greenstone and silver jewellery. He decorated the London showroom with "South Sea Island curios", and guests were induced to attend its official opening with invitation cards which bore a likeness of the tattooed face of the Māori King Tawhiao.²³¹ He also had a small museum of curios in the Princes Street shop, where he displayed tapa cloth, fans, clubs and items made of human teeth and skulls from throughout Polynesia and Melanesia.²³² Hyams had an important connection to the Royal Court through Leopold de Rothschild, another member of a diasporic German family with extensive banking and investment interests. The Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, spoke at Rothschild's wedding in 1881 and after Queen Victoria's death Rothschild remained a close acquaintance through the King's "Marlborough House set" of financiers and advisers.²³³ Frank Hyams made a racing trophy for the horse-mad Rothschild in his London studio in 1901, a gold plate worth more than

The Hallenstein Legacy, 1863-1988, Dunedin, n.d. circa 1988, ID. 2201; Anon, illustrated by Anthony Irving, *The Michaelis Hallenstein Story, 1864-1964*, Australia, n.d. circa 1964, ID. 3079

²²⁷ "Births, Marriages and Deaths", *Otago Daily Times*, 16 April 1895, p.7

²²⁸ "New Zealanders in London", *Auckland Star*, 28 January 1898, p.4

²²⁹ "Funeral of Sir G. Grey", *Otago Daily Times*, 12 November 1898, p.2 and "Personal Items From London", *New Zealand Herald*, 9 December 1902, p.6

²³⁰ "Personal Notes from London" *Evening Star*, 3 January 1899, p.3

²³¹ "Our London Letter: Anglo-Colonial Notes", *Otago Daily Times*, 5 January 1899, p.2

²³² "South Sea Island Curios", *Otago Daily Times*, 1 December 1896, p.3; and "Invitation", *Otago Daily Times*, 18 December 1896, p.2

²³³ Edward's presence at the Central Synagogue in Great Portland Street made him the first member of the Royal Family to attend a Jewish wedding. Bearing the title Duke of Saxony, Edward also strongly identified with German culture. His *ODNB* entry notes he spoke English with a German accent and his 'native tongue' in the nursery with his siblings was German. H.C.G. Matthew, "Edward VII (1841-1910)", *ODNB*, online edn., accessed 20 November 2016; and "Mr Leopold de Rothschild's Marriage", *The Times*, 20 January 1881, p.8

£500.²³⁴ The Hyams-Rothschild relationship would eventually play a hugely influential - although unwitting - role in popularising the pounamu hei tiki throughout the empire.

Frank Hyams' reputation as a silversmith and jeweller and his connections with the elite of London and Otago undoubtedly influenced the Seddon government's decision to approach him for help during the 1901 Royal Tour. Hyams received an urgent last minute request to produce a greenstone object as the centrepiece of the official gifts for the Royals. After arriving back in New Zealand on a business trip in April, at "very short notice" he was asked to submit designs for a ceremonial casket to be presented just two months later.²³⁵ He produced an extraordinarily ornate *objet d'art* which cost the government £630. In justifying the expense to Seddon, Hyams protested he was making only a "small margin of profit" - five pounds - but as "the work had to be carried out at high pressure [it] meant heavy payments to all my workmen employed on it."²³⁶ Made of gold, silver, greenstone and native timbers, the gift caused something of a sensation when Hyams arranged a public viewing in his Princes Street shop in Dunedin. Queues of people blocked the road and four police officers were required to keep the crowds in order.²³⁷ The ceremonial casket was a cluttered piece of Victorian decorative art, its design as excessively ornamental as the formal government address it contained. The handsome scroll signed by Seddon and his ministers proclaimed to the Royals "the inhabitants of this part of the great British Empire are prosperous and happy. Both races are living in amity together, and it is with pardonable pride that we can state that the noble Maori race now fully adapt themselves to present conditions and environments, and are taking an active part in self-government. They are loyal to the throne, happy and contented, and their numbers are increasing."²³⁸ The government address, like Cowan's reporting, misrepresented the wider Māori political narrative.

²³⁴ "Wellington Notes", *Press*, 13 April 1901, p.8. Rothschild was also known to the New Zealand government after he gifted two stallions in 1901 for a scheme to breed horses for military use. See "Sporting", *New Zealand Herald*, 30 March 1901, p.6; and "Lord Rothschild's Gift to New Zealand", *Timaru Herald*, 8 June 1901, p.3

²³⁵ "The Colony's Gift to Royalty", *Evening Star*, 4 June 1901, p.4

²³⁶ Colonial Secretary, Inwards Correspondence: Frank Hyams, 9 July 1901, IA1 830 1901/2435, Archives NZ, (hereafter 'Hyams Correspondence')

²³⁷ "The Gift of the Government: a Costly Casket and a Bouquet Holder", *Otago Witness*, 12 June 1901, p.29; and "The Colony's Gift to Royalty", *Evening Star*, 4 June 1901, p.4

²³⁸ "The Official Proceedings: Government Address and Royal Reply", *Evening Post*, 12 June 1901, p.5

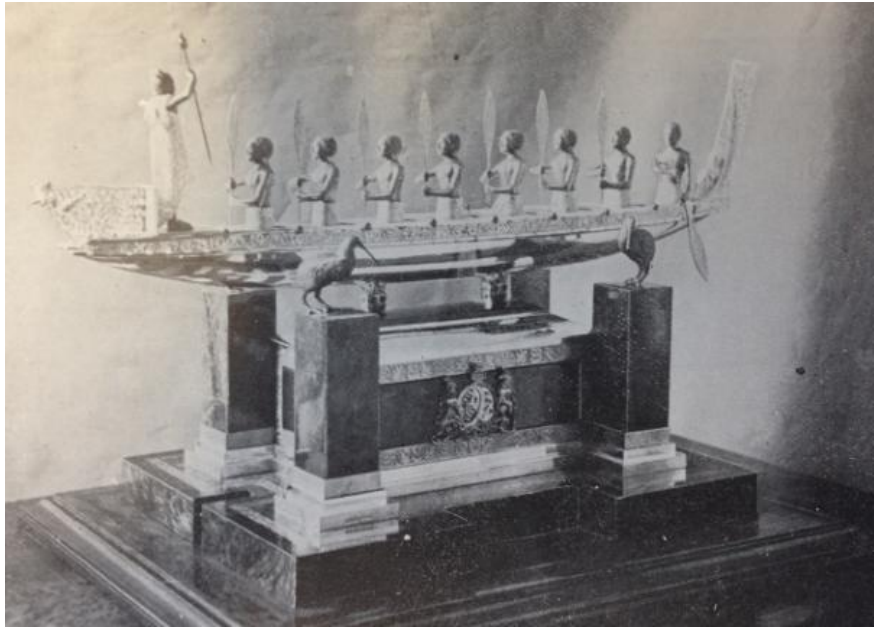


Figure 8: The Frank Hyams casket and Māori canoe

The elaborate gift was the single most expensive pounamu object presented to the Royal couple during the 1901 tour. It cost the government £630. Image: Fred R. Rayner, *The Sketcher*, 1901, n.p.

Hyams borrowed heavily from Māori symbols for his presentation casket. His descriptive portrayal of the work occupied 16 lines of text in his invoice. He called it a “representation of a Maori war canoe”. Newspapers said it was “of Maori design”, with “all the most typical features of this colony and its native people.”²³⁹ The solid silver canoe was crewed by eight miniature silver figures of Māori warriors who held gold paddles aloft in salute. The crew faced a silver model of a chief carrying a raised staff who stood in the prow. The canoe rested on a rectangular casket made of greenstone panels held together with gold corners. Fastened to the greenstone box were the Ducal and the New Zealand coats of arms, made of gold and enamel. The casket was supported by greenstone pillars decorated with carved tiki and kiwi, set in bases of gold and silver on a stepped plinth of native timber. The casket and canoe were housed in a purpose-built carry-case of “beautiful and rare Maoriland woods”, carved with tiki and topped by silver plate inscribed “a souvenir of the visit of their Royal Highnesses to the Land of the Moa and Pounamu.”²⁴⁰ Hyams’ decision to locate the origins and inspiration for the work in the ‘Land of the Moa and Pounamu’ was unusual: one is an extinct life form; the other an object which merely exists, lifeless. It is

²³⁹ Hyams correspondence, Archives NZ; and “The Colony’s Gift to Royalty”, *Evening Star*, 4 June 1901, p.4

²⁴⁰ The description is compiled from several sources including the Hyams correspondence, Archives NZ; Loughnan, *Royalty in New Zealand*, p.18; and “The Colony’s Gift to Royalty”, *Evening Star*, 4 June 1901, p.4.

possible he was referencing one of the ancient pounamu creation myths where Ngahue, Kupe's fellow voyager, returned to Hawaiki to tell of a land named Aotea where moa and pounamu were plentiful.²⁴¹

Whatever his motivations for the work Hyams achieved an important point of commercial distinction as a jeweller by accepting the commission. The collector and dealer of ancient curios became a renowned creator and purveyor of modern hybrid greenstone forms which engaged with idealised notions of what was most characteristic of New Zealand. He also traded on the imperial symbols of monarchy and rank to achieve the same outcomes. While in New Zealand Hyams corresponded under a letterhead topped with a stylised crown, and advertised his business with the claim he had a warrant of appointment to governors Jervois, Onslow, Glasgow and Ranfurly.²⁴² He corresponded on more plain letterhead from Britain, where his telegraphic address was simply "Pounamu, London".²⁴³

The greenstone casket was "the most beautiful thing ever made in New Zealand" gushed the official history of the tour. Seddon personally intervened to ensure the historical record included a full-page sketch of him presenting the gift to the Royal couple on board the *Ophir*. Seddon cabled the Agent General in London, William Pember Reeves, with an instruction to seek permission from *The Sphere* newspaper to use the illustration by its Royal correspondent in the official history.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ This myth was first published in English by Sir George Grey in 1855, and later reproduced in a scientific paper presented by F.R. Chapman to the New Zealand Institute in 1891. However Ngāti Waewae of Ngāi Tahu on the West Coast of the South Island has a very different belief of pounamu creation known as the Poutini myth, where neither Ngahue nor the moa is the central element. See Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race*, Auckland, 1885, (Second Edition), pp. 82-84; F.R. Chapman, "On the Working of Greenstone or Nephrite by the Maoris", *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, 1891, Vol. XXIV, pp.479-539; and Maika Mason, "The Story of Poutini and Pounamu", in Russell Beck and Maika Mason, *Pounamu: the Jade of New Zealand*, Auckland, 2010, pp.44-45

²⁴² Fred R. Rayner, *The Sketcher: Souvenir of the Royal Visit to Dunedin, June 25th, 26th, 27th, 1901. A collection of specially-taken photographs and numerous sketches*, Dunedin, 1901, not paginated. J.C. Beaglehole Room Collection, Victoria University of Wellington; letterhead in Hyams correspondence, Archives NZ.

²⁴³ Frank Hyams Ltd to The Exors of the late Bendix Hallenstein, 17 July 1913, Estate of Bendix Hallenstein relating to Kate Eleanor Hyams, (1910-1922); in Hallenstein Family Trust and Estates Records, AG-295-046/004, Hocken Collections

²⁴⁴ Colonial Secretary, Inwards Correspondence: Agent General London, 3 April 1902, IA1 858 1902/2854, Archives NZ



Figure 9: Seddon presents the casket of greenstone, silver and gold to the Royal couple

The casket contained the text of the government address and was handed over on the Royal yacht *Ophir* in Auckland. Image: Alfred Pearse illustration originally published in *The Sphere*, London, 17 August 1901, p. 191; reproduced in Loughnan, *Royalty in New Zealand*, opp. p.15

Seddon's hands-on management of how history depicted him ensured he continued to share the limelight with the Royal couple long after they had departed. Their final farewell to Maoriland - the phrase *Kia Ora* - was signalled by semaphore flags as the *Ophir* passed through Cook Strait, the imperial waka now more of a wakahuia, loaded down with its new cargo of colonial treasures.²⁴⁵ The heir to the titular position of emperor possessed and reflected colonial culture, just as the empire builders of Maoriland appropriated the Duke's status to possess and reflect imperial citizenship.²⁴⁶

For all the expense, jeweller's craft, precious gems and social and political cachet attached to the Hyams casket and canoe, it is now a forgotten example of late colonial decorative art and material culture. It is consigned to obscurity in storage on the Isle of Wight, part of the Royal Collection at Osborne House where Queen Victoria died in 1901. The house is open for tours but the casket is not on the public route.²⁴⁷ On the other hand the model canoe presented by Te Arawa, loaded with carved greenstone, bone and wooden artefacts, feather cloaks and other precious textiles is more vivid and present – and

²⁴⁵ Rayner, *The Sketcher*, n.p.

²⁴⁶ One of the most bizarre examples was the Balmoral Arch. This towering 36-foot edifice of medieval turrets, castellated walls and three archways topped with flagstaffs and ornamental crowns, illuminated by more than 450 electric light bulbs, was constructed at the northern entrance to the Octagon in Dunedin. It was painted to resemble the 'Scotch granite' at the entrance to Balmoral Castle, and bore a signwritten Māori motto *Aroha tonu, Ake Ake Ake*, or, 'endless affection, for ever and ever'. Rayner, *The Sketcher*, n.p.

²⁴⁷ Personal communication, Sally Goodsir, Assistant Curator of Decorative Arts, Royal Collection Trust, London, 28 February 2017.

celebrated. The Rotorua Museum obtained the canoe and the pounamu tōki adze of Te Pōkiha Taranui on loan for an exhibition which explored the relationship between Te Arawa and the Crown. Both have been on display in Rotorua since 2011 and the Royal Collection Trust renewed the loan for another five year term in January 2017.²⁴⁸

The 1901 tour marks an important moment of transition in social and cultural attitudes to pounamu. This thesis does not attempt an exhaustive account of all Māori-made and Pākehā-made greenstone gifts on the 1901 tour, nor to identify all commercial jewellers and lapidaries who worked in greenstone during the period of study. Hyams was only one commercial jeweller who produced greenstone gifts for the Royal couple. Other notable examples came from the workshops of John Hislop in Dunedin and Adolph Kohn in Auckland. Kohn produced his own greenstone casket, embellished with gold ponga tree ferns, on behalf of the women of Auckland.²⁴⁹ The Arawa model waka was one of many items produced by Māori master carvers for European clients around the turn of the century. Along with the greenstone waka-casket made by Hyams these were modern works, produced specifically for gifting at an imperial occasion when externalised ideas of representative identity were called for. Māori and Pākehā asserted a sense of autonomy during the tour, within a broader imperial framework. They framed a cultural identity through unique treasures and performances before an imperial audience. The tour also exposed contemporary understandings of pounamu objects. Pounamu was represented in competing ways: ancient, modern, Māori, Pākehā, celebrated, lamented. It was a shared and separate symbol of sub-national populations: Māori and Pākehā. Victoria was jointly and severally the beloved and mourned Queen of both peoples.²⁵⁰ Māori and Pākehā considered themselves as engaged imperial citizens but had distinct priorities; a dual identity.

²⁴⁸ Rotorua Museum was closed to the public in late 2016 due to seismic risk from the Kaikōura earthquake in November that year.

²⁴⁹ Winsome Shepherd, *Gold & Silversmithing in Nineteenth & Twentieth Century New Zealand*, Auckland, 1995, pp. 37 and 42; and “General Notes”, *Otago Daily Times*, 22 June 1901, p.8

²⁵⁰ This idea of nationhood is discussed in greater constitutional detail in Miranda Johnson, “Chiefly Women: Queen Victoria, Meri Mangakahia, and the Māori Parliament”, Carter and Nugent (eds.), *Mistress of Everything*, pp.228-245

As the finite number of taonga pounamu pieces remaining in the country continued to diminish, the creation of modern pieces became ever more desirable. For Māori and Pākehā, modern manufacture increasingly answered a twentieth century consumer demand for cheap, readily available items which spoke of unique characteristics of the land of moa and pounamu. As the focus of desire transitioned from pre-contact taonga and ethnographic curio to widely produced commercial objects, local design elements began to feature more overtly in the jeweller's repertoire. There was another notable evolution. Instead of symbolising a collective - a whanau, hapu or iwi grouping, Seddon's ministry, the women of a city, or the peoples of a colony - greenstone objects became more personalised and individualised. The following chapter explores the agency of Māori and Pākehā in fashioning new signifiers of identity through greenstone. In the late colonial period, everyday ornaments and objects became sites of participation, compromise, and shared colonial knowledge.

Chapter IV: Migrants, Māori and participation in the new greenstone industry

The fledgling industry in Dunedin in the late nineteenth century illustrates how the material culture of greenstone can be best understood within the context of colonisation. The gifting and wearing of greenstone objects or adornments was an act which transcended class, gender and race. Yet the *production* of these objects was captured within a framework of colonial settlement. Māori agency remains visible - even with diminished economic and political power – in the Pākehā controlled industry. The evolution of greenstone as a wider signifier of New Zealand cultural identity also gains greater visibility in this chapter. The chapter highlights several relationships between Māori leaders and Pākehā jewellers and stonecutters, and reveals the enduring influence of Māori knowledge in the modern greenstone industry of the early twentieth century.

The early colonial jewellers Joseph Klein in Hokitika and Frederick Lewisson of Auckland were the first specialists in commercial greenstone jewellery. Their merchandise in the last third of the nineteenth century was usually cut in plain geometric designs or reflected generic European fashions. Women's necklaces, brooches and earrings were shaped like drops, diamonds, hearts, ovals or crosses, or set with precious metals in the form of flowers, leaves and fruit. Men's cufflinks, rings and watch chain fobs in greenstone were made to Masonic designs and diamond shapes, or as circular medallions and elongated drops.²⁵¹ Lewisson dabbled in unique local designs, but his premature death from dysentery at the age of 57 meant his business effectively ceased trading in 1887. He once made a brooch for the wife of Governor George Bowen, the elegant and aristocratic Diamantina Bowen, born to a noble family on the British-administered island of Corfu. She had a hand in designing the eponymous brooch, a diamond-shaped piece of greenstone in a gold mounting, from which were suspended three miniature mere made of Thames gold.²⁵² Lewisson must have experimented with cutting the mere shape, because three years after he made the Bowen brooch he advertised for sale "one hundred GREENSTONE DROPS and

²⁵¹ "F.H. Lewisson's Price List", *Evening Star*, 5 March 1873, p.4

²⁵² "Local and General News", *Wellington Independent*, 11 August 1868, p.3, and Hugh Gilchrist, "Bowen, Diamantina (1833–1893)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, 2005, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bowen-diamantina-12812/text23125>, (accessed 30 February 2017)

MERES, all cut from the best stone”.²⁵³ In the absence of personal archives, the inspiration for Lewisson’s interest in Māori designs can only be speculative. His proximity to the military and administrative headquarters of forces involved in the New Zealand Wars is likely to have been a factor. In 1866 he was dealing in greenstone items seized from Wereroa Pā in Taranaki and Gate Pā in the Bay of Plenty, including three mere and a “splendid tomahawk and chisel”, which he described as having heightened “attraction and value” because of their previous Māori ownership.²⁵⁴ The foray into Māori motifs at this time appears particular to Lewisson, and thus far there is no evidence that jewellers and lapidaries in Dunedin, the busiest site of commercial greenstone production, emulated his example until much later, towards the turn of the century.

The scale of commercial greenstone production in Dunedin is understood in one sense through examination of pleas to government seeking industry protection. Two government inquiries into the state of colonial industries occurred during this period, conducted as tariff commissions in 1880 and 1895.²⁵⁵ In 1880 there were 15 master jewellers and lapidaries working in Dunedin; in 1895 the workforce was said to be 12 gem stone cutters. On both occasions the local businesses complained about the impact of foreign competition, especially imported jewellery cut from New Zealand greenstone which had been sent to Germany and Britain. A post-World War II report suggests there were in fact just three greenstone cutters in Dunedin prior to 1890 but that numbers accelerated soon afterwards. An industries researcher, Thomas Conly, interviewed three retired cutters in Dunedin in 1948 for an early oral history of the origins of the commercial greenstone trade.²⁵⁶ Conly was cognizant of the pre-colonial record too and suggested Māori greenstone manufacture could be regarded as “the oldest established industry in Otago”. His history of the post-1860s greenstone industry found local Māori were no longer producers, but they were influential customers who commissioned work from Pākehā jewellers. One important exception was Taranaki Māori sent to Dunedin as prisoners after

²⁵³ “The Auckland Manufactured Works of Art”, *Auckland Star*, 23 September 1871, p.1.

²⁵⁴ “For Sale”, *Daily Southern Cross*, 18 April 1866, p.1

²⁵⁵ “Report of the Colonial Industries Commission”, *AJHR*, 1880-I, H-22; and “Report of the Tariff Commission”, *AJHR*, 1895-I, H-02

²⁵⁶ Thomas Conly, “Greenstone in Otago in Post-Maori Times: Notes on Lapidaries working in Dunedin”, *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 57, No.1. 1948, pp.57-63.

1869 as a consequence of land confiscation. Conly noted the prisoners were given stone by a local lapidary. They then produced pounamu carvings which were traded with Pākehā for “warm clothing and comforts”.²⁵⁷ It is a deeply asymmetrical picture. Poutini Ngāi Tahu and other iwi were denied access to pounamu soon after the 1864 West Coast gold rush, and lacked the capital or means to establish industrial workshops or buy stone from other sources. Landless and enslaved North Island Māori exiles bartered for their survival with objects destined for decorative and ornamental use.

The most prominent Māori member of late colonial Dunedin society was Hōri Kerei Taiaroa, paramount chief of Ngāi Tahu. He travelled frequently between his birthplace on the Otago Peninsula, a later family home near Lake Ellesmere in Canterbury and Parliament House in Wellington in his capacity as a Member of the House of Representatives and later the Legislative Council.²⁵⁸ Taiaroa was busy across several fronts in colonial politics. He was also active in the Kotahitanga unity movement which took him throughout the North Island, and he often appeared before land commissions and courts in pursuit of redress for his iwi.²⁵⁹ Christened in honour of Sir George Grey and described as a “country gentleman” by his biographer, Taiaroa was also nationally well known and caught the attention of Auckland arts patron Henry Partridge who commissioned his portrait from Gottfried Lindauer.²⁶⁰ A rangatira of immense standing and a man with diverse colonial connections, his funeral in 1905 attracted Pākehā and Māori leaders from throughout the country and a crowd of more than 4,000 mourners.²⁶¹ One of his important colonial connections was a little-known relationship with workers in the Dunedin greenstone industry. This connection establishes Taiaroa as a figure of influence and some authority in the development of the commercial trade in pounamu.

²⁵⁷ Conly, “Greenstone in Otago in Post-Maori Times”, p.63. The Taranaki men reportedly used fencing wire as a carving tool. Chapman, “On the Working of Greenstone”, p.497

²⁵⁸ Biographer Harry Evison suggests Taiaroa’s title of paramount chief was a “dubious claim” as he was not always supported by Ngāi Tahu in Canterbury, Kaikōura and the West Coast. Harry C. Evison, “Taiaroa, Hōri Kerei”, *DNZB*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t1/taiaroa-Hōri-kerei, accessed 12 December 2016

²⁵⁹ Ibid; and Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*, p.313

²⁶⁰ Gottfried Lindauer, *Hon. Hori Kerei Taiaroa M.L.C.*, 1901, Partridge Collection, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, reproduced in Mason and Stanhope, *Gottfried Lindauer’s New Zealand*, plate 67; and Evison, “Taiaroa, Hōri Kerei”

²⁶¹ “The Late Hon. H.K. Taiaroa”, *Evening Star*, 14 August 1905, p.7



Figure 10: Hōri Kerei Taiaroa, Ngāi Tahu leader and Member of the Legislative Council

Taiaroa is wearing a miniature wahaika club on his watch chain. It is likely the gold 'pass' which enabled free rail travel for Members of Parliament.

Image: Hōri Kerei Taiaroa [ca. 1903], General Assembly Library Parliamentary Portraits Collection, 35mm-00140-b-F, ATL

Taiaroa enjoyed a close association with Pākehā in the jewellery business in Otago. He hosted annual summer picnics for the families of local jewellers and watchmakers at the grounds adjoining his home marae, popularly known as 'the Maori Kaik'. The kāika or kāinga was a long-established Ngāi Tahu settlement and one of three places where the iwi signed the Treaty of Waitangi. At one jewellers' picnic, 350 children and adults travelled 30 kilometres by boat from Dunedin and Port Chalmers for sports, music and dancing in a "lively" festive atmosphere.²⁶² Taiaroa's family appear to have participated in the festivities as well, and his young grandson Huri is recorded as a prizewinner in a boys' running race.²⁶³ Yet the prize which eluded Taiaroa in his lifetime was access to the

precious pounamu at Anita Bay in Piopiotahi Milford Sound. The tangiwai or bowenite form of pounamu in Fiordland had been a source of grievance for Taiaroa since 1874, when he first claimed it as the personal property of his family. Taiaroa argued that 100 acres of land was promised to his father in 1853 by land commissioner Walter Mantell, during negotiations for the Crown to acquire the Murihiku block in Otago-Southland.²⁶⁴ He pressed his personal family claim before the Legislative Council, in the House of Representatives, with the Native Ministers Donald McLean and James Carroll and with Premier Seddon for

²⁶² "Watchmakers and Jewellers Picnic", *Evening Star*, 24 March 1905, p.1. Taiaroa's birthplace was the largest of twelve Ngāi Tahu settlements based around estuarine food sources on the peninsula: Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou website, <http://www.otakourunaka.co.nz/our-harbour/>, (accessed 12 December 2016)

²⁶³ *Evening Star*, 24 March 1905, p.1

²⁶⁴ Evison, "Taiaroa, Hōri Kerei"; and M. P. K. Sorrenson, "Mantell, Walter Baldock Durrant", *DNZB*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m11/mantell-walter-baldock-durrant, (accessed 12 December 2016)

the next thirty years. He never received the pounamu, the land, or any compensation during his lifetime.²⁶⁵ Taiaroa turned to the Pākehā craftsmen – and some women – of the Dunedin jewellery and greenstone cutting industry, and commissioned them to produce the objects he needed. In the process Taiaroa enabled one Dunedin business to trade on the kudos attached to these special commissions, and to enhance its own commercial reputation.

