JULIUS HAAST

the Canterbury Museum

and Māori

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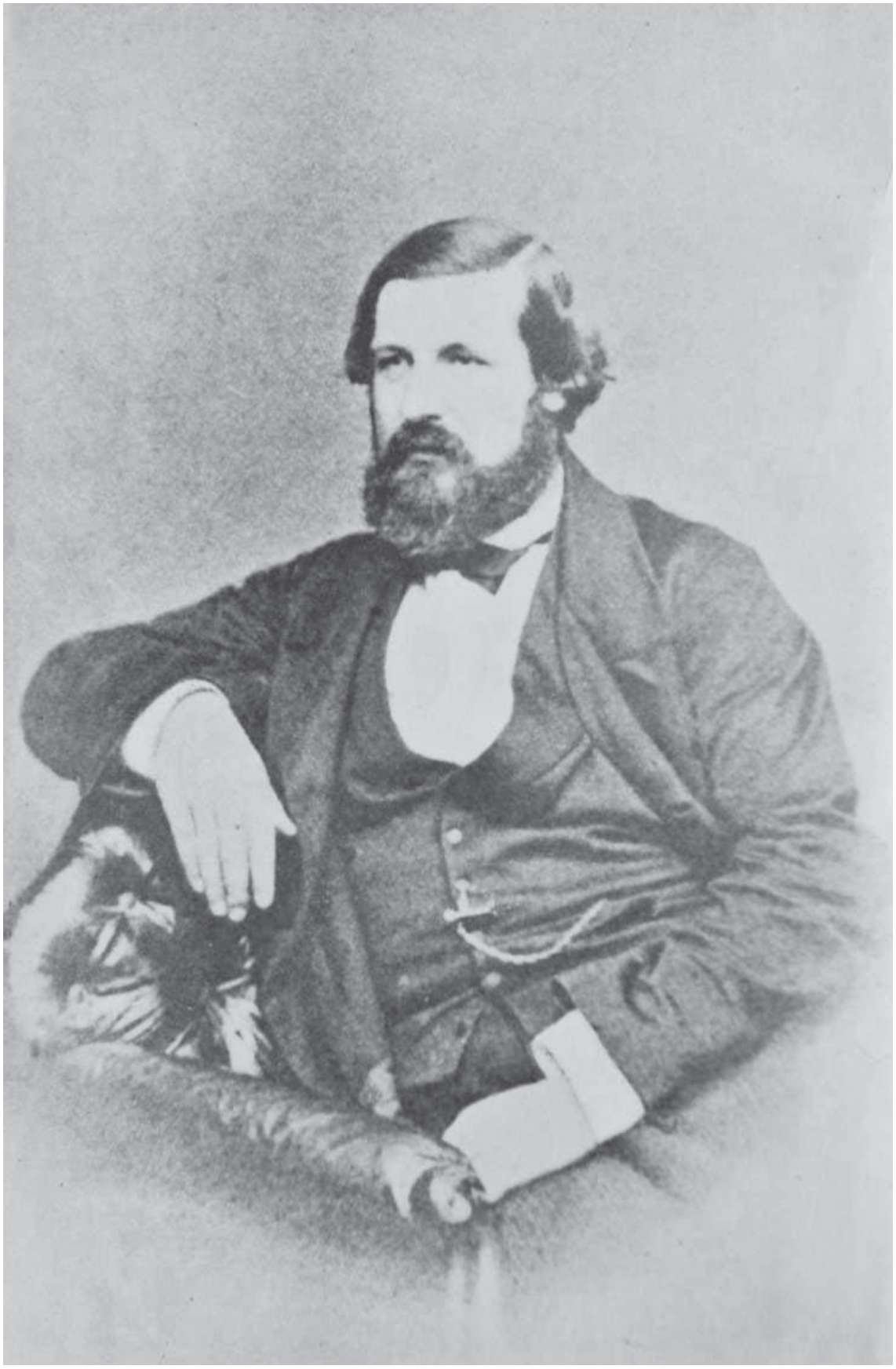

Julius Haast (frontispiece, von Haast, 1948).

ABSTRACT

The thesis explores Haast's attitudes towards Māori through his activities as Director of the Canterbury Museum. This is achieved by examining his archaeology, his treatment of Māori human remains, his displays of Māori culture, and his historical theories concerning Māori. These questions will be addressed through four case studies drawn from Haast's work as curator. The first involves Haast's archaeological excavations and theories. The second study concerns the acquisition and display of Māori human remains, particularly those from Moa-bone Point Cave near Sumner in Christchurch. The third study concerns Haast's displays of Māori culture through the museum's collections and especially the Māori House Haast acquired for the Canterbury Museum. The final study looks at the display Haast curated as supervisor for the New Zealand Court at the Colinderies Exhibition in London. From these studies, general conclusions concerning Haast's relationships with and attitudes toward Māori are drawn.

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GLOSSARY

Glossary of Māori terms used in this thesis are mainly derived from *A Dictionary of the Māori Language* by H.W. Williams (1988).

haka – war dance
hapū – sub tribe
iwi – a tribe
kāinga – village
kete – flax basket
kōiwi – human remains
mahinga kai – food source
maihi – carved boards at the front of a whare
mana – power, prestige, authority, control
marae – courtyard in front of a meeting house
mauri – life principle of a person
moko – tattoo of the face and body
mokomokai – dried human head usually tattooed
Pākehā – a person of European descent
pātaka – storehouse raised on posts
pāua – Haliotis shell
pounamu – greenstone, nephrite
poupou – carved wall post of a house
poutokomanawa – central post inside a house
rākau whakapapa – genealogy staff
rangatira – chief
taiaha – fighting staff
tangihanga – death mourning ritual on a marae
taonga – highly prized object
tapu – under religious or superstitious restriction
tekoteko – carved figure on the gable of a house
Te Reo Māori – the Māori language
Te Wai Pounamu – the South Island of New Zealand
tikanga – a rule, plan or custom
toetoe – grass or sedge
tohunga – skilled person
tohunga whakairo – master carver
tukutuku – woven panels between the poupou in a house
wahi tapu – a sacred place of safe keeping
waiata – song
whakapapa – genealogy
whare – house
wharekura – school
wharenui – large house or meeting house

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 THE PURPOSE OF THE THESIS

The aim of this thesis is to examine Haast's relationships with Māori. This chapter introduces Julius Haast and examines his birth, childhood and education and his later life and achievements as one of New Zealand's pioneer scientists. The intention is to explore Haast's relationships and attitudes towards Māori through his activities as Director of the Canterbury Museum during the period of the museum's inception and development, 1864-1880. His academic involvement with Māori was central to his scientific work in seeking to understand the relationship between the moa and Māori which he pursued through his writings and excavations. His involvement was academic in the sense that Haast regarded Māori as the subject of scientific inquiries. Haast carried out original scientific work on Botany and Geology and particularly on early Māori. He laid the foundations on which later Māori scholars could gain further knowledge of their history and prehistory. From now on Māori scholarship and history could no longer be based on mythology but was founded on empirical scientific methodology derived from Europe.

Haast was also involved in the creation of collections and displays of Māori culture at the Canterbury Museum and was part of the movement to create such displays around the presentation of a Māori wharenui, or a Māori Court, as a centre piece. Haast also had a number of direct and indirect contacts with Māori. These involved the carvers of the Māori House, Hau-te-ana-nui-o-Tangaroa, who came to erect the house at the museum in 1874. The purchase of the Māori House opened up new opportunities for study and a place to display his collections of Māori artefacts and donated objects.

There were also direct and indirect contacts with Ngāi Tahu through Haast's involvement with Canon Stack (see below). Finally Māori were mobile and literate and were not simply a passive

force as regards the manner in which their culture was presented in museums and on some occasions made both their presence and their feelings known. Haast, however, was not involved with contemporary Māori culture and in fact regarded traditional Māori culture as being the only authentic Māori culture. This created the problem that Māori culture in the museum became frozen in time with little thought being given to the fact of culture as an on-going process.

A number of general problems impact on the subject of this thesis. Firstly, there is the situation of Māori in Canterbury following Te Rauparaha's raids and the European purchase of the lands in the South Island up to 1885. It appears that Ngāi Tahu were not playing an active role in the life of Christchurch City through this period.

Haast was an energetic and innovative scientist and fieldworker who actively involved himself in the work of establishing cultural institutions in Canterbury and assisted the development of the colony, and he was ahead of time in terms of his commitments to public education and science. However, his attitudes to Māori do not appear to be in advance of his fellow Cantabrians.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

This thesis research was conducted on the basis of materials available through University libraries, public libraries, published papers and archives in New Zealand, of Haast's reports to the Director of the Canterbury Museum and theses written about Haast. Haasts' personal letters have not been located and it appears likely that these remained in the possession of the family. They were possibly consulted by Heinrich von Haast (Haast's son and biographer) but are not presently available. As a result, the images we have of Haast, as discussed above, are of the public Haast. His personal opinions remain largely unknown.

In 2009 a trip was undertaken to Christchurch with the purpose of visiting the Canterbury Museum to obtain information about Haast and his achievements. Dr. Sally Burrage, Emeritus

Curator of the Museum, and Museum Historian, was interviewed, particularly as regards the nature of any relationship between Haast and local Ngāi Tahu iwi. She stated that she had no knowledge of any such relationships and furthermore that there was no Māori input into the designing or building of the Canterbury Museum. Research librarians were also interviewed for information and photographs. Much time and research was expended attempting to find records of Māori people in Christchurch during the period 1860-1885, with little success.

A meeting was arranged with Dr. Terry Ryan, Director of Whakapapa, Te Runanga-o-Ngāi Tahu who said that due to the raids by Te Rauparaha on the Ngāi Tahu stronghold at Kaiapoi, where about 1000 people had been slaughtered, there were few Māori people living in Christchurch at the time of this study, 1860-1885. He considered that the Māori people in the South Island were still in a survival mode. The question asked of both Dr. Burrage and Dr. Ryan was regarding any relationships between the local Ngāi Tahu and Haast. It was found that there were no recorded associations.

The question was now changed to research Haast's works on Māori scholarship and the beginning of science in New Zealand. Scholarship, in this instance, is the gaining of a deeper understanding of the history and culture of the Māori people through archaeology, the study of pre-history, history, and knowledge of ancestral traditions. This was very much a European-oriented inquiry into the culture and place of Māori in archaeological ethnographic terms. Māori played little direct part in these inquiries. Māori became facts!

Studies used scientific methodology whereby facts are examined and kept or discarded until the nearest approximation to truth is achieved. According to Plimer (1994:7,136) science and scientific ideas are developed on the basis of observation, measurement, calculation or experiment. These findings are on public record for any one to criticise, reconfirm and test with new scientific ideas continually emerging. The rub here is that only persons educated in the

Western scientific tradition could participate in the process and few, in any, Māori were at this time.

The evidence concerning Haast and his relationships with or to Māori came from library research. However, the methodology then adopted was to interrogate the available documents against each other and against a framework which assumed the presence of Māori and the absence of references to their presence as a part of an ideological movement on the part of European society. This was to either marginalise Māori or to safely confine them to the museum as denizens of a past rather than a contemporary world.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

Haast's career in New Zealand began with the fortuitous meeting with Hochstetter which set him on a path leading to geological surveys of Nelson and the West Coast and, in turn, led to his appointment as Provincial Geologist of Canterbury. Haast married and settled down and raised a family in Christchurch. He founded the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury in 1862 and commenced the long struggle to build the Canterbury Museum to house his botanical and geological specimens. The discovery of moa bones in the Glenmark Swamp was a turning point in Haast's career and he proposed theories from a geological point of view of the origins and demise of the moa in relationship to Moa-hunters and Māori. After the Canterbury Museum was completed Haast added a Māori House to display his Māori ethnological collections He was involved in many exhibitions round the world in which he displayed Māori culture and artefacts culminating in the Colinderies Exhibition in London in 1885-1887. He received many honours from scientific bodies and after the Colinderies Exhibition he was awarded a K.C.M.G. by Queen Victoria.

The subject of this thesis is Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori. In particular, the thesis will explore the extent to which Haast, as Director of the Canterbury Museum, and the person ultimately responsible for the displays in the galleries, communicated with, had social relations,

or otherwise demonstrated an awareness of Māori existence as social and political persons. In order to achieve this aim, an extensive review of the literature was undertaken and books, scientific papers, Haast's published papers, internet articles and theses on Haast were examined. This thesis draws on the biography written by Heinrich von Haast called 'The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast.' Other research books of importance are listed below:

Heinrich von Haast (1948, hereafter von Haast) produced a definitive if a somewhat hagiographical book on his father's life and achievements. Von Haast described Haast's family background, childhood, education, and travel to New Zealand and his subsequent time as geologist for the Province of Canterbury and Director of the Canterbury Museum. Von Haast's book is comprehensive, containing 1142 pages, and is defined by the title 'The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast.' While it was clearly written with pride and affection, care has to be taken with Heinrich von Haast's account of Julius Haast. Heinrich attempted to portray his father in the best light possible and this led him to gloss over episodes and character traits which might be seen from a different and even critical point of view. Many studies about Haast written after 1948 are derived directly or indirectly from von Haast's biography.

The book by R.M. Burdon (1950) on Haast was finished without access to von Haast's biography of his father. Burdon gathered much of his information from lectures by Haast, Haast's reports, newspaper articles, *Transactions of the N.Z. Institute,* the *New Zealand Journal of Science,* and Haast's book *Geology of Canterbury and Westland.* Burdon describes the hardships of exploring Nelson and the West Coast and the eternal search for gold which drew men from all quarters of the land. Burdon was interested in portraying Haast as a scientist and concentrated on his discoveries and his explorations. Burdon also discussed the building of the Canterbury Museum. He provided a personal and detached assessment of Haast's character and his achievements describing his early life in Christchurch and his work as a geologist.

Yaldwin, Dawson and Davidson (2006) examined Haast's archaeological investigations and the first stratigraphic excavation in Polynesia, at the Moa-bone Point Cave. Haast employed Alexander McKay, who was self taught as a scientist, to excavate this site. As a result of these excavations Haast put forward propositions regarding moa, Moa-hunters and the human occupations of New Zealand based on his geological knowledge. Haast believed that the Moa-hunters were a vanished Palaeolithic race of great antiquity who exterminated the moa. He based this on his view that the Moa-hunters used flint tools of a Palaeolithic character while later Māori people used ground stone Neolithic tools. Yaldwin, Dawson and Davidson (2006) were particularly interested in the conflict between Haast and McKay over the interpretation of the age and character of the Moa-hunters in New Zealand, the first scientific controversy in New Zealand science.

Sheets-Pyenson's (1988) work on the development of museums is relevant to Haast's career as a museum director and his displays and collections of Māori culture. She recorded that museums became educational institutions for research and popular education, serving two distinct audiences, scholars and the public at large. This process of establishing museums around the colonies was based largely on English models of learned societies, universities, museums and scientific surveys. Early directors needed an unwavering sense of purpose to establish museums as the museum's fortunes were dependent on the vigour of the Director and when this declined, so did the museum. From his position as Director of the Canterbury Museum, Haast was able to publish papers on botany, anthropology, geology and palaeontology. Haast displayed a set of geological and botanical specimens from the Canterbury district. The museum opened a complete Māori House as an exhibition room and Sheets-Pyenson's (1988) general analysis reflected Haast's achievement as a museum builder.

Fiona Cameron's (2000) thesis is closer to the research questions of this thesis, in that it discussed the collection and display of Māori material culture at both Auckland and Canterbury

Museums over the period 1850 to 1920. A considerable part of Cameron's thesis, however, dealt with the Auckland Museum, where there are more extensive records, and also with the period, 1890-1920, subsequent to Haast's time as Director of the Canterbury Museum. Despite some commonality of subject matter, there are a number of differences between this work and that of Cameron (2000). The main one is Cameron's adoption of a critical framework based on a combination of deconstructionalist and Foucaultian analyses (Cameron, 2000:19).

Cameron's work aimed to expose the premises and processes by which representations of other cultures were reconstructed. Thus Cameron (2000:294) concluded that one of the most important roles of the Canterbury Museum was the invention of identities and histories for Māori people as Neolithic through classification, measurement and the establishment of order. Cameron (2000) accessed archival and unpublished documents at the Canterbury Museum and some use has been made of these as a source of information for this study.

The approach adopted here is similar to that of McCarthy (2007) discussed below. McCarthy noted that he was interested in museum displays and the social relationships created between objects and viewers. Within this perspective both curators and Māori retained some independence, as observers and as subjects of display. Māori could accept, mediate or contest views that were being publicly put forward about them (McCarthy, 2007:10).

While dealing mainly with the National Museum, McCarthy (2005; 2007) discussed a very important stage of Haast's work as a museum builder in the manner he presented and displayed the artefacts and culture of Māori. McCarthy described how Māori artefacts evolved from curios to ethnographic specimens then objects of scientific investigation, and more recently, have become taonga and works of art. During the period of this study, however, Māori cultural objects were displayed in a Pākehā, colonial manner. McCarthy examined the many museum exhibitions mounted in New Zealand and the role played by ethnographic exhibits at international fairs shown around the world. McCarthy's work was particularly useful for the

information it provided on Haast's contribution to the Colinderies Exhibition. The Māori Court at the Colinderies was designed by Haast and he was assisted in this task by Walter Lawry Buller.

Walker (1991) discussed in detail the origins and use of the Māori House in the Canterbury Museum and pointed out how Haast disposed his collections in a way that the ethnological exhibits of prehistoric crude tools were displayed on the ground floors. In the upper galleries he showed the gradual advancement of the human race from the manufacture of crude flint tools to the highest productions of great artists. He used this order to demonstrate the progress of natural evolution.

1.4 NGĀI TAHU AND THE SETTLEMENT OF CANTERBURY

In the 1820s and 1830s the population of local Māori in Canterbury had fallen because of wars between different groups of Ngāi Tahu, raids by the Ngāti Toa chief, Te Rauparaha and the impact of European diseases, especially measles and influenza from which Māori died in large numbers. Prior to Te Rauparaha's raids, the Ngāi Tahu fortified Pā at Kaiapoi may have held as many as a thousand people at its peak and was a major centre for trade in pounamu from the West Coast. In addition, several small kainga or seasonal settlements were located within the present Christchurch city boundaries, most probably at Riccarton and Papanui. Possibly as many as five thousand Māori lived in central Canterbury by 1800, most at Kaiapoi and on Banks Peninsular (Rice, 1999:9-10).

Māori are defined as members of the indigenous race descended from the original settlers who colonised Aotearoa from East Polynesia. They cherish patterns of behaviour, organization and values that are distinctly Māori and are intensely proud of their ethnic and cultural identity (Metge, 1967:39). Māori society consisted of whanau or extended families. These whanau formed a hapu or tribe and are a group defined by descent from a founding ancestor. Iwi are

independent political units divided into some fifty tribes which occupied separate territories (Metge, 1967:5).

Dr. Terry Ryan, Director of Whakapapa, Te Runanga-o-Ngāi Tahu, considered that the raids carried out by Te Rauparaha had driven many Māori people away from Kaiapoi. The absence of Māori people in Christchurch at that time was a result of the ravages of Te Rauparaha's destruction of the Kaiapoi Pā and Dr. Ryan believed that the Ngāi Tahu of the early 19th century were only just surviving at that time (personal communication, May, 2009).

The circumstances of Ngāi Tahu in Canterbury can be understood through considering the case of the chief, Tiramorehu. Tiramorehu was one of the younger chiefs of Ngāi Tūahuriri and the most learned man of his generation. His father, the tohunga Karaki, had fought against Te Rauparaha in the defence of Kaiapoi and both had evaded capture, but Tiramorehu was wounded. Tiramorehu was the 6th generation direct descendent of Tūahuriri, one of the great ancestral chiefs of Ngāi Tahu. He had the three requisites for the highest mana, distinguished ancestry, honour in battle, and great learning. After the battle at Kaiapoi, Tiramorehu led a migration of Kaiapoi people south in a flotilla of canoes to settle near a whaling station at Moeraki (Otago), and his relations with the Europeans at Moeraki were friendly but formal. Tiramorehu had been trained in the traditional learning of his tribe, and he impressed Edward Shortland with his knowledge of Māori traditions and was well acquainted with genealogical antiquities. The Rev. W.J. Stack, Anglican Missionary and member of the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury, considered him to be the best authority on Māori traditions in the South Island. Until 1868, Tiramorehu conducted a wharekura at Moeraki, where instruction in traditional learning was given to young Māori (Evison, 2007:1-3).

Tiramorehu encouraged his people to adopt European agricultural practices and looked forward to their becoming prosperous farmers and pastoralists. He was a signatory to the Canterbury purchase negotiated by Henry Tacy Kemp at Akaroa in 1848. This land sale was to be the only

one Tiramorehu would ever sign and by 1849 he had taken an active role in alleging breaches of the purchase conditions (Evison, 2007:1-3).

Tiramorehu wanted his people to adopt European ways and take part in the modern development. An example given by Pam Robinson (personal communication, ca. 1963) stated that when the Māori makers of stone tools such as axes and adzes obtained a rotary, hand turned grindstone it was a huge advance in technology and was quicker and more efficient. Previously the stone worker had to sit by a river with a big block of sandstone, or hoanga, and used water as a lubricant for grinding. Barrow (1965:17) recorded that stone adzes were probably used by Māori carpenters and carvers well into the nineteenth century in backcountry places but everywhere else they were cast aside as soon as metal tools could be obtained.

These were the people who had occupied Kaiapoi and Christchurch who migrated south and this is why there were so few Māori in Christchurch during the time studied. There is no record that Haast ever met Tiramorehu but he indirectly consulted him through inquiries through Canon Stack. No doubt Haast would have displayed the artefacts of the tribe in his museum.

The arrival of the Dunedin and Canterbury settlers in 1848 and 1850 opened up welcome new opportunities for Ngāi Tahu to market their potatoes, wheat, fish and firewood, and enabled chiefs who owned schooners and whaleboats to enlarge their coastal trade. The sea fisheries around the coasts of Te Wai Pounamu had always been a major food source for the Māori. The new European settlements added to the demand for sea fish, especially among the poorer Europeans who found meat expensive. This demand encouraged Ngāi Tahu fishermen to turn increasingly to commercial fishing. European colonisers were made welcome by Ngāi Tahu and run-holders on their way to take up their selections received Māori hospitality. The newcomers recorded their impressions of Ngāi Tahu vitality and in the early years of the Canterbury Settlement. They recorded a strong healthy people often mounted on

horses visiting each other from Kaiapoi, Temuka, Waimate and Port Chalmers (Evison, 1993:334).

The Ngāi Tahu had fended off the invasions by Te Rauparaha only to find renewed pressure from Governor Grey and now faced the wholesale occupation of their land by European settlers in violation of their rights. This amounted to a new invasion and it made conditions very difficult. The almost give-away terms on which land was made available to run-holders had followed from the colonialist principle that uncultivated land was 'waste land' of no value until European capital and labour had been expended on it. Many gained much wealth shown by the keenness with which the run-holders rushed to make their fortunes. What they gained Ngāi Tahu lost. The South Island countryside with its mahinga kai had provided Ngāi Tahu with their traditional prosperity. When their land passed into European hands the run-holders grew rich and became the new aristocracy of Te Wai Pounau, while Ngāi Tahu grew poor and lived like outcasts (Evison, 1993:337-338).

Ngāi Tahu had intended to retain their mahinga kai together with ample farmland, as had been promised under Kemp's Purchase. By this means they could hope to prosper in the European market economy and could continue with the traditional economic activities that were fundamental to their social and cultural life, producing the time-honoured and prized, delectable natural foods, but this was under threat from the systematic European colonization. This transformation threatened the very survival of Ngāi Tahu as a tribe. The settler invasion meant the destruction of the mahinga kai on which Ngāi Tahu economic and social life had been based and Māori had no prospect of competing in the new European economy without adequate farmland of their own (Evison, 1993:338-339).

Māori had lived for a long time in isolation from any society other than their own. Following contact with Europeans, Māori were ambivalent, they wanted to be part of this enlarged world but they also wished to retain their own customs. By the 1840s Ngāi Tahu had begun to

embrace Pākehā culture and developed a passion for reading and writing, especially in Māori, and approached the missionaries for pens, books and paper (Tau and Anderson, 2008:200).

