

# HISTORICAL AND TECHNICAL REPORT

## *TE KOROWAI O WARBRICK* *WARBRICK'S TASSELED CLOAK*

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## KUPUTAKA/GLOSSARY

### Kupu ē-kaupapa/Term

### Whakamāramatanga/Definition

Aho	Horizontal or weft threads
Aho poka (also known as Tīhoi)	Additional aho, shaping inserts, which create contouring for a closer fit i.e. custom fit
Haerenga	Journey
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Harakeke	Phormium tenax or New Zealand Flax
Here	Ties used to secure garments
Hine-te-iwaiwa	The goddess of Te Whare Pora (The House of Weaving)
Hītori	History
Hukahuka	Tassels
Iwi	Tribe
Kahu puehu	Dog skin cloak
Kahu tōi	War cloak
Kairaranga	Weaver
Kaitaka	A finely woven cloak
Kākahu	Generic term for cloaks
Karure	Loosely twisted hukahuka
Kauko	Side edge of a kākahu
Kaumātua	Respected elders
Kaupapa	Framework of the garment
Kurupatu	A neck fringe on a kākahu
Kawa	Protocols of practice, how things are done (see also tīkanga)
Paru	A black ferruginous mud used in the dyeing process
Potopoto	Tightly twisted hukahuka
Pūrākau	Stories, oral history
Mātauranga	Traditional knowledge
Rangahau	Research
Rangatira	Chief or chiefly in nature
Remu	Bottom edge of kākahu
Tāniko	Decorative border, either traditionally woven with dyed harakeke, or contemporary with wool
Taonga	Cultural treasure or artefact
Tikanga	Correct procedure or custom (see kawa)
Tūpuna	Ancestors
Te Ao Māori	The Māori World or Māori worldview
Ua	Top edge or neckline
Uri	Descendants
Whakanakonako	Embellishments
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whānau/Whanaunga	Relative/s
Whatu	Hand-twining technique
Whenu	Vertical or warp threads

## KUPU WHAKATAKI/PREFACE

*‘Ko te manu e kai ana i te miro nōnā te ngahere, ko te manu e kai ana i te mātauranga nōnā te ao.’*

The forest belongs to the bird who feasts on the miro berry, the world belongs to the bird who feasts on education.  
Māori *Whakatauki*/Proverb

The *whakapapa* and *hītori* of *taonga*, or the provenance and history of cultural treasures, are as important as the items themselves. Whenever the term *taonga* is used within this report, the author is referring to cultural treasures, although Western practice usually refers to them simply as artefacts or objects.

*Mātauranga* (knowledge) of who the *kairaranga* (weaver) or the *kaiwhakairo* (carver) was, the *iwi* or *hapū* (subtribe) to which they affiliate, the identity of the receiver, and the reasons for the gifting – are also *taonga* and unfortunately, far too much of this information has been lost to time.

Māori *taonga* rest in countless institutions around the world, museums, galleries, libraries, and private collections, and although the author does not take issue with this as such; he does feel that far too many *taonga* are displayed, or held, without an appropriate level of cultural and historical context. After visiting several museums in Europe, the United States of America, Australia, and the United Kingdom, the author noticed that several of our *taonga* had either minimal information, no cultural context, or worse, some information panels bore the terms ‘Unknown’ or ‘Unidentified’ and the name of the collector or collection was more prominent than the *taonga* itself.

As a weaver, a novice carver, and a Māori historian, the author felt that he was able to examine select *taonga* from institutions in countries to which he travels and produce documents that would provide these institutions with a general level of historical and technical information. The author has been fortunate to have undertaken extensive international travel, for work, research, and holidays, and has recently begun integrating museum and gallery visits into these trips; contacting institutions prior to any of his *haerenga* (journeys), to ascertain what *taonga* they have, and what he might want to access and examine – or what they would like to know more about.

By no means does he claim to be an expert in the study of Māori *taonga* and feels that there are others of greater standing within the field; however, he offers his knowledge, as best as he is able, to produce research documents that provide substantially more information than is currently held on these specific *taonga*.

The compilation and provision of these reports serve several purposes: to do the *taonga* justice by visiting and spending time with them; to examine them and promote their whereabouts; making their locations known to Māori (and other interested persons), and to uncover their *pūrākau* (stories) and bring them back to life. This third practice of uncovering their *pūrākau* achieves several outcomes, these being: to reunite them with *uri* (descendants) and *whanaunga* (relatives); to provide the institutions with a credible and informative record of the respective *taonga*; and ensuring their stories are not forgotten – *ka maumahara tonu tātou kia rātou*.

This particular *pūrākau* tells of the experiences the New Zealand Natives Rugby Union team, including Captain Joseph Warbrick (and his four brothers), and their 1888-1889 *haerenga* (journey) to Ahitereiria (Australia), and Ingarangi (England). During their tour, they played an amazing 107 games, winning 78 of them, at a win-loss result of 79%; which set the standard for the All Blacks, the Natives being the forerunners of the New Zealand national team. It was this team that introduced the *haka* and the ‘silver fern’ logo to the All Black legacy.

## HAURONGO/BIOGRAPHY



The author lecturing at the University of Sydney; examining a *taonga* at Auckland Museum; signing a set of history books in which the author's research is published; and being interviewed by media at an ANZAC Dawn Service in Wellington.

The author's cultural background sees him affiliated with the *iwi* (tribes) of Ngāpuhi, Ngāi Tūhoe, Te Whakatōhea, and Te Whānau-a-Apanui, as well as having connections to Alveston in Gloucestershire, Bloomsbury in London, and Helsingborg in Sweden – all of which he has visited.

He is ex-military, having served in the army as a paratrooper and then military police officer; before studying a Bachelor of Arts, and then a Master of Teaching degree, and becoming a history teacher, and a military and Māori historian.

The author is a cultural practitioner: *kairaranga* (weaver), novice *kaiwhakairo* (carver), and *kaihaka* (performer).

He is a published author, producing articles, reports, and story books; produced a historical short film; delivered lectures around the world; and contributed towards exhibitions in institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand, and Australia.

The author's research has been referred to in the media; mentioned in legal cases; used on government websites; presented in museums; stopped the sale of *taonga* at auction and assisted in the repatriation of *taonga* back to Aotearoa New Zealand.

He has also appeared on television and radio in Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia, as a *tumu kōrero* (historian), in documentaries, news, and cultural programs.

The author is a husband, father, and grandfather, who believes in the importance of teaching his *whānau* (family) *mātauranga* (knowledge) and *toi Māori* (Māori arts) and including them in his *kaupapa rangahau* (research projects); taking them with him on these *haerenga* (journeys) if the opportunities allow.

It is his goal to contribute toward *Te Ao Māori* (The Māori World) in a positive and impactful manner and hopes that this report goes some way towards achieving this objective.

## ARA RANGAHAU/RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This report was compiled by the author, utilising: online and library/archive-based research; consultation with curators; conducting interviews with members of the Ngāti Rangitihī *iwi* (tribe); as well as carrying out several physical examinations of the *korowai* itself. The physical examinations of the artefact were undertaken at the Australian Museum, on 25 March 2023, 21 April 2023, and 14 May 2024. The online and library-based research was undertaken between March 2023 - June 2024. The consultation process and interviews with Ngāti Rangitihī academics and *kaumātua* began in May 2024, and are ongoing, as per Māori *kawa* and *tikanga*.

Facsimiles of original documentation, provided by the Australian Museum during the research process, included: Purchase and acquisition documentation. Information from, and images of these documents, are provided by permission of the Australian Museum. All physical descriptions, including measurements, and condition notes, were obtained during the author's examination of the artefact.