On New Year's Eve 1874, the Albion shipping line vessel *Nelson* announced its arrival at Otago by signalling as it passed Taiaroa Head Station, where H.K. Taiaroa's family name was effectively etched on to the landscape. The sailing ship had spent 91 days on its maiden voyage from Glasgow. Almost all of its passengers were assisted migrants courtesy of the scheme initiated by Colonial Treasurer Julius Vogel.²⁶⁶ On board were five year old Andrew Devlin and his 11 year old brother Thomas, their three siblings and parents.²⁶⁷ The family of seven from Lanarkshire had enjoyed free passage at a cost to the government of £60-15, to satisfy Vogel's desire for a workforce to expand infrastructure and re-settle Māori land. The Devlin family was part of an astounding immigration boom of 38,000 new arrivals in 1874, an annual migration record not surpassed till 2002.²⁶⁸ Andrew and Thomas Devlin became the most enduring figures in the Dunedin greenstone industry and went on to form a close relationship with Taiaroa and the Ngāi Tahu community at the Otago Kaik, as well as with rangatira further afield, including the North Island. Andrew Devlin began working in the lapidary trade in 1882 aged around 13, and the brothers set up their own business in 1893. In evidence to the 1895 Tariff Commission Andrew Devlin urged politicians to impose a 100 per cent duty on greenstone jewellery and ornaments made in Germany from New Zealand stone. He argued that the local workforce of twelve could be four times that number if the industry was protected, and accused wholesale jewellers of undercutting the trade by

²⁶⁵ Taiaroa's descendants received £53 compensation two years after his death, see: Department Maori of Affairs, Correspondence, Late Honourable H.K. Taiaroa's claim to land at Milford Haven, 12 August 1907, ACIH 16036 MA1 922 1907/419, Archives NZ; and "A Mine of Greenstone", *The Press*, 24 August 1907, p.10. For examples of Taiaroa's efforts for redress in Wellington, see "Today's Parliament", *Evening Post*, 18 September 1902, p.6; "Political Intelligence", *Otago Daily Times*, 7 November 1904, p.2; and Evison, "Taiaroa", *DNZB*

²⁶⁶ "Arrival of the Nelson", *Otago Daily Times*, 1 January 1875, p.2

²⁶⁷ Immigration Department, Passenger Lists, Nelson (ship), 1 October-31 December 1874, Archives NZ, ACFQ 8235 IM15 9/172. The boys' father was a brass moulder, a sought-after skill in Dunedin where metalworkers of all descriptions were needed for domestic and industrial engineering purposes.

²⁶⁸ Jock Phillips, "The great migration: 1871 to 1885", *Te Ara*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/history-of-immigration/page-8> (accessed 26 February 2017)

importing large quantities of cheap German-made goods.²⁶⁹ But assistance from the government was not forthcoming. The Devlin brothers had no option but to continue to supply the wholesale and retail jewellers at cut-price rates to satisfy local customers.

The need for the Dunedin workshops to innovate to remain commercially viable in the face of competition from German imports led to the first production of pounamu hei tiki using mechanised methods in New Zealand. It is an important moment for the hei tiki. The mechanised production is akin to a colonial reinvention, a signifier of modernity and the beginning of a cultural meaning of 'New Zealand-ness' ascribed to the object. It is difficult to be precise about when these machine-made greenstone hei tiki first began appearing in jewellers' windows and cabinets. Reverend Gideon Smales, a former Wesleyan missionary in the Bay of Islands, wrote to the *New Zealand Herald* from East Tamaki in 1871 with a claim that "Maori manufacture [of hei tiki] is now almost entirely neglected."²⁷⁰ At the time of the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition in Dunedin in 1889, the local newspaper noted that hei tiki "are not made now", and those on display in the exhibits were examples unearthed from archaeological digs.²⁷¹ The previously-discussed research by Te Papa curator Dougal Austin also supports the theory that production by Māori of hand-carved pounamu hei tiki peaked in the early nineteenth century and then gradually declined.²⁷² Anecdotal evidence suggests that machine-made hei tiki were available around the beginning of the 1890s, if not earlier.

In 1892 the botanist and amateur archaeologist Alfred Reynolds submitted an article to the *Otago Witness* warning of the sale of "spurious stone age implements" which were "not genuine". Reynolds, ironically writing under the assumed Māori name Aparata Renata, recalled a "hideous imitation" hei tiki in a Dunedin shop window "a few years ago" with a price tag of £3-10, but which he thought was worth no more than the raw stone, or less

²⁶⁹ "Report of the Tariff Commission", *AJHR*, 1895-I, H-02, p.212. Devlin's work history is canvassed in his evidence to the Commission.

²⁷⁰ "Correspondence", *New Zealand Herald*, 20 September 1871, p.3

²⁷¹ "The Early History, Maori and South Seas Court", *Otago Witness*, 5 December 1889, p.17

²⁷² Austin, "Hei tiki: he whakamārama hōu", pp.19-20

than ten pence per pound.²⁷³ In 1893 Murray Aston, a Dunedin antiquarian and member of the Otago Institute, submitted another article to the *Otago Witness* about objects sold in Auckland curiosity shops.²⁷⁴ Aston observed that hei tiki were “difficult to forge, but I saw more than one I felt sure were not genuine...the most wretched-looking specimens will command at least £5.” He also discussed the commercial market for machine-made mere pounamu, and complained that “manufactories in Wellington, Auckland, and, I blush to say it, in Dunedin are now in full swing turning out the spurious greenstone article, which is sent, I hear, as a rule direct to the unscrupulous Maori, and by him retailed at highly remunerative figures to the gullible globe-trotter”.²⁷⁵ The protests from collectors like Reynolds and Aston centred on their belief that greenstone articles were inherently more desirable to Pākehā if they had been made, owned and used by Māori. They located pounamu items as ethnographic curios which spoke only of lost methods and ritual adornment in an archaic past, rather than as everyday items of jewellery or ornamentation for modern Māori and Pākehā. As dealers, the men were also interested in establishing a provenance for the items to enhance their value, in much the same way as Auckland jeweller F.H. Lewisson advertised greenstone objects seized during the New Zealand Wars. However their criticism failed to recognise that the reach of empire and the evolution of tastes and fashions had advanced since J.P. Klein first advertised industrially-made greenstone pendants in Hokitika in 1868.

Greenstone jewellery was an established colonial fashion statement by the late nineteenth century. The timeline for the mass-produced greenstone hei tiki is somewhat less precise, but can be deduced from a number of historical sources. German anthropologist Rolf Herzog interviewed a third-generation member of the Ruppenthal family of gemstone cutters in Idar-Oberstein who suggested industrial manufacture of hei tiki began at the family firm in 1867.²⁷⁶ It may be more accurate to suggest New Zealand nephrite began arriving in large quantities in Germany that year. If greenstone tiki shapes

²⁷³ Aparata Renata, “In Search of Maori Idols”, *Otago Witness*, 28 July 1892, p.38. A brief biography of the Portuguese-born Reynolds is in the Hocken Collections database: Graham, Florence Enid, “The Native Birds of the Otago Peninsula Past and Present, by Aparata Renata.” 1910 (2001), Hocken Collections, Misc-MS-1721

²⁷⁴ Murray Aston, “A Few Notes in Auckland”, *Otago Witness*, 1 June 1893, p.35

²⁷⁵ Ibid

²⁷⁶ Herzog, *Tiki*, pp. 79 and 113. Herzog’s interview with Paul Ruppenthal occurred circa 1988.

were made in Germany as early as 1867 it is likely the production was in small volumes and somewhat experimental, as there is no known documentary record to suggest where the German industries found a market for their output. The trickle of manufactured hei tiki which appeared in New Zealand curiosity shops in the late 1880s or early 1890s swelled to a new wave in fashion at the turn of the twentieth century, and mass produced hei tiki were widely available by 1901.²⁷⁷

The suggestions of 'spurious' forgeries, of greenstone articles which were not 'genuine', and even of 'imitation' designs are fraught with complication in the colonial New Zealand setting. The Devlin brothers, and another Dunedin lapidary, Andrew Dickson, made no secret of the commercial production of hei tiki and mere pounamu in their workshops, as well as decorative household ornaments and other objects made from the stone.²⁷⁸ Their transparency limits the scope for them to be accused of making forgeries and fakes. To complicate the question of authenticity and legitimacy, some objects were made to order on behalf of Māori clients. The 1901 Royal tour provides just one example of the problems of defining Māori authenticity in respect of motif, maker, purpose, and user. The residents of the Otakou Kaik commissioned Frank Hyams to make a brooch in his workshop to their design, for the Duchess of Cornwall. They designed a pounamu fern leaf embellished with diamonds. The brooch was presented by H.K. Taiaroa and his granddaughter Alice Karetai - named for a member of the Royal family - during a personal audience with the future Queen Mary when she visited Dunedin.²⁷⁹ The brooch could be read simultaneously as a Māori curio, a taonga, a colonial object, and an imperial symbol. Taiaroa made good use of his contacts with the colonial greenstone industry in his home city. In doing so he became much more than just a high profile and valuable customer for the migrant stonecutters and jewellers. He effectively represented an artistic patron who designed his own objects for production in the workshops, and in the process became an important creative and cultural

²⁷⁷ An advertisement for mass-produced hei tiki appears in a 1901 Stewart Dawson jeweller's catalogue. "Stewart Dawson & Co. (N.Z.) Ltd.", Eph-A-Retail-Stewart-Dawson-1901-01, ATL. This catalogue is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

²⁷⁸ Hellyer, Trevor: Scrapbook relating to A Devlin & Company Ltd, (c.1920s-1966), MS-3365, Hocken Collections; and Conly, "Greenstone in Otago"

²⁷⁹ "Official Items" and "General Notes", *Otago Daily Times*, 25 June 1901, p.5; and "The Royal Visit", *Otago Daily Times*, 3 July 1901, p.5

influence. It is also likely that he brokered introductions for the brothers amongst his extensive network of Parliamentary and tribal contacts throughout the South and North Island, many of whom went on to commission work from the Devlins.

The first recorded instance of a rangatira commissioning a commercial jeweller to make a pounamu object involved the celebrated Ngāpuhi leader Eruera Patuone and the entrepreneurial Frederick Lewisson of Auckland. In his earliest forays into colonial greenstone jewellery Lewisson attracted attention for the delicate greenstone brooch adorned with gold mere which he made for Lady Bowen. A year later, in 1869, Patuone desired a more imposing item, a mere pounamu. Patuone supplied the pounamu, which he had received as a gift from the former Governor, Sir George Grey.²⁸⁰ The circumstances of the gift from Grey are not known, but almost two decades earlier he had granted Patuone land at Takapuna in order to persuade the influential chief to live in Auckland, thus enhancing the safety of its residents.²⁸¹ If the pounamu was gifted in the same vein, it amounted to part of the price of colonial peacemaking. The mere pounamu, described by contemporary observers as “the first ever made by a white man”, took Lewisson three months of “constant application” and was subsequently valued at £35.²⁸² Explorers Charles Heaphy and Thomas Brunner, who in 1846 were the first Europeans to witness greenstone being worked by Māori near the Arahura River on the West Coast, noted that a mere pounamu took around two and a half months to make in that setting, an estimate comparable to Lewisson’s endeavours.²⁸³ The prestige invested in such a labour intensive, rare and valuable object was clear from Patuone’s decisions to gift two of his earlier mere: one to King William IV during a visit to London in 1834; and the second to the colonial governor William Hobson to mark the signing of the Treaty at Waitangi in 1840.²⁸⁴ Mere pounamu were reportedly so scarce in the Far North in 1840 that Patuone was the only

²⁸⁰ “Maori mere”, *New Zealand Herald*, 8 July 1869, p.4. It is not known if Patuone was aware of the Bowen brooch, or the mere pounamu confiscated during the Taranaki war which Lewisson offered for sale in 1866.

²⁸¹ Angela Ballara, “Patuone, Eruera Maihi”, *Te Ara*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1p12/patuone-eruera-maihi>, accessed 12 February 2017

²⁸² “Maori mere”, *New Zealand Herald*, 8 July 1869, p.4; “A greenstone mere”, *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 6 August 1869, p.2

²⁸³ Chapman, “On the Working of Greenstone”, p.499

²⁸⁴ Ballara, “Patuone, Eruera Maihi”; and Philip. G. Parkinson, “Tuku: gifts for a king and the panoplies of Titore and Patuone”, *Tuhinga: Records of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*, No. 23 (2012), pp.53-68

chief who carried one at the signing.²⁸⁵ After Patuone's commission, the greenstone workshops in Dunedin were next to enjoy commissions from influential Māori clients.

William Dickson, who was active in Dunedin from about 1870, specialised in the production of mere pounamu for an unspecified number of Māori customers and used an agent in Marton to distribute them throughout the North Island.²⁸⁶ It is not clear how he settled on his designs or to whom he sold them, but the objects were "in demand for burying with a deceased Maori of importance".²⁸⁷ The possibility also exists that Dickson learned carving techniques and design from the Taranaki Māori prisoners sent to Dunedin after 1869. Writing about the prisoners, ethnologist and lawyer F.R. Chapman claimed to have personally observed "more than a hundred men cutting greenstone [in 1880]...they had a gridiron-like apparatus made of fencing wire...in this way a slab was cut down into eleven narrow strips, which were then rubbed down into ear-pendants on a flat stone...They also made *meres*. I saw them making one in the gaol-yard on the grindstone."²⁸⁸ Another contemporary observer reported the prisoners made decorative greenstone objects such as rings and ornaments.²⁸⁹ Chapman believed the government supplied the pounamu, yet Conly's later research claimed William Dickson had given pieces of the stone to the prisoners.²⁹⁰ If the latter suggestion is correct, it is highly probable that Dickson gained knowledge of working pounamu by observing their methods. Taranaki Māori, punished for resisting land confiscation, may have contributed to the success of Dickson's efforts to specialise in pounamu objects of mana. Dickson went on to train the Devlin brothers and sold them some of his stock and equipment. Andrew Devlin in particular forged a close relationship with H.K. Taiaroa, and earned a prestigious commission which was recalled as a high point of his career more than thirty years later.

²⁸⁵ Parkinson, "Tuku: gifts for a king", p.65

²⁸⁶ Conly, "Greenstone in Otago", pp. 58-62; and Beck and Mason, *Pounamu: the Jade of New Zealand*, p.172. The Marton agent, Egbert Lyon, was born circa 1867 so his North Island sales trips were unlikely to have occurred before the late 1880s.

²⁸⁷ Conly, "Greenstone in Otago", p.61

²⁸⁸ Chapman, "On the Working of Greenstone", p.497. Emphasis in original. There is a slight discrepancy in his estimate of "more than a hundred" prisoners, because at that time 91 men were in jail, see: Jane Reeves, "Maori Prisoners in Dunedin 1869-1872 and 1879-1881: Exiled For a Cause", BA (Hons) in History, University of Otago, 1989, p.60

²⁸⁹ "Noble Savage", *Western Star*, 8 September 1880, p.3, originally published *Dunedin Morning Herald*, n.d.

²⁹⁰ Conly "Greenstone in Otago", p.63

“The Maoris feel at home when they come here”, Andrew Devlin told a visiting newspaper reporter in 1937. “They get the old tribal feeling when they see us working Maori patterns on the stone.”²⁹¹ The Scottish-born lapidary found authority and prestige in the patronage of his Māori clients. The Devlin workshop was in the backyard of the family home in Wesley Street just 200 metres from the Hillside engineering workshops, Dunedin’s largest employer at the beginning of the twentieth century. Wesley Street has never been excavated as an archaeological site whereas another turn of the century greenstone workshop at Harvest Court, between George and Great King Streets, was excavated in 2013.²⁹² Russell Beck, a former director of the Southland Museum and Gallery, visited the former Devlin property during 1969-1970 to recover partially-worked pieces of stone from the garden where they had been discarded when the business closed.²⁹³ The archaeological record of decades of design and production is thin, as is the textual record. Nevertheless that which does remain enables a partial knowledge of the way Pākehā artisans and Māori patrons interacted to shape the domestic industry. Three newspaper articles about the Devlins were published in the 1930s, the last decade their business was active. The reports include interviews with Andrew and eyewitness descriptions of objects and methods in the workshop.²⁹⁴ Russell Beck also interviewed Andrew Devlin’s daughter in 1969 and her recollections are published in several of his works.²⁹⁵ Scant other archival records exist from a period when the production and desirability of pounamu objects underwent profound change.²⁹⁶

The Devlins represented an immense cultural innovation in the local pounamu industry. The few existing textual records of their Dunedin workshop privilege the brothers’

²⁹¹ “Art of the Gem-Cutter”, *The Weekly News*, 12 May 1937, p.14

²⁹² Victoria Ross, “The European Greenstone Industry in Otago: Archaeological and Historical Evidence”, BA (Hons) in Anthropology, University of Otago, 2014, pp. 2-3, 24-30

²⁹³ Ibid, pp. 22, 30-31, 53, 61, 67; and personal communication, Russell Beck, 26 April 2017

²⁹⁴ C.P., “Treasure Trove, the Romance of Greenstone”, *Evening Star*, 14 March 1936, p.15; “Art of the Gem-Cutter”, *The Weekly News*, 12 May 1937, p.14; “Lapidary Art: Where Greenstone is Beautified”, *Evening Star*, 12 October 1939, p.14. Further information from Andrew Devlin’s obituary: “Link Broken: Death of Last Lapidary Craftsman”, *Otago Daily Times*, 23 January 1951, p.6. These reports are the source of much of the next paragraph, in addition to the Beck works cited below.

²⁹⁵ Russell J. Beck and Maika Mason, *Mana Pounamu*, Auckland, 1984 (2002), esp. pp.124-127, and Beck and Mason, *Pounamu: the Jade of New Zealand*, p.175

²⁹⁶ Key archives include the Department of Industries and Commerce files at Archives NZ; the tariff inquiries reported in the Appendices to the Journals; and the Hellyer family scrapbook in the Hocken Collections.

central role but also provide a tantalising glimpse of the creative control exercised by iwi leaders. They demonstrate that the evolution in form of many pounamu objects occurred to the specifications of Māori customers. Andrew Devlin learned to speak Māori as part of his effort to court high profile clients.²⁹⁷ The Dunedin workshops turned out bespoke objects which suited regional tastes. Taiaroa, who spent thirty years fighting for redress to the pounamu at Piopiotahi, commissioned the Devlins to produce thirteen mere pounamu to his own design which he could bequeath to his descendants.²⁹⁸ Other Devlin-made mere pounamu were distinctive for having just three grooves around the butt of the handle and for not being highly polished “past the finish generally seen on Maori cutting.”²⁹⁹ Taiaroa’s mere were celebrated by the Dunedin newspaper for being larger than those made for North Island iwi, “because, we were told, ‘of the abundance of greenstone, and (we were proud to hear) of the strength of the men’...we felt relieved that we were not numbered among the enemies”. The stone for most Devlin commissions came not from Piopiotahi, but from Kumara and Hokitika, supplied by gold miners who worked claims in the Arahura and Taramakau Rivers of Poutini West Coast. The brothers spent six months of the year making hei tiki, mere and ear pendants, and spent the rest of the year on sales trips, mostly to the North Island.³⁰⁰ Andrew’s obituary recorded that “Maoris from all parts of New Zealand visited him and he took a special interest in their welfare. He knew all the Maori chiefs in New Zealand and visited most of them on his annual trips throughout the Dominion when selling his work.”³⁰¹ Iwi from the Whanganui, Rotorua and the Hauraki Gulf regions are specifically identified as customers, although the sales trips ranged more widely. The Devlins returned from their travels with new commissions and design templates to meet the specifications of iwi. No material record remains of these designs save for a throwaway comment by a newspaper reporter who was given a tour of the workshop in 1936.

By now we had left the machinery and spoke with comfort in a kind of small office, where we found ourselves surrounded with all manner of fascinating articles. A bundle of tikis hung on the wall “patterns” our guide explained. “We get them from all over New Zealand. Each tribe has its own particular kind of tiki. This,” indicating a

²⁹⁷ Beck and Mason, *Pounamu: the Jade of New Zealand*, p.140

²⁹⁸ “Treasure Trove”, *Evening Star*, 14 March 1936, p.15

²⁹⁹ Conly, “Greenstone in Otago”, pp.61-62

³⁰⁰ Russell Beck, *New Zealand Jade: the Story of Greenstone*, Wellington, 1970, p.84. A family photograph of the Devlin brothers wandering through the geyser region of Rotorua while on a sales trip in the 1920s is reproduced in Beck and Mason, *Mana Pounamu*, p.96

³⁰¹ “Link Broken”, *Otago Daily Times*, 23 January 1951, p.6

large and extremely weird looking object, “is the most curious one I have seen. It comes from the Hauraki Gulf.” Meres also were there in abundance, and they too vary with the tribe...such orders seem to be quite common.³⁰²

One other major commission, from near Whanganui, is referred to only incidentally in the newspaper report. The offhand reference belies the potential insight it offers into how a modern Māori political and spiritual force, the Rātana Church, understood the modern pounamu industry. The *Evening Star* article about the “romance” of Dunedin’s greenstone industry was published just one month before the prophet Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana met the Labour Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage to seal a new alliance. It revealed Rātana was a client of the Devlins. His new temple, built on Waipounamu Street at Rātana Pa in 1928, incorporated a dedication written in greenstone letters which were cut by the Dunedin firm. The phrase on a temple arch was translated into English by the newspaper as “Father, Son and Holy Ghost”, indicating it was likely to have read *te Matua, te Tama, te Wairua tapu*. Rātana’s grandmother Erina Rātana is known to have worn modern pounamu objects alongside heirloom pieces. A formally-posed studio portrait from the 1890s shows her wearing a modern combination of peacock feathers and a huia feather, a pounamu hei tiki and two colonial greenstone fob pendants set in gold or silver.³⁰³ In April 1936 a pounamu hei tiki was one of the four symbolic gifts from T.W. Rātana to Savage. The pounamu represented lost mana.³⁰⁴ Rātana told Savage “it is a notable jade of authority representing richness and nobility of the Maori people. It also confesses the truth that the Maori people have lost their rights, caused by European laws.”³⁰⁵ His description of the item situated the stone in both the pre-colonial past and the modern present. The hei tiki served as a type of oracle, speaking for Māori interests. Savage replied “I greet you and the interpretations of these articles which you have placed before me. I shall keep them, and confess that their significance is really beyond the written word.”³⁰⁶ The question of

³⁰² “Treasure Trove”, *Evening Star*, 14 March 1936

³⁰³ Formal portrait of Erina Ratana, Tourist and Publicity Collection, Ref: 1/2-012409-G, ATL

³⁰⁴ Angela Ballara, “Ratana, Tahupotiki Wiremu”, *DNZB*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r4/ratana-tahupotiki-wiremu (accessed 2 March 2017)

³⁰⁵ R. Ngatata Love, “Polices of Frustration: the Growth of Maori Politics; the Ratana/Labour era”, PhD Thesis in Political Science, Victoria University of Wellington, 1977, p.296

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, pp.297-298. Love’s verbatim account of the meeting is attributed to a participant, P.K. Paikea, who was Rātana’s private secretary and later the MP for Northern Māori. Paikea’s record was subsequently stored with Rātana church archives. It differs from the verbatim exchange recorded in biographies of Savage and Rātana, which do not emphasise the pounamu in the same detail. The exchange in those works is attributed to another

whether the Devlins supplied this pounamu or made the hei tiki to Rātana's specifications is an historical enigma which cannot be answered in this thesis. Yet the meanings given to the object by Rātana and taken from it by Savage indicate the need for this degree of knowledge is effectively redundant. Rātana located pounamu in the wider narrative of colonial loss, and Savage understood and affirmed the power of the metaphor.



Figure 11: Erina Rātana

Image: Formal portrait of Erina Ratana, [ca.1890s]
Tourist and Publicity Collection, 1/2-012409-G, ATL

Savage took several pounamu objects with him to the grave. The Rātana hei tiki does not appear to be amongst them and knowledge of its whereabouts is lost to the archives. Fletcher Construction installed two purpose-built display cases at the M.J. Savage mausoleum at Bastion Point, Ōrākei, in 1944. The bronze, timber and glass cases were expensive, at £150 apiece. One displayed “Maori features” while the second case displayed “other” items.³⁰⁷ Some objects were transferred from the Prime Minister's office where they had been held since his death in 1940 and other possessions were gifted by Alf and Elizabeth French, the Auckland couple with whom he boarded. Decisions about

what to include were made by a number of his party and Parliamentary colleagues.