The small population of Ngāi Tahu in the Canterbury district in the 1840s and 1850s had little ability to resist the tide of European settlement driven as it was by the demand for gold and pastoral land for sheep. Although the Ngāi Tahu had agreed to sell the greater part of their lands there were agreements regarding reserves. These agreements were not kept and Ngāi Tahu became impoverished second-class citizens in their own homeland while wealth came to the influential section of the European community (Evison, 1987:9).

Then the 'Waste Land' theory was promoted which said that indigenous people like the Māori had no right to the wide open spaces of their ancestral lands. This attitude ignored the widespread use Māori made of tribal lands for traditional food-gathering, fishing and hunting. It also ignored the equal rights of Ngāi Tahu in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi to take up sheep and cattle farming on the uncultivated lands on the same basis as the Europeans (Evison, 1987:18-19). The Crown allowed European settlers to occupy the land and the Ngāi Tahu were forced to fall back to the small reserves that had been provided (Evison, 1987:28). This loss of land had dramatic consequences, socially, culturally, spiritually, politically and economically.

Tau (2001:131) discussed the death of knowledge through the Ngāi Tahu experience. During the era of colonization Ngāi Tahu learned that their traditional knowledge system consisted of 'false knowledge,' beliefs rather than true knowledge and that these beliefs collapsed because of their innate weakness. As Tau (2001:150) explains, whakapapa retains communal solidarity, kinship and identity. With the collapse of whakapapa, which held the traditional world view together, Māori were caught in a difficult position. Ngāi Tahu, however, involved themselves with the opportunities that were available and there was considerable intermarriage with Europeans (Anderson, 1991). The arrival of the Europeans did one thing; it showed the

people there was a world beyond these shores and if Ngāi Tahu did not actively engage with the rest of the world it would become an artefact that exists by itself in a void.

In the middle of all this uncertainty, Haast with his European traditions of learning and knowledge, proposed a completely new world view, one in which Māori society was viewed in Palaeontological terms, a view which interpreted the Colonial intrusion as a progressive movement.

One Māori who gained prominence in Christchurch was Hori Terei Taiaroa who was born in the 1830s or early 1840s and was named after Sir George Grey. His father was the distinguished Ngāi Tahu chief, Te Matenga Taiaroa of Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki, who had fortunately escaped from Kaiapoi before the siege by Te Rauparaha. In February, 1842, Te Matenga Taiaroa dictated a testament to his tribe, to his hapu and to his sons, exhorting them to see that the promises made by William Wakefield, H.T. Kemp and W.B.D. Mantell when purchasing Ngāi Tahu lands were honoured. He urged his people to treat the Europeans well and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Queen. Taiaroa made the implementation of this testament his life's work. In February, 1871, he was elected to the House of Representatives as the member for Southern Māori and saw his appointments as an opportunity to fulfil his father's wishes (Evison, 2007:1-5). Despite his prominence as a Member of Parliament and a distinguished Māori resident in Christchurch, there is no evidence of contact between Haast and Taiaroa.

1.5 CHANGING ATTITUDES

Convinced that the indigenous people were doomed, museums frantically began a scramble for the remnants of the old time Māori, and there was a rush to get authentic specimens before they were lost or changed (McCarthy, 2005:60). Exhibiting Māori was not entirely a one-sided affair nor was the process directed one way. Māori were present as partners in the formation of

official policy, and, to a certain limited extent, they were participants in the construction of exhibits and also as audiences who responded to such presentations (McCarthy, 2005:4).

In November, 1958, Mr. R.S. Allan, Chairman of the Canterbury Museum Trust Board described the Museum's Hall of Māori Pre-history and noted:

> This Hall deals with the Polynesian culture sequence in the South Island as this is revealed by materials recovered from the earth either by systematic archaeological excavation or by chance discovery in cave, midden or other superficial deposit. The exhibits of pre-European artefacts fall into three main categories, namely, the early Moa-hunter culture, the later Classical Māori culture of the post-Fleet Ngāti-mamoe and Ngāi-tahu, and a Moriori culture developed in the Chatham Islands, and showing a blend of Moa-hunter and Classical Māori traditions, as well as endemic adaptations. (Allan, R.S., 1958)

The subject matter and the categories on display in the Hall of Māori pre-history would have been largely familiar to Haast and to any visitor to the museum through the period between 1870 and 1958. There is no hint in this description that Ngāi Tahu represented a living culture, or there might be alternative ways to that of archaeology and ethnology to understanding the past. The understanding of Māori and their past was a matter for scientific investigation, again something that Haast would have been in complete agreement with.

Over the past twenty years (1990-2010), however, there has been a considerable change in the relationships between South Island Māori and the Crown, and following this, between South Island Māori and public institutions, including the Canterbury Museum. These changes, particularly the passing of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act in 1998, and the return by the Canterbury Museum of the Wairau Bar human remains (kōiwi) to Rangitane iwi, represent a

fundamental shift in Māori-Pākehā relationships, one which deeply affects the attitudes and operations of the Canterbury Museum.

1.6 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

It is clear that during the period that this thesis covers, i.e., 1860-1880, Māori were present and active in both Christchurch and the South Island. However, it is equally clear that Haast saw Māori not as a part of the contemporary political scene, but through the lens of archaeology, ethnology and palaeontology. It is also clear that subsequent relations between the Canterbury Museum and Māori retained this character until the 1950s at least. Māori might be apprehended in the museum or in the streets of Canterbury but the two were not regarded the same. In fact, from a museum perspective, contemporary Māori society might have been regarded as a pale reflection of the rich traditions portrayed in the museum. So it was in the museum that the 'real' Maori might be apprehended.

Following this Introduction, the organisation of subsequent chapters is as follows: Chapter 2 introduces Julius Haast and gives a biography of his early life and education, discussing his arrival in New Zealand, his fortuitous meeting with Hochstetter and subsequent appointment as Provincial Geologist of Canterbury. He worked towards the intellectual and educational improvement of the colony, establishing the Philosophical Institute in Christchurch and eventually persuading the civic leaders to create a museum of natural history with himself as director. His excavations of moa remains from Genmark swamp and his geological collections formed the basis for the collections at the museum. This chapter ends with the building of the Canterbury Museum.

Chapter 3 has as its central theme, Māori as a subject of scientific study. Haast's excavations and his theories regarding Māori as Neolithic Stone Age people are reviewed. His excavations at Moa-bone Point Cave with McKay and the controversy between these two men are examined

briefly, as the controversy in particular, has been well covered in the literature. Haast's treatment of the human remains uncovered at the Moa-bone-Point Cave are discussed as are the steps he took to create a comparative collection of human crania and preserved heads for the museum.

In Chapter 4, there is a discussion of Haast's purchase of the Māori House for the Canterbury Museum in which subsequently Haast displayed Māori objects with an ethnographic rather than a comparative context. This represented a slightly different approach to the display of Māori culture to the one Haast adopted when he was attempting to place Māori within a world historical context. The spiritual meaning of a carved house to Māori is discussed. The chapter goes on to consider other Māori houses represented in New Zealand museum collections, namely, Te Hau-ki-Tūranga in Wellington, Hotunui in Auckland and Mataatua formerly in Otago within a general discussion of the ways in which Māori exhibits are displayed.

Chapter 5 is about New Zealand and international exhibitions in which Haast was involved. As with the display of Māori houses in museums in the final quarter of the 19th century, displays of Māori culture at international exhibitions often took the form of the creation of Māori Courts. This activity culminated with the Colinderies Exhibition in London in 1885-1887 at which Haast was awarded a K.C.M.G. by Queen Victoria. Haast and his wife visited Europe and, following his return to Christchurch in an exhausted state, he died quietly in his sleep on August 16, 1887.

Chapter 6 presents the conclusion to this study of the work of Julius von Haast and the extent to which he was directly or indirectly involved with Māori, at the same time as being involved in placing their history within a scientific framework and actively collected Māori objects with which to illustrate their culture.

1.7 SUMMARY

This thesis examined Haast's relationship and academic involvement with Māori. The Methodology section discussed the visit to Christchurch and personal interviews and research there. The Literature Review described the research undertaken and listed the major works researched. An early history of Canterbury was discussed to give background to Haast's work. Finally, there is a description of the organisation of the thesis in terms of the contents of the chapters.

Chapter 2 – Haast and the Canterbury Museum

2.1 INTRODUCTION: THE EARLY LIFE OF JULIUS HAAST

There is conflict over the details and it is difficult to resolve the differences between the biographical information given in von Haast (1948) and those of Langer (1992). Both accounts are provided here. At the least, they indicate Haast's pretensions in place of a more questionable past.

Johann Franz Julius Haast was born at 320 Bonn Strasse, Bonn on the Rhine, in the Kingdom of Prussia, on May 1, 1822. Not a lot of information is available about his early life and most of our knowledge has been derived from the biography about his father by Heinrich von Haast. Haast stated that his father, Matthias, was a wealthy merchant and one time Burgomaster, or Town Mayor, respected and loved for his charitable disposition (von Haast, 1948:1). His mother, Anna Eva Theodora (née Rüth) gave birth to nine children who almost all died early (Langer, 1992:274). Another record noted that Haast was the seventh of eight children of whom only he and two sisters survived. Neither the gender nor cause of death of the children is known (Burdon, 1950:135). Both the parents are described on Haast's birth certificate as Catholic (von Haast, 1948:1).

Haast was educated at the Gymnasium zu Bonn until 1835 and in 1838 went to the Höhere Bürgerschule in Köln, a secondary institution mainly for the training of prospective merchants and engineers (Burrows, 2005:17). He had two choices of career, music or science. He chose science and studied geology at the Rhenish Friedrich Wilhelm University at Bonn. He did not graduate and the reason for this has not been stated in the sources available (Burdon, 1950:135). As a boy he was an enthusiastic collector of minerals and formed a collection of considerable value. Haast studied under two outstanding geologists and mineralogists, J.J. Noeggerath, Professor of Mineralogy and Geology, and H.K. von Dechen, Director of the Mining

Department of the Prussian State from whom he learned topography. Despite not completing his degree, Haast had some education both as an academic and a field geologist. Family tradition said that he rescued Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, who was later to marry Queen Victoria, from drowning in the Rhine (von Haast, 1948:1-2). This event may account for the warmth of the reception he received in later years from Queen Victoria. The story, however, may be apochryphal.

A picture emerged of a prosperous and successful upper middle class family who could afford to send their only son to a prestigious university. The family were musically talented, and at that time social events centred round home entertainment. Haast learned singing and with his fine tenor voice, an emotional temperament and a commanding presence contemplated becoming an opera singer. Later he told Robert Parker, one of New Zealand's leading musicians, he had played in the orchestra under Mendelssohn's baton at Düsseldorf. He was therefore a competent violinist (von Haast, 1948:4).

After leaving university in the 1840s, Haast travelled widely in Europe visiting France, Belgium, Russia, and Austria and ascended Mt. Etna in Italy to make scientific observations during the eruption in 1852. While travelling he devoted considerable time to scientific research and the study of Art (von Haast, 1948:3). He worked for Dr. August Krantz of Bonn, who was a trader in geological and mineralogical specimens (Sheets-Pyenson, 1988:27). There is no direct evidence, that he was actually employed by Krantz but a collection of business letters (1849-1851) preserved by Haast giving minerals and prices suggested that he was either connected with Krantz's business or was himself a dealer in mineral specimens (von Haast, 1948:3). However, this fact is now in some doubt.

Much of the sparse knowledge of Haast's early life came from short biographical notices that he gave to New Zealand papers, information which was repeated with little variation (von

Haast, 1948:3). He therefore allowed others only to know what he wanted them to know about his past.

Sometime after 1841 Haast went to Vervier in Belgium where in 1842 he was initiated into the Masonic Lodge Philadelphia (Grand Orient of Belgium). It is possible he

went to Vervier because of a 'falling out with his parents' (Caudel, 2007:12-14). Clues to the reason for his move to Belgium and his intended career are given in a letter Haast wrote much later on May 4, 1881, to R. Veling, an old friend who was a stonemason. Haast stated that even as a boy he used to practice mineralogy and geology and if he had not been such a wild fellow, he should have devoted himself to mining. However, his father wanted him to leave Bonn. His free thinking on religion and politics may have caused dissention with his parents and could have been the cause of his exile in Belgium (Burrows, 2005:17-18). Matthias could have sent his son to Vervier as an act of paternal concern for his son's safety.

The question of Haast's military service has not been recorded and if he was in the army it may have been during the years 1841-1842 which are mostly undocumented. Another possibility is that he went to Belgium to avoid conscription and this may account for his move to Frankfurt upon returning to Germany rather than Bonn (Caudel, 2007:15-16).

As stated, Haast was born into a Catholic family (Caudel, 2007:12). Later correspondence from New Zealand showed that he rejected Catholicism. In Belgium on October 16, 1842, in his twenty-first year, Haast having been initiated into the Masonic Lodge received his Master's degree nearly 7 months later on May 11, 1843 (von Haast, 1948:3). Neither his Catholicism nor his association with Freemasonry were emphasised by von Haast.

It is not known what Haast did for a living in Belgium but the fact that he received his Master's degree in the Masonic Lodge on May 11, 1843, is certain. We do know that Haast became a member of a Masonic Lodge in the Walloon city of Vervier, where he was nominated as Master, and in Frankfurt he attended Masonic meetings. A stonemason from Ghent recalled that Haast introduced himself as a 'Metallurgist' (Langer, 1992:277).

Von Haast (1948) made only four references to Haast's involvement in Freemasonry: a Masonic diploma and apron and a pair of duelling pistols were among his few belongings in a sea chest when he arrived in New Zealand, the certificate of initiation and Masonic diplomas as well as his transfer to the Lodge Eclectic of Frankfurt. These objects may indicate the importance he placed on his association with Freemasonry despite his downplaying of it later. Haast served as a steward at a Masonic ball in Christchurch, in June, 1870, and his fellow-masons participated in his funeral in 1887.

Haast was an active Freemason from 1842 until his death in 1887. Caudel (2007:24) gave a detailed account of the steps Haast took to be part of this organisation. In order to receive the Master's degree Haast had to pass through three levels of Masonic initiation and satisfy the mandates to live according to the principles and virtues of a Freemason. The three Principles of Freemasonry are Brotherly Love, Charity and Truth. The Four Cardinal Virtues are Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence and Justice and a Freemason must distinguish himself in Virtue, Honour and Mercy, and must remain stoic in the face of death.

The break from Catholicism was a revolutionary act for Haast. He remained a Freemason until the end of his life but von Haast played this fact down possibly because he did not want to infer that Haast was helped to greatness by any of his associations. Caudel gave many details of Haast's connection with Freemasonry and considered that his life in Frankfurt would have been different without it. His association with Freemasonry would have affected his life both on a social and business level. It was certainly important to Haast later when he settled in Christchurch in New Zealand (Caudel, 2007:24).

In July, 1884, Haast went to the free city of Frankfurt am Main where he requested permission to work, and on September 1st, 1846, he asked for citizen rights (Langer, 1992:277). He became very involved in the music community, taking singing and violin lessons. This was probably how he met Antonie Auguste Caroline Schmitt who was a good pianist and was from a musical family. She was the daughter of Chevalier de Alois Schmitt, the Court Organist at Hanover and

Hof Kapell-Meister at Munich, who was a famous musician in those days. On October 26th, 1846, Haast and Antonie were married and their life in Germany was spent in a musical atmosphere (von Haast, 1948:4-5). Their son, Robert, was born on January 10, 1848, and after Antonie's death was brought up by her family. Haast became part of the Schmitt family and when his work took him away from home, his wife and child were not left on their own. He had married into a family of cultural importance and participated in musical activities by playing the violin and singing (Caudel, 2007:17). Antonie's brother, Carl Gustav David Schmitt, worked as a musician in Sydney and New Zealand, and died in 1900 in Auckland.

On November 18th, 1846, Haast became a citizen of Frankfurt having relinquished his Prussian citizenship. During 1849-1850 he worked in a business with Carl Christian Steinhardt trading in silk ribbons, fabrics, Paris flowers as well as a commission and shipping agency. This venture was unsuccessful and in later times proved he had little business ability (Langer, 1992:277). His work took him away from home for extended periods of time, according to his account, when he travelled around Europe (von Haast, 1948:2-3).

This is the standard biography written by Heinrich von Haast more than fifty years after his father's death, from documentary records, publications such as obituaries, letters and his own memories of discussions with his father and mother. Von Haast was uncertain on some points, and part of what he wrote was supposition (Burrows, 2005:17). This is the way in which Heinrich wanted his father to be remembered. However, evidence from Langer (1992) paints a slightly different picture.

The rather sparse information about the first thirty five years of Haast's life intrigued Professor Wolfhart Langer, Professor of Palaeontology at the University of Bonn. He examined relevant records of Haast's life in Germany prior to his emigration to New Zealand to verify, correct or dismiss some of the vague information in von Haast's biography (Caudel, 2007:2). He decided to do his own research and found Haast had understandable reasons for not disclosing all the details of his early life in Germany. The statement that Matthias Haast

was a mayor could not be confirmed and in a list of Bonn's mayors from 1800 the name Haast was not shown.

Matthias was recorded as 'the owner of a lottery business' and on Haast's birth certificate as a 'peddler' or a 'trader' so the Haast family was almost certainly not well-to-do (Burrows, 2005:17). The final certificate of his school years is available and this stated that his efforts in German, French, History and English were satisfactory but Mathematics were weak. The school was for future merchants and engineers, but even a year 13 certificate would not have been sufficient to enrol at a University (Langer, 1992:274-5). Haast returned to Bonn to take a two-year commercial apprenticeship but the type of business is not known. On circumstantial evidence it is possible that he was training as a mining technician (Burrows, 2005:17). Mining was among the most romanticised institutions in Germany and was a common field for training for young men, as Germany was the leading source of precious metals in Europe before the discovery of America (Caudel, 2007:20-21).

It is likely that Haast attended public lectures in Bonn given by von Dechen and Noeggerath as part of his apprenticeship training. Von Dechen, in particular, was well known for his educational lecture series. Haast said that he studied economy, chemistry, mineralogy and geology but it is unclear how he made use of his training as a merchant. The reference in the *Life and Times* to Haast's attendance at Bonn University would thus appear to be incorrect and there is no record of his having matriculated there. It was apparent later that he was academically talented, but Haast seems to have had no formal tertiary education and only a smattering of geological knowledge before he came to New Zealand (Burrows, 2005:17-18).

During 1849-1850 it is known that Haast worked as a seller of textiles and flowers, a haulage contractor and a bookseller. In 1852 he was recorded as being a peddler, but it is not known what kind of business he was in or why he had travelled so widely in Europe. It was presumed that he worked in a book shop in Frankfurt but it is unclear how Haast made his living in the

period of 1850 to 1857 (Langer, 1992:277). Von Haast (1948:2-3) described his father as a salesman during the time he lived in Frankfurt, but there is no evidence that he worked in relation to mines.

Having settled in Frankfurt, Haast now became employed in the book trade. His linguistic abilities had been proven and working with a bookseller would have kept him in touch with literary trends and liberal views. In 1837, Charles Hursthouse wrote a two volume book *'New Zealand: Britain of the South.'* The English publisher contacted a company in Frankfurt to have it translated into German. The commission was received by Haast which suggested a connection with the book trade. Haast carried out this translation but Langer was unable to find evidence of a German version. Haast may have also dreamed of seeing New Zealand with his own eyes after translating Hursthouse's book (Caudel, 2007:23).

Von Haast, (1948:4) records that Antonie died before Haast left Germany for New Zealand and Robert was brought up by her parents. Recent evidence has indicated that Antonie died after Haast arrived in New Zealand. Furthermore, his attendance at university and training in geology has been questioned and it is almost certain that Haast actively concealed the details of an unsuccessful earlier life in Europe (Thode, 2009:230).

Sheets-Pyenson, (1988-27) stated Haast had worked for August Krantz of Bonn, a well known dealer in geological and mineralogical specimens, but later research cast some doubt on this. Langer (1992:278) found that according to the company archives there was no evidence for such a business connection. It is possible Haast had contacts and obtained letters from Dr. Krantz' son-in-law.

Von Haast made the comment that Haast probably had 'Liberal' political opinions. People were emigrating from Germany because of misrule and hardships to which they were subjected by petty German states, high taxes and oppression of the civil officers. The mandatory service by young men for five or six years in the army took them away from their usual occupations and often rendered them unfit for any other career. Political persecutions,

hatred of the Prussians, the differences in religious policy and a system of taking from the poor in order to enrich the rulers played a considerable part in promoting this emigration (von Haast, 1948:6).

Haast achieved enough experience to be considered qualified to investigate and write about German emigration to New Zealand (Caudel, 2007:23). In 1858, a firm of English shipowners asked Haast if he would go to New Zealand to find out if the country was suitable for German immigration, an offer he was pleased to accept. The only existing document regarding emigration by Haast is a copy of a report to Willis, Gann & Co. (undated), giving reasons for emigration from Germany. Burdon, (1950:135) stated that Haast travelled to New Zealand as an immigration agent for Willis, Gann & Co., Bishopsgate Street, London, to investigate opportunities and research conditions for large-scale immigration.

Personally, Haast, according to von Haast, was impetuous and inflammable, ambitious, emotional, romantic, perhaps flamboyant, and his capacity for work unlimited. He was quick to anger and hasty in his expression of it. With his wide knowledge in various branches of science he combined the qualities of an excellent musician, a fine singer, a capable violinist, and an appreciation of the fine arts (von Haast, 1948:9).

Romanticism was the dominant cultural movement in German-speaking countries from about 1700 through the first half of the nineteenth century and the Romantic Movement reached its greatest level of achievement in Germany (Caudel, 2007:18). The Noble Savage was the concept of a natural man unencumbered by either civilization or divine revelation, and was an idealised notion of ‘nature’s gentlemen.’ This concept later evolved into the term ‘Good Savage.’ The conquest of the New World promoted the myth of the Good Savage and the indigenous inhabitants of Virginia were described as a people most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and reason. This idea was then transferred to the South Pacific.

The question has been asked why Haast came to New Zealand and what drove him to achieve so much in this country. It is possible that the word ambition is a key factor that was his guiding star. From all accounts his life in Europe had proved lacklustre and by coming to this country with drive, single mindedness and energy he rose to the top of his chosen career. Germany had not provided him with sufficient outlet for his natural abilities. Barton (2000:251-263) points out that New Zealand presented both the opportunity and the resources for a scientific career of international fame and Haast stayed to become one of New Zealand's leading colonial geologists. In 1858, the moa (16 million yr B.P.-ca.1600 A.D.) and its classifier, Richard Owen (1804-1892), had been famous for almost 20 years but Owen had never been to New Zealand. He was the archetypal scientist of empire whose reputation was made through interpreting the natural riches of the colonies by naming living and extinct fauna as he assigned their places in the elaborate classification system of species, genera, and families. Haast, like Owen before him, used the moa to build his scientific career, and he obtained most of his scientific education in New Zealand.

Haast reached Auckland on the British immigrant ship, the *Evening Star*, in December, 1858. The following day Ferdinand Hochstetter arrived on the Austrian survey ship, *Novara*, which carried a number of scientists on a scientific cruise round the world (von Haast, 1948:4-5). Hochstetter had been asked by the New Zealand government to conduct a geological survey during 1858 and 1859 (Kolig, 1986:55). Haast and Hochstetter probably met at the home of Dr. Karl Fischer in Auckland. For Haast, this was a great piece of luck, one that led to subsequent employment as a geologist. Burdon (1950:135-136) describes Haast as a tall, bearded, strongly built man, different in every detail from the frail, bespectacled, professorial looking Hochstetter. This meeting resulted in shared geological explorations, later exchanges for their museums and a lifelong friendship.

The Māori wars in Taranaki had just begun and Haast decided that the colony was not suitable for German immigration and he wrote to his employers asking to terminate their

agreement (von Haast, 1948:112). Haast made use of opportunities as they were presented to him. A chance to travel and explore the country with a German speaking geologist carrying out a geological survey was tempting, and he moved to an adventurous career in geology where his abilities and knowledge could be used.

Hochstetter and Haast made expeditions through the Auckland province, reported on the Drury coalfields and visited some Māori villages in the Waikato. Haast told the story about one occasion when they were entertained by two or three hundred Māori with a haka and listened to welcoming speeches. Everybody sat on the ground on leaves at a banquet and helped themselves with their fingers to potatoes, pork and fish from flax baskets, and Māori girls dispensed tea from large kettles. This was Haast's first encounter with Māori in New Zealand (von Haast, 1948:13-14).