## HE MIHI/ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply humbled and immensely grateful to extend my heartfelt appreciation to the following individuals and organisations whose unwavering support and invaluable assistance have profoundly enriched my research endeavors:

First and foremost, my sincere gratitude goes to the people of Ngati Rangitihī for bestowing upon me the tremendous honour and privilege of delving into and examining this cultural treasure. Your trust and confidence in my work are deeply cherished.

To Orini Marr, a direct descendant of Joseph Warbrick, I extend my sincerest thanks for your invaluable guidance and collaboration throughout this journey. Your commitment to preserving our cultural heritage is truly commendable.

I'd like to extend my heartfelt acknowledgment to the esteemed staff at the Australian Museum, who serve our people as *kaitiaki* (custodians) of our rich cultural heritage embodied in the Pasifika Collections. Melissa Malu, Melissa Sutton, Logan Haronga-Metcalfe, Moemoana Schwenke, Myles Maniapoto, and Elijah Lemusu.

Furthermore, I extend my gratitude to the Whakatāne Museum and Mark Sykes, Manager of Collections and Research, for their generous support and collaboration in this endeavour.

I also wish to express my appreciation to all those who have contributed to unravelling the significance of this *taonga whakahirahira* (cultural treasure of great significance), including Dion Peita, and Keren Ruki. Your invaluable contributions have paved the way for a deeper appreciation and understanding of our cultural heritage.

*Ka nui te mihi ki a koutou katoa...*

## TĀHUHU KŌRERO/BACKGROUND STORY

“Brothers, that’s us” Joe stated nonchalantly, as he showed his four siblings the official selection sheet for the New Zealand Natives Rugby Union team. Shortly after, in May 1888, the Warbricks and their teammates would be in a training camp near Napier and preparing for the experience of their lives.

Joseph ‘Joe’ Astbury Warbrick (1862-1903), was a former *Māori* rugby player, who travelled to Australia (1884) and England and Australia (1888-89) to represent the *New Zealand Natives*, which was the first national representative side of Aotearoa New Zealand. Historian, the late Don Stafford, has claimed that Warbrick is responsible for creating the name ‘All Blacks’. In 2009, he was inducted into the World Rugby Hall of Fame (2008),<sup>i</sup> and is a member of the Māori Sports Awards Hall of Fame.<sup>ii</sup>



Joseph Warbrick circa 1884<sup>iv</sup>



Replica of the 1884 jersey<sup>iii</sup>



Joseph Warbrick<sup>v</sup>

Born in Rotorua in 1861, Joseph was the third son of English immigrant Abraham Warbrick and his Māori wife, Nga Karauna Paerau. Abraham, originally from Todmorden in Yorkshire, then of Astbury near Gogleton, had immigrated to New Zealand aboard the *Martha Ridgway* in 1840, and initially arrived in Nelson on the South Island. Once settled in his new home, he took up employment as a doctor, a store owner, and a linguist. Nga Karauna, born in Matatā in the Bay of Plenty, was the daughter of a Ngāti Rangitihī chief Paerau Moko-nui-a-rangi, and his wife Toki Pounamu Moko-nui-a-rangi. Abraham and Nga Karauna had five children, these being: Christina Paerau Warbrick; Albert Kahukore Warbrick; Alfred Patiti [Patchett] Warbrick; Arthur [Hata Reha] Warbrick and Joseph Astbury (Joe) Warbrick. After Nga Karauna’s passing, Abraham had further children, with wife, Harina Rangi Arna Warbrick (nee Kaipara) including a son, William Warbrick.



Map of Todmorden.<sup>vi</sup>



Todmorden, Yorkshire (circa 2023).<sup>vii</sup>



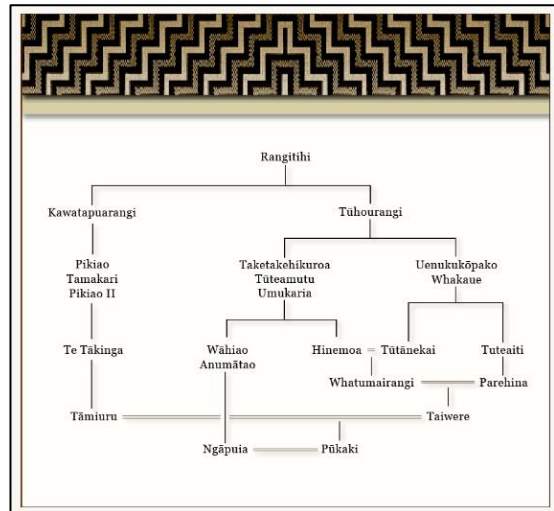
Abraham Warbrick (circa – unknown).viii



The *Martha Ridgeway* (circa – unknown).ix



Map indicating the traditional tribal area of Ngati Rangitahi.x



Whakapapa of Rangitahi and his descendants.xi



Rangitahi Marae, Matatā.xii





Portrait of Joseph Warbrick (seated) and his younger half-brother William Warbrick.<sup>xiii</sup>

As a boarder at St Stephen's School for Native Boys in Parnell, Auckland, Joe acquired not only a good education but developed into a rugby player of enormous talent. Playing in bare feet, he could kick dropped goals from halfway. In 1877, aged 15, he turned out for Ponsonby in the Auckland club competition and soon caught the eye of the Auckland selectors. He was selected for the province the same year and remains the youngest player in New Zealand to play first-class rugby. He later played for Wellington and Hawke's Bay.



Auckland Rugby Union touring team 1883. Joseph (aged 21) is kneeling in the centre of the photograph.<sup>xiv</sup>

Warbrick was selected for the first New Zealand representative team to leave these shores in 1884, making his debut against Cumberland County at Parramatta Ground on 28<sup>th</sup> May; a game which they won by 33-0. He played in seven of the eight tour matches, including the NSW Waratahs on 31<sup>st</sup> May; Combined Suburbs on 3<sup>rd</sup> June at the Sydney Cricket Ground; Northern Districts on 5<sup>th</sup> June at the Newcastle Sports Ground; and the NSW Waratahs again on 7<sup>th</sup> June at the Sydney Showground. The New Zealand team won all eight games, scoring a total of 167 points, and ceding only 17 points to their opposition; with Joseph scoring 12 points, from three dropped goals. Because of his surname, he is officially acknowledged as the 17th All Black (although the New Zealand representative team was not known by this name until 1905).



New Zealand rugby team 1884. Joseph is seated on the ground in the centre of the photograph.<sup>xv</sup>

Warbrick was the captain, coach and selector for the trip, while Thomas Eyton was the tour's promoter. The intention was to cash in on British fascination with 'indigenous visitors from the Empire' by sending a Māori rugby team to Britain. An 1868 tour by an Aboriginal cricket team from western Victoria had made money and Eyton hoped to emulate its success.

Warbrick scoured New Zealand for talented Māori players willing to commit themselves to more than a year of travel. Joseph and four of his brothers were all selected in the squad of 21 players for the tour. Most had no provincial experience, but the team still managed to win seven of nine warm-up matches at home. The team was to be branded the New Zealand Māori, however, their critics gave them little chance overseas and as a result, five Pākehā players were included in a bid to strengthen the squad. The touring party was renamed the 'New Zealand Natives', supposedly on the basis that all 26 team members were 'New Zealand born'; in fact, two had been born overseas. They held a training camp near Napier in May 1888 and had their first game against Hawkes Bay on 23<sup>rd</sup> June, followed by another eight matches on home soil.



The five Warbrick brothers, who represented the New Zealand Natives team in 1888-1889.<sup>xvi</sup>



The New Zealand Native Rugby Union team in New Zealand, before departing on their tour of England and Australia in 1888. Joseph is kneeling in the centre of the photograph holding the ball.<sup>xvii</sup>

## English Tour

After concluding their first New Zealand leg of their tour, the team travelled to Victoria, Australia; where they played two games against Melbourne, winning the first (3-0) and drawing the second (1-1). They departed for England by steamer, calling at Egypt during a port stop, and playing what is believed to be the first rugby game in that country. They arrived in Tilsbury, near London, on 27th September, and began preparing for an arduous schedule – some fifty to sixty matches (averaging one game every 2.3 days), sometimes on consecutive days, and without reserves.