Described in the language of saints and venerated icons, Savage's possessions were described as *relics*.³⁰⁸ Seventeen were lodged in the mausoleum in 1944, and two items

meeting participant, Eruera Tirikātene. See Barry Gustafson, *From the Cradle to the Grave*, Auckland, 1986, p.189; and J.McLeod Henderson, *Ratana: the Origins and the Story of the Movement*, Wellington, 1963, pp.90-91

³⁰⁷ Internal Affairs Department, Memorial-MJ Savage-Relics-Deposit in Mausoleum-Bastion Point, J.W. Heenan to Public Works Department, 8 September 1943; and Donner & Bartlett Architects to J.W. Heenan, 3 October 1944, in IA1 2275 107/29/7, Archives NZ

³⁰⁸ J.W. Heenan to the Chief Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 20 May 1943, in *ibid*.

were listed as greenstone, but both were mere. There were also a number of other carved Māori objects, described as “Taiha [sic]...Maori Paddle... Bone Patu” and “2 Tapu figures”.³⁰⁹ Considerable uncertainty surrounds the whereabouts of the Rātana hei tiki and other objects. Their meanings in 1936 were intended to be representative, and they continue to exist more in the realm of the metaphysical than the material.

The interactions between Māori leaders and Pākehā stonecutters gave an increasing versatility to the greenstone objects created in the turn of the century Dunedin workshops. Māori patrons exercised authority and knowledge over design and technique, and were keepers of a saleable ‘romantic’ myth of pounamu origins. Pākehā controlled access to the stone and to the industrial enterprise and commercial networks required for business. As a consequence of its versatility the stone was put to multiple uses on profound and everyday occasions. Taiaroa and North Island tribal leaders commissioned heirloom objects; the Rātana family engaged with the modern symbolism of pounamu and also continued to articulate its pre-contact heritage. The Devlins explored modern ideas in another way by employing young women to polish greenstone, which drew “adverse comments” in masculinist working-class South Dunedin.³¹⁰

Women were avid customers too. Greenstone art objects were everyday consumer items, such as jewellery, decorative household items or special occasion gifts. In the formal theatre of display created by a posed studio portrait, Erina Rātana wore the material objects which were of value to her. The hei tiki and the newly-available greenstone fobs affirmed her status, as well as signifying a nod to personal fashion. Taiaroa’s wife Tini Kerei Taiaroa was known to actively support his work behind the scenes, including his family claim to the pounamu at Piopiotahi.³¹¹ One of her precious personal possessions was a set of household cutlery with greenstone handles, monogrammed with her own initials, a gift from her husband. More than 50 years after her death, her great granddaughter Ruku Arahanga

³⁰⁹ J.W.H[eenan], List of Articles, 5 May 1943, in *ibid*.

³¹⁰ Conly, “Greenstone in Otago”, p.60

³¹¹ Jenny Lee, “Taiaroa, Tini Kerei”, *Te Ara*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t2/taiaroa-tini-kerei (accessed 3 March 2017)

recalled the cutlery set as one of “so many beautiful things” owned by her tupuna.³¹² Ruku Arahanga mourned the loss of the cutlery and other personal household items including monogrammed linen and H.K. Taiaroa’s writing desk, which were either given away or stolen from the family home during the 1940s. The memory of the greenstone cutlery became a new form of cherished heirloom, and the monogram of its owner as evocative as a Birmingham silversmith’s hallmark which denoted person, time and place. The next chapter relocates from Dunedin to Birmingham and other European manufacturing centres. The factories and merchants of the industrial British Midlands were part of the trans-imperial network which enabled the reinvention of the pounamu hei tiki as a modern signifier of Māori knowledge and New Zealand identity.



Figure 12: Andrew Devlin in 1937, and a hei tiki attributed to his workshop

Devlin is polishing a greenstone object which resembles the inclined head of a tiki. Devlin and his brother Thomas arrived from Scotland as young boys and worked with greenstone for almost 60 years. They travelled widely to meet Māori patrons/clients who commissioned bespoke objects, especially mere pounamu and hei tiki. When Andrew retired he donated unused greenstone to the Māori Kāik on the Otago peninsula.

Images: “Art of the Gem-Cutter”, *The Weekly News*, 12 May 1937, p.14 (detail); and Hei tiki [attributed to Devlin Bros], D2014.8, Otago Museum

³¹² John Wilson, “An interview with Ruku Arahanga”, *Te Karanga: Canterbury Maori Studies Association*, Vol.4, No.3, November 1988, pp.30-31

Chapter V: Colonial and transnational Industry

Silversmiths and cutlers in Britain, gemstone mills in Germany and importers and manufacturing jewellers in New Zealand were a trans-imperial workforce in greenstone. The Devlins and other Dunedin greenstone workers made a diverse range of everyday and heirloom objects, but the scale of their enterprise was that of a cottage industry. The mass production possible in German and British factories and the addition of precious metal by artisans made some objects even more desirable. One of the most popular of the modern greenstone objects was the hei tiki. This chapter establishes the object was manufactured, distributed and sold on an industrial scale by 1901. It illustrates how gifts and treasured objects made of greenstone were not particular to a person's gender, age, or ethnicity. The level of education or training, social standing or income of an individual did not preclude ownership and display of greenstone. Everyday and versatile, greenstone was immensely popular. A watch chain fob, a signet ring, cufflinks, a cutlery set, paperweight, clock, cigarette case, brooch, bracelet or necklace made of greenstone was an entirely appropriate gift, irrespective of demographic. It was portable, precious and fashionable. It spoke of family and friends, and of home, workplace and communities.

The international reach of the greenstone trade and the rivalries between local manufacturers and retailers who imported goods from Europe is clear in Customs archives. In 1907 the Customs Minister John Millar resisted calls by retail jewellers to axe the 20 per cent tariff on imported greenstone objects so that they could be offered more cheaply to local customers. Eleven Dunedin greenstone workers wrote to Millar to applaud his decision. They told Millar, who was also a Dunedin MP, that retail jewellers were wrong to suggest the local manufacturing industry was unsophisticated or limited to just simple decorative forms like hearts, pendants and bar brooches.

[That the] deputation of Wellington jewellers should have the temerity to indiscriminately slander all those engaged in the business is beyond pardon...in order to prove how utterly false are the statements of our traducers we submit a list of some of the articles manufactured by us in Dunedin...THE LIST: Brooches, pendants, sleeve links, shamrocks, greenstone rings, serviette rings, signet rings, photo frames, seal stones, paper knives, table tops, fancy boxes, pen holders, Maori gods [hei tiki],

paper weights, rulers, bangles, ink stands, cutlery handles, umbrella handles, stick handles, match boxes, cigarette cases...Trusting Hon Sir you will in the interest of the Greenstone cutters and those dependent on the trade, such as the small working jeweller and engraver continue to protect us from the imported German manufactured and spurious article which only awaits an opportunity to flood the market and annihilate a young and struggling industry of great possibilities.³¹³

A persistent feature of the early twentieth century greenstone industry is the commercial rivalry between local gem cutters and manufacturing jewellers on one side, and retail jewellers and importers of European-made objects on the other. Explicit in the language of the debate was the notion of imperial preference, where the customs and tariffs regime treated British goods more favourably than German goods. But imperial identities were more fluid on the ground in New Zealand, where commercial interests were not always fixed to country of origin. Miners of British descent on the West Coast lobbied their local MP Tom Seddon, the son of Premier Richard Seddon, to allow German-made items to enter the country without punitive tariffs. Manufacturing jewellers of German descent conversely lobbied for protection from the import trade. This debate had been rehearsed from the earliest days of the colonial greenstone industry. Working jewellers in Dunedin petitioned Parliament in 1877 about the competition from greenstone jewellery imported from Germany.³¹⁴ The 1880 Parliamentary Commission into colonial industries later declined to intervene. The transcripts of that Commission reveal an already flourishing greenstone trade which connected New Zealand merchants with stonecutters and silversmiths in Germany and Britain. A particular source of complaint was British-made copies of the New Zealand fernleaf design which were exported back for sale by local jewellers.³¹⁵ An Auckland jeweller protested to Commissioners about “boy and girl labour” in Europe, yet very young apprentices were then common in New Zealand industries. A 14 year old boy at a Dunedin greenstone workshop suffered a broken arm when his sleeve caught in the shaft of a steam-driven saw in 1885, although the government inspector determined the accident was “entirely the boy’s own fault”.³¹⁶ Twelve year olds were

³¹³ Customs Department, Tariffs and Trade, Tariff - Jewellery (greenstone), A. Devlin to Hon J.A. Millar, 2 August 1907, ACIF 16475 C1W1218/19 22/125/2, Archives NZ

³¹⁴ “Protection”, Press, 19 November 1877, p.2

³¹⁵ “Report of the Colonial Industries Commission”, *AJHR*, 1880-I, H-22, p. 100

³¹⁶ “Annual Report of the Marine Department”, *AJHR*, 1886-I, H-24, p.35

lawfully employed as apprentices from 1865.³¹⁷ Nevertheless protests continued to make unfavourable comparisons between European and local greenstone industries, highlighting the cheap labour and harsh conditions which enabled German and British-made products to undercut the small New Zealand workshops.

By 1895 a 20 per cent duty had been levied on greenstone jewellery imported from Britain and 30 per cent on goods from nations outside the empire. Andrew Devlin asked a Tariff Commission to increase the duty to 100 per cent because the cost of imported German pieces was around half that of his own work.³¹⁸ In 1907 the Minister of Customs told a Parliamentary tariff debate that wages in German factories were a fraction of those in New Zealand and the German stonecutters had much longer working weeks. A “competent workman” in Germany put in a 60 hour week for 15 shillings, a boy was paid a shilling a week. In New Zealand the boys were paid up to ten shillings and men up to three pounds, for a 40 hour week.³¹⁹ T.E. Seddon counter-argued that miners on the West Coast needed the trade in greenstone with Germany “at a time when gold-mining was a languishing industry.”³²⁰ In the previous year his constituents earned £1,645 from the sale of a combined 222 cwt of stone.³²¹ Seddon also complained about the import tariff from a consumers’ point of view, and told Parliament it was now cheaper to buy greenstone in Australia than in New Zealand. His complaint confirms the everyday nature of greenstone jewellery and ornaments was not limited New Zealand, but was a feature of imperial society.

By 1907 the international trade in greenstone was running hot and continued to do so until the outbreak of war with Germany in 1914. Customs officials, especially the landing waiters on the Auckland wharves, were in seemingly perpetual battles with importers who tried to disguise the origins of greenstone jewellery or decorative objects in order to evade

³¹⁷ Jeanine Graham, “Child Employment in New Zealand”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 21.1, 1987, pp. 62-63

³¹⁸ “Report of the Tariff Commission”, *AJHR*, 1895-I, H-02, p.212

³¹⁹ John Millar, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD)*, 29 August 1907, Vol. 140, p.645

³²⁰ Thomas Seddon, *ibid*, pp. 645-646.

³²¹ 222 hundredweight is equivalent to 11,278 kilograms of greenstone.

duties. One apparently sympathetic official even suggested the local greenstone industry should be discouraged in light of newspaper reports that 90 per cent of the children in the German village of Idar were suffering from tuberculosis due to the dust from its stone-grinding mills.³²² The battles with officialdom have left a partial paper trail to illustrate the sheer scale of the international trade in New Zealand greenstone, underlining its immense popularity with consumers.

The most significant piece of historical evidence for the evolution of the hei tiki to an everyday cultural object is a piece of archival ephemera. The 1901 edition of the mail order catalogue for international jewellers' chain Stewart Dawson confirms the transformation of the hei tiki and illustrates the company it keeps. It establishes that by the turn of the twentieth century mass-produced greenstone hei tiki were widely available throughout the empire.³²³ The pages of the catalogue are not confined to jewellery. An immense range of manufactured goods for home, office, personal grooming and gift giving could be bought from Stewart Dawson by anyone, anywhere, throughout Australasia and Britain. From wedding rings to binoculars, fish knives to fountain pens, hairbrushes, salt cellars, clocks, teapots, and engraved sports trophies, the desirable and aesthetic consumer objects crowd the pages of the catalogue. The British-based chain had premises in four New Zealand cities, another four in Australia, and two in London. Stewart Dawson delivered items post-free to anywhere in the three countries. The illustrated 1901 catalogue had more than thirty choices of greenstone brooches, pendants and bracelets as well as sterling silver cutlery with greenstone handles. Stewart Dawson sold seven sizes of "N.Z. Greenstone 'Tiki' Pendant", with prices from a low four shillings and sixpence to the most expensive at 14 shillings and sixpence. It was a comparatively affordable item of personal adornment, when the cheapest gold locket in the catalogue was 21 shillings and the smallest gold Masonic pendant for a watch chain sold for 13 shillings and sixpence. The catalogue does not identify the place of manufacture but a subsequent edition in 1910 revealed "all our goods are

³²² Collector of Customs, Auckland, Inwards Letters, L. Thompson to Landing Surveyor, 10 January 1913, BBAO A133 5544 Box 143a 1913/195, Archives NZ Auckland. Thompson had likely read a syndicated news story published three days earlier: "Consumption in Germany", *The Colonist*, 7 January 1913, p.2

³²³ "Stewart Dawson & Co. (N.Z.) Ltd.", Eph-A-Retail-Stewart-Dawson-1901-01, ATL, p.19

purchased direct from the actual manufacturers of Great Britain”.³²⁴ British wholesale jewellers in turn acquired the cut stone from Germany.



Figure 13: Stewart Dawson catalogue, 1901

Mass-produced greenstone hei tiki were available by 1901 in a range of sizes and prices. This jeweller’s catalogue is the earliest historical evidence of the trade. Image: “Stewart Dawson & Co. (N.Z.) Ltd.”, Eph-A-Retail-Stewart-Dawson-1901-01, p.19, ATL (detail)

The global scale of the trade was however much wider than the international distribution and retail networks represented by the Stewart Dawson chain. Beneath the institutional presence of Stewart Dawson in the retail heart of the largest cities in Australasia and Britain was a thriving system of small family businesses. An imperial diaspora meant the stonecutters of Germany and the silversmiths of Britain were connected to New Zealand merchants through the popular new fashion accessory, the pounamu hei tiki.

Turn of the century migrants Otto Jerusalem and Montague Heinemann were part of a second wave of German jewellers to significantly impact the

greenstone trade. Born just a year apart, they were likely to have known each other through professional connections in the Wellington jewellery trade after 1910. But the imperial circumstances of their births meant Jerusalem and Heinemann had markedly different experiences as they tried to integrate into late-colonial society. Otto Jerusalem was born in Germany in 1877, into a family of gemstone dealers and cutters from near Idar-Oberstein.³²⁵ His father despatched three sons to new mineral-rich colonies around the world: in South America, South Africa, Australia and from there to New Zealand. Otto Jerusalem arrived in Wellington in 1904 via the Australian opal fields to secure nephrite for the family factory in Germany. He visited the Colonial Museum to seek out display cases of Māori artefacts and made detailed sketches of hei tiki to send his father. His designs enabled the stonecutters

³²⁴ “Xmas Jewels: Stewart Dawson & Co. (N.Z.) Ltd”, Ephemera-A-Jewellery-1910-01, ATL, inside front cover

³²⁵ Lorelei Hayes, *Waiaua to Kauri Cliffs: the Story of a Northland Sheep Station*, Kaero, 2004, pp. 139-141. Other biographical details are sourced from: Army General Staff, Territorial Force – Otto Jerusalem – Lieutenant, New Zealand Forces Motor Service Corps, AABK 7291 W5614 Box 36 D.2/1398, Archives NZ

and polishers in the German mills to produce imitation hei tiki in shipments of 10,000 pieces at a time for the wholesale dealers in London.³²⁶ A number are likely to have been sold in Britain to satisfy a small fashion boom for greenstone hei tiki after 1904, but many others were exported to New Zealand and Australia.³²⁷ Jerusalem and his family appear to have deliberately routed the German-made objects through Britain to circumvent the higher tariff for non-imperial goods. A landing waiter at the Auckland wharves wrote to the Collector of Customs in 1912 to report “a ring of cutters and dealers” in Germany and Britain were working with local sales agents to supply greenstone in a way which deprived Customs of revenue.

Kleine, Lonsdale, & Jerusalem of Wellington are also said to be “in the swim”. It is suggested that Jerusalem’s invoices from the cutters are not forwarded to N.Z. but others on the bill heads of Jerusalem’s home [British] buyer sent on in which the values may or may not be “pruned” to some extent.³²⁸

The ring of cutters and dealers was extensive. It drew together family-owned gemstone mills and distributors in Idar-Oberstein; silversmiths, wholesale jewellers and merchants in London, Birmingham and Derby; and importers, wholesalers and retailers in New Zealand. Some of the family enterprises in Germany also had branches in Britain which looked after distribution. Jerusalem & Son operated out of Idar and London; and John Philip Wild had branches in Idar and Birmingham.³²⁹ Yet despite his familial connections and capital investment, Otto Jerusalem gave up the business in Wellington during World War I, unable to cope with pressure from police and military authorities and his neighbours’ suspicions about his German origins.³³⁰ Naturalised as a British subject in 1910, one neighbour complained in 1914 that Jerusalem “cannot even speak good English” and was possibly a spy. A sceptical police officer interviewed him and found not the “slightest information” to support claims of disloyalty. Nevertheless Jerusalem was forced to resign from the Army’s Territorial Force Motor Corps. He was a driver in the Territorials and once

³²⁶ Hayes, *Waiaua to Kauri Cliffs*, p.139

³²⁷ The London fashion craze for hei tiki is discussed in Part Three.

³²⁸ Customs Department, Auckland, G.H. Cornes to The Collector, 5 June 1912, BBAO A133 5544 Box 143a 1913/195, Archives NZ Auckland

³²⁹ Ibid, and Customs Department, Otto Jerusalem to Minister of Customs, 19 July 1907, ACIF 16475 C1W1218 19 22/125/2, Archives NZ

³³⁰ This paragraph sourced from: Army General Staff, Territorial Force – Otto Jerusalem – Lieutenant, New Zealand Forces Motor Service Corps, AABK 7291 W5614 Box 36 D.2/1398, Archives NZ

used his own car to chauffeur the visiting British General Sir Ian Hamilton on a tour of Wellington military fortifications. He told the police detective he was as loyal “as a good many New Zealanders” and would fight to protect the country, but not against the German army where several of his brothers were serving. After quitting the jewellery trade he left Wellington and took up farming before changing his name to the more anglicised Otto Williams. He later became the editor of influential new cultural publications *The Mirror* and *The New Zealand Women’s Weekly*.³³¹ Otto Jerusalem’s primary language and steadfast affiliation to his country of birth saw him persecuted for disloyalty during the heightened suspicions of wartime. He effectively became an imperial and ethnic ‘other’ despite helping to popularise a uniquely emblematic symbol of his new homeland. His involvement in the greenstone trade was short-lived like that of Joseph Klein in Hokitika a generation earlier, but both created an historically enduring presence in New Zealand material culture. Jerusalem’s modern redesign of an archaic tiki in the Colonial Museum, and the diasporic connections he brought to production and distribution, gave him a significant bearing on the mass market in greenstone hei tiki in the early twentieth century.

Montague Heinemann’s family were migrants through the British empire twice over. During the 1870s his father Dr Wolf Heinemann left Germany for London, where Montague was born in 1878. The family moved to Dunedin in 1895 where Dr Heinemann lectured in German and Hebrew at Otago University. Montague initially worked as a commercial traveller for wholesale jeweller D. Benjamin and Co. before buying a jewellery import and distribution company in Wellington.³³² Father and son were active in the Dunedin Hebrew Congregation and worshipped at the new synagogue alongside members of the extended Hallenstein family.³³³ Montague’s reputation flourished after he married and moved to Wellington in 1910, where he renamed his new business M.M. Heinemann and Co. He became a stalwart of the capital’s business community and a long-serving office-holder in

³³¹ Hayes, *Waiaua to Kauri Cliffs*, p.141

³³² D. Benjamin & Co was owned by David Theomin, whose wife was a cousin of Bendix Hallenstein. Biographical information for Wolf and Montague Heinemann from: “Death of Dr Heinemann”, *Otago Daily Times*, 18 September 1906, p5; and “Obituary: Mr M.M. Heinemann”, *Evening Post*, 27 October 1941, p.3; and “Personal”, *Evening Star*, 5 May 1909, p.4

³³³ Lazarus Morris Goldman, *The History of the Jews in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1958, pp.99-101; and “Personal”, *Otago Daily Times*, 21 July 1906, p.10

the Chamber of Commerce, the Master Jewellers' Association and the Wellington Jewish Congregation, and helped to build a new synagogue on The Terrace in 1929. His family were frequently mentioned in the social pages, such as when his daughter mixed with daughters of Cabinet Ministers at the annual vice-regal ball for debutantes at Government House in 1931.³³⁴ Praised in his obituary as "a very prominent member" of the Wellington business community, Heinemann differed from Otto Jerusalem in an important respect: he was one step removed from being considered a German. Born and educated in London, Heinemann was British by birth not by naturalisation, although his parents were German. His business kept trading throughout World War I with no apparent backlash, although anti-German sentiment did persuade his former Dunedin employer to change the name of one of his businesses, the Dresden Piano Company.³³⁵ Montague's son Joseph Wolf Heinemann joined him in the jewellery business between World Wars I and II, when the firm gave up retailing to concentrate on the wholesale trade. As the third-generation family member to make a mark in his new homeland, J.W. Heinemann would eventually persuade the government to change the greenstone industry forever. After World War II he was instrumental in convincing the Customs Minister to prohibit the export of boulders and unprocessed greenstone. He did so by arguing against the interests of German and British-based manufacturers and by positioning greenstone as a "typically New Zealand article" which should be reserved for local manufacturers in "the national interest".³³⁶

Other German-based family firms known to work with New Zealand nephrite were Rud. Cullman & Söhne, Friedrich Dalheimer, Friedrich Diehl, Ernst Gottlieb, Karl Klein, Karl Kohler IV, Albert Ruppenthal, Joseph Stern, Rudolf Veeck, W.Constantin Wild, Georg Wild, and Jakob Wild XIII.³³⁷ With Otto Jerusalem and M.M. Heinemann and Co., these businesses

³³⁴ Goldman, *The History of the Jews*, photo opp. p.129; also "Jewish Congregation: An Officer Retires", *Evening Post*, 17 December 1935, p.12; "Vice Regal Ball: Debutantes & Guests", *Evening Post*, 11 September 1931, p.12

³³⁵ Mervyn Palmer, "Theomin, David Edward", *Te Ara*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t38/theomin-david-edward, accessed 2 April 2017

³³⁶ The background to the 1947 Customs Export Prohibition Order is discussed further in Chapter VII. The lobbying by J.W. Heinemann is captured in the file: Department of Industries and Commerce, Engineering Hardware, Green-NZ, 1924-1955, IC1 399 19/119 Part 1, Archives NZ

³³⁷ This list is compiled from multiple sources and is likely to be incomplete. See Dept. Industry and Commerce Engineering Hardware file above; also Auckland Customs files for 1912-13 already cited (Ref. BBAO A133 5544 Box 143a 1913/195); also Imperial Preference – Qualification of Greenstone for Tariff Preference, Customs

represented an important layer in the colonial greenstone trade. Their production supplemented the greenstone objects promoted through grand institutional shop fronts like the Stewart Dawson establishments. These smaller German family firms dealt with commercial travellers and wholesalers who distributed greenstone via independent retail jewellers in the provinces and cities. The business model effectively saturated New Zealand with European-made greenstone jewellery and ornaments. In just a single shipment which caught the eye of an Auckland Customs official in 1912, a travelling salesman imported 988 greenstone hei tiki in eight sizes between 15mm and 75mm; more than 1,300 greenstone bar brooches; more than 1,100 greenstone fob pendants; 144 greenstone teddy bears; 106 lily of the valley leafs [sic] of greenstone, and 1,020 greenstone bars pre-drilled for making into chains.³³⁸ The shipment represented potential gifts and purchases for thousands of customers. A smaller operator, a retail jeweller in Rotorua, imported one shipment of 78 greenstone tiki in four sizes, 99 greenstone hearts, 118 greenstone shark teeth charms, 25 greenstone shields “with kiwi”, and 97 greenstone rings, bangles and necklaces.³³⁹ Greenstone objects, many based on Māori designs, were no longer just collectable bric-a-brac on the shelves of amateur ethnographers or the trophies of curio hunters. The popular and desirable greenstone, pounamu, nephrite or jade was now a hallmark of Edwardian fashion and consumer culture across Empire.

The everyday material presence of greenstone is evident in miscellany and ephemera. It is recorded in classified advertisements, society pages and gossip columns. It is visible in non-textual sources such as the increasingly popular studio portrait photography of the early twentieth century.³⁴⁰ Large and small jewellers’ firms in New Zealand and Australia frequently promoted ‘tikis’ and other ornamental greenstone gifts at

Department, C1 65 23/51/17, 1929-1930, Archives NZ; also “KLEIN, Philip Joseph”, Hokitika Probate Files, 1885, HK244/1885, Archives NZ; and Herzog, *Tiki*, pp. 79-83

³³⁸ Customs Department, Auckland, John Philip Wild of Birmingham to N.F. Westwood, 18 March 1912, BBAO A133 5544 Box 143a 1913/195, Archives NZ Auckland

³³⁹ Customs Department, Auckland, S. Danneford, Rotorua, bought of Friedrich Diehl, Katzenloch near Idar, 20 January 1912, BBAO A133 5544 Box 140a 1912/1697, Archives NZ Auckland

³⁴⁰ Significant studio portrait collections which depict subjects wearing modern greenstone items are those of: Herman John Schmidt, [ca. 1907-1942], Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries; the Maclay, Adam Henry Pearson Collection, [ca. 1905-1926], PA-Group-00396 ATL; and the General Assembly Library Parliamentary Portraits Collection, [1878-1908], PAColl-0838, ATL. Examples are reproduced in the Appendix.

