Ngā whakaahua Ngāi Tahu: the Ngāi Tahu portraits in *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*

A thesis submitted to the University of Canterbury in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History

Helen Brown, April 2020
ABSTRACT

When *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* was published in 1952 it filled a vacuum in terms of accessible Ngāi Tahu history in the public domain. Despite its scholarly shortcomings, it remained one of the only readily available texts on Ngāi Tahu history for another thirty years. A major element of the publication was its inclusion of photographs, all taken by the author, William Anderson Taylor. Using the Ngāi Tahu portraits in *Lore and History* as a starting point, and informed where possible by oral interviews with their descendants, this thesis introduces some of the tribal members who were Taylor’s informants, friends, and photographic subjects. Through a reading of the photographs, it traces the trajectory of Taylor’s relationship with Ngāi Tahu and considers how the visual stories illuminate the text of *Lore and History* and Taylor’s wider body of work with the iwi in the first half of the twentieth century. While Taylor is best known as an amateur historian and ethnographer, this thesis will demonstrate that his photographic practice was also fundamental to his ethnographic research. The photographic contracts that Taylor entered into with the Ngāi Tahu subjects of his photographs created an environment that facilitated exchange, rapport, empathy, and, frequently, enduring bonds.
PREFACE

At dawn on the 20th February 2010 I was one of a group of several hundred Ngāi Tahu who gathered in the dark outside the marbled portico entrance to the Robert McDougall Art Gallery in Christchurch’s Botanic Gardens (see figure 1). The occasion was the opening of the dual exhibitions Te Hokinga Mai - Mō Tātou: The Ngāi Tahu Whānui Exhibition and Mō Kā Uri: Taonga from Canterbury Museum. After three years in the galleries of Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand in Wellington, Mō Tātou had returned home for the first stop on its journey through Ngāi Tahu territory to Canterbury, Southland and Otago. In partnership with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tahu Papatipu Rūnanga from the northern part of Te Waipounamu and Te Tai Poutini, the Canterbury Museum had also produced a parallel exhibition, Mō Kā Uri, to welcome and complement Mō Tātou.1 This complementary exhibition included over two hundred taonga from the collections of the Canterbury Museum.

One of the features of Mō Kā Uri was a dedicated room containing over one hundred historic photographs, sketches and paintings of Ngāi Tahu people. For many Ngāi Tahu, this ‘tīpuna room’ became the heart of the exhibitions which ran for four months from 20 February to 20 June 2010. Of the ninety-eight photographs hung salon-style on the dark green walls of the gallery, more than half (fifty-six) were from the collection of one individual – William Anderson Taylor (1882 – 1951).2 Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu photographs had been in the Museum for

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2 Ibid.
over forty years but had never been exhibited. While some had been discovered by Ngāi Tahu researchers over the years, others had never been seen before, let alone brought kanohi ki te kanohi/face to face with their descendants.

Mō Kā Uri was the perfect context for the tīpuna photographs to be displayed. Exhibited in conjunction with Ngāi Tahu taonga and Ngāi Tahu contemporary art, the tīpuna were kept warm by a constant stream of Ngāi Tahu whānui who were both visiting and hosting the exhibition. Captions describing each photograph drew upon the scant information on the Museum record augmented by research conducted by a small team of Ngāi Tahu who had worked closely with Canterbury Museum staff on the exhibition’s development. A number of photographs of unidentified individuals were exhibited with the intention of eliciting further information about their provenance from visiting whānau members.

![Figure 2. Unknown photographer, Photographs in the process of installation in the tīpuna room, Mō Kā Uri: Taonga from Canterbury Museum exhibition, Robert McDougall Art Gallery, 2010, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.](image)

In the tīpuna room (see figure 2), visitors spent time moving from one image to the next. Deliberations over uncertain identities took place and whānau were invited to provide information about the provenance of the photographs in a comments box. When the Ngāi Tahu hapū, Ngāi Tūāhuriri, took their turn hosting the exhibition, their scheduled kapa haka performance for the Museum’s public programme, was performed for their tīpuna in the tīpuna

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3 Ngāi Tahu Papatipu Rūnanga from the northern part of Te Waipounamu and Te Tai Poutini took turns on the paepae hosting the exhibition for its duration.

4 Puamiria Parata-Goodall, personal communication, 5 September 2016.
room rather than for the visiting public.⁵ As Ngāi Tūāhuriri Taua Aroha Reriti-Crofts reflected:
‘We were not interested in performing for the public. We wanted to perform for our old people.’⁶

Among the photographs displayed was a black and white print featuring an elderly Māori couple, one seated and one standing against the wall of a small house (see figure 3). A Māori woman and Pākehā man stand to their right, greeting each other in a hōngi choreographed for the camera. The image has the theatrical air of a stage performance, accentuated by the shadows cast on the corrugated iron backdrop. The exhibition label identified the elderly couple as Hoani (1853 – 1948), and Hira Nutira (1881 – 1950) and the woman engaged in the hōngi as Hine Cameron. The Pākehā man was identified as the ethnographer and historian, James Herries Beattie (1881 – 1972).

Figure 3. Hector Milne, Hine Cameron, William Taylor, Hoani Nutira and Hira Nutira, Poranui, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 17 October 1944, 19XX.2.4384, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

The caption details were mostly correct except the Pākehā man in the photograph is not Beattie. It is William Anderson Taylor or Wiremu Teira, as he was known to his Ngāi Tahu friends and Pākehā peers (including the aforementioned Beattie). In the first public exhibition of Taylor’s photographs of Ngāi Tahu people since their 1960s donation, it was perhaps fitting, that like many of the Ngāi Tahu subjects of his photographs, Taylor himself was present but rendered invisible. The photograph is one of a series of five taken at the home of Hoani and Hira Nutira

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⁵ Aroha Reriti-Crofts, personal communication, 16 June 2016.
⁶ Ibid.
at Poranui (Birdlings Flat) on 17 October 1944. The photographer was Taylor’s friend, Hector Milne (1877-1947), who probably used Taylor’s camera to the latter’s instruction. Milne regularly transported Taylor to Taumutu, Wairewa (Little River) and Poranui on his motorbike so Taylor could meet with his ‘Maori friends’. Prior to the present research, the photographer, date, and circumstances in which this series of photographs was taken, were unknown. Other photographs in the series include various compositions of the same group with the addition of Maurice Nutira, a mokopuna of Hoani and Hira.

When Mō Tātou and Mō Kā Uri closed on 20 June 2010, all the copy-print photographs reproduced from original prints or negatives, and mounted on card for the exhibition, were distributed to Ngāi Tahu marae based on rūnanga affiliation. Hine Cameron, Hoani and Hira Nutira lived on the shores of lake Wairewa and had whakapapa connections there; consequently, the group photograph of them (including the mis-identified Taylor) was gifted to Wairewa Rūnanga. It now hangs in the whare tipuna, Makō, at Wairewa in the company of other portraits of Ngāi Tahu tipuna now deceased. While Taylor’s presence on the wall of the whare may be inadvertent, it is also apt. Taylor met his first Ngāi Tahu friends at Wairewa and took some of his earliest photographs of Ngāi Tahu people there – it is also the place where his life-long interest in Ngāi Tahu history was piqued.

I first encountered Taylor while undertaking research for Tī Kouka Whenua, an online resource about local Ngāi Tahu history, developed by Christchurch City Libraries in collaboration with Ngāi Tahu kaumātua in the late 1990s and early 2000s. In the course of my research I consulted Taylor’s publications including Lore and history of the South Island Maori (1952), Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere (1944), and Banks Peninsula: picturesque and historic (1937). Only later did I become aware of the extent of the historical errors in these works. However, while Taylor lacked the skill to analyse Māori place names in terms of

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7 William Anderson Taylor to James Herries Beattie 4 April 1936, 29 November 1944, and 4 March 1943, Letters from William Taylor relating to Māori research matters, MS-582/c/27, Hocken.
8 For other photographs in the series see 19XX.2.4385; 19XX.2.261; 19XX.2.5236; and 19XX.2.5237, W.A. Taylor photograph collection, Canterbury Museum; Joseph and Patrick Nutira, personal communication, 1 November 2015; Connie O’Melvena, personal communication via Tania Nutira, 16 April 2016.
their meaning and orthography, his recording and geographical placement of them, proved reliable. Additionally, his written anecdotes and photographs demonstrated that he had many Ngāi Tahu friends and acquaintances, and that he had travelled extensively to places of tribal significance throughout the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. The sheer magnitude of Taylor’s photograph collection came to my attention a few years later when I was doing research on the architectural history of Christchurch. The Documentary Research Centre at the Canterbury Museum then contained a row of filing cabinets housing file print photographs from the Museum’s collections arranged by subject for researchers to browse. Taylor’s photographs were prolific and featured across multiple subject areas in these collections. Two files particularly caught my attention: one was labelled, ‘Māori people: identified South Island’, and the other, ‘Māori people: unidentified’. Both contained numerous photographs annotated with the words ‘WAT photograph’ and the number ‘1968.213’ - the prefix for photographs in the Taylor archive. I began to share photocopies of these images with Ngāi Tahu whānau I knew (or suspected) had whakapapa connections to these tīpuna and who could possibly help identify them - I also combed the Taylor collection for any trace of my own family.

While my research found that Taylor did not photograph or interview any of my direct ancestors, he did transcribe a letter written in 1893 by my great-grandfather, Teoti Paraone (George Brown). In 1893 as secretary of the ‘Taieri Runanga’, Paraone wrote to the Minister for Native Affairs to express the support of the Rūnanga for the government’s proposed land allocations for the Taieri people. Taylor’s interest in this letter related to his ongoing research on Ngāi Tahu land tenure throughout the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. Taylor also had a longstanding acquaintance with my grandfather’s first cousin, Teone Wiwi Paraone (Jack Brown) (c.1878 – 1944) of Taumutu. Jack, sometimes referred to by Taylor as ‘Old Brown’, was one of Taylor’s key informants regarding the Ngāi Tahu place names and traditions of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere). Jack’s maternal whānau, like my grandfather’s, had lived for several generations at Maitāpapa, the kāikā at Henley on the banks of the Taieri river. His descendants are the well-known ‘Taumutu Browns’ including Jack’s mokopuna, the weaver and artist, Cath Brown (1933 - 2004) who played a key role in the revitalisation of Ngāti Moki Marae in the 1980s.11


and the well-known kaumātua, fisherman, and Te Waihora stalwart, Don Brown who has lived his life on the lake’s edge.\textsuperscript{13} No photographs of Jack Brown have been identified in the Taylor archive to date\textsuperscript{14} however Taylor acknowledged his indebtedness to Brown in several published articles, letters, and publications.\textsuperscript{15} Thus, while a ‘Brown’ whānau connection to Taylor was discernible, it proved somewhat peripheral to my research. However, another personal association soon became apparent.

A few weeks prior to the opening of the \textit{Mō Tātou} and \textit{Mō Kā Uri} exhibitions, I married Grant Wylie. We had a shared interest in the photographs on display in the ōpōwhānuka room because Taylor was Grant’s great-uncle. While Taylor died well before Grant was born, my father-in-law John Wylie, remembered his ‘Uncle Willie’ well.\textsuperscript{16} The wider family knew about Taylor’s interest in te ao Māori and had a sense of pride in his achievements however they had very limited knowledge of the nature and extent of his relationships with Ngāi Tahu people. As my research progressed, I reached out to other members of the Taylor family including Stuart Taylor, Willie’s grandson,\textsuperscript{17} who provided invaluable insights to his grandfather’s life, his personality, and his legacy.

I have worked with and for Ngāi Tahu iwi, hapū and whānau on history and memory projects for almost twenty years, including in my present role as Kairangahau matua Tiaki Taonga (Senior Researcher) in the Ngāi Tahu Archive at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. The Taylor photograph collection is undoubtedly an archive of tribal significance on account of the number of photographs it contains of Ngāi Tahu people and places. An indication of the wide reach, and relevance of the collection to tribal members, is encapsulated by the fact that three colleagues in my immediate team of six, are descendants of Ngāi Tahu ōpōwhānuka who were interviewed and photographed by Taylor - their reflections and those of many others have contributed to this research.

\textsuperscript{13} ‘Pātiki’, Ngāi Tahu Mahinga Kai Series, Ngāi Tahu Communications, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu 2015, NTCV-MHK002, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Collection, Ngāi Tahu Archive.
\textsuperscript{14} Note that a photograph taken by Taylor of Hector Milne and Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa was mis-identified as Jack Brown and Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa in Murray Patterson, \textit{In sight of the lake and sound of the sea}, Author, Leeston, New Zealand, 1998, p.15. See the photograph concerned, in this thesis at figure 28.
\textsuperscript{15} For example, Taylor wrote to Beattie in 1943: ‘I like Riki Taiaroa very much, but I doubt if he is as well informed on history as old Brown, a halfcaste and a descendant of Koruarua of Taumutu.’ See Taylor to Beattie, 4 March 1943, MS-582/c/27; Taylor also acknowledged Brown in 1944 as follows, ‘Mr Taiaroa and Mr J. Brown of Taumutu, have at all times given me ready help.’ See Taylor, \textit{Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere}, p.20.
\textsuperscript{16} Taylor was a half-brother of John Wylie’s mother, Martha Annie (Ann) Wylie (née Taylor).
\textsuperscript{17} Taylor was the father of Stuart’s mother, Mabel Elizabeth (Bet, Betty) Taylor (née Taylor).
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

ATL  Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
AJHR  Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
CM  Canterbury Museum, Christchurch
Hocken  Hocken Library, University of Otago, Dunedin
Taylor MS collection  William Anderson Taylor manuscript collection, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch
Taylor photograph collection  William Anderson Taylor photograph collection, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch
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<tr>
<td>hapū</td>
<td>subtribe</td>
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<tr>
<td>hui</td>
<td>gathering, meeting</td>
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<td>iwi</td>
<td>tribe</td>
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<td>kāinga/kāika</td>
<td>village</td>
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<tr>
<td>kaitaka</td>
<td>highly prized cloak made of flax fibre</td>
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<td>kākahu</td>
<td>cloak</td>
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<td>kanohi ki te kanohi</td>
<td>face to face</td>
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<td>kaumatua/kaumātua</td>
<td>elder/elders</td>
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<td>kaupapa</td>
<td>topic, policy, matter of discussion</td>
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<td>koha</td>
<td>gift</td>
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<td>kono</td>
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<td>korowai</td>
<td>cloak decorated with black twisted tags</td>
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<td>mākutu</td>
<td>witchcraft, magic, sorcery, spell</td>
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<td>mana</td>
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<tr>
<td>manaakitanga</td>
<td>hospitality, showing respect, generosity and care for others</td>
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<td>manuhiri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>indigenous New Zealander</td>
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<td>pā</td>
<td>fortified village</td>
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<td>Pākehā</td>
<td>Non-Māori New Zealander; commonly of European descent</td>
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<td>piupiu</td>
<td>skirt-like flax garment</td>
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<td>poi</td>
<td>a light ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment. Traditionally the ball was made of raupō leaves.</td>
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<td>Pōua</td>
<td>grandfather, male elder</td>
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<td>pounamu</td>
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pōwhiri: formal welcome
rangatahi: younger generation, youth
rangatira: chief
rūnanga: tribal council
takiwā: territory
taonga: treasured item
taonga pounamu: treasured item made of greenstone
taonga tuku iho: heirloom item, literally ‘treasure handed down’
tangi: rights for the dead, funeral
tapu: sacred
Te Kerēme: the Ngāi Tahu Claim against the Crown for grievances arising from the land purchases in the South Island
taiaha: traditional striking weapon
tipuna/tīpuna: ancestor/ancestors
tohunga: expert, priest, healer
urupā: burial place, cemetery
waiata tangi: lament, song of mourning
wāhi tapu: sacred place
waka taua: war canoe
waka huia: carved treasure box
whakaaro: thought, understanding, idea
whakapapa: genealogy
whakataukī: proverb
whānau: family
whāngai: adopted child
whare karakia: church
INTRODUCTION

When William Anderson Taylor’s magnum opus, *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* (hereafter *Lore and History*), was published in 1952 it filled a vacuum in terms of accessible Ngāi Tahu history in the public domain. A major element of this publication was its inclusion of twenty-two black and white plates comprising forty-one individual photographs, all taken by the author. Most of these photographs feature Ngāi Tahu cultural landscapes including pā sites, mountains and lakes. The book also contains six portraits of Ngāi Tahu individuals: Ria Tikini (c.1810 – 1919), Mere Harper (1842 – 1924), Hariata Beaton (1872 – 1938), Rahera Muriwai Morrison (c.1870 – 1930), Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa (1866 – 1954), and Amiria Puhirere (c.1855 – 1944) who were photographed by Taylor on various occasions over a period spanning thirty years. These photographs are all part of Taylor’s collection that was accessioned into the Canterbury Museum following its donation by his daughter Mabel (Betty) in 1968. Arriving in a series of dusty tin trunks, the collection comprised over six thousand whole plate, half-plate and quarter-plate glass negatives, lantern slides, photographs on paper, and photograph albums. At the time it was accessioned, the collection generated considerable public interest, particularly from those interested in South Island history and photography. One newspaper article stated ‘this gift is one of the most valuable archival collections received by the museum and it is doubtful if it will ever be equalled by any other single collection.’ The Museum wrote in its annual report that the collection was ‘undoubtedly one of the most valuable additions to the Museum’s early Canterbury historical records’ notable for its inclusion of a large number of photographs of ‘Maori sites and personalities’. Despite these assessments, over time Taylor’s photographs (like his writing) have faded into obscurity. This thesis represents the first substantial investigation of Taylor’s photographs.

Taylor’s extensive photograph collection, and papers, held by the Canterbury Museum, comprise the major primary source material consulted for this thesis. Ongoing engagement

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19 See Appendix 1 for the six Ngāi Tahu portraits as published in Taylor, *Lore and History*.

20 The Taylor family also donated Taylor’s Magic Lantern and several thousand celluloid negatives however the Canterbury Museum has no specific record of these items and could not locate them at the time of this research; Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015.


with, and study of these collections has been at the heart of this research. Using the Ngāi Tahu portraits in *Lore and History* as a starting point, and informed where possible by oral interviews with their descendants, this thesis introduces some of the tribal members who were Taylor’s informants, friends and photographic subjects. Through a reading of the photographs it will trace the trajectory of Taylor’s relationships with Ngāi Tahu and consider how the visual stories illuminate the text of *Lore and History* and Taylor’s wider body of work with the iwi in the first half of the twentieth century. While Taylor is best known as an amateur historian and ethnographer, this thesis will demonstrate that his photographic practice was also fundamental to his ethnographic research. The photographic contracts that Taylor entered into with the Ngāi Tahu subjects of his photographs created an environment that facilitated exchange, rapport, empathy, and frequently, enduring bonds.

**Methodology**

Many of Taylor’s photographs of our Ngāi Tahu ancestors, including those in *Lore and History*, are regarded as taonga by the descendants of those who appear in them. Indeed, they are considered embodiments of the ancestors, rather than representations, and are greeted as such by their descendants. These sentiments were borne out in the poignant responses of Ngāi Tahu whānui to these ancestral portraits when they were exhibited at the *Mō Ka Uri* exhibition in 2010, and later when the photographs were added to the galleries of the deceased, which adorn the walls of the whare tipuna, at our Ngāi Tahu marae. Such galleries build on the tradition of carved representations of tipuna Māori contained in whare whakairo. They ‘illustrate the whakapapa of Ngāi Tahu whānui; they connect the living with those who have passed away, and are a focal point for conversation, memories and storytelling.’

Paul Tapsell (Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Raukawa) (2011, 2003) writes of taonga generally, that they ‘open doorways into our originating tribal landscape - nga kuwaha ki te Ao tawhito’ and of ‘ancestral portraits’ in particular, that they and their associated knowledge are ‘symbols of identity that can reunite and empower the most important resource of all: people.’ Tapsell further observes that ancestral portraits ‘provide the common genealogical link by which kin can also

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meaningfully reconnect with each other and with their kin community. While some of Taylor’s photographs (including the six portraits published in *Lore and History*) are well-known to the descendants of those who appear in them, others had never been seen by their descendants prior to the present research. Others still, remain unidentified in the archive. The re/connection of ngā uri o Ngāi Tahu (Ngāi Tahu descendants) with photographs of their tīpuna has been integral to the research process for this thesis. Wherever possible, the reading of the photographs has been informed by interviews and conversations with descendants, often ‘on location’ at (or near) the place where the original photographs were taken. In an act of reciprocity, such engagement with descendants has also facilitated the ‘return’ of (copies of) photographs to them. Alongside archival research, input from descendants has contributed significantly to understanding the context and circumstances in which the photographs were taken, and by inference, and interpretation, the nature of the relationships Taylor had with his photographic subjects. As Anne Salmond (1992) observed, photographs of Māori must be viewed by their descendants in order to understand them:

> The image may say something to an outsider, if only as an exhibition of surfaces and shape, and in that context it can provoke an exchange of questions and answers that open into tribal worlds. It is when a photograph such as this, however, comes face to face with descendants of those depicted, the inheritors of the traditions and the ancestral names, that it most truly speaks. Then alienation may end in recognition, in greeting, or quite often, as I have seen, in tears. The ambiguity of anthropological photographs, then, is that what appears to have been made visible to all may still be hidden. Sight is not enough for knowing, and the metaphor of knowledge as clear sight can prove deceptive. A photograph may capture the play of light and shadows on physical surfaces, but not the play of meanings.

As descendants, we belong to our ancestors and as such, have responsibilities to them. The ‘mana tūturu’ principle advocated by film maker Barry Barclay (Ngāti Apa) (2005) refers to ‘Māori spiritual guardianship’ over ancestral images and their whakapapa relationships with communities. In accordance with the mana tūturu principle, this thesis assumes that the Ngāi Tahu portraits which are the subject of this thesis are not, and have never been, the ‘property’ of Taylor, or his estate, or the public, or the Canterbury Museum - instead, the descendants of

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those portrayed are the only people who have rights to the future destiny of those images.\textsuperscript{29} Barclay’s principle stands in stark contrast to notions of ownership and control of photographic images that prevailed at the time Taylor photographed his Ngāi Tahu subjects. While Taylor proved to be a comparatively considerate caretaker (kaitiaki even) of the ancestral portraits he produced, the Ngāi Tahu people whom he photographed, essentially ceded control of their likenesses to him as soon as he pressed the shutter.

An analogy between camera and gun was famously drawn by Susan Sontag in 1977.\textsuperscript{30} Building upon Sontag’s metaphor, Graham Stewart notes that the camera is sometimes likened to the gun as an instrument of colonial repression whereby ‘Not only do the visitors write the history but they also get to take the photographs.’\textsuperscript{31} The work of scholars, such as Jane Lydon in Australia, is beginning to collapse such binaries and reposition indigenous perspectives at the centre of the scholarship through collaboration with descendants. Lydon has worked with indigenous communities in Australia to identify people in the nineteenth-century photographic archive in order to understand the legacy of those archives for descendants and their communities. Contributors to the collaborative book \textit{Calling the Shots: Aboriginal Photographies} (2014) explore Indigenous Australians’ perspectives on photography and ‘examine historical interactions between photographer and Indigenous people and the ways that such images can be understood to express the process of cross cultural exchange, as well as the rich and vital meaning photographs have today.’\textsuperscript{32} As noted above, this thesis applies a similar approach; informed by input from descendants, it explores the agency of the Ngāi Tahu subjects of Taylor’s photographs, including their willingness to share information, and be photographed by him.

Historical photographs have typically been used as documentary artefacts to support external narratives or as visual representations of the past.\textsuperscript{33} However, in recent years a growing research practice in the field of history has used material objects as physical sources of the past. This approach has been described as part of a wider ‘material turn’, that is, ‘a broad interest

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{33} Christine Whybrew, ‘Reading photographs: Burton Brothers and the photographic narrative’ in \textit{Journal of New Zealand Studies}, 12, 2011, pp.77-89.
over a range of social science and humanities disciplines in material culture, objects or stuff.\textsuperscript{34} In the case of photographs, such a material approach prioritises the ‘photograph as object’ and places an emphasis on ‘reading the visual’.\textsuperscript{35} This methodology was employed in \textit{Early New Zealand Photography} (2011), a collection of essays on colonial photography in New Zealand edited by Angela Wanhallia and Erika Wolf. In the introduction to this volume, the editors refer to ‘moving beyond the photographer in order to interpret the social and cultural meanings of a photograph’ and ‘exploring the documentary record along with the visual content.’\textsuperscript{36} In the case of Taylor’s work, a rich documentary record sits alongside the photographic one, and has been drawn upon extensively for this thesis. Taylor did not keep diaries, however he compiled over one hundred notebooks and scrapbooks dedicated to historical subjects. He also took thousands of photographs including many of Ngāi Tahu people and places, the majority of which were never published. In reading Taylor’s photographic portraits of Ngāi Tahu individuals published in \textit{Lore and History}, I will explore how his papers, accompanying photographs, and correspondence inform the visual content, and in turn, how the photographic portraits illuminate the written sources.

A close reading of Taylor’s ‘photographic objects’ is integral to this thesis. Taylor annotated prints of most of his Ngāi Tahu portraits on the verso with names, hapū affiliations, dates and anecdotes. He used the prints as part of an extensive reference library, updating the annotations over time.\textsuperscript{37} Taylor also collected photographs taken by others, which he annotated in a similar fashion. These include \textit{carte de visite} copies of studio portraits of Ngāi Tahu tipuna from the nineteenth century annotated on the verso by Taylor with the name of the person and where they were from, thus: ‘Te Matenga Taiaora of Otakou’, ‘Paora Taki of Rapaki’, and ‘Horomona Pohio of Waimate’.\textsuperscript{38} In these examples Taylor associates these rangatira with key locations within their tribal areas, connecting them to whakapapa and stories he recorded in his notebooks and wrote about in his published work - Taiaora, Taki and Pohio were all the

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, p.12.
\textsuperscript{37} This is evident in the additional notes and dates (such as dates of death), added in pencil or ink, distinct from the original annotations.
\textsuperscript{38} See Te Matenga Taiaora, 19XX.2.263, Horomona Pohio, 1968.213.137, and Paora Taki, uncatalogued original print, Taylor photograph collection, CM.
Similarly, Taylor annotated most of his landscape photographs with Māori and English place names and notes about associated people or events. He also scratched identifiers into the emulsion along the edges of his glass plate negatives and filed them according to subject. Such details provide insights to Taylor’s rationale as a photographer, recorder, and collector of Ngāi Tahu information.

The iterative publication of Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu portraits over time and the trajectories they have followed as physical objects, also provide important insights. Copies have found their way into archival collections including the Hocken Library, Alexander Turnbull Library, Toitū, and Akaroa Museum due to Taylor’s propensity to share photographic prints with his peers including James Cowan (1870 – 1943), James Herries Beattie, George Craig Thomson (1879 – 1948), and Louis Vangioni (1875 – 1951). Typically, these ‘shared’ prints were annotated on the verso with anecdotes that reflected Taylor’s personal interactions with the photographic subjects concerned. By contrast, no definitive evidence has been found to date of Taylor providing copies of his photographs to the Ngāi Tahu subjects of them, though the nature of his relationships with his Ngāi Tahu ‘friends’ would suggest that he did so. While copies of Taylor’s photographs exist in whānau collections, in most cases, these appear to have been sourced from archival collections, rather than directly from Taylor himself. This absence of evidence adds a layer of ambiguity to Taylor’s ‘friendships’ which inevitably were constrained, indeed defined, by the power dynamic of the researcher vs. the researched, the coloniser vs. the colonised.

As Ani Mikaere (Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Porou) suggests, examples can readily be found in New Zealand to support a view of Pākehā historians as intellectual colonisers of Māori. She observes that ‘Even historians who saw themselves as championing Māori rights blithely undermined the worth of those on whose behalf they otherwise so energetically advocated.’

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40 For example, a photograph of Papanui Inlet is annotated, ‘Papanui – Cape Saunders Peninsula. Ngati Mamoe Pa which had co conflict with the Ngai Chief Tarewai’; and a photograph of Tokata is annotated, ‘The Nuggets (Tokata), Port Molyneux. South Otago. Scene of many fights.’ See uncatalogued original prints, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

as an advocate for Ngāi Tahu and described himself as ‘a friend of the Maori’. Many Ngāi Tahu agreed and regarded him as an ally however, his privileged position as a Pākehā researching Māori and as a cultural outsider must be acknowledged. At times he expressed a paternalistic attitude towards Māori, and arguably perpetuated some racist stereotypes, however this thesis will demonstrate that his respect for Ngāi Tahu sources (both people and documents), his empathy, and his sustained relationships with Ngāi Tahu individuals as borne out in his photographic archive, suggest the need for a measured assessment of the man and his work. Taylor’s relationships with Ngāi Tahu as revealed through his photographs, challenge simple binaries that might readily dismiss him (as per Sontag’s metaphor) as a colonial oppressor wielding a camera, much like a gun; instead, these relationships (indeed friendships) suggest a more nuanced dynamic at play.

When Lore and History was published in 1952, there was a lack of accessible Ngāi Tahu history in the public domain, let alone Ngāi Tahu history written by, or with, Ngāi Tahu people. In the years since the WAI27 Ngāi Tahu Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in the 1980s, and the subsequent Ngāi Tahu Settlement in 1998, historians (both Pākehā and Māori) working with and for Ngāi Tahu, have begun to address this disparity. Published work produced by tribal scholars and non-Ngāi Tahu allies in the post-Claim (and post-Settlement) era, has begun to place the iwi in some historical context. Harry Evison’s Te Waipounamu: The Greenstone Island (1993), Atholl Anderson’s, The Welcome of Strangers: An ethnohistory of Southern Māori (1994), Te Maire Tau’s Ngā pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu: Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu (2003), and Ngāi Tahu a Migration History: The Carrington text, edited by Anderson and Tau have become classic ‘go-to’ texts of Ngāi Tahu history. Additionally, Anderson’s role as co-author with Judith Binney and Aroha Harris of the tome, Tangata Whenua: An illustrated history (2014), ensured that this landmark publication which ‘charts the sweep of Māori history from ancient origins through to the twenty-first century’ included fitting reference to southern Māori history and experience within the arc of the broader tangata whenua story. Other important work on Ngāi Tahu has been produced by Bill Dacker, Tā Tipene O’Regan, and a younger generation of Ngāi Tahu scholars including Angela Wanhalla and Michael J. Stevens. Much of this scholarly output builds upon research undertaken by tribal scholars and historians working for Ngāi Tahu (and the Crown) during the Ngāi Tahu Claim hearings for which a

wealth of documentation about the iwi was generated. This output, in the form of a substantial archive, has only recently become more readily available via Kareao, the online archive database of the Ngāi Tahu Archive. Since 2012, the Ngāi Tahu Archive has also been leading flaxroots history and heritage projects within the iwi producing the online Ngāi Tahu digital atlas, Kā Huru Manu (www.kahurumanu.co.nz), the aforementioned online archive database, Kareao (www.kareao.nz), and Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu (2017), the first in a series of volumes of Ngāi Tahu biography edited by the author and Takerei Norton. This thesis is a small contribution to the ongoing collective tribal project of gathering our own history and promoting our own tribal narrative – an undertaking and an aspiration promoted by Ngāi Tahu leader and kaumātua Tā Tipene O’Regan: ‘If Ngāi Tahu want to be a tribal nation, if we actually want to own ourselves, we have to own our own memory. We have to be the primary proprietors of our own heritage and our own identity.’

This thesis has been researched in collaboration with many Ngāi Tahu people and is largely a narrative history aimed primarily at Ngāi Tahu readers, rather than scholars (noting that the two are by no means mutually exclusive). ‘Nā te iwi, mā te iwi! By the iwi, for the iwi!’ was the title of a panel session delivered by members of the Ngāi Tahu Archive team including the author, Tā Tipene O’Regan, Takerei Norton, Michael J. Stevens, and Atholl Anderson, at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) conference at Waikato University in 2019. The Ngāi Tahu Archive team is dedicated to working with and for Ngāi Tahu communities to help preserve Ngāi Tahu history, protect tribal knowledge, reclaim Ngāi Tahu heritage, and assist in maintaining and promoting Ngāi Tahu identity. The concept of Ngāi Tahu mana over Ngāi Tahu knowledge is central to the team’s work. All Archive team

44 Kareao was launched by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu at Waihōpai (Invercargill) during Hui-a-Iwi in November 2019 and can be accessed online at www.kareao.nz
projects are undertaken nā te iwi, mā te iwi, that is, ‘by Ngāi Tahu, for Ngāi Tahu, and with Ngāi Tahu people’. I have approached the writing of this thesis with this whakaaro in mind.