*'The Natives played their first game in Britain on 3 October 1888, when they defeated Surrey 4-1. Their performance of a pre-match haka, and the black jerseys they wore, aroused curiosity.'*<sup>xviii</sup>



*'Their War Cry before starting Play'.*

The Maori Football Team : First Match at Richmond, Oct. 3 – Against the Surrey Club.<sup>xix</sup>

The above sketch depicts the New Zealand Natives performing a *haka* and wearing their *kākahu* and *korowai* before their game. The accuracy of the likeness of the players is questionable, however, the player to the right edge looks most like Joe Warbrick and is wearing a *korowai* which appears very similar to the *korowai* which is the subject of this report. Perkins (2011) explains that 'The cloak was like a tracksuit, keeping players warm and removed after the haka, but it also tells us about the symbolic role of garments in traditional culture.'<sup>xx</sup>

*Kākahu*, which include *korowai* (cloak with tassels), *kahu pueru* (dog skin cloak), *kaitaka* (finely woven cloak), *kahu tōi* (war cloak), etc, are viewed as extremely valuable items; woven for, and worn by, those of high rank, and frequently gifted to others as a display of the esteem in which they are held. Handwoven, they take anywhere between 6 months to 3 years to produce (depending on the size, style, and decorative elements); they are highly regarded and appreciated by the receivers.

Collections Officer, Myles Maniapoto (Australian Museum) poses the following question: with *kākahu* being adopted so visibly by this team, could this be interpreted as an assertion and expression of Māori identity overseas by their own volition; or were they merely costume props, in a situation engineered by Thomas Eyton (co-promoter of this tour), or somewhere in between?<sup>xxi</sup>



1888–89 New Zealand Native football team while in England prior to a match against Middlesex.<sup>xxii</sup>

Their game against Middlesex at Fletching on 22<sup>nd</sup> October (pictured above), resulted in a loss by 0-9, and they would play another 29 games before the end of the year. Their first game of 1889 would see them face Bradford on New Years' Day, which they lost 1-4. They would play another 37 games, including: Ireland in Dublin on 1<sup>st</sup> December, which they won 13-4; Wales in Swansea on 22<sup>nd</sup> December, which they lost 0-5; England in Blackheath on 16<sup>th</sup> February, which they lost 0-7 (with much controversy); with Cambridge, and Oxford also being games of significance. Winning their final game against Southern Counties on 27<sup>th</sup> March 1889, saw the conclusion of the British leg of the tour, resulting in a playing record of 49 wins, 5 draws, and 20 losses from 74 matches (394 points for, and 188 points against); a win/loss record of approximately 73%, which is incredible considering the huge number of games they played, especially over such a short period.



New Zealand Native Rugby Team portrait, taken in Swansea, Wales (circa December 1888).<sup>xxiii</sup>

Joseph did not seem impressed by what many Kiwis, especially those with British heritage referred to as the 'Motherland', writing:

'As a country England did not quite come up to my expectations, and this is a prevalent view of New Zealanders and perhaps is due to the fact that from infancy we read and hear nothing else but England, and the imagination gets imbued with perhaps extravagant notions. That it is a wonderful country there are no two opinions ... but as a place of amusement England is, I should say, the rich man's paradise and the poor man's Hades.'<sup>xxiv</sup>

1889 was the year that the now-iconic Tower Bridge was under construction. Ostentatious wealth was evident in many areas of London, however, it was unequally distributed. Many who lived and worked in the East End and docklands were being pushed increasingly into chronic poverty. This situation wouldn't have escaped Joseph and his teammates, who according to his writings, had expected much more of England.

### Australian tour

The New Zealand Natives team returned to the Southern Hemisphere, beginning their Australian leg in Victoria, with their first game against Maryborough at on 15<sup>th</sup> May; then playing a further 10 games, with their final match against the Victorian state team on 11<sup>th</sup> June, which they won 19-0. Whilst in Victoria, the Natives played 11 games of Aussie Rules. Joseph Warbrick also organised the sale of a *kahukiwi* (Kiwi feather cloak) to the Victorian Museum. It is believed that the team needed funds to help with their tour costs, especially as they had been away from home almost a year already. Museums Victoria acquisition records show this *kahukiwi* (Registration number X 005404) being registered at the museum on 10<sup>th</sup> June.

The next leg of the tour was to New South Wales, where they began their tour against the state representative side in Sydney on 15<sup>th</sup> June, which they won 12-9. Eight more games were played in this state, including games against Sydney University, Arfoma, the Permanent Artillery, Northumberland, Northern Districts, and a combined Parramatta and the Kings School XVIII.

'...it was Parramatta's turn to host the visitors. *The Cumberland Argus and Fruit Growers Advocate* reported a week prior to the match that a letter was written to Mr Bennett of the Kings School advising him that he needed to have a "very strong" team to meet the Māori. **"The team look rather unique in their beautiful and expensive mats and cloaks. 'Kia kaha' [be strong] must be the motto of the Parramatta boys whom we expect to make a good show against the boys of Niu Tirini"**. The match was played on 19 June 1889. *The Cumberland Argus and Fruit Growers Advocate* reported the team arrived in Parramatta by train. They were met at the station and taken to Roberts Hotel where they were formally welcomed. Mr Hugh Taylor proposed the health of the visitors and remarked that he had given instructions to 'his boys' they were to allow the visitors to win, a privilege always conceded to visitors from a distant land.' The Captain, Joe Warbrick, thanked Mr Taylor for his kindness and called for three cheers for Parramatta, which were reported as "Ake, ake, kia kaha." Ake ake kia kaha loosely translates as 'forever and ever be strong.' It is important to note that this common Māori phrase, which is still in use today, was widely known by non-Māori in Parramatta. The team were also invited to attend the School Children's Exhibition at the School of Arts, which they accepted. The paper reported there were 1000 present and 1001 perched on the fence at the Kings School. The Parramatta team wore a red uniform and the Māori team, black with a silver fern. The Māori team played under the United Tribes flag, then known as the New Zealand flag. The score was 21 - 0 to the Māori team.'<sup>xxv</sup>

Only days before leaving Sydney, to play their games against Northumberland in Maitland, and Northern Districts in Newcastle; Joseph Warbrick arranged for the sale of a *korowai* (the subject of this report) to the Australian Museum. Museum records show that this 'Mat from N.Z' was bought from J. Warbrick for the price of four pounds and added to the register on 2<sup>nd</sup> July.<sup>xxvi</sup>

Their Queensland leg saw them face the Queensland state side in Brisbane on 15<sup>th</sup> July, which they won 22-0; followed by games against Toowoomba, and Ipswich, and another match against Queensland also in Brisbane on 22<sup>nd</sup> July, which they also won 11-7.



The New Zealand Natives before their match against Queensland, in front of the United Tribes flag and the Union Jack. Joseph kneels in the centre of the photograph and is holding the ball.<sup>xxvii</sup>

Starting and finishing with an internal tour against New Zealand provincial teams, with fixtures in Britain, and Australia in between, the Natives played a staggering 107 rugby matches; winning 78 of them (at a win-loss record of 79%) between June 1888 and August 1889. For good measure, they also played 11 games of Australian rules. Joe Warbrick's contribution was severely hampered by an injury suffered at the start of the tour against Auckland, and he played only 21 matches. When the team returned to New Zealand in August 1889 he retired from playing (apart from a one-match comeback in 1894).<sup>xxviii</sup>

The short film titled *Warbrick* produced in 2009, provides a brief insight into the experiences which the New Zealand Natives and Joseph faced during their time in England.<sup>xxix</sup>

Warbrick's New Zealand representative career was short because there was no national body (the New Zealand Rugby Football Union was not formed until 1892). The next official tour by a New Zealand team was not until 1893, by which time Warbrick had virtually given up playing.