Christmastime.³⁴¹ Other classifieds, especially the lost and found columns, show greenstone ornamentation was commonplace in the wardrobes of men and women in cities, towns and rural areas.³⁴² Society wedding reports demonstrate that greenstone brooches, necklaces and bracelets were customary gifts from the groom to the bride and bridesmaids. In turn, grooms occasionally received greenstone jewellery from the bride.³⁴³ Accounts of farewell tributes for long-serving staff and civic presentations to soldiers and dignitaries also reveal how common it was for men to wear greenstone jewellery.³⁴⁴



Figure 14: Kia Ora brooches and watch chain fobs of colonial gold and greenstone

Three brooches also utilise the fernleaf design. The fob on the right is in the shape of a Māori weapon, a wahaika club. *Kia Ora* greenstone brooches first appeared in classified advertising in 1903.

Image: Private collection, Wellington

The ubiquity of these objects allowed pounamu to claim an emblematic place in a history of social and cultural expression. Pounamu represented the self, or intimacy. It could also symbolise the external, or community recognition. Chosen to suit the wearer or owner, an object could speak both of personal and of shared identity. Against this setting the hei tiki made of greenstone became part of a wave of popular new Maoriland icons at the turn of the century.

³⁴¹ Examples from Christchurch, Auckland, Wellington, New Plymouth, Gisborne, Palmerston North, Oamaru, and Lawrence include: *Press*, 31 December 1902, p.9; *Auckland Star*, 11 December 1900, p.6; *New Zealand Times*, 3 December 1903, p.6; *New Zealand Times*, 11 November 1903, p.7; *Free Lance*, 10 December 1904, p.15; *Taranaki Herald*, 16 December 1899; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 15 December 1900, p.3; *Manawatu Times*, 3 December 1903, p.3; *Oamaru Mail*, 17 December 1900, p.3; and *Tuapeka Times*, December 9, 1899, p.2.

Examples from Sydney: *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 9 March 1901, p. 43; *Evening News*, 5 December 1905, p.4; *Freeman's Journal*, 28 November 1907, p.6; *Sydney Stock and Station Journal*, 5 December 1907, p.8

³⁴² Auckland, Wellington, Palmerston North, Wanganui, Masterton, Napier, Nelson, Reefton, Dunedin and Invercargill examples include: *New Zealand Herald*, 6 December 1904, p.1; *Evening Post*, 1 December 1899, p.3; *Evening Post*, 18 March 1903, p.1; *Manawatu Standard*, 18 July 1903, p.1; *Wanganui Herald*, 28 November 1900, p.3; *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 25 May 1895, p.3; *Daily Telegraph*, 29 January 1891, p.3; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 2 January 1900, p.3; *Inangahua Times*, 24 March 1890, p.2; *Otago Daily Times*, 10 March 1904, p.1; *Southland Times*, 14 December 1900, p.2

³⁴³ Weddings at Greymouth, Hamilton, Blenheim, Ranfurly, Palmerston North, Waipawa, Ashburton, Auckland, Reefton and Clinton: *Colonist*, 18 January 1896, p.2; *Waikato Argus*, 8 February 1901, p.2; *Marlborough Express*, 23 September 1902, p.4; *Otago Witness*, 28 October 1903, p.62; *Manawatu Times*, 2 January 1904, p.3; *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 25 August 1904, p.4; *Ashburton Guardian*, 24 November 1904, p.2; *The Observer*, 28 January 1905, p.8; *Inangahua Times*, 16 October 1909, p.2; *Mataura Ensign*, 26 September 1910, p.3

³⁴⁴ *The Observer*, 22 February 1896, p.8; *North Otago Times*, 30 March 1903, p.2; *Marlborough Express*, 19 December 1903, p.2; *Marlborough Express*, 17 March 1904, p.2; *Otago Witness*, 17 August 1904, p.59

Other items literally spoke the Maoriland brand, including the fashionable *Kia Ora* and *Ake Ake* greenstone jewellery. *Kia Ora* brooches and love heart necklaces began to appear around 1902 and became a registered design by 1903.³⁴⁵ *Kia Ora* and *Ake Ake* jewellery was also sold in Australia and was a staple jewellers' design for several years.³⁴⁶ The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa collection includes possibly unique personalised jewellery made by the same method, apparently for Māori customers. A kapeu pendant of conventional shape has been decorated with a gold band on which is engraved *To Auntie Kui From Twopence*. A second item, a brooch, is embellished with a clasp bearing the phrase *Arohanui Kia Taua* (with love to grandmother or aunt or Taua) spelled out in gold scrollwork. Both items were likely made to order for customers who either spoke Māori or were known by Māori names.³⁴⁷

The *Kia Ora* and *Ake Ake* pieces reflected an increasing trend for non-Māori to join Māori in the use of te reo phrases in greeting or salutation. The linguistic development was influenced by three near-simultaneous imperial and colonial events. New Zealand troops in the colony's first overseas conflict, the South African war, sent home Christmas greeting cards in 1900 which reprised a unique battle cry composed by Māori trooper Walter Callaway. The cards read "Kia ora, ake ake ake. Tenei te tahu e nga tamariki o Nu Tereni e whawhai ana mo te mana e te Kuini", or "Greetings, forever and ever and ever. The husbands and children of New Zealand fight for the honour of the Queen."³⁴⁸ South Africa was also the inspiration for *The Aké Aké Waltz*, a piece of patriotic music composed by Mary Symons of Foxton and published in 1901 to favourable reviews in the New Zealand press.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁵ "Wedding Bells", *Marlborough Express*, 23 September 1902, p.4; "Kia Ora Brooch", *Manawatu Times*, 3 December 1903, p.3

³⁴⁶ See for example, *Evening News* [Sydney] 5 December 1905, p. 4; *The Observer*, 28 November 1908, p.14; *Auckland Star*, 18 November 1910, p.8

³⁴⁷ Unknown, Kapeu (pendant), ca. 1900-1930, ME023879, Te Papa; and Unknown, Brooch, [ca. 1890-1910], ME023878, Te Papa. The Te Papa catalogue suggests the dedication on the brooch reflects Ngāi Tahu vocabulary and indicates it may have been "specifically crafted as a gift".

³⁴⁸ Trooper Callaway's original battle cry was: "Kia Kaha Niu Tireni. Whaiwhai maiea mo te Kuini te Kaianga. Ake! Ake! Ake!" [Be strong New Zealand, fight bravely for your Queen and country. Forever and ever and ever! See *Auckland Weekly News*, 22 December 1899, p.5, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries. The Seddon Christmas card is cited in *Wanganui Chronicle*, 3 January 1901, p.2. [Card translation by author.]

³⁴⁹ Mary Symons, "Aké Aké Waltz", London, ca. 1901, Ref. Music Box SYM Ake 19--, ATL; and *Manawatu Times*, 25 March 1901, p.2; "Local and General" *Wanganui Chronicle*, 3 April 1901, p.2. Mary Symons spelled the title



Figure 15: Premier Seddon's 1901 "Kia Ora" Christmas card

Image: ACHW 8635 Seddon3 98/9, Archives NZ

The second major influence on the wider adoption of Māori phrases is likely to have been the Royal tour of mid-1901. The Duke of Cornwall frequently greeted crowds with a *kia ora* and it was also the last signal sent in semaphore as the Royal yacht departed New Zealand.³⁵⁰ This theory gains weight from a subsequent meeting of the Māori Congress where a speaker blamed the Duke for a “perversion” of the language. Reports from the 1908 Māori Congress lamented, “the popular ‘Kia Ora’ for example is now used, even by Natives, in place of the old salutation ‘Tenakoe,’ and ‘Kia Ora’ though it has since been used as a greeting to English Royal blood, had its origin in common drinking bars.” The phrase “came into popular currency at the time of the visit of the Duke of York. It was freely used by many who knew no other Maori phrase, and who would have been at a loss to give a translation. It figured as a kind of ‘Amen’ at the foot of the Duke's telegrams. Old settlers did not take kindly to the phrase, and it may not be generally known that it is cordially disliked by the old Maoris.”³⁵¹ The heir to the throne may have unwittingly popularised a phrase previously used as an informal drinking toast to good health. Ultimately Premier Seddon reflected the phrase and the country back at itself in his 1901 Christmas card. Sent widely to

of her composition with an acute accent over the *e*, although the diacritic is not used in Māori. It was possibly done to ensure the word was pronounced as two syllables.

³⁵⁰ “The Royal Visit: the Squadron at Sea, God Speed and Kia Ora”, *Press*, 29 June 1901, p.7

³⁵¹ *Manawatu Times*, 21 July 1908, p.4; and *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 23 July 1908, p.4

colonial opinion leaders such as newspaper editors, Seddon's four-page card was titled "*Kia Ora*" and *Christmas Greetings*. It was illustrated with stylised Māori graphic designs, photographs of the Royal visit to Rotorua and images of soldiers.³⁵²

The easy recognition of shared emblems informed the sense of ownership which characterised the debate about pounamu gifts during the 1901 Royal tour. Greenstone was already widely available as personal keepsakes but the tour exposed a collective sentiment that it was considered a cultural treasure, with a common legacy and memory. The commerce in greenstone increasingly required people to deal in ideas of heritage as well. Imagined meanings of greenstone artefacts gave Maoriland its own imperial outposts in Britain and Australia. The hei tiki became defined as a powerful force for luck and fortune especially in the intense arenas of sport and war. The following section, Part Three, discusses the talismanic qualities which were ascribed to the hei tiki and which set it apart from other greenstone adornment. The hei tiki as a good luck charm appears to be a Pākehā reinvention which dates to the early twentieth century, much like the reinscribed meaning of the phrase *Kia Ora*. The reworked meanings were driven by trans-imperial networks. As Māori cultural treasures and knowledge circulated through these networks they took on new identities as symbols of Maoriland.



Figure 16: "Suitable Souvenirs of Maoriland"

Well-recognised Māori phrases *Ake Ake* and *Kia Ora* adorned greenstone love hearts, and silver ferns and hei tiki were a common sight in jewellers' windows, as the stone gave form to ideas which spoke for self or imagined country.

Image: *Auckland Star*, 23 October 1909, p.16

³⁵² Rt. Hon. Richard John Seddon, Volumes of Invitations and Similar Souvenirs, Christmas Cards, 1895-1902, ACHW 8635 Seddon3 98/9, Archives NZ; and "Town and Country", *Timaru Herald*, 27 December 1901, p.2

Part Three: *The idea*

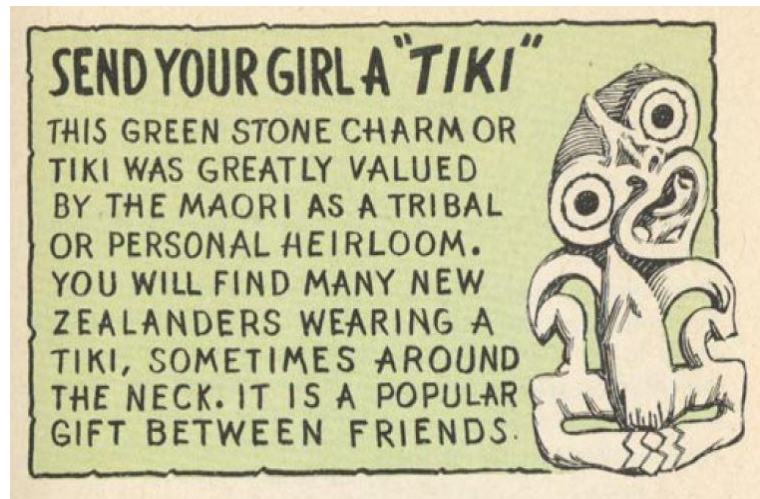


Figure 17: "You will find many New Zealanders wearing a tiki"

United States Army advice circulated to U.S. forces in New Zealand in WWII identifies parallel Māori and Pākehā ideas about the hei tiki

Image: U.S. War and Navy Department, *Pocket Guide to New Zealand*, Washington D.C., 1943, p.35

Chapter VI: Sporting chance. To win the British Derby

Commercialisation of the greenstone resource and rapid growth in manufacture and trade in goods in the late nineteenth-century illustrate early economic consequences of colonisation. The trans-imperial capital flows, industrial specialisation and retail markets discussed in the previous chapters were significant forces of change for stone and object. However the circulation of colonial commodities did not involve merely resources and consumer products. Possession of greenstone objects often involved a relationship with an idea. Knowledge of place, culture and identity is an important theme in Part Three of this thesis. Parts One and Two considered contemporary encounters with stone and object. This final section explores ideas attributed to pounamu and hei tiki. The most powerful imagined association was that of a talisman or amulet, a type of good luck charm and an object of great personal importance through its external associations. Significantly, the hei tiki became an imperial object, less easily defined by national boundaries. It represented a Māori past and a shared imperial future. Behind the physicality of stone and the aesthetic of objects was knowledge of people and land, and an idealised sentiment of colonial culture.

The talismanic qualities of the hei tiki represented knowledge which had evolved over decades. Whether archaic or modern, pounamu was an object and an idea. The migrant gold miners and jewellers of colonial Hokitika saw something ordinary: a mineral by-product of the prospectors' claims. Poutini Ngāi Tahu saw something mythical: pounamu as a representative and timeless embodiment of supernatural taniwha, of spiritually powerful men and women, of mountains, rivers and oceans, and always imbued with its own *mauri*, or life force.³⁵³ In the first decade of the twentieth century, the ordinary was represented as mythical again. Pounamu hei tiki were evoked, seen and celebrated for characteristics and knowledge unique to New Zealand. The hei tiki re-acquired this mythical reputation in the high stakes contests of war and sport. Non-Māori invested pounamu and hei tiki with a type of faith, a cultural belief akin to superstition.

³⁵³ The Poutini myth is discussed by Maika Mason in Beck and Mason, *Pounamu: the Jade of New Zealand*, pp.44-45

The term superstition is used in a non-pejorative sense. Superstition grounded in archaic folklore was not out of step with the modern Edwardian era of rationalism and free-thinking. The late Victorian trend away from authoritarian religion towards a more secular outlook is closely associated with cultural modernity. Individuals were increasingly able to look for spiritual assurance outside established sacred rituals. Mediums, spiritualism and mysticism could co-exist with a belief in mainstream faiths.³⁵⁴ In this setting, modern talismans offered comfort as a type of personal blessing without the wearer considered to be in thrall to paganism. Superstitious belief in the power of objects denotes reasonably orthodox cultural notions about the ability of charms or amulets to bestow luck and fortune, protection and safety, or to connect people across temporal and spatial worlds. It does not imply irrational or anti-scientific values, nor does it carry the theological baggage of the term idolatry, even though some Europeans referred to hei tiki as Māori idols.³⁵⁵ Greenstone hei tiki became a modern talisman through the dynamics of imperial networks. Colonial commerce introduced greenstone into belief systems as a type of “shareable common culture”, or portable cultural property.³⁵⁶ John Plotz applies the term to objects which evoke a sense of Englishness when used elsewhere in the Empire, including by those who have never set foot in the United Kingdom. Here, it is extended to suggest that interaction with a unique Māori object outside New Zealand could affirm and invoke a sense of empire, even for those who had no knowledge of tikanga Māori. Imperial citizens far from the landmass of New Zealand had a relationship with greenstone which amounted to inventing, and reinventing, its meanings of power and divine influence. Māori concepts of mana and tapu – authority, sacredness – were reworked and relocated. In this self-fashioning, greenstone was associated with imagined spiritual forces unique to Māori and to the New Zealand landscape, ideas which more often than not were articulated by non-

³⁵⁴ See, for example, Jenny Hazelgrove, *Spiritualism and British Society Between the Wars*, Manchester, 2000; and Alex Owen, “Occultism and the ‘Modern’ Self in Fin-de-Siècle Britain”, in Martin Daunt and Bernhard Rieger, (eds.), *Meanings of Modernity: Britain and the Age of Imperialism and World Wars*, Oxford, 2001, pp.71-96

³⁵⁵ A conference titled *Superstition in Historical and Comparative Perspective* at the University of Essex in 2005 and the consequent special issue of the journal *Past and Present* chose to avoid a prescribed definition of *superstition*. One of the organisers instead suggested most of the participating historians were “content to treat superstition as a label, a historically changing category of ascription”, often used to define the boundaries of “acceptable knowledge” by those who wielded institutional power. See S.A. Smith, “Introduction”, in *Past and Present*, 199.3, 2008, pp. 8-11

³⁵⁶ John Plotz, *Portable Property: Victorian Culture on the Move*, Princeton, 2008, pp.74-75

Māori. The embrace of its talismanic properties was an imperialist rendering of what could be more commonly understood in New Zealand as the stone's life force, its mauri. Recent studies into 'emerging geographies of belief' have attempted to collapse national boundaries in order to consider common cultural practices. They highlight "the fluency of notions around belief and faith... [which] demonstrates how leaky the metaphysical assemblage can be and how differently the relations between religion, faith and belief can be enacted in different places and times, and form the basis of different imperatives to act."³⁵⁷ The way non-Māori imagined their relationship with greenstone arose from imperially privileged knowledge of Māori experiences. It was informed by tenets of European folklore and superstition. They acted on that knowledge by buying, gifting or wearing greenstone, or swearing on its efficacy.

There is room for ambiguity about the framing of superstitious beliefs where charms and amulets have a double life as desirable fashion objects. The mineral nephrite, for example, was enormously popular in London in the early years of the twentieth century.³⁵⁸ Jewellery, decorative household objects and even political statements were fashioned from the stone. Its dark hues were a perfect fit for objects made in the women's suffrage colours of green, purple and white.³⁵⁹ The popularity of nephrite was also driven by other imagined associative qualities, especially the power, prestige and fortune of the ruling classes. The Romanov Court jeweller Fabergé opened its first store outside Russia in 1903, choosing London over Paris for profoundly imperial reasons. It was "at the heart of a prosperous Empire that stretched around the globe".³⁶⁰ Britain's monarch Edward VII, like Tsar Nicholas II also an Emperor, was an existing customer. Works in nephrite, sourced from Siberian river boulders, were a specialty of Fabergé. Like New Zealand pounamu, the Siberian stone produced a variety of "shades and textures" and artisans in the Russian workshops were

³⁵⁷ Catherine Brace, Adrian Bailey, Sean Carter, David Harvey and Nicola Thomas (eds.), *Emerging Geographies of Belief*, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 2011, p.4

³⁵⁸ Personal communication, Kieran McCarthy, Wartski Jewellers, London, 17 March 2017

³⁵⁹ Mrs Pethick Lawrence is attributed with devising the colours. Elizabeth S. Goring, "Suffragette Jewellery in Britain", *Journal of the Decorative Arts Society*, No.26, 2002, pp.84-99. Green was associated with hope, purple represented dignity, and white denoted purity.

³⁶⁰ Kieran McCarthy, *Fabergé in London: the British Branch of the Imperial Russian Goldsmith*, Woodbridge, 2017, p.15

renowned for their expertise in six types of nephrite.³⁶¹ An occasional “precious Fabergé jade masterpiece” was the centrepiece of Christmas gift-giving from King Edward VII to the Queen, recalled by their grandson in his memoirs.³⁶² Other clients of the new London store included European and Asian royalty, aristocrats and socialites. Nephrite had wide appeal across nations and cultures. A 14-piece desk set of decorative nephrite objects such as ink wells, pens, and even a lamp stand was commissioned from Fabergé for the King of Siam, Rama VI, by his brother. The American heiress Nancy Leeds, later to marry the Prince of Greece and Denmark, sought out many nephrite objects as gifts for her friends, including at least one in suffrage colours.³⁶³ The gemstone’s powerful associative qualities meant that it was not always straightforward to make a distinction between fashion imperatives and superstitious belief. Yet modernity enabled the invention of tradition.³⁶⁴ The creation of new artefacts and a benign recasting of superstitions sometimes was less about the supernatural and more about personal style in the modern era.

When the imperial goldsmith Fabergé moved to new premises at 173 New Bond Street in 1911, it shared a prestigious address.³⁶⁵ New Bond Street was already home to many upscale jewellers and luxury brands, including Cartier and Asprey.³⁶⁶ The thoroughfare known colloquially as Bond Street, spanning Old and New Bond Streets, was immortalised in 1925 by Virginia Woolf’s *Mrs Dalloway*. The novel’s protagonist was fascinated by its shops, products and people. It was a space where “strangers looked at each other and thought of the dead; of the flag; of Empire.”³⁶⁷ Nineteenth-century merchants created the enduring consumer spaces of arcades, window displays and department stores in the West End. The area bounded by Oxford, Regent and Bond Streets became London’s premier retail district.³⁶⁸ New Zealand also existed there, in the material objects and the imagined

³⁶¹ McCarthy, *Fabergé in London*, inside front cover. Most of the nephrite objects listed in McCarthy’s history of the London branch are decorative pieces rather than jewellery. They include confectionary boxes, photo frames, ash trays, paper knives and other desk ornaments.

³⁶² Edward, Duke of Windsor, briefly King Edward VIII, quoted in McCarthy, *Fabergé in London*, p.37

³⁶³ McCarthy, *Fabergé in London*, p.9, 166, and 210

³⁶⁴ Rieger and Daunton, “Introduction”, in Daunton and Rieger, *Meanings of Modernity*, pp. 4-7

³⁶⁵ McCarthy, *Fabergé in London*, p.33

³⁶⁶ Ibid and for example, *The Times*, 29 November 1905, p.11

³⁶⁷ Virginia Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*, Oxford, (1925) David Bradshaw (ed.), 2009 edition, pp. 9 and 15

³⁶⁸ Westminster City Council, *Oxford, Regent and Bond Street (ORB) Action Plan*, 2008, online at <https://www.westminster.gov.uk/west-end>, accessed November 2016. See esp. p.20 for evidence of the area’s

meanings of greenstone.³⁶⁹ The studio and shop of Frank Hyams of Dunedin was at 128 New Bond Street, just a few paces from Fabergé and Cartier.³⁷⁰ His astute business skills, coupled with a penchant for self-promotion and intuition about imperial fashions, are demonstrated by his extensive presence in London society journals. Hyams advertised widely in titles read by the leisured classes such as *The Tatler*, *The Sketch*, *The Bystander*, and *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*. He was also quick to appreciate the potential value of art dealers, connoisseurs of exotic or ancient objects, and amateur collectors. They were the target audience of the very first issue of *The Burlington Magazine* in 1903, where he was an inaugural advertiser.

‘Pounamu’ New Zealand Greenstone (The Maori Lucky Stone), A Spécialité. Hei-Tiki 25/- Larger Sizes in stock. ‘Lucky Charms’ In Greenstone. Mere from 5/- Shamrock Brooches from 32/6. A large assortment of Artistic Jewellery, Greenstone, Silver and Gold work always in stock.³⁷¹

Hyams’ 1903 advertisement in *The Burlington* captures a transformative imperial moment for pounamu hei tiki. The object is represented with modern, commercial appeal for a metropolitan society outside the colonial confines of a New Zealand setting. The fashionable desirability of the hei tiki in Edwardian London was enhanced by its supposed reputation as a talisman for good fortune. Once archaic, now contemporary and absolutely *à la mode*, the transition of the hei tiki to a symbol understood across empire was underway. Hyams took a cultural reference from the colonial periphery and dressed it up in the fashion of the metropolis. The pounamu hei tiki asserted Māori meanings from London. Knowledge of the object blurred spatial and temporal ideas about empire and colony, and ancient and modern. It was a commodity and an idea, and Hyams was selling both. Hyams and greenstone were imperially mobile fellow travellers, helping to construct the other.

enduring desirability for consumers. When the three streets closed to traffic for one day to promote Christmas trading on 1 December 2007, an estimated one million shoppers visited the area.

³⁶⁹ For a discussion of New Zealand’s presence in London through Māori motifs and representation at Empire exhibitions see Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand’s London: a Colony and Its Metropolis*, Auckland, 2012, esp. pp.148-153

³⁷⁰ Hyams initially opened premises on the first floor of 167 New Bond St. in late 1898, but by late 1902 he was in a ground floor shop at 128 New Bond St. See “Personal Notes from London”, *Evening Star*, 3 January 1899, p.3; and “Personal and General Notes”, *Evening Star*, 30 December 1902, p.6

³⁷¹ Selected text from Frank Hyams advertisement, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1903, p.vi

Hyams trained as a young goldsmith in Regent Street in London. He perfected his craft and reputation by working in greenstone in Dunedin and returned to London to remarry into the Hallenstein family, itself a diasporic network of commercial and cultural



Figure 18: Pounamu hei tiki promoted in Britain as fashion objects and lucky charms

This 1903 Frank Hyams promotion is the earliest known British advertisement for commercially produced hei tiki. Image: *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1903, p.vi

success, a non-state agent of Empire. Hyams distributed greenstone hei tiki from his workshop in London from at least 1900, but initially as a tightly defined colonial symbol for New Zealanders. Women on the New Zealand stall at a charity bazaar in Kensington for victims of the South African war were outfitted with his hei tiki “or Maori god”, suspended from a bow of red, white and black ribbons, colours evocative of Māori art forms.³⁷² The Canadian women wore maple leaves, the Australians had sprigs of wattle and wreaths of eucalyptus, and Scotswomen wore dark tartan scarves. For Hyams and other colonials who marked out their place in the metropolis, the imagined ‘Maori god’ was like native flora or fauna, a reminder of a singular landscape and part of a cultural costume.