This thesis is divided into three parts and relevant secondary literature is referenced throughout. Part One introduces the book *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* and the archival sources that sit behind it – primarily the Taylor archive of manuscripts and photographs held at the Canterbury Museum. Part Two examines the nature and scope of Taylor’s work as a photographer. Part Three presents a series of vignettes focused on the six photographic portraits of Ngāi Tahu individuals published in *Lore and History*.

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PART ONE: LORE AND HISTORY OF THE SOUTH ISLAND MAORI

1.1 A labour of love and a bone of contention

William Anderson Taylor spent the final years of his life labouring over *Lore and History*, the book that would become his signature work. Ailed by a heart condition, he worked studiously between periods of bed rest in an old army hut at the bottom of the garden at his Christchurch home. Inside the hut, he was surrounded by award certificates for photography, books, papers, photographs and taonga Māori from a lifetime of collecting.\(^\text{48}\) Above his desk hung two poi gifted to him by Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino (the fifth paramount chief of Ngāti Tuwharetoa) and his wife in 1904\(^\text{49}\) and a waka huia sat on a nearby shelf which visiting children were allowed to hold briefly if they were well-behaved.\(^\text{50}\) He set to writing in 1944 and by mid-1945 had completed twenty chapters.\(^\text{51}\) He sent them to his Christchurch publisher, Bascands Limited for review.\(^\text{52}\) In a letter to his peer and sometime collaborator, James Herries Beattie, Taylor expressed concern that ‘Miss Bascand, M.A. may do too much correcting’ of his grammar.\(^\text{53}\)

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\(^\text{48}\) John Wylie, personal communication, 15 June 2014; Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015; Christchurch representative on the Freelance, ‘Christchurch historian: Writes Maori as easily as English but he can’t speak it’, *New Zealand Freelance*, 2 May 1951 in ‘Correspondence, newspaper cuttings’, Folder 109, Box 15, p.194, Taylor MS collection, CM.

\(^\text{49}\) W.A. Taylor, ‘Second sight. Mystical side of Maori life’, *Ellesmere Guardian*, 10 March 1944 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.5, Folder 82, Box 5, Taylor MS collection, CM.

\(^\text{50}\) John Wylie, personal communication, 15 June 2014.

\(^\text{51}\) Taylor to Beattie, 3 June 1945, MS-582/c/27.

\(^\text{52}\) Ibid.

\(^\text{53}\) Ibid.
Taylor embraced an identity as an amateur and ‘underdog’ but also suffered from an inferiority complex in terms of his writing abilities. The direction that Bascand’s chapter review took is unclear but based on the final, somewhat disjointed text that went to print, it would be fair to assume that the original manuscript posed an editorial nightmare. Alongside his painstaking work on the text, Taylor progressively selected photographs to be made into blocks for printing. He lamented their expense which made ‘illustrating almost prohibitive’, particularly for a man of limited means - by this time Taylor was on the pension. Eventually, in 1947, his publisher paid him a meagre twenty pounds for his manuscript with the promise of six copies gratis once the book was printed. Another five years passed before the book actually went to print and Taylor did not live to see it. He continued to write and re-write tracts of the book up to the time of his death in June 1951. The project had been a labour of love for him and a bone of contention for his wife Mabel on account of the hours spent for no financial gain. That Lore and History succeeded in finally being published was only through the determination of Taylor’s daughter Betty, who took up the cause following her father’s death.

Today, a google search of the names of well-known Ngāi Tahu kāinga including Arowhenua, Tuahiwi, Waikouaiti, Rāpaki, or Moeraki returns a list of results that invariably includes links to Lore and History. While the digital prevalence of the book may be due to google’s algorithms and the Victoria University of Wellington’s enthusiasm for digitising heritage texts, for a period in the mid-twentieth century, it was ubiquitous for other reasons. As noted in the Introduction, when Lore and History appeared in New Zealand bookstores in 1952 it filled a vacuum in terms of accessible Ngāi Tahu history in the public domain. It was the first attempt since the publication half a century earlier of James West Stack’s South Island Maoris: A sketch of their history and legendary lore (1894) at writing a popular history of Māori in Te Waipounamu; aside from Stack’s book, which drew upon the author’s experience of mission work among Ngāi Tahu in Canterbury, there were no other volumes that attempted to tell an overarching story of Māori in the South Island. Like Stack (1894), Lore and History extends geographically beyond the Ngāi Tahu takiwā to encompass Te Tau Ihu (the top of Te

54 Taylor to Beattie, 3 June 1944, MS-582/c/27.
55 Bascand to Taylor, 31 January 1947, Correspondence 1936-1950, Folder 78, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.
57 Ibid.
58 The New Zealand Electronic Text Collection comprises significant New Zealand and Pacific Island texts and materials held by Victoria University of Wellington Library. This encompasses both digitised heritage material and born-digital resources. The texts made available on the NZETC are freely accessible to all researchers regardless of their affiliation with Victoria University of Wellington. ‘NZETC’, http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/ (accessed 24 June 2016).
Waipounamu), however its primary focus is Ngāi Tahu. Indeed, the chapters in *Lore and History* dedicated to ‘Nelson’ and ‘Marlborough’ are primarily taken up in describing the Ngāi Tahu migration story.

Two years after *Lore and History*, Reverend T. A. Pybus published *The Maoris of the South Island* (1954) which covered some similar ground but was limited to the period up to the 1840s. Other published histories such as Robert McNab’s three volumes covering the sealing and whaling period in Murihiku included some Ngāi Tahu history but were not dedicated to it. Regional histories such as *Jubilee history of South Canterbury* (1916) by Johannes Andersen, *Rakiura* (1940) by Basil Howard, and *The history of Otago* (1949) by A.H. McLintock, also contained some valuable information about Ngāi Tahu within their geographical limits. By 1952 other Pākehā writers, notably Beattie and James Cowan had produced slim volumes about the Ngāi Tahu traditions and place names of particular areas including Cowan’s *Maori folktales of the Port Hills* (1923), Beattie’s *Maori lore of lake alp and fiord* (1945), and Beattie’s *Maori place names of Canterbury* (1945), the latter of which was dedicated to Taylor and contained substantial tracts of information provided by him. However, while Beattie’s work was (and is) significant on account of being largely sourced from oral interviews with Ngāi Tahu kaumātua, anecdote suggests that copies of his books were not widely available. Beattie’s writings on Ngāi Tahu nomenclature and other subjects had also been published in newspapers including the series ‘The Southern Maori: Stray Papers’ which he contributed to the *Otago Daily Times* in 1930 – 1931. Indeed, from the late nineteenth century through to the mid-twentieth, newspapers were one of the key means by which Ngāi Tahu history was disseminated in the public domain – Beattie, Cowan, W.H.S. Roberts, and Taylor were among the Pākehā writers who wrote articles on Ngāi Tahu subjects for various newspapers, some of which were re-printed in book or booklet form. From as early as the 1840s, some Ngāi Tahu

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60 See Robert McNab, *Murihiku and the southern islands: a history of the West Coast sounds, Foveaux Strait, Stewart Island, the Snares, Bounty, Antipodes, Auckland, Campbell and Macquarie Islands, from 1770 to 1829*, William smith, Printer, Invercargill, New Zealand, 1907; Robert McNab (ed) *Historical records of New Zealand*, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand, 1908; and Robert McNab, *The old whaling days: a history of southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840*, Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1913.


62 Beattie’s books were printed by the Otago Daily Times and Witness newspapers, and distributed via the Boyne Brothers, local booksellers based in Beattie’s hometown of Gore, and/or by the author himself. While the print runs produced are unknown, comments from Ngāi Tahu kaumātua suggest that Beattie’s publications were scarce. This is reflected in the inclusion of many of Beattie’s titles on lists of rare books today.
individuals also provided historical information directly to newspapers in the form of letters to the editor, republished letters to government officials, or via interviews with journalists. In 1849, for example, a letter penned by Matiaha Tiramorehu to Governor Grey protesting the clandestine sale by Ngāti Toa of Ngāi Tahu lands in North Canterbury was published in the *New Zealand Spectator and Cook’s Strait Guardian*. In the letter, Tiramorehu gives a brief account of the history of the wars between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa.63 A generation later, in 1879, at the sitting of the Smith-Nairn Commission of Inquiry at Kaiapoi, an unnamed Ngāi Tahu kaumātua shared his version of the ‘history of the Ngaitahu’ with a journalist on condition of anonymity. His two-thousand-word account, told via an anonymous ‘half-caste interpreter’ opens with these words:

Listen! This is my word to you, the writer of newspapers, that you may write it to be told to your people. It is the history of the Ngaitahu, the remnant of which great people are now fighting for their lands and their rights – not with the mere (club) as in past days, but with the cunning law man (Mr Izard), before the Pakeha chiefs (the Commissioners).64

In another example dating from the 1930s, Hoani Matiu wrote to the *Otago Daily Times* and visited journalists in person on several occasions to correct errors published in the newspaper’s columns. His opinion was also sought from time to time by journalists on various matters including whakapapa, place names, and tribal history.65 From the 1890s Ngāi Tahu content was also published occasionally in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (JPS) including offerings by Beattie and Cowan based on interviews with Ngāi Tahu subjects.66 A few examples of Ngāi Tahu manuscript and whakapapa material collected and edited by ethnographers such as Johannes Andersen, and Stephenson Percy Smith also appeared in the JPS,67 however none of

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63 The letter was published in the original te reo Māori and in translation. See *New Zealand Spectator and Cook’s Strait Guardian*, 17 February 1849, p.2.
64 ‘The Maori meeting at Kaiapoi. No II. The history of the Ngaitahu’, *Lyttelton Times*, 13 May 1879, p.6.
65 For example, Hoani Matiu was interviewed by an *Otago Daily Times* journalist when he visited the newspaper premises to ‘correct a statement’ published in the paper. On another occasion he provided a long list of the names of Ngāi Tahu rangatira dating back to 1874 for publication. He also wrote letters to the editor correcting information in the newspaper or elaborating on points. See ‘Hoani Matiu. Well-known Maori chief. Interesting interview’, *Otago Daily Times*, 30 October 1930, p.6; ‘Chief of the Ngaitahu’, *Otago Daily Times*, 8 June 1932, p.6; Hoani Matiu, ‘Chief of the Ngaitahu’, [Letter to the Editor], *Otago Daily Times*, 16 March 1932, p.8.; and ‘Ngatimamoe tribe possible survivor story discredited’, *Auckland Star*, 31 October 1930, p.9.
66 For example, Beattie published a series of articles in the JPS between 1915 and 1922 entitled ‘Traditions and legends collected from the natives of Murihiku’ commencing with the first instalment in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 23, No.95, 1915, pp.98-112; Cowan published a story about Ngāti Mamoe informed by interviews with kaumātua at Colac Bay in the JPS in 1905. See “The last of the Ngati-Mamoe. Some incidents of Southern Maori history”, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 14, No.4, December 1905, pp.193-199.
67 For example, the whakapapa of the Te Mamaru whānau edited by Stevenson Percy Smith, was published in the JPS in 1894; the story of the wars between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa as told by Taare Wetere te Kahu to Taare Parata was published in the JPS in 1901; and whānau information obtained by Johannes Andersen from Rahera Tainui (née Tikao) was published in the JPS in 1946. See ‘Genealogy of Te Mamaru family of Moeraki, Northern
this material was readily accessible to non-members. Taylor observed in 1942 that the Public Library only had ‘the last three years of the Polynesian Journals, and the files at the Museum are incomplete.’68 He further commented that it was not easy for him to access books and that he had made special arrangements in order to access material at the university library. He lamented: ‘I feel…the humble man, of my low social standing should have readier access to learning.’69 This sentiment, and specifically Taylor’s desire to help educate the ordinary working class man (as opposed to the scholar), was one of the driving factors behind his determination to complete Lore and History.

The evolution of Taylor’s focus on Ngāi Tahu will be further explored in Part Three of this thesis. However, as suggested by the book’s title, and manifested in the content of Lore and History, his interest may be considered as twofold – ‘lore’ and ‘history’. While the two concepts overlap, ‘lore’ may be broadly understood as a dynamic ‘body of traditions and knowledge’ that is passed down orally within a cultural group, whereas ‘history’ is defined as ‘the past considered as a whole’ or ‘a continuous typically chronological record of events’.70 Taylor had a self-described ‘unusual interest in both history and geography’ from a young age which led him to take what he described as ‘a keen interest in matters relating to Southern Maoriland’.71 As observed by a reviewer of Taylor’s first standalone publication, Banks Peninsula Picturesque and Historic (1937): ‘As the years go by there is growing an appreciation of the value of the native history and legend of various parts of New Zealand.’72

As Chris Hilliard (1997) says, in the inter-war period, ‘there was a popular demand for ‘Māori myths and legends’, to which publishers such as A.H. and A.W. Reed catered.’73 From the mid-1920s, Taylor tapped into this popular interest, joining other Pākehā who were writing about Ngāi Tahu, including Beattie, Cowan, and W.H.S. Roberts. Taylor wrote numerous newspaper articles on Ngāi Tahu mythology, legends, place names, art, and traditions. Lore and History


68 Taylor to Beattie, 30 July 1942, MS-582/c/27.
69 Ibid.
71 William Anderson Taylor to M.A. Rugby Pratt, 26 July 1935, George Craig Thomson papers, MS 0439-010, Hocken.
72 ‘Banks Peninsula a fine descriptive booklet’, Ellesmere Guardian, 30 June 1937, p.3.
also follows this model, with the inclusion of palatable, and sometimes romanticised content that traverses Ngāi Tahu ‘lore’ encompassing traditional, anecdotal and popular subject matter pitched as deriving from a distant, if not ancient, past. On the other hand, *Lore and History* also details the ‘history’ of significant migrations, battles, historic and contemporary Ngāi Tahu individuals, recent Ngāi Tahu events, politics, legislation, and land tenure. Through Taylor’s personal relationships with Ngāi Tahu individuals and his study of the documentary record, he became acutely aware of the injustices wrought upon Ngāi Tahu by the nineteenth century land purchases in Te Waipounamu, and the grievances arising from the Crown’s breach of contract in terms of these transactions. Between 1844 and 1864 the Crown purchased 34.5 million acres from Ngāi Tahu and promised to set aside adequate reserves. However, this was never done. Further, the Crown defaulted on numerous promises to establish schools and hospitals and for the tribe to retain access to its mahinga kai.74 As Taylor’s awareness of these issues grew, he developed a sense of personal responsibility to educate others about this wrongdoing, and to advocate for Ngāi Tahu justice through Crown compensation. He frequently expressed both sympathy for Ngāi Tahu, and shame for his Pākehā brethren. In 1949 he wrote:

No European with any sense of what is honest and upright could do other than bow his head with shame at the heartless manner in which we pakehas taking advantage of native ignorance, filched his land from him. The Maori of today if wishing to live with his family on the land is expected to do so on an average of 14 acres. Europeans well know that 100 acres would be a minimum for a white man.75

By the time Taylor arrived in New Zealand as a child in the early 1890s, ninety per cent of Ngāi Tahu tribal members were considered landless.76 Through his study of Ngāi Tahu history and contact with his Ngāi Tahu friends and acquaintances, Taylor came to recognise the strong connection between the loss of land and resources in the nineteenth century and the poverty in which many Ngāi Tahu were living in mid-twentieth century New Zealand. He also witnessed the poverty first-hand, in the homes of the Ngāi Tahu families he visited. The ongoing hardship endured by whānau in this period is recorded in detail in the domestic survey of Ngāi Tahu kāinga conducted by John Te Herekiekie Grace under the aegis of the Native Land Court in 1937, which makes for harrowing reading.77 In 1952, the same year that *Lore and History* was

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75 William Anderson Taylor, ‘Notes on the history of Canterbury Maori lands’, Folder 75, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.
77 J.H. Grace, Domestic survey of South Island Māori settlements 1937, R361254, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.
published, the historian and (later) friend of Ngāi Tahu, Harry Evison, completed his Masters thesis, ‘A history of the Canterbury Maoris (Ngaitahu) with special reference to the land question’ in which he also concluded that the relative poverty in which many Canterbury Ngāi Tahu were then living, was directly attributable to their loss of land in the nineteenth century.\(^{78}\) While this argument seems obvious today and was obvious to Ngāi Tahu at the time, it was dismissed in the academic circles of the 1950s where the inherently racist Pitt-Rivers theory of ‘culture clash’ prevailed – according to this theory the negative impact of the colonial encounter on Māori was attributed to ‘psychological collapse’ rather than the economic hardship enforced by the loss of land and resources.\(^{79}\) Evison’s argument was unpopular and his thesis languished on the shelf for thirty-five years, unread.\(^{80}\) Evison went on to play a pivotal role in presenting evidence supporting the Ngāi Tahu Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in the 1980s.\(^{81}\) Of interest to the present research is not only Taylor’s accord with Evison’s view, but also the fact that Taylor discussed Te Kerēme (the Ngāi Tahu Claim against the Crown for breaches of contract regarding the land purchases)\(^{82}\) and other land matters at length with the three Ngāi Tahu kaumātua whom Evison later consulted for his Masters research: Hira Pohio Traill (née Hira Moroiti Pohio) (1896-1955), William Daniel (Bill) Barrett, and Te Aritaua Pitama (1906-1958).\(^{83}\)

In *Lore and History*, Taylor makes numerous references to the Crown’s unjust treatment of Ngāi Tahu in both an historical and contemporary context, including direct criticism of individuals and governments. He writes of John Bryce (Minister of Native Affairs 1879-1884): he ‘had little love for the Maori people’\(^{84}\); of contemporary Māori: ‘the Maoris are fast

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\(^{78}\) Harry Evison, interview by Helen Brown, 21 October 2009, private collection.

\(^{79}\) Ibid; George Henry Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, *The clash of culture and the contact of races: an anthropological and psychological study of the laws of racial adaptability, with special reference to the depopulation of the Pacific and government of subject races*, George Routledge and Sons Limited, London, 1927.

\(^{80}\) Harry Evison, interview by Helen Brown, 21 October 2009, private collection.


\(^{82}\) By 1849 when the Crown began defaulting on the terms of a series of ten major land purchases dating from 1844, earlier suspicions of the Crown’s good faith by some of the Ngāi Tahu chiefs were confirmed, and the Ngāi Tahu Claim ‘Te Kerēme’ was born. The Crown had promised to set aside adequate reserves to have been approximately 10% of the 34.5 million acres sold – but this was never done. There were also disputes over boundaries, and the Crown’s failure to establish schools and hospitals, as promised. In addition, the tribe lost its access to its mahinga kai, or food gathering resources, and other sacred places. Ngāi Tahu made its first claim against the Crown for breach of contract in 1849. See ‘Ngāi Tahu Claim History’, [http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/ngaitahu/the-settlement/claim-history/](http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/ngaitahu/the-settlement/claim-history/) (accessed 18 April 2020).

\(^{83}\) In addition to Traill, Barrett, and Pitama, Evison also discussed his research with Ihakara Wiremu Karaitiana, a rangatira from the Wairarapa who had married a Ngāi Tahu woman, Ruiha Titapu Taituha. See ibid, p.xiv.

\(^{84}\) Taylor, *Lore and history*, p.41.
becoming a landless people”85; of governments past and present: ‘then as now, efforts to promote Maori welfare do not meet with success from the powers that be’86; and of the Treaty of Waitangi: ‘a document which has never been given legal status, and so far as a gentleman’s agreement is concerned, only partially carried out by the Pakeha.’87 He also condemns the Ngaitahu Claim Settlement Act 1944 which purported to fully and finally address Ngāi Tahu grievances arising from the Canterbury Purchase (Kemp’s Deed).88 Taylor’s attention to Ngāi Tahu land grievances is further reflected in the fact that the Ngāi Tahu land claims are specifically mentioned in twelve of Lore and History’s twenty-three chapters. So, while Taylor’s writing on Ngāi Tahu ‘lore’ was akin to the popular, somewhat romanticised writing on Māori subjects by other Pākehā writers in this period, his concurrent focus on the ‘history’ of colonisation, the injustices of the past, and their relationship to the socio-economic status of contemporary Ngāi Tahu, set him apart. Amongst his Pākehā peers, only Cowan publicly expressed some similar views.89

While it may be assumed that Taylor wrote primarily for a Pākehā audience, Lore and History also became a well-thumbed resource on the bookshelves in many Ngāi Tahu homes. As Ngāi Tahu leader and scholar Tā Tipene O’Regan said, for a period of time between the 1950s and the 1980s, ‘Taylor, along with Pybus and Beattie…was all that we had.’90 In the late 1960s when Ngāi Tahu Taua Aroha Reriti-Crofts was a young woman seeking information about her Ngāi Tahu whakapapa and history, her mother bought her a copy of Taylor’s Lore and History. She read it from cover to cover and it inspired a life-long interest in tribal history.91 (Unbeknownst to Aroha at the time, her Pōua, Bill Barrett had regarded Taylor as a good friend).92 For thirty years after its publication, Lore and History remained one of only a handful of readily available texts on Ngāi Tahu history before it was superseded by the collective works of a new generation of historians, both Pākehā and Ngāi Tahu. As noted in the introduction, since the 1990s the collective work of historians including Atholl Anderson, Te Maire Tau, Michael J. Stevens, Angela Wanhalla, Bill Dacker, Harry Evison, and the Ngāi Tahu Archive,

86 Ibid, p.79.
87 Ibid.
88 ‘On December 7th, 1944, the Maoris were given a poor settlement of their grievance’. See Ibid, p.170.
89 In Lore and History, Taylor quotes Cowan regarding the ongoing issue of Māori land loss: ‘Maori reserves have a way of dwindling or disappearing in a perfectly legal manner. With the law-abiding pakeha all things are possible’. See Cowan, Star-Sun, 4 October 1940, quoted in Taylor, Lore and History, p.59.
90 Tā Tipene O’Regan, personal communication, 19 August 2016.
91 Aroha Reriti-Crofts, personal communication, 16 June 2016.
92 William Daniel Barrett to William Anderson Taylor, 1 February 1946, Correspondence 1936-1950, Folder 78, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.
has started to place Ngāi Tahu in some historical context, making Ngāi Tahu history more accessible to Ngāi Tahu audiences and the wider community.

At the time of its publication, a review in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* acknowledged *Lore and History* as an ‘amazing store of facts’ but equally criticised that ‘at times the book develops into a compendium of details that are not always connected, and with little attempt at narration’ - the reviewer concluded that the lack of an index rendered the book ‘a quarry rather than a tool.’ In the bibliography to his 1952 thesis, Evison described the then recently published *Lore and History* as ‘a compendious collection of anecdote and observation on the South Island Maoris, uncollated and without index, bibliography, or acknowledgement’ and recommended that it was therefore of ‘more value to the general reader than to the student.’ In 1994 Christine Tremewan echoed the sentiments of the 1952 reviewer when she referred to *Lore and History* as ‘little more than a series of disjointed jottings on any matter, ardent or modern, concerning the Māori race in the South Island.’ By contrast, the same year, Kim Eggleston suggested that while Taylor’s lack of ‘narrative style’ was an impediment, ‘…perseverance, on part of both author and reader, yields a storehouse of information.’ (The latter view aligns with the experience of the author).

In his foreword to *Lore and History*, Roger Duff, then Director of the Canterbury Museum, wrote:

> Mr. W. A. Taylor deserves our gratitude for recording so much, so late. Within the historical and cultural limits he sets himself, the author erects a genuine and worthy edifice…it is my privilege to introduce to the wider public this book which is the final and comprehensive expression of his life-long study and devotion.

Duff’s reference to Taylor’s ‘devotion’ was sincere. Taylor approached his research on ‘that kink of mine, the history of the Ngāi Tahu tribe’ with a commitment approaching religious

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98 Taylor to Beattie, 8 January 1941, MS-582/c/27.
zeal. Duff’s tone also suggests that, aside from anything else, he considered the book earnest. He knew Taylor personally and had worked with him on the documentation of Māori rock art sites in South Canterbury. Duff respected Taylor but probably regarded him more as an able research assistant than an ‘historian’. Duff did however recognise Taylor’s strength, which lay in his in-depth knowledge of Ngāi Tahu land tenure. When the Canterbury Centennial Association planned a series of publicity articles, Duff reckoned that Taylor was the only person who could write about the history of the Ngāi Tahu land sales in Canterbury. This was borne out in Taylor’s essay ‘Notes on the history of Canterbury Māori lands’ written for the Star Sun in 1950. While Duff’s foreword implies his endorsement of Taylor’s work, Taylor himself was critical of Duff on a number of points. He was wary of Duff’s keenness to secure tribal manuscripts for the museum, and appalled at Duff’s flouting of legislation protecting Māori burial sites. By contrast, Taylor actively sought the protection of urupā Māori and believed that Ngāi Tahu manuscripts of tribal significance ought to be part of a tribal archive cared for by the iwi, rather than a museum or university.

Lore and History was not publicly appraised by a Ngāi Tahu reviewer at the time of its publication, however Taylor certainly had Ngāi Tahu supporters who valued his efforts as an historian and advocate for Māori. From the 1920s till Taylor’s death in 1951, a number of Ngāi Tahu leaders in the Canterbury area including Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa (1866 – 1954), Te Aritaua Pitama, Bill Barrett, Henare Te Ara Jacobs (1887 – 1959), and others sought Taylor’s counsel on matters such as the geographical placement of Ngāi Tahu place names, the history of Ngāi Tahu land tenure, and advocacy for the return of Ngāi Tahu lands.

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99 Taylor refers to visiting rock art sites in South Canterbury with Duff in 1945. See ‘Maori History’, Notebook 32, Folder 31, Box 5, p.2, Taylor MS collection, CM.
100 Duff to Taylor, 29 November 1949, Taylor MS collection, CM.
101 See Taylor’s original manuscript ‘Notes on the history of Canterbury Māori lands’, Folder 75, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.
102 When Taylor drew public attention to the legislation protecting Māori burial sites, Duff was ‘half angry’ and Taylor wrote: ‘Our university museum collectors are winking at the law.’ See Taylor to Beattie, 24 October 1943, MS-582/c/27.
103 Taylor wrote to Beattie: ‘As you know I am anxious that three chests of H.K. Taiaroa’s papers on Native Land Question be in safe custody. I fancy they should be the property in the future of the Ngai Tahu Trust Board. Roger Duff is after them for the University and to be kept at the Museum, and suggested I go out with him in his car and assist in procuring them.’ Taylor to Beattie, 4 March 1943, MS-582/c/27.
104 See James Herries Beattie, Maori place names of Canterbury, Otago Daily Times and Witness newspapers, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1945, p.108; Taylor to Beattie, 6 March 1945 and Taylor to Beattie 17 March 1936, MS-582/c/27; Henare Te Ara Jacobs to William Anderson Taylor, 29 June 1937, Correspondence 1929-1942, Folder 77, Box 9 and Barrett to Taylor, 1 February 1946, Taylor MS collection, CM.
we all respect, love, and admire you.’

By this time, Taylor was widely known among his Ngāi Tahu friends and Pākehā peers as ‘Wiremu Teira’ or ‘Old Wiremu.’ Taylor used this moniker in his letters to the editor and personal correspondence from the mid-1930s onward – he also increasingly self-identified as a ‘Pakeha Maori of the South Island’, thus aligning himself with European visitors to Te Waipounamu in the early nineteenth century who had settled in Māori communities and adopted Māori ways of life, prior to the establishment of the colonial settler state. When Taylor published the booklet *Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere* (1944), he sent a copy to the journalist and ‘pioneer of biculturalism in New Zealand’, Eric Ramsden, with the following inscription: ‘To Eric Ramsden a pakeha Maori of the Waikato from the author a pakeha Maori of the NgaiTahu 1944.’ (See figure 5).

Figure 5. Inscription written by William Anderson Taylor on the inside cover of the booklet *Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere* (1944), private collection.

Jack Morgan (Whakatōhea), chairman of the Ngati Otautahi Maori Committee, wrote of Taylor in 1938:

Wiremu Teira is a pakeha who is a Maori historian of exceptional ability. His consistency in drawing public attention to treatment issued out to the Maori in various ways, in the past and at the present time, is most welcome and appreciated besides being an inspiration to those who have the welfare of the Maori community at heart.

While Morgan was not Ngāi Tahu, he played a major advocacy role for Ngāi Tahu ki Akaroa and was connected to several Ngāi Tahu families at Ōnuku through his children’s marriages.

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105 Barrett to Taylor, 1 February 1946, Taylor MS collection, CM.
Another unidentified Māori writer with the pseudonym ‘Onawe’ described Taylor as ‘our grand old rangatira’ and commented:

I with lots of other Maoris know a friend, and have always enjoyed reading that same old friend’s articles in the press with my children who I know often wonder why I, a Maori, cannot tell them so much of our own history and place names as a grand old pakeha like him can.110

Te Aritaua Pitama, the well-known Ngāi Tahu leader, and broadcaster, had a more nuanced view, acknowledging in 1945 that Taylor ‘knew some history’ but that his Māori pronunciation was extremely bad.111 Pitama proposed a collaboration; Taylor would write an historical script and Pitama would deliver it over the radio, the pair to split the earnings.112 The resultant series of six episodes entitled ‘Vistas of the Past’ focused on the Ngāi Tahu history of Canterbury and the impacts of colonisation. An omnipresent narrator, ‘Father Time’, transported listeners back in time to bear witness to historical events such as the signing of the Canterbury Purchase (Kemp’s Deed) at Akaroa on 12 June 1848 – a pivotal date in Ngāi Tahu history.113

While Pitama conceded that Taylor’s work was of some value, Taylor also had outright detractors within the iwi. Key among them was the influential MP for Southern Maori, Erura Tirikatene (1895 – 1967), who publicly admonished Taylor in the 1940s, portending (in the form of mākutu) that Taylor would not live to see his historical research published114 (though by the time Tirikatene delivered this portent, Taylor had already published four substantial booklets and numerous newspaper articles on Ngāi Tahu subjects). However, Tirikatene’s vitriolic views of Taylor were arguably less about history, and more about politics - Taylor was forthright in his opposition to the Ngaitahu Claim Settlement Act 1944 of which the Labour Party and Rātana stalwart, Tirikatene, was both sponsor and architect. Other vocal opponents of Taylor also proved to be strongly aligned with the Labour Party.115 Taylor was outspoken in his views, saying that Tirikatene had forged an unfair deal without the mandate of Ngāi Tahu

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111 Taylor to Beattie, 3 June 1945, MS-582/c/27.
112 Ibid.
113 The broadcast dates of ‘Vistas of the Past’ are not recorded however the inclusion of the scripts in Taylor’s file of ‘published’ articles and photographs suggests that the series went to air sometime around 1945-1946. Copies of the typescript may be found in the papers of both Pitama and Taylor. See ‘Scripts for talks on 3ZB as “Father Time”’, No.4, Folder 81, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM; and ‘Vistas of the Past’ in Te Aritaua Pitama MS collection, private collection.
115 For example, see letters to the editor opposing Taylor’s views signed by A. Manawatu in Press, 2 July 1938, p.20; and Press, 27 September 1938, p.15. Manawatu was the secretary of the Otautahi Committee of the Labour Party.
beneficiaries. While a number of Ngāi Tahu individuals including Bill Barrett, Hilda Traill, and Wiremu Aata (Arthur) Pitama (c.1893 – 1971) openly agreed with Taylor, his position was not vindicated until 1971 when both of these points were taken up by the Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board in a petition to the government praying that the Ngaitahu Claim Settlement Act be revoked as it was ‘never accepted by the Ngaitahu tribe and it was never a final or equitable settlement’. The prayer of the petition endured and later led to the filing of the Ngāi Tahu Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986 culminating in the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998.