On March 5, Hochstetter and Haast organised an expedition to the centre of the North Island. The presence of two servants, a cook and sixteen Māori to carry the baggage made this an easy journey. The group visited Kawhia and along the Waikato River to Lake Taupo, Lake Tarawera, Lake Rotomahana, the Pink and White Terraces and Lake Rotorua.

They went on to Maketu and Tauranga and back to Hamilton (then consisting of three small Māori villages) where they were passengers in a great war canoe with twenty paddlers at Ngāruawāhia. This canoe, or waka, would have been highly decorated and extensively carved. They had an interview with the Māori King, Pōtatau, and returned to Auckland (von Haast, 1948:21-23).

The two geologists then went to Nelson where Hochstetter asked Haast to undertake a geological examination of the eastern part of the province. Provincial governments needed surveyors to find land for settlers, mineral wealth, such as coal, and particularly gold, and there was a shortage of suitable men in the country to carry out these explorations. The completion of this important survey provided Haast with both training and a reputation and he no longer had

to remain in the shadow of his more famous colleague (Burdon, 1950:137-138). On these journeys, Haast provided companionship and contributed his knowledge of geology and mineralogy. He absorbed the many skills required, observing, sketching, mapping, and fixing the heights of peaks (Bade, 1993:146).

Hochstetter had been impressed with some moa bones in the British Museum, and was keen to get some for his own country, Austria. In the Aorere Valley, near Collingwood, in the Nelson Province, some diggers found an almost perfect moa skeleton which was complete with each bone in its proper place and moa crop stones still where the stomach had been, showing that the bird had died in the cave (Burdon, 1950:158-159). Haast made extensive topographical and geological maps of the central and western part of the Nelson Province and gained valuable experience in exploring, mapping and collecting in difficult New Zealand conditions (Jenkinson, 1940:3-4).

Haast's meting with Hochstetter had a profound effect on his career. Haast already had some knowledge of mineralogy and geology from his reading and studies in Bonn. Hochstetter became his teacher and mentor during the extensive travels throughout New Zealand.

The book Haast produced from the report of his work in the Nelson Province was of a very high standard. It was sent to Europe, probably amended by Hochstetter, and made such an impression on the professors of the Royal University of Tübingen, that they awarded him a Doctor of Philosophy in 1862. This will be discussed later. It was a satisfying achievement for Haast and from this time on he was known as Dr. Haast. It was the first of many honours bestowed on him in later life (Burdon, 1950:146-147). Haast was able to obtain employment as Provincial Geologist without qualifications and nobody bothered to research his academic career. This in no way diminished Haast's skill as a geologist, a botanist and later as a museum builder.

In Christchurch a scheme was put forward to build a railway tunnel through Mt. Pleasant, connecting the port of Lyttelton with Christchurch. Haast examined this possibility and

prepared a report for the Provincial Council (Burdon, 1950:147-148). The success of this work influenced the Canterbury Provincial Government to offer him the position of Provincial Geologist, which he accepted.

On February 15, 1861, Haast began work as Provincial Geologist with a salary of £500. This may have been the first formal appointment of a scientist in New Zealand. Haast arrived in Canterbury with seven cases of specimens and an herbarium which later became the nucleus of the Canterbury Museum. He was given office space for the Geological Survey in the Provincial Government buildings. The mineralogical surveyor was now referred to as the 'eminent geologist and savant'. A career lay open for a man of Haast's knowledge and achievements and having found permanent employment, he decided to settle in New Zealand (Burdon, 1950:150). He adopted New Zealand as his country, and was naturalised as a British subject in February, 1861, through the recently passed Naturalisation Act, 1861 (von Haast, 1948:123).

The Canterbury Provincial Council did not employ Haast only in the interests of science. Von Haast (1948:257) was positive that materially minded members of the Council considered the primary objective of Haast's explorations of the Province was to discover minerals, particularly gold. Their expectation was that Haast would discover goldfields both in the northern and southern districts of Canterbury. Haast began a systematic survey of the province accompanied by Dr. Andrew Sinclair, a botanist aged sixty-five who was delighted at the prospect of an expedition in the company of a man who he described as "jolly, joyous Haast" (Burdon, 1950:151-152).

In June, 1868, the geological survey of the Canterbury Province ended, and Haast handed over his maps, his diagrams and a collection of over 7,000 geological and botanical specimens for which there was no proper storage, to the Provincial Council (Burdon, 1950:165). This was the beginning of Haast's advocacy for a museum in Christchurch and the start of his career as a museologist. He now began a long struggle to overcome political and local opposition to this

project and it was his energy, drive and organising ability which eventually gained his objective of seeing the Canterbury Museum opened.

Hochstetter (later von Hochstetter) became Director of the Imperial Natural History Museum in Vienna and he continued to correspond with Haast (Kolig, 1986:55). Haast asked the New Zealand Government to subsidize the translation of Hochstetter's book on New Zealand (von Haast, 1948:32). In May, 1865, Haast was made Knight of the Order of Franz Joseph from Vienna (not a knighthood) for this work. At a later date, June 15, 1875, Haast received an Austrian hereditary knighthood, the Order of the Iron Cross carrying with it the title of 'Ritter von' and he became Julius von Haast (Burrage, n.d.).

This was the beginning of a long and distinguished career of the German geologist and businessman, Julius Haast, who had the ability to use opportunities as they appeared, to advance his career. He attracted people of similar interests and one such was John Gully who was working as a draughtsman in the Survey Office in Nelson (von Haast, 1948:44). Haast gave Gully a commission to create landscape paintings using Haast's survey drawings as models (McLean, 2001:48).

Haast had established himself in Christchurch, and decided to settle down. Caudel (2007:12) noted that Haast had taken up Freemasonry and there was, at this time, little mention of his Catholic upbringing. Haast married Mary Dobson, oldest daughter of Edward Dobson, the Provincial Engineer in Christchurch on June 25, 1863. Mary was 20 years younger than Haast and at this time he claimed that he was born in 1824. They had a happy and successful marriage, and Mary took on the work of copying Haast's papers which was invaluable to her husband. On February 8, 1864, Haast presented a paper entitled *'Notes on the Mountains and Glaciers of the Canterbury Province, New Zealand'* to the Royal Geographical Society in London. It was read by the Society's President, Sir Roderick Murchison, and the paper was illustrated by the twelve water-colours painted by John Gully from Haast's sketches. This was

the first of several articles sent to the Royal Geographical Society and to the Geological Society, which gave Haast his European reputation. In 1863, Haast was elected a Fellow of the Geological Society of London (von Haast, 1948:330-331). According to Paul (1947:4) these paintings were stored in the archives of the Royal Geographical Society for 110 years until 1974, when the twelve paintings were purchased by the Alexander Turnbull Library, in Wellington.

2.2 THE PHILOSOPHICAL INSTITUTE

Where it occurs in an unpopulated place, colonisation is the reproduction of the society familiar to immigrants in a new land. This involved the creation of a resident population through immigration and establishment of the necessary physical, economic and administrative facilities for the people. It also involves the incorporation of indigenous peoples into the society of the colonists and the acquisition of resources through purchase, appropriation or conquest. Following this there were also moves to establish cultural and scientific institutions (Hoare, 1967:7). The Christchurch Mechanics' Institute was established in 1852 (Sheets-Pyenson, 1988:48-49).

By 1862, Haast thought there was enough interest to form the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury and he was President on many occasions (Dale, 1933:177). This was one of Haast's services to science and the Institute became the scientific and cultural centre of Christchurch providing a place where men of more intellectual pursuits could meet and exchange ideas. It was also a social group and membership included a cross-section of the people of Christchurch but as far as we can tell, no Māori (von Haast, 1948:241).

To some extent, the formation of learned societies represented a moment in the reproduction of a more fully-fledged European society in New Zealand. However, scientific credentials, overseas acknowledgements and honours were not valued in a colony dedicated to the making

Illustration 2.1 - Mary Dobson (von Haast, 1948, opposite page 624).

of money and the practical business of creating a colonial economy. The first meeting of the Institute was held on Monday, September 1, 1862, in the office of the Geological Survey (http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Moslllutl-body 1-d6-d-12.html, Retrieved 19/07/2009).

Haast proposed the institutions necessary for the growing Colony were: (1) an Acclimatization Society, (2) the erection of a museum, (3) the formation of a library, (4) the establishment of a laboratory, and (5) the erection of an observatory for astronomical and meteorological observations (von Haast, 1948:224-225). He considered each of these ssociations were necessary for a transplanted European society but were restricted by the financial means available.

Haast encouraged men of enquiring minds into the group which contained the cream of Canterbury's intelligent men. It was here that he lectured on his theories on the puzzle of the moa, Moa-hunters and Māori. In 1887, he resigned as President of the Philosophical Institute in consequence of the Moa-bone Point Cave controversy (von Haast, 1948:241), but according to Burdon (1950:189-190) was reinstated by popular request of the members.

In his inaugural address to the New Zealand Institute, the National Scientific organisation, Governor Sir George Fergusson Bowen, G.C.M.C. on August 4, 1868, stated that the main justification for founding this Institute was to make provision for healthy intellectual recreation, and also to provide guidance and help for the people of New Zealand in subduing and replenishing the earth and in the heroic work of colonisation. Furthermore, he considered it would be one of the main objects of the Institute to collect all records that can throw light on a complicated, difficult but interesting subject, namely the past and present condition and future prospects of the Māori race (Bowen, 1868:3-9).

From the outset, questions concerning Māori were regarded as a part of the colonial project.

2.3 ESTABLISHING THE CANTERBURY MUSEUM

Haast arrived in Christchurch in February, 1861, and was given rooms on the first floor in the north-eastern angle of the Provincial Government buildings, consisting of the high tower room, his office and an inner lower room. He found living accommodation at the Christchurch Club and remained there until his marriage (von Haast, 1948:123).

Haast carried out a geological survey of the Canterbury Province and planned to make a complete collection of its rocks and ores. He intended that these specimens should be arranged in a geological museum in a building to be provided by the Provincial Government in Christchurch, which would also serve as his office during the progress of his work. He advocated for the development of a museum and the nucleus of the museum would be the collections made during his survey of the Province. His intention was to exchange specimens with other museums, so that when his work was finished, there would be something which would prove advantageous to the intellectual development of the inhabitants as well as to the material development of the resources of the Province. He was contracted to deliver three popular lectures in Christchurch and Lyttelton. Haast asked the Provincial Council for money to buy a complete geological and mineralogical collection for comparison, and funds were set aside for this purpose (von Haast, 1948:194).

In 1862, a collection of German ores, fossils and minerals was sent out by Hochstetter. Then one of the moa skeletons from Nelson arrived into office space already filled to capacity. From this time on the situation grew steadily worse as objects began to pour in upon Haast. With great generosity, directors of museums in Europe and America sent him quantities of specimens in exchange for those he had sent to them. There was nowhere available to display or store these treasures and in struggling to find space, Haast began his long campaign for a museum to house his collections (Burdon, 1950:72).

In his address to the Canterbury Philosophical Institute in 1862, Haast proposed that the erection of a museum of economic geology and of natural history would be of the highest importance for those who required instruction or intellectual enjoyment, but also for those who understood the great value of well arranged collections which could aid the development of the resources of the Province. Furthermore, Haast stated that he was often struck with the zeal and the desire for knowledge shown by all classes of settlers who came to see the collections made during geological surveys (Walker, 1991:5).

In 1863, Haast asked that suitable land should be bought for the purpose of building a museum which he suggested should have two divisions. Firstly: objects of nature, illustrations of animal and vegetable life in their existing forms, and also in the forms of fossils. Secondly: illustrations of a lifeless nature, geological and mineralogical specimens, pictures, statues, curios, gems, books and manuscripts (von Haast, 1948:333). It should be noted that there was no particular place assigned for Māori culture in this schema. Presumably, as with the Linnean Society of New South Wales documented by Anderson (1998:133-5), Māori culture was incorporated as a part of 'natural history' and was not regarded as culture at all.

In the same year, (1863), Haast persuaded the Provincial Council to vote £300 for fitting up his office as a museum while he moved into offices formerly occupied by the Commissioner of Police. He arranged and classified his collections ready for the public to be admitted, when once again the Provincial Government needing further accommodation asked him to give up his new rooms and return to his old ones (Burdon, 1950:172-173).

Haast agreed to give up the rooms he was occupying if the money for the fitting of a museum could be found, and he moved back to the old rooms and arranged and classified the collections. Catalogues were prepared and everything seemed ready for a temporary museum to be open for the public but the Provincial Government had an immediate need for accommodation, and requested he move again. So the opening of the museum was postponed (von Haast, 1948:334-335).

Haast repacked his specimens and returned to the uncomfortable and inconvenient old rooms, but the collection still increased with bird and animal skins arriving from Vienna and Sydney and something had to be done. His old office became free once more to be established as a show room, in addition to which he managed to annex the coffee room of the Provincial Chambers. For the second time, he arranged and classified specimens in the hope of exhibiting them to the public (Burdon, 1950:173).

The Christchurch Press, September 24, 1864, considered that half of Haast's work was rendered worthless without a proper museum, and that the process of collecting and arranging specimens would not end in a few months, or years, or even in a lifetime but was the work of generations. Museums, like libraries, are the keystones of all educational systems. The Provincial Council finally paid attention to the Press and on October 28, an advertisement was prepared by the Secretary for Public Works which invited designs for a stone building for a Provincial Museum, and offered a premium of £50 for the best design (von Haast, 1948:394).

By the end of 1866, it was impossible to find space for Haast's collections and moa bones in his offices, so the Government gave him a small cottage close to the Government buildings for an office and storeroom. The taxidermist now had a workroom and the first seven moa skeletons were articulated. On December 3, 1867, the temporary museum was opened to the public and the moa skeletons were placed near the skeleton of Jack the Kangaroo as a comparison with the enormous moa. There were 7,886 specimens, all properly labelled, of which 4,312 had been collected by Haast, and 3,575 obtained from foreign countries. Although Haast had not yet been provided with a museum, he had gained his first objective, the public display of the collections (von Haast, 1948:503-504).

Haast realised that the best way to get a museum was to involve the interest of the general public because the people of Christchurch could not be expected to become enthusiastic on hearsay alone without actually seeing the exhibits. When the seven moa skeletons were articulated public interest was at last aroused. Plans were prepared and money allocated and it seemed there really was going to be a museum at last. Haast was jubilant. However, there were uncertainties in the Council and the needs of civic pride, extravagance, prudence, wisdom and folly all struggled for supremacy. It was difficult to throw off the rigid economies and the need for utilities now that the early pioneering days were over (Burdon, 1950:175-176).

Eventually Haast convinced the Canterbury Provincial Council to accept the museum as necessary for educational needs for the community and particularly in the future (von Haast,

1948:140). The classification of nature and the creation of reference collections was also an important part of the colonial project.

Burdon (1950:176) described the roller-coaster of hope and disappointments, the continual packing and unpacking, the orders and counter orders that tried Haast's patience severely. He felt that once public opinion was on his side the opposition would have no choice but to give way and he never lost confidence in his final success. When the temporary museum was eventually opened at the end of 1867, there was not enough room to display the whole collection but as much of it as possible was placed in view. The two available rooms were at opposite ends of the building and some visitors, having seen one room, assumed they had seen the whole collection and went home. The moa skeletons alone were a very powerful attraction and the museum became an extremely popular destination for visitors and sightseers.

In 1867 Haast was created Professor of Geology and Palaeontology at Canterbury College and became Professor Julius von Haast. His appointment as Provincial Geologist ended in June, 1868, and he offered his free services as honorary director of the museum and this offer was accepted. From the security of his unpaid position he expressed disapproval towards the Councillors who opposed him (Burdon, 1950:176). Haast had to fight for his Provincial Government salary and fend off the attacks upon him by Provincial Councillors (von Haast, 1948:192). Haast repeatedly stated he had not found gold in Canterbury because it was not gold-bearing country, and that the wealth of the Province lay in its pasture land. Many businessmen did not believe him and called him a charlatan because they wanted to have the wealth in gold that had been discovered in Otago. Some Councillors wanted him to be dismissed from his post as Provincial Geologist. There was an overwhelming demand in the Province and Christchurch for bridges, roads, railways and drainage, which explains the hostility of many of the Provincial Councillors who complained that Haast was making a European reputation at the expense of the Province (von Haast, 1948:130). The Councillors

were unwilling to vote funds for anything from which they could not see a direct financial return (von Haast, 1948:196-197).

On November 16, 1868, the Lyttelton Times urged the people of Christchurch to support the Canterbury Museum. Haast felt the museum would add to the complete education which he hoped to have within the reach of every child in the Province (von Haast, 1948:501-502). He had always seen the Canterbury Museum as the starting point of higher education, and had urged the establishment of science lectures there (Sheets-Pyenson, 1988:101).

Von Haast (1948:481) noted that the Secretary for Public Works advertised for tenders for the erection of a museum in the Government Domain at Christchurch, and plans and specifications could be seen at the Provincial Engineer's office. The building, designed by the Provincial Engineer, had been planned so that additions could be made to either the ends or the sides without detriment to the original design. It was to be almost wholly of brick, and was fire, water, and dust proof, and would be 50 ft. 6 ins. (15.39 m.) by 30 ft. (9.14 m.). It was to have a gabled roof with an arched ceiling supported on six timber ribs springing from the ground on each side, and lighting was to come from skylights in each gable. The floor would be asphalt, and at each end there would be a door-way, which would usually be closed, for the admission of large specimens.

By September, 1869, the building was reported to be nearing completion and Haast was preparing to move from the Provincial Buildings. A large number of cases of European and American specimens were soon to be delivered and Haast was reaping the benefit of exchanging moa bones with overseas institutions. However, another year was to pass before the museum could be opened (von Haast, 1948:597-598).

Eventually, the grey stone, lancet-windowed Canterbury Museum was formally opened on September 30, 1870. It was opened to the public on a spring day, October 1, 1870, in a central location next to the 500 acre (202.3 hectare) Hagley Park. The most impressive display in its main room was a small group of skeletons of the extinct giant moa bird, which ranged in height

from 4 ft. (1.21 m.) to nearly 12 ft. (3.65 m.). The Canterbury Museum quickly established an outstanding reputation and became the largest museum building in the country (Sheets-Pyenson, 1988:49).

In the 1870s an addition was built and a 'moa room' opened to the left of the museum entrance. Around 16,000 people signed the guest register each year but the methodical Haast observed that only one in three persons bothered to record the visit. The actual numbers of visitors reached nearly 50,000 (Sheets-Pyenson, 1988:50).

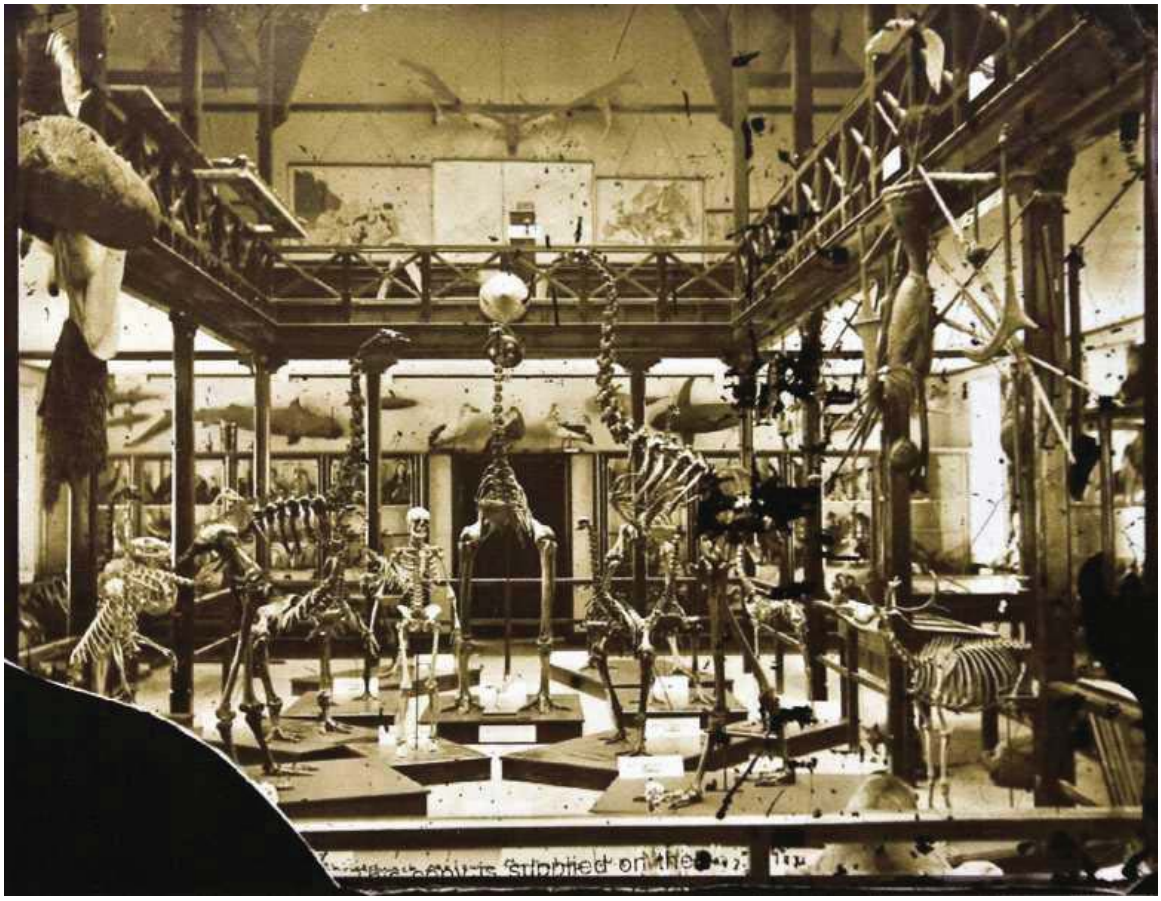

Illustration 2.2 - Interior of Canterbury Museum (Courtesy of the Canterbury Museum).

According to Sheets-Pyenson, (1988:51) £14,000 was voted by a succeeding government the following year for necessary additions. Progress was slow and grants were received through lawsuits instigated by Haast against provincial authorities. His aggressive attitude towards State frugality was amazing, and not only did he refuse to accept a reduction in his allocation, but he

also successfully sued the government for failing to deliver the support it promised. During this phase of the museum's development, Haast's attention turned to ethnological materials in particular. The museum opened a complete 'Māori House' as an exhibition room, discussed further below.

From the 1880s onwards, huge assortments of moa bones and artefacts of Māori tribes were crated up from sites near Christchurch as exchanges with foreign museums. This meant that for the first time moa bones were displayed in locations abroad other than England, and Haast now became a 'Merchant in Moas' (Sheets-Pyenson, 1988:81). The moa bones were recovered from swamp sites but the source of the 'huge assortment' of Māori artefacts has not been recorded. These artefacts could have come from Haast's excavations or have been gifted to him.

Up until 1864, Haast had been working alone, but from 1869, he employed F.R. Fuller as his taxidermist. By the end of 1871, Fuller had mounted ten moa skeletons and arranged a total of two hundred other birds and forty-four mammals. However, Haast was having difficulties with Fuller, who tragically, was subject to depression and drank heavily on the job. When Haast dismissed him Fuller took arsenic and died (von Haast, 1948:793). The appointment of another taxidermist became a matter of urgency but there was nobody in New Zealand with the necessary experience. Haast wrote to Hochstetter in 1876, who recommended Andreas Reischeck who was able to turn tools, make glass eyes and anything else required. Hochstetter added that Haast would have in Reischeck a very capable craftsman and a very upright man. Reischeck undertook to travel to New Zealand on a two-year contract (King, 1981:30-31). He landed in Port Chalmers on April 20, 1877 where he was met by Haast. They went straight to the museum and Reischeck found good collections and case upon case of skins and skeletons waiting for his attention.

Haast wanted groups of specimens ready by June 10 for the opening of the new wing. Reischeck worked long hours on the two groups, involving bears with an antelope, lynx and condor, and two chamois with hares, marmots, a mountain cock and hens. Both groups were

ready in time (Bade, 1993:162). The major event of 1878 for Reischeck and Haast was the opening of the Great Hall or Mammal Room in September. Once again, Reischeck worked day and night to have everything completed (Bade, 1993:164).

In 1873, with exhibits pouring into the museum and material stacked up in cases for want of room to arrange and display it, a further addition to the building was urgently needed. The Provincial Council had voted £5,000 for such an addition, and the Trustees called for tenders. The large and varied collections in the museum were awaiting a building, showcases and glass jars, before they could be exhibited. There was a vast array of animals, birds, fish, reptiles, plants, shells, rocks and ores, antiquities and curios, from all parts of the world (von Haast, 1948:657-659).