## Post-rugby

Post-rugby, Warbrick became a tour guide in the geyser fields of Rotorua. Geyser tourism had been given a major boost in 1900 when the Waimangu ('black water') geyser burst into life. It was the largest geyser recorded anywhere in the world between 1900 and 1904. On 30<sup>th</sup> August 1903, when

Joe's brother, Alfred, who was a Chief Government Guide to the Rotorua thermal area, was leading a guided tour; the geyser exploded unexpectedly, killing Warbrick and three tourists (David McNaughton and sisters Ruby and Catherine Nicholls). According to Mr Donnelly, who was a witness 'one of the young ladies seemed anxious to get a snapshot'<sup>xxx</sup> and the two sisters, aged 19 and 20, descended to the geyser's edge, against the advice of Alfred. It is recorded that Alfred said to Joseph "If an accident happens you know I will get the sack."<sup>xxxi</sup> Of the incident, Donnelly described hearing a terrible roar, with darkness consuming everything, and material raining down on them; scalding the four victims before washing them nearly 1500 metres toward Lake Rotomahana in a torrent of boiling water. Unfortunately, Alfred's warning to his brother would result in the loss of something worth much more than his job, the disaster taking his 41-year-old brother Joseph.



Waimangu Geyser erupting in 1903.<sup>xxxii</sup>

### He kōrero mai i te whānau Warbrick/Notes from the Warbrick family

*Ko Ruawahi te maunga  
Ko Tarawera te awa  
Ko Tarawera to moana o Te Awa o Te Atua  
Ko Te Arawa te waka  
Ko Ngāti Rangitīhi te Iwi  
Ko Rangiaohia te whare tupuna ki Matatā  
Ko Rākauheketara te whare kai  
Ko Moko-nui-a-rangi te tupuna  
Ko Nga Karauana te tupuna  
Ko Joseph tōku koroua nui  
Ko Orini Rosa tōku Kuia  
Ko Josephine tōku whaea  
Ko Orini Marr taku ingoa nō Matatā ahau.*

The *pepeha* (introduction) above, and the information below has been graciously provided by Orini Marr, eldest great-granddaughter of Joe Warbrick.



'Our Koroua Joseph Astbury Warbrick was inducted into the International Rugby Union Hall of Fame here in Matatā at our Rugby Club, on 24/11/2008 (two representatives came out from London for the occasion); they reminded us on this day that the 1888 NZ Native Team includes the black jersey, the Silver Fern and introducing the haka to international rugby.

They won 78/107 matches on this tour, playing an average of a match every 2.5 days!

A famous recent Coach of the NZ Māori team, Matt Te Pou, was always interested in the history of the 1888 Team and during the 1998 Tour to the UK, they played Hawick (Scotland) where 100 years before, the 1888 Team had played; he said that they still have an 1888 *tokotoko* (walking stick) on display in the Hawick clubrooms.

Mr Te Pou also said they told stories of them sleeping rough in barns at the time plus putting on their overcoats at halftime to play in as it was so cold (and they won!).

He said that as the drudgery of injuries and surviving the tour wore on (players had flu and pneumonia), the *haka* was introduced to *whakaohooho* (inspire) players; firstly, in the sheds, then when they went out to play.

Joseph Warbrick (b. 1 January 1862), who at 15yrs represented Auckland as a barefoot kicker, was initiator and inspiration for this 1888 Team and tour (in our whanau lore anyway!); he played, coached, helped manage and captained this team. His four brothers, Alfred, Arthur, Fred and William were also players in this team.

Joseph Warbrick died tragically in the eruption of Waimangu Geyser, 30/8/1903, only 14 years after returning from this tour of the UK; he had married Harriet Burt and at the time of his death, their only child, Orini Rosa, was 3 months old (b. 6/6/1903 – 6/6/1948).

Orini Rosa married Herbert Lindsay Anderson and had three daughters; Josephine Astbury, Moira Astbury and Lenore Rosa (all Anderson's). Orini, Herbert and their three daughters were all proud rugby fans because of his legacy (Orini was involved with the BOP Rugby Union too, possibly because of her half-brothers Maurice and Ron Lees who both played for BOP). Aunty Moira stated in 2008 "We're absolutely so proud. He certainly left some values for our game. And those values, excellence, they've been followed through I would suggest".

Orini Rosa also died early of pneumonia on her 45<sup>th</sup> birthday in 1948. Her husband and daughters were avid rugby supporters, following the sport all their lives. Aunty Moira is still alive at 94 and thrilled this interest has occurred, but no one ever knew or spoke about, the legacy of *korowai* in Australia. These sisters passed on their love of the game and their grandfather's legacy, to all their *tamariki* (children).

*Koroua* Joseph is buried at Awakaponga *urupa* (cemetery) just outside of Matatā, surrounded by his brothers, daughter Orini and two of his Granddaughters, Josephine and Lenore (by the way, Lenore has always been known as Bunny; she is Kelly's Mum – also had four sons).

His framed IRB cap, presented 24/11/2008, is now held in the Whakatane Museum for ongoing safe keeping.

Joseph is survived by his Granddaughter Moira Potae and twelve of his thirteen great-grandchildren and many *mokopuna tuarua* and *nui nga mokopuna*.<sup>'xxxiii</sup>

## Taipitopito tirohanga/Examination details

**Initial Examination Date:** Saturday, 25th March 2023

**Secondary Examination Date:** Friday, 21st April 2023

**Confirmatory Examination:** Tuesday, 14th May 2024

**Staff present at examinations:** **I.E:** Myles Maniapoto - Collections Officer; **S.E:** Myles Maniapoto – Collections Officer, and Moemoana Schwenke - Pacific Consultation Officer; and **C.E:** Myles Maniapoto – Collections Officer, Melissa Sutton – Senior Collections Officer Pasifika, and Elijah Lemusu – Wansolmoana Connect Officer.

**Taipitopito whakawhiwhinga/Accession details:** E2494

The Australian Museum purchased this *korowai* from Joe Warbrick in July of 1889, for a sum of four pounds. Documents within the Australian Museum Archives include correspondence between Warbrick and the Australian Museum and indicate that this *korowai* was one of eight items offered for sale at that time.

**Ingoa/Name:** *Te Korowai o Warbrick – Warbrick’s Cloak*

**Momo kākahu/Garment type:** *Korowai pāheke* (*harakeke* cloak with tassels and waves of woollen thread)

**Pinetohu/Labels or Tags:** E.2494. NEW ZEALAND FLAX CLOAK PURCH: MR. JOE WARRBRICK



Identification labels, both cardboard and metal stamped tag.

### Whakaahuatanga/Description:

Technically, this could be referred to as a *korowai*, as this garment is constructed with *muka* (extracted *harakeke* fibre) and has *hukahuka* (tassels). The *kaupapa* (framework) appears to be woven using natural (undyed) *muka*, and the weaving itself is quite fine, almost being as closely woven as a *kaitaka* (high quality *kākahu*). There is a *kurupatu* (neck fringe) along the top edge of the garment, which comprises of black-coloured *hukahuka*. There are two parallel vertical columns of black-coloured *hukahuka* running down each side of the garment. The surface sees a uniform covering of black-coloured *hukahuka* across the external *kaupapa* of the garment. The bottom edge of the garment is decorated with coloured rectangles of looped wool, in a recurring pattern which suggests that this may be a *korowai pāheke* style of *kākahu*. There are no *here* (ties), however, there is evidence of them being present previously, with short frayed *muka* fibres at each top edge. There appears to be some slight fading on a portion of the exterior, toward the right side, and there is a hole near the top right corner.