*Lore and History* (like Taylor’s work generally) has never attracted academic attention, primarily because it is not scholarly. It has numerous errors, particularly in terms of traditional history. For example, Taylor adopted some persistent ideas promoted by the ethnologist Stephenson Percy Smith (1840 – 1922) such as the Melanesian origins of Māori. Taylor contended that Māori were of joint Polynesian and Melanesian descent on the basis of craniology, archaeology, and Māori art forms. The idea of Māori having Melanesian forebears was also supported by Cowan whom Taylor greatly admired, and the ethnologist and museum director, Augustus Hamilton (1853 – 1913). Additionally, Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu informants including Herewini Ira ‘Old Eli’ (c.1827 – 1908) of Moeraki, and Tame Parata (1832–1838?–1917) of Puketeraki, also referred to ‘descent from a tribe in the South Island, darker than the Maori, with curly hair and a different language.’ However, these Ngāi Tahu men had likely absorbed such ideas from Pākehā sources. Taylor’s desire to recreate Ngāi Tahu history as a linear narrative also saw him reach strange conclusions in order to reconcile contradictory accounts, leading him to suggest, for example, that there were two distinct Waitaha migrations into Te Waipounamu. Taylor’s work is also deficient on account of its complete lack of referencing (Taylor had an aversion to footnotes). For these reasons, and as

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117 Pitama to Taylor, 10 December 1946, Correspondence 1936 – 1950, Folder 78, Taylor MS collection, CM.
120 Ibid.
121 Ibid, p.10.
122 Ibid, p.11.
123 ‘When I write I will acknowledge main sources of information only in a general way, personally I dislike footnotes, better if done at all in the text at the start or end of the book.’ See Taylor to Beattie, 19 October 1941, MS-582/c/27.
borne out in the examples that follow, *Lore and History* has been dismissed by the present generation of Ngāi Tahu historians and anyone seriously studying Ngāi Tahu history.

Ngāi Tahu historian Te Maire Tau attributed Taylor’s inadequacies to his limited access to Ngāi Tahu sources of information.\(^{124}\) Similarly, in 2008 Eruera Tarena (Ngāi Tahu) wrote that Taylor lacked credibility in Ngāi Tahu communities and was therefore reliant on written sources from the records of the Māori Land Court.\(^{125}\) However as this thesis will demonstrate, Taylor has been somewhat misrepresented in this regard; he had access to some excellent sources including Ngāi Tahu people, manuscripts, maps, correspondence, and government records. Tau also recalled that Taylor had been abused at Tuahiwi for his interpretation of Ngāi Tahu history, leaving him with no option other than to walk out of the [Rūnanga] hall.\(^{126}\) While the detail and timing of this incident is unknown, it may well have been connected to the political machinations of the 1940s in which Taylor became embroiled. This episode certainly pre-dated the post-humous publication of *Lore and History*, so was not a direct response to the content of the book. However, politics and timing aside, there is no doubt that *Lore and History* is highly problematic and riddled with errors. In another instance, Tau (n.d.) said:

…there is little value in this book for anyone interested in Ngāi Tahu or Christchurch. There are simply too many errors, mis-interpretations and bad scholarship to suggest this publication as a source of information. Ngāi Tahu have spent a significant amount of money countering the assertions made by Taylor.\(^{127}\)

One such assertion, regarding a purported Native Reserve in Hagley Park in central Christchurch, has surfaced for re-litigation on several occasions since the 1940s when it was first raised publicly by Te Aritaua Pitama.\(^{128}\) While not entirely unfounded, the government record unequivocally shows that no official reserve was ever gazetted on this site, notwithstanding the fact that the words ‘Maori Reserve’ are clearly written on an official Provincial Government map of Hagley Park that was photographed by Taylor, with the assistance of his brother-in-law Arch Wylie, around 1935 (unfortunately, the original map has


\(^{126}\) Tau, *Ngā pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu*, p.20.


now disappeared from the government archive). In a gentler reproach, Tahu Potiki (Kāi Tahu) commented in 2016 that reading Taylor’s *Lore and History* simply left you ‘scratching your head’. *Lore and History* has then, at best, caused puzzled contemplation. At worst, it has proved a thorn in the side of Ngāi Tahu historians who have had to counter Taylor’s factual errors that continue to persist in the public domain.

However, alongside the errors, the book is full of interesting anecdotes, quotes, details, dates, and observations. This explains why, despite its scholarly shortcomings, the book has been extensively read, and for better or worse, continues to be regularly accessed. For example, in 2011 when the Governor General Rt Hon Sir Anand Satyanand visited Te Hapū o Ngāti Wheke at Rāpakī, he drew upon *Lore and History* as the source of an anecdote for his official speech. Sustained interest in the book since its publication is evident. An index was prepared in c.1978 under the direction of Michael Trotter, then Director of the Canterbury Museum. In 2000 a separate index was published by Kiwi Publishers, followed by a facsimile edition of the book with accompanying indexes and maps in 2001. The digitised version of *Lore and History* was made available online via Victoria University of Wellington’s NZETC in 2007 and original copies of the book are still held in libraries throughout New Zealand. Anecdotally, the book is also still consulted (though not necessarily cited), by archaeologists, historians, and students of Māori history.

1.2 ‘I am more concerned …with photographs than literary matter’

Taylor was a self-professed amateur and hobbyist when it came to historical writing and sought to bolster his deficiencies through the use of photographs. In 1943, when compiling information for a proposed (but never completed) booklet on Te Tai Poutini, he wrote, ‘I am more concerned in making up with photographs than literary matter.’ In a similar vein, the following year he admitted: ‘Educated men always have a pull over the 6th standard pupil… I

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131 Between 2012 and 2016, the NZETC edition of *Lore and History* was viewed on 63,000 occasions with average views being approximately three minutes long. Google analytics report data provided by NZETC to Helen Brown on 19 July 2016.
133 Taylor to Beattie, 15 November 1943, MS-582/c/27.
depend more on photographs to help me along’.\textsuperscript{134} Writing was an arduous task for Taylor who regarded himself as a photographer first, not an historian. In 1944 he wrote to Beattie regarding 


depend more on photographs to help me along’.

\textit{Lore and History}:

\begin{quote}
I expect my book if I finish it to consist of at least 16 chapters, and I hope it will be fully illustrated as I have a large number of photos available. It will be the one and only book by me, too much strain, small brochures are hard enough.\textsuperscript{135}
\end{quote}

As noted above, the book includes forty-one black and white photographs – most, featuring Ngāi Tahu cultural landscapes. The inclusion of photographs covering the length and breadth of Te Waipounamu reflected Taylor’s inclination to write from observation and experience; wherever possible he personally visited and photographed the places to ‘get first-hand knowledge if possible’ before writing about them.\textsuperscript{136} He took a similar approach with people, favouring direct oral testimony (alongside engagement with primary sources) over the work of ‘professional historians’ and ‘university’ men, of whom he had a deep distrust.\textsuperscript{137} His photographs evidence his personal interactions with Ngāi Tahu informants, friends and their families. The six Ngāi Tahu portraits reproduced in \textit{Lore and History} were taken by Taylor on separate occasions spanning a period of thirty-three years from 1907 to 1940. For Ngāi Tahu, these portraits have become familiar, if not iconic, representations of these tīpuna. That the photographs are immediately recognisable to many Ngāi Tahu is largely due to their public accessibility through publication in \textit{Lore and History} but also to their prior and subsequent proliferation in other spaces including publications, exhibitions, and their repatriation to family collections. The six Ngāi Tahu portraits will be examined in greater detail in Part Three.

The footer on the title page of \textit{Lore and History} reads: ‘ALL PHOTOS BY THE AUTHOR.’ This statement is significant. In terms of Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu research, photography was his point of difference; whereas other ethnographers sought pictures to ‘illustrate’ their published work, Taylor’s photographic practice was integral to his research. While James Cowan (and his wife Eileen) also took photographs of Ngāi Tahu (particularly at Rāpaki), their sojourn in the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{134} Taylor to Beattie, 3 June 1944, MS-582/c/27.
\item \textsuperscript{135} Taylor to Beattie, 21 September 1944, MS-582/c/27.
\item \textsuperscript{136} Taylor to Beattie, 31 July 1934, MS-582/c/27.
\item \textsuperscript{137} There are numerous examples of Taylor making negative statements about ‘professional historians’, ‘classic historians’, and ‘university’ men. For example, Taylor wrote to Beattie: ‘Too much value is placed on the statements of a University man as a rule.’ See Taylor to Beattie, 24 May 1939, MS-582/c/27.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
South Island was relatively short lived (c.1914-1917) so Cowan did not have the same opportunities to photograph Ngāi Tahu people as Taylor did, nor was he (Cowan) a professional photographer. When Beattie published *Maoris and Fiordland* (1949), he noted: ‘contrary to what might be expected it is difficult to get photographs of Maori subjects and I tried many sources without success.’ Taylor however, had no problem with pictures. Consequently, he supplied photographs to Beattie, Cowan and others for their publications. For example, he took two dozen landscape photographs to order for Cowan’s *Maori folk-tales of the Port Hills* (1923), provided photographs for publications by the Reed brothers of Dunedin, and provided photographs to Beattie which he later published in *Our Southernmost Maoris* (1954).

![Figure 6. William Anderson Taylor, Alfred Patterson Osborne, William Taylor and J.L. Martin, Banks Peninsula, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1930, 1968.213.3950, Taylor photograph collection, CM.](image)

A distinguishing feature of Taylor's approach to research was his knowledge of physical geography gleaned from personal experience in the field. A tramer and cyclist, he was a keen outdoorsman and spent much of his spare time exploring the landscapes of Otago and Canterbury armed with a camera (see figure 6). In the 1920s and 1930s he was the official photographer for the Canterbury Mountaineering and Tramping Club. He photographed

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141 Taylor to Beattie, 24 May 1939, MS-582/c/27.

places and sites he learned about from his Ngāi Tahu informants and through his own
documentary research. Collectively, the images published in *Lore and History* are
representative of the types of photographs Taylor took. They provide a small glimpse of his
encyclopaedic collection. In addition to Ngāi Tahu landscapes and people, Taylor photographed
original documents, maps, signatures, taonga, and archaeological sites. As noted in the
Introduction, he also re-photographed images produced by other photographers. Such use of the
camera is familiar in the present digital age but was unusual in Taylor’s era. Several
photographs of documents and archaeological sites were reproduced in *Lore and History.*
Among the archaeological sites is a photograph of ‘Otokitoki’ pā in Whakaraupō (Lyttelton
Harbour) (see figure 7), the inclusion of which reflects Taylor’s archaeological detective work
and his obsession with ground-truthing and photographing pā sites.

![Figure 7. William Anderson Taylor, Otokitoki, Whakaraupō (Lyttelton Harbour), digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1936, 1968.213.2726, Taylor photograph collection, CM.](image)

In 1936, based on information gleaned from documentary sources,143 Taylor identified an
‘unchronicled pā’144 on the Port Hills overlooking Whakaraupō (Lyttelton Harbour) and took
several photographs of the defensive ditches demarcated by people standing along their
boundaries. He drew a sketch map and identified the pā as ‘Otokitoki’; a place name recorded
there previously by a reliable and authoritative Ngāi Tahu source in Teone Taare Tikao (1850?
– 1927) of Rāpaki.145 Taylor sent a copy of this photograph to Beattie and later published it,

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143 Revd. James West Stack to Department of Lands and Survey, 1894, R16635587, Archives New Zealand.
144 Taylor to Beattie, 17 March 1936, MS-582/c/27.
145 James Cowan recorded Teone Taare Tikao as giving the name for Godley Head at the entrance to Whakaraupō,
Lyttelton Harbour as Otokitoki. See James Cowan, ‘The hills and legends of Akaroa’, *Akaroa Mail*, 10 June 1938,
p.4; this name was also recorded by James West Stack who provided the name as part of a list sent to the Chief
Surveyor in 1894. See Revd. James West Stack to Department of Lands and Survey, 1894, R16635587, Archives
together with three others of pā sites in Canterbury, to accompany an article he wrote for the *Ellesmere Guardian*. This suite of photographs was later reproduced in *Waihora: Maori Associations with Lake Ellesmere* (1944) and later still, in *Lore and History*. In 1961, thirty years after the photograph was taken, a young amateur archaeologist, Tony Fomison (1939 – 1990), recorded the Otokitoki pā site with the New Zealand Archaeological Association (NZAA) site recording scheme. Fomison based his record on Taylor’s research and concluded that Otokitoki must have been the pā to which Taununu of Ripapa Island had fled when he was under attack during the Kai Huanga Feud of the 1820s. Fomison wrote: ‘As Otokitoki is the only pa in the area to which he fled, it seems reasonable to assume it was his. I have been to see it, and it has a good view north to Kaiapohia, from whence the taua was to come.’ When the Canterbury Museum Archaeological Association excavated the site in the summer of 1969-70, they confirmed that it was indeed archaeological – however, it was not a pā site as suggested by Taylor but rather, an early European sheepfold! Taylor was not an archaeologist, and this was not his only error in this regard.

Among the documents reproduced photographically in *Lore and History* is a map of the route to Westland drawn for James West Stack by an unidentified Māori source in 1865, a map of

New Zealand. Stack’s informants were Ngāi Tahu from Canterbury. While both Stack and Tikao gave the name Otokitoki, neither specified that it was the name for a pā. Otokitoki was claimed (unsuccesfully) by Te Koromata (Te Koro Mautai of Koukourarata, Port Levy) in the Native Land Court in 1868. However, neither a plan nor clear identification of the area was presented to the court at that time – the precise location Te Koro Mautai referred to is unknown however it seems likely that he was referring to the entire northern headland at the entrance to Whakaraupō. In *Place-names of Banks Peninsula* (1927), Johannes Andersen records Otokitoki as the Māori name for Gollans Bay and as the Māori name for Godley head as informed by Hone (Teone) Taare Tikao and James Cowan. He also records ‘Kotokitoki’ as the name for Godley Head as per the French Chart of Banks Peninsula prepared in 1844 – 45 by officers of Le Rhin. All of these instances of the name recorded on the north side of the harbour, together with Taylor’s ground truthing led him to record the ‘unchronicled pā’ of Otokitoki on this site in c.1936.

147 In addition to Otokitoki, the three accompanying photographs depict pā sites at Taumutu, Fishermans Bay, and Ngāti Koreha (near the Ahuriri lagoon). In each of these photographs Taylor has included people in the scene, to assist with demarcating the location and extent of the archaeology featured. See ‘Sites of typical Maori forts in North Canterbury’ in Taylor, *Lore and History*, p.26.
148 See NZAA site record N36/2.
149 ‘Ngatikoreha pa’, which was another of the four pā sites featured in *Lore and History* also proved to be incorrectly identified as being of Māori origin. Like Otokitoki, it was almost certainly an early European sheepfold. See New Zealand Archaeological Association site record M36/23.
151 Taylor photographed this map in the 1930s. It was attributed to an unnamed Māori source who drew it in 1865 for James West Stack. While not stated in Taylor’s records, the original map is likely to have been located in the archives of the Department of Lands and Survey. For a note on provenance, see Taylor, *Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere*, p.8; a print of the photograph annotated by Taylor and containing further
Māori place names of the Otago Peninsula derived in part from an original map owned by Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa, and the previously mentioned map of a ‘Maori Reserve’ in Hagley Park. Taylor worked voluntarily at the Christchurch branch of the Lands and Survey Department in Christchurch from 1936 to 1941 classifying and ordering the records of the Canterbury Provincial Government and the Canterbury Association. This gave him near-exclusive access to a rich source of original documents including correspondence, sketches, plans, deeds, and maps dating from the earliest period of colonisation in Canterbury. Among these documents were official copies of the deeds of the highly contentious land purchases by the Crown from Ngāi Tahu in Canterbury – more than fifty years later, the original versions of these documents were located and brought into the light by the historian Harry Evison in *The Ngāi Tahu Deeds: A window on New Zealand history* (2006). Taylor transcribed and photographed numerous documents in this period, filling his notebooks with information that would later prove invaluable as reference material for *Lore and History*. He transcribed correspondence between Ngāi Tahu rangatira and government officials, and even created a contrived version of an ‘autograph book’ comprising a collection of signatures photographed and traced from original documents - among them are the signatures of Ngāi Tahu rangatira Hori Kerei Taiaroa, Topi Patuki, Paora Taki, Aperahama Te Aika, and Pita Te Hori.

Taylor wrote to Beattie:

I have been employed for some time [at the Lands and Survey Department] among the documents down behind a steel grill and steel door in the vaults below the street...I am scribbling all day from 8am by electric light...weeks go by and I am on my own.

Taylor went on to prepare a catalogue of the inward correspondence to both the Canterbury Association and the Canterbury Provincial Government. These catalogues have subsequently

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provenance detail is held at the Hocken, see Fifteen rough sketch plans showing Māori place names, MS582/d/2/a, Hocken: Taylor’s original photograph of the map is held in the Taylor archive here: 1968.213.2453, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

153 The ‘Otakou Maori place names’ map that appears in *Lore and History* had its precedent in a map that Taylor traced from the collection of Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa in March 1936. See Fifteen rough sketch plans, MS582/d/2/a, Hocken.

154 The original map is now lost. For Taylor’s photographs of the document, see 1968.213.2414 and 1968.213.2430, Taylor photograph collection, CM.


157 See ‘Signatures of Great New Zealanders, Pakeha and Maori’, Box 9, Folder 76, Taylor MS collection, CM.

158 Taylor to Beattie, 24 May 1939, MS-582/c/27.
been used by Archives New Zealand to describe and catalogue the letters on the present-day Archives New Zealand database, Archway.¹⁵⁹

1.3 The Taylor MS collection

Contrary to some of the assumptions made about Taylor, his archive of photographs and papers reveals that he had enduring relationships with Ngāi Tahu individuals and communities; that he had access to a number of credible Ngāi Tahu informants; and that his written sources were various including early correspondence between Ngāi Tahu leaders and Government officials, the field notes and maps of early surveyors, records of the Lands and Survey Department, records of the Māori Land Court, and the papers of Ngāi Tahu individuals including Tame Parata, Wiremu Rehu and Hori Kerei Taiaroa. Like the Murihiku historian Robert McNab before him, Taylor also mined nineteenth century newspapers for information – this included back-issues of Dunedin and Canterbury newspapers held in the collections of the Otago Settlers Museum and the Canterbury Public Library. Anecdotal evidence also suggests that Taylor leveraged his position as a former ‘newspaper man’ to access the archives of other newspapers including the Star and the Sun for which the full suite of back-issues may not have been publicly available. Taylor’s archive also reveals that he compiled a comprehensive (if not exhaustive) photographic record of the physical (and cultural) landscapes he wrote about. Perhaps most significantly, Taylor’s photographs of Ngāi Tahu people, shed light on the nature of the relationships he had with them.

In 1964, thirteen years after William Anderson Taylor’s death in 1951, his daughter Betty Taylor gifted her father’s historical papers and books to the Canterbury Museum. Among the books were the published works of James West Stack, James Herries Beattie, Elsdon Best and James Cowan; regional histories of small South Island towns; centenary and jubilee publications and programmes; Scottish calendars and tourist guides; ephemera on diverse subjects ranging from Dunedin and its water supply to the Loyal Benevolent Lodge where Taylor had been a lifelong member.¹⁶⁰ This published material revealed something of the man and his interests. However, the highlight of the collection was Taylor’s historical papers comprising 112 exercise books of handwritten notes and pasted newspaper clippings including a series of thirty-six indexed notebooks dedicated to Māori history, mostly Ngāi Tahu. Other

¹⁵⁹ Chris Adam, personal communication, 13 May 2015.
¹⁶⁰ Inventory of William Anderson Taylor material deposited at Canterbury Museum in J.C. Wilson to Mrs. H.E. Taylor, 17 September 1965, [Collection filing cabinet], CM.
items covering Ngāi Tahu subjects included a series of twelve scrapbooks of clippings of Taylor’s published newspaper articles (many on Māori subjects), two volumes of inwards letters and one volume of whakapapa.161

Within months of receiving the collection, John Wilson (librarian and later Director of the Canterbury Museum) wrote to Betty Taylor: ‘You will...be pleased to learn I am sure, that your father’s notebooks, especially those on Maori topics, have already been used to great advantage by a number of students.’162 This would have pleased Taylor immensely. His meticulous indexing and arrangement of the notebooks suggests that he saw them as important reference works for not only himself, but also other researchers. During his lifetime, and particularly in the 1940s, students were regular visitors to Taylor’s home in Christchurch seeking information from him regarding Ngāi Tahu and Canterbury regional history. As noted by David Macmillan in 1946: ‘No student working at his thesis has failed to draw some information on enquiry from W.A. Taylor; the facts so ably arranged in his many manuscript note-books.’163

In the years following Taylor’s death, students continued to seek access to his papers. In the late 1950s, a young high school student, the aforementioned Tony Fomison (who later became a notable New Zealand painter) befriended Taylor’s widow Mabel and was allowed access to Taylor’s notebooks and photographs to facilitate his pursuit of a burgeoning interest in southern Māori archaeology and rock art (including his misguided recording of Otokitoki ‘pā’ mentioned above).164 Since then, historians have continued to utilise Taylor’s archive. Researchers of Ngāi Tahu history including archaeologists and tribal historians have also consulted Taylor’s papers from time to time. Bill Dacker used Taylor’s archive extensively in his research for Te mamae me to aroha (1994).165 Ngāi Tahu kaumātua Trevor Howse recalled encountering Taylor’s papers in the 1980s during his research for Te Kērēme, the Ngāi Tahu Claim. He immediately identified the archive as a treasure trove of information but equally recognised its inherent shortcomings on account of Taylor’s scant acknowledgement of sources.166

161 A transcript of the whakapapa book was later published as Volume 5 of Peter Garven’s six volume, Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu (1992).
162 Wilson to Mrs. H.E. Taylor 17 September 1965, CM.
164 Fomison to Beattie, 5 May 1957, Letters requesting advice and assistance on Maori subjects, MS-582/B/12, Hocken.
165 Bill Dacker, personal communication, 13 December 2016.
166 Trevor Howse, personal communication, 18 November 2014.
Taylor’s ‘Maori History’ notebooks and scrapbooks of ‘Published Articles’ are rich objects for a researcher. The notebooks are titled variously as ‘Maori History’, ‘Maori Topics’ or ‘Maori Notes.’ Most give the author’s name as ‘W.A. Taylor’ followed in brackets by ‘Wiremu Teira’ (the Māori transliteration of his English name). Each notebook is paginated by hand, numbered, and has an index pasted on the back cover. Inside, the notebooks comprise of a running series of largely unrelated fragments. Entries are neatly written in black ink in a cursive style with red ruled lines separating one item from the next. Key words are underlined, presumably to serve as a finding aid and guide for Taylor’s later compilation of an index.

The Māori history series are the only notebooks in Taylor’s collection that he indexed. His two other notebook series’, ‘Early Southern History’ (twenty-eight volumes) and ‘Historical Notes’ (eleven volumes), were not given such detailed treatment. The softened edges of the covers, taped spines and smudges confirm that the notebooks have been well used. Taylor requested blank notebooks from his family as Christmas and birthday presents. The majority of these were humble school exercise books with card covers. Some are recycled school exercise books that belonged to his children (or grandchildren), reflecting Taylor’s thrift. The Māori history notebooks were compiled between c.1936 and 1951 although much of the content was gathered at an earlier period. Typically, the notebooks contain ‘stems’ (brief notes on various ‘facts’), whakatauki, transcribed documents such as letters and reports, anecdotes, notes on place names, statistics, references to Māori land, accounts of Māori ‘curios’ and various snippets of information recorded by Taylor from his Ngāi Tahu informants and friends.

Taylor’s ‘Maori History notebook No.6’ is a typical example (see Appendix 4). The cover is embellished with an assemblage of discrete items including a quote from the Ngāi Tahu leader Pita Te Hori, a letter to the editor (in response to one written by Taylor), an extract from an article by James Herries Beattie and a reference to a photograph on the back cover.

168 ‘After me, be kind and cherish the people. Tuahuriri I ahau, kia atawhai, kia awhiti i te iwi’ is quoted beneath the notebook’s title. This utterance derives from the ōhākī (dying speech) of the Ngāi Tahu ancestor Tū-rākau-tahi, and was repeated by the Ngāi Tūāhuriri leader Pita Te Hori when addressing Christchurch leaders in 1861. See Te Maire Tau, ‘The values and history of the Ōtākaro and north and east frames’, Grand narratives, Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, Christchurch, New Zealand, pp.41-70.
169 Taylor’s letter to the editor dated 11 January 1938 was the second in a raft of letters he subsequently wrote as part of his personal campaign for Ngāi Tahu justice for the land grievances wrought by the Crown in the 19th century; a campaign that largely played out in the pages of the Christchurch Press over the ensuing decade.
170 ‘The Māori dog was employed to catch the weka, kakapo and tokoeka. Wild ducks were snared in the creeks.’ These sentences are taken directly from James Herries Beattie, ‘Nature-lore of the Southern Maori’, Article XIII, Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand, Volume 52, 1920, p.53.
which lists the names of a Rātana church group photographed by Taylor at Tuahiwi in 1935.\textsuperscript{171} The eclecticism of the cover content is reflected inside where the reader finds several pages of Waikouaiti place names attributed to Ngāi Tahu informants from Puketeraki; a twelve page essay by Taylor entitled ‘Native Lands Affairs’ tracing the history of Māori land legislation and the story of Ngāi Tahu land loss in Canterbury; transcribed correspondence regarding the drainage of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) in the 1860s; place names of North Otago recorded by the Lands and Survey Department; place names of Wairewa; a list of the chief judges of the Native Land Court; quotes from newspaper articles from the 1870s; and quotes from Lindsay Buick and John White.

In contrast to the notebooks, Taylor’s thirteen\textsuperscript{172} volume series of newspaper clipping books, ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, have some semblance of order in the arrangement of information in that they are largely chronological (see notebook No. 7 reproduced at Appendix 5). Taylor clipped his own articles and photographs which were published in a range of papers and periodicals including the \textit{Press, Sun, Star, Australasian Photo Review, Otago Witness, Press Junior, Ellesmere Guardian, Evening Star, Plainsman, Akaroa Mail, Midland Traveller, Star-Sun, Press, Camera Craft, Harrington’s Photographic Journal, and New Zealand Photographer}. The earliest clippings date from the early 1900s but Taylor does not appear to have gathered them into volumes until the 1930s. All the clippings’ books have scuffed edges, rounded corners, split binding and taped spines suggesting that they too were regularly consulted as part of his working reference library.

1.4 The Taylor photograph collection

At the time the Taylor MS collection was accessioned, John Wilson emphasised the Canterbury Museum’s considerable interest in also securing Taylor’s photograph collection.\textsuperscript{173} Following Taylor’s death in 1951 and his wife Mabel’s death in 1962, Taylor’s photographs and papers were inherited by his daughter Betty. Her son, Stuart Taylor recalls the photographs (and

\textsuperscript{171} The back cover of the notebook is largely taken up with Taylor’s index but also has an annotation in the top corner which lists the names of members of the Rātana Church who appear in a series of photographs that were taken by Taylor at Tuahiwi Marae in 1935. This series of photographs includes group portraits of Wiremu Rehu, John Driver Tregerthen, William Anderson Taylor, Mrs Rau Mokomoko, Teone (John) Mokomoko, Mrs Tregerthen, Mrs Maata Te Uki (Taua Ginny), Mrs Hutana, and Mrs Wirihana (?). See 1968.213.6176; 1968.213.138; and 1968.213.6102, Taylor photograph collection, CM. Note that 1968.213.138 is reproduced in this thesis at figure 36.

\textsuperscript{172} Note that Volume 2 in this series was missing at the time the collection was accessioned into the Canterbury Museum.

\textsuperscript{173} Wilson to Mrs. H.E. Taylor 17 September 1965, CM.
notebooks) being stored in the garage at his mother’s home. For a few years in the early 1960s
Stuart and his father Huia Taylor (William Anderson Taylor’s son-in-law) gave occasional
illustrated lectures using ‘Willie’s lantern slides and ‘magic lantern’ (an early slide
projector). In so doing, they were continuing a tradition instituted by their grandfather and
father-in-law who had regularly delivered illustrated lectures to Workers Education Association
gatherings, Lodge meetings, Photographic Society meetings and public forums from the 1910s
through to the 1940s on subjects such as the Avon River, the history of Banks Peninsula, and
Ngāi Tahu. At the start of each lecture, by way of acknowledgement, Stuart and Huia Taylor
projected a slide of Willie operating his magic lantern.

In 1968 Taylor’s photograph collection was accessioned into the Canterbury Museum. In the
Canterbury Museum’s *Annual Report for the year 1968-69*, J.C. Wilson reported ‘with very
great pleasure, the donation of nearly ten thousand negatives and slides taken by William A.
Taylor’ stating (as noted in the Introduction) that this magnificent collection was ‘undoubtedly
one of the most valuable additions to the Museum’s early Canterbury historical records.’
Wilson particularly noted the large number of ‘Maori sites and personalities’ among Taylor’s
slides. By 1969 a preliminary index of the subjects covered in the collection had been
compiled by the Museum and in c.1970 the cataloguing of the glass plate negatives
commenced. Contact prints were made from the glass plates which became ‘file prints’ to
facilitate public access and viewing of the collection. At this stage, all the negatives were still
stored in their original wooden boxes which had been numbered and labelled by Taylor.
While the negatives were assigned new catalogue numbers, Taylor’s original box numbers were
also retained – these numbers are invaluable today for the identification of unidentified images
because Taylor tended to group his negatives according to location and theme. Joan Woodward
(who later became Curator of Pictorial Collections), and an assistant, undertook the bulk of the
work describing and cataloguing each image. In many cases, Taylor’s annotations on the
negatives assisted with the task of description and arrangement. On 27 March 1972 an
exhibition of a selection of the photographs, curated by Woodward, opened on the ground floor
of the BNZ building in Cathedral Square.

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175 Ibid.
Museum, p.25.
177 Joan Woodward, personal communication, 4 February 2015.
178 Ibid.
the public to donate their own photographs to the Museum, which at the time was ‘the official archives centre for Canterbury.’\textsuperscript{180} A newspaper article about the donation of the collection to the Museum echoed Wilson’s comments stating that ‘interest in the Maori is reflected in the large number of negatives depicting Maoris and their settlements’\textsuperscript{181} however, no Ngāi Tahu images were selected for the exhibition which focused solely on Christchurch City and river scenes. Inspired by the positive publicity associated with the lead up to the BNZ exhibition, Betty Taylor wrote to Wilson to express her appreciation for the Museum’s care of the photographs which she felt would have pleased her father. She also noted that she had ‘come across some more of Dad’s material and the first time I am in the Museum I will leave it for you. It is really old odds and ends but may be useful.’\textsuperscript{182} The nature and extent of this material is unknown as the Museum has no record of an additional donation from Betty Taylor in 1972.

Since the collection was accessioned, it has been used extensively to illustrate books and articles, and by individuals wishing to locate photographs of friends or ancestors.\textsuperscript{183} The collection is of particular significance to Ngāi Tahu on account of the images of Ngāi Tahu people, places, documents, and taonga. The Ngāi Tahu photographs include negatives, original prints on paper, and lantern slides generated by Taylor between the late 1890s and the 1940s. There are also some photographs collected by him (mostly carte de visites) which date from an earlier period. As noted in the Preface, in 2010, a selection of Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu photographs were displayed in the tīpuna room as part of the Mō Kā Uri exhibition curated by the Canterbury Museum to accompany the return home of Mō Tātou from Te Papa Tongarewa. Aside from that exhibition, the Ngāi Tahu photographs have never been the subject of any specific curation or research.

\textsuperscript{180} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{181} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{182} M.E. Taylor to J.C. Wilson, 19 February 1972, CM.
PART TWO: W.A. TAYLOR PHOTOGRAPHER

2.1 A family tradition

A natural explorer, from the time he picked up a camera, Taylor specialised in taking photographs ‘outdoors’. The scope of his photographic work was broad, encompassing early photojournalism, pictorialism, record, landscape, art, commercial, architectural, and club photography. Although many semi-posed portraits exist among his photographs of Ngāi Tahu people (including the six portraits published in *Lore and History*), Taylor never worked as a studio photographer or formal portraitist; all of his portraits are taken outdoors (typically in the subject’s backyards), many exhibiting the candour of a ‘snapshot’ despite being produced with large, unwieldy, glass plate cameras. Most were taken as a record for posterity and the majority were never published. In the first instance, Taylor also approached photography from the perspective of a ‘newspaper man’ whose outlook was as much lithographic as photographic.

William Anderson Taylor was born in Aberdeen, Scotland in 1882. He was the only child of John Nelson Taylor (1854-1927) and Grace Cameron Taylor (née Dakers) (1860-1908) (see figure 8, overleaf). When Taylor took up photography in 1894 he was following in the footsteps of his maternal grandfather who had practised the daguerreotype and wet collodion methods in Scotland in the 1860s and his father John Nelson, who had started using a camera just two years earlier, in 1892. John Nelson trained and worked as a lithographer in Aberdeen, Carlisle and Glasgow before travelling to New Zealand in 1887 to work for the Caxton Printing company in Dunedin which had been founded by fellow Scot, Peter McIntyre in c.1879. He then worked as a lithographic transferrer and printer in Melbourne for several years before returning to New Zealand in 1892. William and his mother visited New Zealand in 1887 and then returned to Scotland, eventually emigrating permanently to join John Nelson in New Zealand.