2.4 THE GLENMARK SWAMP

In December, 1866, Haast received an invitation from G.H. Moore, the New Zealand partner of Messrs. Kermode and Co. to visit their sheep-station, at Glenmark, north of the Waipara River. During the drainage of a swamp, large quantities of moa bones had been found and Haast and some of Moore's workmen excavated them. About thirty specimens of closely packed moa formed one mass, making it impossible to separate the bones of each bird, and Haast returned to Christchurch with a wagon-load of bones. Moore presented this unique collection of remains of the extinct bird to the later Canterbury Museum (von Haast, 1948:481-482). This was a landmark event in the development of Haast's career.

With the help of Mr. R.L. Fuller, Haast's taxidermist, the bones were separated and articulated (Haast, 1868:80). Haast estimated that at least 1,000 moa had died in the swamp along with the remains of numerous other birds, a quantity equal to the amount found in the previous thirty years (Thode, 2009:230). Fuller articulated seven moa skeletons which formed the beginning of a remarkable collection, unrivalled in the world. This material provided Haast with bones which he exchanged for valuable objects from overseas. The Glenmark discoveries marked a new era

in the history of the museum, but also in Haast's researches, which were in future to extend to enquiries into the earth's structure and the problems concerning 'Moas and Moa-hunters.' He was the first to approach these questions from the geological point of view (von Haast, 1948:483-485).

The bones which came from Glenmark swamp in Canterbury were so large that Richard Owen, Professor of Anatomy at the Royal College of Surgeons (1869b; 1874) confidently assigned them to a new genus and species, Dinornis maximus (Anderson, 1989:20). Haast identified 138 adult moa, and 27 young birds (Anderson, 1989:48). There is evidence to show that the different species of Dinornis already lived at Glenmark when the valley was first filled with debris bought down from the higher regions during the glacial period of the Ice Age. Beneath the Glenmark stratum moa bones were obtained at the edge of the stream, at least 30 ft. (9.14 m.) lower, convincing Haast that a long period had elapsed between the formation of the first and last deposits (Anderson, 1989:4-5).

It was partly due to work on the Glenmark swamp excavations that Haast was appointed director of the Canterbury Museum, a museum with the largest collection of moa bones in the world. In his geological surveys, Haast found moa bones embedded in morainic accumulations which he considered to be conclusive evidence that the birds had existed during the glacial period, between two million and 10,000 years ago. Because the moa was extinct and because Lyell, who wrote '*Principles of Geology',* (1830-33), had discussed the presence of extinct fauna during the glacial period in Europe, Haast concluded that the age of the extinct fossils too were glacial. Today we would use the term Pleistocene, which is defined in terms of its glacials and interglacials. He therefore made the assumption that moa were contemporary with the giant quadrupeds of the Northern Hemisphere, namely the mammoth, the cave lion, and the cave bear, and would probably have become extinct at about the same time. The excavations at Glenmark appeared to confirm these opinions (Haast, 1871).

It was here that Haast made his first scientific connection with Māori through his deduction that because there were no predators in New Zealand he believed the cause of the disappearance of the moa could have only been a consequence of the actions of humans. However, as will be discussed in more detail below, Haast argued that if the moa had been long extinct and the Māori occupation comparatively recent, then the human race responsible for the birds' destruction must also be extinct. These deductions seemed to be confirmed when, in 1869, the excavation of an ancient camping ground on the banks of the Rakaia River showed beyond doubt that human beings had existed contemporaneously with the moa. Close beside the buried moa bones were ovens in which the flesh of the birds had been cooked (Burdon, 1950:179).

As the son of a merchant in Germany and someone who had worked for a dealer in mineral specimens, Haast was familiar with business techniques and the challenges and excitement of trading. Moa bones proved to be an excellent currency for trade and exchange and he used their potential to build up and increase the collections of the Canterbury Museum. He established an extensive network of friends and acquaintances among museums, curators of museums and agents trading in museum exhibits round the world. He became the leading authority on the extinct moa and the aboriginal tribes he believed had hunted it. Anderson, (1989) dedicated his book 'Prodigious Birds, Moa and Moa-hunting in Prehistoric New Zealand,' "To the memory of Sir Julius von Haast (1822-1887), father of research on moas and moa-hunting in New Zealand" (Anderson, 1989).

2.5 CONTROVERSY OVER OPENING THE MUSEUM ON SUNDAY

A controversy arose in June, 1873, over a proposal to open the museum for two hours on Sunday afternoon. While Sundays were one of the few days workers might visit a museum, the controversy showed the strong religious feelings within the community at that time. A motion in the Provincial Council for Sunday opening was carried by 19 to 12 so that people who worked on week days could have the opportunity to visit the museum. This innocent motion

raised a perfect storm of protest and the proposal was denounced as an outrage on the religious feeling of the community. A petition was circulated declaring that the opening of the museum on Sunday would increase Sunday labour, multiply Sunday trains, increase Sunday traffic in intoxicating drink, and generally change the character of the community which had until now been law-abiding, orderly and distinguished for its respect for religion (von Haast, 1948:659-660).

2.6 SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed Haast's youth and disputed academic record, particularly in geology, his arrival and survey work in New Zealand and the steps which led to the opening of the Canterbury Museum in 1870 with Haast as its first director. Haast was interested in advancing the colonial development of Canterbury not only in utilitarian terms but more importantly in the establishment of cultural institutions. He promoted the Canterbury Philosophical Institute which became the intellectual centre in Christchurch. It was here that Haast lectured on his theories on the moa, Moa-hunters and Māori.

The Canterbury Museum was completed and opened on October 1, 1870, and it remains a lasting monument to Haast's energy and enthusiasm. It was intended for the entertainment and education of the general public and future generations. The setting up of the Philosophical Institute and the establishment of the museum through Haast's advocacy assisted Haast's material advancement as Professor and Museum Director, a happy conjunction from which Haast benefited throughout his career. In the next chapter, Haast's theories concerning the age and identity of the Moa-hunters, his scientific excavations and his use of Māori as the subject of scientific inquiry will be discussed.

Chapter 3 – Maori as subjects of study

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter Haast's excavations and the scientific theories he put forward to explain the data he had recovered will be reviewed. Controversies concerning the identity of Moa-hunters and Māori will be discussed, particularly those involving Alexander McKay. Secondly, there will be a discussion of Haast's scientific studies of Māori skeletal remains, including the human remains recovered from Moa-bone Point Cave together with the collection of crania he put together for the Canterbury Museum. This collection included tattooed heads. In these instances, Haast, as an archaeologist and museum curator, was interested in studying and locating Māori within a wider scientific discourse based largely on concepts of evolution. In this regard, Māori material for Haast represented a way to advance the cause of science in New Zealand. Māori are defined as members of the indigenous race descended from the original settlers who colonised Aotearoa from East Polynesia. They cherish patterns of behaviour, organization and values that are distinctively Māori and are intensely proud of their ethnic and cultural identity (Metge, 1967:39).

3.2 HAAST'S EXCAVATIONS

As a geologist, Haast was familiar with the principles of stratigraphy. He gained further experience in excavation techniques from the early excavations of moa remains. He had previously dug up moa bones from a cave near Collingwood in the Nelson District and later excavated large quantities of moa bones from Glenmark Swamp, discussed above (Burdon, 1950:179). His interest in moa and their age led Haast to the excavation of archaeological sites in New Zealand, where moa bones were present. In his 1871 article 'Moas and Moa-hunters'

Haast examined the geological evidence for the age of the moa. He noted the occurrence of moa remains in both glacial deposits and post-Pleistocene shingles (Haast, 1871:70). From this, Haast deduced that moa had survived in New Zealand until relatively recently but left unanswered the question of how recent the remains were. Haast reviewed the evidence, finding that the extinction had occurred before the arrival of the present day Māori inhabitants. This finding was based on the fact that the moa had become extinct before the arrival of the European and the fact that accounts of the moa were absent from Māori traditions.

It is here Haast turned to his knowledge of European prehistory to assist his interpretations. He refers to Boucher de Perthes' demonstrations of the coexistence of humans with extinct mammals in the Somme gravels and the Three Age system (Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages) for ordering the prehistoric remains found in Europe. Finally, Haast noted that the Stone Age could be divided into an Old Stone Age (Palaeolithic) and a New Stone Age (Neolithic), with the division being based on the presence and/or absence of polished stone tools (axes or adzes) (Haast, 1871:67-69). It is this latter distinction, using the presence or absence of polished stone tools to provide a relative chronology Haast used to determine the timing of moa extinctions and the identity of the humans responsible.

As early as 1862, Haast put forward the theory that New Zealand was once inhabited by a pre-Māori people. His views were confirmed by his field observations at Sumner Dunes, Bruce Bay and Rakaia River (Anderson, 1989:101). In 1868, a farmer ploughing land at Rakaia River Mouth unearthed evidence of numerous fireplaces, stone tools and moa remains. He informed Haast, who mapped and recovered the surface remains of an ancient camping ground as a form of surface excavation. The proximity of ovens and burnt moa remains convinced Haast that human beings had been contemporaneous with the moa. Close beside the buried moa bones were ovens in which the flesh of the birds had been cooked. Crude unpolished implements were lying all around the ovens, from which Haast concluded that the Moa-hunters must have belonged to the Palaeolithic or chipped stone age, as opposed to the Neolithic, or ground stone

age to which he believed Māori belonged. Polished stone adzes were also found at Rakaia River Mouth but these were discovered at a distance from the ovens (Burdon, 1950:179-180).

Haast was able to compare the Rakaia River flaked artefacts with artefacts representative of the European Stone Age in the collections obtained through a system of exchange. In 1869, specimens of prehistoric stone implements were sent by Mr. J.A. Flower of Croydon, England. Assemblages found at Moa-bone Point Cave including adzes, blades, scrapers, knives, drills, chert cores and obsidian flakes in association with moa bones were used to prove human presence in the post-Pliocene period. A flint implement demonstrating a typical Palaeolithic spear-head pattern found in this deposit closely resembled those found in the mammoth and rhinoceros beds in Northern Europe. This according to Haast was proof of the similar age of these human populations (Cameron, 2000:103-104). He considered the flaked stone tools used by the Moa-hunters resembled those found in the mammoth and rhinoceros beds of Europe (Anderson, 1989:101; Haast, 1872a:85).

From these findings, Haast formulated his local prehistoric sequence according to Lubbock's sub-division for the Stone Age into two distinct phases, the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic. Haast used this division to confirm racial identity and relationships between the two populations in the local sequence. This completed the transference of a European historical model as a way of understanding the course of indigenous history in New Zealand (Cameron, 2000:93-96).

The evidence of the bones of the extinct moa he had excavated indicated to Haast that the Moa-hunters were an ancient pre-Māori group of hunters, different from the more recent Māori arrivals and his division was based on the time difference between the presence of chipped stone and polished stone implements. Haast (1871) proposed that New Zealand had a race of autochthonous peoples who hunted megafauna, the moa. The word autochthonous described an original inhabitant, or one supposed to have sprung from the soil as opposed to Māori who had

traditions noting their arrival from elsewhere. Drawing on similarities with the cultures of the European Palaeolithic, such as the use of chipped stone, Haast argued that his Moa-hunters coexisted with the moa, and preceded a Neolithic Māori race (Jones, Hooker & Anderson, 1998:111-112; Davidson, 1948:12).

3.3 MOA-BONE POINT CAVE

The next step for Haast was the excavation at the Moa-bone Point Cave near Sumner in Christchurch where he also uncovered moa bones in conjunction with human remains. On the way to Sumner, near Christchurch, the Moa-bone Point Cave can be seen, with its overhanging roof almost touching a huge rock that narrows its entrance. The work here was undertaken to gain information on the earliest human inhabitants of Canterbury. Subscriptions were collected to finance the dig and Haast supervised the work and examined the sections as the excavations progressed. The excavation was carried out by two men under Haast's direction. One of them, Alexander McKay, had worked for Haast before and was described by Burdon as having a profound interest in the Moa-hunter question and a considerable education but as noted later, McKay's education was limited. Noticing his eagerness for knowledge, Haast carefully explained the significance of all objects discovered. McKay proved such an industrious pupil that Haast trusted him with the collection of fossils and geological specimens for the museum (Burdon, 1950:187-188).

On September 13, Haast's two labourers began work by digging two trenches, crossing each other at right angles in the centre of the cave, and going down until they reached the lowest deposits showing human occupation. As they dug down they came across the remains of three distinct classes of artefacts. On the surface, from 7 ins. to 2 ft. (18 to 61 cms), there were traces of occupation by Europeans, their goats, cattle and horses which had been stabled there, also straw, tins, bottles and matchboxes (von Haast, 1948:724). Haast examined the sections as the excavations progressed.

At the next level there were shell-beds with layers of ash-beds between. Haast refers to these people as 'Shell-fish eaters' as there was no evidence of moa as a food source. The bones of dogs, seals, birds, especially shags and fish, showed that they had not been restricted to a shellfish diet. Spears, fish-hooks, nets, fern-root pounders, flax bags for preserving birds in their own fat, and firesticks, demonstrated their hunting, fishing and cooking operations. The excavators struck a lower series of beds, an ash and dirt bed in which they found moa bones, the leg bones broken for the marrow, then egg-shells, seals, birds, fish and a few shellfish. There were also fire sticks, polished stone implements and the stones of three cooking ovens (von Haast, 1948:724:725). Almost 3,000 bones, pieces of eggshell and artefacts were recovered and taken to the museum (Trotter, 1988:19).

The identity of the early population as Moa-hunters was confirmed on the basis of diet. The presence of moa bones and midden material in association with chipped and polished stone tools verified Haast's view that the Moa-hunter people were contemporaneous with the moa and included moa in their diet (Cameron, 2000:103).

Geological specimens, moa bones, adzes, scrapers, drills, chert cores and obsidian flakes from the excavations of the Moa-bone Point Cave kitchen middens were displayed as proof of human presence of the Quaternary (Pleistocene). This was an affirmation of Haast's use of de Perthes' ideas about the contemporaneous relationship between early human populations and the extinct megafauna. The presence of crude flint implements such as chert cores and obsidian flakes (evidence of Stone Age technology similar to the people of Northern Europe), and moa bones (the presence of extinct megafauna) illustrated his hypothesis that the New Zealand sequence followed that of Northern Europe (Cameron, 2000:255-256). The excavations at Moa-bone Point Cave resulted in New Zealand's first proper excavation report (Haast, 1875a; Yaldwin, et al., 2006:284).

Haast's excavations at Moa-bone Point Cave led to a dispute that almost ruptured the New Zealand Institute. Von Haast (1948:722) noted that three of New Zealand's leading geologists, Haast, Hector and McKay were the important participants in the argument.

3.4 MCKAY AND THE MOA-BONE POINT CAVE CONTROVERSY

The dispute between Haast and Alexander McKay was the first major scientific controversy in New Zealand. The row began with a series of addresses which Haast made to the Canterbury Institute and which were subsequently published (Haast, 1872a; b; c).

As previously stated, Alexander McKay was one of Haast's workmen at the Moa-bone Point Cave excavation. McKay came to New Zealand in 1863, aged 22. However, contrary to Burdon's assessment, Yaldwin, Dawson and Davidson (2006:284) considered he was entirely self taught as a scientist, and his only formal education was attendance at a village school in his native Scotland to age 11. He worked as a gold miner for four years exploring and prospecting in the Mackenzie country. Here he first met Haast who employed him as a geological assistant before engaging him as a workman on the excavation at Moa-bone Point Cave in 1872.

McKay was a quick learner and readily grasped the identification of the main rock types, the sort of specific observations that were necessary, and the need for careful and accurate recording. Haast recognised his energy and intellect, and opened McKay's eyes to the rewards and satisfaction of a life of scientific investigation (Bishop, 2008:102). Haast had employed McKay at the museum doing menial work and lent him books and assisted him in a number of ways. When McKay was employed at the Moa-bone Point Cave excavation Haast superintended the work himself, generally going down to the cave twice a week to direct the proceedings. All the principal discoveries with one exception were made under Haast's own eye, or hands, but the measurements were made by Haast and the notes written on the spot, as he trusted no one else with these matters. Haast passed on freely to McKay his views about the interesting excavations (Haast, 1874:529).

Illustration 3.1 - Alexander McKay (Bishop, G., 2008:186).

Some time after the excavation, Haast claimed that McKay had asked him for permission to write up some notes of the results. Haast later said he had encouraged McKay to do so, but after reading the notes he tore them up as being of no value. McKay on the other hand, was to report that Haast ordered him to his study to supply him with the notes he had made, they discussed the results and McKay expressed his interpretations of them. In McKay's opinion the evidence proved that the Moa-hunters were related to Polynesian Māori as they possessed polished stone axes and other tools and ornaments. He concluded there was no evidence the moa were

exterminated by a previous culture, and it was possible the Māori had been in New Zealand for much longer than was generally thought, and they may have hunted the birds to extinction relatively soon after their arrival (Bishop, 2008:105). McKay stated there was no longer any doubt that the Moa-hunters used polished stone implements. Haast, it appears, replied somewhat abruptly saying he had no personal views to uphold but was only concerned to arrive at the truth.

The excavation lasted from September 23 to November 9, 1872, but Haast's report on the result of these excavations was delayed until the end of 1874 owing to the pressure of work at the museum and the accumulation of material there (Burdon, 1950:187-188). McKay, who was now employed by James Hector at the Colonial Museum in Wellington, had no way of knowing whether Haast intended to remain silent forever on the subject of the Sumner Cave. He therefore expanded the notes he had made and showed them to Hector who read them before the Wellington Philosophical Society, and afterwards had them printed in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*. The tone of McKay's paper was modest and the views expressed were tentative. It contained a general description of objects discovered and a pointed suggestion that the presence of ground stone tools and moa bones in the same bed or layer left little doubt that the Moa-hunters had used instruments of high polish, both in wood and stone (Burdon, 1950:188).

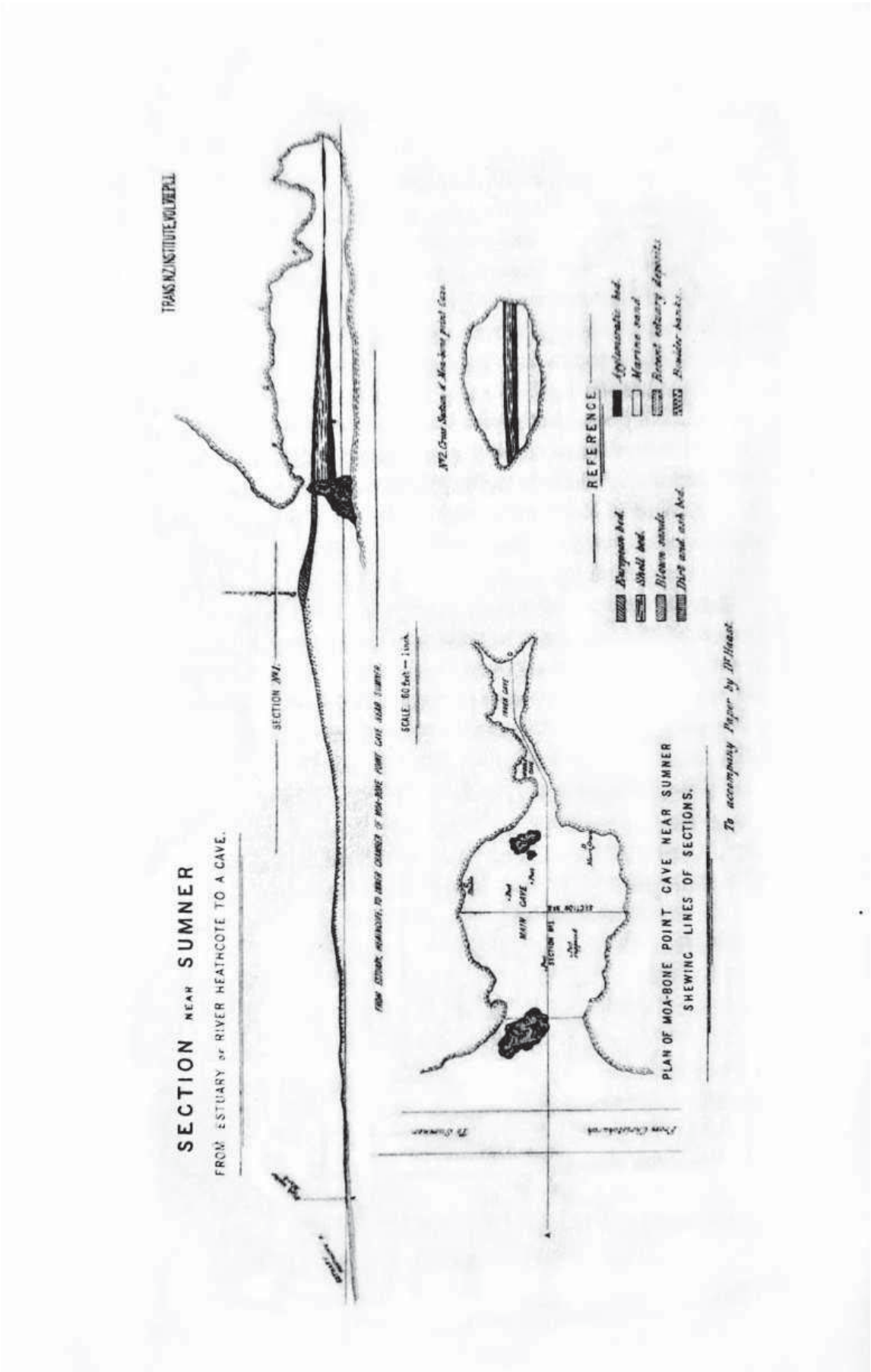

Illustration 3.2 - Site Plan at Moa-Bone Point Cave showing Maori Burial. ***Transactions of the New Zealand Institute,*** **Vol. VII, Plate 1, p. 58.**

Before Haast had prepared his own paper for the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury, he was staggered and indignant to read in the Press of August 13, 1874, a paragraph headed 'The Sumner Cave.' This was a résumé of a paper entitled 'On the Identity of the Moa-hunters with the present Māori race.' This paper on the excavations was read by Dr. Hector on August 8 to the Wellington Philosophical Society for A. McKay. When Haast read the résumé itself, he found that all the principal results of his excavations had been published without his permission or consent, something he considered to be a most flagrant breach of faith and trust (von Haast, 1948:723).

The paper written by McKay described the stratified floor deposits with a Moa-hunter level being overlaid by a later shell deposit, and of course, the presence of polished stone implements in the lower level. Haast was furious at this unauthorised presentation of data by a *paid employee* and quickly had a report of his own published to pre-empt the publication of McKay's account (Trotter and McCulloch, 1997:10-11). Haast, being protective of his status as an authority on moa, considered McKay's action unethical and a breach of trust by a paid workman. He immediately set about finishing his own paper and attempted to have it published before McKay could get his version into print.

The result was a controversy which created a serious rift in scientific circles and caused a breach between Haast and Hector (von Haast, 1948:641). From Haast's point of view the most important discovery was the finding of polished stone tools amongst the 'Moa-hunter' material. He was now forced to change his conviction that it was only the later 'Māori' who had possessed polished implements. He left a comprehensive list of the items recovered from the lowest deposits and decided that the cave had yielded even more evidence of the extreme antiquity of man in New Zealand.

Although McKay received very little formal education he was a clever, self taught man. Later in his career he worked for the Mines Department in Wellington and gained the title

'government geologist'. At the time he worked for Haast he was a labourer and was interested in Māori pre-history when he excavated the remains of human occupation back to the first settlement of New Zealand. There is no record that he had contact with the Māori of his time on a social or academic level.

In support of his theories, Haast described a site in Bruce Bay on the West Coast where, in 1868, he had found stone tools in a layer of gravel 4.6 metres (15 feet) below the surface in undisturbed ground. These he considered "dated far back in prehistoric times … a period to which even the most obscure traditions of the aborigines do not reach" (Trotter, 1988:19). However, the evidence McKay presented forced Haast to modify his conviction that the Moa-hunters had never manufactured polished stone implements. This was an important concession. It marked a shift in Haast's thinking away from the imposition of a European model on the New Zealand data. If the Moa-hunters, like Māori, were Polynesian, then this made the extinction of the moa much more recent than was originally thought.

