



WHAT IF? WHAT NEXT?

SPECULATIONS ON HISTORY'S FUTURES

SESSION 3B

COUNTERING THE CANON/S

**Activism and Agency in Architectural History:
Migrancy, Gender Diversity, Class**

TO CITE THIS PAPER | **Robin Skinner**. "Antipodes to Sydenham: Showcasing New Zealand at the Festival of Empire." In *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand: 37, What If? What Next? Speculations on History's Futures*, edited by Kate Hislop and Hannah Lewi, 528-537. Perth: SAHANZ, 2021. Accepted for publication December 11, 2020.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND (SAHANZ) VOLUME 37

Convened by The University of Western Australia School of Design,
Perth, 18-25 November, 2020

Edited by Kate Hislop and Hannah Lewi

Published in Perth, Western Australia, by SAHANZ, 2021

ISBN: 978-0-646-83725-3

Copyright of this volume belongs to SAHANZ; authors retain the copyright of the content of their individual papers. All efforts have been undertaken to ensure the authors have secured appropriate permissions to reproduce the images illustrating individual contributions. Interested parties may contact the editors.

ANTIPODES TO SYDENHAM: SHOWCASING NEW ZEALAND AT THE FESTIVAL OF EMPIRE

Robin Skinner | Te Herenga Waka - Victoria University Wellington

Coinciding with the coronation of King George V, the 1911 Festival of Empire at the Crystal Palace in Sydenham aimed to increase mutual understanding and goodwill across Britain's empire. For many it would have provided their first insight into the extent of the realm. The dominions were represented by stand-alone pavilions that were modelled as two-thirds scale versions of their respective parliament buildings. These timber and plaster simulacra presented imposing exteriors that enclosed large interior exhibition spaces. An electric railway journeyed around the pavilions passing static dioramas showing scenes of colonial life, while in the afternoons a Pageant of Empire presented successive events in English and imperial history.

This paper focusses on the representation of New Zealand on this imperial stage. The part of the pageant that presented colonial milestones included what appears to be the first public re-enactment of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 and a finale where the peoples of empire paid homage to Britannia. Despite good intentions, things did not run smoothly. New Zealand's exhibits were late arriving and its display provoked criticism. A Te Arawa performance group from New Zealand's central North Island, led by Makereti, Maggie Papakura, journeyed to Britain to take part in the show. After British officials declared their village on the Crystal Palace grounds to be a fire risk, they walked off. Nevertheless, of all the London events associated with New Zealand at that time, these performers appear to have attracted the greatest interest.

Examination of the festival reveals a complicated attitude towards the empire and inter-colonial relations, which ran counter to the event's aim. To a large extent this was set aside when peoples of the empire joined as one in the First World War. Nevertheless, despite this unity of purpose, traces of this ambivalence would persist.

In 1909 it was announced that there would be a Festival of Empire the following year at the Crystal Palace in Sydenham, South London. The aim of the event was to reinforce London's place as the centre of empire and to increase understanding of life in the British dominions.¹ Since the Great Exhibition of 1851 British colonies had submitted items to international expositions. In addition, there were shows that specifically focussed upon displaying the empire such as the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition at Kensington and the more recent Franco-British Exhibition at the White City in Shepherd's Bush of 1908.