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184 Macllilan, ‘Dedication’, frontispiece.
186 ‘Obituary: Mr J.N. Taylor’, *Press* 14 December 1927, p.3.
in 1892. William was nine years old. Soon after their arrival, John Nelson commenced work in Christchurch for the printing and illustration company, Whitcombe and Tombs.

In Christchurch, John Nelson was considered the pioneer of illustrative engraving. In 1893, just a year after taking up a camera for the first time, he began secretly working on a new photo engraving process that would revolutionise print illustration in New Zealand. Working in partnership with another local printer, W.J. Edwards, he mastered the technique of halftone technology after paying £5 to learn ‘the secret.’ As William recalled in later years: ‘In the very early days my father had to find out everything for himself. I have a distinct recollection of the first experimental half-tone screen he secured. He paid an American a fair sum to be told if the screen went in front of the camera, or where.’

![Figure 8. John Nelson Taylor (?), John Nelson Taylor, Grace Taylor, William Anderson Taylor, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1904, 1968.213.4510, Taylor photograph collection, CM.](image)

When G.G. Stead, the director of the Press learned that John Nelson Taylor had mastered the halftone, he engaged him to oversee the instalment and operation of a new illustration plant (see

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In December 1893 the *Weekly Press* issued a Christmas edition that included illustrations produced from halftone blocks and in 1894 the *Weekly Press* became the first newspaper in New Zealand to make a regular feature of photographs. John Nelson Taylor taught many of the early Christchurch photographers their craft, including his son William. In October 1896, at the age of thirteen, William left Richmond Primary School to commence a seven year apprenticeship at the *Press* under the tutelage of his father. The father and son duo were soon known throughout the country as ‘the Taylors of the Press’. Young William became adept at the technical aspects of newspaper illustration, printing and photography:

I often think of days spent in polishing the glass for the wet plate with iodine mixture. This was performed in a stuffy dark room with the teardrops blinding one’s eyes. Following this was the rubber-edging, coating, and sensitising for the operator. Wet plates had their advantages, lending themselves to doctoring. There was certainly no remedy for careless operating with the dry plates of the early nineties. One make of plate had a fancy for blistering (even in the developer), while another had a tendency to ‘greenfog’ – a word, or rather, a disease, today unknown.

In 1898 William produced the first photo process engravings in natural colours in New Zealand. He continued to be an able technician throughout his career, giving demonstrations, running workshops and writing occasional articles on technical aspects of printing and photography. ‘W.A. Taylor’, his professional moniker, also proved to be an able photographer in terms of composition and the ‘art’ of photography. He began to win prizes for his photographs in national and international competitions, becoming particularly well-known for his architectural photography. In 1900 William and his father won the premiere award at an annual exhibition.
international competition in London for ‘Fire, Fire,’ (see figure 10) the now iconic image of Christchurch City Council fire fighters leaving the Lichfield Street fire station with their horse drawn steam fire engine under full steam in 1899. The Taylors’ had to pay the fire fighters £2 for their staged fire call-out but reaped £20 in prize money.203

Figure 9. William Anderson Taylor, Process Engraving Room at the Press, Cashel Street, Christchurch. Left to right: Joseph Irvine Turner, David Barry, and John Nelson Taylor, digital scan from original print on paper, c.1897, 1968.213.6313, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

Figure 10: William Anderson and John Nelson Taylor, ‘Fire, Fire.’ The ‘Deluge’ fire engine on its way from the Lichfield street station of the Christchurch fire brigade, digital scan from original print on paper, 1899, 1968.213.145, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

Harrington and Company’s photographic competitions; and in 1907 he was awarded 4th place in the Cattle section of the NZ Photographic Awards (his father JN Taylor also won an award that year for an entry in the Animal and Bird Life section). See ‘Photographic Awards’, Press, 27 March 1907, p.8; ‘Personal items’, Press, 28 July 1902, p.5; ‘Dunedin items’, Star, 24 April 1901, p.2; ‘Christchurch Photographic Society’, Star, 11 October 1901, p.3; ‘Photography’, Star, 2 September 1901, p.3; ‘A successful photographer’, Weekly Press, 5 June 1901, p.50.

2.2 The professional: W.A. Taylor newspaper photographer

Alongside process engraving work, and the technical reproduction of photographs on the printed page, the Taylors, father and son, did all of the general photography for the Weekly Press. Photographic journalism was new to New Zealand at that time and the Weekly Press was a leader in the field. By contrast, the first photograph had appeared in a newspaper in the United States almost two decades prior, in 1880, in the New York Daily Graphic. New Zealand’s major illustrated newspapers (Weekly Press, Weekly News, New Zealand Mail, Otago Witness) soon developed a set of stock themes for news photography, categorised by Athol McCredie (1991) as ‘society weddings, the unveiling of monuments, New Zealand scenery, military heroes, Māori maidens, farm scenes, holiday makers and fields of golden daffodils.’ Such themes are represented in some of Taylor’s earliest work for newspapers including his award winning photograph of ‘Highland Cattle on Mount Grand Estate near Dunedin’ and a number of other carefully curated New Zealand landscapes and rustic scenes that hint at a nostalgic past and adhere to the compositional rules of photographic ‘pictorialism’ which emphasised the ‘beauty of subject matter, tonality, and composition rather than the documentation of reality.’

As noted by Felicity Barnes (2013), pictorialism ‘reacted against the idea of photography as simply a mechanical means of recording reality, pictorialists championed photography as an art form, like painting or poetry.’ Many of Taylor’s early photographs align with the pictorial tradition which dominated photography and early photo-journalism in the period when he and his father were starting out. In addition to publication in the Weekly Press, examples of Taylor’s ‘pictorialist’ photographs were also published in the early 1900s in the American photography magazine Camera Craft; the Australian photography magazine Harrington’s Photographic Journal; and in Sharland’s New Zealand Photographer. Edited by Auckland photographer

206 Ibid.
207 ‘Highland Cattle on Mount Grand Estate, near Dunedin’, photograph by W. A. Taylor, Otago Witness, 24 January 1906, p.54; This photograph was previously published in the Australian Photo Review in 1904, see ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.8, Folder 85, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.
210 See various clippings in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.8, Folder 85, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.
Josiah Martin, *Sharland’s* was the most influential early print advocate of pictorialism in New Zealand.\(^ {211}\) An album of Taylor’s unpublished photographs dating from 1896-1903\(^ {212}\) likewise, contains images that follow the pictorial tradition featuring Christchurch street scenes, beaches, farm animals, rural scenes, buildings, vases of flowers, and Taylor’s first photographs of Banks Peninsula. While these photographs adhere to the pictorial tradition in terms of subject matter and composition, Taylor did not tend to manipulate these images with the artistic effects associated with pictorialism. Instead he suggested that photographers could ‘secure pictorial results’ through the effects of lighting, and in the case of buildings, viewing them from different positions.\(^ {213}\)

While he experimented with pictorialism in his early career, from the outset, Taylor’s approach to newspaper photography also evidenced his use of the camera to ‘document’ reality rather than to ‘create’ art. In 1897, for example, aged fourteen, he was sent by the *Press* to Amberley in North Canterbury to photograph William Sheehan who was charged with (and later hanged for) the murder of a local sixteen-year old, Agnes Lawcock. In 1948 Taylor recalled this job as ‘quite an assignment for a youngster, who was loaded up with bulky photographic equipment of the nineties.’\(^ {214}\) Taylor’s photographs were printed as a full page spread in the *Weekly Press* on 5 May 1897 and included scenes shot from a distance outside the Amberley courthouse and pictures of the accused walking between the jail and the courthouse flanked by officials.\(^ {215}\) Additionally, Taylor carefully re-traced the exact route taken by Sheehan on the day of the murder, taking photographs of the murder scene, the home of the victim and the houses of several witnesses. These photographs are not notable for their composition but rather, read as unadorned ‘record’ of events, devoid of creation or manipulation in thematic or technical terms. While the number of photographs published reflects a degree of sensationalism related to the subject matter, this suite of images also presages aspects of Taylor’s later work in terms of his thorough (if not exhaustive) documentation of the event, and his tendency to indulge in ‘detective work’ – the latter would later reveal itself in his endeavours to follow ‘trails’, search

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\(^ {211}\) Barnes, ‘Pictorialism, photography, and colonial culture’, p.142.
\(^ {212}\) ‘Photographs taken 1896-1903 by WA Taylor’, photograph album, CM 1968.213.53, Taylor photograph collection, CM.
for ‘clues’, solve ‘puzzles’, retrace footsteps and ground-truth historic sites in the course of his research on Ngāi Tahu history and place names. 216

On completion of his apprenticeship at the Press, in 1903 William worked briefly alongside his father for the New Zealand Times (which was engaged to illustrate the New Zealand Mail) in Wellington. Then, in 1904, William moved to Dunedin and commenced work for the Otago Witness where he remained on the illustration staff for the next fifteen years. For many years, his photographs documenting the Otago region covered an entire wall in the illustrations department at the Otago Witness serving as a pictorial directory to Dunedin and its environs ‘for 25 miles in all directions.’ 217 In 1897 Taylor and his father had undertaken a photographic trip over a fortnight, from Christchurch to Kumara on the West Coast, photographing landscapes and scenes for the Weekly Press. 218 This was one of many photographic excursions which eventually took Taylor all over the South Island by train and bicycle. Landscapes became a focus of his photographic interest and would ultimately form the bulk of his photographic output over his lifetime.

While some of Taylor’s early landscapes tended to the pictorial, from the time of his arrival in Dunedin, they became increasingly more documentary in style, more prolific, and more closely aligned with the photographic survey movement which approached photography as an ‘ethnographic salvage’ project. 219 The photographic survey movement was founded in Britain in the 1890s with the aim of recording cultural remains, buildings, and other evidence of ‘a disappearing way of life.’ 220 Elizabeth Edwards (2009) describes the survey-movement photographers as having ‘a belief in the evidential force of photographs’; they sought ‘to harness the evidential qualities of photographs to record antiquities, ancient buildings and other social and material survivals of the past for the benefit of the future.’ 221 The term ‘record was

216 Taylor’s use of ‘detective’ language is evident in his correspondence with James Herries Beattie, G.C. Thomson and others where he uses the terms ‘clue’ and ‘puzzle’ and refers to being ‘on the trail’ of information about Ngāi Tahu history and place names. See for example: ‘Have you any information relating to Canterbury which may furnish a clue?’ in Taylor to Beattie, 17 March 1936, MS-582/c/27; ‘If one could only get a really old map to furnish clues’, Taylor to Beattie, 17 October 1943, MS-582/c/27; and ‘I have not fathomed the stories of Sandy mount, and am still on the trail’, William Anderson Taylor to G.C. Thomson, 17 March 1936, Thomson George Craig: Papers relating mostly to the early history of Otago, Correspondence file N to S, MS-439/8, Hocken.

217 Taylor to Thomson, 2 August 1935, MS-439/8.

218 New Zealand Freelance 2 May 1951; W.A. Taylor, ‘West Coast Road’, Akaroa Mail, 20 December 1950 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.12, Folder 89, Box11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

219 Barnes, ‘Pictorialism, photography, and colonial culture’, p.151

220 Ibid.

used to describe the photographs they generated which were supposed to be unadorned, documentary-like images. Whether Taylor consciously followed the tenets of the survey movement is unknown however many of his photographs were aligned with it, particularly those he took of the Otago Peninsula between 1904 and 1919. Taylor wrote, ‘I think I know every little dent on the waterline, and marks on land of Otago Peninsula.’ He did the same for Banks Peninsula in the 1920s, creating a comprehensive record of numerous landmarks, bays, sites of historical interest (both Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā), and cultural remains such as archaeological sites. Both peninsulas were of considerable historic interest to Taylor and the photographs he took of them reflected his focus on capturing ‘records’ of places of history and memory. In later life, reflecting on his career, Taylor referred to the importance of ‘photographic records’ on a number of occasions. Looking back at his negatives he noted: ‘it is interesting to see the changes portrayed in the growth of cities and towns especially. Photographic records have not been fully appreciated in the past.’ In another example, following a lantern lecture in 1950 at which he displayed slides of the same sites photographed fifty years prior, twenty-five years prior, and in the (then) present time, he said ‘Record work has its reward. Try it.’

In 1919 Taylor returned to Christchurch where he worked as a photographer for the Sun newspaper until that paper’s demise in 1935. Thereafter his career in newspaper illustration ended though he continued to produce some photographs for newspapers including the Sun, Star and Ellesmere Guardian, to illustrate his articles on local history and Māori subjects which he commenced writing around 1924. Taylor also undertook some commercial work in the 1920s and 1930s, advertising his services as ‘an outdoor photographer’ and urging customers to ‘try him for your next photographic order, (house, group or garden)’ however this was never very successful. So, from the mid-1930s until his death in 1951, Taylor’s photography was more for personal interest than commercial gain. In this period, free from the constraints of

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222 Barnes, ‘Pictorialism, photography, and colonial culture’, p.151
223 Taylor to Beattie 26 July 1941, MS-582/c/27
227 See series of notebooks dating from 1922 – 1950 titled ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, Folders 79-85, Box 10 and Folders 86-90, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.
228 See Xmas advertisement flier in ‘Newspaper cuttings’, No.6, Folder 96, Box 12, Taylor MS collection, CM.
fulltime employment (but equally impoverished by it), he became a familiar figure around
Canterbury, carrying a tripod and camera case.230

2.3 The amateur: Photographic societies & the magic lantern

Taylor entered the world of photography through his work as a process engraver in the print
trade, and then worked in a professional capacity as a newspaper photographer for almost thirty
years. He always maintained however, that photography was as much a hobby as a profession;
he participated in the growth of photography as a hobby in New Zealand and strongly aligned
himself with the ‘amateur’ scene. The blurry distinction between amateurism and
professionalism in photographic circles in the late nineteenth century was evident in 1897 when
Taylor and his father were each awarded a prize in an ‘amateur’ competition, despite both being
on the illustrative staff of the Press at the time. A disgruntled fellow camera-club man
complained that ‘professionals’ who made the ‘art’ a means of livelihood should not be eligible
to compete.231 A largely semantic and inconclusive argument then played out in the letters to
the editor over what constituted an ‘amateur’ photographer. A correspondent identifying
himself only as ‘Little Willie’ (surely Taylor), weighed in on the argument, suggesting that ‘the
green-eyed monster’ was ‘on the prowl again.’232 Needless to say, the Taylors’ retained their
prizes.233 Newspapers with dedicated photographers on staff appear to have been a rarity in the
early years of newspaper print illustration in New Zealand, so the Taylors likely occupied a
unique space in the photographic scene – they were not commercial photographers producing
studio portraiture or photographs for the postcard trade, nor were they simply hobbyists. As
noted by Edwards (2009), ‘photographers were perfectly capable of inhabiting a number of
photographic identities’234 and Taylor certainly did so, moving comfortably between genres to
meet different objectives throughout his career.

Professionalism and amateurism were not mutually exclusive and for many years, small
regionally based photographic societies in New Zealand brought amateur and professional

230 Obituary: Mr. W.A. Taylor in Ellesmere Guardian 29 June 1951, in ‘Transcripts of historical articles in the
231 ‘Cycle show photographic competition’, [Letter to the Editor], Press, 17 November 1897, p.3.
233 The photo competition was part of the Metropolitan Cycle Show, held in Christchurch in November 1897. J.N.
Taylor’s prize-winning photo was titled ‘A Chief’ and William Anderson Taylor’s was titled, ‘The Nipper’. See
‘The cycle show’, Press, 13 November 1897, p.5.
234 Elizabeth Edwards, ‘Unblushing realism and the threat of the pictorial: Photographic survey and the production
of evidence 1885 – 1918’, History of photography; Volume 33, No.1, p.11.
Along with his father, Taylor was very involved with the photographic societies in Christchurch, Wellington and Dunedin from their earliest days. Under the auspices of photographic societies, members explored their craft, shared technical information, and experimented. While the rules of the Dunedin Photographic Society specifically excluded any photographer who earned money from their craft, both William and his father were active members. The Christchurch Photographic Society (established in 1890) and its rival group, the Christchurch Camera Club (established in 1893) amalgamated in 1894 to form the Photographic Section of the Philosophic Institute (later, the Royal Society of Canterbury). From 1894 till 1898 this body held annual interprovincial exhibitions and competitions in which the Taylors’ (father and son) were frequent entrants and prize winners. This body later re-formed under the banner of the Christchurch Photographic Society and Taylor (jnr) was the competition champion for three years until he left for Wellington in 1903. He was later a committee member of the Dunedin Photographic Society and was elected president of the Christchurch Photographic Society in 1928.

In addition to competitions, photographic societies promoted various ‘branches’ of photography including landscape, marine, still life and portraits. They were also strongly aligned with pictorialism in New Zealand. They held regular field days which involved organised trips to various locations to take photographs. In 1928, for example, the Christchurch Photographic Society made its annual outing on Labour Day to the small Ngāi Tahu kāinga of Rāpaki located on the shores of Whakaraupō (Lyttelton Harbour) near Christchurch. A number of images from this Labour Day trip appear in Taylor’s collection. They include a photograph of the Christchurch Photographic Society members gathered on the rock embankment at the landward end of the wharf (Gallipoli) and another of Society members gathered at the front of the Rāpaki.

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237 The Dunedin Photographic Society established in 1890 only admitted amateur photographers – any photographer who sold their own photographs or did photography for any remuneration was excluded. See T. Maguire, The lantern was lighted: A history of the Dunedin Photographic Society Inc. 1890-1990, The Dunedin Photographic Society, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1990.
238 Taylor, ‘Photography for pleasure.’
239 Ibid.
241 ‘Photographic society’, Press, 12 April 1928, p.3.
catholic church. There are also several photographs of unidentified local children. In addition to field trips, lantern slide projection was a regular feature of society meetings in Dunedin and Christchurch from the 1890s to the 1940s.\textsuperscript{244} Members presented lectures on a theme based on their photographs.\textsuperscript{245} Public and private lantern lectures became an important part of Taylor’s practice in the 1930s and 1940s, and were one of the conduits through which he shared information about Ngāi Tahu. The significance of the photographic society movement to Taylor was reflected in the fact that on his death, his cameras were gifted to the Christchurch Photographic Society.\textsuperscript{246}

In self-identifying as an ‘amateur’, Taylor aligned himself with photographic hobbyists who had free rein to experiment as opposed to commercial photographers who were bound to follow the stipulations of their clients or managers. He described photography as ‘a pleasant and useful art’\textsuperscript{247} but also believed that even hobbyists ought to bring a work ethic to their practice:

\begin{quote}
The amateur photographer who pursues the hobby in too lightsome a fashion seldom maintains enthusiasm for any great space of time. The writer is himself fully convinced that a definite programme in working is a necessity.\textsuperscript{248}
\end{quote}

While Taylor came to photography in the first instance through paid employment for newspapers, it was in the amateur realm, as a committed hobbyist, that he actively pursued his life-long interest in Ngāi Tahu subjects.

\textsuperscript{244} Maguire, \textit{The lantern was lighted.}
\textsuperscript{246} Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015.
\textsuperscript{247} Taylor, ‘Photography for pleasure’, Taylor MS collection, CM.
\textsuperscript{248} W. A. Taylor, ‘Architectural photography’, \textit{The Australasian Photo-Review}, 14 June 1919 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, Folder 90, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.
PART THREE: PICTURING NGĀI TAHU

In 1951, just months before his death, Taylor attributed his life-long interest in Māori history and culture to a chance meeting with a Ngāi Tahu boy his own age, Sam Tini, at the small Ngāi Tahu kāinga of Wairewa on Banks Peninsula in 1894:

When I was just a boy at Richmond School I cycled to Little River, taking my lunch with me. I left the ‘bike’ on the roadside, and when I returned to the spot I couldn’t find it. Eventually I saw it hanging up in an apple tree near a Maori house. Sam Tini came out. ‘My dogs are so hungry they ate my greasy pants yesterday, so I hung your lunch up there out of the way’ he explained. I was only a boy of twelve then, but the friendship we began that day developed, and now I know Tini’s grandchildren at Little River.

Figure 11. William Anderson Taylor, Hera Tini, Maata Tini and pēpi, Wairewa, digital scan from half-plate glass negative, 1899, 1968.213.288, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

Note that further biographical detail about Sam Tini was unable to be confirmed with the Tini whānau at the time of this research.

Christchurch representative on the Freelance, ‘Christchurch historian: Writes Maori as easily as English but he can’t speak it’, New Zealand Freelance (2 May 1951).
That the twelve-year old had made the fifty-kilometre trip from Christchurch to Wairewa (apparently alone) typified his independence, sense of adventure and love of the outdoors that would later see him explore all over the South Island. Some of Taylor’s earliest photographs of Ngāi Tahu, including photographs of members of the Tini family (see figure 11), date from the 1890s and were taken at Wairewa Pā. These photographs were never published by Taylor but retained in his collection.

Taylor’s other early interactions with Ngāi Tahu included a visit to the village of Rāpaki on the shores of Whakaraupō for the first time in February 1894 as part of a field trip with the Canterbury Philosophic Institute. There, Taylor met the Ngāi Tahu rangatira and warrior, Paora Taki (? – 1897). In recollecting this experience, Taylor described Taki as ‘a lovable old-time Maori’. It is probable (but unconfirmed) that he photographed Taki on this occasion. Three years later, Taylor was the official photographer at Taki’s tangi which was held at Rāpaki and Kaiapoi. Two photographs were printed in the Weekly Press following the tangi – one of Paora Taki and his wife and the other of Taki’s funeral casket. Neither photograph is attributed, as credits were generally only included in the Weekly Press for photographs contributed by commercial photographers, however the photograph of the casket at least, is likely to have been taken by Taylor given his role as the official photographer. In addition to these published photographs, an extraordinary collection of additional photographs of the tangi can be found in an album compiled by the North Canterbury based Press journalist Joseph Lowthian Wilson – it is possible that these photographs were also taken by Taylor.

The tangi of Taki was one of several significant Ngāi Tahu events that Taylor attended in his years at the Press. These experiences were to make a deep impression on him. Among them was the laying of the foundation stone for the Kaiapoi Pā monument in 1898 and the subsequent unveiling of the completed monument in 1899, the unveiling of the Tangatahara Memorial at Wairewa in 1900, and the opening of the Rūnanga hall, Te Wheke, at Rāpaki in 1901 (see

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252 Ibid.
253 Weekly Press, 22 December 1897, p.58.
254 See Joseph Lowthian Wilson photograph album 3, PA1-q-1130, ATL.
figure 12). All of these occasions involved large gatherings attended by Ngāi Tahu from throughout the South Island including well-known Ngāi Tahu rangatira such as Tikao, Hori Kerei Taiaroa and others whose letters and documents Taylor would later seek out in the course of his research on Ngāi Tahu history. During many of Taylor’s early photographic experiences with Ngāi Tahu at Kaiapoi, Rāpaki, Koukourārata (Port Levy), and Wairewa he was accompanied by his father who advised him to ‘keep good with Maori.’ This was advice that Taylor took seriously and would later recall as sound paternal advice.

![Figure 12: William Anderson Taylor, Opening of Te Wheke hall at Rāpaki, Weekly Press, 30 December 1901, Christchurch City Libraries.](image)

During his year at the *New Zealand Mail* in Wellington Taylor photographed Māori events at Whanganui, Ngāti Raukawa at Ōtaki, and Ngāti Toa at Takapuwahia Marae in Porirua however few negatives survive in the Taylor archive from this period. While Taylor’s interest in the Māori world was piqued by these early experiences, he did not begin actively recording Ngāi Tahu information (perhaps due to maturity and life-experience) until he moved south to Dunedin in 1904 to work for the *Otago Witness*. That year, aged twenty-two, he also published

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257 Taylor recalled the occasion, noting the presence of Scottish pipers, and his role as official photographer for the *Weekly Press* in an article published in 1939. See W.A. Taylor, ‘Rapaki: the Maori kainga on the shores of Whanga Raupō’, *Press*, 9 February 1939 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.3, Folder 80, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

258 Taylor to James Cowan, 18 August 1935, Research papers relating to Ngai Tahu History James Cowan MS-Papers-11310-146, ATL.

259 Ibid.

260 Taylor to Beattie, 11 September 1934, MS-582/c/27; See for example a photograph taken at Whanganui of a group doing a haka, 19XX.2.3235, Taylor photograph collection, CM.
his first known article which appeared in the American photographic journal, *Camera Craft*. Entitled ‘On the railway with a camera.’ Taylor extolled the photographic opportunities offered by a trip on the train and specifically, by the people working in and around the railway. He also referred to the history of rail in New Zealand. While the article did not cover any Māori subject matter, it foregrounded Taylor’s photographic interest in documenting people, alongside his growing interest in New Zealand history. By this time the Ngāi Tahu coastal villages of Puketeraki and Moeraki were readily accessible from Dunedin by train. Taylor and his colleague at the *Otago Witness* Felix Mitchell ‘often visited the Maoris on the North Line’ and were, according to Taylor, ‘especially welcomed at Puketeraki and Moeraki with full Maori honours.’ Both kāinga had extensive Ngāi Tahu cultural and historical associations and established Ngāi Tahu communities living on small reserves that had formerly been part of extensive ancestral lands. Puketeraki in particular had also become a popular scenic spot for day trips and a seaside resort for Pākehā holiday makers. Taylor himself holidayed at Puketeraki from as early as 1898 and was a regular visitor there between 1904 and 1919 staying with friends who owned a house on the lower slopes of Huriawa, the small peninsula at the mouth of the Waikouaiti River. During his earliest visits, he noted that there were only two ‘pakeha cottages’ in the kāinga. Taylor made a number of trips to Puketeraki in his capacity as photographer for the *Otago Witness* from 1905 and soon became a regular visitor there in his leisure time, photographing and talking with Ngāi Tahu kaumātua.

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261 William Anderson Taylor, ‘On the railway with a camera’, *Camera Craft*, 26 September 1904, in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.8, Folder 85, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.
262 Taylor to Beattie, 14 July 1934, MS-582/c/27.
263 Taylor to Pratt 26 July 1935, MS 0439-010.
264 Taylor to Beattie, 14 July 1934, MS-582/c/27.
Ria Tikini (c.1810 – 1919)

Figure 13. William Anderson Taylor, Ria Tikini, Puketeraki, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1907, 1968.213.2461, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

In 1907 Taylor visited Puketeraki (also referred to as Old Waikouaiti and Karitâne265) on behalf of the Otago Witness and photographed Ria Tikini (c.1810-1919) (see figure 13). Tikini was part of the generation of Ngāi Tahu who experienced first-hand the dramatic transformation of Te Waipounamu from a Māori world to a British colonial settler state. Ria Tikini was (and is) commonly and fondly known among Ngāi Tahu and the wider community as ‘Mrs Chicken’, an English attempt at transliterating her Māori name. Born on the small southern island of Ruapuke around 1810, she was of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Mamoe descent. She married Tikini Pahau (c.1810? - 1904), a brother of the respected Ngāi Tahu rangatira and tohunga of the Moeraki region, Rāwiri Te Mamaru.266 The couple had no children but raised a whāngai,

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265 Puketeraki is properly the name for the hill above the Karitâne township. Karitâne was the name applied to the township that was established on the flatter land below Puketeraki hill, and adjacent to the Waikouaiti River. Karitâne was originally known as Waikouaiti, and later ‘Old Waikouaiti’ following the relocation of the name ‘Waikouaiti’ to the settlement on the main highway. For the purposes of this thesis the name Puketeraki is used to refer to the entire Karitâne/Puketeraki/Old Waikouaiti area.

266 Ngāi Tahu Archive Team, ‘Rawiri Te Mamaru’ in Brown and Norton (eds), Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu, p.249.
Henare Parata (c.1860 -1923), from infancy. Henare was a son of the Ngāi Tahu leader and MP, Tame Parata, who also lived at Puketeraki.

In her senior years, Tikini remained an active, outspoken, and popular member of her community. She was one of the few Ngāi Tahu women of her generation still living, who wore the uniquely southern moko ‘tuhi’ which featured two straight lines running from mouth to ear. A supporter of Queen Victoria, when the British monarch died in 1901, Tikini was among the whānau who attended a memorial service at the Huirapa Hall – as one of the senior women, she sang a waiata tangi mō te Kuini. She and her husband petitioned Crown officials regarding land grievances at various times, including at Arowhenua in 1913 when Tikini took the opportunity to personally lobby the Minister for Native Affairs, William Herrie. After an official Ngāi Tahu deputation had spoken to Herrie on a pre-prepared list of issues, Tikini addressed the Minister directly, insisting that he remedy a family injustice at Kaiapoi whereby a thousand acres of land belonging to her late sister had been inherited by her brother-in-law, rather than herself, in accordance with whakapapa. As the Temuka Leader reported, ‘The old lady spoke with a most powerful voice, vibrating with the intensity of her feelings, and her obvious belief in the justice of her claim.’ While Herrie rebuffed Tikini, and the outcome of her appeal is unclear, this episode provides an insight to her strength of character and her conviction. Tikini is perhaps best known for her work as a midwife and caregiver alongside the Karitāne based doctor and health reformer Truby King whose pioneering child welfare programme, the Plunket Society, was founded at his home in 1907 (the year that Tikini was photographed by Taylor).

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267 11 SIMB p.226, Regarding Tikini Pahau: ‘He had no children. He registered Henare Parata as his adopted child. He had full charge of him from his infancy and up to the time Henare Parata left here.; 15 SIMB p.50, Statement of Ria Tikini: ‘I live at Waikouaiti. Deceased died at Puketeraki on 9 March 1904. He left no will. I am his widow. We had no children. I desire Henare Parata to succeed. He was our adopted child. Other orders have been made in his favour.’


270 Tikini Pahau petitioned the government in 1888 when a branch railway line at Shag Point cut through an urupā. He prayed that the land would be returned to him or another piece given to him in lieu thereof. See No.372 Petition of Tikini Pahau, 13 June 1888, Report of the Native Affairs Committee, 1888.

271 ‘Ministerial visit’, Temuka Leader, 3 May 1913, p.3.

272 Ibid.

By the time Taylor took this photograph, he had been working for the *Otago Witness* for three years and had been a regular visitor to the kāinga of Puketeraki since 1903.²⁷⁴ Taylor photographed Tikini outside her small, timber clad home on the slope of the Puketeraki hill just below the railway line.²⁷⁵ The cliffy coastline including part of Te Pā a Hawea (Yellow Bluff) is faintly discernible in the background to the east. Tikini sits poised on the step leading to the verandah wrapped in a large korowai. This garment would almost certainly have been a taonga tuku iho, a family heirloom. A scarf tied around her head holds a single feather, a symbol of high status, in place as she looks directly at the camera with an expression of calm solemnity.

Figure 14. ‘Sites and scenes in Waikouaiti County, Otago’, *Otago Witness*, 1 May 1907, p.39 (supplement).

Taylor’s photograph of Tikini first appeared in print on the front of the *Otago Witness* illustrations supplement, on 1 May 1907 as part of a Victorian album-style montage entitled, ‘Sights and scenes in Waikouaiti County, Otago’ (see figure 14). The montage captured a sense of idyllic rural life, colonial progress and a nostalgic Māori past. Photographs of Māori were a

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²⁷⁵ The location where this photograph was taken was identified through conversation with Matapura Ellison, Suzanne Ellison, and consultation over the phone with Haines Ellison during a Ngāi Tahu cultural mapping hui at Karitāne on 20 October 2015.
popular theme in New Zealand’s early illustrated weeklies including the *Otago Witness* that started using photographs as an insert around 1900.\(^{276}\) Ngāi Tahu from Puketeraki and the other villages on the Otago coast were periodically featured in its pages, and were accustomed to posing for visiting photographers. While occasional photographs published in the *Otago Witness* reinforced stereotypical views of Māori akin to those first promoted by the *cartes-de-visite* era in the mid-nineteenth century such as posed images of alluring ‘Maori Belles’ wearing feather cloaks (and little else)\(^ {277}\) and ‘Maori warriors’ holding ceremonial weapons,\(^ {278}\) the majority of photographs of Ngāi Tahu published in the *Otago Witness* tended to be documentary in style. Events covered by the newspaper included the tangi of high ranking Ngāi Tahu such as Peti Parata (née Hurene/Paraone) at Puketeraki in 1907, and Ngāi Tahu participation in civic events such as the opening of buildings, unveilings and the formalities associated with welcoming visiting dignitaries.