Yet the greenstone ornaments or “badges” which gave the New Zealand stall its “distinctive character” at the wartime bazaar did not just represent a remote and distant colony.³⁷³ They asserted the presence in the metropolis of an active imperial citizen, whose men were fighting in South Africa for the Queen and whose women selflessly joined their colonial sisters to do good works. The unique ‘badge’ of New Zealand, much like the Irish shamrock,

³⁷² “The National Bazaar”, *Evening Star*, 9 July 1900, p.6; “New Zealand at the National Bazaar”, *The Star*, 6 July 1900, p.1; “The National Bazaar”, *The Star*, 14 July 1900, p.3

³⁷³ “New Zealand at the National Bazaar”, *The Star*, 6 July 1900, p.1; “Anglo-Colonial Notes”, *The Star*, 3 July 1900, p.8

soon escaped its colonial boundaries to become an artistic charm suitable for all imperial consumers. Hyams later built on the New Zealand commission he enjoyed from the 1901 Royal tour of the Empire and grew the greenstone jewellery trade from his shop in New Bond Street. Shamrock brooches in greenstone were fashionable as was the hei tiki, and the popularity of greenstone in London was reported positively in New Zealand newspapers.³⁷⁴ Yet all other greenstone charms were soon eclipsed by the popularity of the hei tiki. Overnight, it became a fashion craze in 1904. Thousands of imperial citizens began wearing hei tiki when its reputation as a lucky charm swept metropolitan society because of its mysterious role in a single horse race.

Leopold de Rothschild's top hat and tails were ruined by a torrential downpour as he waited outdoors during a summer thunderstorm at the Epsom racecourse. But he seemed untroubled. The international financier had just won the 1904 Derby, and was irrepressible as he discussed the race with the waiting press and his friends, including King Edward VII in the royal gallery in the grandstand.³⁷⁵ In Edwardian Britain the Epsom Derby was "the nation's chief sporting event, and easily the best attended".³⁷⁶ Rothschild's horse *St Amant* had unexpectedly triumphed over the race day favourite, the French stallion *Gouvernant*.³⁷⁷ It was a stunning upset. Only three British newspapers of 24 surveyed by the *Daily Chronicle* included the horse in their selections for the Derby.³⁷⁸ The unfancied *St Amant* entered into racing folklore and popular memory for all those who followed the sport, from the King to the poorest inhabitants of Rothschild's hometown in Suffolk; from the forty-thousand spectators at Epsom to the vicarious spectators throughout the British Empire. In a benevolent gesture of largesse to celebrate his victory, Rothschild distributed coal, groceries and 10 shillings to every widow in his home district of Newmarket, and half a crown to every child.³⁷⁹ It was a popular win with the British working class as well as the aristocracy. The

³⁷⁴ "Local and General", *New Zealand Times*, 7 May 1903, p.4

³⁷⁵ "By the Way", *The Globe*, 2 June 1904, p.1; "The World of Sport", *The Sporting Life*, 2 June 1904, p.4; "About Town and County", *Northampton Mercury*, 3 June 1904, p. 5

³⁷⁶ H.C.G. Matthew, "Edward VII (1841–1910)", *ODNB*, online edn., April 2016

³⁷⁷ *Gouvernant* was at odds of 7/4 to win (a 64 percent chance). *The Graphic*, 4 June 1904, p.754

³⁷⁸ *Daily Chronicle* quoted in "Pith of the Papers", *St James Gazette*, 2 June 1904, p.7

³⁷⁹ *Manchester Courier*, 7 June 1904, p.10; *The Sportsman*, 7 June 1904, p.2; *Leeds Mercury*, 11 June 1904, p.12; *Cornish and Devon Post*, 18 June 1904, p.5; The gesture to widows and children was considered newsworthy enough to be reported as far away as New Zealand, "Brevities", *Evening Star*, 25 July 1904, p.1

“Costers of Petticoat Lane” in the East End and “the man in the street” considered the Rothschilds as “philanthropists, and as men of kindly heart and genial temperament”.³⁸⁰ The longshot victory lodged in the public consciousness to such a degree it was later immortalised in fiction. As the James Joyce character Leopold Bloom wanders the streets of Dublin on 16 June 1904 he overhears a conversation in a bar where a punter regrets his failure to back the Rothschild horse.³⁸¹ The win was certainly lucrative for Rothschild himself, who took home the largest share of the Derby purse of 6,500 sovereigns. He also took home a new heirloom, a greenstone hei tiki.

Rothschild’s greenstone hei tiki had arrived in his mail that morning with a note from an anonymous well-wisher who “asserted it would bring him good luck.”³⁸² He showed it to “a group of curious pressmen” and the King after the dramatic win.³⁸³ Syndicated newspaper reports of the owner’s belief in the good luck charm were soon cabled around Britain and dispatched by sea to other parts of the Empire.³⁸⁴

Accepted in the spirit in which it was sent, the Mascot [hei tiki] vindicated its mission, and Mr Leopold, though soaked to the skin, but radiant with satisfaction, triumphantly produced the little deity from his pocket and gleefully gave us the history of its possession and consummation.³⁸⁵

Mr de Rothschild, pulling from his pocket a New Zealand greenstone charm, carved in the form of a Maori god, said it had been sent to him with a nice letter by an anonymous correspondent who implored him to wear the amulet during St Amant’s race, for it was a pledge of victory. Lord Rothschild remarked that such a charm should be reckoned an heirloom.³⁸⁶

That was a pretty story he told us about the mascot which was sent him. Some person who he did not know wrote the owner of St. Amant a very nice letter,

³⁸⁰ “London Letter”, *Leeds and Yorkshire Mercury*, 2 June 1904, p.4; “Mr Leopold de Rothschild’s Derby Victory”, *Bedfordshire Advertiser*, 3 June 1904, p.8; “A Popular Rothschild Victory”, *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 2 June 1904, p.2; “The Racing World”, *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, 4 June 1904, p.359

³⁸¹ While Bloom eats a gorgonzola sandwich at lunchtime, Nosey Flynn says to Davy Byrne: “I could have got seven to one against Saint Amant a fortnight before[...]She won in a thunderstorm, Rothschild’s filly”; see James Joyce, *Ulysses*, Random House, London, (1922) 1992, p.259. The horse actually paid five to one for the win, and was a colt, not a filly.

³⁸² “Turf Superstitions: Mr Leo Rothschild’s Maori God”, *The Sporting Life*, 2 June 1904, p.5

³⁸³ “Derby in a Thunderstorm: Day of Rain and Surprises” *The Daily Mail*, 2 June 1904, n.p., Rothschild Archives

³⁸⁴ For example, “Anglo-Colonial Notes”, *NZ Herald*, 8 July 1904, p.6; *The Telegraph* [Brisbane], 23 July 1904, p.12; *Sydney Sportsman*, 24 August 1904, p.1

³⁸⁵ “Turf Superstitions: Mr Leo Rothschild’s Maori God”, *The Sporting Life*, 2 June 1904, p.5

³⁸⁶ “A Maori Mascot”, *Daily Mirror*, 2 June 1904, n.p., Rothschild Archives

enclosing a New Zealand jade charm, carved in the shape of a Maori idol, and implored Mr de Rothschild to carry this charm while St. Amant ran, as it was a pledge of victory. It was one of the genuine Karakias of the Maoris. 'I shall now keep it as an heirloom' said Mr Leo...Mr de Rothschild carried his bit of greenstone in his trousers pocket. It was nearly two inches long and one inch broad. There could, of course, be no doubt of its virtue – since St. Amant had won. What clearer proof could there be? St. Amant readily won the Derby: the French horse nearly died of fright, and the mystic gem was all the time in the owner's breeches pocket.³⁸⁷

The source of the good luck charm remains unknown. However the Anglo-New Zealander Frank Hyams figures strongly as the likely contender, with opportunity, means and motive. The gold and silversmith was closely connected to the horse racing industry and made a number of cups and trophies, including a gold plate for the Rothschild family.³⁸⁸ He also produced and promoted greenstone jewellery in the centre of London; and his hei tiki were earlier known as 'Maori gods' in 1900 when he supplied them to New Zealand volunteers at the wartime charity bazaar.³⁸⁹ The amateur ethnographer and British veteran of the New Zealand Wars Horatio Gordon Robley was an avid collector of greenstone objects as well as mokomokai, and knew Hyams in London.³⁹⁰ Writing to his New Zealand friend Gilbert Mair, Robley observed that "Hyam [sic] the Dunedin jeweller makes many small tikis in London - & since Rothschild wore one for St Amant to win Derby he calls them lucky talismans."³⁹¹ A further possible corroboration is the advertisement of a rival jeweller, J.C. Vickery of Regent Street, in 1905. Vickery used an image of a hei tiki identical to that in the Hyams advertisement in *The Burlington*, with a tag line "as carried by the winner of last year's Derby, exact as illustration".³⁹² However it is ambiguous as to whether 'exact as illustration' refers to the winning Derby tiki, or the price of Vickery's object. Hyams had a

³⁸⁷ "Epsom Reviewed: the Victory of St. Amant", *Weekly Dispatch*, 12 June 1904, n.p., Rothschild Archives

³⁸⁸ Hyams made the £500 gold trophy for the Victoria Cup race at Hurst Park four years in a row from 1900 to 1903, see "Topics of the Day [From Our London Correspondent]", *Evening Star*, 6 May 1903, p.8; he also made the 18 carat Coronation Cup, first raced at Epsom in 1902 to mark Edward VII's accession, see *The Sporting Times*, 7 June 1902, p.7; and the Rothschild trophy is referenced in *The Press*, 13 April 1901, p.8

³⁸⁹ "Topics of the Day", *Evening Star*, 9 July 1900, p6; "New Zealand at the National Bazaar", *The Star*, 6 July 1900, p.1

³⁹⁰ A newspaper clipping in the Donne collection at the ATL also suggests Robley stored some of his mokomokai collection in a jeweller's safe. "Today they repose peacefully in the ingenious safe of a well-known jeweller, whose establishment is not a thousand miles from Regent Street", see "Moko" clipping annotated *D.Graphic* 21/5/98, in: Loose papers removed from unidentified Donne scrapbook, MS-Papers-1387-06, ATL

³⁹¹ Note headed "London, 30 12 04", in Robley, Horatio Gordon 1840-1930: Correspondence between Robley and Mair, Ref. qMS-1712, ATL

³⁹² *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 27 May 1905, p.491

flair for promotional and marketing opportunities and while the suggestion he sent the hei tiki to Rothschild is tantalising, it remains speculative. Nevertheless it is worth speculating a little further. If it was Hyams, the colonial greenstone industry in Dunedin and the many

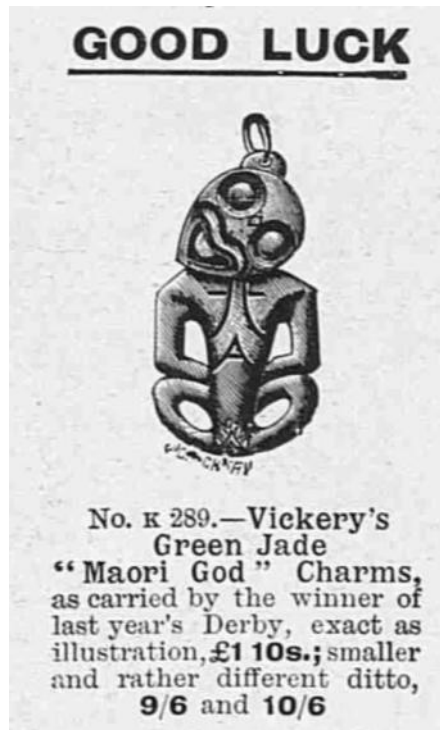


Figure 19: 'Māori god' charm sold by Vickery's of Regent St

Image: *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 27 May 1905, p.491 (detail)

forces which influenced it acquire new significance in New Zealand's history of material culture. The European greenstone workers and jewellers, the everyday consumers, and the esteemed Māori clients and patrons of the Dunedin trade sparked a series of events which set off a boom in Māori material culture in the metropolis. A belief in the power of Māori knowledge and objects was for a time located in everyday consumer and social practices in London. However the Rothschild Archives has no record of the Derby hei tiki or its accompanying correspondence, and the object remains elusive in the historical account after the horse race itself.³⁹³ Nevertheless Hyams did benefit from the Derby, with an immediate rush on greenstone charms, especially hei tiki.

Three weeks after the Derby at Epsom, the races at Ascot near Windsor showcased the next major society event on the turf. "Crowds of men and women were wearing little charms at Ascot, a fashion that has of a sudden sprung into vogue among racing folk since the circulation of the story concerning the little green god worn by Mr. Leopold Rothschild when St. Amant won the Derby" observed the high-society weekly *Tatler*.³⁹⁴ The more middle-class *Illustrated London News* also noted the trend.

There is a boom just now in a delightful new sort of fetish, mascot, whatever you like to dub a 'luck-bringer,' in the form of a Maori idol, carved in New Zealand jade or greenstone, owing to the circumstance that Mr. Leopold de Rothschild was presented with one on the morning of Derby Day and carried it in his vest pocket till his horse won the race. A kind friend has just given me one of these charms...he is

³⁹³ Personal correspondence, Melanie Aspey, Director, The Rothschild Archive, 9 March 2017

³⁹⁴ "Charms at Ascot", 22 June 1904, *The Tatler*, p.475

called in Maori a “Tiki” and I hope he is really as lucky as he is certainly fashionable and decidedly engaging.³⁹⁵

The columnist for the Ladies’ Page in the *Illustrated London News* was feminist writer and suffrage campaigner Florence Fenwick Miller, who used the pseudonym Filomena, the name of a Catholic saint with a gift of enlightenment.³⁹⁶ Fenwick Miller deconstructed the phenomenon of lucky charms, in the process outlining a critique of an inherently unfair society at the end of the Victorian age.

Who can help believing, to some extent, in “luck”? Do we not see the most strenuous and well-devised efforts of the industrious and clever fail, and the idle or foolish man mount to success? Does not the good, wise, kind wife suffer from the selfish or vicious husband, and the best of husbands be the victim of an indolent or untrustworthy wife? ... Well, what is all that but luck?³⁹⁷

Fenwick Miller’s observations reflect a sense of powerlessness and an anxiety that rational or even moral outcomes could elude the deserving. It would be a stretch to suggest Filomena was urging her modern female readers to engage with symbols and talismans as a way to reclaim control over their lives, or find greater self-belief, but she did promote the happy coincidence of popular fashion and enhanced fortunes. A later discussion in the more conservative and elite *Tatler* endorsed the fashion appeal of greenstone charms but betrayed impatience with irrational belief in the power of symbols.

Lucky charms have never been more in vogue than they are at present...the Maori god composed of jade appears to be in the ascendant, and this is worn by the woman of fashion with apparently as much faith in its power to bring the horse she has backed to the winning post or luck to her ‘hand’ at bridge...superstition is advancing to quite an inconvenient extent... doing the hundred and one things which it is impossible to avoid at some time or another, [people’s] fear of the consequences is such as to make their lives positive burdens to them. Such is the state of civilisation in the present year of grace 1904.³⁹⁸

The persistence of superstition in the twentieth century clearly troubled some Edwardians. But many others embraced an opportunity to create a personalised material culture of imperialism, based on the imagined beliefs of other peoples. Notions of modern

³⁹⁵ Filomena, “Ladies’ Page”, *Illustrated London News*, 30 July 1904, p.168

³⁹⁶ Rosemary T. Van Arsdel, “Miller, Florence Fenwick (1854–1935)”, *ODNB*, 2004, accessed 24 April 2017

³⁹⁷ Filomena, “Ladies’ Page”, *ILN*

³⁹⁸ Delamira, “My Lady’s Mirror”, *The Tatler*, 5 October 1904, p.38

civilisation were not always offset against supposed primitivism of the colonies. Modernity was open to ideas of Utopia, the original island society. The imagined indigenous knowledge of the peoples of the faraway empire helped drive the popularity of greenstone, and a romantic idea of Māori-ness was constructed to accompany the stone. The educated gentlemen's paper, the once crusading *Pall Mall Gazette*, carried advertisements for "lucky Maori jade...this new and fashionable stone."³⁹⁹ Later Hyams advertisements even had a touch of the pre-Raphaelite Māori about them. One used a stylised sketch of a young woman wearing a tiki and standing against a backdrop of a misty lake and distant Fiordland mountains, her face framed by cascading hair, her body draped in a cloak, dark eyes gazing out of the picture. Hyams used an idealised romantic and unspoiled landscape and declared "the harbinger of luck - New Zealand jade - possesses a charm altogether different from other precious stones. The rich colouring, as deep and mysterious as the tree-mirrored pools of the forests of New Zealand, gives it a singularly mystic appearance".⁴⁰⁰ In the industrial Midlands, newspaper readers were informed that "since centuries past the superstitious Maories [sic] believed this stone to be a safeguard against disease."⁴⁰¹ The language and images were designed to be read as colonial mysteries and sold as imperial knowledge. Consumers happily bought in to the romanticised and mystic ideas associated with the stone, now part of their Empire too. The London correspondents of New Zealand papers reported in late 1904 there was "quite a run upon Bond Street jewellers" for greenstone; and that shops in Piccadilly sold "greenstone in great variety" displayed alongside newspaper clippings which claimed the Queen wore greenstone necklaces and a Māori tiki was behind Rothschild's racing success.⁴⁰² The hei tiki's presence in metropolitan sensibility endured for several years and in the process evolved from a seasonal fashion object to a familiar item of material culture.

³⁹⁹ *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 August 1905, p.1

⁴⁰⁰ *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 4 November 1911, p.421. Like the pre-Raphaelites, Hyams was drawn to medieval imagery and promoted another line of decorative objects – scent boxes – based on Cardinal Wolsey. His tag line for these objects was "A Trinket With a History". See *The Tatler*, 11 December 1912, p. XI

⁴⁰¹ "Why Lucky Jade is So Popular", *Leeds and Yorkshire Mercury*, 2 August 1906, p.8

⁴⁰² "The Racing World", *Auckland Star*, 22 October 1904, p.11; and "London Fashion Notes", *New Zealand Herald*, 31 December 1904, p.6 (supplement)

More than two years after Rothschild won the Derby, greenstone hei tiki remained a best seller in Britain. In London one jeweller alone sold “nearly one thousand of these charms” during the 1906 Christmas shopping rush, and across London it was estimated thousands more were purchased that year.⁴⁰³ The hei tiki surpassed other types of charms such as the ‘lucky bean’ to become the most popular amulet with women. A jeweller suggested hei tiki were originally “worn more for fun than anything else” but by the end of 1906 “their owners have implicit faith in their efficacy [and] many people firmly believe in them”.⁴⁰⁴ Success on the sporting field continued to influence popular belief. Yet during 1905 it was colonial rather than British prowess which resonated with the sporting public. The tour of Great Britain that year by a New Zealand rugby team created the All Blacks name and generated intense scrutiny of the image of New Zealand as part of the Empire.⁴⁰⁵ Greg Ryan has written of the “maze of minutiae” surrounding the off-field events of the tour which sidetrack many histories of the sport and the men involved.⁴⁰⁶ Greenstone is certainly part of that minutiae. This history inverts the narrative to instead consider the folklore around the talisman, rather than the myths around the rugby. At least one greenstone hei tiki departed with the team which sailed from Wellington in July 1905. Premier Seddon presented team manager George Dixon with a tiki on a gold Albert watch chain at a civic farewell dinner in the Town Hall.⁴⁰⁷ No comment is recorded about the meaning of the object, but Seddon made the general observation that he hoped the tour would bring the colony “very forcibly under the notice of the people of Great Britain [and] draw the colony closer to the Mother Country.”⁴⁰⁸ Dixon himself records some of the imperial context of the tour in his memoir. “We were much interested in the press opinions” wrote Dixon.⁴⁰⁹ After the loss against Wales, some British newspapers reprised great military victories, seemingly forgetting New Zealand’s status within the imperial family. Dixon noted two reports in particular: “It was another Mafeking night in Cardiff”; and “NZ met their Waterloo”.⁴¹⁰ They were unusual in locating the colonial team as the non-British ‘other’, in the same league as

⁴⁰³ “Anglo-Colonial Notes”, *Otago Daily Times*, 9 February 1907, p.14

⁴⁰⁴ Unknown London newspaper, quoted in *ibid*.

⁴⁰⁵ Greg Ryan, *The Contest for Rugby Supremacy: Accounting for the 1905 All Blacks*, Christchurch, 2005, p.18. The New Zealand Natives team toured Britain in 1888-9. The NZRFU was formed in 1892.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p.15

⁴⁰⁷ “The Team’s Good-Bye”, *Evening Post*, 31 July 1905, p.2

⁴⁰⁸ “Farewell Concert and Departure”, *Otago Witness*, 2 August 1905, p.58

⁴⁰⁹ George H. Dixon, *1905: The Triumphant Tour of the New Zealand Footballers*, Wellington, 1906, p.31

⁴¹⁰ Dixon, *1905: The Triumphant Tour*, pp. 119 and 124

Boer or French foes. Such reporting was the exception. Most other coverage framed New Zealand as the imperial infant, the cub against the lion.⁴¹¹

Imperial status was important too for the New Zealand correspondents in London who covered the tour and its off-field cultural dynamics. The narratives around greenstone adornments published in New Zealand newspapers interpreted its popularity in London



Figure 20: George Dixon, manager of the 1905 All Blacks

Dixon wears a greenstone hei tiki and gold chain presented by Premier Seddon

Image: Dixon, 1905: *The Triumphant Tour*, p.170

fashion as a leveller of class and imperial status, in much the same way they portrayed the contest on the field.⁴¹² The Huddersfield-born Dixon seemed to value the notion of a class-less colonial team which could earn the admiring gaze of the Home papers. In his memoir he reflects on coverage in *The Irish Independent* which “dwelt on the fact there were no class differences in the team, or in colonial rugby football, an important fact from an Old Country point of view.”⁴¹³ Greenstone charms and the silver fern were popular signifiers of identity for British-based New Zealanders who turned out to watch the games. At the match against Blackheath in southeast London there were “many wearing fern leaves and nearly all with greenstone ornaments.”⁴¹⁴ The players also subscribed to the phenomenon, and “[n]early

every man of the ‘All Blacks’ was said to carry in his pocket a piece of the greenstone to bring luck to its possessor in particular and the team in general.”⁴¹⁵ Colonial newspaper correspondents also claimed a wide metropolitan embrace of the stone. It progressed from

⁴¹¹ See for example the cartoons reproduced in Ryan, *The Contest for Rugby Supremacy*, between pp.160-161

⁴¹² For an overview of contemporary views of class in 1905, see Ryan, pp. 23-25 and 32-33

⁴¹³ Dixon, 1905: *The Triumphant Tour*, p.106

⁴¹⁴ “The New Zealand Footballers”, *Otago Daily Times*, 25 December 1905, p.2

⁴¹⁵ “Personal Notes from Home”, *Evening Star*, 21 March 1906, p.8

once being “confined to the upper and wealthier classes”, and while both the King and Queen owned greenstone objects, now “every jeweller seems to be making a feature of greenstone”.⁴¹⁶ The London prices of hei tiki ranged from half a crown (two shillings and sixpence) to £30 for a top of the range hei tiki decorated with jewels.⁴¹⁷ The scale of affordability suggests the popularity of the object crossed social strata.

Australians too were following the trends. Fashion columns and ladies’ pages in that country discussed the presence of greenstone jewellery in the Queen’s wardrobe. They also noted the power of “the little Maori god” as a lucky charm at society card games in London.⁴¹⁸ Rugby, horse racing and bridge games were just some of the sports and leisure activities where the imagined imperial knowledge of greenstone was employed. Competitors in rowing, yachting and cricket also ascribed to a belief in “lucky Maori jade”.⁴¹⁹ Despite the apparent southern elitism of some of these sports, middle-class and working-class readers in the Midlands and Northern England were aware of the reputation of greenstone.

