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**The Forgotten Soundtrack of Maoriland:
Imagining the Nation Through Alfred Hill's Songs
for *Rewi's Last Stand***

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Abstract

Alfred Hill's songs based on collected Māori musical materials and narrative themes are artefacts of cultural colonisation that represent individual identities and imagined communities. They are tangible evidence of the site of identity formation known as Maoriland within which Pākehā construct imaginings of 'Māoriness' to create their own sense of indigeneity and nationhood. Although early twentieth-century Maoriland has been discussed widely in the arts and literature, scholars have not addressed the music of Maoriland, perhaps because it is heard today as the cultural form that most clearly expresses racialised sentimentality and colonial hegemony. However, Maoriland music can tell us much about New Zealand society if it is recognised as inhabiting an 'in-between' place where Pākehā fascination for the racial other was often inseparable from an admiration for Māori promoted by a knowledgeable group of Māori and Pākehā cultural go-betweens.

This thesis presents a critical cultural analysis of the ethnic, racial, gendered, and national identities represented in Hill's 'Māori' songs, viewed through the lens of his use of these in his score for Rudall Hayward's film *Rewi's Last Stand* (1940). This analysis shows that these popular songs contributed, and continue to contribute, to the nexus of Māori, war, and music in Pākehā narrations of the nation. By applying a bicultural approach to the study of Hill's Maoriland songs, this research also shows these 'in-between' songs represent individual, tribal, and national Māori identities too. While this work adds music to the discourse of Maoriland, and Maoriland to the discourse of New Zealand music and national identity, Hill's 'Māori' music, early twentieth-century New Zealand music, and New Zealand film music all remain severely under-researched areas of New Zealand music studies.

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Abbreviations

Institutions

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| AMPM | Archive of Māori and Pacific Music, Auckland University |
| ANZ | Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara O Te Kāwanatanga |
| ATL | Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga O Aotearoa |
| ML | Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales |
| NZFA | New Zealand Film Archive Ngā Kaitiaki O Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua |
| NZSA | New Zealand Sound Archives Ngā Taonga Kōrero |
| TAM | Te Awamutu Museum |

Collections

| | |
|------|---|
| AHMM | Alfred Hill Music Manuscripts, Hill Family collection |
| AHPP | Alfred Hill Personal Papers, Hill Family collection |
| EHEP | E.H. Everton Papers |
| HC | Hayward Collection |
| HMSP | Henry Matthew Stowell Papers |
| JCP | James Cowan Papers |
| JMTP | John Mansfield Thomson Photographs |
| WSCR | Wellington Savage Club Records |

A Note on Language

The language used in this thesis is New Zealand English, which incorporates Māori words and concepts. Macrons for extended Māori vowels are omitted from historical terms and quotations in which they are not used. As a historically non-Māori word, I do not use a macron for 'Maoriland'. Māori words are glossed in the text in the first instance. For more comprehensive definitions please visit Māori Dictionary: Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary at <http://maoridictionary.co.nz>. Song titles appear within the text in inverted commas even when these songs were later published individually. In 1943 Rudall Hayward divorced his first wife, Hilda, and married Ramai Te Miha, the star of *Rewi's Last Stand*. In this thesis I refer to Ramai accordingly as she was before and after this marriage.