As mentioned above, Taylor was accustomed to photographing Ngāi Tahu events and individuals as typified by his coverage of the opening of *Te Wheke* at Rāpaki in 1901, and his photographs of the Tini whānau at Wairewa.\(^ {279}\) By contrast, his portrait of Tikini is somewhat manufactured. At first glance, it could even be read as a work of sentimental racism akin to the mythical and nostalgic depictions of ‘romantic landscapes populated by exotic natives’ that were popularised by the New Zealand tourism industry.\(^ {280}\) Taylor would certainly have been cognisant of this type of imagery. However, aside from the fact that he photographed Tikini wearing a korowai in a period when European clothing was standard fare,\(^ {281}\) there is no other contrivance (props, romantic backdrops or theatrical posing) in the making of the image which is otherwise unadorned, domestic and documentary – qualities that are perpetuated in all of Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu portraits. Taylor photographed Tikini in her domestic sphere and almost certainly on her own terms. It is relevant to note that by the time the photograph was taken,


\(^{281}\) As noted by a visiting journalist who attended a church service at Puketeraki in 1887 (twenty years prior to Taylor’s photo shoot with Tikini): ‘our first thought on looking around is who are Maoris and who are not? For all are neatly dressed, quite a la mode, nothing outré, as regards fashion in colour or make’. See ‘The Maoris. Moeraki and Puketiraki kaiks. The Maori church at Waikouaiti. Some notes on a recent visit’, *Otago Witness*, 14 January 1887, p.14.
Ngāi Tahu were conversant with photography as a medium and those families who could afford it were commissioning studio portraits. Traditional garments were reserved for ceremonial contexts such as tangi and cultural performances, but were also frequently worn when posing for photographs as a reflection of the wearer’s mana, wealth, culture and identity – such images were (and are) a pictorial trope in New Zealand. Taylor continued to photograph Ngāi Tahu wearing their korowai and other traditional garments as a matter of course for the next forty years.

In 1952, almost half a century after it was taken, the portrait of Ria Tikini was published in *Lore and History* to illustrate Taylor’s chapter entitled ‘Maori associations of North Otago’. Taylor cropped the image to portrait orientation as per its original publication in the *Otago Witness* (see Appendix 1). That Taylor retained the negative of Ria Tikini for forty-seven years was testament to his respect for her and the past that she represented, a point that he frequently reiterated in published articles and personal anecdotes. He captioned the photograph ‘Late Mrs Ria Tekini [sic] (Mrs Chicken). A contemporary of the Waikouaiti Missionaries, died July, 1919, aged 110 years. Tattooed [sic] with the straight lines of South Island Art’, thus emphasising her great age and her, then rare, moko. In the main body text of *Lore and History*, Taylor named Tikini among his informants noting that she was ‘known as a shrewd business woman.’ As revealed in Taylor’s correspondence and annotated photographs, this comment was made in reference to Tikini’s propensity to sell poultry without wings – these were retained for her own cooking pot. Taylor’s disclosure of such intimate detail suggests a relationship based on friendship which is further borne out in his comment, ‘I always got on well with her’. Tikini was part of a group of Ngāi Tahu at Puketeraki who Taylor frequently described as ‘good Maori friends of mine’.

In the same year, and probably on the same occasion, Taylor also photographed other members of the Ngāi Tahu community at Puketeraki including Mohi (Moses) Te Wahia

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283 Ibid, p.115.
284 Taylor to Thomson, 2 August 1935, MS-439/8; Taylor also sent a print of this photograph to G.C. Thomson. On the verso he reiterated this anecdote as follows: ‘Late Mrs Chicken (Te Kini) of Puketeraki. Died aged 112 years. Was a young woman when the Rev Wohlers arrived at Ruapuke. Quite a character. If you purchased a fowl it was always minus the wings which she retained for herself...’, see W.A. Taylor, ‘Mrs Chicken (Te Kini), 690.01506, G.C. Thomson Collection, Hocken.
285 Taylor to Thomson, 2 August 1935, MS-439/8.
286 Taylor to Pratt, 26 July 1935, MS-0439-010.
287 See annotated print sent to Beattie by Taylor, 691.00623, Hocken.
288
(Woods) (1846 – 1914) and his wife Kura (Hana) Te Wahia (1842 - 1922). A photograph of the
couple sitting on the verandah of their home,289 framed by the shadows cast from fretwork
brackets (see figure 15), was also published as part of the *Otago Witness* photomontage and
captioned: ‘Two well-known identities of Puketiraki [sic] (Mr and Mrs Te Waihia [sic]).’290
Kura has a korowai draped around her shoulders decorated with black hukahuka and a taniko
border. Like the garment worn by Ria Tikini, it would almost certainly have been a taonga tuku
iho. The taonga pounamu around Kura’s neck is displayed prominently suggesting that it may
have been positioned for photographic effect. Mohi Te Wāhia, and his younger brother Tamati,
were well-known pounamu carvers, so it is highly likely that this taonga was made by one of
them.291 The couple are seated together in a relaxed pose, though challenged by the sunlight on
their faces. Other photographs in Taylor’s collection apparently taken on the same day include a
portrait of Kura Te Wahia standing on the same verandah holding a mere, and another of Mohi
Te Wahia seated on the verandah wearing the korowai that Kura is pictured in here – the latter
was published in the *Otago Witness* on the occasion of Mohi Te Wahia’s death.292

![Figure 15. William Anderson Taylor, Mohi and Kura Te Wahia (Woods), Puketeraki, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1907, 1968.213.2469, Taylor photograph collection, CM.](image)

As per Taylor’s relationship with Tikini, he had a sustained friendship with Mohi and Kura Te
Wahia over the years that he lived and worked in Dunedin (1904-1919). Taylor acknowledged
the ‘Woods’ as informants and friends in a number of letters, published articles, and in *Lore*

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289 Suzanne Ellison, Betty Apes and Haines Ellison, personal communication, 30 November 2016.
290 *Otago Witness*, 1 May 1907, p.39 (supplement).
291 Jim and Betty Apes, personal communication, 30 September 2015.
and History. An original print of this photograph, annotated by Taylor, notes the birth and death dates of the couple on the verso. As noted in the Introduction, Taylor kept track of such details, adding similar notes, including names, hapū affiliations, significant dates, and personal anecdotes to many of his photographic prints of ‘Ngāi Tahu personalities’. In another insight to the nature of their relationship, Taylor wrote of Mohi and Kura Te Wahia: ‘Mr and Mrs Woods seldom smoked in their own home in pakeha company, but with myself they made the smoke screen so thick that it was their voices on either side of the fireplace, to me, that made their presence known.’ Again, this detail suggests a relationship based on friendship. Taylor also photographed other members of the Te Wahia family including Hera Te Wahia, the wife of Mohi’s younger brother Tamati. Taylor sent a print of the photograph to Beattie, noting on the verso: ‘Two dear old souls. I can picture many a pleasant evening with the old couple in their home.’ After Taylor’s death, Beattie published the photograph in Our Southernmost Maoris (1954) where it appeared purely for illustrative (and anthropological) effect alongside text about Fiordland and Rakiura – matters with no connection whatsoever to the couple in the photograph. Beattie’s caption read: ‘Mr and Mrs Te Wahia, Puketeraki, 1907. Note the differing facial types.’ It is uncertain whether Taylor would have condoned Beattie’s captioning of the portrait of his old friends. Beattie published two other Taylor photographs in Our Southernmost Maoris including the photograph of the Tini family taken by Taylor at Wairewa in 1899 (see figure 11, above) - once again, this photograph had no connection to Beattie’s text and was used purely for illustrative effect, with the women in the photograph unnamed. Such ‘illustrative’ use of Taylor’s photographs contrasts markedly with the approach taken by Taylor, who personally knew and acknowledged the subjects of his photographs if indeed, their portraits were published at all.

Taylor’s engagement with the Ngāi Tahu subjects of his photographs in their own kāinga, and frequently in their own homes, became integral to not only his photographic practice, but also his ethnographic research. Five of the six Ngāi Tahu portraits published in Lore and History were taken in domestic settings, reflecting both the hospitality of the Ngāi Tahu individuals

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293 Uncatalogued print, Taylor photograph collection, CM.
294 Taylor to Thomson, 2 August 1935, MS-439/8.
295 Hira/Hera Antonio (Mrs Tamati Te Wahia), 19XX 2.3261, original print, Taylor photograph collection, CM.
296 W. A. Taylor, Mr and Mrs Moses Woods (Puketeraki) Karitāne, 691.00622, Hocken.
297 Beattie, Our Southernmost Maoris, 1954, facing page 120.
298 Beattie captioned this photograph ‘Young South Island Māori Womanhood, 1899’. See Beattie, Our Southernmost Maoris, facing p.81.
involved, but also the warmth of Taylor’s relationships with them. Many of these relationships went beyond the transaction that occurs between photographer and photographic subject. Instead, Taylor forged friendships with the Ngāi Tahu subjects of his photographs, which almost certainly facilitated the sharing of historical information. He spent many hours sitting with the kaumātua of North Otago listening to their stories and developed a rapport with them that is evident in both the number of photographs of them held in his collections, and the historical information attributed to them in his writings. In 1934 Taylor wrote:

I have spent many happy hours with the Maori folk at Purakanui, Puketeraki and Moeraki. The older ones always opened out to me, and they always felt it keenly that their children (middle aged men like myself now) took so little interest in the stories of their race. Mr. Apes and Mrs Harper, Mr and Mrs Mohi Woods, old Parata, and Mrs Chicken were special friends of mine at Puketeraki, and the old Haberfields at Moeraki. I am afraid even now much history is irretrievably lost.299

Taylor was a ‘cultural outsider’ in Ngāi Tahu communities, yet he developed trusting and long-term relationships with kaumātua such as Ria Tikini who chose to share information with him. When Taylor met the kaumātua of Puketeraki, he was a young man, with a limited education, but a wealth of curiosity, humility, empathy, and the luxury of time. Unlike Beattie who ‘interviewed’ his Ngāi Tahu informants in a systematic way, posing long lists of questions,300 Taylor’s written records and anecdotes, suggest that he approached his interactions with his Ngāi Tahu informants in a more casual manner, engaging in lengthy and circuitous conversations which included, but were not limited to, discussions of Ngāi Tahu history, place names, and traditions. While the gathering of Ngāi Tahu ‘information’ certainly became important to Taylor, it may never have been as important to him as the forging of friendships. When Ria Tikini died at Puketeraki in July 1919, she was estimated to be 109 years old.301 Earlier that year, she made headlines in the newspapers when she (a ‘Maori centenarian’) served as waitress to a group of wounded soldiers from the First World War who were hosted for the day at the Huirapa Hall at Puketeraki.302 A slightly cropped version of Taylor’s 1907 portrait was used to illustrate her obituary.303

299 Taylor to Beattie, 27 July 1934, MS-582/c/27.
300 Beattie’s initial list of questions was furnished by Henry Skinner in 1919 to which Beattie added several hundred more questions on ethnological matters, ending up with over 1,000 questions in his ‘query book’. See Anderson, Traditional lifeways of the Southern Māori, pp.12-15.
301 Note that Taylor recorded Tikini’s age at death as 112 and on another occasion as 108.
303 Otago Witness, 30 July 1919, p.37 (supplement).
Mere Harper (1842-1924)\textsuperscript{304}

![Figure 16. William Anderson Taylor, Mere Harper, Huriawa, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1904 – 1919, 1968.213.2377, Taylor photograph collection, CM.](image)

At some point during Taylor’s visits to Puketeraki he evolved from being a photographer with an historical bent to being an active recorder of Ngāi Tahu history. While he had been interested in Māori history and culture from an early age, he did not begin compiling ethnographic information until around 1910. This practice was part of a broader interest in history which eventually saw him compile more than one hundred notebooks and scrapbooks on historical subjects, including the series of ‘Maori history’ notebooks that he later used as source material for *Lore and History*. Taylor recalled that many of the ‘old time Maoris’ at Puketeraki were ‘hale and hearty’ in the 1910s and that ‘from them much was to be gleaned’.\textsuperscript{305} The Ngāi Tahu history, traditions and place names of the Otago coastline became an area of particular interest to him and he often met with a small group of Ngāi Tahu kaumatua at Puketeraki including Mere Harper (1842-1924), affectionately known as ‘Big Mary’, to discuss Ngāi Tahu matters.

\textsuperscript{304} Extracts from an earlier draft of this section were used for a biography of Mere Harper written by the author. See Helen Brown, ‘Mere Harper’ in Brown and Norton (eds), *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*, pp.74-79.

\textsuperscript{305} Taylor, ‘Karitane: a famous Māori Stronghold.’
Mere Harper was part of the mixed descent community that burgeoned at Puketeraki in the 1840s around the whaling station established there. She was the daughter of Mata Punahere of Ngāi Tahu and William Elisha Apes, a Native American Pequot from Connecticut. Mere was extraordinarily tall and strong and as a young woman shelegendarily earned money by carrying passengers ashore on her back from the ships that came into port. On at least one occasion she dunked a passenger who dared to use his heels to hasten her ashore. As Taylor phrased it ‘anyone taking liberties with the lady in her task of porterage soon found a sudden bath’. In later years Harper worked as a midwife among Māori and Pākehā in the district. Like her contemporary Ria Tikini, she also worked closely with Truby King who was her neighbour.

Sometime between 1904 and 1919 Taylor photographed Mere Harper at her home on Huriawa, the distinctive teardrop shaped peninsula at the mouth of the Waikouaiti river. The portrait published in Lore and History (see figure 16) was printed from a quarter-plate glass negative that Taylor altered by erasing the background to create a Madonna-like silhouette. The soft focus of the original negative amplified the painterly effect when the portrait was printed on the page from a process engraved block. Clad in dark colours, Harper wears a scarf over her head, a knitted shawl and skirt and is seated, holding a large mere in her lap. Another unpublished photograph taken by Taylor on the same occasion (see figure 17, overleaf) reveals that Harper was in fact sitting alongside two others: a man (possibly her son William Harper (jnr)) and Ria Tikini. The group appears relaxed in a photograph that would sit comfortably in a family album. The first known publication of the portrait of Mere Harper was in Lore and History in 1952 suggesting that this series of photographs was taken for Taylor’s personal collection rather than for the Otago Witness.

The Huriawa peninsula provided the perfect setting for tribal storytelling because it was the location where a series of events took place that constituted some of the richest oral traditions associated with the Otago coastline. The small rocky peninsula is celebrated for the pā, and

308 Ibid, p.75.
309 Ann Barber, personal communication, 23 November 2016; Jim and Betty Apes, personal communication, 30 September 2015.
310 Matiu Prebble and David Mules for Kati Huirapa ki Puketeraki, To hikoia mai Hikaroroa ki Waikouaiti – kua te ra, ka te ahi: a journey from Hikaroroa to Waikouaiti – the sun has set, the fire is now alight. A contribution to the cultural history of the Waikouaiti River and surrounding environs, A Matauranga Kura Taiao/Ngā Whenua Rāhu Collaboration, Puketeraki, 2004, p.27.
village complex that was established there in the late eighteenth century by the chief, Te Wera. A famously protracted siege of the pā by Te Wera’s relative Taoka lasted for six months. The stronghold was undefeated due largely to its superior physical attributes including its own water supply provided by the spring Te Punawai a Te Wera.\(^\text{311}\) A slope just above this spring became the favoured spot for Taylor’s informal gatherings with Ngāi Tahu kaumātua. Mere Harper’s house, where these photographs were taken, was located nearby.\(^\text{312}\) In 1934 Taylor recalled, ‘Mrs Harper (Big Maere) \[^{sic}\] and I have sat often in those days that are gone, well into the night, going over stories of the past on the slopes of Karitane.’\(^\text{313}\) Taylor also photographed Huriawa, in great detail – a photograph of the peninsula was published in *Lore and History*\(^\text{314}\) and numerous others are held in the Taylor archive.

![Figure 17. William Anderson Taylor, Mere Harper, William Harper jnr (?) and Ria Tikini at Mere Harper’s home, Huriawa, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1904 – 1919, 1968.213.2470, Taylor photograph collection, CM.](image)

Harper was Taylor’s main informant for the Ngāi Tahu history of Puketeraki.\(^\text{315}\) Prior to the publication of *Lore and History* he wrote several newspaper articles that drew upon information

\(^{311}\) Ibid.

\(^{312}\) Ann Barber, personal communication, 23 November 2016; Jim and Betty Apes, personal communication, 30 September 2015.

\(^{313}\) Taylor to Beattie, 27 July 1934, MS-582/c/27.


\(^{315}\) Taylor, ‘History in place names’. 77
she had provided. The depth of the Ngāi Tahu cultural landscape of the Puketeraki area was evident in the number of place names Taylor recorded there, the majority of which had been subsumed by Pākehā nomenclature in the mid nineteenth century. As he commented in 1939: ‘… a radius of one and a half miles from the neck of Huriawa Peninsula has furnished my notebook with eighty Maori place names’. Taylor’s notebooks include lists of Ngāi Tahu place names attributed to Harper and others at Puketeraki including prominent tribal leaders Hoani Matiu (1854-1944) and Tame Parata. In a further demonstration of Taylor’s intimate knowledge of the people and the place, several place names listed in Lore and History are described by Taylor in terms of their proximity to the homes of Ngāi Tahu individuals, thus: ‘Koko nui is the creek running…past the Apes home’, ‘Huirapa is the saucer-like depression near the old home of Mohi Te Wahia’, and ‘Whakamaniaro is the name of a creek flowing past an old home of the late Hoani Matiu.’ As mentioned in the Introduction, while Taylor collected place names and could accurately plot them geographically he lacked the capacity to analyse them in any depth due to his limited understanding of te reo Māori, and his position as a cultural outsider, who did not share the world view or cultural context, of his Ngāi Tahu friends. While he taught himself to read and write te reo Māori, and could understand the spoken language to some extent, his level of proficiency is unclear, and he admitted never learning to speak it.

During the years that Taylor was a regular visitor to Puketeraki, the Ngāi Tahu leadership was dedicated to the pursuit of redress from the Crown for grievances arising from the nineteenth century Ngāi Tahu land purchases. Ngāi Tahu parliamentarian Tame Parata made the pursuit of Te Kerēme the major focus of his political career and Hoani Matiu was integrally involved as a member of the Executive Committee established to pursue Te Kerēme in 1910. In Taylor’s interactions with Parata, Matiu, Harper, Tikini and all of the Ngāi Tahu community at Puketeraki, the subject of Te Kerēme was unavoidable and inextricably tied to any discussion

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316 Ibid; Taylor, ‘Karitane: a famous Māori Stronghold.’
318 ‘Waikouaiti (Mrs Harper, Mohi Woods, Mr Apes)’ [place names recorded by William Anderson Taylor] in ‘Maori History’, Notebook 1, Folder 1, Box 1, pp.109-112; Old Waikouaiti Place names (Mrs Harper, Mr Apes, Hoani Matiu and Dr. Moore) [place names recorded by William Anderson Taylor], ‘Maori Topics’, Notebook 6, Folder 6, Box 1, pp.64-66, Taylor MS collection, CM.
319 Taylor, Lore and History, p.118.
320 Christchurch representative on the Freelance, ‘Christchurch historian: Writes Maori as easily as English but he can’t speak it’, Taylor MS collection, CM.
321 Parata was the member of parliament for the Southern Māori electorate from 1885 to 1911 and a member of the Legislative Council from 1912 to 1917.
of place names and traditional history. The injustices of Ngāi Tahu land loss soon became a key area of Taylor’s interest and concern. Taylor’s friendships with the kaumātua of North Otago opened a door to the past, but also showed him the injustices of the present. The irony would not have been lost on Taylor that whilst Mere Harper was living on ancestral land at Huriawa, her presence there was only via her Pākehā husband, William Harper, who as lighthouse keeper, and government employee, had been granted land there. Huriawa with its significant cultural history had been specifically excluded from Waikouaiti Native Reserve No.13 that was set aside for Ngāi Tahu at Puketeraki as part of the Canterbury Purchase (Kemp’s Deed) in 1848.323

Like many of Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu portraits, he made a lantern slide from the negative. The portrait of Mere Harper regularly appeared as one of a suite of photographs of Ngāi Tahu people and places that Taylor projected with a magic lantern when delivering illustrated lectures on Ngāi Tahu history between the 1920s and the 1940s. These lectures, given at Workers Educational Association gatherings and other public and private meetings were not simply photographic exposé’s or cultural sideshows but increasingly became social advocacy sessions at which Taylor urged his audiences to understand the devastation wrought upon Ngāi Tahu by colonisation, particularly through land loss. At a lantern lecture in 1935 on the subject of ‘The Maoris of the South Island’ Taylor referred to the Canterbury Purchase, one of the most notorious land sales in the South Island which saw twenty million acres of land pass to the British Crown in 1848 for just £2,000. He expressed shame on the part of his Pākehā brethren saying ‘We cannot be proud of our first dealings in land with the rightful owners.’324 It was from the Ngāi Tahu kaumatua at Puketeraki and the other Ngāi Tahu settlements on the Otago coast that Taylor first developed an awareness of these issues.

323 Sketch map of the Native Reserve No.13 at Waikouaiti, ML261, Land Information New Zealand.
In 1919 Taylor left the employ of the *Otago Witness* in Dunedin and returned to Christchurch to work on the illustration of another newspaper, the *Sun*. By this time he was married to Mabel De La Mare and had three young children: Helena (Neanie), Mabel (Betty), and Gordon. In addition to photographic work he started writing articles for publication in local newspapers including the *Sun*, *Star*, *Press* and later, the *Ellesmere Guardian*. Initially these focused on local history with some Ngāi Tahu content and references but by the early 1930s he began to write more specifically on Ngāi Tahu subjects. Banks Peninsula, the large peninsula to the immediate south-east of Christchurch encompassing two major harbours and multiple bays, was a major focus of his writing. During the 1920s Taylor also became a regular visitor to the small coastal settlement of Ōaro near Kaikōura (150 kilometres north of Christchurch) where he camped on

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325 Pauline Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015; Taylor married Mabel De La Mare in 1909, see William Anderson Taylor and Mabel Elizabeth Selina De La Mare, Registration Number 1909/6715, Births, Deaths, and Marriages, Department of Internal Affairs.
land belonging to the highly respected Ngāi Tahu leader and historian Hariata Whakatau Pitini-Morera (Beaton-Morrell) (1872-1938).

Taylor photographed Pitini-Morera in 1924. The full-length portrait (see figure 18) published in *Lore and History* was taken in the garden of her Ōaro home and used to illustrate Taylor’s chapter dedicated to Kaikōura. Looking self-assured, she stands on a Persian carpet spread out on the lawn for the occasion, wearing a kākahu. Two other traditional garments (a piupiu and korowai) are displayed at her feet. Pitini-Morera was a weaver and her descendants recognise these garments as her handiwork. In *Lore and History* Taylor described Pitini-Morera as ‘a rangatira wahine, proud of her Maori blood, so much so that when she submitted to be photographed, she disdained to wear a Pakeha garment’, reinforcing the fact that she determined how she would be portrayed in front of the camera.

![Figure 19](image-url)

Figure 19. One of three consecutive pages of Kaikōura place names by ‘Mrs Beaton’ [Hariata Pitini-Morera] recorded by William Anderson Taylor c.1924 in W. A. Taylor, ‘Maori history’, Notebook 2, Folder 2, Box 1, Taylor MS collection, CM.

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326 Maurice Manawatu, personal communication, 21 September 2015.
Pitini-Morera had an illustrious lineage, claiming descent from significant Ngāti Kurī (a sub-tribe of Ngāi Tahu) ancestors through both of her parents. She was the granddaughter of the chief Kaikōura Whakatau who was the leader of Ngāti Kuri in the Kaikōura district in the mid-nineteenth century. Widely respected for her vast knowledge of Ngāi Tahu history and whakapapa, she was heavily involved in Te Kerēme travelling throughout the country to important meetings to discuss major issues facing her iwi. From 1924 to 1930 Taylor regularly camped on her property with a group of Christchurch businessmen. During these visits and while his companions were fishing, Taylor explored the area with his camera and conversed with Pitini-Morera. His notebooks contain several lists of place names provided by her that cover the entire length of the Kaikōura coastline (see figure 19). Many of these were later reproduced in *Lore and History*. She also shared her knowledge of the names and locations of traditional sites and wāhi tapu including famous pā sites, burial places and landmarks, many of which Taylor subsequently photographed. Such sites abound in the Kaikōura region and Pitini-Morera had a particularly intimate knowledge of them. At the time Taylor and Pitini-Morera met, planning was underway for the development of the South Island Main Trunk Railway Line between Christchurch and Picton, the construction of which would impact heavily on urupā and mahinga kai. Pitini-Morera (and her husband Hoani) played a major role in the recording and safeguarding of these sites and secured compensation and easements where outright protection was not possible. Pitini-Morera also shared whakapapa information with Taylor suggesting that she had a high degree of trust in him as she did not share whakapapa freely with everyone. Soon after their first meeting, Taylor referred to Pitini-Morera in an article about Amuri Bluff:

Kaikoura Whakatau came of noble lineage, a fine specimen of a Maori, and above all he was a man of honour. His granddaughter, who resides at Oaro, and is now in the autumn of life rules the local natives with all the fine qualities of her progenitor.

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330 ‘Maori history’, Notebooks 2, 26, 27, 28 and 36, Taylor MS collection, CM.
331 W.A. Taylor, ‘Amuri Bluff, where whalers once toiled’, *Star*, (undated, c.1924), ‘Articles by W.A.Taylor’, No.1, Folder 79, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.
333 Maurice Manawatu 2015; William Anderson Taylor, [Genealogy Mrs Beaton to Turakautahi] in ‘Maori Notes’, Book 9, Box 2, Folder 9, p.53, Taylor MS collection, CM.
334 Taylor, ‘Amuri Bluff, where whalers once toiled’.
Taylor was not alone in seeking out ‘Mrs Beaton of Oaro’ for her knowledge. She was sought after as an informant on Ngāi Tahu history by her own relations, Māori from other regions, and Pākehā ethnographers including William Elvy (1875 – 1972) who wrote about the Māori history of Marlborough and Kaikōura, the Director of the Canterbury Museum Roger Duff, and English journalist Arthur Hugh Carrington (1895-1947). Taylor had some dealings with these men whom he regarded as both rivals and peers. He corresponded briefly with Elvy and was periodically employed by Roger Duff at the Canterbury Museum in the 1930s and 1940s. He had a particular animosity towards ‘university men’ such as Carrington whose mistakes he delighted in pointing out via letters to the editors of various Canterbury newspapers. In the summer of 1934-35 Carrington published a series of sixteen articles in the *Christchurch Times* on the subject of the Ngāi Tahu migration to the South Island based on information provided by Pitini-Morera. Tracts of these articles were later incorporated into Carrington’s comprehensive manuscript on the subject that was eventually published with annotations and commentary by two leading Ngāi Tahu scholars, Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson, in 2008. Today ‘the Carrington Text’ is highly regarded as a significant tribal manuscript however Taylor was quick to point out what he regarded as ‘flagrant mistakes’ in Carrington’s *Christchurch Times* articles that were its antecedent. Taylor’s concerns related largely to Carrington’s incorrect placement of Māori place names in Canterbury, including Banks Peninsula - a subject close to his heart. From 1924 (the year that he photographed Pitini-Morera), Taylor had commenced writing articles for the *Sun* about the Māori and Pākehā history of the bays of Banks Peninsula and later, in 1934-35 he published several articles in the *Star, Sun, Star-Sun* and *Press* incorporating details associated with the Ngāi Tahu migration story that he had gathered from Pitini-Morera (such as the story of Moki leading his expeditionary force in the *Makawhiu* around Banks Peninsula). Taylor also looked upon

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336 Maurice Manawatu, personal communication, 21 September 2015.
338 Such as Johannes Andersen and Hugh Carrington.
339 Carrington described the series of articles in the *Christchurch Times* as a ‘summary’ of the later manuscript. See A.H. Carrington to H.D. Skinner, 18 February 1935, A.H. Carrington MS 0079, ATL; Carrington’s manuscript with commentary by Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson was published in 2008 as *Ngāi Tahu: A migration history*.
340 *Ngaitahu: The story of the invasion and occupation of the South Island of New Zealand by the descendants of Tahu-potiki* (1934), collected and written by Arthur Hugh Carrington, MS-0470, ATL.
341 Taylor to Beattie, 30 June 1944, MS-582/c/27.
342 The series included articles on Waikerakikari (Hickory Bay), Little Akaloa, Waikakahi, and Birdlings Flat.
343 William Anderson Taylor, ‘Otu Tahu Ao: Waikerikikari bay has charm’, *Star*, September 1934; and Wi Teira, ‘Fortified Pahs’, *Star*, December 1934 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.6, Folder 83, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.
Carrington with suspicion because he had ‘only spent two years on Maori history’ compared to Taylor’s own interest which by that time, had spanned three decades. However, as previously mentioned, Taylor’s sustained dedication to the study of Ngāi Tahu history, did not guarantee accuracy – Wharetutu Stirling (1924-1993), the granddaughter of Pitini-Morera later pointed out several mistakes in *Lore and History* that relate to the Kaikoura district.

Taylor sent prints of the portrait of Pitini-Morera to James Herries Beattie, and to the Presbyterian minister, Revd Lawrence Rogers (who was the biographer of the missionary Henry Williams). The annotation on the verso of the portrait that Taylor sent to Rogers read: ‘Mrs Beaton of Oaro near Kaikoura (Owaru) [sic] Granddaughter of Kaikoura Whakatau who was a signatory of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the sale of Ngai Tahu lands. Has given much information to W.A.T.’ (see figure 20).

![Figure 20. William Anderson Taylor, *Hariata Pitini-Morera, Oaro*, annotated print on paper, 1924, 85-049-8/10, ATL.](image)

While Taylor rarely (if ever) used his Ngāi Tahu portraits for commercial gain, he certainly leveraged them in a subtle way as a type of cultural currency among his peers. The photographs

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344 ‘Carrington at the most only spent two years in Maori history and practically all of the original matter he received on a holiday tour to Marlborough when he interviewed Mrs Beaton at Oaro and Peter MacDonald at Waikawa, Picton.’ See William Anderson Taylor to James Herries Beattie, 28 July 1944.

345 Wharetutu Stirling pointed out several mistakes in *Lore and History* to Bill Dacker. See Bill Dacker, ‘He Raraka a ka awa: Ka Putake a te mamae me te aroha, 2000,’ updated, annotated and sourced, 2000, unpublished MS, footnote 54, p.38, private collection.

346 William Anderson Taylor to Lawrence Rogers, 26 August 1936, Newspaper clippings and correspondence, 85-049-8/10, ATL.
arguably assisted to authenticate his research and provide evidence of the authority of his sources. As noted in the Introduction, most of the Ngāi Tahu portraits published in *Lore and History* followed a similar trajectory; annotated copies of the portraits of Ria Tikini, Mere Harper, Rahera Muriwai Morrison, and Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa have all found their way into archival collections via ethnographers with whom Taylor corresponded including Beattie, George Craig Thomson, and Louis Vangioni. 347 By contrast, the present research would suggest that Taylor did not share copies with the Ngāi Tahu subjects of his photographs— or if he did, they have not survived in whānau collections.