At Henley, Ascot and Cowes, and all the fashionable Society gatherings one noticed that the ladies were wearing jade slave bangles, jade brooches, jade rings or some of the various charms in jade hanging from thin gold chains...[one jeweller] sold a genuine anciently-carved Maori god to a lady...whenever she played bridge with the god on the table she won...Finally when the ‘All Blacks’ came over and went triumphantly through the country sweeping all before them, each man had a piece of jade in his pocket.⁴²⁰

The cheap, extensive supply of greenstone charms created a personalised piece of empire for citizens of all classes and blurred the boundary between colonial and

⁴¹⁶ “Anglo-Colonial Notes”, *New Zealand Herald*, 26 March 1906, p.7

⁴¹⁷ “Anglo-Colonial Notes”, *Otago Daily Times*, 9 February 1907, p.14

⁴¹⁸ “London Gossip”, *The Age* [Vic], 24 March 1906, p.4; “Vanity Fair: Fashion Notes from London”, *Geelong Advertiser*, [Vic], 12 May 1906, p.6; “Are We Superstitious? Amulets and Charms Worn Secretly by Nearly All Society Women”, *Western Districts Recorder*, [NSW], 15 August 1906, p.6

⁴¹⁹ Percy Chapman, captain of the victorious English cricket team during the 1928-29 Ashes series in Australia, wore a tiki while playing. It was a gift from his New Zealand wife Gertie Lowry, whose brother Tom Lowry captained the New Zealand cricket side. See “What’s In a Mascot? Visitors’ Talismen”, *Brisbane Courier*, 4 December 1928, p.6; and “A Cricketer’s Wife”, *Otago Daily Times*, 20 November 1928, p.9

⁴²⁰ “Why Lucky Jade is so Popular”, *Daily Mirror* report syndicated in *Leeds and Yorkshire Mercury*, 2 August 1906, p.8

metropolitan. It was a contradictory impulse for New Zealanders. Greenstone was a badge of distinct colonial identity when worn outside the country, yet its desirability in Britain and Australia was also welcomed as a sign of shared imperial citizenship. Greenstone hei tiki became what Sean Mallon describes as “visual markers of both incorporation and cultural difference”.⁴²¹ In his work on the visual and material culture of war in the Pacific, Mallon notes that military badges and insignia of indigenous soldiers who served in European wars reflected local design elements. Pacific soldiers’ emblems of service included a coconut tree, while the tekoteko carved figure from a Māori meeting house was used by some New Zealand troops. They signified both a military alliance to rally behind and a motif of community and local identity. The great imperial conflicts of WWI and WWII also transformed the hei tiki. Its meanings as a lucky talisman for sporting endeavours reflected a belief in its power to bestow good fortune and success. In war, the powers ascribed to the hei tiki reflected the darker, existential qualities of fortune and victory. It became a symbol for more elemental questions of life and death, a mascot to guarantee safety, protection and survival.

⁴²¹ Sean Mallon, “War and Visual Culture”, in Peter Brunt and Nicholas Thomas (eds.), *Art in Oceania: a New History*, London, 2012, pp.341-2

Chapter VII: Fighting chance. To defeat the German navy

The representation of greenstone hei tiki as a lucky talisman was popularised by people and events outside New Zealand, and occurred in an imperial context. In the first decade of the twentieth century Anglo-colonials in London reinforced an imagined providential meaning of hei tiki as a 'Maori god'. As Felicity Barnes observes, the metropolitan setting was also an "appropriated" New Zealand environment.⁴²² Greenstone even symbolically occupied the land where the country stood in tangible form, the High Commission in New Zealand House at 415 the Strand, next to the Adelphi Theatre. A large block of greenstone was incorporated in the foundations at the entrance to the purpose-built offices, constructed between 1914 and 1916 after three eighteenth-century shops on the site were demolished.⁴²³ New Zealand's wartime metropolitan presence was partially built on the auspicious reputation of greenstone. In announcing the building project, High Commissioner Thomas Mackenzie gave British audiences a simplified overview of Ngāi Tahu's invasion of the South Island with the suggestion that "the find of this beautiful mineral led to the war."⁴²⁴ A West End jeweller, Mr Rowley, was interviewed by a London paper for his knowledge of Māori history and culture.

Generations ago the Maori chieftains used to have charms made of jade which formed part of what might be called the insignia of their office. These were manufactured with great trouble, the work on completion often handed down from father to son. Such charms have been certain passports to the wearer among the Maori tribes and settlements, and it is possibly from this fact that the stone became recognised as a mascot. The trade in jade ornaments has flourished on this superstition and I suppose the Englishman will still consider the greenstone charm lucky, just as he persists in regarding the opal as unlucky.⁴²⁵

The knowledge of greenstone shared by the West End jeweller shows a nuanced development in metropolitan understandings during the decade following Rothschild's Derby win. No longer described as a 'god' or 'idol' and free of superficial attributes as a

⁴²² Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand's London: a Colony and Its Metropolis*, Auckland, 2012, pp.31-52

⁴²³ "The Lucky Jade: Greenstone Foundation for New Zealand's Offices", *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 April 1914, p.4; and "More Old London Disappearing", *Leeds Mercury*, 25 April 1914, p.4

⁴²⁴ See *Daily Telegraph* report syndicated as "The Land of Greenstone", *Yorkshire Telegraph*, 21 April 1914, p.4; and as "King and New Zealand: Ceremony in London" *The Scotsman*, 22 April 1914, p.7

⁴²⁵ "The Lucky Jade", *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 April 1914, p.4

fashion object, amulet against disease or a talisman of 'superstitious Maories', the hei tiki's meaning now reflected some tikanga Māori concepts – not that they were likely to be described or understood in those terms. The hei tiki as a 'Chieftain's insignia' is an expression of prestige and rangatira status; its inheritance by the son touches both whānau dynamics and the guardianship notion of kaitiakitanga; while safe movement across tribal boundaries acknowledges the authority of manawhenua. It is impossible to know whether Mr Rowley the West End jeweller had ever heard these concepts expressed in such a way and it is assumed that he had not. Nevertheless he defined one version of indigenous knowledge and acted on it. He represented Māori culture to fellow metropolitan citizens, and encouraged them to rely on such beliefs. The Māori identity of the hei tiki was not erased, but was appropriated, re-imagined and customised by non-Māori in a wider imperial setting.

British society in the early twentieth century abounded in folkloric beliefs which became more pronounced as it reckoned with the heightened fears of death and separation during the Great War. Jay Winter suggested that for many people "observation, not scripture, was the source of wisdom" in spiritual matters. Belief in the paranormal reiterated a Victorian temperament which had existed before the war.⁴²⁶ A contemporary observer, bank clerk Edward Lovett, spent 45 years studying the use of charms and amulets by the "hawker class" of London, "whose business is carried on by means of hand barrows". They included costermongers, herbalists and those who peddled wares around the East End docks.⁴²⁷ Notably, he leaves no record of hei tiki or 'lucky jade' in his writings or in the large collection of artefacts he donated to a museum in Southwark.⁴²⁸ It is possible he deliberately focussed on older British folklore traditions and on hand-made charms which used everyday objects from the landscape or home, as he was particularly interested in first or second generation Londoners who had migrated from the countryside. His research demonstrated continuity in the superstitions of soldiers and seafarers. Soldiers in the Great

⁴²⁶ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge, 1995, pp.54-57

⁴²⁷ Edward Lovett, *Magic in Modern London*, Croydon, 1925, p.5

⁴²⁸ Personal communication: Judy Aitken, Curator Cuming Museum, Southwark Council, 31 May 2017. An online gallery of more than 80 objects in Lovett's collection can be viewed at the *Southwark Heritage* website, <http://heritage.southwark.gov.uk/people/1580/edward-lovett>, accessed 10 May 2017

War, like their predecessors in the Crimea, stitched a farthing into the strap of their braces where it crossed the heart. The tradition was based on the belief the monarch depicted on the coin represented God, who would provide divine protection.⁴²⁹ A naval superstition which had fallen into abeyance “since Nelson’s time” in the Napoleonic wars also emerged again during the Great War. The caul membrane from the heads of newborn babies, a charm against drowning, became increasingly sought after by sailors because of the threat of attack by German submarines. Its price increased from eighteen pence to more than two pounds.⁴³⁰ The belief systems of combatants in the Great War originated from knowledge of long-established cultural practices and oral traditions which were ordinarily not widely subscribed to in peacetime.⁴³¹ Against this setting, some members of British society also acquired faith in the power of Māori objects and ideas.

Sailors from the Royal Navy, engaged in one of the most superstitious of all livelihoods at a time of great uncertainty, embraced pounamu hei tiki as a type of defence mechanism on a technologically advanced imperial warship. Jay Winter highlights the apparent contradictions of growth in ‘unmodern’ spiritualist beliefs during the most ‘modern’ of conflicts, the Great War. He concludes the universality of emotions around grief and bereavement served to deepen “older languages of loss and consolation.” In turn, beliefs once considered superstitious were recast as mainstream cultural thought.⁴³² Knowledge of Māori objects does not sit altogether neatly within the modern/unmodern binary of wartime beliefs framed by Winter but is considered against this background. An example is the greenstone hei tiki and piupiu gifted to the captain of the Royal Navy vessel *HMS New Zealand*. In the clamour of imperial military competition with Germany, the *HMS New Zealand* was paid for by the new Dominion at a cost of almost two million pounds. By extension, New Zealand claimed a sense of ownership, even though most of the crew were British and the ship was at the disposal of the British Admiralty.⁴³³ During a much-fêted

⁴²⁹ Lovett, *Magic in Modern London*, pp.70-71

⁴³⁰ Ibid, pp. 52-53

⁴³¹ Vanessa Ann Chambers, “Fighting Chance: War, Popular Belief and British Society 1900-1951”, PhD thesis in European History, University of London, 2007, pp.34-61

⁴³² Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, pp.54-5 and 76-7

⁴³³ Just six officers and “several” un-named members of the crew are identified as New Zealanders in an extensive narrative about the ship in the entry “HMS New Zealand”, *Official Year Book*, 1913, Chapter 31, Section V, Statistics New Zealand

round the world maiden voyage in 1913, the battle cruiser spent almost three months in New Zealand, called in to twenty ports and hosted seemingly endless social functions on board. Among the many ceremonial gifts presented to Captain Lionel Halsey and the crew during the tour were a pounamu hei tiki and a piupiu flax garment.⁴³⁴ Presented on separate occasions by different people the objects subsequently acquired a conflated narrative about their provenance and meanings. The constructed memory about the piupiu and hei tiki is a mistaken memory, erroneous, misunderstood and incomplete. Nevertheless it persists as a collective memory and is a high profile example of how quickly imagined knowledge can form a cultural narrative. It is impossible to write of the hei tiki without considering the piupiu and the wider popular belief that encompasses them both. The objects came to be regarded by the ship's crew as auspicious, and the *HMS New Zealand* as a lucky ship, after it did not lose a single crew member in North Sea battles while other vessels in the fleet were struck by German torpedoes, with great loss of life.⁴³⁵

By 1918, before the formal Armistice had even been signed, the wartime legend of the hei tiki and piupiu was collectively affirmed by two institutional engines of empire, the monarchy and newspapers. At a reception at Windsor Castle in September that year for journalists visiting from New Zealand and other Dominions, a "pre-war Maori prophecy" about the gifts was a topic of conversation with Princess Mary, who was already familiar with the story. A British report of the reception explained that Māori donors requested the "mat" and "tiki" be worn whenever the ship went into battle; foretold when the ship would see action; that it would be hit but escape serious damage; and that in its final engagement "her foretop would fall".⁴³⁶ The so-called prophecy is much disputed. A New Zealand crew member, A.D. Boyle, recalled another version more than forty years later.

[Halsey] had been given a Maori mat to wear in action by a chief in the north, and was told as long as he wore that, New Zealand would not be sunk; she would be hit once or twice; and there would be no casualties. This eventuated. He also wore a tiki, lent him by a gentleman from Auckland, the same year. The sailors were

⁴³⁴ Halsey called the piupiu a "maro", sometimes described as a type of apron or loincloth, while contemporary British newspapers referred to it as a mat. See letter from Lionel Halsey to High Commissioner Bill Jordan, 17 February 1939, Torpedo Bay Navy Museum; and "Maoris' Lucky Mat: Pretty Story of the New Zealand's Mascot", *The Globe*, 20 September 1918, p.5

⁴³⁵ S.D. Waters, *The Royal New Zealand Navy*, Wellington, 1956, pp.541-3

⁴³⁶ "Maoris' Lucky Mat" *The Globe*

adamant that he should do so. And just before the action started I had a request from one of the turret's crew to ask the bridge if the captain was wearing the tiki and the mat. I did so and found he was, resulting in a loud cheer from the crew.⁴³⁷



Figure 21: Hei Tiki from *HMS New Zealand*

Possibly Ngāti Maniapoto in origin, the hei tiki became a material article of faith for British crew and officers when the warship survived three battles with the German Navy in the North Sea
Image: Canterbury Museum, E132.16

More recent research has sought to verify the events and characters behind the popular account. Military historian Ian McGibbon doubts a prophecy was even made and believes the Māori donor of the piupiu, “probably the Taupō chief Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino”, requested only that it be worn in battle. He suggests “a myth” later developed that Te Heuheu prophesied the ship would not be damaged if the garment was worn.⁴³⁸ Former Canterbury Museum Curator and historian Marguerite Hill points to other research which suggests Ngāi Tahu or Te Arawa chiefs provided the piupiu. She notes Guide Rangitīria Dinnan from Rotorua confirmed it was of Te Arawa provenance during a meeting with Halsey’s daughter in the 1930s. Hill records another “legend”, which foretold the ship would be involved in three battles, be hit only once, and that no crew would be killed.⁴³⁹ Researchers at the Torpedo Bay Navy Museum in Auckland suggest

the Ngāi Tahu provenance of the piupiu may be the correct one, but concede the source cannot be substantiated. The Navy researchers also suggest an alternative version of the prophecy was simply that “good fortune would accompany the captain and his ship whenever they were worn.”⁴⁴⁰ The iwi or individual who first owned the hei tiki is also

⁴³⁷ Boyle, Alexander David, 1887-1965, “The Battle of Jutland”, 1959, Radio New Zealand Collection, Ref. 35290, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision. Audio excerpt online at <http://anzacsightsound.org/audios/a-new-zealander-at-the-battle-of-jutland>, quote at 3.02 minutes

⁴³⁸ Ian C. McGibbon and Paul Goldstone (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, Auckland, 2000, pp.357-8

⁴³⁹ Marguerite Hill, “The Taonga of HMS New Zealand”, website of the First World War Centenary Programme, Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture and Heritage, <http://ww100.govt.nz/the-taonga-of-hms-new-zealand>, April 2016, accessed November 2016

⁴⁴⁰ Michael Wynd, “HMS New Zealand Hei Tiki and Piupiu”, unpublished research note, June 2016, Torpedo Bay Navy Museum, p.3; and “HMS New Zealand Piupiu”, Navy Museum Blog, www.navymuseum.co.nz/blog/hms-new-zealand-piupiu, 27 April 2016, see fn. 3, accessed July 2016

uncertain. It was loaned to Halsey in 1913 by Christchurch businessman Charles John Sloman, a brewer and amateur collector of Māori artefacts. A condition of the loan was that the hei tiki be returned to Canterbury Museum when the ship was decommissioned.⁴⁴¹ The museum catalogue suggests Sloman may have acquired the hei tiki near Te Kuiti.⁴⁴² Sloman leased Māori land between Te Kuiti and the Kawhia Harbour with his brother, Arthur Edward Sloman.⁴⁴³ One of his family's later land transactions involved a figure referred to in Land Court records as 'Pee Hurinui' of the Waikato-Maniapoto District. This may be Pei Te Hurinui Jones, an adviser to the Kingitanga movement. While the suggestion is speculative at this stage, Sloman may have had earlier dealings with Kingitanga figures, from whom he could have acquired the hei tiki prior to 1913.⁴⁴⁴

The decision by Halsey to wear the piupiu and hei tiki in battle externalised tacit knowledge which resided in the objects. His representation of Māori material culture took on powerful associative meanings for the crew once the ship came through its first action unscathed. The crew gained some appreciation of Māori society on the tour to New Zealand in 1913, but when they encountered a Māori presence outside this localised setting it was initially bewildering. Halsey bent Royal Navy protocols to incorporate the hei tiki and piupiu into his uniform, a visual signifier of his command of the ship.

The first time the 'Maro' was worn, namely at the Heligoland Action of 28th August, 1914, those of the Officers and men who were in the Conning Tower when I got there before opening fire were so startled at seeing me in this extraordinary clothing that they appeared to be quite incapable of carrying on with their very important personal duties and I had to quickly explain why I was thus attired. When the next action on January 24th, 1915, was imminent I got many messages from all over the ship hoping that the 'Maro' was again going to be worn.⁴⁴⁵

A handful of first person accounts offer further perspectives on Halsey's remarkable decision to take wartime command of a Royal Navy vessel in a hybrid new multicultural

⁴⁴¹ Marguerite Hill, "The Taonga of HMS New Zealand"; and *The Star* [Christchurch], 1 February 1918, p.5

⁴⁴² F. Wilson, personal communication with Associate Curator Human History H. Seumanutafa, Canterbury Museum, 08 March 2016. Fred Wilson is a former Chief of Navy Staff.

⁴⁴³ SLOMAN Charles John, Probate file 1933, CAHX 2989 CH171 329 CH16830, Archives NZ

⁴⁴⁴ Māori Land Court, Land Alienation, Rangitoto Tuhua 68F2B2C, Ellen Sloman - Pee Hurinui and others, 1919, BACS 15355 A110 142/m WM10015, Archives NZ; and Bruce Biggs, "Jones, Pei Te Hurinui", DNZB, *Te Ara*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/4j11/jones-pe-te-hurinui, accessed 4 March 2017

⁴⁴⁵ Lionel Halsey to High Commissioner Bill Jordan, 17 February 1939, Torpedo Bay Navy Museum

uniform, a “costume” as he once called it.⁴⁴⁶ They indicate the objects became a constitutive part of his authority and leadership. Their power arose not from a narrowly reductive fascination with amulets, but from a sense that like the captain himself, they were somehow inviolable, unable to be challenged or disrespected. They were quickly integrated into the discipline of shipboard routines. After Halsey left the vessel to take up a new position as Aide de Camp to the King, his replacement continued the tradition. One of the engine stokers, John Proctor of Burnley in Lancashire, wrote to his mother that “the captain fulfilled the conditions attaching to a small greystone [sic] charm given to his predecessor by a Maori chief. This tiki was to be worn by the captain who first took the ship into action....The New Zealand played her part well. She almost seems to have had a charmed life for her escapes were numerous and narrow, while her damage was of the slightest and her casualties really negligible.”⁴⁴⁷ An unidentified correspondent to *The Scotsman* newspaper also recorded that the captain wore the tiki, but “Of a Maori mat, also given by the patriotic and well-intentioned natives, which was to be donned by the captain in action I cannot say so much. Modern battle conditions on the sea do not permit of liberties in the direction of ceremonial dress.”⁴⁴⁸ The correspondent was possibly being deliberately vague about the piupiu. Halsey’s replacement did not wear the garment but hung it on a hook in the bridge during the Battle of Jutland, “ready to put on should things become too hot.”⁴⁴⁹ Jutland was the only occasion where the ship suffered damage from enemy fire when it took a direct hit on a turret, although there were no fatalities. The warship sailing ahead of it lost 70 men and the vessel astern exploded and sank with almost total loss of life, more than 1,000 crew.⁴⁵⁰ British Midshipman G.M. Eady later wrote that the crew and some in naval command attributed the direct hit on the *HMS New Zealand* to the change of protocol by the new captain. When the Battle Cruiser Fleet Commander David Beatty came on board he told the

⁴⁴⁶ “The North Sea Fight: HMS New Zealand, Captain Halsey’s Satisfaction”, *Southland Times*, 11 March 1915, p.2. The newspaper report from a London correspondent quoted a letter from Halsey to High Commissioner MacKenzie: “I put on the costume given to me by the Maoris, and also had the tiki with me, which I know would please them if they knew it.”

⁴⁴⁷ “Splendid ‘Black Squad’: Burnley Stoker on Colonial Vessel”, *Burnley Express*, 17 June 1916, p.9

⁴⁴⁸ “The Naval Battle: the New Zealand’s Part”, *The Scotsman*, 8 June 1916, p.5. The report was also syndicated to newspapers in other port towns and is reproduced in *Portsmouth Evening News*, 8 June 1916, p.4; *The Berwickshire News* 13 June 1916, p.6, and the *Dundee Telegraph*, 8 June 1916, p.2

⁴⁴⁹ Midshipman G.M. Eady, quoted in Andrew Gordon, *The Rules of the Game: Jutland and British Naval Command*, Annapolis, 1996 (2000) p.107

⁴⁵⁰ S.D. Waters, *The Royal New Zealand Navy*, p.543; and Gordon, *The Rules of the Game*, p.429

crew “your escape with so little damage has been little short of miraculous. I hear you believe it is due to that tiki-wiki or whatever you call it, which your captain wears round his neck. Next time if you wish to be so lucky you had better see that he puts the whole uniform on.”⁴⁵¹

Even by the standards of typical naval and seafaring superstitions, the responses to the hei tiki and piupiu were extraordinary for their time. An indication of just how far the crew and officers pushed the boundaries of accepted military conventions is betrayed by the perspective of a British war historian who wrote about Jutland almost eighty years later.



Figure 22: ‘Kia ora’ carving
The tiki-derived object was made by an unknown crew member, circa 1913-17
Image: Eph 8167, IWM

In a reappraisal of the inconclusive battle, Andrew Gordon suggested the crew believed in the power of the objects “for reasons connected with Polynesian witchcraft”.⁴⁵² He was also disparaging of the “strongly superstitious” Commander Beatty, who “consulted fortune tellers and would bow three times to the new moon, to the discomfiture of people around him on the bridge.”⁴⁵³

Gordon’s assessment in 1996 highlights the gap between institutional empire and everyday empire. The crew of the *HMS New Zealand* acted on a knowledge of empire to construct a space in their daily shipboard life which was acculturated with Māori elements. The Captain had his auspicious objects, brought out in moments of calamity and death when the crew sought enhanced power and

protection. On these occasions, imperial knowledge was both represented and performed. On the lower decks, the performative empire was apparent in more mundane ways. The Imperial War Museum in London holds ephemera from the ship which suggests the largely British crew asserted an identity of themselves through tiki-like hybrid objects and images. A wooden head with large, fierce eyes is carved with notches and kowhaiwhai patterns and

⁴⁵¹ Eady, quoted in Andrew Gordon, *The Rules of the Game*, p.429

⁴⁵² Andrew Gordon, *The Rules of the Game*, p.429

⁴⁵³ Ibid, fn.78 on p.673

stands on a base into which is inscribed the motto *kia ora*. Attributed to an unknown crewmember, its design is repeated in the shipboard newspaper, also titled *The Kia Ora*.⁴⁵⁴ On the front page of a 1917 edition, the carving is dressed in a sailor's uniform and is the



Figure 23: 1917 shipboard newspaper, HMS New Zealand

Stylised tiki forms represented sailors and the ship
Images: Q30202, IWM (detail)

centrepiece of the ship's badge design. Other Māori-inspired objects were on board, most likely presented as gifts in 1913, or even manufactured by the crew. The ship had a haka party, which received initial instructions and lessons from "prominent Maori" during the 1913 visit to New Zealand.⁴⁵⁵ A photograph of several crewmembers, thought to be the haka party, shows the men with blackened faces, likely from deliberate use of the ship's coal dust, bare chests, and skirts made of grass or possibly coarse twine.⁴⁵⁶ One man is wearing a piupiu, of a different design to the Halsey garment held at the Navy Museum in Auckland. They also flourish a wooden hoe paddle and tewhatewha weapon, and assume proud, competitive stances.⁴⁵⁷ The haka party and its performance seems to have assumed greater significance for the crew than mere token or souvenir to be taken away from the ship's voyage to New Zealand. On the eve of war, in June 1914, the battlecruiser undertook a "flag-flying cruise" to Russia. In the Baltic port of Reval, modern-day Tallinn in Estonia, a performance by the haka party "was spectacularly well received" by Russian naval officers, and continued to be a

popular activity performed for visitors.⁴⁵⁸ Knowledge of a distinct Pacific culture was exercised by the British crew outside a narrow colonial setting, acculturated into formal ceremony at a meeting of two imperial powers in northeast Europe.

⁴⁵⁴ "Carving", circa 1914-18, C.S.B Swinley collection, IWM EPH 8167; and H. Nicholls photograph, "Ship's Magazine from HMS New Zealand", Vol.3 No.1, October 1917, Q30202, IWM

⁴⁵⁵ Hill, *The Taonga of HMS New Zealand*

⁴⁵⁶ Engine stokers were known as 'the Black Squad', see *Burnley Express*, 17 June 1916, p.9

⁴⁵⁷ The provenance of the photo is unknown. It was sourced by the author from Cranstone Fine Arts, a publisher of historical military art and photos in Rhu, Scotland, near the Clyde shipyards where *the HMS New Zealand* was built.

⁴⁵⁸ Denis Fairfax, *The Battlecruiser HMS New Zealand: Our 'Gift Ship'*, Wellington, 2013, p.25

The intended meanings of the hei tiki, piupiu and other objects from the *HMS New Zealand* are partially disengaged from the textual archive which otherwise records them. The provenance is incomplete and contested, and the motives and intentions of the people who gifted or created them remain subject to much speculation. Yet the meanings subsequently ascribed to them are more certain: the hei tiki and piupiu became material articles of faith for the crew, who were almost entirely British. As the objects moved through an imperial context their cultural value coincided with an everyday operational value. The tacit and explicit meanings which accrued from their shipboard use enabled the crew to construct their own knowledge around the hei tiki and piupiu. The language of Māori objects originated with Māori and Pākehā donors on the 1913 tour of New Zealand, but was transformed in the North Sea by working class northern engine stokers and elite, highly educated Sea Lords of the Admiralty. The objects had authority as luck-bringers, they provided guardianship and protection, and projected power and strength in contest with the enemy. For the crew they embodied both the self and the imperial 'other', and were an everyday expression of empire.

This thesis does not attempt an exhaustive account of all known wartime lives of the hei tiki, but two further episodes are worthy of brief attention. They offer examples which bridge New Zealand and British locations of empire and progress the hei tiki's journey on to World War II, a conflict which resulted in a tightening of the commercial greenstone trade. The examples also illustrate that knowledge of the hei tiki as a good luck charm was reasonably commonplace throughout Britain and other imperial sites. It was known by those who served on the little ships of northern fishing fleets in the Royal Navy auxiliary, as well as those gripped by the glamorous world of the RAF aces who flew sorties over France.