The death of King Edward VII prompted postponement of the 1910 event which was replaced the following year by a more ambitious Festival of Empire that would coincide with the coronation of George V and Queen Mary, and the Imperial Conference. The festival, which would be the largest event staged at the palace, ran for 24 weeks from 12 May to 28 October 1911. A Council of the Festival chaired by the Earl of Plymouth was formed late in 1909 to plan the event with Frank Lascelles engaged to create the festival's pageant.² Historical pageants were popular at this time and Lascelles had recently prepared similar spectacles for Oxford, Canada and South Africa. In June representatives of the Dominions were informed that they could have individual stand-alone pavilions. Three months later it was announced that these pavilions would be based upon two-thirds scale models of the dominions' parliament buildings, while Britain's display would be housed in Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace. In addition there would be an Indian pavilion that at one stage was to be based upon the Taj Mahal, a miniature railway transporting visitors around the site, themed concerts, a country life exhibition and an empire sports meeting.³ Areas of the palace grounds would be allocated to joy rides. Canada had been made a dominion in 1867 and through the first decade of the twentieth century other colonies achieved a similar standing. At its creation in 1901 the Commonwealth of Australia became the second dominion, with Newfoundland and New Zealand gaining similar status in 1907. With the amalgamation of the Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, the Union of South Africa became the fifth dominion in 1910. This paper, which is part of a larger study that investigates the imperial representation at the festival, focusses on the representation of New Zealand in this constructed cultural landscape.

The Pavilions

While the Canadian representatives were prompt in their support for the scheme, there was some reluctance by other governments. New Zealand was already committed to exhibiting in 1911 at the Exposition Internationale du Nord de la France at Roubaix, near Lille, and it was exhibiting at the Japan-British Exhibition at White City in 1910.⁴ The dominion had already agreed to fund a dreadnought for the Royal Navy that would be launched in mid-1911.⁵ In New Zealand it was reported that Lord Plymouth offered to fund the pavilion himself if New Zealand would commit £1500 to provide the exhibits.⁶ It has not been ascertained if this offer was taken up, although this appears likely. The New Zealand government took a pavilion and supplied exhibits.⁷

The New Zealand pavilion was located on the site of one of the disused 'Cascades'—the water features from 1856 that ran parallel to the main promenade leading from the palace (Fig. 1). On the other side of this promenade sat the Australian pavilion which was based upon the Commonwealth parliament in Melbourne. As with the other pavilions, the New Zealand building was constructed with timber framing and clad in plastered board. These legislative simulacra had two-storeyed elevations with single-storeyed interiors, which provided voluminous exhibition spaces illuminated by skylights. New Zealand's parliament buildings had been created through an irregular accretion of parts in a loosely neo-gothic style that dated back to the late 1850s. Four years before the festival, this complex of largely wooden buildings had been ravaged by fire to the extent that all that remained was the more recent masonry portion that had been opened in 1901. This extension was designed by the private architect, Thomas Turnbull, with significant revisions by the Government Architect, John Campbell.⁸ A contemporary account indicates that the exterior may largely have been Turnbull's work with the interior revised by Campbell.⁹ Its principal elevations provided the basis for the rectangular pavilion at Sydenham that measured 48m in length, 45m in breadth and 7.5m in height.¹⁰ In this idealised form, the pavilion presented a

notably inauthentic representation of the supposedly authentic New Zealand parliament. Apart from the Canadian pavilion that reputedly cost £70,000, few of the other dominions' pavilions attracted much comment. Commentary in *The Builder* observed that the Australian and New Zealand pavilions were of a "flimsy character" which was illustrated with sectional drawings of the buildings' timber framing, parapets and gabled roofs.¹¹ Several pavilions including New Zealand's remained unfinished on opening day.¹²

Although not included in the initial drawings of the festival site, a scale model of the clock tower of the British Houses of Parliament was erected in a central position between the pavilions, which reinforced the symbolism of the constructed landscape. This aspect of the festival will be discussed in future work.