As recorded in *Lore and History*, Taylor’s last meeting with Pitini-Morera was in 1938 at a Ngāi Tahu conference in Christchurch at which she expressed a desire to meet with him for another ‘korero’. 348 However, Taylor did not see Hariata again as she died within months of the conference. On her death, Taylor wrote a letter to the editor of the *Star-Sun* acknowledging her mana, her knowledge and her generosity in sharing it:

> From a pakeha Maori viewpoint it would be reprehensible to allow the passing of a great Maori personage to go unnoticed…Mrs Beaton was a repository of Maori knowledge and to pakehas who were in sympathy with Maori matters she willingly gave her help… Her refinement (both Maori and pakeha) was proved to all, in the home life and above all in her picturesque, carefully tended garden. Little did some of us present at the Ngāi Tahu conference in the Navy League Hall, Christchurch, last January think we were meeting the dear lady for the last time. To her surviving family, two married daughters and two sons with dependents goes the sympathy of many, including that of a pakeha Maori – I am, Wiremu Teira. 349

Just months before the conference, the Ngāti Kuri people had elected Pitini-Morera to be their representative on the Ngaitahu Trust Board, to replace her son Hone Tapiha Te Wanikau Pitini (1893 - 1934), who had died. 350 This appointment would have made Pitini-Morera the first woman on the trust board (or its tribal successor, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu), however the government stalled on making any new appointments, Pitini-Morera died, and it was another

347 For example, Taylor shared the portrait of Ria Tikini with James Herries Beattie, James Cowan, and George Craig Thomson; and the portrait of Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa with Louis Vangioni.
349 Undated newspaper clipping, *Star Sun*, 1938, Newspaper clippings album 7, 1902-1957, Beattie papers, MS-582/A/7, Hocken.
350 Since the Board was constituted and first met in Wellington in 1929, three of its members Wereta Tainui Pitama of Kaiapoi, Tapiha Wanikau Pitini of Kaikōura and Piripi Hori Tauwhare of Arahura had died. The Tuahiwi people elected Frank Huria, the Kaikōura people, Hariata Pitini-Morera, and the Westland people, Ihaia Weepu to fill the vacant seats. See W.D. Barrett (Secretary of the Ngaitahu Trust Board) to Native Minister, 23 April 1937, Ngaitahu Trust Board appointment of members 1929 – 1953, R11838830, Archives New Zealand, Wellington; Maurice Manawatu, personal communication, 20 April 2020.
half-century before Ngāi Tahu welcomed its first wahine as a tribal governor when Maria Tini (1952 – 2006) was appointed the Murihiku representative on Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu in 1986. A photograph in Taylor’s archive (see figure 21) shows Hariata standing among the thirty conference delegates, comprising of Ngāi Tahu from throughout the South Island, outside the Navy League Hall in Christchurch on 5 January 1938, following their election of tribal representatives to lobby the government regarding Te Kerēme. Dr. James Hight (Rector of Canterbury University College and Chairman of the Ngaitahu Trust Board), Eruera Tirikatene (MP for Southern Maori), Peter Macdonald, and Teone Matapura Ellison were appointed as the official representatives with Bill Barrett as reserve.

By this time Taylor was immersed in researching the Ngāi Tahu land purchases, particularly in the Canterbury region. His network of Ngāi Tahu contacts had grown and as mentioned in Part One, a number of influential individuals including Te Aritaua Pitama, Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa, Henare Te Ara Jacobs, Bill Barrett and others sought his counsel on land matters including the geographical placement of Ngāi Tahu place names, the history of Ngāi Tahu land tenure and

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352 ‘South Island Maoris old land claim to be pressed’, Otago Daily Times, 8 January 1938, p.8.
advocacy for the return of Ngāi Tahu lands. For example, as early as 1923, Taylor had drawn a map of the Ōtākaro (Avon River) and its tributaries labelled with known Māori names, for Ngāi Tahu at Tuahiwi; he assisted Te Aritaua Pitama with the geographical placement of names when he was translating a manuscript outlining the escape of fugitives from Kaiapoi Pā (the Natanahira Waruwarutu MS); he assisted Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa with the location of pā on Banks Peninsula; he assisted Henare Te Ara Jacobs with advocacy for the proposed return to Ngāi Tahu of Ōnawe Pā in Akaroa harbour; and he advised Bill Barrett on general matters related to Te Kerēme.353 (Note that Taiaroa, Barrett and Jacobs were all present at the 1938 conference and the latter two are identifiable in the photograph at figure 18). Taylor was also becoming increasingly vocal regarding the unjust treatment of Ngāi Tahu by the Crown and the need for the settlement of Te Kerēme. From 1937 he regularly and strongly expressed his views on the Ngāi Tahu Claim via the letters to the editor of several Christchurch newspapers. Ahead of the 1938 conference he wrote in support of Ngāi Tahu justice urging the tribe to be vigilant lest the government offer them a ‘scheme’ by way of compensation that would simply compound the injustices they had already suffered:

> When the Maori alienates land, monetary consideration is made, and it is placed in Maori trust funds. Pakeha officials make a living administering the funds, and a ‘benevolent’ Government allows the Maori the use of his own money (which is merely his land changed in material form) at 4 ½ per cent and calls it for instance ‘a housing scheme’ for the Maori, or something of the sort. To the Southern Maori I would repeat an old saying: Kokiri ra Ngai Tahu e-e, Whakaekea; Tahu ra Ngai Tahu e-e Tahuna, Tahuna. (Ngai Tahu; Arise, stand fast, rouse your courage, be ardent.)354

Immediately following the conference Taylor again wrote an impassioned letter that included the following appeal: ‘…the Maori lands were acquired, as I have stated before, unfairly. I plead for the Ngai Tahu people to receive just compensation now.’355

353 See James Herries Beattie, *Maori place names of Canterbury*, Otago Daily Times and Witness newspapers, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1945, p.108; Taylor to Beattie, 6 March 1945 and Taylor to Beattie 17 March 1936, MS-582/c/27; Jacobs to Taylor, 29 June 1937, Folder 77 and Barrett to Taylor, 1 February 1946, Taylor MS collection, CM.


Rahera Muriwai Morrison (c.1870–1930)356

When Taylor photographed Hariata Pitini-Morera at Ōaro in 1924 she was accompanied by another legendary Ngāi Tahu leader of the period, Rahera Muriwai Morrison (c.1870–1930). Taylor photographed Morrison singly and standing alongside Pitini-Morera (see figures 22 and 23, overleaf). Morrison wore traditional garments that were probably borrowed from the collection of Pitini-Morera. Her portrait appeared in Lore and History as part of Taylor’s chapter about Westland. Morrison was a Ngāi Tahu leader with distinguished whakapapa; many Ngāi Tahu women are named Muriwai after her.357 She was the daughter of Reverend Teoti Pita Mutu (c.1840 – 1902) who was well-known in the South Island for his role in the establishment of a Māori ministry within the Anglican Mission Church based at Tuahiwi under

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356 Extracts from an earlier draft of this section were used in a biography of Rahera Muriwai Morrison written by the author. See Helen Brown, ‘Rahera Muriwai Morrison’ in Brown and Norton (eds), Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu, pp.110-115.

357 Aroha Reriti-Crofts, personal communication, 16 June 2016.
Reverend James West Stack (1835 – 1919).\textsuperscript{358} Her mother was Wikitoria Rakaia Tainui, daughter of the chief Wereta Tainui, a direct descendant of the famous Ngāi Tahu leader of the West Coast, Tūhuru.\textsuperscript{359}

Born to politics and leadership, Morrison grew up in a home that was deeply involved in tribal affairs. Her father was a strong proponent of Te Kerēme, and lobbied the government, writing petitions on land matters and giving evidence at commissions of inquiry.\textsuperscript{360} In keeping with her status as a leader, she became a tireless campaigner for the redress of Ngāi Tahu land

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.7\textwidth]{Figure_23.jpg}
\caption{William Anderson Taylor, \textit{Rahera Muriwai Morrison and Hariata Beaton, Ōaro}, digital scan from half-plate glass negative, 1924, 1968.213.3899, Taylor photograph collection, CM.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{358} Whakapapa File 35, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Christchurch.
\textsuperscript{359} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{360} These included the 1880 Smith–Nairn commission and McKay’s Royal Commission in 1891. In 1894 Teoti Pita Mutu verbally protested to Cadman (then Native Minister), that Māori had not parted with their Treaty fishing rights. Again in 1896 Pita Mutu wrote to H.K. Tairaoa, protesting the restrictive provisions of the Sea-fisheries Bill. Tairaoa passed on these objections to the minister. Subsequently South Island Māori were exempted from the operation of the Act in respect of shellfish taken for their own consumption. See \textit{Ngāi Tahu Fisheries Report} 1992, p.181.
grievances, and like Pitini-Morera, an advisor to the Native Land Court.\footnote{361 Barbara Brookes, \textit{A history of New Zealand women}, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, New Zealand, 2016, p.145.} Her first husband, John Hopere Wharewiti Uru (1869-1921) was a successful sportsman and politician who, like herself, was active in the legal and political fight for Ngāi Tahu land and resources.\footnote{362 Hopere Uru was an inaugural member and secretary of the Mahunui Maori Council from 1902, the secretary of Te Kerēeme o Ngai-Tahu rau ko Ngati-Mamoe formed at Arowhenua in 1907 and was elected chairman of the Tuahiwi Village Committee in 1909. He later ran for Parliament on three occasions and was rewarded for his perseverance in 1918 when he became the MP for Southern Maori. In 1909 ‘Mr JHW Uru, secretary and member for Westland in the late Council, did not seek re-election. He was elected recently by the local Runanga to be Chairman of the Village Committee.’ See ‘Maori Council’, \textit{Star}, 25 February 1909, p.4; Christine Elizabeth Lock, ‘Uru, Henare Whakatau and Uru, John Hopere Wharewiti’, \textit{Dictionary of New Zealand Biography}, first published in 1996, updated November, 2010, Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, \url{https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3u1/uru-henare-whakatau} (accessed 25 September 2017).} In 1908 Morrison (then ‘Uru’) became a founding member and secretary of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) established at Tuahiwi.\footnote{363 Tania Rei, \textit{Maori Women and the Vote}, Huia, Wellington, 1993, pp.39, 41.} She had extensive Māori land interests, including an approximate one-fifth share in the Māwhera (Greymouth) Native Reserve on the West Coast.\footnote{364 Morrison owned almost one-fifth (186 shares) of the total 1,000 shares in the Mawhera Native Reserve No.31. These were made up of 8 shares on her succession to her sister Ruita Toitoi Mutu, 80 shares from her mother Wikitoria Mutu (née Tainui) and 98 shares from her father, George Mutu. Māori Land Court records information provided by Mike Quinn, 19 September 2017; ‘Greymouth Native Reserve’, \textit{Dominion}, 7 December 1909, p.7. Morrison had extensive land interests including land at Greytown, Hokitika, Arahura, Taramakau, Kaiata, Kotukukwhakaoho, Maitahi, Whataaroa, Waitangi Roto, Kaiapoi, Orohaki Rapaki, Kakanui, Taiwhenua, Tawa, Taranaki, Te Aakaaka, Te Ihutai, Torotoroa, Arowhenua, Te PuamuMaru, Waimaiaia, Tautuku and Maranuku. See ‘Certificate as to lands held either owner or occupier’, in ‘Europeanising. Application of Rahera Muriwai Mutu (Rachel Muriwai Mutu Morrison) to be declared a European,’ 10 November 1922, ACIH, 16036, MA1, Box 1302, 1922-430, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.} She was known for dealing with government officials and the Native Land Court in a forthright manner and had no qualms about testing the law or pursuing litigation. She moved to Wellington around 1913 where her husband was employed as a Native agent.\footnote{365 Christine Elizabeth Lock, ‘Uru, Henare Whakatau and Uru, John Hopere Wharewiti’.
} There, she mixed with other influential Māori leaders of the day, including Māui (Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Mutunga, Te Ati Awa) and Miria Pomare (Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki). From 1916 she and Miria Pomare were joint secretaries of the Lady Liverpool and Sir Maui Pomare Maori Soldiers Fund, which organised parcels for Māori soldiers fighting overseas during the First World War.\footnote{366 Morrison (then Uru) was part of an executive committee formed in Wellington in December 1916. See ‘Lady Liverpool Fund: Maori Branch’, \textit{Press}, 18 December 1916, p.5.} Morrison established branches of the fund throughout the South Island, including at Tuahiwi.\footnote{367 Ibid.} After the war she was awarded an OBE for ‘services in connection with the Maori Expeditionary Force funds’.\footnote{368 \textit{Supplement to the London Gazette}, 4 October 1918, p.11773.} She remarried Australian-born Fred Morrison.
around 1921 and they farmed at Awakeri, Whakatāne. Morrison met Taylor during the period when she was living at Whakatāne, so she was probably visiting Kaikōura en route to or from one of her frequent trips south to attend hui regarding Te Kerēme. In 1922 she announced her intention to stand for the Southern Maori seat at the general election, though she later withdrew from the contest in favour of Henare Uru, the sitting member and brother of her former (late) husband. From the mid-1920s she suffered from ongoing ill health, but despite this, continued to play ‘a prominent part in affairs relating to the property and welfare of the Maoris of the South Island’. On her death in Wellington in 1930, she was mourned as ‘the South Island’s last ruling princess’ on account of her high ranking Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Māmoe lineage. She was survived by her second husband and had no children. It is uncertain whether Taylor was among the five hundred mourners who attended her tangi at Tuahiwi. Taylor carefully added her date of death and the word ‘late’ in ink to his existing annotation on the verso of a print of her Oāro portrait. A copy of the portrait was also used to illustrate her obituary.

In *Lore and History*, Taylor attributed much of his knowledge of West Coast history to Morrison: ‘A considerable amount of the history given was gleaned in 1924 from the late Mrs Rahira [sic] Muriwai Morrison, a descendant of Wereta Tainui, who passed away in 1930’. His 1924 meeting with her at Ōaro is the only known occasion that he interviewed her about the West Coast including her knowledge of place names. Several of Taylor’s notebooks contain West Coast information however none is specifically attributed to Morrison. His photograph collection reveals that he later travelled to and photographed some of the places Morrison told him about including the burial place of her maternal grandfather at Māwhera (Greymouth) (see

369 ‘Official assignee’s bankruptcy files. Christchurch, Morrison, Rahera Muriwai, 4 May 1927’, CAMO, CH214, 3310, Box 73, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch; ‘Europeanising. Application of Rahera Muriwai Mutu (Rachel Muriwai Mutu Morrison) to be declared a European’.
373 Will of Rahera Muriwai Morrison, 15 June 1926, Māori Land Court, Christchurch; 51 *South Island Minute Book*, 26 September 1975, pp.220-222.
375 Rahera Muriwai Morrison [original print], 19XX.2.3251, Taylor photograph collection, CM.
376 Unattributed newspaper clipping including a captioned version of the Taylor portrait of Rahera Muriwai Morrison dated 7 June 1930, Newspaper clippings album 7, 1902-1957, Beattie papers, MS-582/A/7, Hocken.
377 ‘A considerable amount of the history given was gleaned in 1924 from the late Mrs Rahira [sic] Muriwai Morrison, a descendant of Wereta Tainui, who passed away in 1930’, Taylor, 1952, 194.
Taylor met Morrison and Pitini-Morera at a pivotal time in his own development having only recently embarked on the publication of writing on historical subjects. Both women had a considerable knowledge of traditional history, were powerful figures with mana within the Ngāi Tahu community and were actively involved in Ngāi Tahu politics. Whether their influence politicised Taylor’s thinking regarding Ngāi Tahu is unclear however as noted above, from the 1930s he became increasingly outspoken regarding the treatment of Ngāi Tahu by the Crown both historically and in the present. This was a contentious position for a Pākehā outsider who faced a largely impassive reaction from his Pākehā brethren and an increasingly divided response from Ngāi Tahu who either loved or loathed him. One of Taylor’s key Ngāi Tahu supporters and political allies in this period was Morrison’s brother-in-law, Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa.

![Figure 24](image)

Figure 24. William Anderson Taylor, *Urupā of Wereta Tainui, Māwhera*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1930s, 1968.213.3407, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

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378 “Wereta Tainui Greymouth”, 1968.213.3407, Taylor photograph collection, CM.
Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa (1867-1954)

A portrait of Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa (1867-1954) appears on the frontispiece of Lore and History (see figure 25) where it is cropped to a three-quarter (head-and-shoulders) portrait (see Appendix 1).\(^{379}\) Taylor had a deep respect for Taiaroa, who was of chiefly lineage and was well-known and respected among Ngāi Tahu and in wider Māori and Pākehā circles at the time of the book’s publication. Born at Ōtākou, he was the third son of the well-known nineteenth century parliamentarian Hori Kerei Taiaroa (?) – 1905) and his wife, Tini Pana (Jane Burns) (1846/47? – 1934), both Ngāi Tahu.\(^{380}\) His paternal grandfather was the famous southern Ngāi Tahu rangatira, Te Matenga Taiaroa (?) – 1863). A celebrated rugby player in his youth, he was a member of the New Zealand Native team that toured New Zealand, Britain, and Australia in

\(^{379}\) Note that the published caption that accompanies this photograph incorrectly dates the photograph to 1932, however other documentary sources clearly identify the date as 1936. In another instance, Taylor gave the date as February 1930. Both dates are errors given that Taylor did not actually meet Taiaroa until 1935.

1888 – 1889. 381 Taiaroa served in South Africa with the Mounted Rifles and trained as a surveyor and engineer. 382 In 1895 he married Ruihana Toitoi Mutu (c.1877 - 1897), the sister of Rahera Muriwai, but the marriage was short lived as Ruihana died of ‘consumption’ (probably pulmonary tuberculosis) two years later. 383 They had no children. In 1907, Taiaroa was a member of the Ngaitahu and Ngatimamoe Executive Committee established to regenerate tribal efforts to advance Te Kerēme. 384 In 1909 the committee (supported by 916 tribal signatories) petitioned Parliament seeking an investigation into Kemp’s Deed (the Canterbury land purchase). 385 The petition proved pivotal, eventually leading to a ruling in favour of Ngāi Tahu: in 1921 the Native Land Claims Commission recommended the tribe receive £354,000 in monetary compensation for loss of lands. 386 Taiaroa was subsequently a member of the 1925 Ngaitahu Claim Committees and the 1929 Census Committee which determined who would benefit from any future compensation from the government. 387 He also chaired the Taumutu Rūnanga. 388 Outside of tribal politics, Taiaroa was a successful farmer on the family property at Taumutu where he bred prize-winning Friesan cattle, 389 grew crops, ploughed with a team of Clydesdales, and kept extensive gardens. 390 His engineering skills were also put to good use, building machinery for the farm. 391 In 1929 he adopted his great nephew Riki Ellison. 392 He lived with his mother at the family residence, Te Awhitu, for most of his life, where he also helped to raise five nieces. 393 Te Awhitu was always a centre of activity and a meeting place for whānau and tribal hui. 394 Taiaroa served on numerous Māori and South Island organisations and was appointed an OBE for ‘valuable services to the Maori people’ in 1949. 395

381 P. Potiki, ‘Maori personalities in sport. The late Dick Taiaroa’, Te Ao Hou, No.9, Spring 1954, p.44.
382 Ibid.
383 ‘Wedding at Kaiapoi’, Press, 29 March 1895, p.6; West Coast Times, 22 May 1897, p.2.
384 Brown and Norton (eds), Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu, p.11.
385 Native Affairs Committee, Ngaitahu block (Kemp’s purchase), Petition of Tiemi Hipi and 916 others: Report on together with minutes of proceedings and evidence, Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR), 1910, I-3B.
387 Ngāi Tahu Minute Book 23A, 1925 and Ngaitahu Committee Minute Book, 1929, Māori Land Court, Christchurch.
388 R.T.M. Taiaroa to William Anderson Taylor, 7 January 1940, Correspondence 1929-1942, Folder 77, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.
389 Hauangi Kiwha, personal communication, 12 August 2016; Ellesmere Guardian, 9 March 1921, p.3.
391 Personal communication, Hauangi Kiwha, 12 August 2016.
392 In 1929, Riki Ellison, then aged fourteen, was formally adopted by Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa. Under his will, Taiaroa left all his Māori land interests to Riki Ellison. See 111 South Island Minute Book, pp.94-95.
393 Hauangi Kiwha, personal communication, 12 August 2016.
394 Ibid.
395 Supplement to the London Gazette, 9 June 1949, p.2830.
years he was fondly known as ‘Pōua Dick’, and many Ngāi Tahu know him as such to this day.396

While Taylor’s prominent placement of the portrait of Taiaroa reflected the esteem in which he held him, as both a chief and a cultural informant, Taiaroa’s presence also conferred a sense of authenticity, veracity, and authority upon the book’s contents suggesting his endorsement of the text that followed. The portrait is one of the few in Taylor’s collection for which there is specific information regarding the occasion and circumstance of its production. The two men met for the first time in October 1935 when Taylor’s friend Hector Milne gave him a ride to the small Ngāi Tahu settlement of Taumutu on his motorbike. Taylor recorded that ‘Taiaroa was genuinely pleased to meet me.’397 The visit was foreshortened by rain, but Taylor sent Taiaroa a follow-up letter asking him for information about the history and place names of the Otago Peninsula. Taiaroa did not respond but Taylor persevered; he was accustomed to working with Ngāi Tahu and cognisant of the need to meet kanohi ki te kanohi as a matter of tikanga particularly when discussing matters of history and whakapapa.398 In March 1936 Taylor and Milne again visited Te Awhitu where Taylor took a series of photographs of Taiaroa standing on the front lawn wearing a large kaitaka with the macrocarpa hedge as a backdrop (see figures 25, 26 and 27).399

Figure 26. William Anderson Taylor, Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa, Te Awhitu House, Taumutu, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1936, 1968.213.3209, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

Figure 27. William Anderson Taylor, Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa, Te Awhitu House, Taumutu, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1936, 1936.213.3218, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

396 Hauangi Kiwha, personal communication, 12 August 2016.
397 Taylor to Thomson, 26 November 1935, MS-439/8.
398 ‘You know and I know you have to see Maoris personally to get what you want’. See Taylor to Beattie, 28 March 1942, MS-582/c/27.
399 Note that the original glass plate negative from which the photograph was printed is a full-length portrait rather than the published mid-shot.
In the published portrait Taiaroa looks at the camera with an expression of pride and perhaps bemusement. Taiaroa showed his visitors around Taumutu, taking them to local sites including Te Pā Ōrāriki where Taylor photographed Taiaroa and Milne standing on the pā’s defensive ditch and bank earthworks - this photograph was also published in *Lore and History* (see figure 28).

Figure 28. William Anderson Taylor, *Hector Milne and Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa standing on the defensive wall of Te Pā Ōrāriki, Taumutu*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1936, 1968.213.1451, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

Soon after the visit, a head and shoulders rendering of the Taiaroa portrait appeared in the Christchurch newspaper the *Star Sun* illustrating an article by Taylor about Te Matenga Taiaroa and the history of Taumutu (see figure 29, overleaf).\(^{(400)}\) Taiaroa’s tacit approval was evident in his preservation of a clipping of this article among his personal papers.\(^{(401)}\) Taylor wrote: ‘It was a proud day recently when the writer ‘Wi Teira’ (clad in the mat of a Ngāi Tahu chief) accompanied by the chief of Taumutu (garbed in the robes of a chief of the ‘lost hapu of Ngati Mamoe of Dusky sound’) walked around the historic grounds of Taumutu, and heard from the lips of Te Ruahikihiki’s descendant some of its story’.\(^{(402)}\) By this time Taylor was self-

\(^{(400)}\) William Anderson Taylor, ‘The tribe of Taumutu: Page of Maori history. Taiaroa, a merciful chief, upheld high tradition of native chivalry’, *Star-Sun*, May 1936 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.6, Folder 83, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.


\(^{(402)}\) Ibid.
identifying as ‘Wi Teira’ or Wiremu Teira. Milne photographed Taylor singly, and together with Taiaroa – both men wore kaitaka from Taiaroa’s collection. The photographs featuring Taylor have not survived however they suggest a relationship based on friendship. While rare, several other photographs exist of Taylor with his Ngāi Tahu friends and acquaintances including the series of photographs taken with the Nutira whānau at Poranui (featured in the Preface), photographs taken at Tuahiwi with members of the Rātana church around 1938 (see figure 36), and photographs of Taylor with his lifelong friend, Wiremu Rehu (1869 – 1948).

Taylor’s friend and fellow amateur historian Beattie also knew Taiaroa, having interviewed him and his mother at Te Awhitu in 1920 as part of the Otago University Museum Ethnographical Project. Taylor wrote with enthusiasm to Beattie: ‘I had a great day a week ago out at

![Image](image_url)

Figure 29. William Anderson Taylor, ‘The tribe of Taumutu: Page of Maori History. Taiaroa, a merciful chief, upheld high tradition of native chivalry’, *Star-Sun*, May 1936 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.6, Folder 83, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

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403 The earliest known instance of Taylor using this moniker is December 1934 when authorship of one of his articles was attributed to ‘Wi Teira’. See ‘Fortified Pahs’, *Star*, December 1934, ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, Notebook 6, Folder 83, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

404 The photographs of the Nutira whānau group were taken as discussed earlier, by Hector Milne. The photographs of the Rātana church group and those of Taylor and Rehu were probably taken by Taylor using a rubber air bulb and hose shutter release system which enabled Taylor to activate the camera whilst also being in shot. Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015.

405 ‘General Maori information. Items from my notebooks (1915-1942) not stroked out and now gathered together’, Bk III, p.12, Beattie papers, MS-582/E/13, Hocken.
Taumutu with Mr. Taiaroa. He brought out Native Lands maps, photographs of old time Maori chiefs and friends… and other matter’. 406 Taiaroa had become the sole guardian of his father’s papers, following his mother’s death just eighteen months earlier. Key documents of interest to Taylor were the maps, letters and correspondence generated by Hori Kerei in his capacity as the Member of Parliament for Southern Maori and Member of the Legislative Council in the late nineteenth century. When in Parliament, Hori Kerei had made Te Kerēme his main business. 407 Taylor made rough tracings of several maps on cloth tracing paper he had obtained from colleagues at the Department of Lands and Survey where he had recently started voluntary work on the classification and ordering of historical records. 408 Taylor subsequently returned to Te Awhitu many times to spend time with Taiaroa and to view, transcribe, trace and photograph the family papers over the ensuing years. By the late 1930s Taylor’s daughter Helena was married and living at Leeston and his son-in-law often dropped him at Taumutu ‘for a day with the Maoris.’ 409 Taylor later became concerned that Taiaroa’s collection would be lost and hoped the papers might to be placed in the care of the Ngaitahu Trust Board. 410 As mentioned in Part One, the map of the Otago Peninsula that appears in Lore and History was derived in part from an original map owned by Taiaroa and traced by Taylor. 411 Other items Taylor copied or transcribed from the Taiaroa collection include waiata, correspondence, whakapapa, 412 and H.K. Taiaroa’s account of his journey to visit Te Maiharoa and his followers in 1879 during their occupation of Te Ao Marama. 413

In May 1937 Taylor included a small print of his portrait of Taiaroa in the ‘Aotea’roa’ display at the East and West Missionary Exhibition held at the Avonside Parish Hall in Christchurch where he was guest speaker (see figure 30, overleaf). By this time, Taylor was gaining public recognition as ‘an authority on South Island Maori’ and advertisements for his talk pitched him

406 Taylor to Beattie, 17 March 1936, MS-582/c/27.
408 Taylor to Beattie, 4 April 1936, MS-582/c/27. See this letter at Appendix 6.
409 Taylor to Beattie, 21 August 1939, MS-582/c/27.
410 Taylor wrote to Beattie: ‘As you know I am anxious that three chests of H.K. Taiaroa’s papers on Native Land Question be in safe custody, I fancy they should be the property in the future of the Ngai Tahu Trust Board. Roger Duff is after them for the University and to be kept at the Museum, and suggested I go out with him in his car and assist in procuring them.’ Taylor to Beattie, 4 March 1943, MS-582/c/27.
411 The ‘Otakou Maori place names’ map that appears in Lore and History had its precedent in a map that Taylor traced from the collection of Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa in March 1936. See Fifteen rough sketch plans, MS582/d/2/a, Hocken.
412 Taiaroa whakapapa, ‘Maori history’, Notebook 33, Folder 32, Box 5, pp.2-7, Taylor MS collection, CM.
413 ‘Maori History’, Notebook 32, Folder 31, Box 5, pp.25-33, Taylor MS collection, CM. Taylor’s transcript of Taiaroa’s account was subsequently translated by Lyndsay Head, and appears in Buddy Mikaere, Te Maiharoa and the promised land, Heinemann, Auckland, 1988, pp.90-96.
as such.\textsuperscript{414} The Taiaroa portrait was part of an ‘anthropological display’ of taonga that were probably sourced from the Canterbury Museum,\textsuperscript{415} including taiaha, kotiate, poi, piupiu, korowai and kete. An opera cape made from tīkumu leaves is prominent at the centre of the display.\textsuperscript{416} The only other discernible image of a person is a printed portrait of (possibly) the famous nineteenth century rangatira from Ngāti Maniapoto, Rewi Maniapoto (1897-1894), who heroically defended Orākau in 1864.\textsuperscript{417} This portrait had been used by James Cowan on the dust jacket of his then recently published book, \textit{Tales of the Maori Bush} (1934).\textsuperscript{418} The inclusion of the two portraits suggests an aspiration on the part of the curator to associate the display with ‘noble’ Māori of the rangatira class. While Taylor consistently leveraged the illustrious ancestry of his new friend, associating him with the ‘chivalry’ of the past (as per the \textit{Star-Sun} article), his inclusion of a contemporary portrait of Taiaroa in the ‘Aotearoa’ display equally confirmed his view that te ao Māori was not a relic of the ancient past, but was very much of the present.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure30.jpg}
\caption{Photographer unknown, ‘Aotearoa’ stand at the East and West Missionary Exhibition, Avonside Parish Hall, Taylor is standing second from the left, digital scan from half-plate glass negative, May 1937, 1968.213.5873, Taylor photograph collection, CM. (See detail of this photograph at right showing the portrait of Taiaroa among the taonga assembled).}
\end{figure}

\begin{flushright}
414 \textit{Press}, 7 May 1937, p.1. held 4\textsuperscript{th} to 8\textsuperscript{th} May 1937.
415 Taylor was friendly with Roger Duff at the Canterbury Museum by this time. Most of the taonga in the display appear to have cardboard tags attached to them, akin to those used in the Canterbury Museum in this period.
416 Taylor later photographed this taonga, made by Mrs Titahi of Mangamaunu, Kaikōura, and wrote a story about it for the \textit{Press}. This taonga is now held at the Canterbury Museum and was exhibited as part of the Mō Kā Uri exhibition in 2010. See ‘The cape of mountain daisy leaves’, \textit{Press (Junior)}, 12 June 1937, p.4 (supplement).
417 It is difficult to discern from the photograph in Taylor’s collection however the rangatira in the print appears to be a head and shoulders portrait of Rewi Maniapoto in a kaitaka with a taniko border. He has two huia feathers in his hair and is shown with moko and a white moustache. See Leonard Mitchell, Rewi Maniapoto [1930s or 1940], E-204-q-016, ATL.
\end{flushright}
Taylor sent copies of the portrait of Taiaroa to Beattie and Cowan. He also sent a large print to the Akaroa based collector Louis Vangioni, annotated on the verso with a lengthy biographical note about Taiaroa including at least two key errors.\textsuperscript{419} In the annotation, Taylor writes that Taiaroa married Rahera Muriwai Mutu (Uru/Morrison) when in fact, he married her sister, Ruihana. Given that Taylor had personally met Morrison and was friends with Taiaroa for an extended period (from approximately 1935-1952), this error suggests that Taylor’s conversations with his Ngāi Tahu informants and friends may not have gone into any depth in terms of personal biographical information.\textsuperscript{420} Taylor also states in the annotation that the photograph was taken in February 1930, however dated correspondence proves otherwise. Such errors are typical of the inaccuracies that occur in Taylor’s notes and published work and point to the caution required of researchers working with his material.

In 1939 when Taylor again published the Taiaroa portrait to illustrate a further article about the history of Taumutu in the children’s pages of the \textit{Press} his relationship with Taiaroa and the wider Taumutu community had advanced to the point that he wrote: ‘There is always to be found a hearty welcome at Taumutu, the pa of the Ruahikihiki hapu, that little Maori village situated on the shores of Waiahora which pakehas call Lake Ellesmere’.\textsuperscript{421} By this time Taylor had also befriended another Ngāi Tahu kaumātua at Taumutu, Teone (Jack) Brown who proved an even better informant on Ngāi Tahu history than Taiaroa. (While Taiaroa had inherited a wealth of manuscript material of historical interest, Taylor expressed surprise at his lack of historical knowledge, particularly of Ngāi Tahu place names and geography).\textsuperscript{422} Among the information Brown shared with Taylor is a list of sixty-six hapū of Ngāi Tahu recorded in one of Taylor’s notebooks.\textsuperscript{423} With input from ‘Old Brown’ and the blessing of Taiaroa, Taylor began writing articles for the \textit{Ellesmere Guardian} on Ngāi Tahu subjects, some of which were subsequently published as the booklet, \textit{Waihora: Maori Associations with Lake Ellesmere} (1944).\textsuperscript{424} Taylor continued to write for the \textit{Ellesmere Guardian} right up to the time of his death and published two additional booklets based on his articles: \textit{Maori art} (1946) and \textit{Pictographs}.