McKay stated that during the spring of 1872, under the direction of Dr. Haast of Christchurch, he excavated the Moa-bone Point Cave. The object of the excavation was to find further information regarding the association of moa bones with the remains of the early human inhabitants of the cave. On completing the work, he supplied Dr. Haast with a report together with the collections of artefacts and relics found. The present paper expanded his report describing the main facts collected during the progress of the excavation, with the addition of his personal views. McKay considered whether the Moa-hunters possessed tools other than those of the rudest description, and whether this constituted a distinction between them and the Māori inhabitants of later times (McKay, 1874:98).

Apart from the statement that he worked under the direction of Dr. Haast, McKay frequently used the word 'I' giving the strong impression he was the only person involved in this excavation. Haast was furious. He felt he had been betrayed by a man to whom he had shown every possible kindness, someone he had helped, encouraged and above all trusted. He also

strongly resented Hector's behaviour in abetting what he regarded as a breach of confidence, especially as he had already taken Hector to the Sumner cave and explained the results of the excavations. Besides, having provided some of the working expenses out of his own pocket, he considered he had at least some right to be consulted before any publication should have been made (Burdon, 1950:188-189).

Sir James Hector explained that in an ancient camping ground, the cooking was done at a distance from the living area where valuable polished adzes were stored, while the rough flint tools were left lying about near the ovens. In an abandoned camping site the oven area with its blackened stones and charred bones often protruding above ground, was always conspicuous and most likely to attract the eye of the investigator, whose natural impulse was to excavate where he saw signs of former occupation. The hut area, being less easily seen, was often overlooked by Haast and some of his contemporaries (Burdon, 1950:187).

It was imperative that Haast made some response. Apart from ethical considerations, Haast considered that if a flaw in his theory had been exposed the sooner he admitted it publicly the better. At a meeting of the Canterbury Philosophical Institute in September, 1874, Haast candidly confessed his error in believing the Moa-hunters had not possessed polished stone implements. He admitted they had already reached a certain state of civilisation, which was not inferior to that possessed by the Māori when New Zealand was first visited by Europeans (Burdon, 1950:19). He was not to know that the original settlers from the Pacific had brought ground stone tools with them.

Haast was President of the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury, and the Canterbury Institute protested formally to the Board of the New Zealand Institute about McKay's behaviour in preparing a paper and to Hector as Manager of the New Zealand Institute, in approving its presentation and subsequent publication. The Board of the New Zealand Institute, advised by Hector, rejected Haast's protest and agreed to publish both McKay's and Haast's papers.

Meanwhile Haast had hastened to present his own paper to the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury. It was published by the Lyttelton Times and then in pamphlet form and circulated, while McKay's paper was still in press (Yaldwin, et al., 2006:284-285).

A further appeal was made to Joseph Hooker, President of the Royal Society in Britain for a ruling on the ethics of the case. Hooker's report was not made public, but excerpts were published many years later by Haast's son, who noted that only a short extract of Hooker's report had ever previously been published or divulged (Yaldwin, et al., 2006:282). Scientific controversy developed into a personal quarrel over rights of procedure and points of conduct.

Having settled the Moa-hunter question to his own satisfaction Haast turned angrily on his betrayers. At a special meeting of the Canterbury Institute, he proceeded to make his complaint, arguing against any pretensions to scientific knowledge on the part of McKay whom he accused of dishonesty and untruthfulness. At the same time he sternly disapproved of Hector's behaviour, stating that Dr. Hector must know that encouraging such unethical conduct made him as guilty as McKay himself. This was a statement of a man exasperated by a sense of injustice who felt he had been treated with little courtesy and expected better consideration from his brother scientists. At worst, Haast was guilty of deliberately withholding his report on the Sumner excavations, or being a busy man he had simply put off writing up his report.

Eventually, Haast tendered his resignation as President of the Institute, but afterwards withdrew it at the unanimous request of the meeting (Burdon, 1950:189-191). Both Haast and McKay were strong minded individuals who held positive opinions. There could have been an element of intellectual snobbery in the matter as Haast was a well read and respected scientist and he considered McKay as nothing more that a paid workman of low status.

Yaldwin, et al., (2006:209) considered that today the Haast/McKay controversy seemed just a quaint piece of history. But an interesting aspect was McKay's willingness to challenge a European derived interpretation of New Zealand prehistory, just as he did for New Zealand geology. During the Moa-bone Point Cave controversy the Canterbury Institute gave Haast

their unanimous support and considered that although his methods might be open to criticism, his cause was just (von Haast, 1948:246).

The controversy between Haast and McKay somewhat soured the relationship between Haast and Hector in Wellington, while Haast's comments about McKay reveal a less than noble streak; it was not the only occasion on which Haast allowed his passion to overrule his better judgement (Bade, 1993:150). Further details of the controversy itself are not central to this work and have been discussed in detail elsewhere (see Bishop, 2008; Burdon, 1950; Trotter, 1988; Trotter and McCulloch, 1997; Yaldwin, et al., 2006). However, there are other aspects of the excavation which are directly relevant, particularly how Haast dealt with the human remains excavated from the cave.

During the excavation a body buried in a crouch position was found, (see Figure 3.3), with only six inches of sand covering the head of the skeleton. Judging by the strength of the flax lashings, the body had not been interred for very long. The bones were generally covered by skin and the stomach and smaller intestines were still in place which is unusual to find in a burial. At first the excavators thought the remains were those of a European. The fact that the body was buried in a crouched position and bound with flax should have indicated it was a Māori burial as Europeans usually bury their dead in a prone position and in a coffin. When analysed, the contents of the stomach showed only fern root indicating that the body must be that of a Māori. The discoverers were apprehensive of interference from the police, and the skeleton was removed secretly and as quietly as possible to the Christchurch Museum, where it was macerated, or soaked, for three months and all traces of skin, hair, ligaments and internal organs were removed (von Haast, 1948:741). It was then articulated by Fuller and put to stand in plain view in the museum (Bishop, 2008:108).

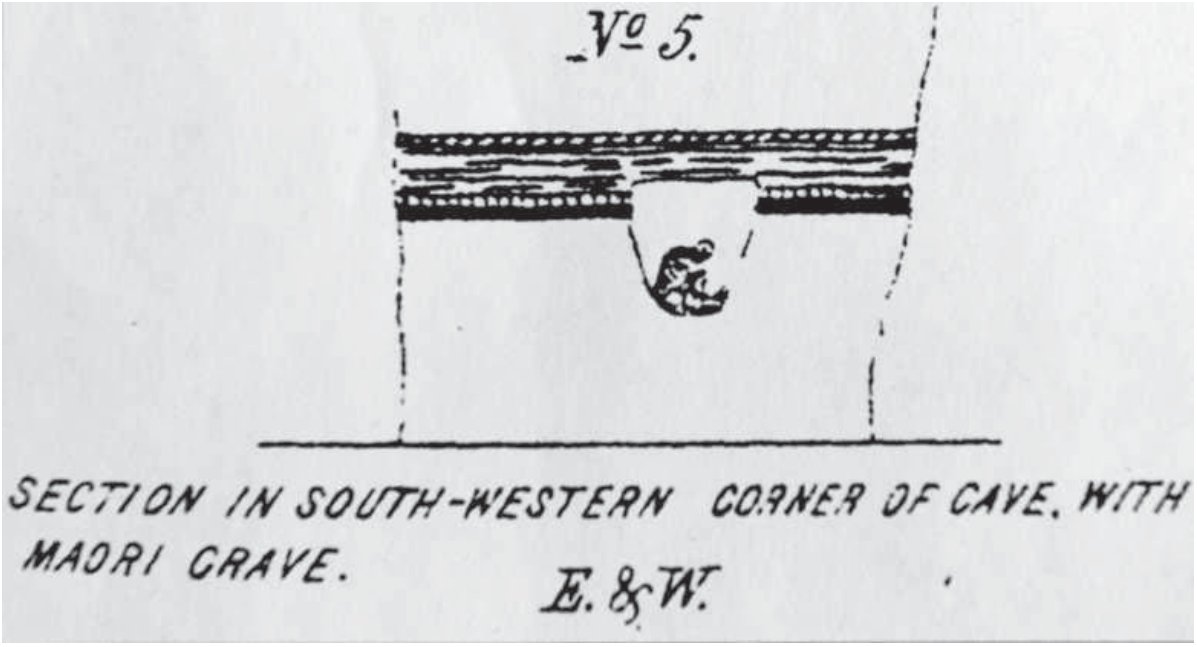

Illustration 3.3 - Drawing of the Burial at Moa-bone Point Cave (Bishop, 2008:109).

3.5 HUMAN REMAINS AT MOA-BONE POINT CAVE

McKay wrote down his interpretation of the findings at Sumner and, as discussed above, his paper 'On the identity of the Moa-hunters with the present Māori Race' was read before the Wellington Philosophical Society. However, McKay had carefully avoided any reference to the body that now rested in the museum.

It was clearly not a Moa-hunter burial, yet the Māori, in spite of their rigid tapu of such places, had continued to use the cave for long after the burial of the body under its floor. This suggested that in later years the cave was a place of infrequent visits and the dead man had been forgotten or was not known to later visitors. The skeleton belonged to a man nearly six feet (1.8 m.) in height, and of middle age. The ulna of the left arm had been broken and was only partially healed when the man died. Fyfe (personal communication, 1st September, 2009) stated that the kōiwi tangata Māori found by Haast in 1872 is still held in the Canterbury Museum's wahi tapu keeping place. Haast used this skeleton to place alongside his moa skeletons in the

exhibition hall and in this instance was quite ruthless in his collection of objects for his museum.

Haast's interpretation of Moa-bone Point Cave stratigraphy was distorted to make the body appear much older than it really was. He made it clear that the grave was excavated through the layers overlying the marine sands, but before the deposition of the upper shell layer. McKay was emphatic that this was not so and the grave had been dug in the marine sands in an area where the overlying layers were not present. If this was the case, then there was no stratigraphic evidence at all of the age of the body, and the conditions of the lashings, skin, and internal organs assumed much more significance (Bishop, 2008:108-110).

Bishop (2008:105) offered an interesting angle on the excavation, referring to it as the 'Body in the Cave Affair'. It is suggested by Bishop (2008:106-108) that Haast may have realised that McKay, his enthusiastic young protégé, in presenting a detailed and objective recording and logical interpretation of the excavation, posed a professional threat. McKay's notes undoubtedly referred to a body that had been dug up from the cave and was now residing secretly in the museum. Haast did not need awkward questions being asked at this politically delicate stage of the museum's development about how, when and why it was there. So, according to Bishop, in a simple impulsive gesture of irritation, he had torn up McKay's notes and laid the foundation for the row that followed. McKay did not raise the matter with Haast again.

McKay was not deflected from his belief there was an important story to tell from the Sumner Cave and he resolved to put forward his own interpretation. At this time there was little likelihood of Haast publishing his findings particularly as the results of his excavations conflicted with his chosen theories. Haast was undoubtedly overworked and put the Moa-bone Point Cave work to one side and never considered the part McKay had played. However, he had a dark secret in that he had removed a comparatively recently buried body from a grave in the cave. This body should have been handed over to the Police for identification and a Coroner's

report. But Haast's wish for scientific specimens overcame his scruples in claiming the skeleton for his museum and his actions were illegal and unethical. The skeleton was displayed as prehistoric and this was not so (see Fig. 2.2). If Haast intended to publish, he had to describe the finding of the skeleton and he may not have wanted to disclose this fact. He made no effort to discover the family or tribe of the body and it is highly likely that Ngāi Tahu would have protested the disturbance of such a recent burial.

Haast assisted by McKay did the first stratigraphical excavations in New Zealand. They uncovered the earliest remains of human occupation demonstrating how the first settlers lived by examining their food remains and tools and how they survived in a cold climate. It is impossible to understand history until pre-history is studied. As described earlier, Haast and McKay disagreed over the distinction between Palaeolithic and Neolithic culture, and Haast was forced to alter his previously held theories. This is the basis on which later archaeologists formed knowledge of early settlement in New Zealand. Haast's and McKay's disagreement was part of the process of scientific methodology. It is most probable that Haast noticed the presence of ground stone tools in the lower levels of the excavations and may not have wanted to admit this as it would mean he had to give up his already established theories of Māori and megafauna. Haast laid the foundations for later study and knowledge of the Māori people.

3.6 OTHER CRANIA IN THE MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

Just as with the case of the human burial at Moa-bone Point Cave, Haast was interested in gaining a collection of cranial and other skeletal materials so that he and other scientists might draw conclusions concerning historical relationships between Māori and other 'races'. Haast had previously used crania recovered from Moa-hunter sites in an effort to prove the Moa-hunters belonged to a different race from Māori (Haast, 1871:79). Over the following years he further built up the museum's collections.

As a scientist, Haast wished to determine the origins of the Polynesian people in New Zealand. He proposed the existence of a Melanesian or autochthonous race arriving prior to the Māori, but later research showed that there is a total absence of anything of Melanesian origin (von Haast, 1948:753-754). The assignment of an identity according to racial type and origins was determined on the basis of cranial comparisons, stylistic motifs seen in material culture and oral traditions. For example, Haast identified the race as having strong Melanesian affinities as well as Polynesian characteristics, on the basis of crania. These affinities, according to Haast, were similar to contemporary Māori populations (Cameron, 2000:260).

The interest in physical anthropological studies of the Māori and Moriori dated from the early part of the 19th century. However, it was not until 1894 that the first thorough study of Māori craniology appeared. Professor J.H. Scott of the Otago Medical School, at the end of a monumental craniological study, concluded that if any proof were needed of the mixed origin of the Māori race, it was given in his paper (Houghton, 1980:73-74). In 1894, Scott made a detailed study of craniometry following directions given by M. Paul Broca. He made extensive measurements of eighty-three Māori skulls, thirty-five of which were in the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch. Cranial characters of the Māori race had been established by other observers, but Scott examined the differences which existed between certain tribes and whether there were differences between individuals within the tribe. These skulls were no doubt available within the museum for any studies Haast wished to undertake (Scott, 1894:1-4).

The formalism of turn-of-the-century physical anthropology was demonstrated by an exaggerated concern with racial types, morphology and classification. Franz Boas (1858-1942) was one of the last great craniometrists whose work can be placed in the context of a strongly racial tradition. He did not kill craniometry or anthropometry, but he inadvertently pushed it away from the racialist position (Allen, 1989:79-83).

Haast had previously stated that one authority, one of the highest that could be desired, had already pronounced that some of the skulls found in sand-hills were not derived from the Māori

race. In the year 1868, Haast sent to Professor D.C Carus, the President of the Imperial German Academy of Naturalists, two skulls which he considered belonged to the Māori race, and which were obtained from sand-hills near the Selwyn River Mouth (Haast, 1871:79). Since then, Professor Dr. Leuckart examined them very carefully, compared them with a genuine Māori skull, and informed Haast they are not to be distinguished from the latter (Haast, 1871:100-101).

Haast's attitude towards Māori cranial material is illustrated in the correspondence Hutton had with James Hector. In a letter to Hector, Hutton stated he had written to Haast (at the Canterbury Museum) about getting a moa skeleton for the Auckland Museum and received a reply saying that when Haast received a box containing Māori skulls, shells and fossils, he would then send some moa bones (Hutton to Hector, June 27, 1867, in Park, 1998:26).

Most comparative studies of body proportions have concentrated on the skull, and measurements which feature in older research now have little value. Skulls are more numerous that other bones in most collections offering a large sample for analysis. The Polynesian skull is quite distinctive and the jaw is of the 'rocker form' (Davidson, 1984:46).

The measuring of skulls has been a scientific exercise since Victorian times, and some older scientific journals are packed with impressive, bewildering pages of figures and measurements obtained by scientific workers. In recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in craniology aided by the development of the computer and much work has been done on the Polynesian skull (Houghton, 1980:39). Duplicate Māori ethnological specimens and crania were identified and offered to researchers overseas. The demand for collections to exchange meant that collecting practices were not always reputable by today's ethical standards. Approximately 30 crania were stolen by Cheeseman from burial caves in the Whangaroa district in Northland. In the 1890s, as a result of these questionable collecting practices, the

repatriation of human remains had become an issue and there was a call for repatriation (Cameron, 2000:69-70).

In 1877, Cheeseman attempted to obtain from Professor Spencer Baird, Indian implements from North America in exchange for 'Ethnological specimens relating to the Māori Race … skulls, implements, weapons, etc.' In exchange for these items Cheeseman supplied the Smithsonian Institute with an ordered series of Māori crania and ethnological specimens. In January, 1879, Cheeseman acquired African curiosities for the museum in exchange for specimens of Māori carving (Cameron 2000).

The collection of Māori objects for identification and historical record grew out of Haast's interest in understanding the moa and the extinction of the species. His motivation for cultural collecting was to solve the relational problem between this species extinction and human populations. He also believed that moa extinctions must have preceded the arrival of the Māori race since references to moa were rare in Māori traditions. A belief in the earlier race was also developed on the basis of two Māori skulls found at the Selwyn River Mouth (South Canterbury). These crania were sent to physiologist Professor Dr. C.G. Carus, in 1868, and on the basis of his morphological analysis, Carus believed these skulls were not of Māori origin but rather belonged to unknown race (Cameron, 2000:90-91).

The sum total of these local assemblages and Haast's deductions stood as definitive statements about the people. Definitions of identity and racial essence were expressed in terms of thematic boundaries such as diet, age, racial type, stone tool technology, food preparation and racial relationships (Cameron, 2000:103).

Haast examined skulls in an endeavour to find the origins of the first settlers in New Zealand. He considered there may have been another race before the Polynesians, a race perhaps from Melanesia. Later accounts from scholars such as Percy Smith and Elsdon Best considered that an earlier Maruiwi race were Melanesian. Māori people knew of their origins from Hawaiki and

through their genealogies and whakapapa or descent lines. Haast established his knowledge of origins through archaeology, ethnology and anthropology.

3.7 PRESERVED HEADS AT THE CANTERBURY MUSEUM

Eighteenth century Māori art was part of a wider Polynesian tradition, and carving, plaiting and tattooing were practised throughout Polynesia (Davidson, 1984:217). Robley (1987), in the Preface to his book 'Moko; or Māori Tattooing' commented on the beautiful arabesques in moko patterns. He considered the native artist in moko must be entitled to the credit of great originality and taste in his patterns, and his skill was equal to world's artists. According to Robley (1987:11) the moko is a mark of identity and has been copied for Europeans by the Māori as a signature, and facsimiles were drawn on legal documents. Robley (1987:23) added that slaves were excluded from the art and the moko was a sign of distinction separating nobles and free men from slaves.

The specialists in moko were generally professional artists who worked for hire, and there were different degrees of excellence. They were regarded as men of great talent and repute. Presents and payments were given to the artists as marks of esteem in which their abilities were held (Robley, 1987:98). Mokomokai was the name given to a dried head which inspired reverence and the curing or embalming of the head among the Māori was an acknowledgement of the nobility of its owner. It served to keep alive the memory of the departed among a people with no literature or forms of art (Robley, 1987:128-131).

The mokoed head of an enemy was valued by the victorious tribe and was only given up under exchange for peace. The heads of relations and friends were placed in a secluded spot and protected by the strictest tapu and were brought out and exhibited only on great occasions. Sometimes the head of a beloved wife or child was embalmed (Robley, 1987:134-135).

As long as the heads remained in the possession of a victorious chief no friendly relations were possible between the rival tribes. If both sides wished peace, the heads of dead friends were

exchanged or purchased and returned to the surviving relatives by whom they were held in much veneration. The number of preserved heads must have been considerable. The removal of skulls at Wairau Bar may indicate that they were the focus of subsequent mourning ceremonies similar to those of later times. In the nineteenth century, skulls of three chiefs were displayed and mourned over before final concealment. The occasional removal of the skull may foreshadow the later custom of treasuring and occasionally displaying and lamenting over, the skull or preserved head of a valued relative (Davidson, 1984:177-178).

When the Māori found that the trading schooners would give guns and ammunition for specimen heads, this created a new situation. Mokoed heads were wanted and were rapidly provided for the drying process, meaning that new and old heads were not readily distinguished. What was once an honour reserved for chiefs, became forced on slaves with a view to prompt sale of the heads (Robley, 1987:138-139). There was a sudden demand for cured heads in exchange for trade. Although the Māori were reluctant to part with the heads, they were eager to obtain firearms, ammunition and iron implements. A brisk traffic resulted and the demand began to exceed the supply. The heads of war victims became part of the trade supply.

Governor Darling in Sydney issued a Proclamation in 1831 which was justified by the enormity of the horrors involved in the trade. This humane and courageous effort to stop the abominations of the traffic in heads was followed by an Act passed into law imposing a fine of £40. This happened before New Zealand became a separate colony and public feeling ultimately supported the cause of humanity and the trade faded away. The traffic was discontinued in New Zealand (Robley, 1987:179-181). This ended the period of trade in tattooed heads between the early 1800's and 1831.

However, the rise of museums initiated a second period of the trade. Museums and collectors wished to possess heads as curiosities and a demand sprang up for them. Haast was determined to have a Māori tattooed head for the Canterbury Museum. He had negotiated with the Sydney

Museum without result and asked for help from Buller who was arranging for the publication of his famous book, 'Birds of New Zealand.' Haast duly received a Māori head from either the Duke of Buccleugh or Lord Kinnaird on February 5, 1873.

A full set of specimens by was seen by Cheeseman in the Auckland Museum as a way of salvaging the essence of the race, its manners, customs and mode of life. These were intended to show how Māori people lived demonstrating their arts, manners, general modes of life, behaviour and customs. The role of the object showed a custom such as tattooing, which was highlighted with the acquisition of a Māori tattooed head. Cheeseman considered no collection was complete without a specimen of this nature which was highly valued as preserved heads were unobtainable in New Zealand. Canterbury Museum was the only museum in the country to possess a tattooed head which was acquired by Haast, the Director, from a dealer in London. The Auckland Museum procured a specimen from Professor William Flower of London (former member of the Royal College of Surgeons and Director of the British Museum of Natural History from the 1880s) in exchange for some Māori crania (Cameron, 2000:45).

A few years later Governor Darling's statute was used against Haast and the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch. The museum contained a dried head which gave offence to some resident Māori, who laid a complaint before the Governor. The Attorney-General found that the old New South Wales ordinance was still in force. The curator was officially informed that unless the offending exhibit was put out of sight the law would be set in motion (Robley, 1987:182). Haast himself claimed that the offending head in a glass case had a cover over it to take account of the sensitivities of Māori visitors and that it was only quietly exhibited from time to time to those interested. Von Haast (1948:632-633) noted that Haast's children found this one of the most mysterious and terrifying exhibits in the museum.

The differing versions of the incident over the display of mokomokai at Canterbury Museum are revealing. Robley's account illustrated Māori agency in using a legal process to protect their cultural values. By contrast, Haast's own account, reported by von Haast (1948), made Haast's

sensitivities towards Māori as the determining factor. However, such sensitivities clearly did not last too long. Following Haast's death, the *Guide to the collections in the Canterbury Museum* for 1895 stated: 'WEAPONS. – Case 16 contains the meres-flat clubs. Case 17 – the Tai-aha. On the shelf above are two human heads which have been preserved by drying over a fire' (Cameron, 2000:260).

3.8 DISCUSSION

Haast's work on the moa represented his own contribution to this search by finding natural classification of this species of ratites (Cameron, 2000:85-86). Similarly, Haast formed his local prehistoric sequence of Māori as a Stone Age people according to Lubbock's sub-division for the Stone Age in 1865, which enabled the division of populations into two distinct phases, the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic, as an indication of progressive developments. He was able to confirm racial identity and relationships between the two populations in the local sequence, and completed the transference of a European historical model as a way of understanding the course of indigenous history (Cameron, 2000:95-96).

The division of populations according to stone tool technology had become an issue of conjecture on a global scale. Later in the 1870s, Haast stated: "In regard to their stone implements we cannot separate the ancient inhabitants of New Zealand into a Palaeolithic and Neolithic race, even the oldest beds contained both polished and unpolished Stone Implements" (Haast, unpublished notes, in Cameron, 2000:106).

Haast's major contributions to science at this time were the establishment of an identity for Māori people in terms of a 'Social Darwinian' logic and the form and course of indigenous history. He proposed a Māori identity and the sequence of local history on the basis of his own ideas and the prevailing intellectual climate of the time. These versions of history and identity

were to form the basis of subsequent collecting and classificatory practices (Cameron, 2000:109).