External kaupapa (framework)

**Inenga/Dimensions:** 1290 mm in height on the left edge, 1225 mm in height at the centre, and 1310 mm in height on the right edge. 1490 mm in width at the top, 1480 mm in width at the centre, and 1500 mm in width across the bottom.

**Taimaha/Weight:** TBC

**Rauemi/Materials:** *Muka* (*whenu*, *aho*, and *hukahuka*), wool - five colours (red, blue, green, yellow, and apricot), and *hukahuka* (twisted tassels dyed with *paru*).

***Remu*/Bottom edge**

The *remu* (bottom edge) was commenced using natural *muka* in the *aho rua* (two-pair weft-twining, also known as double-pair twining) technique.

***Kaupapa*/Framework (external surface)**

The *kaupapa* of this *kāhahu* is woven with *muka*, with approximately 6 *whenu* per centimetre, and fine *whatu aho pātahi* at 7-8 mm spacings, for the majority of the *kaupapa*.



Rows of *aho pātahi* (single pair twining).



There are approximately 6 *whenu* per centimetre.

The only deviation from this is: a) the *whatu aho rua* (two-pair weft-twining) used on the three rows of coloured wool, b) one solitary row of *aho rua* which is 60 *aho* rows from commencement (bottom), and c) an *aho poka* (shaping segment), which begins at the 135th *aho* row from commencement.



*Aho rua* was used to affix the woollen yarn

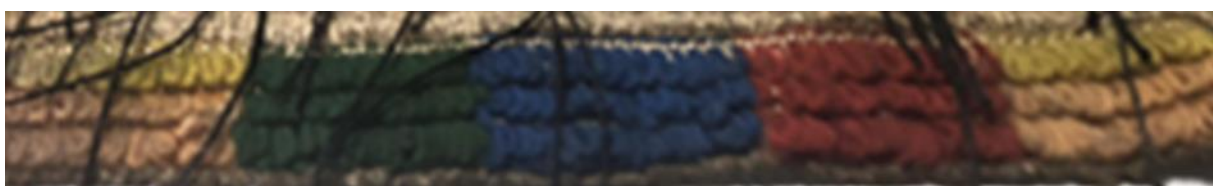
The solitary row of *aho rua* on the 60<sup>th</sup> row from the *remu*.

The *kākahu* comprises of approximately 1,000 *whenu*, and 170 *aho* rows, and there are ten rows of *aho poka* beginning on the 135<sup>th</sup> *aho* row from commencement.

**Kaupapa/Framework (interior surface)** Due to the fragile state of the *hukahuka* on the *kurupatu*, edge rows, and general surface of the garment, and the genuine risk of damage to the *kākahu* if turned over; the interior surface was not examined at this time, as the ‘risk-reward’ evaluation was deemed unacceptable. This will be revisited at a later time, most probably if professional digital imaging is to be undertaken.

***Tāniko/Decorative Borders***

Technically, there is no *tāniko* on this *kākahu*, however, it presents a row of 33 coloured rectangles along the *remu* (bottom edge), consisting of three rows of *pāheke* or wool loops (meaning flow); woven in using the *whatu aho rua* method, which serves as a contemporary *tāniko* band. The pattern of these coloured rectangles, from left to right, are in the following order: bi-coloured consisting of two rows of apricot with a single row of yellow above them; three rows of green; three rows of blue; three rows of red; with this pattern repeating until the last rectangle on the right side, which is bi-coloured, as is the first.



Above the first bi-coloured rectangles at either side of the *kaupapa*, are another rectangle; the one on the left being green, and the one on the right being red. The coloured rectangles directly above the bi-coloured rectangles on the left and right bottom corners, match the colours of the second rectangle, from each corner on the bottom row.



Similar use of coloured wool can be observed on *korowai* on pages 66-67, 106-107, and 152-153 of *Whatu Kākahu: Māori Cloaks* (Tamarapa 2019). If we refer to these as being representative of this particular style of cloaks, we can estimate that *Te Korowai o Warbrick* was created sometime between 1860-1888; with 1888 being the latest possible date, as he travelled to Australia with it at that time.

#### ***Hukahuka and Kurupatu/Tassels and Neck fringe***

The *hukahuka* used on this *kākahu* are *potopoto* or tightly twisted, 2-ply type.

This *kākahu* has a *kurupatu* (neck fringe) consisting of a single row of black *hukahuka* (tassels) woven into the top *aho* row, and which then hang between 160 mm - 170 mm in length. It is estimated that the *kurupatu* originally comprised of approximately 450 pairs of *hukahuka* (approximately 900) .



The *kurupatu* is in quite good condition except for a small portion of damage toward the left side.



A section of the *kurupatu*, showing a profuse amount of *hukahuka*, with no noticeable spaces.



The *hukahuka* woven into the *ua* (top edge) of the *korowai*, is in relatively good condition, as opposed to those down the left and right edges.

Each *kauko* (side border) has a double row of *hukahuka*, each *hukahuka* being approximately 120 mm in length, and woven in two vertical parallel rows, and at intervals of every second *aho* row. These total 85 pairs create clearly defined borders down each *kauko*. There is a substantial amount of damage to the left border, with a large number of *hukahuka* consisting of shortened stubs, or even missing. The right border is better, displaying a combination of quality patches of *hukahuka* in places, and then only stubs, or nothing, in other patches.



Examples of the marked difference in quality and damage in patches down the right-hand side *hukahuka* border.

The external general surface of the *kaupapa* has a uniform covering of *hukahuka* (tassels) between 130 mm - 170 mm in length, and woven into the garment at regular intervals, creating a pattern; these being approximately 56 *whenu* (8 cm) apart, on every fourth *aho* row. It was estimated that there \*were originally approximately 800 *hukahuka* across the surface of the *kaupapa* (not including the *kurupatu* and vertical columns down each vertical edge), however, due to wear and tear, and degradation of the *hukahuka* over time, several of these are either shortened or missing. The lowest row of *hukahuka* fall below the bottom edge of the garment. As stated earlier in this section, there are numerous *hukahuka* which are broken, or missing, down the side edges, some from the overall surface, and a portion of the *kurupatu* to the left side of centre. The general condition of the *hukahuka* is poor, and this is consistent with deterioration due to the tannin (ferric ions and phenolic hydroxyl ions) or acids in the *paru*-dyed tassels, over time.



The surface of the *kaupapa* shows the general pattern and spacing of the *hukahuka*.

#### ***Aho Poka or Tīhoi/Elliptical shaping Inserts***

The only *aho poka* starts at the 135<sup>th</sup> *aho* row from commencement (first row at the bottom), continuing to shorten for 10 consecutive rows as simple elliptical inserts in the middle of the garment. Each level of increasing intersects every 20 *whenu*, until the 10 *aho poka* are completed. This specific *aho poka* segment enables the *kākahu* to achieve a comfortable drape and style around the shoulders, custom-made for the wearer.

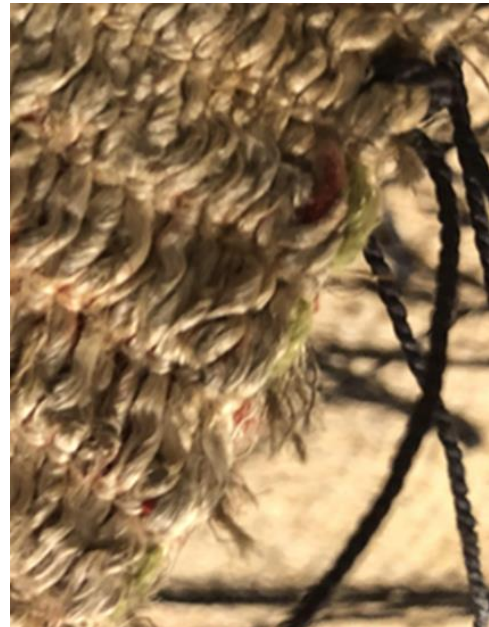




A close-up view showing where *aho poka* intersects or merges.