\textsuperscript{419} Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa, print on paper, Akaroa Museum.
\textsuperscript{420} This error was consistently perpetuated by Taylor. In another biographical note on Taiaroa he writes: ‘Rahera Mutu, daughter of the Rev. Mutu was the wife of Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa. See ‘Taiaroa family’ in ‘Maori History’, Notebook 32, Folder 31, Box 5, p.5, Taylor MS collection, CM.
\textsuperscript{422} Taylor to Beattie, 4 March 1943, MS-582/c/27.
\textsuperscript{423} ‘Some hapus of Ngai Tahu’ by Teone Wiwi Brown in ‘Maori history’, Notebook 32, Folder 31, Box 5, p.68, Taylor MS collection, CM.
\textsuperscript{424} Taylor, \textit{Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere}. 
Throughout the 1930s and 1940s Taylor mentioned Taiaroa in numerous newspaper articles, often referring to him as ‘our esteemed chief of Taumutu, Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa’.426

In 1940 Taiaroa wrote to Taylor whom he addressed as ‘Friend Taylor’, enclosing a document with the signatures of the ‘Ngati Moki Hall and Runanga Committee’, endorsing Taylor as a representative of the Taumutu people on the Māori committee responsible for the organisation of the 1940 centennial commemorations (of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi) in the South Island.427 Taylor ensured that this honour was recorded for posterity; he photographed the letter from the committee confirming his appointment and filed the glass plate negative alongside his photographs of significant documents including the letters, signatures and petitions of Ngāi Tahu rangatira (see figure 31).428

Figure 31. William Anderson Taylor, Taumutu Runanga committee letter authorising William A. Taylor to be one of their representatives on the Maori Committee arranging the Canterbury Centennial, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1940, 1968.213.2406, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

427 R.T.M. Taiaroa to William Anderson Taylor, 7 January 1940, Correspondence 1929-1942, Folder 77, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.
428 Taylor’s photographs of Ngāi Tahu letters and documents were catalogued by him as a group, WAT171.
The extent and nature of Taylor’s input to the Canterbury Centennial is unclear, as much of the planning was already well-advanced before he became involved. However Taylor’s role at Taumutu soon grew into an ‘honorary membership’ of the Taumutu Runanga, whom he went on to represent and advocate for in a number of forums. While Taylor had been publicly outspoken on Ngāi Tahu matters, and peripherally engaged with Ngāi Tahu affairs from around 1937, his role at Taumutu signalled a turning point in his relationship with the iwi. He began to attend tribal meetings as a quasi-member of the iwi and for the first time had direct access to a broad Ngāi Tahu audience beyond the confines of his personal relationships with Ngāi Tahu individuals. This was an unusual position for a Pākehā.

Following a meeting at Tuahiwi in late 1940 he wrote: ‘A few weeks ago I was present as one of the two representatives of Taumutu at a representative gathering of the Ngai Tahu runangas at Tuahiwi when Maori affairs were discussed. I was given an opportunity to speak on native reserves and land enactments and make a few comments.’ As mentioned previously in this thesis, Taylor’s understanding of Ngāi Tahu land tenure, especially in Canterbury, was extraordinary. His notebooks contain many pages of detailed notes pertaining to every Maori Reserve within the area, including acreage, topography, original Ngāi Tahu trustees/owners, and where applicable, a history of alienation. Taylor incorporated such details into his letters to the editor regarding the injustices of the Ngāi Tahu land purchases - rather than simply writing tirades against the government, he used evidence, quoting land acreages, statistics, and historical documents. For example, in November 1937 he wrote:

The average pakeha is probably not aware that in 1899 the Maori population was 39,854 and in 1936 it was 74,578, and that the alienation of Maori lands is going on at a good pace all the time. From 1909 until 1921 some 2,530,593 acres were taken from the Maori.

Additionally, Taylor also researched other more obscure Ngāi Tahu land interests such as the purported ‘Native Reserve’ in Hagley Park mentioned in Part One; the Provincial Government grant to Ngāi Tahu of a temporary reserve on the foreshore at Ōhinehou (Lyttelton); the Provincial Government grant of a section at Dampier Bay in Whakaraupō where a Native Hostelry was built and later swapped for land allocations to Ngāi Tahu at Waipuna, Ashburton, Waimate, Arowhenua, and South Rakaia; and half-caste land allocations, the details of which

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429 Centennial Committee Minute Book, Akaroa Museum.
430 Taylor to Beattie, 8 January 1941, MS-582/c/27.
are notoriously difficult to trace in the records of the Māori Land Court. Letters from tribal members to Taylor reveal that such information was highly sought after by them, particularly in the period from the late 1930s to the mid-1940s; the years leading up to, and immediately after, the (first) settlement of Te Kerēme in 1944. The Centennial of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi also intervened in these years and was a flashpoint for the Ngāi Tahu leadership who believed that after a hundred years, it was about time the Crown made good on its promises.

By 1947, Taylor was adding the by-line, ‘Pakeha Maori of the Taumutu Runanga’ to his published work. He maintained a special place in his heart for his ‘beloved friend’ Taiaroa and for the Taumutu people of whom he wrote fondly in 1948:

Today, despite obstacles, the Maoris of Taumutu in the county of Ellesmere, with their close kinsmen at Otakou near Dunedin, are among the finest types of Maoris in the South Island. They are hard-working and industrious, not given to show gatherings, but always giving hospitality quietly in an unassuming manner.

The portrait of Taiaroa was published again in 1949 when Taiaroa was awarded his OBE. Today, it is widely recognised as an iconic image of ‘Pōua Dick’ and is the picture that comes to mind for many Ngāi Tahu when the name of Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa is mentioned.

432 W. A. Taylor (Pakeha Maori of the Taumutu Runanga), ‘Maori Lore’, Akaroa Mail, 7 March 1947 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor, No.9, Folder 86, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.
433 W. A. Taylor, ‘Maori welfare and age’, Akaroa Mail, 16 September 1947 in ‘Articles by W. A. Taylor’, No.9, Folder 86, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.
Amiria Puhirere Hokianga (c.1855-1944)\textsuperscript{436}

Figure 32. William Anderson Taylor, *Amiria Puhirere at the South Island Centennial Commemorations, Ōnuku*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1940, 1968.213.82, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

The official ‘National South Island Centennial Celebrations’ took place at Akaroa over three days from 20 – 23 April 1940. The setting was appropriate given that Akaroa was one of the three locations in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā where Te Tiriti o Waitangi had been signed by Ngāi Tahu rangatira in 1840.\textsuperscript{437} Taylor attended the events as a guest and Taumutu representative on the Canterbury Maori Provincial Centennial Committee of which his friend Bill Barrett was chair. The commemorations commenced with a pōwhiri at the Akaroa Recreation Ground where Crown representatives were welcomed by Ngāi Tahu, followed by a re-enactment of the British flag-raising ceremony that had taken place at Akaroa in 1840 (the first demonstration of British sovereignty in Te Waipounamu).\textsuperscript{438} Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa was the kaikōrero for Ngāi Tahu and Eruera Tirikatene (MP for Southern Maori) conducted the wero, with support from members of the Ngāti Pōneke, Ngāti Ōtautahi and Pipiwharauroa kapa haka groups who

\textsuperscript{436} Extracts from an earlier draft of this section were used for a biography of Amiria Puhirere Hokianga written by the author. See Helen Brown, ‘Amiria Puhirere Hokianga’ in Brown and Norton (eds), *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*, pp.86-91.

\textsuperscript{437} Iwikau and Tikao (John Love) signed Te Tiriti at Ōnuku on 30 May 1840.

\textsuperscript{438} *Akaroa Centennial Celebrations 20 April 1940: Souvenir programme*, E.V. Paul Government Printer, Wellington, 1940.
performed as part of the formalities.\textsuperscript{439} The Ōnuku whare karakia was re-dedicated the following day and on Monday 22 April, a ‘Grand Maori entertainment’ was held on a stage erected in the middle of the Recreation Ground.\textsuperscript{440} That evening, Ngāi Tahu elders hosted a ‘Conversazione’ in the Akaroa Boating Club Room, at which Taylor was a guest.\textsuperscript{441} Both Tirikatene and Taiaroa appear in Taylor’s photographs of the events (see figures 33 and 34).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure33.png}
\caption{William Anderson Taylor, \textit{National South Island Centennial Commemorations, Akaroa Recreation Ground, Akaroa}. Eruera Tirikatene (MP) at the microphone, with his son Nuku Tirikatene to the right, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 22 April 1940, 1968.213.1391, Taylor photograph collection, CM.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure34.png}
\caption{William Anderson Taylor, \textit{National South Island Centennial Commemorations, Akaroa Recreation Ground, Akaroa}. Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa at centre front, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 22 (?) April 1940, 1968.213.3213, Taylor photograph collection, CM.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{439} ‘Events of 100 years ago recalled’, \textit{Press}, 22 April 1940, p.10.
\textsuperscript{440} \textit{Akaroa Centennial Celebrations 20 April 1940: Souvenir programme}; ‘Maori part in Centennial celebrations at Akaroa’, \textit{Press}, 23 April 1940, p.10.
\textsuperscript{441} ‘The elders of the Ngaitahu tribe of Te Waipounamu extend an invitation to Mr W.A. Taylor’, in Correspondence 1936-1950, Folder 78, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.
Another photograph, taken during the commemorations features the celebrated Ngāi Tahu leader Amiria Puhirere Hokianga (see figure 32). Taylor later published this portrait in *Lore and History* as part of his chapter on Akaroa Harbour. Hokianga was an influential leader, renowned weaver and matriarch of the Ngāi Tārewa and Ngāti Irakehu hapū of Ngāi Tahu at Ōnuku in the first half of the twentieth century. Born at the small kāinga of Ōnuku around 1855, her parents, both Ngāi Tahu, were Mere Whariu and Wiremu Harihona Karaweko. Her infancy coincided with the purchase of Akaroa lands by the British Crown in 1856, a critical event in the Ngāi Tahu history of Banks Peninsula. Her father was one of the signatories to the purchase which had devastating consequences for Ngāi Tahu, depriving them of the ability to cultivate food and thus to trade. Although three small reserves were set aside for Ngāi Tahu as part of the deal, many whānau had no option but to take jobs working for the Pākehā settlers who were establishing farms on what had been Māori land.

Amiria grew up on ancestral land at Ōnuku that was subsequently redefined by the Crown as Native Reserve 886. She married Peni Hokianga from the Ngāti Pāhauwera hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu and together they raised a family at Ōnuku. A highly proficient weaver, Hokianga made traditional ceremonial garments such as kākahu, as well as practical items like kete and kono for her whānau and hapū. Several fine examples of her work were collected by the Akaroa-based ethnologist Louis Vangioni in the early years of the twentieth century. Hokianga was also one of Vangioni’s key informants regarding Ngāi Tahu language, customs, history, and the place names of Banks Peninsula. In 1932 Vangioni published a series of articles in the *Akaroa Mail* that drew upon information provided by Hokianga and other Ngāi Tahu from the Akaroa area. At Ōnuku, where she spent most of her life, Amiria fulfilled the

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442 Alfred Reed estimated Amiria’s age as 88 when she was photographed in 1936, giving her an approximate birth year of 1848 (see James Stack, *More Maoriland Adventures of J.W. Stack*, Reed, Dunedin, 1936, p.224–225; Gordon Ogilvie recorded her year of birth as 1843 (see Gordon Ogilvie, *Banks Peninsula Cradle of Canterbury*, GP Books, Wellington, 1990, p.159; a captioned photograph published in the *Press*, 22 April 1940, p.11, recorded her age as 93, giving her a birth year of 1851; a baptismal record gives her year of birth as 1855 (Methodist Church of New Zealand Archives. Baptism register, Wesleyan Church Canterbury Circuit. 1851, 1854–1865, catalogue number B151); the Census of Akaroa 1857 records her age as four months, making her year of birth 1857; and her headstone at the Ōnuku urupā records her age as 101, as this was the age recorded at the time of her death and is the date that her descendants have traditionally held to be correct.

443 Ngāi Tahu Whakapapa File 184, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu; Pere Tainui, personal communication, 23 November 2016.

444 These are now held at the Canterbury Museum, and include a groper fishing line made of muka, kawe (carrying straps), and a waka anchor line made from dressed leaves of the ti kōuka. Hokianga is recorded as gifting or making taonga for Vangioni’s collection from 1898 until the late 1920s. See Louis Vangioni Collection Catalogue, CM.


446 Ibid.
role of community midwife. She was legendary for swimming the three kilometres across Akaroa Harbour to attend meetings or tangi, and to assist with births at the kāinga of Ōpukutahi.\textsuperscript{447} Following the deaths of her parents, she inherited the mantle of leadership at Ōnuku, taking responsibility for the running of hui, tangi and other events.\textsuperscript{448} She also ensured that all of her children and grandchildren were well versed in the Ngāi Tahu history of the area, and could turn their hand to weaving. She became a follower of the spiritual leader Tahu Pōtiki Wiremu Rātana and for many years made annual pilgrimages to Rātana pā with her mokopuna. She had a standing arrangement with the train driver that he would stop just north of Kaikōura for the whānau to gather bags of watercress to take to Rātana pā as a koha.\textsuperscript{449} In 1940 she participated in the re-opening and dedication of the Ōnuku whare karakia during the Centennial commemorations; the photographic portrait of her that appears in \textit{Lore and History} was taken on this occasion. The taiaha in Hokianga’s hand is a family taonga and her mokopuna attest that she knew how to wield it and was known to do so when circumstances required!\textsuperscript{450} The taiaha features in several other photographs of Hokianga and her husband.\textsuperscript{451}

While the glass plate negative for the portrait published in \textit{Lore and History} is undoubtedly Taylor’s handiwork, research undertaken for this thesis suggests that the original photograph may not have been taken by him. Instead, Taylor may have re-photographed an existing print taken by another photographer – most likely Christchurch based Green and Hahn, who were the official photographers for the commemorations.\textsuperscript{452} Hokianga was photographed on Sunday 21 April 1940 in front of the whare karakia. A new porch (a gift to Banks Peninsula Ngāi Tahu from the Government) had been added to the building in time for the Centennial and the church had been fully restored, largely due to the advocacy of Vangioni who chaired the Akaroa Centennial Committee. A head and shoulders version of the portrait of Hokianga appeared in the \textit{Press} the following day with a caption describing her as ‘the mother of the Maori people.’\textsuperscript{453} The swiftness with which the photograph was delivered to Christchurch (from the then relatively remote Akaroa) for processing and printing in the newspaper within twenty-four

\textsuperscript{447} Pere Tainui, personal communication, 23 November 2016; Waitai Tikao, personal communication, 7 February 2017.
\textsuperscript{448} Waitai Tikao, personal communication, 7 February 2017.
\textsuperscript{449} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{450} Pere Tainui, personal communication, 23 November 2016.
\textsuperscript{451} Several undated and unattributed photographs of Amiria Puhirere and Peni Hokianga posing with the family taiaha are held in the collection of the Akaroa Museum and in the collections of the Rhodes and Robinson whānau of Ōnuku.
\textsuperscript{452} Minutes of the Centennial Committee, 15 May 1940 in Centennial Committee minute book, Akaroa Museum.
\textsuperscript{453} [Portrait of Amiria Puhirere Hokianga], \textit{Press}, 22 April 1940, p.11.
hours is an indication that it was probably taken by a well-resourced and agile commercial operator rather than Taylor. Other photographs taken by Green and Hahn appeared in the *Evening Post* the same day.\(^{454}\)

A decade later, when Taylor prepared his version of the portrait for publication, he erased parts of the background from the negative, and made a crude, inexplicable adjustment to Hokianga’s right hand, though this was cropped out of the portrait when it was published in *Lore and History* (see Appendix 1). In a remarkable instance of serendipity, during research for this thesis, the author discovered a digital scan (see figure 35) of an original print of the photograph that Taylor almost certainly used as the source for his portrait of Hokianga. As per the portrait of Mere Harper, Taylor’s treatment of the negative facilitated a cleaner look when the photograph was printed, and prioritised Hokianga as the subject of the image, but also removed significant contextual elements including two other people who appear in the original photograph beside her – Eruera Tirikatene and an unidentified woman.

![Figure 35. Green and Hahn (?), Left to right: Eruera Tirikatene, Amiria Puhirere Hokianga, and an unidentified woman in front of the whare karakia, Ōnuku, digital scan from an original print on paper from the collection of Jessie Mould, 21 April 1940, Collection of Jan Shuttleworth.](image)

Hokianga’s crudely rendered right hand (in Taylor’s version) is explained by Taylor’s attempt to erase the hand of Tirikatene from the picture. Unfortunately, the original print from which the digital scan was taken, could not be located.\(^{455}\) However, the quality and style of the

\(^{454}\) *The Evening Post*, 22 April 1940, p.5.

\(^{455}\) The digital image (figure 35) is from the collection of Jan Shuttleworth who scanned it from an original print owned by Akaroa resident, Jessie Mould (1916 – 2011). Jessie Mould’s collection is now in the possession of her nephew Rod Mackintosh however he was unable to locate the print at the time of this research.
photograph is akin to others taken by Green and Hahn during the commemorations. A copy of the group photograph is not held in Taylor’s collection, further supporting the theory that he did not take it. Another possible but less likely scenario is that Taylor took a photograph at the same moment, standing beside the Green and Hahn (?) photographer, however figures 32 and 35 are identical when overlaid, suggesting they almost certainly derive from the same original photograph. Thus, Taylor’s statement ‘all photos by the author’ was seemingly a broad interpretation.

Regardless of whether Taylor actually pressed the shutter, his photograph of Hokianga is the only portrait in Lore and History that could be considered mainly ‘illustrative’ given the lack of documented association between Taylor and his photographic subject; unlike the other Ngāi Tahu portraits Hokianga is not recorded as one of Taylor’s direct informants or friends although the pair had met on at least one occasion prior, around 1930. On that occasion Taylor visited Ōnuku, photographed the Native School building, the then run-down whare karakia, and the surrounding landscape. He noted that Hokianga was ‘remarkably active for her years’ but did not mention gathering any information from her. He later wrote about Ōnuku in one of a series of thirty articles on Ngāi Tahu subjects that were published in the Press Junior, a supplement to the Press, in 1938-1939. Unlike Taylor’s (other) Ngāi Tahu portraits, a disconnection between Hokianga and the photographer is evident; she is not looking at the camera, indeed, it is even possible that she was oblivious to her photograph being taken.

While Taylor wrote several other articles about Ōnuku and visited the kāinga again in 1946, his apparent lack of interest in pursuing relationships with the people there may have been influenced by his negative perception of the Rātana movement which he described as a cult. As noted above, Hokianga and her family were followers of Rātana, the founder of the religious and later political movement that was allied with the Labour Party. During his 1946 visit to Ōnuku Taylor noted that a window in the whare karakia was broken allowing seabirds free access - two unidentified girls from the kāinga confirmed his suspicion that church services

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456 For other photographs taken by Green and Hahn during the commemorations, see the collection held at the Akaroa Museum.


458 This collection of published articles is collated in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.3, Folder 80, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.


were ‘few and far between’.\textsuperscript{461} Taylor regarded the ‘neglect’ of the then recently restored church building and the community’s apparent departure from the major faiths, as a sign of decline. In 1949, in one of his last articles about Ōnuku, Taylor lamented the Rātana influence there, and appealed to ‘Roman Catholics and Protestants alike’ to more strongly support their Māori missions. He also intimated that the Rātana faith may cause problems for New Zealand in the future. By contrast, he was quick to mention his beloved ‘Methodist Maori people’ at Taumutu whom he upheld as pillars of the community.\textsuperscript{462}

![Figure 36. William Anderson Taylor, Left to right. Back: Wiremu (Wally) Rehu, John Driver Tregerthen, William Anderson Taylor. Front: Mrs Rau Mokomoko, Mrs Tregerthen, Mrs Maata Te Uki (Tāua Ginny), Mrs Hutana, Tuahiwi Marae, Tuahiwi, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1935, 1968.213.138, Taylor photograph collection, CM.](image)

Of course, Taylor’s negative perception of the Rātana movement was strongly influenced by his views on the Labour Party. An alliance between the Rātana church and Labour had been formalised in 1936 and Eruera Tirikatene was a Labour member in the Rātana-Labour alliance from that time.\textsuperscript{463} Interestingly, Taylor’s views on the Rātana movement had not always been negative. In the late 1930s he attended several Rātana services at Tuahiwi while visiting his friend Wiremu Rehu (see figure 36). His attendance was prompted by his own general interest in Ngāi Tahu matters but also his hope that singing the hymns might help to improve his terrible

\textsuperscript{461} W.A. Taylor, ‘Onuku a Maori church’, Ellesmere Guardian, 4 October 1949 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor, No.11, Folder 88, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

\textsuperscript{462} Ibid.

pronunciation of te reo Māori. These services were led by Tirikatene’s father, Apōtoro John Driver Tregerthen (1865-1941) whom Taylor described as ‘a quiet unassuming man’ with ‘nothing of the showman about him.’ Taylor’s comments on Tregerthen’s character were made in deliberate contrast to his views on the latter’s son, Tirikatene, whom Taylor had come to regard as a ‘showman’ and a ‘yes-man’ for the Labour Party. While Taylor’s religious/political prejudices may have unduly influenced any potential relationship with Hokianga and her whānau, Taylor spoke highly of her, her father Wiremu Karawuko, and his contemporaries.

The Centennial (and political) context in which the portrait of Hokianga was created is pertinent to the story of Taylor and his relationship with Ngāi Tahu. In 1936 the New Zealand government announced that a large amount of money would be set aside for centennial projects, including a series of eleven history books and an historical atlas. Taylor, who was then doing voluntary work and eking out a living through occasional photography, wrote to government officials several times seeking paid employment on these endeavours but all were in vain. As mentioned in Part One, he was regularly consulted by history students, the ethnologist at the Canterbury Museum and Māori friends who recognised him as ‘a Maori historian of exceptional ability’ however, while he had gained some standing among Ngāi Tahu and the wider community for his knowledge of both Ngāi Tahu and Canterbury history he remained firmly positioned in the amateur ranks. The National Historical Committee responsible for overseeing Centennial publications engaged both academic and non-academic historians, however Taylor’s applications did not meet with their approval. In 1940 the Department of Internal Affairs conceded a little, when they sought Taylor’s assistance with the compilation and checking of a map of Māori place names of Banks Peninsula for inclusion in the planned New Zealand Centennial Atlas. The Atlas project did not proceed and was cancelled later that year but Taylor was pleased that he had at least been able to contribute some additional Māori place names that would go on the record for posterity; the map he helped to collate is now held

468 Hilliard, James Cowan and the frontiers of New Zealand history, Island Stories, pp. 110-111.
in the government archive. It is likely that some of the place names on this map were indirectly provided or verified by Hokianga who, as mentioned above, was a well-known informant of Vangioni with whom Taylor corresponded regarding Akaroa nomenclature.

Taylor’s erasure of Tirikatene from the photographic negative is also significant, and perhaps, symbolic. While Taylor ‘resolutely avoided membership in political parties’, and reckoned he was free from political bias, he was scathing of the First Labour Government (1935-1949), of which Tirikatene was part, for its treatment of Ngāi Tahu. While Taylor initially supported Tirikatene, suggesting in 1937 that he be elevated to the Legislative Council, he later lost faith in the Rātana affiliated MP and regarded him as working for a ‘pakeha party’. Ahead of the Centennial, Tirikatene suggested that the settlement of Te Kerēme would be the ‘most suitable centennial memorial for the Maori race’, a sentiment that Taylor wholly supported, though not in the compromised form that he (rightly) suspected the Labour Party envisaged.

The first Ngaitahu Trust Board had been established by statute in 1929 and charged with continuing negotiations for settlement of the Claim however, while preliminary discussions between the Trust Board and government officials were positive, little progress had been made throughout the 1930s. By 1937, there were five vacancies on the Trust Board and despite complaints from Ngāi Tahu, the government had determined to defer any further board appointments (this deferral included the previously mentioned appointment of Hariata Pitini-Morera). At the Centennial commemorations, Taiaroa made Ngāi Tahu expectations clear in his formal speech directed at the Crown representatives present including the Governor General (Lord Galway) and the newly minted Prime Minister, Peter Fraser. Taiaroa insisted that the Government attend to the settlement of Te Kerēme, concluding:

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469 Maori place names of Banks Peninsula. Maori names from sketch plans supplied by Canon (James W.) Stack 19.11.94. Additional names by (W.H.S. Roberts & Others, W.A. Taylor), [Cartographic material], R19034451, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch.
470 Louis Vangioni to William Anderson Taylor, 6 November 1934, Folder 77, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, Canterbury Museum.
471 Taylor, ‘Maori welfare and age’.
474 ‘A longstanding grievance, claims of Ngaitahu tribe, appeal for Pakeha assistance’, Press, 16 March 1939, p.10.
475 The Ngaitahu Trust Board was established by provision of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1928.
477 Peter Fraser had only been in the role a matter of weeks, having replaced Michael Joseph Savage whose death had caused the Centennial commemorations to be delayed by three weeks. The commemorations were initially scheduled to begin on 30 March but were delayed till 22 April due to the death of Savage on 27 March 1940; ‘Centennial at Akaroa’, Press, 15 April 1940, p.13.
Maori people assembled here are hoping to receive from your Government some reply to the requests they have made about the Ngaitahu claim. As you see, I am grey-haired. Since I was a boy, I have waited for the Ngaitahu claim to be attended to. You will see how long I have waited. My people are anxious indeed that a reply for or against be given us today.⁴⁷⁸

The Prime Minister responded with a deflection, stating that Te Kerēme was currently receiving ‘government attention’. Then, in an affront to Ngāi Tahu, the Hon. H.T. Armstrong (Minister of Housing and Health) questioned whether the Ngāi Tahu ‘land claims’ were in fact any greater than those of the Pākehā.⁴⁷⁹ The pōwhiri concluded and was immediately followed by the re-enactment of the 1840 flag-raising. As the flag fluttered atop the flagpole, a bugle sounded, and Ngāi Tahu kaumātua on the edge of the Recreation Ground were overheard saying: ‘Way goes the Maori land’ and ‘Now the Pakeha’s got the place.’⁴⁸⁰ Tairaroa and other Ngāi Tahu leaders later said that the Crown response during the pōwhiri was devastating and had completely marred the Centennial.⁴⁸¹ The desperation and disappointment felt by Ngāi Tahu was widely reported in newspapers throughout New Zealand. Taylor later recounted aspects of the Centennial proceedings in Lore and History.

Following the Centennial, Taylor bolstered his advocacy for Ngāi Tahu justice. He had already become a sounding board for right-leaning Ngāi Tahu leaders who were disgruntled at the lack of progress on the Claim under Labour and Tirikatene.⁴⁸² In the 1938 general election, Taylor had lent his support to the Independent candidate for the Southern Maori seat, Thomas Kaiporohu Bragg (1876 – 1949) of Rakura who ran (unsuccessfully) against the incumbent, Tirikatene.⁴⁸³ Then, in the lead up to the 1943 election Taylor joined the election committee, and prepared the official electioneering pamphlets for John Piuraki (Tony) Tikao-Barrett (1915-1970),⁴⁸⁴ the son of his friend and Chairman of the Ngaitahu Trust Board, Bill Barrett.⁴⁸⁵ Tikao-Barrett’s attempt at the Southern Maori seat was, like Bragg’s, unsuccessful. The results

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⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.
⁴⁸⁰ ‘Events of 100 years ago recalled’, Press, 22 April 1940, p.10.
⁴⁸² Among those who discussed these matters with Taylor were Henare Te Ara Jacobs, Thomas Kaiporohu Bragg, Bill Barrett, W.A. Pitama, and Tony Tikao-Barrett.
⁴⁸³ Thomas Bragg to W.A. Taylor, 1 July 1938, Correspondence 1929-1942, Folder 77, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.
⁴⁸⁴ See Taylor to Beattie, 23 September 1943, and 17 October 1943, MS-582/c/27.
of the 1943 election were further tarnished by the fact that Te Ari Pitama who was a fellow-member of the Tikao-Barrett committee, seemingly withdrew his support midway through the campaign, and failed to distribute the electioneering pamphlets as had been agreed. Taylor accused him of ‘double-crossing’ the committee and promptly removed Pitama’s portrait from his mantelpiece.486

Finally, in 1944 the government made the state’s first major concession to Te Kerēme - the Ngaitahu Claim Settlement Act authorised annual non-inflation adjusted payments to the iwi of £10,000 a year for thirty years.487 The Act fell well short of expectations and Taylor, Barrett, W.A. Pitama and others publicly accused the Crown (and Tirikatene in particular) of failing to adequately consult the tribe before the legislation was passed.488 At some point around this time, as noted in Part One, Tirikatene publicly admonished Taylor, purportedly putting a mākutu on him.489 Taylor was unfazed. He maintained that the 1944 settlement was unjust for the rest of his life. Given his animosity towards Tirikatene, it is easy to imagine his relish in removing his adversary from the glass plate negative to create the portrait of Hokianga alone.

Taylor’s ‘doctoring’ of the negative also removed the silhouette of the hills above the whare karakia. While Taylor’s visits to Ōnuku were few and his interactions with Hokianga fleeting, it is relevant to note that the landscape there particularly affected him. The rocky outcrops that rose above the steep sloping hillsides were reminiscent of his ancestral homeland and he wrote several articles about Ōnuku that drew comparisons with ‘dark Lochnagar’ as lyricised by the famous Scottish romantic poet, Lord Byron who (like Taylor) spent his early years in Aberdeen, Scotland.490 Taylor not only drew parallels between the terrains of Scotland and New Zealand but also perceived a cultural affinity between the Scots and Māori that was based on his own personal experience of the Ngāi Tahu world and a sense of nostalgia for his Scottish roots:

486 See Taylor to Beattie, 23 September 1943, and 17 October 1943, MS-582/c/27.
487 This figure was based on the recommendation of the 1921 Commission.
I have made many friends in my life of the Maori race, and I certainly put it down to the inherited viewpoint of a Scotsman with Highland blood, carrying with it the clan spirit in matters of duty and honour.\(^{491}\) He also frequently drew parallels between the treatment of Ngāi Tahu by the Crown and the Highland Clearances in Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In 1950, six months before his death, Taylor wrote, ‘Maoris have long memories for items good or evil, and in many ways they bear a striking resemblance to the Highland clans of Scotland.’\(^ {492}\) Ngāi Tahu indeed have long memories and did not (and do not) forget the injustices of either the nineteenth century land purchases or the Crown’s attempt at a ‘full and final’ settlement in 1944. As stated in Part One, Te Kerēme was ultimately revisited by the Ngāi Tahu leadership in 1971\(^ {493}\) when the Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board sought the revocation of the 1944 Act.\(^ {494}\) This eventually led to the filing of the Ngāi Tahu Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986 culminating in the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998.

In November 1998 when the then Prime Minister Jenny Shipley delivered the Crown’s formal apology to Ngāi Tahu as part of the Settlement, the formalities took place at Ōnuku, beneath the imposing maunga, Ōteauheke, which Taylor had described as the bay’s ‘frowning glory’.\(^ {495}\) The wharekai from whence the kai was prepared for the hākari had been constructed during the 150th anniversary of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1990 and was named ‘Amiria Puhirere’,\(^ {496}\) after the Ōnuku matriarch whose portrait was memorialised by Taylor in Lore and History. Like the portraits of Tikini, Harper, Taiaroa, Pitini-Morera, and Morrison, the photograph of Hokianga has become iconic – it is instantly recognisable to not only her descendants, but also wider Ngāi Tahu whānui.

\(^{491}\) W.A. Taylor, ‘Hempleman at Peraki’ [letter to the editor], c.1935, ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.6, Folder 83, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.
\(^{492}\) W.A. Taylor, ‘Port Levy: Koukourarata’, Akaroa Mail, 10 November 1950, ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.12, Folder 89, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.
\(^{493}\) Note that an initial petition to the Maori Affairs Committee was filed by the Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board in 1969 but it was later reframe in 1971.
\(^{495}\) Taylor, ‘Onuku the kainga of the Ngai Tarawa [sic] hapu’.
\(^{496}\) A replacement wharekai also named Amiria Puhirere, was opened at Ōnuku Marae in April 2016.
CONCLUSION: A parallel visual narrative

While Taylor’s photographs can never counter his lack of scholarship, an analysis of the Ngāi Tahu portraits in *Lore and History* suggests that his wider body of work is worthy of review (or at least a second look). Taylor was an amateur who shunned academia and preferred to write from observation and experience. He had a personal dislike of footnotes and only acknowledged his main informants in a general way rendering much of his writing unreliable due to the anonymity of his sources. While the Ngāi Tahu portraits cannot stand in for footnotes, they trace some of the key moments in the development of Taylor’s life-long association with Ngāi Tahu and can be read as a parallel visual narrative that runs alongside and illuminates the written account. The portraits were not conceived simply as illustrations, embellishments or asides to the text; instead, their creation was integral to Taylor’s practice of recording Ngāi Tahu history and authenticating his sources. Each portrait constitutes a visual record of an interaction between Taylor and the person photographed – as such, the portraits reflect the importance he placed on gathering information directly from oral informants where possible, rather than through the filter of secondary sources.