Cameron (2000:116-9) discussed the relationship between Haast's scientific studies of Māori and evolutionary studies based on an understanding of European and world prehistory. She noted that for Haast, Neolithic implements were a key to identifying the age and chronological placement of Māori people in an evolutionary scheme. Such implements provided additional comparative evidence of the state of the Māori race.

Evolutionary theory at the time, however, argued that the succession of prehistoric human cultures represented the replacement of more primitive by more technologically developed peoples. Such peoples were also considered to be psychologically superior. Thus, in addition to the study of technology through stone tools, evolutionary psychology could be studied through analysis of human crania. As a consequence, it was necessary to also collect human cranial and skeletal remains to be able to discern less and more advanced races. The artefact and cranial collections of the Canterbury Museum complemented each other. They also confirmed the European as being at the apex of human perfection.

Haast made direct and accurate comparisons between the pre-traditional and traditional phases of Māori societies and these were replaced by the classification of the form, material and function of objects. The mental and practical sets were a way of mastering Māori people and their identity and it was on this basis that indigenous history was replaced by European history (Cameron, 2000:125-126).

Haast focused on the collections from many parts of the world which showed all stages of development. This enabled him to calculate the differences between the technology and arts of other races and connected the Māori race with all other races while materially establishing their place in history. Haast believed that the principles of biology, classification and evolution could be successfully applied to the study of humans (Cameron, 2000:229).

Haast was also strongly influenced by Darwin (1809-1882) who proposed that the human species was a product of biological evolution by the process of natural selection (Fagan, 1996:167). Specimens representative of the Stone Age peoples of Northern Europe were used by Haast at the Canterbury Museum to ascertain the age of the Māori population, the sequence of local history and the place of Māori society in an evolutionary framework (Cameron, 2000:67).

Haast's intention was to explain, illustrate and develop scientifically based statements about the ethnology of New Zealand and to work out an understandable chronological sequence of historical events from the past to the present and to document the rise of an emerging civilized nation state (Cameron, 2000:89).

Ultimately Haast stated that in regard to their stone implements we cannot separate the ancient inhabitants of New Zealand into a Palaeolithic and Neolithic race, even the oldest beds contained both polished and unpolished stone implements (Cameron, 2000:106). This removed a significant aspect of Haast's views concerning the New Zealand past, that it contained an earlier, more primitive race associated with the extinct moa concluding that all aspects of the New Zealand past concerned Māori. This had the result of greatly shortening the prehistoric period in New Zealand and making the Neolithic Māori an advanced people. It is significant that Haast did not pursue further archaeological study of the Moa-hunters after he was forced to make this concession. As Māori, the Moa-hunters did not resonate with the long-term forces of evolution Haast was interested in. However, as will be shown in the next chapter, his attention turned to the ethnological study of Māori.

Cameron (2000:112-3) argued that prior to Haast's death, in the late 1880s, Māori people and indigenous history were represented by two collections at the Canterbury Museum. Both collections (archaeological and ethnographical) were intended to represent Māori at two different stages in New Zealand history. The distant past (pre-traditional) was represented as an

archaeological collection. A more recent past (traditional) was ethnographical in origin. Māori material recovered archaeologically provided the connection between these two phases.

A final element of Haast's archaeological work and his display of human crania, skeletal material and preserved heads, was that he had to take some account of Māori attitudes and beliefs. He had to remove the Moa-bone Point Cave body by stealth, and in discussing its provenance, and when it was displayed he suggested that it was older than it clearly was. Finally, Māori recourse to legal precedent forced him to cover the museum's display of mokomokai. As McCarthy (2000:199) noted, museum curators had to make some accommodation to Māori in their presentation of Māori history and culture.

Davidson, (1984:12) provided an assessment of Haast's archaeological work from a modern perspective where Haast is accepted as the founding father of New Zealand archaeology based on his initial view that there had been a 'Palaeolithic era' in New Zealand. Since Haast's work in the 1870s, (Haast, 1871:67), scholars consider that the earliest human inhabitants of New Zealand harvested the moa as a food source and had probably caused their extinction. The first great commencement of New Zealand archaeology came in the 1870s and was principally concerned with moa and Moa-hunters. Haast was anxious to find a parallel in the antipodes for the sequence of cultural evolution then being proposed in Europe. Gradually the opposing view became increasingly accepted that the Moa-hunters had been the relatively recent ancestors of the modern Māori who changed their diet as the moa became rare, then extinct. By the 1890s this was the generally held opinion (Davidson, 1984:5).

Haast showed that there was no doubt regarding the great age of the moa, which occurred first in beds which had been formed during the great glacier period and the era immediately following it. The moa must have been able to sustain life over a long period, because the same species which occur in the lower lacustrine and fluviatile deposits are again found in the bogs and swamps, in the fissures of rocks and in the kitchen-middens of the Moa-hunting race, which latter evidently marked the end of the *Dinornis* age (von Haast, 1948:714).

3.9 SUMMARY

This chapter described Haast archaeological excavations using his geological knowledge. His theories of an evolutionary trend of Palaeolithic Moa-hunters to Neolithic Māori people were discussed. As a result of the Moa-bone Point Cave excavation Haast's theories were challenged by McKay and the controversy forced him to change his ideas and admit that the Moa-hunters and Māori both used ground stone tools. The human remains excavated at Moa-bone Point Cave were described and the secrecy with which Haast removed the skeleton to the museum and displayed it as prehistoric, which was not correct. Haast collected crania and preserved heads and used them for determining race and the origins of the people in New Zealand.

It appears from the literature that Haast, Cheeseman and McKay looked upon the remains they uncovered and excavated as artefacts of a past age. There is little evidence that any of these men had contact with living Māori of their day on a social or intellectual level. The objects placed in museums were treated with respect as treasures of the past but seem to be dissociated from living Māori.

Chapter 4 – Hau-te-ana-nui-o-Tangaroa: The Māori House at Canterbury Museum

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In addition to the scientific interest in Māori as contributing to an increase in knowledge, a second stream of museum collecting emerged during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Museum curators and collectors attempted to document traditional Māori culture before it disappeared. The conviction it would disappear came from the belief that only the fittest cultures would survive and consequently it was expected the colonised peoples would melt away before the advance of civilization. There was also a degree of evidence for this, because Māori, following intertribal and colonial warfare, poverty, loss of land and the effects of introduced diseases, did appear to be rapidly losing population numbers. Following the sale of the Canterbury Block and the failure to set aside reserves for Māori in Canterbury, it may also have been the case that Māori were not a prominent feature of the Christchurch scene, to the extent that a display of Māori art and culture could raise some interest.

As a result of the conviction that the indigenous people were doomed, museums attempted to build up collections of authentic Māori materials, with the emphasis being on traditional items as these were both hard to get and regarded as being of higher quality (McCarthy, 2005:60). It was also considered that long after Māori had disappeared, Māori culture would be preserved in museums for all to see. Ethnological research based on the study of tools, weapons and implements could contribute to an historical understanding of the people in question, through both archaeology and comparative ethnology (see Chapter 3 above). However, the collection of perishable artefacts, clothing, religious paraphenalia, art objects and information about lifeways could be organised to tell a different story. Objects collected were in immediate danger of

extinction because they were no longer made in the old style, or were no longer in use (McCarthy, 2005:36-37).

This chapter discussed Haast's display of Māori culture within its ethnographic context, beginning with his purchase of a Māori house for the museum. In later sections, the presentation of Māori culture at other museums, through the medium of Māori houses and establishing a Māori Court will be commented on.

4.2 THE MĀORI HOUSE

In 1874, Haast purchased a Māori wharenui through Mr. Samuel Locke, Native Commissioner for Hawkes Bay, Napier. The Provincial Government had voted to spend £290 for its purchase and expenses, but it proved a difficult and costly job to obtain a house from the Māori. The house had been designed and the carvings executed by Hone Tāhu of the Ngāti Porou iwi, who named it Hau-te-ana-nui-o-Tangaroa (the sacred great cave of Tangaroa). It was originally intended as a residence of the Chief, Henare Potae of Tokomaru, but during the Hau-Hau war, the materials prepared for it were partially destroyed, delaying its erection until it was purchased by the Canterbury Museum (von Haast, 1948:683).

The Canterbury Museum was competing with other museums in acquiring this house and other objects. Haast was first informed that Hau-te-ana-nui-o-Tangaroa was available in a telegram from Locke in January, 1873, which stated: "I have just heard of a Māori house as good as Wellington's one but it would cost full £200. There appears to be great difficulty in getting a Poverty Bay house & it is not a first class one" (Walker, 1991:1).

Hone Tāhu, the tohunga whakairo (master carver) of the carved house and his assistant Tamati Ngakako accompanied the house to Christchurch to help with its erection (Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum, 1906). Carving was a chiefly occupation and Ngakako was a man of rank. His work received much praise from a prominent Māori leader (Wahawaha

in *Te Waka Māori,* August 11, 1874) who stated that the whare showed the learned works of the ancestors of this land (McCarthy, 2007:14). The building was from the East Coast of the North Island and had no physical, tribal, spiritual or political connection with Christchurch or Ngāi Tahu. It is not known whether Haast was aware of the significance of a chief's house to Māori tribes or whether he considered it as another imported curio or just a display case for his Māori artefacts. He rescued this particular wharenui from probable destruction, and from now on it was known as the Māori House, both at the museum and in Christchurch generally.

The house was 60 ft. (18.28 m.) long by 20 ft. (6.09 m.) broad, the side walls were 8 ft. (2.43 m.) high and the height to the apex of the roof about 16 ft. (4.87 m.). As noted previously, it arrived in Christchurch accompanied by the two carvers on February 21, 1874, and the expectation was that the construction would take two to three weeks, However, portions of the building had been destroyed by the Hau-Hau under Te Kooti, and the carvers had to re-carve these, so it was three months before the work was finally completed. Haast had the house placed outside and parallel to the porch of the old museum, so that as a freestanding structure it could look as authentic as possible (von Haast, 1948:683).

The carvings were all executed in totara which is the most durable wood and has a cultural significance, and the work was painted in red ochre. White, black, red, green, and blue paints were also used in the decoration of the house (Simmons, 2006:34). The carvings on the rafters and ridge-pole were confined to the pattern, called Pare-mango but the well-known patterns, the Kowhaiwhai, were omitted. The artist, Tamaki Ngakako, in decorating the inside rafters did not confine himself to ancient patterns but introduced novelties of his own design, consisting mainly of representations of the leaves of plants and shrubs. Fluted kauri boards were substituted for toe-toe reeds inside (von Haast, 1948:685).

There were fifteen carved upright slabs on either side of the building. The surface of each post was divided into two equal parts, each of which had a representation of the human form carved with the eyes being inlaid with pāua shell. Stack, (1875:174) described the style of carving

generally employed throughout as the Ponga. The Māori House was completed in December, 1874, and became both an exhibit and an extension of the museum building for display purposes. In Haast's opinion it was a considerable addition to the accommodation of the museum for holding his ethnological collections (Walker, 1991:1).

It was intended that the Māori carvers would construct the house entirely themselves using only materials in common use before the arrival of the Europeans and it would be an exact representation of a Māori chief's dwelling with the best style of Māori architecture and decoration. However, the moist nature of the ground meant it was impractical to bury the foundations. Consequently, the Māori House was constructed with a concrete foundation and a corrugated iron roof which aroused adverse comments in the *Press* (von Haast, 1948:685). The mixture of Māori art and modern building materials was explained by Canon Stack in an account of the House read to the Philosophical Institute on August 5, 1875. Stack emphasised that various compromises were necessary for the reconstruction. These changes caused local debate over a loss of authenticity (Walker, 1991:7). Stack made the comment: "The incongruities of style would, doubtless, provoke fewer remarks, if the building were called what it really is, the Māori Court, instead of the Māori House" (Walker, 1991:7).

It was necessary to employ European carpenters to erect the framework to which the Māori house was attached. It was customary for a Māori priest to always attend the opening of a new house to perform the purifying ceremonies. This was an anxious time for the builders, for if any mistake was made by the priest in repeating the proper charms and incantations, it was regarded as an infallible sign that either the house would be destroyed, or the builders die within a year (Stack, 1875:175-176). The two carvers gave information on their art in the house to Haast, the museum's director.

The Māori House was important to the Canterbury Museum in its role in introducing another culture, the Māori, and was designated as a Māori House and not a Ngāti Porou House. As

stated previously, it also had no connection with Ngāi Tahu. The Canterbury Museum used Hau-te-ana-nui-o-Tangaroa in the discipline of ethnology in a way that European and American museums employed artefacts from New Zealand as a contrast to their own culture. The Māori culture was nearly as foreign to the residents in Christchurch as it would have been to people living in Europe and America (Walker, 1991:6).

Haast's friend, R.L Homes, commented on the completion of the Māori House saying it was worth coming a long way to see. The Illustrated New Zealand Herald stated that visitors to the Māori House found themselves in a genuine Māori whare, carved, painted and embellished in the highest style of ancient Māori art. To European eyes many of the carvings were grotesque with protruding tongues and their faces rendered more hideous by the elaborate tattoo markings. The building was substantially erected on solid foundations, and was expected to last long after the Māori race had become extinct (Walker, 1991:6-7).

At this time Haast turned his attention to the ethnological materials in the collection and the Māori House became an exhibition room. Other prehistoric items from Europe and North America were displayed separately, and in ethnology, as in natural history, New Zealand and foreign collections were segregated (Sheets-Pyenson, 1988:51). Haast was now on the look out for good specimens of Māori art and craft (von Haast, 1948:801). He already had a considerable collection of artefacts from archaeological sites such as the Moa-bone Point Cave. James Cowan wrote in 1910 that the ethnological section in the museum provided novel entertainment for the visitor but also a scientific record of the linguistics, primitive customs and folklore of the Māori people, the remnant of a culture which was expected to die out. The display was to satisfy the curiosity of visitors and operated as a contrast with the progress of the settler colony (McCarthy, 2007:1).

Haast used the house and artefacts displayed within it to portray Māori as an ethnic group in a colonial setting and representing an early way in which Māori culture was exhibited. This display showed European understanding of Māori culture but did not give any sense of the

original functions or settings with which Māori people would be familiar (McCarthy, 2007:10, 13).

Haast filled the house with objects such as cloaks, weapons, tools, ornaments, carvings, clothing and mats which supplemented the 'Māoriness' of the Māori House. This did not stand for a race that would soon be extinct, but represented another kind of colonial desire, one for assimilation. Haast wrote that the ethnological objects, both of historic and prehistoric times had been placed in the Māori House with the endeavour to make these as complete as possible. He did this to save the records of an interesting people which doubtless in years to come would entirely lose their former original customs and habits and assimilate with the European immigrants and their descendents (Walker, 1991:8-9). The Māori House became a museum object in its own right as well as operating as an exhibition space (Cameron, 2000:243).

During this period separate ethnological displays emerged as a result of their popularity at world fairs. Exhibits were described as curios or specimens, as artefacts, and various forms of art then became taonga (McCarthy, 2007:1). Later they were ordered into systemic disciplines of history and biology and became objects of scientific enquiry (McCarthy, 2007:19). Taonga can be any item, object or thing which recognisably represents a kin group's whakapapa, or genealogical identity, in relation to its estates and tribal resources. Taonga can be tangible, like a cloak, or intangible like a song (Tapsell, 1998:4)

Haast may have obtained objects and artefacts from gifts, trading or mainly from in and around his excavations at sites like the Moa-bone Point Cave. He may not have realised that he had accumulated, conserved and preserved the taonga of Māori so important to future generations, but only that he had collected remains of an early and quite primitive culture. The position of later Māori shifted from exhibits to exhibitors, from spectacle to audience (McCarthy, 2007:2).

Figure 4.1 shows objects such as rakau whakapapa, taiaha, and large carvings placed against the poupou (a carved side wall post or slab of a house). The interior of the Māori House contained

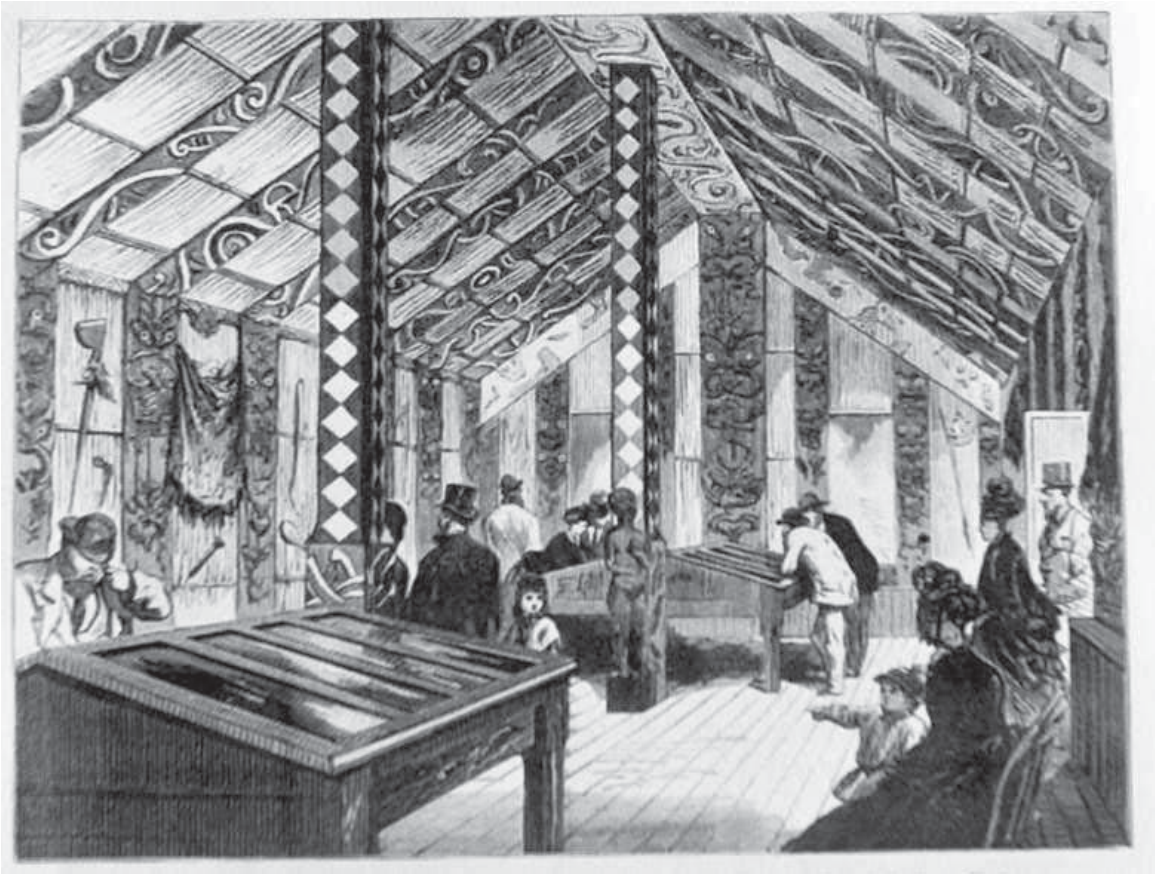

Illustration 4.1 - Interior of the Māori House, Canterbury Museum

clothing, weapons casually hung on the walls between the poupou and table cases containing smaller objects. Visitors regarded all these displays as curiosities when considering how the European emigrants swamped the small Ngāi Tahu population (McCarthy, 2007:23).

According to Davidson (1984:153), the wharenui had a long tradition in Aotearoa and the oldest yet found is dated to the 12th century A.D. at Moikau, Palliser Bay. The continuity in house design is based on preserving patterns of behaviour and symbolism, and may therefore extend back to the earliest periods of settlement in New Zealand. Davidson (1984:57) stated that the carved meeting house was the focal point in a Māori village and was originally the home of the chief and his family but was also a communal house. It became a council chamber, cultural centre, guest house and place of assembly. The whare whakairo was given a personal name and was constructed to fill a need for the spiritual, social and cultural welfare of the people.

Barrow (1976:12-13) considered that carvings on a meeting house were not just decoration. Usually the tribal history and genealogy were preserved in them and knowledge passed from generation to generation, by stories told of the ancestors depicted who were held in great reverence. It was a way of remembering before the art of writing reached the Māori, a practice which continues today. Barrow furthermore proposed that the meeting house had great symbolic significance for the Māori people and represented the body of the primal ancestor (see also McCarthy, 2007:22). The ridge-pole is the spine and the rafters are the ribs. The frontal boards are the outstretched arms and the mask at the peak of the gable is the face. Inside, the carved poupou depicted famous ancestors which are held in great respect. When someone entered the house they entered the body of the great ancestor.

Mrs. Oonagh Marino (personal communication, 1991) in Te Wai Ariki meeting house in Otara, Auckland, also described the house as representing the traditional ancestor. She said that the porch represents the legs and the main door the birth canal. The ridge-pole was the backbone and the poutokomanawa represented the heart valves. The rest of the house was the womb and people entering can symbolically return to the womb to be nurtured and experience the feeling of security. When leaving the meeting house the individual is reborn. They can return to daily life invigorated and revitalised and can take away strength to carry on the pursuit of life. In this way the house performed its function as a great mother.

The presence of a meeting house encouraged the physical, cultural and spiritual well-being essential to all people and provided ideals to aspire toward. Mrs. Marino described how certain standards of behaviour are expected within the meeting house and considered that an individual can be aware of being someone of worth, have self knowledge and a sense of belonging and knowing. The use of the meeting house ensured that the history and ceremonies were not forgotten and memories were retained. This in a tangible way created a feeling of closeness among the people and promoted continuity within the community. McCarthy, (2007:22) stated that the whare whakairo developed in the nineteenth century as a symbol of social unity,

represented an ancestor's body in which descendants gathered together to express a sense of tribal identity.

It is difficult to know how Māori displayed their taonga in the nineteenth century, but evidence suggests that displays were closely related to mana, the most central of Māori values to be understood as power, prestige, authority, influence and control (McCarthy, 2007:26). Salmond (1984a) proposed that taonga connected the living to the living and the living to the dead in the shape of waiata, proverbs, heirlooms, or garments that bring the past into the present (McCarthy, 2007:26-30). The way Haast displayed Māori culture was not authentic, for instance the Māori House was built on concrete with an iron roof. He displayed Māori taonga by hanging objects of beauty and usefulness on the walls and placed small objects in glass covered cabinets in the way Victorian museums displayed their treasures (see Fig. 4.1). As Tapsell (1998:165) pointed out the taonga had been removed from their original genealogical context and now lived in an alien environment. These taonga were separated from their original kaitiaki, the rangatira families of various iwi around Aotearoa.

What Haast preserved were carved histories and a cultural heritage. However, there is no evidence that Haast made use of the specific genealogies and ancestral tradition associated with this Ngāti Porou house. The house and the context in which he located his artefacts was Māori culture in general. Furthermore, there is no evidence that, beyond the work of Hone Tāhu, Haast took note of how Māori might expect the house to be presented and visited. The Māori House was a taonga in its own right and Haast enhanced the mana of the house in the way he displayed Māori artefacts and taonga, which had their own mana, for the education and interest of the visiting public. It is not known whether Haast knew or understood Māori values such as the concept of mana, which is the spiritual power possessed by individuals or things, tapu which controlled how people behaved towards each other, or utu which maintained the balance and harmony in the society. Tikanga Maori defined customary laws and institutions and

protocols of the people and the traditions handed down through the generations. Haast enhanced the mana of the Māori House in the way he displayed the taonga with dignity and respect.

The Māori House was moved, rearranged, altered and finally dismantled in the 1950s when a large extension to the museum was commenced and it was stored in the museum basement (Walker, 1991:10). According to Fyfe (personal communication, 2009) the Māori House is still in the possession of the Canterbury Museum and there are no plans for it to be moved.

McCarthy (2007:1) proposed that the meaning of Māori objects in New Zealand museums has been transformed at different times, however, exhibitions went both ways when it was revealed that Māori people were exhibitors as well as being exhibited. Sometimes chiefs lent weapons, weaving and carving, passing on the names and histories that were associated with them (McCarthy, 2007:16).