Figure 1. New Zealand Pavilion. In Campbell Gray, *The Official Photographic View Book Festival of Empire, Pageant of London 1911*, 1911. Private collection

The New Zealand Pavilion Exhibits

The red painted interior walls of the pavilion were decorated with sheaves of grain under draped awnings of gold and white. The exhibits, which were late to arrive,¹³ were displayed in four sections which showed tourist attractions, sporting activities and Māori carving; produce and manufactured items including wool and woollen fabrics, kauri gum, greenstone, jams, grain, cheese, wines and cordials; timbers, minerals, hemp and manufactured rope; and, the big industries—frozen meat and dairy produce.¹⁴ The New Zealand government was awarded 28 grand prizes with private exhibitors gaining, for a wide variety of produce and manufacture, four grand prizes, a diploma of honour, 35 medals and an honourable mention.¹⁵

For some pavilions, the festival organisers employed painters to create thirty "historic tableaux" that depicted key events in the respective colonies' developments.¹⁶ New Zealand scenes included a victorious taua, a Māori war party returning from battle, the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the proclamation of the Dominion in 1907 and a view of Wellington Harbour. An illustration of the treaty signing in the festival's official publication, *Souvenir of the Pageant* and paintings by the British genre painter, Arthur McCormick included in Reginald Horsleys' *Romance of Empire: New Zealand* (1908) indicate how some of these views may have appeared.¹⁷ Amongst

other subjects, McCormick illustrated another version of the treaty signing and a taua sporting heads of the vanquished on raised spears. A New Zealand press correspondent doubted whether these scenes would gain a favourable response from New Zealand visitors.¹⁸ Prior to the festival opening visiting Māori of the Te Arawa iwi, who were to perform on the palace grounds, took exception to the portrayal of the taua brandishing their trophies. Possibly in an effort to dissociate the staff of the New Zealand High Commission from this episode, it was reported in the dominion that the expatriate, and relic of the New Zealand wars, Horatio Robley had advised on this image.¹⁹ Presumably, the offensive panel was modified or removed.



Figure 2. Bender and Lewis, Postcard showing the Australian and New Zealand pavilions with an “All-Red Route” diorama skirting the foreground. Private collection.

Other Attractions

Named after the telegraph and shipping networks that connected the global empire, an electric railway called the “All-Red Route” conveyed visitors around the pavilions for a six-penny fare along a continuous track.²⁰ It passed dioramas showing sites around the empire with manikins and painted canvas backgrounds (Fig. 2). This effectively re-tracked the 1901 imperial tour of the King and Queen when they were the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall. Published images reinforced the diversity of the scenes portrayed along the route. Commentary principally focussed on technical achievement and the impression gained from the composition as a whole, rather than on the individual scenes. New Zealand views experienced through its seventeen second segment included loading grain and wool at the port of Lyttelton, loading frozen meat at a dock, a view of Wellington, geysers of the Rotorua thermal area with real steam rising from the simulated ground surface, and a facsimile of a Māori pa.²¹

This static pā scene was developed with advice from T.E. Donne of the High Commission. He was made a member of the Festival Executive and as the former Superintendent (and later General Manager) of the newly created Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, he had been the New Zealand Commissioner at the 1904 St Louis Exhibition where he had seen expository villages of indigenous peoples. Subsequently he was the Vice President and Exhibition Commissioner of the 1906–07 International Exhibition in Christchurch where he was also one of several pākehā members of the Māori Committee that oversaw the creation of that exhibition’s pā, Āraiteuru, with its Māori residents.²²

Frank Lascelles' Pageant of Empire was staged in Sir Aston Webb's large purpose-built amphitheatre that seated 10,000.²³ Lascelles was to have produced a Pageant of London for the earlier 1910 event; however, the subject content was expanded to show the history of England and the British Empire for the 1911 festival. Some 15,000 volunteers were reported to have contributed to the four separate parts that were staged on different days. The first three sections presented a largely English history from the time when so-called "primitive" people lived on the British Isles, while the final part showed the expansion of empire from Sir Humphrey Gilbert landing on the shores of Newfoundland through to the Delhi Durbar of 1877.²⁴ New Zealand was represented in this segment by a re-enactment of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, which was developed with advice from a committee of learned New Zealanders in London that was chaired by Donne.²⁵ This appears to have been the first public re-enactment of this occasion, which indicates the importance they placed on the event in the development of New Zealand. Donne wrote an account of the dominion's history in the *Souvenir of the Pageant* where he optimistically described how the treaty's guarantee of rights to Māori had made them "the solitary example of a dark race surviving contact with a white..."²⁶ In the show's imperial finale, performers paid homage to Britannia with those from the overseas Dominions "welcomed by the Mother Country, bringing with them gifts peculiar to the lands from which they come."²⁷