The medieval settlement of Hull in east Yorkshire is one of Britain's largest ports outside London, with a commensurate cultural presence in the imagination of those who relied on maritime commerce, not least New Zealand.⁴⁵⁹ Much of New Zealand's frozen

⁴⁵⁹ In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, the Skipper was immortalised with the claim "moons, harbours, pilots, he had such dispatch/that none from Hull to Carthage was his match". Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Prologue", *The Canterbury Tales*, c. 1390, Nevill Coghill (ed.), Harmondsworth, 1978, p.33

meat and wool exports went through Hull. Supplies were commandeered by the imperial government in 1915 and trade continued to boom through the 1920s.⁴⁶⁰ It was also one of the busiest fishing ports in Britain. At the outbreak of war in 1939, the Admiralty requisitioned 230 trawlers from Hull's fleet of 250 vessels.⁴⁶¹ Armed with deck-mounted machine guns and despatched on minesweeping and anti-submarine duties, the trawler crews encountered far more hazardous conditions than they had experienced as fishermen. For reasons not entirely clear in the archival record, a group of girls from Dannevirke in



Figure 24: "He has always brought us safely through E-Boat Alley"

The crew of a Hull fishing trawler never put to sea on anti-submarine duties without the tiki carved by a Māori boy from Dannevirke
Image: A 22552, IWM

southern Hawkes Bay decided to 'adopt' one particular trawler, the *Lord Plender*.

Amongst the gifts and regular parcels sent from the far side of the empire was a block of wood carved with a tiki design made by "a Maori boy".⁴⁶² The twenty Dannevirke girls, who went by the name "Tiki Circle", may well have been Māori too, but the reports are silent on that detail.⁴⁶³ The trawler's 14-man crew "never

sails without her little joss-man, the Maori god tiki. He has always brought us safely through 'E-boat Alley'," claimed the skipper. "A 16 years old [sic] Maori boy guaranteed that we would always return safely to harbour with Tiki aboard."⁴⁶⁴ The *Lord Plender* did survive the war. The archival record of the tiki has also survived. It is in the collections of the Imperial

⁴⁶⁰ Tim Shoebridge and Gavin Mclean, "Feeding Britain", *The Public Service at War*, Ministry for Culture and Heritage web feature, May 2016, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/public-service-at-war/feeding-britain>, accessed May 2017

⁴⁶¹ "Trawlers Taken over by Admiralty", *Hull Daily Mail*, 19 October 1939, p.7

⁴⁶² "Trawler's Tiki", *Evening Post*, 18 April 1944, p.5

⁴⁶³ "Humber Trawler's Foster Parents", *Hull Daily Mail*, 10 April 1944, p.4

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid

War Museum after a Royal Navy photographer decided the subject matter was worth capturing as part of the official war record of the Admiralty.⁴⁶⁵

The known historical sources in New Zealand regarding the Dannevirke tiki circle are very thin, but the constructed knowledge of the object is visible in British newspapers and Royal Navy archives.⁴⁶⁶ Without knowledge of the 16 year old boy in Dannevirke we cannot know his full intentions for the tiki, beyond its status as a gift for naval combatants in a defined time and place. We do have some knowledge of what Nicholas Thomas calls the “genealogy of its European representation”, the way it was historically refigured by its new narrative or use.⁴⁶⁷ The object was invested with authority by the trawler crew because of the promise of its Māori maker as well as their observed knowledge of its use: they repeatedly survived enemy encounters in the North Sea. Their initial response to the wartime aid parcel suggests it was understood as a largely unremarkable object. Although somewhat novel, it is not represented in the archival record as unknown or alien or primitive. One assumes the crew had already survived encounters with the German Navy in the North Sea before the tiki arrived from New Zealand. Yet they created a new imperial space for the tiki, an object of material culture with a commonly constructed meaning, co-authored by loyal servants of Empire in Dannevirke and Hull. In *Entangled Objects* Nicholas Thomas is predominantly concerned with indigenous objects acquired by Europeans for private collections or public display in institutions, often at moments of first contact or on later exploratory and colonial voyages. However his emphasis on the context of use is employed here to understand what European responses to Māori material culture looked like in everyday personal encounters across empire. For the men of the northern fishing fleet, the tiki was not a commodity with monetary value or an item to be catalogued. It was auspicious and powerful in their everyday lives because of their knowledge of its origins and use.

⁴⁶⁵ Lieutenant J.E. Russell photo, “Officers of HMT Lord Plender, March 1944, Harwich”, Admiralty Official Collection, A 22552, IWM

⁴⁶⁶ The Hull trawlermen’s tiki was also discussed in a Scottish newspaper. A report recalled the hei tiki from the *HMS New Zealand* 30 years earlier and noted the crew of that ship “who were often in Edinburgh...were fond of pointing out the efficacy of their talismans.” See “Ship Mascots”, *The Scotsman*, 12 April 1944, p.4

⁴⁶⁷ Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*, Cambridge and London, 1991, pp.125-6.

The notion that ideas about material culture could be literally transmitted through the imperial mail, as they were in the aid parcel to Hull, is only part of the narrative. The authority of the carved tiki also lay in the identity of its maker and its country of origin, and in the performance of that authority by the trawler crew. They utilised the object and told others about its origins and their belief. In the process they secured its presence in the archival records of the Admiralty and provincial newspapers. It is a history that suggests local conditions also mattered in the construction of this shared knowledge. The tiki had to work as intended - it had to get the crew safely through the war. It is not known, for example, whether the girls of the Dannevirke tiki circle sent similar objects elsewhere which were not celebrated in the same way. But there are, of course, always counter narratives. One particular hei tiki spectacularly failed to protect its wartime owner. Nevertheless it became part of the canon of belief that a hei tiki was not just a type of talisman. It came to be associated with the idea of contest and struggle for victory, the performance of high and noble duty, and ultimately of the Dominion's shared service in the name of Empire.

Royal Air Force pilot Edgar "Cobber" Kain was one of New Zealand's first global celebrities of the modern media era.⁴⁶⁸ As the first RAF pilot to shoot down five enemy aircraft he became the British Empire's first air ace of the war, in March 1940. He was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross by the King "in recognition of gallantry displayed in flying operations against the enemy" over France.⁴⁶⁹ The public interest in his professional achievements was an excuse for multiple media organisations to open the door into the minutiae of his private world. Newspapers, BBC radio and British Movietone newsreels scrutinised his life in detail.⁴⁷⁰ The British newspapers in particular added glamorous colour

⁴⁶⁸ Another glamorous pilot, Jean Batten, probably has the distinction of being New Zealand's first international celebrity of the modern era for her solo long-distance flights across the Empire in the 1930s.

⁴⁶⁹ "Royal Air Force", Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 34820, 29 March 1940, p.1849, online at <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/34820/page/1849>. Sustained German bombardment of air bases, infrastructure and cities, the Battle of Britain, did not begin till August 1940 by which time Kain had died.

⁴⁷⁰ While based near Reims in France Kain recorded the attention of reporters in his pilot's log book: 7 Feb. 1940, "BBC in town tonight"; and 21 Feb. 1940, "Aerobatics, Press". See: Pilot's flying log book, Kain Family Collection, Ref. MSX-5958, ATL. Kain and his fiancée were given an exclusive private screening of the Movietone film in a northern theatre where he was reportedly mobbed by staff, including the cleaners, for his autograph. See "'Cobber' Kain in Chester", *Chester Observer*, 13 April 1940, p.12, and "Most Successful Air Unit In France", *British Movietone News*, 1 April 1940, Story No. BM38657, AP Archive, AP YouTube Channel, <https://youtu.be/qMADupobMkg>

to his service record with reports of the restaurants where he dined, when he was in town on leave from France, who was in his circle of friends, and whether he was romantically involved with a British actress. His exploits were also known to English-speaking and allied audiences in the United States, France and Australia.⁴⁷¹ “Cobber” achieved the rare distinction of being so famous he was known by just his first name, the nickname given by British fellow aviators and explained as New Zealand slang for pal. On one day in April 1940 he received more than 100 pieces of fan mail, “at least 75 per cent of them from girls who want to marry him, help him, or correspond with him.”⁴⁷² It was “his youth and good-natured, cheery disposition on top of his flying exploits which have caught this country’s imagination” suggested a Birmingham newspaper. His upbeat personality added the vital human touch to the morale-boosting stories peddled by the press office of the Air Ministry.⁴⁷³ A key character in those stories was his greenstone hei tiki. A gift from his sister, the Pākehā air ace protested to one war correspondent it was not evidence he was superstitious, merely that he was sentimental.⁴⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Kain often represented it to others as a good luck charm. The hei tiki was described by British newspapers as a Māori god, a Māori goddess, a lucky Māori mascot, a tiki, and a lucky jade charm. It was widely reported as a compelling part of the young pilot’s New Zealand character and identity, along with his ability to play rugby.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷¹“‘Cobber’ Kain Comes to Town”, *Yorkshire Post*, 5 April 1940, p.7; “‘Cobber’ Kain’s Engagement”, *Birmingham Mail*, 15 April 1940, p.5; “Cobber: Race to Buy Ring”, *Sunday Mirror*, 14 April 1940, p.8; and “This is ‘Cobber’, First Air Ace of the War”, *The Sphere* [London], 6 April 1940, p.2; for other nations see Noel Monks, “Squadrons Up”, *Daily Mail* [London] report syndicated to *The Washington Post*, 20 April 1941, p.B6; and “W.A. Pilot Played Cupid to ‘Cobber’ Kain”, *Australian Women’s Weekly*, 4 May 1940, p.3

⁴⁷² “‘Kick in Pants’: Air Dog-Fight Drama”, *Birmingham Gazette*, 4 March 1940, p.1; Bryan Reynolds, “Cobber Weary of Being a Hero, Tired of Receiving Proposals From Girls”, *Manchester Evening News*, 11 April 1940, p.9; “‘Cobber’ Inundated With ‘Fan’ Mail”, *Chester Chronicle*, 13 April 1940, p.14

⁴⁷³ “‘Cobber’ is Glamour-Sick”, *Birmingham Gazette*, 10 April 1940, p.3. One war correspondent described the Air Ministry’s publicity arm as “the most elaborate press section of any of the forces”. See Monks, “Squadrons Up”, *Daily Mail*. Monks was a seasoned reporter who covered the 1930s wars in Abyssinia and Spain. His American wife Mary Welsh later left him for another war correspondent, Ernest Hemingway.

⁴⁷⁴ “R.A.F. Hero Wears Maori Charm”, *The Telegraph*, [Brisbane] 22 April 1940, p.3. Kain used an interview with the BBC, later broadcast in New Zealand, to send recorded greetings to his family and a message to his sister to confirm “the Maori tiki she sent him...was still with him.” See “Pilot’s Life”, *NZ Herald*, 22 April 1940, p.10

⁴⁷⁵ For just a sample of the coverage which emphasised tiki or rugby connections, see: “Thrills of RAF Work in the West”, *Birmingham Post*, 28 March 1940, p.5; “Blinded By Oil, Pilot Fought On”, *Daily Mirror*, 4 March 1940, p.20; “Soldiers and Civilians in the Public Eye”, *Illustrated London News*, 6 April 1940, p.455; and “D.F.C. for ‘Cobber’”, *Liverpool Daily Post*, 30 March 1940, p.8

When Kain died performing aerobatics in France in June 1940, one of his most assiduous publicists, the mass circulation tabloid *Daily Mirror*, suggested “the spell of the little jade image of Tiki the Maori god which he hung around his neck is broken forever.”⁴⁷⁶ Kain’s appeal cut across stratified British society, from the working class *Mirror*, the self appointed voice of “ordinary servicemen and women”, to the establishment broadsheet *The Times*.⁴⁷⁷ The “Aeronautical Correspondent” of



Figure 25: Kain with his lucky tiki, 1939

Image: Photograph album, Kain family collection, PA1-o-986, ATL

The Times knew Kain personally and was stunned to hear of his death from a complete stranger, a London bus conductor. His obituary recorded Kain as “one of the best type of Royal Air Force fighter pilots...this tall, big-boned New Zealander was already a popular figure among the larger British and French publics and yesterday my first intimation of his death came when the conductor of a motor omnibus walked forward at a stop and shouted to the driver ‘they’ve got Cobber Kain’”.⁴⁷⁸ Yet even as the obituaries were being written, the hei tiki still had something of an afterlife to perform.

Associated so strongly with his heroic character and popular identity, it evolved from his mascot

to his proxy, a material memory of the immortal man. On the day of Kain’s death, sombre colleagues retrieved the hei tiki from the crash site. His body was quickly buried at the French airfield but the hei tiki was kept above ground in the land of the living. In the officers’ mess, the hei tiki was hung “overlooking a vacant chair and an upturned glass” in a ritualistic display of mourning and memory.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁶ “Cobber Kain, Ace Hero, is Killed”, *Daily Mirror*, 11 June 1940, p.9

⁴⁷⁷ The newspaper’s circulation and audience are discussed in the profile of Guy Bartholomew, the *Mirror*’s wartime editor: Adrian Smith, “Bartholomew, (Harry) Guy, (1884–1962)”, *ODNB*, 2004, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48269, accessed 14 May 2017

⁴⁷⁸ “Obituary”, *The Times*, 11 June 1940, p.9

⁴⁷⁹ “Vacant Chair: ‘Cobber’ Kain’s Mess”, *Evening Post*, 12 June 1940, p.8

In the breathless reportage of wartime British media the hei tiki also personified more than just a hero, it represented the idea of patriotic war service and noble duty. Kain died the week before he was due to be married to an English actress, Joyce Phillips. The following month she represented him at a military ceremony steeped in the traditions of millennia, the presentation of colours. The heraldic recognition of standards, flags and ensigns is a rallying point in any war and Kain was to have performed the honour for a



Figure 26: Joyce Phillips wearing Kain's tiki

The ceremony in Manchester was screened by *British Pathé* cinema newsreels and published in mass circulation British newspapers
Image: Photograph album, Kain family collection, PA1-q-759 (detail), ATL

squadron of Air Force cadets in Manchester.

Despite his death, the ceremony went ahead before thousands of spectators at a local football ground and effectively became a national memorial service. With no body over which to grieve, Kain's mother and sister joined Phillips, who wore the hei tiki pinned to the left breast of her coat. Her gesture defined the way the event was understood. A film crew from *British Pathé* recorded the ceremony for a cinema newsreel which reveals several other photographers jostling for close shots of the bereaved fiancée.⁴⁸⁰

The offscreen voice intones patriotic sentiment and observes "thousands come to see this presentation by a very courageous girl who wears pinned to her coat the little

Maori mascot which Cobber wore on all his

flights. Air cadets from all over the country come to pay tribute to a man who set a fine example by his gallantry and his devotion to duty." The *Daily Mirror* gave the story a double-page spread illustrated by two photographs of Phillips, one stretched the width of a page and the other almost the full height.⁴⁸¹ The hei tiki shared equal billing with the dashing pilot and his glamorous fiancée, and the story managed to squeeze all three characters into its opening sentence: "Wearing on her coat the little Maori god which went with Cobber

⁴⁸⁰ "'Cobber' Kain's Colours", Issue date 25 July 1940, Film I.D: 1051.19, *British Pathé Gazette*

⁴⁸¹ "Fiancee Fulfills Cobber Kain's Wish", *Daily Mirror*, 22 July 1940, pp.6-7

Kain through all his famous flights, the girl he was to have married wept as she carried out his wish". Phillips used the event to reveal her plans to join the women's Air Auxiliary. By extension, the hei tiki became Kain and also the idea of service to Empire: "Tiki, the little green mascot which Cobber's sister gave him before he left New Zealand, and which was round his neck the day he crashed, now goes everywhere with Miss Phillips, hanging from a pair of gold wings. She fingered it as she told the *Daily Mirror*: 'It is hard for me to go on without him – we were to have been married this month'."⁴⁸² At that moment the object shaped a culture of memory, the memory of the intimate world of Kain and his fiancée, and the transnational world of Empire.

Kain's story has been somewhat overshadowed since 1940 because the devastating bombardment and dogfights of the Battle of Britain, involving pilots from many other Dominions and Allied nations, began soon after his death. Yet he still loomed large in his birth nation's consciousness in 1942, when a local guidebook produced for United States forces in New Zealand made sure the Americans knew he was the first air ace of the war.⁴⁸³ A U.S. Army guidebook followed suit, and it represented Kain as an example of a little country punching above its weight.⁴⁸⁴ The U.S. guide also urged American troops to 'buy your girl a tiki', with the explanation:

This greenstone charm or tiki was greatly valued by the Maori as a tribal or personal heirloom. You will find many New Zealanders wearing a tiki, sometimes around the neck. It is a popular gift between friends.⁴⁸⁵

The advice appears to have been interpreted literally by American soldiers stationed in New Zealand. Many jewellers sold out of greenstone items or complained of short supplies during 1942-44, when U.S. forces were stationed in New Zealand. Even the well-

⁴⁸² "Fiancee Fulfills Cobber Kain's Wish", *Daily Mirror*

⁴⁸³ J.C. Beaglehole, Department of Internal Affairs, *Meet New Zealand*, Wellington, 1942, IA1 2845 126/8/52, Archives NZ, p.23. Fifty-thousand copies of this booklet were produced within three months of the Americans' arrival. See Nancy Taylor, *The Home Front, Volume 1*, Wellington, 1986, p.626

⁴⁸⁴ United States Army, War and Navy Department, *Pocket Guide to New Zealand*, Washington D.C., 1943, pp.31-33

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p.35

established Stewart Dawson chain advertised in newspaper classifieds for second-hand items to on-sell, seeking “Greenstone of any description, highest prices paid”.⁴⁸⁶

The resurgent domestic popularity of greenstone jewellery and decorative objects during WWII effectively killed the international greenstone trade. After several years’ lobbying by Wellington wholesale jeweller Joseph Wolf Heinemann, the Customs Minister imposed a prohibition on exports of the raw stone in April 1947.⁴⁸⁷ Heinemann advocated



Figure 27: Polishing a commercial hei-tiki in Dunedin, 1946
Alexander Passmore’s greenstone workshop was filmed for a cinema newsreel screened in July 1946
Image: still from *Weekly Review* No.256, NFU, Archives NZ

on behalf of his main supplier, Dunedin lapidary Alexander Passmore, a returned serviceman. Passmore bought the plant and equipment of the Devlin brothers and hired the elderly Andrew Devlin to train him in stone carving techniques. Hei tiki were a speciality, and in a two year period during WWII he sold almost five thousand tiki, in four different sizes.⁴⁸⁸ He

used a tiki as the logo for his business letterhead, on which he corresponded with the Minister of Customs about the difficulties of foreign competition for the raw stone. “I have paid three visits to the West Coast, and procured a few stones, but the large amounts are held by those who refuse to discuss the sale of their stone, and have stated quite frankly to

⁴⁸⁶ The Inspector of Mines at Greymouth wrote of greenstone shortages in October 1945, when he informed his head office in Wellington that “when large numbers of American troops were in New Zealand a keen demand was created for greenstone and all specimens for sale were quickly disposed of to city jewellers for conversion into trinkets.” See Mines Department, Quarries: marble and greenstone, 1921-1946, G.W. Lowes to Under Secretary of Mines, 26 October 1945, MD1 1472 12/53, Archives NZ. See also: “Wanted to Buy”, *Evening Post*, 20 August 1943, p.3; “Wanted to Buy”, *New Zealand Herald*, 25 September 1943, p.9; “Greenstone Unprocurable”, *Bay of Plenty Beacon*, 14 March 1944, p.3; “Greenstone Curios”, *New Zealand Herald*, 16 July 1943, p.2

⁴⁸⁷ *Customs Export Prohibition Order 1947*, Order in Council No. 1947/47, 2 April 1947 [Gazetted 10 April 1947]. The prohibition applied to “stone in its natural state and partly or wholly processed stone, but not including articles manufactured from such stone.”

⁴⁸⁸ Department of Industries and Commerce, Engineering Hardware, Green-NZ, 1924-1955, Dept. to Board of Trade, 20 March 1951, IC1 399 19/119 Part 1, Archives NZ

me that they are holding it for shipment to Germany as soon as the war is over.”⁴⁸⁹ The war in Europe was in fact over by the time Passmore sent his letter. As bureaucrats discussed a response, it was clear the commercial threat from German stonecutters was equated with damage to nationhood. “I think it is essential that the industry’s raw material is conserved”, wrote the Secretary of Industries and Commerce. “It would also appear that in the national interest this conservation is preferable...I would recommend therefore that the export of raw greenstone be specifically prohibited.”⁴⁹⁰ Germans as military enemies and Germans as commercial rivals were fixed concepts for state officials post-war, but the identities were in fact more fluid. It is entirely possible that Cobber Kain’s hei tiki good luck charm, purchased pre-war in New Zealand by his sister, was German-made. While J.W. Heinemann was instrumental in ending the export of raw greenstone to Germany, his family jewellery business was a direct beneficiary of the industries of Idar-Oberstein. The export prohibition of 1947 succeeded in returning the commercial advantage to New Zealand producers of greenstone objects. Nevertheless German and British merchants had already made a transformative impact on the hei tiki. Informed and influenced by Māori patrons, clients and museum and iwi objects, they contributed to internationalising its appeal. Their partial and imperfect knowledge of its indigenous origins was central to its popular cultural status as an everyday lucky object. Its wide commercial availability and relative affordability made it even more desirable.

The talismanic qualities attributed to the hei tiki in theatres of conflict and challenge, especially sport and war, highlight its presence in the material culture of men. This is not to suggest a masculine quality to the object, rather, that it had material relevance to male historical figures. Undoubtedly this has ensured the ongoing visibility of the providential hei tiki in the archival record. Meanings attached to greenstone objects which were primarily aesthetic or decorative or destined for household use by women are less well known.⁴⁹¹ Two world wars deepened imperial engagement with the mythical qualities attributed to

⁴⁸⁹ A.G.M. Passmore to D.G. Sullivan, 20 August 1945, in *ibid*

⁴⁹⁰ Department of Industries and Commerce, G.W. Clinkard to Comptroller of Customs, 4 March 1947, Ref. IC1 399 19/119 Part 1, Archives NZ

⁴⁹¹ For a discussion of visibility in archival records see Antoinette Burton, “Archive Stories: Gender in the Making of Imperial and Colonial Histories”, in Antoinette Burton, *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing and Teaching British imperialism*, Durham and London, 2011, pp.94-105

pounamu and hei tiki - its representations of mortality, blessed fortune and even the very essence of a life form. The power of the object was acculturated by some members of the metropolitan population of Britain, absorbed and assimilated into their own belief system. Yet the locus of knowledge and authority of the stone always remained in New Zealand. The abstract application of this knowledge in Hull, Manchester, the North Sea, London, France, Sydney and elsewhere may have generated resistance from contemporary Māori. It is clear that resistance to the theft of the pounamu resource never waned until Ngāi Tahu achieved legislative redress in 1997. However the archival record of resistance to new imperial ideas about the meaning of the hei tiki is elusive. Australian opera singer Muriel Wilson worked at the Adelphi Club for New Zealand soldiers in London during WWII. She recalled a gift of a greenstone hei tiki from Māori soldiers who said it was “a ‘charm of safety for all time’ and said I was never to take it off – even in my bath!...When I was rescued from my Anderson shelter...the Maoris [sic] insisted that the tiki was responsible for my good fortune. My home was wrecked completely.”⁴⁹² Soon after WWII Te Rangi Hīroa, Sir Peter Buck, published his influential work *The Coming of the Maori*, intended as “a text book on Maori ethnology [to] replace all existing works.”⁴⁹³ He devoted more than five pages to the origin and evolution of “the tiki breast ornament”. His scholarship is silent on the modern attribution of auspicious meanings to the object. However Te Rangi Hīroa did observe “the *tiki* made of nephrite in human form is the best known of Maori ornaments and, since its reproduction by lapidaries for trade, the most common [but] the belief in symbolism and esoteric meanings has somewhat beclouded the natural origin of material inventions”.⁴⁹⁴ His deliberate vagueness about trade in the ‘most common’ Māori ornament of his time may indicate he felt representations of it as a good luck charm were a modern aberration, a faddish interlude confined to the Pākehā world, out of place in a work of anthropology which considered material culture in terms of artefacts from the past.⁴⁹⁵

Colonisation ensured the artefact from the past was more than merely collected, studied and exhibited. The hei tiki was also acquired and possessed. The imperial practice of

⁴⁹² “Singer and her Mascots: Maori Soldiers Taught Her Songs”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 February 1941, p.4

⁴⁹³ P. Fraser, “Foreword”, in Te Rangi Hīroa, Sir Peter Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, Wellington, 1949, n.p.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid, pp.291-6. Emphasis in original.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid, p.2

acquisition extended beyond islands, peoples and resources. The hei tiki was possessed and colonised with an idea. It acquired an invented meaning, as a talisman, a good luck charm. The invented idea of the 'lucky tiki' demonstrates how cultural knowledge could be formed and reformed through Māori and Pākehā agency, and the imagination of other consumers. The idea of the 'lucky tiki', an oracle of Māori knowledge, ambassador of the Dominion and faithful servant of the British Empire, caught hold as a consequence of imperial networks. It circulated through channels of everyday commerce and popular culture, shaped by pro-European migration and citizenship rules, and it obligingly performed a role in a military allegiance. It is a wide field of view for an object small in size, desirable but not indispensable as a material object of colonial culture. The history of its connections and provenance are considered here in light of Gibbons' call for greater focus on "production and consumption and exchange, not simply in limited economic terms, but also in social and cultural terms."⁴⁹⁶ The consequences of economic and cultural exchange of pounamu, and of hei tiki, demonstrate the enduring legacy of colonisation for Māori resources and Māori knowledge. Both were, and remain, indigenous taonga promised protection by the Treaty.