4.3 OTHER HOUSES IN MUSEUM COLLECTIONS, TE HAU-KI-TŪRANGA, HOTUNUI AND MATAATUA

Haast's purchase of a Māori whare for Canterbury Museum was part of a general move within New Zealand museums to acquire a carved house and to present Māori art and culture within a Māori court. The Colonial Museum in Wellington obtained a Māori meeting house which is considered the oldest and finest house in existence and the museum's chief treasure. It has a personal name, Te Hau-ki-Tūranga. Work began on this house in October, 1842, using steel tools, and it was finished in 1843. Sir Apirana Ngata, a leading authority on Māori art, considered it was the best extant example of Māori house carving. It was built by the Ngāti-Kaipoho and Raharuhi Rukupo was the great chief who planned, directed and shared in the carving of the house (Barrow, 1965:3-5). Together they created a meeting house with striking innovative combinations of indigenous tradition and imported technology. Rongowhakāta was the name of the tribe responsible for the whare. Later Te Hau-ki-Tūranga fell into disrepair.

Barrow, (1965:10-11) stated that subsequently the house was purchased by Mr. J.C. Richmond who secured it for the nation. At a meeting of about 600 iwi members it was agreed, with one dissention, that the house be sold for £150 in cash but the House of Representatives voted a further £300 to satisfy all claims. However, in a recent claim lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal by Rongowhakāta, it was argued that the house was removed (see below) rather than purchased. The house was re-erected in the Dominion Museum during 1866 and has played a part in scientific and cultural affairs in New Zealand over the past century. It was restored in 1935 for the Dominion Museum and re-presented as part of the Māori Court at Te Papa, National Museum of New Zealand (Barrow, 1965:31).

Rongowhakāta continued to visit their house in Wellington and were familiar with how it was displayed, and it was a considerable attraction to Māori as well as Pākehā. After 1868 there was a noticeable increase in the number of Māori signatures in the visitors' books at the Colonial Museum. The inclusion of Māori objects in exhibitions implied their participation in national life (McCarthy, 2007:32-33). More recently, Te Hau-ki-Tūranga has been included in a claim before the Waitangi Tribunal which found that reference to Te-Hau-ki-Tūranga being 'acquired by the government in 1867' was an inadequate explanation for the forcible removal of the whare in the aftermath of the siege of Waerenga a Hika in 1865.

Hotunui (Auckland Museum) and Mataatua (Otago Museum, see below) were built in the period following the cessation of the New Zealand wars, where Ngāti Awa wished to confirm their continuing mana. The carving of both was led by Wēpiha Apanui and his father Apanui te Hamaiwaho. Hotonui was built in 1878 as a wedding gift for Wēpiha's sister, Mereana, who was marrying a Ngāti Maru leader. However, by the 1920s, Hotunui had fallen into disrepair and was in danger of collapsing.

Eruini Taipari arranged for the carved meeting house, Hotunui, which had been left in trust to him, to be placed in the Auckland Institute and Museum. There were negotiations with Gilbert Archey, the Curator of the museum and George Graham on March 7, 1925. The result was that

the Ngāti Maru agreed that the house should be deposited on loan with the trustees of the Auckland Institute so that it might be preserved for all time. In this way descendents of Hotunui would have the opportunities to greet and weep over it and rejoice that their ancestor should thus stand on the very high place in Auckland (Graham, 1929:8-9). Hotunui went to the Auckland War Memorial Museum in the 1920s when it was 47 years old. The restoration work took some time and it was not until November 29, 1929, that Eruini Taipari and many of his kin attended the reopening ceremony in Auckland.

The idea to build a grand carved house came from Hohaia Matatehokia, a chief of the Ngāti Pukeko tribe, and building began in 1872. The designer and master carver was Wēpiha Apanui who also supervised the work. Mataatua has been through many reconstructions during its travels. The house left Whakatane and was sent to Melbourne to be exhibited and then moved to Sydney in 1879 for the first significant exhibition of Māori art ever held in that city. Mataatua was displayed as a meeting house at the Sydney International Exhibition in 1879. Government officials approached Ngāti Awa in the Bay of Plenty with a plan to show the world the work which the Māori people were doing in the erection of carved dwellings. At a meeting in Whakatane the Māori people were pleased to present Mataatua to the government for display. By participating in local and international fairs, Māori saw themselves as partners in colonial development rather than as subjects of it (McCarthy, 2007:36-38).

The Government assumed ownership of the house and negotiated to send Mataatua to England and the offer was accepted by the Kensington Museum. The house returned to Aotearoa for the New Zealand and South Seas exhibition in 1925 in Dunedin. The Otago Museum asked to have the house and it was given on permanent loan to the Otago Museum but the people of Ngāti Awa were not consulted. The house had been returned to New Zealand battered and damaged and some repairs were needed. In 1995, the wharenui was returned to Ngāti Awa when there was a claim lodged over ownership.

The whare whakairo was the pre-eminent means of exhibiting the mana of the people as well as the mana of the rangatira (McCarthy, 2007:28). The meeting house was part of the marae complex which included a ceremonial courtyard. As described by Tapsell (1998:54):

"…the most central of all Māori institutions: the marae. The role of the marae, and how it functions as the central focus of kin group identity, is most apparent during life-crises such as tangihanga. During these life-crises taonga are performed by tribal leaders so that each new generation of descendents can experience the kin group security that only a home marae can offer. It is the marae that embraces the fundamental kin-based values – whakapapa (genealogical ordering of the universe) and tikanga (the lore of the ancestors which flows from the philosophy of whakapapa) – which define what it is to be 'Māori.' Moreover, it is these same marae-associated values which provide the necessary context for understanding taonga and their tui and comet-like trajectories upon which, from time to time, they might embark."

Māori life in every aspect had been disrupted by the coming of the Europeans. The power and economic base of the chiefs had been diminished and it would have been extremely difficult for a chief and a tribe to maintain the cost and maintenance of the elaborate carved house. Many of the houses are recorded as falling into disrepair. By selling some of the houses to the museums the chiefs knew their heritage would be preserved and honoured as tribal treasures.

However, only the Canterbury Museum Māori House was acquired by purchase and the four houses discussed above in fact had quite different histories. Te Hau-ki-Tūranga (Te Papa), built in 1842 is the oldest, while the other three houses, Hau-te-ana-nui-o-Tangaroa (Canterbury), Hotunui (Auckland) and Mataatua (previously Otago, now Ngāti Awa) were built during the post-war 1860s-1878 period. All were affected by war and the aftermath to some extent. While Te Hau-ki-Tūranga erected at the Dominion Museum in 1866 was the first to be displayed in a public institute, Haast's purchase and use of Hau-te-ana-nui-o-Tangaroa at Canterbury Museum in1874 showed that he was progressive in this regard. The history of Mataatua records that the

housein was shown at international exhibitions and then at museums and exhibitions.

There is no record of Haast having social meetings with Māori or Ngāi Tahu at this time, nor is there a record of any Māori being employed in the museum. He would, no doubt, have had close contact with the two carvers and been aware of their skills and knowledge and he mediated between them and the builders.

Māori people respond to taonga as living rather than inanimate things, carvings do not just represent ancestors; they are those ancestors (McCarthy, 2007:29). The museum displays expressed European understanding of Māori culture, but did not give any sense of the original functions or settings that Māori people would be familiar with (McCarthy, 2007:13).

Haast's objective was to house his collections and also to use them as teaching aids and examples. Ethnology was the dominant practice and was the system used to constitute knowledge about Māori people through material culture. Haast placed Māori objects in as near as authentic settings as possible for knowledge and understanding of visitors of many races (Cameron, 2000:21-22).

4.4 DISPLAY

The Canterbury Museum was driven by the need to know and understand a new colonial context. The only way of documenting this new environment was through collections of representative specimens (Cameron, 2000:76). This highlighted the political role of the institute as one element in the colonial process. Collections were intended to provide a vehicle to know, control, conquer and exploit this new world (Cameron, 2000:29-31).

With the development of the Māori House in 1875, Haast expressed a desire to acquire a complete collection of Māori specimens of an ethnological nature. He argued that the museum should endeavour to create as complete a collection as possible so as to save the records of an interesting people. He thought that in years to come Māori would lose their former customs and

assimilate with the European immigrants and their descendents. There was a fear that at some point in time the authentic traditional life of Māori would be lost. Haast's ethnological collecting initiatives on a local scale were a way for him to contribute to a global pool of scientific data about history (Cameron, 2000:110-111).

By April 1875, the Māori collections at the Canterbury Museum had been arranged in the Māori House with the purpose of presenting as full a picture of Māori life as possible (Cameron, 2000:250). Cameron, (2000:259) noted that ethnographic classifications, in terms of categories such as subsistence activities, social life, implements for procuring food, ornaments and amusements, the burial of the dead, all filled out the Māori story and this information was supplemented through guidebooks.

The development of a system of exchange enabled Haast to avoid monetary transactions. This was probably a result of the museum's limited financial resources. Moa bones, due to their unique, rare and exotic nature, commanded a commodity value on the international market. The accurate identification and labelling of objects was also a means of ensuring their usefulness for future comparative investigation. As a result, collections acted as a register of scientific facts. Highest value was placed on those specimens that were well authenticated. The desire to know and exploit the environment, educate the masses and contribute to knowledge production, according to Haast, was the way for a new colony to attain the status of a civilised and great nation (Cameron, 2000:80-83).

4.5 SUMMARY

Haast's objective was to house his collections and also to use them as teaching aids and examples. Haast placed Māori objects in as near as authentic settings as possible for knowledge and understanding of visitors of many races (Cameron, 2000:21-22).

Two views are presented in the literature concerning the exhibition and display of Māori culture in New Zealand museums. First, McCarthy argued that exhibiting Māori was not a one-sided

affair nor was the process directed one way. Māori were present as partners in the formation of official policy, as participants in the construction of exhibits, and as audiences who responded to their presentation (McCarthy, 2005:64). The objects collected were those that were in immediate danger of extinction because they were no longer made in old style methods, or in use. This loss of authenticity was a result of the adoption by Māori people of many European cultural and technological practices which led to the loss of traditional methods used in the production of objects (McCarthy, 2005:36-37).

Secondly, there is the position taken by Cameron (2000) that exhibitions and displays were demonstrations of colonial power in which Māori played little part. Collecting was a way of showing Māori people in a form in which they could be understood according to colonial eyes. The process was a way of shaping a vision of Māori people through material things while leaving out all references to Māori values, histories and identities. She saw this as an act of curatorial invention in which new identities and histories for Māori people were produced for exhibition, research and education (Cameron, 2000:293).

Without overstating the case, it is clear that Haast, in his ethnological displays had to accommodate Māori in a number of ways. This was seen in the previous chapter in terms of his surreptitious actions regarding the Moa-bone Point Cave skeletal remains and his covering of the preserved head which was previously on open display. In terms of the Māori house, Haast purchased the house from Māori and had one of the original carvers accompany it to see to its erection in Christchurch. In order to ensure its long term survival, a concrete floor and iron roof were used. However, Hone Tāhu was able to introduce decorative innovations that others were not in total agreement with.

In presenting and displaying the Māori ethnological collection within the Māori house, Haast possibly inadvertently, created a Māori environment in which the artefacts would have been comfortable. It is likely that Māori would have found this a less forbidding environment than

the larger halls and cluttered display cabinets favoured by other museums at the time. Finally, the use of the house, as with Māori courts created to display Māori art (McCarthy 2005:52-70), the housing of the Māori collections within Hau-te-ana-nui-o-Tangaroa may have added to the mana of the house and the objects within the context of Māori values.

Chapter 5 – Exhibitions and the Colinderies Exhibition, 1886

In the previous chapter, Haast's exhibition of Māori culture through the medium of the Māori House at Canterbury Museum was explored. This represented a second approach to the manner in which Māori culture might be exhibited, with the first being display within a framework of general concepts of progress and evolution, in this case based on moa and archaeological remains. The creation of the Māori House at Canterbury, and of Māori Courts at the Auckland and Dominion Museums, had much in common with the manner in which Pacific and other indigenous societies were placed on display at international exhibitions and fairs. At these venues, exhibitors attempted to capitalise on the public's interest in the possibly bizarre and colourful aspects of indigenous culture.

During the nineteenth century, in particular, the rise of industrial capitalism and colonialism brought metropolitan Western societies into direct contact with indigenous societies across the globe. At industrial and world fairs, the products of civilisation might be displayed alongside those of colonised societies providing both vicarious entertainment and a reinforcement of European attitudes of superiority. Relationships between international exhibitions and museum display and collecting activities will be discussed in this chapter, with particular reference to Haast's display of Māori culture at the Colinderies Exhibition of 1886.

5.1 EXHIBITIONS

The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations was held in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, London, from May 1 to October 15, 1851. It was the first international exhibition of manufactured products and had much influence on the development of many aspects of society including art, education, international trade and relations, and even tourism. This Exhibition set the precedent for international exhibitions during the next hundred years.

International expositions were commercial enterprises with the objective of enhancing domestic production. The secondary objective was to display choice examples of a country's most prized and representative possessions and the symbols of cultural prestige designed to enhance a country's image in the eyes of international trade competition. When the element of 'cultural display' is isolated from the 'industrial display', international expositions look more like exhibitions, or even museums, than fairs or expositions. These expositions were greatly influenced by museum traditions which had been developing in Europe for centuries. These had a strong influence on the manner in which international expositions promoted hierarchies of global culture that were decidedly to the host's advantage (Burris, 2001:2-3).

The classifiers, compilers, and collectors who dominated natural history during the nineteenth century were responsible for the growth of the 'museum movement' which became so powerful during the decades leading up to 1900 (Sheets-Pyenson, 1988:3). Certain local objects, such as rare natural history specimens or archaeological implements had commercial value and might be sold or exchanged for material from abroad. International exhibitions, whether the huge fairs held in major metropolitan centres or the more modest colonial affairs, called attention to these treasures (Sheets-Pyenson, 1988:16).

What made the nineteenth-century international expositions significant was that they were genuinely global events more than any previously (Burris 2001:13). Firstly, they were commercial enterprises. Secondly, what was so unique about the international expositions was that the display of industry and available commodities were accompanied by choice samples of a country's most valued and typical possessions (Burris, 2001:2). As a result, international exhibitions formed an integral part of the culture of display in the nineteenth century. These exhibitions were immensely popular, and New Zealand participated in many overseas exhibitions as well as hosting a number at home (McCarthy, 2006:18).

A New Zealand Industrial Exhibition was planned to be held in Dunedin early in 1865. A local committee, which included Haast, was appointed to promote the industry and resources of the Canterbury Province at this exhibition. Hector, Commissioner of the Exhibition, asked Haast to write an essay descriptive of the Colony. Haast therefore prepared maps, sections and specimens and went to Dunedin on January 27, 1865, to arrange for the preparation of the necessary show-cases and to study the contents of the Exhibition, the first to reveal the resources of the infant Colony. On March 7, 1866, a silver medal was awarded to Haast for his essay on the geography and geology of Canterbury, Nelson and Marlborough. This was the first of several exhibitions in which Haast participated. It was also an exhibition which took him back to Europe for the only return during his lifetime (von Haast, 1948:356-360).

The New Zealand Exhibition of 1865 in Dunedin provided a graphic example of progressive colonization and its attendant culture of display. The city was not yet twenty years old and was eager to show off the new wealth created by the Otago gold rush and the large-scale exhibition was organised to attract thousands of people. It was a smaller version of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and expressed the aspirations of a young colony. The exhibition included a section containing Māori manufactured articles and implements. These were donated by private collectors but several prominent chiefs also lent weapons, weaving and carving, passing on the names and histories that were associated with them. Amidst a Pākehā celebration of conquest, one that assumed indigenous absence, these voices and things declared a Māori presence (McCarthy, 2007:15-16).

The Colonial and Vienna Exhibition of 1872-3 was held in Christchurch and a display at one end of the hall showed two large poupou (carved house posts) and an assemblage of carving and weaving surrounded by flax and other native foliage. McCarthy (2007:13) argued that exhibiting Māori implied the possession of the people and their land, capable of collection and exhibition in a similar manner to the native flora and fauna. Displays made visible the connections between material culture and imperial power, between objects and subjects. What

the exhibition put on display was the colonizing culture of Pākehā settlers (McCarthy, 2007:13).

As noted in the previous chapter, however, Māori were not just passive observers of their own culture on display, on occasions they provided an active critical response. The Empire Exhibition at Wembley (1924) received a scathing response from a prominent Māori leader, T.W. Ratana, who felt the Māori hut on display suggested that the Māori were low down in the scale of native races. This objection to the display was a sign that Māori at this time would not put up with images perceived to be condescending. This reflected a complex Māori response to the display of their culture and the different objectives of Pākehā and Māori involved. For Māori, display was a vehicle by which the mana of the tribe might be conveyed. Māori did not so much oppose the imperial ethos of international exhibitions as demand their proper place within them (McCarthy, 2005:52-53).

In the 1870s, the New Zealand government sponsored a number of exhibitions overseas often making use of the connections of James Hector, Director of the Colonial Museum in Wellington. One of the largest of these was in Austria in 1873, where there were already strong scientific links between Dr. Ferdinand von Hochstetter and Julius von Haast at the Canterbury Museum. The international exhibition in Vienna was packed with objects including carving, weaving, art, flora and fauna. According to McCarthy (2005:55-56) the display of Māori objects in Vienna represented a compromise between the scientific order of carefully arranged specimens, the exotic spectacle of native peoples and their culture and the commercial reality of produce piled up on tables in the barn-like interiors of the exhibition halls. Flax, for example, was exhibited as bales of dressed flax and coiled rope, while manufactured articles, including Māori cloaks, kete, shoes and aprons could be placed under glass to advantage.

Illustration 5.1 - New Zealand Court at the Philadelphia International Exhibition, 1876 (McCarthy, 2007:35).

McCarthy also stated (2005:57) that it was common for Māori to set up their own cultural displays as part of regional agricultural and pastoral shows. The tangata whenua, by participating in local fairs and showing interest in expositions abroad, saw themselves as partners in colonial development rather than as subjects of it. This Māori version was in fact closer to the truth though expressly denied in Pākehā colonial ideology. James Belich (in McCarthy, 2005:55) pointed out that views of our history often overlook the dynamic Māori adaptation to European settlement.

The contents of the New Zealand Court at the Philadelphia International Exhibition in 1876, (see Figure 5.1) was based on a collection of garments, ornaments, and weapons supplied by several prominent chiefs organised by R.W. Woon, the resident Magistrate from Whanganui. This was indicative of the types of displays sent from New Zealand and Woon's description of these objects, obviously obtained from the owners themselves reflected a Māori value system. The tribal heirlooms were referred to in labels and catalogues by name, and their connection to whakapapa and historical events intimately associated with the mana of the individual donor. Māori newspapers often praised the inclusion of Māori exhibits in foreign exhibitions as a sign of 'progress' (McCarthy, 2007:35-36).

A shift in display technique occurred at the Sydney International Exhibition in 1879 where the meeting house Mataatua showed the work of the Māori people in the erection of a carved dwelling and provided a backdrop for cultural performances. Unfortunately, due to cost, the whare was erected inside out with its poupou and tukutuku panels exposed to the weather and the roof was covered with Chinese matting. This exhibition featured an ethnological court for the first time in Australasia. By participating in local and international fairs, Māori saw themselves as partners in colonial development rather than as subjects of it and for the first time Māori were literally on display as a living exhibit. They were no strangers to performing abroad, and formed a concert party from Ngāti Maru. However, this exhibition was a commercial venture rather than an ethnological exercise (McCarthy, 2007:36-38).

Haast and his wife, Mary, went to Sydney for this exhibition taking with them his principal Ethnological exhibits comprising more than 1,000 specimens, including stone implements and kitchen-middens of the Moa-hunters found in Canterbury and Otago. Included were a series of similar articles of the succeeding shell-fish eaters, and a quantity of stone implements in use among the Māori when the first Europeans visited New Zealand (von Haast, 1948:832). It is interesting that Haast participated in this exhibition only five years after the purchase and erection of the Māori House at the Canterbury Museum.

Haast received approval to visit the International Exhibition at Melbourne where the museum exhibits had been transferred from the Sydney Exhibition (von Haast, 1948:884). The Melbourne International Exhibition was held from 1880 to 1881. The exhibition was modelled on the great exhibitions of Europe, with an aim to promote commerce and industry, along with art, science and education, used as entertainment and tourism (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Melbourne_International_Exhibition, 1880). Retrieved 26/02/2010). There were three moa skeletons displayed in the New Zealand Court at this Melbourne Exhibition (von Haast, 1948:787).

The ethnological courts at International exhibitions worked on a number of levels. Firstly, there was the scientific classification of nature and natives which often utilised theories of racist superiority. On the other hand, romantic representations of Māori were more prominent, and what had once appeared to nervous colonists as curious or grotesque came to be seen by enthusiasts for things Māori as exotic and colourful (McCarthy, 2005:60).

In museums, large feature objects, such as houses, war canoes and dedicated ethnographic displays were popular with local visitors and tourists reflecting the rising value placed on Māori culture. However, the venue of display continued to be the natural history museum rather than the art gallery and, although more of the Māori collection found its way into the public halls, the display of Māori objects was still to come (McCarthy, 2007:45). Nonetheless, Māori participated as donors of objects, they were partners in the formation of official policy through

their membership of the New Zealand Parliament, they assisted in the construction of exhibits and they responded to presentations as a vocal audience (McCarthy, 2005:64).

5.2 THE COLINDERIES EXHIBITION 1885-1887

At the age of 62, Haast could have considered retirement. He had achieved his major goal in creating a museum which was highly ranked in New Zealand and had an international reputation. However, his motto was 'Never Idle', and his ambition was still not satisfied. He longed to return to Germany to see his family and his son, Robert, to make personal contact with the European scientists whom he knew by correspondence only, and to receive recognition from the Queen of England similar to that conferred upon him by the Emperor of Austria (von Haast, 1948:899).

In 1884, an old scheme for a Colonial and Indian Exhibition was revived to exhibit the products of India and the Colonies and to create a permanent Colonial Museum in London. This project was named the 'Colinderies', managed by an appointed Royal Commission with H.R.H. the Prince of Wales as President. The proposed site for the exhibition was at the back of the Albert Hall. It seemed likely that the New Zealand Commissioner with all the mana attached to the position would be Hector, and there was the possibility of a knighthood at the conclusion (von Haast, 1948:902).

Haast suggested he would be prepared to take charge of the New Zealand Court at the exhibition and Vogel (treasurer and prime minister 1872-1876, government minister 1882-87), realised that Haast had the knowledge and the driving power to achieve results, as well as experience from previous exhibitions. Haast's appointment as Executive Commissioner in charge of the exhibits was soon announced. He asked for information regarding space, whether the site was painted, the lighting, if the floor was sound, and whether he could borrow the carved slabs of a Māori House from the South Kensington Museum. The Lyttelton Times

congratulated Haast and considered he would do the work with zeal and success (von Haast, 1948:904-905).

The general plan was to display manufacturing, forestry, the working of greenstone (nephrite), a fernery and medicinal plants of New Zealand. Haast wished to show pictures of principal public buildings in cities which would illustrate the progress of civilization in the Colony. Haast travelled from Invercargill to Auckland and talked to experts on wool, grain, meat and dairy produce for export. Alongside this would be an exhibition of Māori artefacts which could present a contrast between the primitive conditions of the Māori, as Haast saw it, with the way settlers had developed agricultural and pastoral products and manufactured goods. For this, he proposed to have an arch ornamented with Māori carvings, a Pā and a meeting-house with wax figures of Māori wearing native cloaks, and other collections of Māori implements and artefacts.

It was a comprehensive scheme calculated to attract the attention of the public to display a cross-section of the resources of New Zealand and the cultural development (von Haast, 1948:907-909). Sir Joseph Hooker helped to make the New Zealand fernery one of the features of the Exhibition. Three large plants of p*hormium tenax* (flax) and several good sized *cordylines* (cabbage-trees) were obtained through the Horticultural Society, and many other plants which were available to be used in the New Zealand landscape (von Haast, 1948:913).

The exhibition taxed Haast and on March 5, 1886, he went for a fortnight to Bonn, his birth place, to stay with his widowed sister, Veronica Rossum, who was now seventy six and whom he had not seen for twenty eight years. At this time he met his son Robert, a Lieutenant in the Prussian army (von Haast, 1948:917).

Haast returned to London on March 21, 1886, and Mary later described her husband as the ‘commissioner who really worked.’ Haast was included as a friend among learned men, aristocracy and Royalty and this caused some resentment, particularly because of his close contact with the Prince of Wales (von Haast, 1948:918-919). Haast now began a strenuous and

tiring life. He worked from eight in the morning in a cold draughty building, returning to his lodgings at 6 p.m. and then went to dinner parties, and functions (von Haast, 1948:917-919).