#### **Whakanakonako/Embellishments**

There is a single strand of green-coloured wool sewn down the right edge of the garment, and a single strand of blue-coloured wool woven down the left edge. These were not noticed during the initial examination, as the physical manipulation of the *korowai*, the viewing angles, and the lighting were limited. It was only on closer inspection, during the secondary examination, that these threads were observed. Initially, the green thread became noticeable when the right edge was lifted, and then the left edge was checked to ascertain whether that too, had a coloured thread.



Sections of the left and right *kauko* (edges) showing the blue, and green coloured woollen threads.



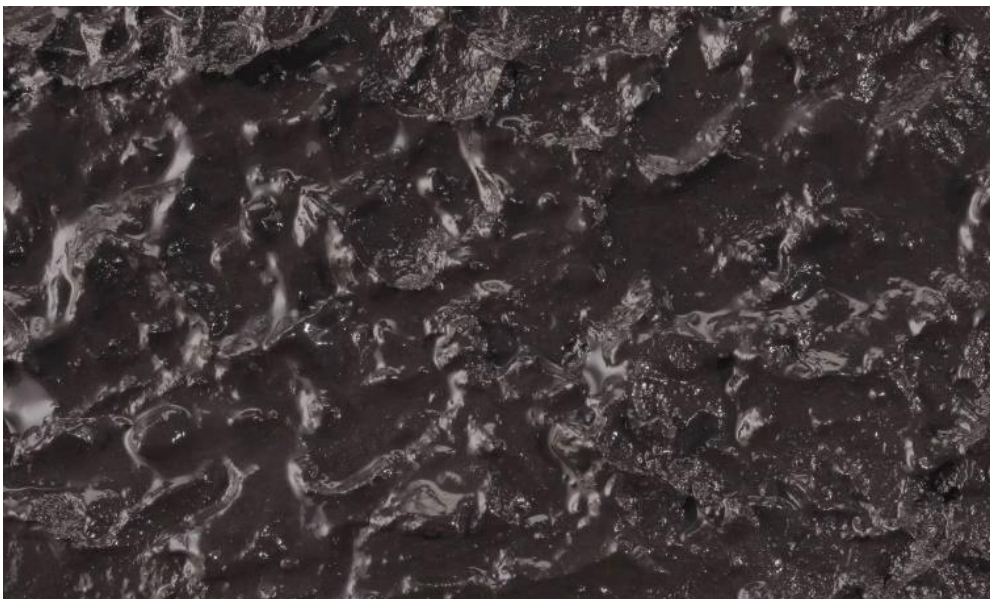
### Here/Ties

There are no *here* or ties present, and no evidence of where they were previously affixed to the *ua* (top edge) could be found. There are sections of unravelled *muka/whitau* threads at the top left and right corners of the *ua*, which were used by wearers as handles to help place the *kākahu* over the body. Unfortunately, the name of these is unknown and has been lost to time, however, it is a common mistake to confuse these for remnants of *here*, especially when no *here* are present.



### Kano/Pigment

The only pigment used to dye the garment is *paru* (black ferruginous mud), which was used to dye the *hukahuka*.



A *paru* pit, with deposits of black, iron-rich, ferruginous mud.

The coloured wool is commercially produced and was sourced in its current state.



### Pakarutanga/Damage

As mentioned in the sections regarding the *kaupapa* and *hukahuka*, there is substantial damage to this *korowai*. Several *hukahuka* have become detached over time. There is a complete hole in the upper right quadrant of the *kaupapa*, which *Tohunga Raranga* (Master Weaver) Makareta Jahnke, believes is fire damage; noting the blackened and singed outline of the hole.<sup>xxxiv</sup> There is a 300-400 mm wide portion of the *korowai* which runs the length of the garment, from bottom to top; which is noticeably lighter and appears to be fading, with the *korowai* having presumably been folded and left in a location where it was exposed to light over an extended period of time.



The author views a collection of detached *hukahuka*, which are kept with the *korowai* as per museum practice.

There is some serious damage (an irregular-shaped hole) to an area of the *kaupapa* situated approximately 260 mm in, and 300 mm down, from the right edge; the hole itself being approximately 60 mm high by 30 mm wide.



### Whakaaturanga, Whakahaumarutanga rānei/Display or storage

This *korowai* is stored in a large metal set of drawers constructed especially for maps, documents, and are commonly used by museums to store textiles within their collections. Currently, the *korowai* is not on display and is in a collections storage facility.



### Ngā tuhinga a ngā kairaranga/Notes by weavers

**Makareta Jahnke:** Confirms that it is a *korowai*, and believes the hole is possibly from fire damage, as the *muka*, *whenu*, and *aho* look singed. Jahnke is not sure if the coloured wool sections are representative of sporting teams, or flags, or otherwise.

**Brent Kerehona Pukepuke-Ahitapu:** Feels that the introduction of vivid, coloured wool loops were used in place of traditional *tāniko*, as a means of providing an aesthetic appearance, with a little less weaving required. He would not disagree with the term *korowai* being used to describe this garment, as this *kāhahu* meets the criteria (*muka/whitau*, with *hukahuka*).

### Tiakanga/Preservation

Preservation of these *hukahuka* is of the highest priority, as they have lost their flexibility, and there is a genuine risk of further damage any time the garment is moved, hung up, or draped over anything. Dion Peita (*Te Aupōuri*) formerly of *Te Papa Tongarewa (National Museum of New Zealand)* has previously initiated conservation work on the *korowai*, to extend the life of this garment. Through her research, textiles conservator Rangitautahi Te Kanawa, has discovered that the most common black dye, being *paru* (mud rich in iron salts, especially iron tannate) is very acidic. In her article *Conserving textiles* on the Te Papa Tongarewa website, she elaborates by stating “When exposed to the air, they begin to break down the muka, turning it powdery. In particular, this damages the black tassels that decorate cloaks...”<sup>xxxv</sup> In the article (*After five years, chemists find way to save cloaks*) from the New Zealand Herald (September 2021), Te Kanawa suggests the use of a