Taylor greatly admired other amateur historians and adherents of ‘traditional history’ including James Cowan and James Herries Beattie who relied upon the oral testimony of Māori informants. Like Cowan who stated that his best authorities were ‘human documents’ rather than other people’s books, Taylor preferred to ‘make personal contacts with the old Maoris’, many of whom entrusted him with their stories. With the probable exception of Amiria Puhirehure Hokianga, the portraits in *Lore and History* are of individuals who were personally interviewed by Taylor, most on several occasions. All were people of considerable mana whose visual presence in the book could be read as a deliberate strategy on Taylor’s part, to confer a sense of authenticity and veracity on the accompanying text.

*Lore and History* is a history book however it is important to note that Taylor regarded himself as a photographer first - not an historian. He used his camera to record and evidence Ngāi Tahu landscapes and individuals. Taylor’s photographic archive further reveals that he compiled a comprehensive (if not exhaustive) photographic record of the people and places he wrote about.

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497 Taylor to Beattie, 19 October 1941, MS-582/c/27.
498 Hilliard, ‘Stories of becoming’, p.5.
500 Taylor to Beattie, 24 May 1939, MS-582/c/27.
Like the well-known Christchurch doctor and photographer Alfred Barker (1819-1873) before him, Taylor had an eye for the future and a belief in the need to document.\textsuperscript{501} He scratched place names and family names into the emulsion along the edges of many of his glass negatives and carefully filed them by subject. As photographic historian Hardwicke Knight (1971) observed ‘the photographer who takes this trouble is concerned with recording’.\textsuperscript{502} Taylor’s careful organisation and indexing of his photographs (and notebooks) suggests that he saw his body of work as having relevance beyond his lifetime, as an archive for posterity.

Throughout his career Taylor frequently discarded negatives to allow room for more working space.\textsuperscript{503} His daughter Betty recalled him sitting on occasion in his darkroom smashing glass plates with abandon,\textsuperscript{504} however many of his Ngāi Tahu photographs escaped the cull. Thus, by the late 1940s when he came to select images for publication in \textit{Lore and History}, he was able to draw upon Ngāi Tahu photographs dating back half a century. His attention to and retention of these photographs was matched only by his handling of family photographs; in Taylor’s vast archive of over six thousand images, there are relatively few photographs of people who are not either Ngāi Tahu or his own family.

While the use of traditional garments and weaponry as backdrops or props was a photographic convention in Māori portraiture and Taylor drew upon this standard to some extent, several family photographs in Taylor’s archive provide an interesting counterpoint. On a number of occasions Taylor photographed his daughters wearing full highland dress including plumed hat, sash and kilt featuring the family’s clan tartan. These photographs have a strong synergy with Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu portraits. The motivation behind their making was arguably similar, drawing upon a sense of cultural pride and nostalgia. In 1899, for example, when Taylor was still apprenticed to his father at the \textit{Press}, he photographed the infant Wata (?) Tini\textsuperscript{505} at Wairewa (see figure 37, overleaf). The child is photographed outside, presumably at the family home, standing on two korowai, wearing a kinikini or piupiu across the shoulder and holding a stick, perhaps in the manner of a taiaha. An impressively feathered kākahu is displayed on the fence behind him. Two decades later, around 1920 Taylor photographed his young daughter

\textsuperscript{502} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{503} Taylor to Beattie, 11 September 1934, MS-582/c/27.
\textsuperscript{504} Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015.
\textsuperscript{505} Note that Taylor identified the child in this photograph as ‘one of the Tini family, c.1899’. He did not specify the first name, however annotations from whānau have been added to the print suggesting that this is Wata Tini, though this had not been confirmed with the Tini whānau at the time of this research.
Betty in highland dress in a similarly framed portrait (see figure 38). Betty stands on two mats with a screen (rather than a kākahu) as a backdrop; her kilt and the diagonal line of her sash evoke both aesthetic and cultural parallels with the Tini portrait.

Just as the piupiu and other traditional garments are markers of culture, identity, and whakapapa, so too is the kilt. As observed by Katie Pickles (2007), ‘From the time Scots arrived in New Zealand kilts have made various appearances as a part of the invention and reinvention of Scottish identity and culture.’

Pickles further notes that ‘Hirini Moko Mead considered the piupiu as a ‘kilt’. Piupiu means to oscillate, or move to and fro, a feature of the Scottish kilt.’ Taylor himself drew attention to this property, writing in 1944: ‘It may gladden the heart of Scotsmen in the Ellesmere district…to know that Maoris…are emotionally stirred by the skirl of the Highland bagpipes, and that the wiggle-waggle of the kilt delights their

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507 Pickles, ‘Kilts as costumes’, p.42.
The Taylor family were strongly rooted in their Scottishness and Taylor was ever-ready to draw parallels between the Scots and Māori. When Taylor’s father sat for a formal photographic portrait, he wore a tam o’ shanter, another visual marker of Scottish identity.\(^{509}\) Taylor maintained his Scottish connections as a member of the Burns Club in Dunedin and as a foundational member of the Scottish Society in Christchurch.\(^{510}\) Like the family highland dress portraits, Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu portraits were a personal record rather than a profit-making venture; they were not used for the commercial or tourism trade and the few that were published alongside newspaper articles, were largely contributed (along with the text) free of charge.\(^{511}\)

Publication was not Taylor’s primary vehicle for imparting the Ngāi Tahu information he amassed. In fact, most of what he learned was ‘given out in lantern slide lectures’\(^{512}\) which he delivered at public and private events. These lectures had their genesis in the early photographic societies of Dunedin, Wellington and Christchurch where lantern slide shows were a regular feature of meetings from the 1890s to the 1940s.\(^{513}\) All of the Ngāi Tahu portraits in *Lore and History* were reproduced as lantern slides which Taylor displayed in the course of illustrated lectures on Ngāi Tahu subjects. When delivering lectures Taylor spoke entirely without notes; his photographs were the starting point for oral narratives that traversed history, culture, tradition and personal anecdotes.\(^{514}\) Taylor firmly believed that all New Zealanders ought to be educated about their fellow Māori citizens as expressed in the following advertisement for one of his lectures in 1935: ‘An illustrated Lecture by Mr W.A. Taylor. ‘The Southern Maoris’. W.E.A. Rooms, Trades Hall, Tomorrow, 8pm. The history and traditions of this worthy race should be known by all New Zealanders. Everyone invited.’\(^{515}\) The Ngāi Tahu portraits were visual aids for Taylor’s educational sessions but also served as tools in his advocacy for Ngāi Tahu justice. At the 1935 lecture, Taylor took the opportunity to educate his audience about the

509 See Portrait of J.N. Taylor, 1968.213.5915, Taylor photograph collection, CM.
512 Taylor to Beattie, 24 May 1939, MS-582/c/27.
injustices of the Ngāi Tahu land purchases concluding ‘we cannot be proud of our first dealings in land with the rightful owners.’

Taylor’s sustained appeal for Pākehā to ‘be sympathetic to their brown brethren’ was grounded in empathy and a sense of kinship between the Scots and Māori but was also informed by his lifelong active membership of the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows (MUIOOF). Based on principles such as friendship, love, truth, faith, hope, and charity, Taylor described the MUIOOF as ministering ‘for the well-being of mankind’. He also extolled the origins of the broader Friendly Society Movement which he said had originated among ‘the thrifty and industrious section of the ordinary working class’, of whom he considered himself a member. In the early twentieth century the MUIOOF worldwide added an image of two Māori figures to its emblem to signify the organisation’s links with New Zealand, though ironically, it’s international Constitution did not allow members of ‘coloured blood’. Despite this, the MUIOOF allowed Māori members in New Zealand, though they were few. Like other friendly societies, in addition to looking after its members, the MUIOOF did charitable work in the community, though the extent to which this extended to Ngāi Tahu communities is unknown. Taylor repeatedly delivered lantern lectures on Ngāi Tahu subjects to ‘Lodge’ audiences in Canterbury and Otago over a period of at least twenty years, so it may be assumed that there were at least some Ngāi Tahu sympathisers within the MUIOOF ranks. In the 1940s, Taylor also began to undertake specific charitable work with Māori when he joined the Ngati Otauta Association which was focused on the wellbeing of Māori in Christchurch. The Association’s forerunner was the Ngati Otautahi Club which had focused on patriotic work, fundraising for Māori soldiers overseas. Despite Tirikatene being one of

517 Taylor, ‘Sidelights on Maori life’.
518 Taylor joined the MUIOOF in 1902. See W.A. Taylor, ‘With a friendly society on Banks Peninsula’, Akaroa Mail, 30 May 1947 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.9, Folder 86, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.
519 Ibid.
520 Ibid.
523 A new lodge of the Manchester Unity opened at Wairewa in 1897, the period when Taylor was first visiting there. While no Māori members are mentioned, the new Lodge was named the Loyal Wairewa and the celebration of the opening took place in the ‘Maori Hall’ (now Wairewa Marae). See ‘Oddfellowship’, Lyttelton Times, 16 October 1897, p.2.
525 The Ngati Otauta Association was formed in 1940 with Frank Lewis as its Chairman. See Press, 31 August 1940, p.15.
the Association’s patrons (along with Taiaroa), Taylor was made a vice-president in 1946 and was one of only six Pākehā admitted full membership as ‘Pakehas whose work has been, and is, of benefit to the Maori people’. The Association promoted kaupapa including vocational guidance for rangatahi and stimulating interest in the study of te reo Māori.

Taylor was on the periphery of a network of amateur and professional historians who wrote on the subject of ‘the passing of Māori culture’. He wrote, indeed, reminisced about the Ngāi Tahu past and his Ngāi Tahu portraits reflected this nostalgic sentiment to some extent. However, he equally drew attention to the contemporary plight of Ngāi Tahu and in his later years, became an ardent and relentless advocate for Ngāi Tahu justice. Small in stature, he described himself as a ‘squib’ (a small firecracker). His nephew John Wylie recalls him as a ‘solitary sort of man’ who was ‘fiercely Scottish’ and ‘almost bigoted with the intensity of his feelings. He held very strong views and he wasn’t afraid to state them even if it meant he was out of step with other people.’ His outspokenness saw him face a barrage of opposition. In 1938 he wrote, ‘I am receiving bricks at my head daily from my fellow pakehas for worrying over my Maori friends’ welfare’. He also faced opposition from within Ngāi Tahu, specifically from those aligned with the government that orchestrated the Ngai Tahu Claim Settlement Act of 1944, to which Taylor was vehemently opposed. While Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu portraits may have been tinged with nostalgia, they also brought an authenticity to Lore and History, visually emphasizing the fact that the Ngāi Tahu story was not just about the distant past but was a present-day reality populated by real people with mana, knowledge, history, integrity and a legitimate grievance against the Crown (as noted previously, the Ngāi Tahu land claims are mentioned by Taylor in twelve of the twenty-three chapters of Lore and History).

Taylor did not retain his original notes or record his interviews verbatim so it is impossible to determine the tenor of his interactions with Ngāi Tahu except via his photographs. While he selected portraits for publication in Lore and History that conveyed a universally sombre mood (reflecting his view of Ngāi Tahu history as a serious matter). By contrast many of his unpublished photographs capture more informal interactions that accord with the warmth of sentiment in his personal and published papers when referring to his many ‘Maori friends’. In

526 The others Pākehā members were John Stewart, Sir James Hight, Dr. I.L.G. Sutherland, G.E. Anstice, and Roger Duff. See ‘European honoured by Maoris’, Gisborne Herald, 8 August 1949, p.4.
528 John Wylie, personal communication, 15 June 2014.
529 Wiremu Teira, ‘Maori Welfare’ [Letter to the Editor], Press, 30 June 1938, p.3.
one such photograph (see figure 39), Ria Tikini, Mere Harper and Peti Pirimona Apes sit together in conversation, possibly outside Tikini’s house, at Puketeraki. The unidentified child at the right of the photograph may be Taylor’s daughter Helena (Neanie) and the woman in the background, his wife Mabel. The photograph captures an informal moment. It also provides some insight to the context in which Taylor not only photographed Ngāi Tahu but also developed friendships, listened, recorded and revelled in their storytelling.

Figure 39. William Anderson Taylor, Left to right: Ria Tikini, Mere Harper, Peti Pirimona Apes and an unidentified woman and child, Puketeraki, digital scan from photograph on paper, 1904–19, 19XX.2.3231, Taylor photograph collection, CM.
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Trevor Howse, personal communication, 18 November 2014.

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Connie O’Melvena, personal communication via Tania Nutira, 16 April 2016.

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Puamiria Parata-Goodall, personal communication, 5 September 2016.

Aroha Reriti-Crofts, personal communication, 16 June 2016.

Pere Tainui, personal communication, 23 November 2016.
Waitai Tikao, personal communication, 7 February 2017
Joan Woodward, personal communication, 4 February 2015.
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Private collections
Te Aritaua Pitama MS collection
Harry Evison, interview by Helen Brown, 21 October 2009
‘Transcripts of historical articles in the Ellesmere Guardian 1891 – 1951’
Jan Shuttleworth photograph collection
Appendix 1

Ngā Whakaahua Ngāi Tahu: the Ngāi Tahu portraits as published in *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* (1952)

A PRESENT DAY CHIEF OF THE NGAI TAHU.

RIKI TE MAIRAKI TAIAROA OF TAUMUTU.
A son of the late Hon. H. K. Taiaroa, and a grandson of Matenga (Fighting) Taiaroa.

Photographed in 1932 wearing mat found at Dusky Sound by the late Captain Fairchild of the New Zealand Government Ship "Hinemoa". Allegedly a relic of the lost hapu of Ngati Manoe. The mat found in Bligh Sound by Captain Howell in 1842, was one decorated with kiwi feathers and in 1862 was held by Maoris at Otaki. The mat shown in the illustration is of exquisite design, and is now possessed by the Canterbury Museum.
Mrs Beaton of Oaro
Hariata Pitini Morera, born 1872, died April, 1938.
Peni Kokianga of Onuku, Banks Peninsula
Died July, 27th 1944, aged 101 years.
Late Mrs Ria Teckini (Mrs Chicken)
A contemporary of the Waikouaiti Missionaries, died July, 1919, aged 110 years. Tattooed with the straight lines of South Island Art.
Mrs Mere Harper — Old Waikouaiti
Mrs Rahera Muriwai Morrison, descendant of Tuhuru of Westland, died June 3rd, 1930.
Appendix 2
Ethics information sheet

History Department
University of Canterbury
Telephone: 021 614 980
Email: helen.brown@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

15 March 2015

Wiremu Teira and his Maori Friends
Information Sheet for Interviewees

Tena Koe,

Nga mihi nui ki a koe. Ko Helen Brown toku ingoa. No Ngai Tahu ki Murihiku ahau.

My name is Helen Brown. I am of Ngai Tahu descent and whakapapa to the Paraone (Brown) and Palmer families from Murihiku and Taieri. My paternal grandfather Travis Dalziel Pahikora Brown was born and raised on the Maori Reserve at Maitapapa, Henley. I live in Christchurch with my family and work for Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu as part of the Archives Team.

With the support of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu and the Ngai Tahu Research Centre at the University of Canterbury, I am currently undertaking research on William Anderson Taylor (1882 – 1952) a Pakeha photographer, amateur historian and collector of Ngai Tahu information.

For most of his adult life, Taylor pursued a keen interest in Māori history and culture. He travelled the South Island, on foot and by bicycle gathering information from his ‘Māori friends’ who knew him as Wiremu Teira. Taylor’s research on Ngāi Tahu subjects also included photography. From the late 1890s through to the 1940s Taylor photographed Ngāi Tahu people and places in both his professional capacity as a photojournalist and in pursuit of his hobby - gathering information from, about and for Ngai Tahu whenui.

From 1920 until the time of his death in 1951, Taylor also wrote articles on Māori subjects for a range of New Zealand newspapers and was a regular writer of Letters to the Editor on a range of subjects including matters pertaining to Ngāi Tahu. From 1937, he wrote a series of articles for the Ellesmere Guardian which later formed the basis of a number of published works including Waipara: Māori Associations with Lake Ellesmere (1944) and Māori Art (1946) but the culmination of Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu research came with the publication (posthumously) of Lore and History of the South Island Māori in 1952.

My research involves the writing of an analytical biography of Taylor in terms of his work on Ngai Tahu subjects. I am also specifically interested in the relationships Taylor had with his Ngai Tahu informants and those he photographed. With this in mind, I am making contact with Taylor’s descendants and the descendants of his
Ngai Tahu informants to discuss what family knowledge may exist regarding Taylor and his relationships with his ‘Maori friends’.

Your involvement in this project will comprise an informal interview of one to two hours. If you agree, I would like to record the interview with an audio recorder.

As a follow-up to this interview, I will provide you with a copy of your interview recording and a transcript of the interview for your review and feedback – this will provide you with the opportunity to elaborate or clarify points we have discussed. If I quote directly from your interview or refer to it in my thesis, I will be guided by you as to how you wish to be identified – for example, you may request that I refer to you as a descendant or whanau member or use a pseudonym – alternatively, you may wish to remain anonymous. The audio recordings will be accessible only to myself and will be stored on my password protected private computer until my thesis has been completed. If you agree, your interview may be archived at a repository of your choosing – otherwise, the recording will be deleted once my thesis has been completed and marked. If you wish, I will also provide you with a digital copy of my thesis on completion.

Participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any stage without penalty. If you withdraw, I will remove information relating to you.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation. As stated above, I will provide you with a copy of your interview recording and a transcript for your review. I will also provide you with an opportunity for you to add to, or amend the information provided at the interview prior to including any references to it in my thesis. A thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

The project is being carried out as a requirement of the degree of Master of Arts in History by Helen Brown under the supervision of Dr. Katie Pickles, who can be contacted at katie.pickles@canterbury.ac.nz. She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

If you agree to participate in the study, you are asked to complete the consent form and return to me by post (see address below) or in person.

Nga mihi,

Helen Brown
c/- Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu
PO Box 13 046
CHRISTCHURCH 8141
Appendix 3
Consent form for interviewees

Wiremu Teira and his Maori Friends
Consent Form for Interviewees

I have been given a full explanation of this project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research.

I understand that participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without penalty. Withdrawal of participation will also include the withdrawal of any information I have provided should this remain practically achievable.

I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and that any published or reported results will not identify the participants unless they have agreed otherwise. I understand that a thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

I understand that all data collected for the study will be kept in password protected electronic form and will be destroyed after the thesis has been completed and marked unless otherwise agreed by me.

I understand that the researcher will provide me with a copy of any audio recording, transcript and associated documentation related to my interview and an electronic copy of the thesis at the conclusion of the project.

I request that the audio recording of my interview and accompanying documentation be archived at _______________ YES / NO

I understand that I can contact the researcher Helen Brown (021 614 980 or helen.brown@pg.canterbury.ac.nz) or supervisor Katie Pickles (katie.pickles@canterbury.ac.nz) for further information. If I have any complaints, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Name:

Date:

Signature:
Appendix 4
Example of Māori history notebook: selected pages from ‘Maori Topics’ by W.A. Taylor (Wiremu Teira), Notebook 6, Folder 6, Box 1, William Anderson Taylor MS Collection, Canterbury Museum.
is reputedly buried at the head of the Waimakariri stream on the Hakama hills.

The greenstone mener of the great Ngati Marae chief Tu to Makotu is buried at O Tapatutu, a famous maori.

The greenstone mener of Rewiroto Akoha was buried on his old whare which stood between Lake Manapouri and Lake Te Anau.

The bone and greenstone mener of the chief Makatau were buried at Port Molyneux. These were found and presented to Captain Bellows.

Tuki Tuki some seventy generations ago took greenstone from Te Koroka and hid it in Pekarakitaki (At Caramoan). If you break rock there, you will find the greenstone embedded therein. (The creek and hill called Pekarokitaki at Lake Waikaka has no connection with the traditions).

Rangitata North.

Tahi Wiwiri to Haku, records that a town of Southern Maoris returning home from a northern raid had their canoes capsized off the mouth of the Rangitata. On landing they found little vegetable food and were compelled to eat mushrooms. The name of the locality, Hau Whareaitia commemorates the mushroom eating.

Molyneux Flood.

A devastating flood occurred on the Molyneux about 1800 known as Waitangiroa (water which carried away the swamp here).

Lake Waikari and Waikoroa.

On December 4th and 8th 1868 W. S. Moorhouse and W. White inspected Lake Waikari and Waikoroa in connection with a proposed drainage scheme. Haurorata Spit. The boundary is to Waimakariri to Ta Kaukapapa to Waikakahi to Kitchingki.

On December 6th 1865, Natanihera Wairoaruraiti objected on behalf of the Maoris to the proposed drainage. On December 13th 1865 W. Bellington assured Natanihera Wairoaruraiti that no drainage was contemplated which would interfere with Maori ceding rights. S. Beale on the same date made a similar assurance. Te Hau on June 3rd 1866 wrote claiming that Haurorata Spit was not included by the Maoris in the Land Sale, and remarked "Mr. W. Hamilton has agreed to my word: the payment for that place has not yet been given." Mr. W. Hamilton on June 3rd 1866 wrote the following: "From all the Maoris I have told me, and as far as I can understand them, I doubt if ever Haurorata was ceded by them." Heremiai Mautoi with Horangi Tumara on behalf of the Ngatimaiko and Te Pakahakahi hapu claimed the Haurorata Spit before the Native Land Court, and after lengthy discussion lost their case to the crown. A guarded assurance was given that as far as possible the Maori ceding would not be greatly affected by contemplated drainage.
The natives possessed whares and two maras cultivated. Commissioner Mantell induced these people to make an exchange for 5 acres on the north bank of the Waikarivere (Reservation No. 1). He also made a small reserve No. 2 at Waikarivere, Oeraheke. The chieftain was at the time living at Rua Tamuika, the junction of the North Branch of the Waikarivere with the Tamuika. In February 1857 J. W. Hamilton, Native Commissioner for Canterbury, was sent to Kaiapoi to purchase the lands north of Kaiapoi. The negotiations extended for several days. The Maori demand was for £500. Following Government instructions, Commissioner Hamilton offered £150. The natives sternly refuse, he offers an extra £50 on his initiative. The Maoris held out. Hamilton, in the end, succeeds in the purchase at £200 and an assurance that he believes the Government will be gracious to make up the balance later. Hamilton writes to the Government thus:— I beg to urge on the Excellency the Governor, in the strongest possible manner, the justice and reasonableness of the first demand for £500. Hamilton also wrote the following:— "According to the average payment before European settlement, made a value to the land, £150 for Haakoura, £200 for Kaiapoi, and £300 distributed afterwards, in all £650 appears to me the lowest sum six years ago for what we could expect to 200 years ago to have held the surrender of lands from Kaiapoi to the Clarence for. In 1853 one block of the land between the Waipara and the Hurunui containing 30,000 acres was sold by the M.G. Government for £1,500. Haakoura were bought where Hamer and Whitly in 1851 settled on the lands at Omui. Hamilton writes:— "Reflecting the fact, I should feel I had myself been made party to a gross fraud practiced on the Maoris in agreeing now to give only £200 for the land which we have already sold at such a different price" at the time when Commissioner Hamilton paid £200 to the Maoris for the lands north of Kaiapoi, and got them to accept the risk of recovering the extra £300 to make up their demand for £500 he wrote, "I firmly believe the delay of six years has been the means of accepting so small a sum as £200 down." In 1856 Commissioners J. M. Johnston was instructed to negotiate with the Kaiapoi and other native reserves on Banks Peninsula, as their rights had not been made clear by the French Title. J. W. Hamilton took up the negotiations and, for £265 and reserves to the extent of 1200 acres in December 1856, settled the claims. Commissioner W. D. Mantell in 1849 visited Ti Taumuata fork and commented on the manner of the chief conducted himself and the scrupulous cleanliness of
Place Names. North Otago (1+2)

Waipu, Bluebun Bay.
Two tara whata, Bluebun Bay.
Kawakawa, a cliff north of Pitt's Point, Purakanui.
Whai te rauka, Ellerslie Creek.
Kahu koru mahaka, Double Hill.
Te awa kauko, Brown's Point.
Te awa kai paua, Greers Point north of Bruns Point.
Te awa parikei, a right near Mother Brinn's.
Rohuru, Mother Robertson's Tooth, Maui Rock.
Parahameti, right north of Yellow Bluff, Rakao.
Te Wai a keko, Creek near Puketango Station.
Whakawai Pakake, on the beach near Haratane Neck.
Taw o te pakau, reef on coast near Haratane Neck.
Te ote Makawai, at neck of Haratane.
Puki urororo, coastline of Haratane near Ruhia.
Harimaaro, channel at entrance of Waikowaiti River.
Owhare (Owhare) beach on north side of Haratane Neck.
Te wai toke, backwash of Waikowaiti River.
west of railway at Morton, south side.
Karawiwhakai, Mount Baldhead.
Pahiatua, Mount Dundee.
Chigoreoroa, Mount Watkins.
Ohine te meer, Hawkebury Beach.

Old Waikowaiti Place Names

(Mrs Harper, Mrs Little, Hare, Matiu and Dr Moore).

Te Uma how, Bobby's Head near Waumiga.
Te Whata creek, just on south of Bobby's Head.
Te Whata Parakau, flat south of Te Whata Lake.
Hakai kahau, Pleasant River.
Tumai, flat south of Pleasant River.
Tumai, foot south of Tumai Flat.
Maruhiti, bay a little north of Matamaka.
Ohine a miro, Mount Cornish.
Ahureiri, Rocks off Matamaka.
Matamanga, Rauchbury Lagoon.
Waipahau, outlet of Hauckbury Lagoon.
Kaka kaituna, a creek entering the Waikowaiti River, on the east side of the railway near Morton, and on the north bank near Oke.
Kaka riki, on south bank of Waikowaiti River.
Kausaka waka, boat landing at Morton.
Supeh reko, bank and cliff flat below junction of the branches of the Waikowaiti River.
Te rua karewhau, dip in the ground past near to the old Waikowaiti customs house.
Kiri kiri, whakapono, creek west and near Morton railway station runs into the Tautaka's Fiti (flat).
Maori Mission School. Haigho.


Pita Te Hori was the principal Maori speaker and he was followed by Parii Te Haumoko and Wiromono Te Uku of Putere and Horomano Pioho of Waitake, all of them making speeches. Hakeha Te Ita o Pih and Maio Tuwhi also spoke. Pita Te Hori in his speech remarked:—“How do you do, the Bishop and Missioners and my friends Mr. John Hall and Missionary Stuck.” “There are two things that I think a great deal of. The first is that I was baptised; then I said I would forsake all evil. I thought very much of that I then said. The second is that I was made an assistant by the Governor. There are two laws I know; the law of God, and the law of the Queen.” Now we have a teacher; she must try and do away with the remains of old system. I know that if the Gospel had not come among us we should have perished. On September 11th, 1859, the site for the Mission was selected.

On May 10th, 1862, a native teacher named Remi and his wife arrived from each land for the Mission School. His passage cost £100, Archdeacon Maidwell collected £20 of it by subscriptions and the Government gave the other £80. Hakeha made a gift to the mission land of 30 trees which were of a value of £60. Pita Matai graciously loaned the services of his bullocks.

New Bones.

An old skeleton was unearthed in October 1862 at a depth of 8 feet below the ground surface near the Ferry House at Heathcote.

New bones were unearthed between Mount Grey and Mount Brown in the Waipara Basin in April 1858 between boulders resting on a bed of gravel and sandstone.

Maori School. Putere.

On March 11th, 1857, the Maoris of Putere unloosed the machinery for a water mill. The plant was brought to NZ by the Mission and it was made by W. Macrae and Co. of Auckland. Mr. Latter superintended the landings. The cost of the mill as landed was £325.

Maori Dogs.

The Maoris crossed Harper’s Pass caught the wild dogs and domesticated them.

Maiaro.

In 1850 it was estimated that 1,000 Maoris dwelt at Waitoki.

Waitoki.

Pacter was originally known as Waitoki. The Maori settlement was shifted from there in 1848 to Waikawa Bay. The island at Waitoki.

Whaka Whaka Wha of Mraki born December 23rd 1866.
Maori Church, Papaki

The Maori Church at Papaki was opened on May 16th, 1869. The Liturgy of the church was used, three ministers from the denominations in Pittston were present behind the communion rail. The Rev. J. M. Heke, resident Wesleyan missionary assisted by his brother led the service. The Anglican minister read the psalms, the Presbyterian offered the prayers, Rev. J. K. Knowles prayers being in the Maori tongue. The Rev. Reid led the service and the Rev. MacIntosh of Pittston preached the sermon, text “Where two or three are gathered together in my Name.” 150 persons were present at the opening.

Maori Church, Waitarua

The Maori Church at Little River was opened on January 19th, 1870 by the Rev. W. Stack. A large assembly was present. The church was built principally of timber by Mr. M. Macintosh of Little River, and the stained glass windows were supplied by W. D. G. of Christchurch. The collection taken up at the service amounted to £14. 14. 3. Mr. Macintosh was the leader of the movement to have the church.

Maori Church, St. Stephen’s, Tinakori

At the opening the service was preached from the text “Micah 6:8, 9, and 2nd verse:—But on the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established on the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and the people shall flow unto it.” “And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we shall walk in his paths; for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.”

A fire broke out at the bhatams in 1867 caused in three months the death of 33 Maoris and 16 Europeans.

Caneu J. W. Stack at St. Peter’s Church, Waitemata celebrated the marriages of the two daughters of Waikato. The Rev. St. John (R) and the Rev. Mr. MacIntosh, respectively on September 24th, 1867.

Maataheke’s Tah at Shag Point was used only half a year at the other its inhabitants journeyed up the Waikato valley to Navelo where waka were plentiful, then on to Lake Waiouru and Waikato where good fishing was to be obtained.

Waitarua Pake at Temuka was the settlement of the Wairau maro, and at the tribal meeting of the Ngaru, the tribe Pake, Pakata, informed that the site of the lighthouse at Temuka was the site of an intertribal settlement.

Tamakahe was a son of Tutuara. Wairua Pake (place of the south wind) at Shag Point (begin to spread).

Tuaranga tribe, the founders of Taupōwha had a reputation for hospitality and the weka wharekuri of that place were called Whakaunga whakohou (great body of messengers’ relatives).
Appendix 5
Example of ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’ clippings notebook: Notebook 7, Folder 84, Box 10, William Anderson Taylor MS Collection, Canterbury Museum.
Appendix 6
Example of correspondence: William Anderson Taylor to James Herries Beattie, 4 April 1936, Letters from William Taylor relating to Māori research matters, MS-582/c/27, Hocken Library, University of Otago, Dunedin.
Taumarutau are away several miles from motor bus and railway, and cannot be conveniently reached except by staying two or three days at Leeton or Southbridge, not being the owner of a large farm. If I depend on a friend giving me a lift out, Fairrow has promised to go into Sandown questions for me. I know that means Mr. Milne giving me another ride out with the motor cycle, as even stamped addressed envelopes fail to make a response. In my life I have been on the best of terms with people whose neighbours looked on with fear. Everybody has a soft spot, a bold face and a hearty good day counts for a lot in introducing oneself. One individual who would not hesitate to use a gun I had to visit regularly. His spot was poetry. Another who used to horsewhip stallions, the soft spot was the Psalms of David. On one occasion I visited an Etilo Central run owner just after some shooters had damaged his fences. He threatened me with all sorts of trouble if I tried all sorts of ways to gain his confidence, as a last effort I remarked the country about resembled the hills of Morayshire. That did the trick. I dined in the best, and spent the whole day on the estate. When I first visited Taupotai Bay (Okaruru) Mr. Napper looked much and I up and down, and remarked he did not like little men as they were too fajgnacious. He asked what I was after. The old Maori Pahi, Oh yes, Vellelaks comes here painting, Vanzioni comes here for curiosity, Cockayne comes here for plants, Greif looks for stones, and now you come for Maori pahi. You have all got a hank and so have I. After that nothing but the utmost hospitality prevailed.
I was in to day to see the printers of my booklet on Banks Peninsula, and was assured it was under way. All material available is not included: just as much as I feel will make it readable to those with a small purse and incidentally call attention to part of Canterbury that is too little known. Meanwhile please accept once more my own appreciation of your zeal for Maori history. Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

W. C. J. Taylor.