Performers in the New Zealand scene were reported to have come from "pastoral and political families" with some descended from the original pākehā participants of the treaty signing—notably descendents of Governor Hobson, James Busby and the Williams family.²⁸ Hone Heke's part was played by Pani Chamberlin, who was then studying in Britain.²⁹ The final scene of Part IV was the imperial finale where performers paid homage to Britannia.³⁰ W.T. Stead explained in a children's book that this was not so much a display of unified submission, as it was an appreciation of the legislative freedom granted to the empire's participants.³¹

In July there was a concert with musicians or compositions originating from New Zealand.³² An inter-colonial sports tournament was held that is now seen as the forerunner of the Empire (later the Commonwealth) Games. Attracting much attention in the dominions, this was won by Canada.

The Te Arawa Concert Party

After successful performances in Australia and with support of a syndicate formed there, Makereti, or Maggie Papakura, took her concert party to perform at Sydenham.³³ She had already formed what would be a lifelong friendship with Donne when he worked for the tourist department.³⁴ Although ethnological displays with living exhibits had been a feature of exhibitions in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, this was not to be the case with the festival of 1911. Here the British government prohibited exhibits of so-called "natives," which prompted the New Zealand High Commissioner, William Hall-Jones, to ask that the Colonial Office allow Makereti's party to perform.³⁵ Rather than seeing Māori as an example of a former "primitive" past, the dominion's officials appear to have seen the troupe as evidence of New Zealand's enlightened attitude towards race and superior race relations. This accorded with the positioning of the dominions in a "civilised" present in line with their representations at the festival.³⁶ As the only party of indigenous people to perform at the festival, the troupe attracted much attention upon arrival.³⁷

The weekend the festival opened the illustrated weekly, *The Graphic*, contained full page views of Māori by Frank Dadd. One image entitled "Maoris at the Festival of Empire" showed a fierce group of men performing a haka, while the other entitled "The Happy Land where Kissing is Unknown: the Maori Form of Salutation" showed two women greeting one another with a hongī, the meeting of noses.³⁸ The first image was based upon a description provided by Horatio Robley, who was mentioned earlier as an advisor on the taua tableau. The commentary explained how the warlike people of the past were being replaced by "a company of Colonials of Maori descent, occupying a position between the old order and the new."³⁹ It then mentioned the haka performed at Queen Victoria's funeral and at the 1902 coronation of Edward VII, followed by description of the hongī.

NEW ZEALAND'S PRIMITIVE INHABITANTS GREET THEIR KING.

DRAWN BY A. FORESTIER, OUR SPECIAL ARTIST AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE.



DURING THE ROYAL PROGRESS THROUGH THE CRYSTAL PALACE GROUNDS: THE MAORIS DRAWN UP TO SALUTE THE KING AND QUEEN.

A feature of the royal progress through the Crystal Palace grounds on the occasion of the inauguration of the Festival of Empire was the welcome offered to the King and Queen by the Maoris from the New Zealand village, who danced before their Sovereign and his Consort. Thus, as in many other ways, was illustrated the object of the Festival, which has been

described by Lord Plymouth as follows: "The main idea was that it was to be a gathering of the Overseas Dominions, to help us in Great Britain to realize the extent and the resources of the distant lands and peoples owing allegiance to King George V., how we could best help them, and how they could best help us." Mr. Frank Lascelles is seen talking to their Majesties.

Figure 3. "New Zealand's Primitive Inhabitants Greet Their King." *Illustrated London News*, 20 May 1911. Private collection.