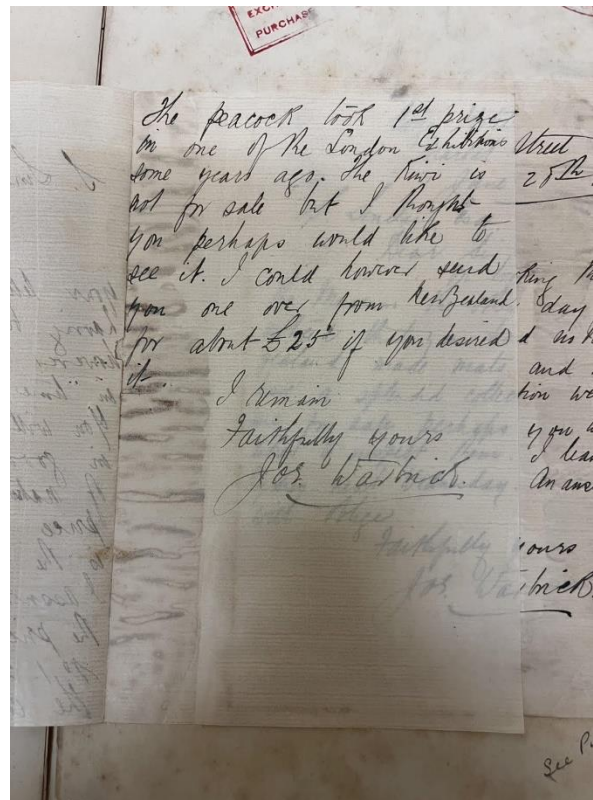
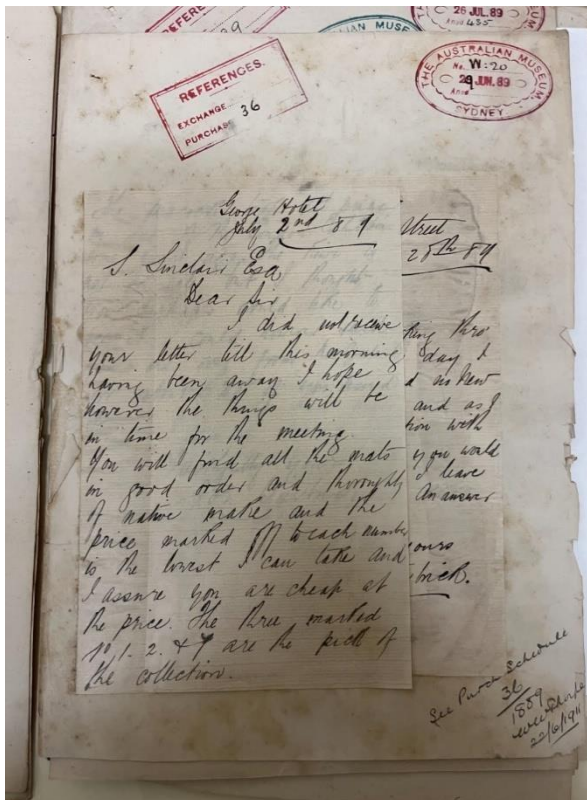
zinc-alginate consolidation treatment, which appears to mop up the acids and, importantly, binding fibres together. This may be an option that the Australian Museum should consider if they wish to keep this artefact from deteriorating any further.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

It is museum practice to preserve artefacts, however, only so much can be done with finite resources (funding and specialist personnel); which are measured against museum priorities i.e. historical significance, rarity, or whether they are expected to be exhibited in the future. *Taonga* (cultural treasures) like these were never intended to last forever and were exchanged and re-gifted numerous times until the end of their lifespan.

How do we ensure that this *korowai* and its associated history lives on? This can be achieved by ensuring that this *korowai* is digitally recorded, and records created (this technical report being an example); because at some point, physical preservation and restoration efforts will no longer be possible. The weaving of a replica is also an option to consider, but this would entail a consultation process with the Warbrick family, the Ngati Rangitahi *iwi* (tribe) to which Joe Warbrick affiliates, and any prospective weaver/s.

## Whakapapa/Provenance

This *korowai* was brought on tour by a member of the New Zealand Natives Rugby Union team, departing New Zealand on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1888, and arriving in Melbourne, Australia, a few days later 1888. The team then departed for the United Kingdom, arriving in England on 27<sup>th</sup> September 1888. Following the United Kingdom leg of the tour, the team departed England on 29<sup>th</sup> March 1889, and arrived in Melbourne in May. Whilst playing in Sydney in June, Joseph Warbrick offered this *korowai* to the Australian Museum, and it was purchased and added to the museum's collections on 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1889.



Correspondence between Joseph Warbrick and S. Sinclair, Secretary, Australian Museum 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1889.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

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**PURCHASE SCHEDULE.**

AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM.  
SYDNEY, July 2<sup>d</sup> 1887

I HEREBY offer to the Trustees of the Australian Museum the specimens of Natural History enumerated in this Schedule for the sum of £. S. P.

**CORRESPONDENCE:**  
INWARD W. 30  
OUTWARD

Name of Vendor: *W. J. Wood*  
Address: *141 George Street*

Serial No.	No. of Specimens	Name of Specimen	Price	Vendor's Remarks
		<i>Perch</i>	<i>£ 10/-</i>	
		<i>11 korai</i>	<i>10</i>	
		<i>"</i>	<i>10</i>	
		<i>"</i>	<i>10</i>	
		<i>"</i>	<i>10</i>	
<i>E2494</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>purchase this one</i>
		<i>"</i>	<i>10</i>	
		<i>6 Loxia</i>	<i>7</i>	
		<i>7 Pipit</i>	<i>10</i>	

RECEIVED BY THE TRUSTEES  
2 July 1887  
Purchase 7510

REFERENCES.  
Voucher Exchange 34759  
PURCHASE

Sum: *40* Pounds  
and Pence, Sterling *W. J. Wood*

Date Sent *1887*  
Pay Voucher No.

Receipt Form No. 1

Payable from Vote of & Item No. of Appropriation Act of 1887  
CONTINGENT EXPENSES—Department of AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM.  
[Departmental No. *24759* Sub-Head of Estimate *Contingent*]

CLAIMANT: *W. J. Wood*  
(Name or Name)

1887

For the Supply of the undermentioned ARTICLES or SERVICES:  
(When a Special Authority has been given the name and date of it must be stated here)

*July 2 one hat from N.Z.*

Item	Q	A	£	S	D
<i>one hat from N.Z.</i>				<i>4</i>	

Total: *£ 4 - -*

Department of Commerce & Customs

I certify that the amount charged in this Voucher is in compliance with the Act, and that the services have been faithfully performed, and that the expenditure is duly authorized in terms of the Act.

*W. J. Wood*  
Date of the receipt

I hereby authorize the amount of the above certificate in my favour to be paid on my behalf to

RECEIVED on the *6* day of *July* 1887, the sum of *4* Pounds, and *0* Pence, Sterling.

*W. J. Wood*

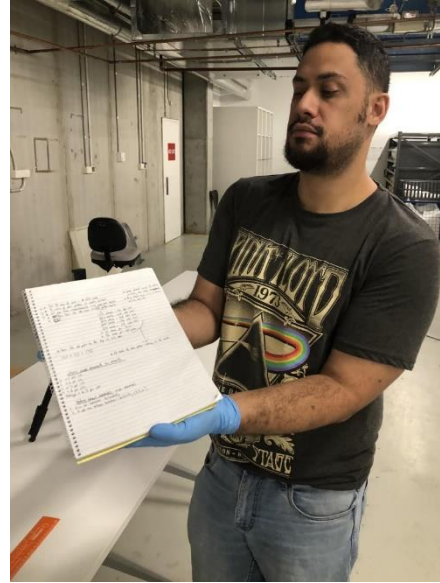
Purchase and acquisition documentation pertaining to this korowai.<sup>xxxviii</sup>



Brent Kerehona and Myles Maniapoto discussing a damaged portion of the korowai.



The author examining the *ua* (top edge).



Myles Maniapoto recorded details of the examination.

The author would like to acknowledge and thank Myles Maniapoto, for the Te Reo Māori translations, without which this report would not have been produced in its current format.

## TŪTOHU/SIGN-OFF

**Brent Kerehona Pukepuke-Ahitapu BA, MTeach  
Historian, Author, Weaver, and Educator**

**Signature:**

**Date: June 2024**

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<sup>i</sup> World Rugby Hall of Fame. <https://www.world.rugby/halloffame/inductees/704800> (accessed 23 March 2023).

<sup>ii</sup> <https://maorisportsawards.co.nz/portfolio/joseph-warbrick/> (accessed 23 March 2023).

<sup>iii</sup> Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa website. Rugby jersey [1884 replica].

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<sup>iv</sup> <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/joseph-warbrick-rugby-player> Ministry for Culture and Heritage Likely cropped from an image first published in Samuel Sleigh's Rugby Football Annual of 1885. (Accessed 23 March 2023).

<sup>v</sup> <https://maorisportsawards.co.nz/portfolio/joseph-warbrick/> (accessed 23 March 2023).

<sup>vi</sup> Map of Todmorden. The Guardian online news. In Tod's country: a walking break around Todmorden, West Yorkshire. <https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2021/jul/31/in-tods-country-a-walking-break-around-todmorden-west-yorkshire> (accessed 4 May 2024).