For the centrepiece of his exhibition of Māori culture, Haast chose Te Tākinga, a famous pātaka, or food storehouse, which had stood in the marae gardens near Rotoiti. The whales depicted on the maihi or bargeboards represented the great prosperity of the Ngāti Pikiao people. Pātaka were symbols of tribal mana in the early nineteenth century and some pātaka found their way into museums and private collections. Te Tākinga had been acquired by the collector Walter Buller who was in London in 1886 also as a commissioner for the Colinderies Exhibition. The storehouse became a prime exhibit in Buller's ethnological collection and he provided the detached carvings from Te Tākinga for the exhibition.

"This celebrated specimen of a Māori pātaka, or foodhouse, called 'Te Tākinga,' was built out of a large war canoe, which was drawn overland from Maketu, on the coast to Rotorua Lake – a distance of 30 miles – by Hongi Hika, the great Ngā-puhi warrior, when he attacked Makoia Island in Rotorua Lake, in the year 1822. The main figure on the doorway represents Pikiao, the ancestor of the Ngāti Pikiao tribe; the tekoteko, or small figure surmounting the top, is called 'Te Tākinga,' the son of Pikiao. The legs or supports were carved by Morehu, of the Ngāti-huia Tribe" (Hamilton, 1896:136).

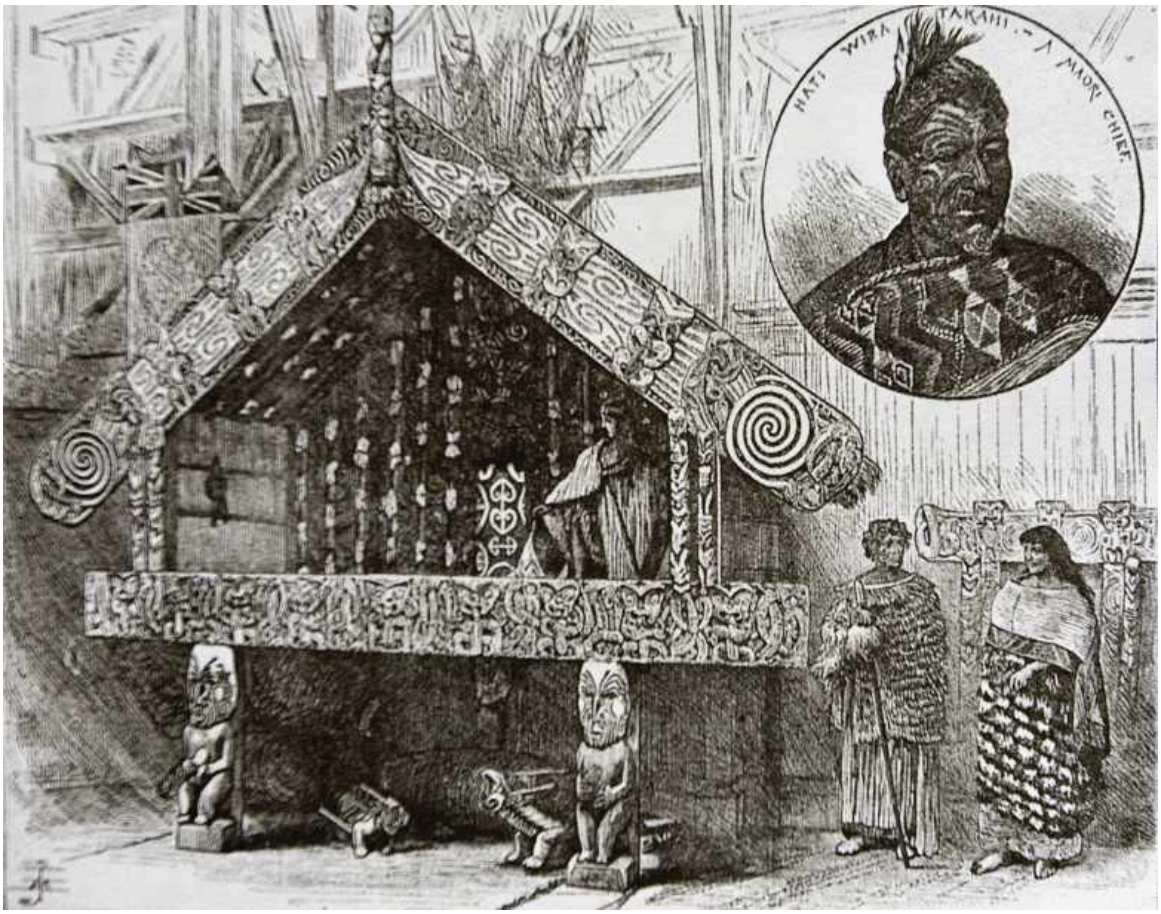

Illustration 5.2 - Te Tākinga at the Colinderies Exhibition, London, 1886 (McCarthy, 2007:43).

The New Zealand Court was ready on May 4, when the Exhibition was opened by Queen Victoria. Haast participated in the procession in Court dress, the uniform of the Consul General, but was not permitted to wear a hat because he was only accredited in New Zealand. He was among those presented by the Prince of Wales to the Queen (von Haast, 1948:920). In June, 1886, Haast was made a Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George (K.C.M.G.) (von Haast, 1948:925).

A reporter from The Times wrote that he had been led from the 'Old New Zealand' exemplified by the Māori exhibits, to the present high standard of civilisation. He went on to state that the New Zealand exhibit was the most attractive court in the Exhibition. Furthermore, The *Times* commented that it was impossible not to express admiration for the manner in which Sir Julius von Haast had arranged this collection including a fine range of geological specimens and

fossils (von Haast, 1948:920-921). Five and a half million people visited the Colinderies exhibition which showed a net surplus of £35,000 (von Haast, 1948:958)

Haast's life in London was a busy one. Haast and Mary attended a levée at St. James', a state ball at Buckingham Palace, dinner with the Prince of Wales, a lunch at Windsor Castle, an investiture by Queen Victoria at Osborne, a banquet and ball at the Guildhall, and dinner with the Honourable Companies of Fishmongers and Leathersellers. He was honoured by scientific men in London, Birmingham, Cambridge and Paris (von Haast, 1948:929). In France he received the distinction of the diploma and insignia of *Officier de l'Instruction Publique*. Many French scientists were present at an arranged luncheon and Haast considered he was surrounded by all the greatest scientific men in France, with Haast commenting "I was overcome with delight" (von Haast, 1948:930-932).

Haast's investiture as a Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George (KCMG) occurred at Osborne on August 2, 1886. It was a momentous occasion in his life. Haast wrote to Mary that when the Queen saw him her face brightened up and she said something to the Prince of Wales. Haast then had to kneel on a cushion and the Queen who looked all smiles, said in German "I am especially glad to see you here, to be able to confer this distinction upon you," touched him on both shoulders with a sword and said "Arise, Sir Julius," (von Haast, 1948:929-930) and gave her hand to him to kiss. She then hung the ribbon with the Cross round his neck.

Queen Victoria had an emotional tie with Haast. Her husband, the late Prince Albert, had been a student at Bonn at the same time as Haast. An apocryphal tradition had it that Haast had been instrumental in saving the life of Prince Albert when he was in danger of drowning in the Rhine (von Haast, 1948:574). The *Lyttelton Times*, in 1886, stated that Haast's old acquaintance with the Prince Consort during their student days at the University of the Rhine in Bonn made the New Zealand Commissioner *persona grata* to the Queen. Haast received much attention from

the Royal family attributable to the early friendship with the Prince Consort. However, Haast did not complete a university degree and it is possible only that Albert and he were at Bonn at the same time. Haast's biography has elements where history was rewritten to present him in a better light. It was not only in England that Haast was honoured.

The dismantling, collecting and packing of the New Zealand exhibits and packaging of specimens for the Canterbury Museum began. Then came a black December fog and there was no heating or lighting in the cold and draughty exhibition hall. Haast found it difficult to breath and had to depend on his foreman and labourers. When the work was finished, Haast and Mary left for Düsseldorf to spend Christmas with family and friends. Haast was now suffering from a severe attack of rheumatism and sciatica and by the time they reached Bonn he could only walk with a stick. His doctor advised an immediate return to New Zealand but Haast wishing to visit museums on the Continent undertook a journey to Austria, Germany and France where he had the opportunity to make purchases for his museum. He received gifts from Dr. Heinrich von Dechen, then eighty seven and one of the fathers of geology. Haast also paid a hasty visit to Switzerland and Italy. At that time, Haast had his photograph taken in his consular uniform and he had the appearance of an old and sick man (von Haast, 1948:941-943). It is interesting to note that now Germany seemed to him to be a foreign country. He was a stranger there, and had felt much more at home in England (von Haast, 1948:947).

Before departing for home Haast estimated there would be thirty cases of specimens going to his museum. Haast, Mary, now Lady von Haast, and their daughter Eva left England on June 4, 1887, and were back in Christchurch in July. They stayed at lodgings at St. Elmo in Worcester Street, opposite the home of Edward Dobson, where Haast's sons were living. Haast seemed to settle down to the old life again. He was re-elected as Vice-President of the Society of Arts. On August 15, he attended a lecture on madrigals under the auspices of the Philosophical Institute, although he was not feeling well and was suffering from a slight cold. After he had proposed a vote of thanks he felt worse, and it was only with difficulty that he was able walk the few yards

to St. Elmo were he went to bed. Dr. Prins was summoned who prescribed a sedative. Haast went to sleep and Mary sat watching him. About half-past one in the morning she was alarmed to hear him breathing very heavily and soon afterwards he died of heart disease, without a word or sign of suffering. The people of Christchurch were startled to hear of his death early in the morning of August 16, 1887 (von Haast, 1948:968-969).

The Board of Governors of the museum arranged his funeral and with the tolling of bells and flags at half-mast, a procession of thousands of people representing the Board of Governors, professors and students of the University College, museum attendants, the Philosophical Institute, the City Council, the Industrial Association, and the Freemasons paced slowly down Armagh Street past the Provincial Chambers and the museum. He was laid to rest in the quiet graveyard of the Avonside Church with the Venerable Canon Cotterill performing the last rites (von Haast, 1948:969-970).

As stated previously, McCarthy (2005) interpreted the display of Māori culture and art as an example of colonial capture, where Māori were displayed in terms of a primordial, ancient culture compared with the evidence for progress displayed by colonial industrial products. There is evidence that Haast thought in these terms. In making the Māori court at Colerinderies picturesque, however, Haast also tapped into a strain of European Romantic thought concerning indigenous cultures. The carved storehouse Te Tākinga was also a thing of beauty and power, representative of the mana of Ngāti Pikiao. It could be argued that in using Te Tākinga in this manner, surrounding it with Hooker's ferns, flax, cabbage-trees and other New Zealand plants, and placing three life-like figures in the front, draped in woven mats and cloaks, Haast inadvertently subverted the colonial message he intended. Certainly, his exhibition was the one which drew the public's attention.

Today Te Tākinga pātaka is on display at the Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

5.3 SUMMARY

A major thrust of Haast's work was the display of Māori in local and international exhibitions and he presented Māori culture with the cooperation of Māori who contributed their taonga. Although these exhibitions were commercial ventures they also presented indigenous cultures to visitors. Māori helped and participated in these expositions and displayed their prized possessions and introduced their culture to the wider world.

Exhibitions were very popular and each country showed the best of its production. Māori were active in the display of their own culture as distinct from European settlers and demonstrated that they were partners in colonial development.

A most important event was the Colinderies Exhibition in London (1885-1887) where the Māori Court received much praise due to Haast's skill and organising abilities. For this achievement and his lifelong work as a scientist, he was awarded the K.C.M.G. by Queen Victoria.

Chapter 6 – Conclusions

In the Introduction, the thesis questions were outlined. The major of these concerned Haast's relationships with Māori as regards his academic studies and his work as director of the Canterbury Museum. A second line of inquiry was to consider the extent to which Māori might have interacted with Haast and with the collections and displays he created. Consideration was also given to the circumstances in which Māori, and particularly Ngāi Tahu, found themselves through the latter part of the 19th century, an era of wars, land sales and upheavals following the settlement of Canterbury. There was also some discussion of the main writers on the topic of museums and Māori, McCarthy (2007) and Cameron (2000), noted that McCarthy adopted a position of accepting that Māori were not passive subjects of display and interpretation, but rather interacted with depictions of their culture as donors of objects, visitors to displays and critics of what was on display.

By contrast, Cameron (2000) in adopting a Foucaultian approach, saw the activities of Museum Directors, Haast at Canterbury Museum and Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum, as capturing Māori within a colonial discourse which left little room for Māori to influence the manner in which they and their culture was depicted. Finally, the approach to these questions was through an analysis of Haast, the information available on his life, and through three case studies. These were, his academic studies and excavations regarding the Moa-hunters, secondly, his use of the Māori House at Canterbury Museum to display Māori ethnography, and, finally, the New Zealand exhibition he arranged at the Colinderies Exhibition in London (1985-7).

Having researched and analysed Julius Haast as a man, and as a museum builder and the depth of his success as a scientist, it must be noted that the research had limitations and was restricted to available published and unpublished sources. Much material came from published biographies and therefore there are no direct records of Haast's thoughts or attitudes, in particular towards Māori. His contacts with local Māori were with guides hired for his

explorations and chiefs of tribes he encountered and conversations he had with the two master carvers who worked on the Māori House. Haast was in advance of his fellow settlers in that he considered a museum would enhance the commercial, economic and intellectual life of the community. He considered it necessary for the entertainment of the citizens and the education of future generations. Overall, it seems unlikely that he considered Māori as partners in either the colonial project or in the work he was doing at the museum. Instead, it appears that he was no better informed than the majority of other colonial residents and considered Māori as representing a world that belonged to the past just as colonial progress belonged to the future.

Haast examined the correlation between moa bones, Moa-hunters and Māori and he asked the important scientific question of the day which was to determine who exterminated the moa, and when. As a result of his scientific work and excavations, he proposed a theory relating the megafauna of Europe which were found with evidence of prehistoric, or Palaeolithic man, to the Moa-hunters who he considered also to be Palaeolithic due to the use of chipped stone tools. He wanted to find a correlation between the moa bones and the evidence of man found in his excavations and assumed that because prehistoric men in Europe were Palaeolithic by association with crude stone tools then the Moa-hunters must also be Palaeolithic. Later he had to admit his error and unwillingly conceded that Moa-hunters and Māori both used ground stone tools, and were therefore both Neolithic peoples and that both were Polynesian. Up to that point, his work was an attempt to fit his European scientific background and knowledge into the local sequence.

There was another side of Haast's character which was shown in his attitude to the body found at Moa-bone Point Cave near Sumner. It was obvious that this was a fairly recent burial but Haast secretly moved the body to his museum where he had it prepared to be mounted and displayed as prehistoric. This was untrue and showed a ruthless trait in his character in that science was more important to him than ethics or legalities. In fact he pretended. That Haast's approach to this material was instrumental is demonstrated in the surreptitious manner he

moved the Moa-bone Point Cave skeletal material from the cave to the museum where it could be prepared for display. The fact that Haaast did not have an entirely free hand is demonstrated by the need he felt for a stealthy removal of the skeleton, and also by his covering up of the display of the preserved Māori head after Māori threatened legal action. Haast also attempted to document the racial typology of Māori and Chatham Islands Moriori. To do this he built up a comparative collection of crania and actively exchanged human skeletal materials with museums overseas. Haast used his collections as a show case for his theories of the cultural and economic Darwinian evolutionary transition of the original settlers from possible Melanesian people to Palaeolithic Moa-hunters to present day Māori.

Haast's dispute with Hector and McKay was partly about the right to publish his own research, but also about the fact that he was forced to concede McKay was correct in his assessment that the Moa-hunters also used ground stone tools and were, therefore, Neolithic. This disrupted Haast's theories of an evolutionary sequence from Palaeolithic Moa-hunters to Neolithic Maori. He unwillingly gave in.

Postscript: Julius Haast and the Ngai Tahu Treaty Settlement

Ngāi Tahu first encountered Europeans in New Zealand about the year 1795 and they were signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 (About-Ngāi-Tahu 2011). Between 1844 and 1863, Ngāi Tahu sold their land to the Crown through a number of major land sales agreements including the sale of Canterbury, Kaikoura, Otago and the West Coast of the South Island. The total land area sold was 34 million acres (14 million ha) or c.93% of the South Island land area (The Ngāi Tahu Claim 2011). Safeguards for Ngāi Tahu were built into these agreements. However, conditions such as the setting aside of reserve lands for Ngāi tahu were not honoured. The first petition for redress of these grievances was forwarded by Matiaha Tiramorehu in 1849 with additional petitions to Parliament by Hori Kerei Taiaroa in the 1870's. Despite commissions of inquiry and

some limited compensation by the Government, Ngāi Tahu continued to pursue claims for redress on the grounds that the Government had not acted legally or fairly (The Ngāi Tahu Claim 2011).

In 1986, Ngāi Tahu filed a claim against the Government with the Waitangi Tribunal. The outcome of this process was a series of reports published between 1991 and 1993. The most significant of these was *The Ngāi Tahu Report* (Wai 27) (Waitangi Tribunal 1991). Following this, Ngāi Tahu entered into negotiations with the Government which culminated in the passing of the *Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act* 1998. This act included an apology by the Crown and agreed methods of redress over land issues including; the vesting of Aoraki (Mount Cook) to Ngāi Tahu, the handing over of ownership rights to all natural occurrences of pounamu (greenstone, serpentine) (to Ngāi Tahu and the Mawhera Incorporation), and, the establishment of special rights to areas of particular significance to Ngāi Tahu on lands administered by the Department of Conservation (About Ngāi Tahu 2011, Ngāi-Tahu-Whanui 2011).

Haast was involved in the Government's purchase of the West Coast of the South Island from Poutini Ngāi Tahu. In 1860, accompanied by Alexander Mackay, Haast surveyed the Rotoiti district, travelling up the Maruia River and south towards the headwaters of the Grey. Mackay's expedition to the West Coast was intended to complete this purchase and to find a new route to the Grey valley. The purchase of 7,500,000 acres (3.3m ha) of land between Kahurangi Point and Milford Sound was achieved by Alexander Mackay's cousin, James Mackay Jnr, at Mawhera (Greymouth) on 21 May 1860 (Armstrong 2011; 'James Mackay,' 2011).

Haast's geological surveys also contributed to the European understanding of the economic and aesthetic value of the West Coast and the Southern Alps. In 1862, Haast explored areas of Westland and the Southern Alps, including the Mount Cook region to search for gold deposits and the extensive river system which forms Lakes Tekapo,

Pukaki, and Ohau, where he visited and named the Godley, Tasman, Classen, Macaulay, Murchison, Faraday, Hooker, and Mueller glaciers. In 1863 he attempted successfully to reach the West Coast by Lake Wanaka and the headwaters of the Makarora, over what is now known as the Haast pass. He later journeyed to and named the Franz Josef glacier, explored the headwaters of the Rakaia and Waimakariri rivers and made four visits to the Waipara in1866-7 (Haast 1979; Jenkinson 1940).

In 1886, as a result of persistent protest by Ngāi Tahu, Alexander Mackay was appointed a commissioner to inquire into the claims of landless Māori in the South Island. He found the Government had not followed its own rules in purchasing land from Ngāi Tahu, that insufficient land had been reserved and no compensation had been paid for the loss of hunting and fishing rights and that Ngāi Tahu were in a state of poverty (Armstrong, 2011).

Through his explorations and contributions to the economic geology of the South Island and his establishment of institutions in Christchurch such as the Canterbury Museum and the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury, Haast contributed to the colonial environment that was so detrimental to the interests and of Ngāi Tahu during the nineteenth century. There is no evidence that Haast concerned himself with Ngāi Tahu attempts at redress through this period. In fact, he probably interpreted the land sales as an advance as he was an enthusiastic believer in what he considered to be progress as a scientific principle (see Section above).

Despite being somewhat stiff necked at times, Haast was also a pragmatist and it is likely that he would not be dismayed by the close association between Ngāi Tahu and Canterbury Museum today where a Ngāi Tahu representative, Charles Crofts, is a Trustee on the Museum's Board (http://www.canterburymuseum.com/about-us/people.aspx). In addition, Ngāi Tahu worked closely with Canterbury Museum to present Mō Tātou: The

Ngāi Tahu Whānui Exhibition which showcased Ngāi Tahu artefacts in the museum's collection (http://www.christchurchnz.com/christchurch--canterbury-tourism/media/media-releases/te-hokinga-mai-exhibition-opens-at-robert-mcdougall-gallery.aspx). It has taken a century and a half for Ngāi Tahu agency to fully make use of the collections and the exhibition potential of Haast's Canterbury Museum to further their interests. Both the museum and its collections owe a great deal to Haast's energy and foresight and Ngāi Tahu recognize the potential these have in terms of the future they wish to define for themselves. Sadly, such initiatives are now suspended while both Ngāi Tahu and Canterbury Museum are in earthquake recovery mode.

OBITUARY

Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, New Monthly Series, Vol. 9, No. 11 (Nov., 1887), 687-688. Retrieved 21/09/2009.

Sir Julius von Haast, K.C.M.G., Ph.D., F.R.S., one of the Society's Gold Medallists, whose death took place suddenly on August 16, was the son of a merchant at Bonn, Germany, and was born there on May 1, 1824. After passing through the grammar schools of Bonn and Cologne, he spent some time at Bonn University, at the same time that he learned the business of bookseller. He seems at this time to have shown some taste for geological and mineralogical studies. For some years Haast seems to have travelled extensively in Europe, visiting Russia, Austria, and Italy. During the eruption of Mount Etna, in 1852, he is said to have ascended the mountain for scientific purposes. When living at Hanover, von Haast received an appointment from an English company to go out to New Zealand for the purpose of showing its suitability for German emigrants. Von Haast arrived in Auckland, New Zealand, in 1858, and there he met the late Dr. Hochstetter, then one of the staff of the *Novara* expedition. At Hochstetter's request von Haast accompanied him in his exploration of the North Island, south of Auckland, and a portion of Nelson, writing full reports of all he saw to the leading German periodicals. At the request of the Provincial Government of Nelson von Haast then started on an expedition to explore the western and southern portion of the province. During this journey, in addition to the discovery of the Grey and Buller coal-fields, and of several gold-bearing districts, he filled in the topography of a large part of Nelson, and added largely to the knowledge of the geology, as well as of the fauna and flora of these alpine portions of New Zealand. A report of the journey was published by the Government, and in the beginning of 1861von Haast was appointed Provincial Geologist of Canterbury. During a number of years he devoted from six to eight months annually to the investigation of the physical geography and geology of the province. The result was the publication of the 'Geology of the Provinces of Canterbury and Westland';

and in the meantime von Haast had sent various papers on the geology and physical geography of Canterbury to the Geological and Royal Geographical Societies. His paper on the mountains and glaciers of Canterbury Province, illustrated by a map in part drawn from his own surveys, was read to an evening meeting of the Society in February, 1864, and published in vol. xxxiv of the Journal. A subsequent paper on Altitude Sections of the principal routes between the east and west coasts of Canterbury Province appeared in vol. xxxvii of the Journal. During his explorations as a geologist he commenced the formation of the famous Canterbury Museum, the first museum of the southern hemisphere. The entire collection consists of over 150,000 labelled specimens, thousands of which are of great value and rarity, and many are quite unique. Von Haast took much interest in education in New Zealand, and was one of the founders of Canterbury College, in which he was professor of geology and palaeontology. In 1862 he founded the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury, the publications of which are well known in Europe. Von Haast took an active share in various exhibitions in which New Zealand was represented; and of the New Zealand section of the recent Colonial Exhibition he was the organiser, and took infinite trouble to render it a success, both from a scientific and an economical point of view. Von Haast did much to make known the geography of New Zealand, as well as its geology and palaeontology: and the services he rendered to the interest of his adopted country will make his name long remembered there. He received many honours. In 1862 he was made Ph.D. the University of Tübingen; in 1867 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1886 was made D.Sc. of Cambridge; in 1884 he was awarded the Gold Medal of the R.G.S. for his explorations; and of above fifty academic and learned societies in various parts of the world, he was a fellow or honorary corresponding member. The Emperor of Austria conferred upon him a patent of hereditary nobility; a number of European Sovereigns sent him their orders; and Her Majesty created him a K.C.M.G. for his services in connection with the Colonial Exhibition. At the conclusion of the Exhibition, Sir Julius visited the great museums of the Continent of Europe, Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, Venice,

Florence and others. Von Haast leaves a widow and family, who, we are glad to know, will be well provided for.

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