Te Arawa created their village on an allocated site on "a cramped and steep hillside" near the Australian pavilion.⁴⁰ This had a palisade with a carved gate, a pataka, several whare and a large whareniui that incorporated prized carvings of Makereti's house, Tuhoromatakaka, which had been recently completed by Ngāti Tarāwhai master carver, Tene Waitere.⁴¹ As raupō (bullrush) was unavailable for cladding, Te Arawa used locally available straw.⁴² A theatre was erected, where songs, poi and haka would be performed.⁴³ This settlement was additional to the static diorama of the Māori village that was already located along the "All-Red Route." It is also possible that, prior to its 1911 relocation to Stuttgart, the small 6m x 3.7m house owned by Donne named Te Wharepuni-a-Māui was also displayed (whole or in parts) at the festival as he was awarded a silver medal for Māori carvings.⁴⁴

At the official opening of the festival, the Te Arawa party assembled along with thousands of other performers in the Crystal Palace grounds. As King George and Queen Mary approached, the party broke into song and haka prompting the King to request that their carriage halt.⁴⁵ Makereti was then reported to declare in Māori, “Bring hither the canoe which bears our King; hail to the great White Chief of many battles,” explaining afterwards that to Māori the canoe is a symbol of power.⁴⁶ This event was frequently mentioned and was recorded in a full page image by Amédée Forestier in the *Illustrated London News* (Fig. 3).⁴⁷ During their 1901 empire tour, the King and Queen had travelled to Rotorua where they were welcomed and entertained by Te Arawa and guided through the thermal area by Makereti and Te Paea Hinerangi (Guide Sophia). Presumably the royal couple recognised Makereti as their guide from that earlier occasion.⁴⁸

Journalist and author, Philip Gibbs, discussed the festival as an Empire in miniature and the outward symbol of the Imperial idea.⁴⁹ He stated that this instance when the King stopped for the performance by Te Arawa transported the opening from the realm of make-believe to the real world, where the purpose of the festival was manifest. In language characteristic of the time, he stated:

But suddenly there rang out a strange, barbaric uproar, with wild yells and exultant cries. It came from a group of Maoris—the real Brown people of the Southern Seas. At the sight of the King, the great White Chief of many races, black and brown, they were intoxicated by joy. They hailed him in their soft liquid speech, hailed him with shrill cries, and did homage to him in a worshipful chant.

This was no longer a game of make-believe, but the reality of life, and at that moment one understood the meaning of this exhibition, which is the symbol of Empire and the meeting-place of many peoples whose loyalty upholds the Crown.⁵⁰

However, all did not go well. Shortly before the festival opening, the Home Office deemed the Māori buildings’ straw thatching to be a fire risk. A New Zealand correspondent reported that “a subordinate official” in that office, who was “ignorant of the spirit of the Maori, approached them rather roughly, and proceeded to the extent of pulling down several of their whares.”⁵¹ This effectively re-enacted the colonial attitude to their settlements that Māori had long endured. This mind-set had triggered a tax of raupō whares in the 1840s, the subsequent removal of houses on the basis of issues of health and safety, and the destruction of villages in time of war. Now in his mid-60s, the senior member of the troupe, Mita Taupopoki, would almost certainly have been aware of this collective experience. He beseeched the performers that as their village was tapu, this destruction was a grievous violation.⁵² In response, they quit the site, and their part in the staging of the Waitangi scene in the Pageant of Empire.⁵³ Frank Lascelles, then, had to engage a party of London extras for the reenactment, and “paint them up to look like Maoris.”⁵⁴

With no suitable alternative location available in the palace grounds, the entrepreneur Imre Kiralfy then invited them to join his rival ‘Coronation Exhibition’ in the White City where—two weeks after they had greeted the King and Queen at Sydenham—they opened.⁵⁵ Unlike the situation at the Festival of Empire, here there were numerous displays of first nations’ peoples.⁵⁶

The Māori party were accommodated in existing buildings at the White City where they were able to erect their traditional village nearby.⁵⁷ Their presence and performances attracted great interest, although the performance schedule was wearying.⁵⁸ When the Coronation Exhibition closed, and in need of funds, Te Arawa returned to Sydenham where they completed a three-week season at the theatre in Paxton’s Crystal Palace.⁵⁹ Based upon advertising and newspaper coverage, it can be concluded that the group drew a good deal of interest, although their tour had not been a financial success.⁶⁰ They later performed in other townships.