⁴⁹⁶ Peter Gibbons, "The Far Side of the Search for Identity", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37.1, 2003, p.41

Conclusion

The history of the reinvention of pounamu and the hei tiki tells a deeper story of the making of colonial culture. The transformation of the greenstone industry from the 1860s created a cultural legacy greater than just the tangible objects of trade. Intangible meanings are also part of the heritage. The acts of making, selling, wearing, admiring, gifting, describing and imagining pieces of greenstone pounamu were expressions of culture in practice. The senses of the stone, its emotional meanings and undercurrents, shape the heritage attached to the objects. The culture is coupled to the material. Cultural knowledge is formed in the practices and expressions of people and communities and is reshaped by successive generations in response to their circumstances. Everyday objects can tell some of these stories and provide accounts of relationships and ways of knowing the world. The pounamu hei tiki speaks to this history because more than merely stone, it is a cultural object and idea. In this study it stands for the dynamic processes of change, the colonial realities of Māori resistance and participation, and Pākehā experiences of dislocation and attachment. The research illustrates the material culture of greenstone in everyday lives, in colonial customs and memories and in the imperial circulation of knowledge.

Part One describes the culture of the goldfield towns and the rainforests and swollen rivers of the West Coast, the places of “muck and hazard” later imagined in Eleanor Catton’s fiction.⁴⁹⁷ The rush of fortune-seekers from Europe, Australia, North America, China and elsewhere irrevocably damaged the cultural resources of established Māori settlements like Mawhera and Arahura. In the squalid streets of Greymouth and Hokitika and the miners’ riverbank camps, the origins of the commercial greenstone industry are framed by hardship, exploitation and loss. The contest for a single pounamu boulder is the site of one particular local history. Despite the lawless nature of goldfield towns, the new colonial jurisdictions of courtroom and newspaper did provide a forum for indigenous histories of pounamu to be heard. Yet the legal victory of Haimona Tuangau, aided by Werita Tainui, was a false hope for Poutini Ngāi Tahu. The battle for redress through courts, tribunals and Parliament took

⁴⁹⁷ Eleanor Catton, *The Luminaries*, Wellington, 2013, p.11

another 130 years to conclude. Migrants who swarmed to the coast to chase the riches of gold celebrated the unexpected find of a new treasure in their diggings, where the main staples of survival were flour and alcohol. The new supply of precious stones was also celebrated further afield. The imperial circulation of greenstone was driven and enabled by networks which reached deep into the 'muck and hazard' of another river valley, the gemstone industry of the medieval German settlement of Idar Oberstein. The transformation of a West Coast river boulder to a refined item of gold and greenstone in a Hokitika jeweller's window is an intricate history, greater than the sum of commerce and industry. The historical account here testifies to the power of the informal empire - the family networks of German migrants who benefitted from the imperial citizenship created by allegiance to Queen Victoria. It also testifies to the desire of settlers actively to shape their own local culture. Māori had always worn greenstone, as items of status and authority and as memorials of ancestors. Now Pākehā could do the same. Pendants of delicate gold leaf and finely cut stone were not out of place on the muddy roads of the colonial towns or in the rough shacks of the backblocks. Jewellery and decorative objects made of greenstone could signal a type of status for Pākehā too, by demonstrating the comparative wealth of disposable income. The objects also functioned as a visual celebration of colonial enterprise, an affirmation of settler presence and engagement. Commercially-made greenstone objects were embraced by both Māori and Pākehā as new colonial fashions, expressions of personal taste and signs of community membership and participation.

Part Two registers the role of pounamu within the survival strategies of iwi. The unprecedented Grand Carnival of the Tribes at Rotorua in 1901 offers a narrative of participation and resistance in a single event. The gift of precious pounamu artefacts reinforced the language of haka and performance as Māori appealed to the authority of the imperial monarchy to resolve treaty grievances. Pounamu tributes articulated membership of the empire, an act which bypassed colonial authorities at the hui. The political meanings of the hui were misunderstood by Pākehā but the cultural exchange they witnessed had a profound impact on colonial imaginations. The chapters chart a shift in Pākehā understandings of the wealth of meanings in greenstone, outside a narrow view of its economic worth as an extractive industry. Directly influenced by Māori expression and

knowledge, Pākehā engagement with the stone explored its evocative qualities as representative of the 'Land of Moa and Pounamu'. A growing sophistication in the craft of local stonecutters and gold and silversmiths created a new repertoire in greenstone in the industry stronghold of Dunedin. The objects carried the symbolic meanings of unique artworks. Gifts commissioned from Frank Hyams, Adolph Kohn and other colonial jewellers were amongst the first of their kind. They celebrated not only the flora and fauna of the landscape, the ponga ferns, nikau palms and iconic kiwi, but also central elements of Māori life. Objects incorporated tiki shapes, tattooed chiefs, warriors, waka, hoe paddles, pātaka and whare structures, designs said to be "the most typical features of this colony and its native people."⁴⁹⁸ The creation of these modern pieces in greenstone and precious metals involved Pākehā appropriation of Māori symbols and taonga. It also signalled a Pākehā desire to shape new forms of common cultural treasure. The adaptation of colonial materials, the mixing of knowledge, the tensions of meaning between authentic Māori design and Pākehā imitation were part of a dynamic sequence. It drove the invention of new objects and styles of expression.

Part Two also explores the ways innovative aesthetic forms emerged from an industry where capital and entrepreneurship were the domain of Pākehā and cultural knowledge and authority remained with Māori. The research establishes that cheap, mass produced pounamu hei tiki were widely available by 1901 in New Zealand and by 1903 in Britain. It was a cultural precursor brought about by the disparate nature of colonial economy and society. Māori and Pākehā had profound yet uneven roles in reshaping the hei tiki as an iconic symbol of 'these islands'. The commercial entrepreneurs were British, German and native-born. Māori were knowledge mediators and in the vanguard of innovation. Further Māori knowledge was adapted from objects in private collections and museum exhibits. Enduring relationships between Māori leaders and Pākehā stonecutters and jewellers are part of the social history of the greenstone industry. The relationships also shaped its cultural legacy, through collaboration on design and production techniques. Hōri Kerei Taiaroa, Eruera Patuone and leaders from Whanganui, Rotorua, the Hauraki Gulf and elsewhere actively participated in the industry. It was an act of compromise in the case of

⁴⁹⁸ "The Colony's Gift to Royalty", *Evening Star*, 4 June 1901, p.4

Ngāi Tahu, who never relinquished the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over the stone.⁴⁹⁹ The little-recorded role of Taranaki prisoners in the Dunedin greenstone industry also haunts this account and their presence persists despite the limits of the archival record of their contribution. The status of Māori as artistic patrons and as clients who engaged the commercial greenstone industry for prestigious commissions has likewise not been extensively discussed elsewhere and is highlighted in this research. The cultural value of pounamu objects never diminished for Māori, no matter the provenance of the stone or means of production. Modern forms were also treasured heirlooms in Māori families, such as the pounamu-handled cutlery monogrammed for Tini Kerei Taiaroa, or Auntie Kui's pendant in Te Papa's collection. The mere pounamu of Eruera Patuone and H.K Taiaroa and the hei tiki commissioned by North Island chiefs from Pākehā workshops were items with enduring cultural resonance for whānau and iwi. Participation in the commercial industry signalled a determination by Māori to retain as much control as possible over taonga items. Recent histories discussed by Giselle Byrnes explore nineteenth-century Māori responses to colonisation which were "dynamic, highly adaptive and increasingly pragmatic".⁵⁰⁰ Byrnes highlighted important histories of indigenous agency, albeit with uneven power and autonomy. In this history, Māori were at the forefront of a cultural transformation of pounamu.

Perhaps the least well-known aspect of the commercial greenstone industry is the scale of German and British influence discussed later in Part Two. The most detailed previous research has appeared in German-language publications. This study attempts an eighty-year qualitative overview rather than an exacting quantitative analysis. The extent of mass production made possible by German gemstone mills and the precious metals expertise of British silversmiths and cutlers has not been explored in previous histories. But it was central to the reinvention of pounamu objects as items of popular culture. The industrially-manufactured European output is staggering in scale and almost ruined the local industry. Mass production made objects cheap; it made them ubiquitous and it opened the way for myriad design possibilities and variations.

⁴⁹⁹ The tino rangatiratanga promised by Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi.

⁵⁰⁰ Giselle Byrnes, *The Waitangi Tribunal and New Zealand History*, Melbourne, 2004, p.113

Mass production also broadened the potential markets for New Zealand greenstone, outside the colony itself. Part Three illustrates how the circulation of cultural knowledge was fundamental to the popularity of a distinctly indigenous object in metropolitan London. The empire of the imagination was built on how objects were represented and was less concerned with their provenance of production. Pounamu, and hei tiki, spoke to a British audience as almost mythical artefacts of land and people. They carried cultural authority in their Māori identity. The hei tiki was reinvented as a supernatural being, an indigenous god, an idol, a lucky talisman. On the stalls of a wartime charity bazaar in Kensington, in the pocket of an aristocrat on the racecourse, on the table of the woman playing a card game, in the bridge of an iron battlecruiser in the North Sea, the hei tiki was wrought as personal and imperial property. Once acquired and inscribed with a new meaning it could be put to profitable use. The Māori identity of the hei tiki was not erased, but was customised and reinvented to suit a new setting. To embrace greenstone and hei tiki was to cultivate an idea of indigeneity, as insubstantial or superficial as the idea was in reality.

Pounamu offered a cultural reference point for Māori and Pākehā, a type of insignia which represented the ‘little island’ of Mansfield’s fiction, or Te Waipounamu and ‘these islands’ of Anderson’s history. This research sits at an intersection of new imperial histories and studies of material culture. The history of the greenstone industry is transnational, peopled by British migrants, German families in exile and landless or dispossessed Māori. These populations bring into being a sense of culture and place through the stone and its associated objects and ideas. Catherine Hall has discussed how colonial links of peoples and places are not merely neutral chains of connection, but are mutually constitutive. The relationships are “hierarchical: each was party to the making of the other, but the coloniser always exercised authority over the colonised.”⁵⁰¹ The history of the commercial greenstone industry cannot be told in limited economic terms, irrespective of the fact reliable extraction and mercantile records do not exist. It is not an extractive sector like any other. It is an industry that bears comparison with Ballantyne’s notion of colonialism as a pattern of cultural forces and unequal political and economic relationships. Independent of the

⁵⁰¹ Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867*, Cambridge, 2002, p.8

colonising state and independent of the British Crown, the early agents of colonisation in the greenstone trade were sojourners, miners, settlers, farmers, and merchants. Over time, the research demonstrates the broadening constituency for a unique cultural object.

Pounamu jewellery was displayed on the body and other pounamu objects were desired for aesthetic or sensory gratification, to be touched or held, looked at or admired. They were objects of attachment too, kept as possessions, their meanings persisting or



Figure 28: Katherine Mansfield's pendant

Image: Bowenite Pendant, Ref. 0946, Collection of Katherine Mansfield Birthplace Society

shifting over time as Mansfield's bowenite pendant demonstrated. Mansfield, the writer, perpetuated the memories of her imagined homeland by cherishing her brother's greenstone pendant. The private keepsake is a memorial to his death, a family heirloom and a cultural symbol of place. These twin senses of dislocation and attachment, the divided colonial, are also reflected in her non-fiction travel writing. Mansfield took a camping trip to the Urewera and hot lakes districts in late 1907 just months before departing New Zealand for good. Her diary-journal published as *The Urewera Notebook* enlivens the physicality of people and the bright materiality of objects and places.⁵⁰² It registers the heightened senses of the trip's smells, sounds and tastes when she drinks the mineral waters for the first time. It offers striking imagery of the clothes and adornment, language and postures of Māori people she meets and includes admiring descriptions of their greenstone jewellery. Mansfield is

on the move. She is in transition between the Urewera landscape carved up by nineteenth-century wars, epidemics and confiscation and the twentieth-century world of modern train travel from Wellington, Geyserland tourist resorts in Rotorua and the beckoning allure of high culture in imperial London. Greenstone pounamu crossed these realms too.

⁵⁰² Anna Plumridge, (ed.), *The Urewera Notebook by Katherine Mansfield*, Dunedin, 2015

Mansfield's greenstone pendant is a twentieth-century Pākehā variant of the explanation offered by Hirini Moko Mead for the way hei tiki function in Māori families: the object as heirloom under the enduring guardianship of family or kin. It is also an object which holds knowledge of colonial time and space. That it can be known at all is testament to the power of the archival collections and sustained historical research which surround Mansfield and her contemporaries. The archival records of the greenstone industry are more fragmentary. The historical actors and greenstone objects discussed in this history are those for which archival records are present. The history describes relationships and agency in metropolitan and colonial spaces. Yet uncertainties persist. Ballantyne reminds us that gaps, contradictions, complexities and silences in archives "should be visible in the histories we write and historians must resist the allure of the easy or the simple or the expected."⁵⁰³ In the greenstone industry many historical actors are known while many others are nameless; and many objects are celebrated while others, the everyday, the lost or the stolen, are elusive or figure only in miscellany and ephemera.

The resistance of Werita Tainui and the litigant Haimona Tuangau is visible in the court records of the celebrated greenstone trial, where the men contested the theft of pounamu from the alluvial rivers of the West Coast. Yet the full scale of pounamu loss is unquantifiable in the archives because neither Crown, nor local government, nor gold miner, nor export merchant was required to keep a record of the resource extraction. While that knowledge appeared never to exist because it was never collected, the consequences of the loss resonated in tribal knowledge until legislative redress was granted in 1997. Many of the pounamu items and other taonga gifted to the Duke and Duchess of York at the spectacular lakeside hui in Rotorua seem to be now scattered or untraceable amongst British institutions and collectors, because of haphazard cataloguing practices at museum and palace at the turn of the twentieth century. Yet the provenance of the government's 1901 pounamu gift, crafted by Anglo-colonial jeweller Frank Hyams, is securely known and recorded. So too was the climate of Pākehā opinion about the imagined worth of pounamu and other taonga gifted to the Royal couple. The legacy of Hōri Kerei Taiaaroa's battle to regain his pounamu at Piopiotahi cannot be measured by the return of a

⁵⁰³ Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*, p.283

single stone, yet the indignity experienced by his family can be known from the archive. Government documents record instructions to his sons to travel to Dunedin in 1909 to remit a money order at a Post Office counter for £53 compensation and to sign a receipt absolving the government of further claims.⁵⁰⁴ T.W. Rātana's allegorical exchange of pounamu with M.J. Savage in 1936 is recorded in text yet the object itself now appears lost to the political archive. Customs officers on the recordkeeping frontline of the Auckland wharves were largely outfoxed by the ingenuity of merchants in the tripartite trade between New Zealand, Germany, and Britain, allowing the archive just a glimpse of the international commerce. The colonial greenstone industry in Otago poses perhaps the most significant challenge to historical analysis because of the silences and gaps in its archives. The Taranaki Māori men imprisoned in Dunedin for resisting land confiscation undoubtedly shared their knowledge of greenstone production and design with the local lapidary trade. Unnamed rangatira from North Island tribes commissioned bespoke hei tiki and mere pounamu from the Dunedin stonecutters, yet the knowledge of their whānau, hapu or iwi designs is referenced only as an aside in a newspaper report. Their shadows are faintly visible in the overnight success of London greenstone jewellers who enjoyed a boom in sales after 1904, a success due in no small part to the knowledge gained from their Dunedin commerce.

Antoinette Burton encourages “continuous suspicion and radical doubt” of imperial archives for their partial view of historical evidence and experience. She suggests the new imperial studies offer a way to think more broadly about “what counts *as* history.”⁵⁰⁵ This research suggests the very materiality of pounamu and hei tiki allows for recovery of knowledge otherwise obscured in the archive. Behind the physicality of stone and the aesthetic appeal of objects lay an idealised sentiment of colonial culture. A reassessment of the everyday colonial greenstone object gives historical form to cultural memory. The memory is a dual memory, remembered in different ways by Māori and Pākehā, as noted by Hirini Mead. The shared meanings of the object qualify hei tiki to be considered a distinctive

⁵⁰⁴ Department of Maori Affairs, Late Honourable H.K. Taiaroa's claim to land at Milford Haven, 1907-1909, ACIH 16036 MA1 922 1907/419, Archives NZ

⁵⁰⁵ Antoinette Burton, “Thinking Beyond the Boundaries: Empire, Feminism and the Domains of History”, Burton (ed.), *Empire in Question*, pp. 56-67, esp. pp.62&67. Emphasis in original.

component of “national heritage” as he suggests.⁵⁰⁶ But national heritage and national symbol have different characteristics. The histories explored in this thesis suggest some of the reasons why hei tiki have not been considered a national symbol. It is also instructive to reconsider Atholl Anderson’s formulation of the hei tiki referenced in the Introduction.

Anderson suggested the hei tiki speaks, “as historical taonga, as high art and within popular culture.”⁵⁰⁷ His categorisations invite us to strip back the multiplicity of ways it is thought about. This research is framed by the histories of its context of use, the ways it has been produced, consumed, described and imagined. For all of those contexts: historical taonga, art pieces, and pop culture (here read as fashion and everyday object), there were different kinds of hei tiki and different ways of using them and thinking about them. The cultural variability suggests it is a misnomer to describe pounamu hei tiki as a national symbol. The one stable meaning of hei tiki is as an icon of Māori culture. It gained other distinctive elements as a consequence of colonisation. The artefact from the past was more than merely collected, studied and exhibited. It was also colonised and possessed with imagined meanings of people and place. The hei tiki as a good luck charm is a Pākehā reinvention which dates to the early twentieth century, much like the reinscribed meaning of the phrase *Kia Ora*. The talismanic qualities attached to the hei tiki set it apart from other greenstone objects. Pounamu hei tiki asserted Māori meanings from London, Birmingham, the North Sea, the Rhine Valley, and Sydney. Knowledge of the object blurred spatial and temporal ideas about empire and colony and ancient and modern. It spoke of good fortune, family and friends, and of home, workplace and communities. Greenstone was most noticeably a badge of distinct colonial identity when worn outside the country. Its popularity in Britain and Australia was welcomed in New Zealand as a sign of shared imperial citizenship. The hei tiki was an imperial Māori object, less easily enclosed by national boundaries. While it spoke of personal and of shared identity, the locus of knowledge and authority of the stone always remained with Māori.

⁵⁰⁶ Mead, “The Hei Tiki Today”, p.8

⁵⁰⁷ Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*, p.41

The reinvention of pounamu and hei tiki continues beyond the span of this research. In one direction, after World War II in the Pacific the American idea of Polynesian culture received the Hollywood treatment. The lens of primitivism sexualised Pacific peoples and exoticised Pacific places, making them both dangerous and alluring.⁵⁰⁸ The conclusion of the process of Hawaii's annexation with its statehood in 1959 gave the Pacific greater visibility in American popular and political culture. So-called 'tiki pop' became a cultural feature of music, performance and architecture in cocktail bars, nightclubs, and theatres.⁵⁰⁹ But to return attention to pounamu, greenstone, nephrite and jade, and to post-colonial history in New Zealand, is to renew the focus on the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi. The epilogue of the commercial industry of the 1860s to the 1940s is the return of tino rangatiratanga over the stone to Ngāi Tahu, almost exactly fifty years after greenstone exports were prohibited.

Post-settlement, the story moves in new directions after 1997. The cultural significance of the stone as an emblem of identity of both people and place is actively encouraged by Ngāi Tahu, on its own authority. The tribe continues to supply hundreds of pounamu pendants to sportsmen and women before they depart for the Olympic Games and other competitions where they represent New Zealand on an international stage.⁵¹⁰ The victims of the Christchurch earthquakes of 2010 and 2011 are remembered in Ngāi Tahu's gift of a water-worn pounamu boulder for the official memorial beside the Ōtākaro Avon River. The tangible object serves as a "touchstone that connects visitors to the whenua and to those who have been before them."⁵¹¹ It occupies a site recognised as a space of shared cultural heritage for local and international communities. The cultural legacy of pounamu is perhaps most powerfully acknowledged in Ngāi Tahu's Pounamu Resource Management Plan, which frames its tino rangatiratanga status into the future. Evoking the sense of 'nga ra o mua', or the past as seen as days in front, the plan formally recognises that "fossicking for small amounts of pounamu is an important cultural activity for all New

⁵⁰⁸ Sean Brawley and Chris Dixon, *Hollywood's South Seas and the Pacific War: Searching for Dorothy Lamour*, New York, 2012

⁵⁰⁹ Sven Kirsten, *Tiki Pop: America Imagines its Own Polynesian Paradise*, Köln, 2014

⁵¹⁰ Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, "Precious taonga presented to Olympians", *Te Pānui Rūnaka*, Christchurch, 5 July 2016, p.35

⁵¹¹ Adrienne Rewi, "Right Stone", *Te Karaka*, Issue 74, Makariri/Winter 2017, Christchurch, p.16

Zealanders”.⁵¹² Knowledge and appreciation of the cultural heritage of pounamu is now well established and Ngāi Tahu’s authority over the stone is no longer contested in the ways described by this research. Cultural reinvention of pounamu treasures continues in the post-colonial present as it did in the colonial past.

⁵¹² The sense of ‘nga ra o mua’ is as described in Judith Binney, “Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two Forms of Telling History”, *NZJH*, 21.1, 1987, p.17. See also Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, *Ngāi Tahu Pounamu Resource Management Plan*, Christchurch, 2002, n.p.

Appendix: Photographs

Photographs provide a visual archive of pounamu objects and jewellery in everyday use and circulation. These are from public and private collections and include colonial and post-colonial examples.

Table 1: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries

The studio portraits depict subjects wearing colonial-style greenstone hei tiki or pendants. All photographs by Herman John Schmidt, Auckland, unless otherwise noted.



Miss Slater, 1909. 31-56155



Mrs Rewcastle, 1909.
31-58358



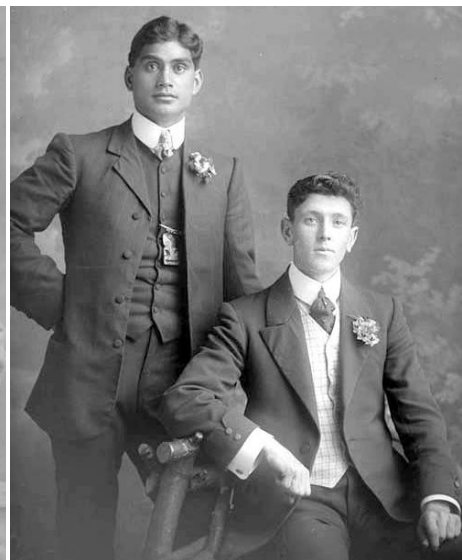
Miss Trigg, 1910s. 31-69968



Charles Spencer photo,
unidentified young man, 1880s-
1900s, 1365-225



Master Fleming, 1912.
31-69407



Mr Wilkensen and unidentified Māori
man, n.d. 31-57059

Table 2: Adam Henry Pearson Maclay collection, Alexander Turnbull Library

The studio portraits depict subjects wearing colonial-style greenstone brooches, pendants or hei tiki. The catalogue suggests all photos were taken in Christchurch.



Mr Thanbs, 1907.
1/2-185519-G



Unidentified woman, ca.1905-26.
1/2-185549-G



Unidentified children, ca. 1905-26.
1/2-185087-G



Unidentified couple, ca.
1905-26. 1/2-185757-G



Unidentified man, ca. 1905-26.
1/2-183200-G



Unidentified couple, ca. 1905-26. 1/2-
185038-G

Table 3: Colonial objects in post-colonial context. Private collection, Wellington



The uniformity of design and graduated sizes of the hei tiki indicate their likely mass-produced German origins.

The sterling silver of the pounamu-handled cutlery is stamped with Birmingham hallmarks. Top to bottom: demitasse teaspoon with tiki handle, Birmingham, 1926; 'New Zealand' jam spoon, Birmingham 1924; butter knife, Birmingham 1901.

The Waitangi Tribunal *Wai262* report has commented that the association of the tiki with food, as exemplified by the teaspoon, is an inappropriate use of the symbol.

Colonial-era pounamu hei tiki, Kia Ora brooches, pendants and cutlery continue to be objects of desire in the twenty-first century. The items here were bought and sold in auction houses and online trading sites, with little information of their provenance. They are often marketed as 'vintage' or 'antique' or 'collectable'; categories which locate them in an historic age or era and which carry associative meanings of value.

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Russell Beck, retired curator, Invercargill, 26 April 2017

Sally Goodsir, Assistant Curator of Decorative Arts, Royal Collection Trust, London, 28 February 2017

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Idar, Inneres einer Achatschleiferei, [Idar, Inside an Agate Grinding Mill], postcard, ca 1912, Carl Schmidt Publishers, Idar, Germany

Kia Ora brooches and watch chain fobs, gold and pounamu, circa 1900s-1920s

Machine-made pounamu hei tiki, Germany (?), circa 1901-1939

Pounamu-handled cutlery: demitasse teaspoon with tiki handle, Birmingham, 1926; 'New Zealand' jam spoon, Birmingham 1924; butter knife, Birmingham 1901