<sup>vii</sup> Image of Todmorden. Todmorden Information Service website. [www.visittodmorden.co.uk](http://www.visittodmorden.co.uk) (accessed 4 May 2024).

<sup>viii</sup> Portrait of Abraham Warbrick (circa – 1860s-1870s). <https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-1-65440231-1-473/abraham-warbrick-in-myheritage-family-trees?indId=externalindividual-ef91b624c9e01209cb11b4f88e06d076&mrId=51dfddee54230fd7361e83eae86761> (accessed 4 May 2024).

<sup>ix</sup> The Cairns Post. *Shipwreck hunters locate long-lost Martha Ridgway wreck off near Raine Island, which sank more than 170 years ago.* 19<sup>th</sup> April 2019.

<sup>x</sup> Ngati Rangitihī Area. Takiwā. *Te Puni Kokiri website.* <https://takiwa.co/data/784ecee4-0665-55f0-97e4-4170e0f0eaaf> (accessed 4 May 2024).

<sup>xi</sup> Whakapapa of Rangitihī and his descendants. *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand.*

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<sup>xii</sup> Rangitihī Mare. *Maori Maps.* <https://maorimaps.com/marae/rangitih-i> (accessed 4 May 2024).

<sup>xiii</sup> Evans & McDermott (Auckland) fl 1870s :Portrait of the 2 Warbrick boys (Rotorua). Alexander Turnbull Library. Reference Number: PA2-0695.

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<sup>xiv</sup> Auckland rugby union touring team 1883. Digitised from Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, 589-290. [http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/exec/dbtwpub.dll?BU=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.aucklandcity.govt.nz%2Fdbtw-wpd%2FHeritageImages%2Findex.htm&AC=QBE\\_QUERY&TN=heritageimages&QF0=ID&NP=2&MR=5&RF=HIORecordSearch&QI0=%3D%22589-290%22](http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/exec/dbtwpub.dll?BU=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.aucklandcity.govt.nz%2Fdbtw-wpd%2FHeritageImages%2Findex.htm&AC=QBE_QUERY&TN=heritageimages&QF0=ID&NP=2&MR=5&RF=HIORecordSearch&QI0=%3D%22589-290%22) (accessed 4 May 2024).

<sup>xv</sup> Alexander Turnbull Library, Making New Zealand Centennial Collection (PAColl-3060)



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<sup>xvi</sup> 'The Warbrick brothers, rugby players ', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/the-warbrick-brothers> , (Ministry for Culture and Heritage) (accessed 4 May 2024).

<sup>xvii</sup> New Zealand History website. 'The New Zealand Natives' rugby team, 1888/89'. Ministry for Culture and Heritage. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/the-new-zealand-natives-team-photo> (accessed 4 May 2024).

<sup>xviii</sup> Before the All Blacks: The New Zealand 'Natives'. Te Papa Tongarewa website. <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/discover-collections/read-watch-play/sport-aotearoa-new-zealand/all-blacks-new-zealand-natives> (accessed 8 May 2024).

<sup>xix</sup> The Illustrated London News. No. 2382 – Vol. 93. p. 417. Saturday, October 13, 1888. <https://onehera.waikato.ac.nz/nodes/view/3071> (accessed 23 March 2023).

<sup>xx</sup> Cloak reveals haka history in rugby connection. ABC Local. Matthew Perkins, 2 September 2011. <https://www.abc.net.au/local/audio/2011/09/02/3308591.htm> (accessed 29 March 2023).

<sup>xxi</sup> Email from Myles Maniapoto to the author dated 11 June 2024.

<sup>xxii</sup> A team photo of the 1888–89 New Zealand Native football team while in England prior to a match against Middlesex. State Lib Qld 1 188931 New Zealand native Rugby Union team, prior to a match at Lord Sheffield's Park in 1888. 'Team photo, NZ Natives' Rugby tour of 1888/89', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/new-zealand-natives-rugby-tour-team-photo> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 15-Jul-2013 (accessed 4 May 2024).

<sup>xxiii</sup> New Zealand Natives Football Team 1888-1889. [https://farm4.static.flickr.com/3044/2488920731\\_715ca3b4ef\\_b.jpg](https://farm4.static.flickr.com/3044/2488920731_715ca3b4ef_b.jpg) (accessed 5 May 2024).

<sup>xxiv</sup> Brendan Hokowhitu (2005). Sporting Traditions, vol. 21, no. 2. Published by the Australian Society for Sports History. *Rugby and Tino Rangatiratanga: Early Maori Rugby and the Formation of Traditional Maori Masculinity*. p. 81.

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<sup>xxv</sup> Maarama Kamira (2016). *Māori Trade and Relations in Parramatta*. pp. 39.

<https://historyandheritage.cityofparramatta.nsw.gov.au/sites/phh/files/field/media/file/2020-07/trade-and-relations-maori-in-parramatta.pdf> (accessed 23 March 2023).

<sup>xxvi</sup> Australian Museum. Purchase Schedule 36. E2494. Dated 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1889.

<sup>xxvii</sup> The New Zealand Natives before their match against Queensland, in front of the United Tribes flag and the Union Jack. (circa July 1889). Digitised by Auckland Libraries. From the Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, 4-919. Photographer: Edward Beauchamp Singleton Mercer.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:New\\_Zealand\\_Natives\\_football\\_team\\_black\\_and\\_white.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:New_Zealand_Natives_football_team_black_and_white.jpg) (accessed 4 May 2024).

<sup>xxviii</sup> 'Joe Warbrick', Ministry for Culture and Heritage. URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/joe-warbrick> (accessed 23rd May 2023).

<sup>xxix</sup> Warbrick – short film by brothers Pere and Meihana Durie. (2009)

<https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/warbrick-2009> (accessed 26 March 2023).

<sup>xxx</sup> New Zealand Disasters and Tragedies. Waimangu Geyser Eruption. Sunday 30 August 1903. Waimangu, Rotorua, New Zealand. The Waimangu Horror. How It Occurred. Per United Press Association, Rotorua Aug 31 (1903) <https://freepages.rootsweb.com/~sooty/genealogy/waimangu1903.html> (accessed 6 May 2024).

<sup>xxxi</sup> New Zealand Disasters and Tragedies. Waimangu Geyser Eruption. Sunday 30 August 1903. Waimangu, Rotorua, New Zealand. The Waimangu Horror. How It Occurred. Per United Press Association, Rotorua Aug 31 (1903) <https://freepages.rootsweb.com/~sooty/genealogy/waimangu1903.html> (accessed 6 May 2024).

<sup>xxxii</sup> A massive geyser eruption at Waimangu, Rotorua Lakes region. The surrounding geothermal landscape is covered with toi toi grasses. Two men in suits and hats run towards the geyser, while other spectators watch from a hillside. OTHER ID 56226 (Presto content ID). DU436.185 W13(b) (Library of Congress Call Number). PH-CNEG-C30291 (Copy negative number). 34848 (DBTextworks system ID).

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<sup>xxxiii</sup> Personal correspondence between Orini Marr and the author. Email dated 4 June 2024.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Electronic correspondence (Messenger) between Makareta Jahnke and the author. 26 March 2023.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa website. *Rangi Te Kanawa - Conserving textiles*. <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/3658#:~:text=In%20collaboration%20with%20scientists%20at,ensuring%20that%20precious%20taonga%20survive>. (accessed 27 March 2023).

<sup>xxxvi</sup> <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/kahu/after-five-years-chemists-find-way-to-save-cloaks/H3PGUNMI3EMHXDFDCJ76C4Z72M/> (accessed 27 March 2023).

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Documentation property of the Australian Museum. E02494. AMS 9, Correspondence W20/1889 Warbrick purchase.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Documentation property of the Australian Museum. E02494. AMS 55, Purchase Schedule 36/1889.