Although representatives of all dominions attended the festival’s opening function, the New Zealand Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, was the only colonial premier present. He and his wife were then invited to afternoon tea with the King and Queen, which was a singular honour for New Zealand that day.

Conclusion

Documenting these episodes relating to the representation of New Zealand at a time that can be considered the apex of the Age of Empire reveals that the festival's aspirations were complicated and not without some ambivalence. While the event was aimed to celebrate the elevated status of the dominions by showing their advance and production, contributions were variable with the organisers maintaining a paternalistic relationship toward the colonies, their leaders and their peoples. While the New Zealand officials considered that the Māori troupe provided evidence of the dominion's advanced attitude towards race and of a treaty that supposedly guaranteed rights, status and autonomy, the British officials perceived their village with its straw constructions to be a threat to the exhibition's material substance.

The festival was expensive, and with lower-than-expected attendance, there was major financial loss.⁶¹ This was partly due to competition from the more accessible Coronation Exhibition at the White City. With respect to New Zealand's contribution, it may have been that—despite the festival's worthy aspiration—an exhibit without the anticipated Māori contingent and their sensational performances, was perceived to be a little lack-lustre. The dominion's progress appears to have attracted little interest, while the performances by Māori engaged attendees.

The bonds of Empire, however, would remain strong when later that decade people from across the globe joined together in war. Despite being united with this common purpose—nevertheless—traces of the ambivalence that was apparent at Sydenham would continue to persist between the Empire's governments, troops and civilians.

Endnotes

¹ *The Festival of Empire and Pageant of London May – June 1910*. Bristol: Edward Everard, 1910, 4–5.

² "Festival of Empire." *Times*, February 24, 1910.

³ "Festival of Empire." *Times*, August 16, 1910. Buckley, Cheryl. *Designing Modern Britain*. London: Reaktion, 2007, 40–41. Auerbach, Jeffrey. "Empire Under Glass: The British Empire at the Crystal Palace." In *Exhibiting the Empire: Cultures of Display and the British Empire*, edited by John McAleer and John Mackenzie, 111–41. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015, 128–35.

⁴ "Anglo-Colonial Notes." *Auckland Star*, December 12, 1910.

⁵ "Naval Crisis," *Evening Post* (Wellington), March 24, 1909.

⁶ "An Empire Pageant." *New Zealand Herald*, December 28, 1910.

⁷ Hall-Jones, William. "Report of the High Commissioner," *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, Session II, H–28. Wellington: Government Printer, 1912, 21.

⁸ Martin, John. *Parliament's Library 150 Years*. Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2008, 69–72; Mew, Geoff. *Architects at the Apex: The Top 50 in New Zealand 1840 – 1940*. Martinborough: Ngaio Press, 2020, 206–07.

⁹ "New Parliament Buildings." *New Zealand Times* (Wellington), June 14, 1899. Turnbull disassociated himself from the project.

¹⁰ "A Great Imperial Festival." *Press* (Christchurch), May 15, 1911.

¹¹ "Festival of Empire Buildings, Crystal Palace." *Builder*, 100 (June 23, 1911): 784.

¹² "Festival of Empire." *London Daily News*, May 11, 1911.

¹³ "The Imperial Roof-tree." *Otago Daily Times*, June 22, 1911.

¹⁴ Barnes, Felicity. *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012, 139.

¹⁵ "Festival of Empire Awards." *Auckland Star*, December 16, 1911.

¹⁶ *Festival of Empire Imperial Exhibition and Pageant of London, Crystal Palace 1911, Official Daily Programme*. Croydon: Crystal Palace Foundation, 2020, 30; "Festival of Empire." *Croyden Guardian* (February 18, 1911).

¹⁷ Horsley, Reginald. *Romance of Empire: New Zealand*. London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1908.

¹⁸ "Imperial Roof-tree."

¹⁹ "An Unfortunate Tableau." *New Zealand Herald*, June 19, 1911; "Imperial Roof-tree."

- 20 Piggott, Jan. "Reflections of Empire." *History Today*, 61, no. 4 (April 2011): 36.
- 21 "Festival of Empire." *British-Australasian*, 31 (February 23, 1911): 4; "Imperial Rooftree"; "Empire Pageantry," *Evening Star* (Dunedin), May 10, 1911; "Festival of Empire." *Westminster Gazette* (May 11, 1911).
- 22 Kernot, Bernard. "Maoriland Metaphors and the Model Pa." In *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906-07*, edited by J.M. Thompson, 61-78. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1998): 64-66.
- 23 As the architect to the festival, Webb's office may have designed the pavilions.
- 24 Piggott, Jan. *Palace of the People: The Crystal Palace at Sydenham 1854-1936*. London: C. Hurst, 2004, 174; Ryan, Deborah. "Staging the Imperial City: the Pageant of London, 1911." In *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*, edited by Felix Driver and David Gilbert, 117-35. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- 25 "Festival of Empire." *British-Australasian*, 31 (March 23, 1911): 13; "Anglo-Colonial Notes." *Auckland Star*, April 25, 1911. Historian, Guy Scholefield also sat on the committee.
- 26 Donne, T.E. "New Zealand." In *Festival of Empire: Souvenir of the Pageant*, edited by Sophie Lomas, 137-39. London: Bemrose and Sons, 1911, 139.
- 27 "Personal Notes from London." *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), April 26, 1911; "Australians at the Pageant." *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 9, 1911.
- 28 "Anglo-Colonial Notes." *Press*, June 9, 1911; "On Tour at Home." *Dominion* (Wellington), October 3, 1911.
- 29 "Pageant of Empire." *New Zealand Times*, September 5, 1911. See also "A Maori Squire." *Auckland Star*, May 1, 1914.
- 30 "Personal Notes from London." *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), April 26, 1911; "Australians at the Pageant." *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 9, 1911.
- 31 W.T. Stead. *Fairy Palace and the Wonders Inside: A Child's Guide to the Crystal Palace*. London: Stead's Publishing House, 1911, 37.
- 32 "Festival of Empire." *Stratford Evening Post*, May 23, 1911.
- 33 Diamond, Paul. *Makereti: Taking Māori to the World*. Auckland: Random House, 2007, 97-106.
- 34 Diamond, *Makereti*, 15, 43, 52. Makereti had also resided at Āraiteuru pā in Christchurch.
- 35 "Anglo-Colonial Notes." *Auckland Star*, April 25, 1911. "Anglo-New Zealand News." *New Zealand Herald*, May 1, 1911.
- 36 Barnes, *New Zealand's London*, 148.
- 37 "Maori Visitors." *British-Australasian*, 31 (May 4, 1911): 12; Diamond, *Makereti*, 100-01, 116-17.
- 38 "Maoris at the Festival of Empire." *The Graphic*, 83 (May 13, 1911): 704; "The Happy Land where Kissing in Unknown: the Maori Form of Salutation." *The Graphic*, 83 (May 13, 1911): 705.
- 39 "Maoris at the Festival of Empire."
- 40 "Offended Maoris: Tapu Violated in London." *New Zealand Herald*, July 3, 1911.
- 41 "Maori Village in London." *Times*, April 26, 1911; "Imperial Rooftree"; Diamond, *Makereti*, 63-64, 113; Wikitera, Keri-Anne. "Māori Spaces in Foreign Places Hinemihi o Te Ao Tawhito." PhD diss., Auckland University of Technology, 2015, 171.
- 42 Diamond, *Makereti*, 102; "Maoris Quit Festival of Empire." *Evening Star*, July 5, 1911.
- 43 "Maoris at the Festival of Empire."
- 44 "Festival of Empire Awards."
- 45 "The King and Queen in South London." *Times*, May 13, 1911; Treagus, Mandy. "From Whakarewarewa to Oxford: Makereti Papakura and the Politics of Indigenous Self-Representation." *Australian Humanities Review*, 52 (2012): 48-50.
- 46 "Festival of Empire." *Stage*, May 18, 1911; "The King and Queen in South London."
- 47 "New Zealand's Primitive Inhabitants Greet their King." *Illustrated London News*, 138 (May 20, 1911): 745.
- 48 On a later visit to the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, Queen Mary asked after the guides, Maggie and Sophia. "The New Wembley." *New Zealand Herald*, July 6, 1925.
- 49 Gibbs, Philip. "The King's Interest in the Festival of Empire." *The Graphic*, 83 (May 20, 1911): 752.
- 50 Gibbs, "King's Interest."
- 51 I thank Mike Austin for his observations here. "Offended Maoris"; "Coronation exhibition." *Daily Telegraph and Courier* (London), May 30, 1911; "Maoris Quit Festival of Empire." An alternative account states that instructions were given for the village's demolition when the Home Secretary discovered that the village was near the power house. "G.P.A.' "A Trip Abroad." *Opunake Times*, July 14, 1911.
- 52 "Maoris Quit Festival of Empire." A member of the troupe, Mere Wiari, had been part of 1902 Coronation contingent to England. "From Pa to Palace." *Evening Post* (Wellington), June 17, 1911. He would have

remembered how British authorities had then prohibited the Māori soldiers sleeping in the same zone as caucasian troops until Australasian forces protested.

⁵³ “New Zealand in Pageant.” *Auckland Star*, June 12, 1911; “Treaty of Waitangi.” *New Zealand Herald*, July 24, 1911. A photo shows the Imperial finale (possibly at the official opening) with a Māori woman wearing a cloak. Ryan, “Staging the Imperial City,” 128.

⁵⁴ “Maoris Quit Festival of Empire.” *Auckland Star*, July 3, 1911.

⁵⁵ “The Maori Village.” *Times*, May 26, 1911; “Coronation Exhibition.” *Daily Telegraph and Courier*, May 30, 1911; “Maoris Quit Festival of Empire,” *Evening Star*.

⁵⁶ “Natives at the White City.” *Times*, June 10, 1911. Auerbach conflates these two events. Auerbach, “Empire Under Glass,” 112, 135–36.

⁵⁷ Te Arawa habitations at Melbourne and the White City indicate those at the Crystal Palace. Diamond, *Makereti*, 112–15, 118, 120, 124, 125.

⁵⁸ “Coronation Exhibition.” *Times*, June 5, 1911; “Natives at the White City.” *Times*, June 10, 1911; “Coronation Exhibition.” *Times*, August 22, 1911; “Maories in Battle.” *Sun*, January 17, 1912; Diamond, *Makereti*, 100–05.

⁵⁹ *Official Daily Programme*, 28; Diamond, *Makereti*, 105.

⁶⁰ “Festival of Empire.” *Norwood News* (September 30, 1911). “Arawa Troupe’s Visit.” ACIH 16036 MA1 1049 1911/187. Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

⁶¹ “£250,000 Festival.” *Evening Star*, April 10, 1911; “Future Of The Crystal Palace.” *Times*, December 13, 1911; Hall-Jones. “Report;” Piggott, *Palace of the People*, 174.