- 23. Flags of Early New Zealand (n.p., 1959). The New Zealand blue ensign, consisting of four stars on a blue ground, with the Union Jack in the first quarter, was not officially adopted as the New Zealand flag until 1902. Keith Sinclair, A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity (Wellington, 1986), p. 39.
- 24. Leonard Bell has also noted the popularity of the Hinemoa legend. See Bell, Colonial Constructs, pp. 211–12. Peter Harcourt documents a later 'musical play' based on the Hinemoa legend. Written by Percy Flynn, the work was first performed in August 1915 by the Maori Opera Company, led by Rev. Frederick Bennett. See Peter Harcourt, 'Hinemoa The Play, The Film, The Musical', Music in New Zealand (Autumn 1994), 46–49, 61.
- 25. The full score is prefaced with the note that 'There are many versions of the story of Hinemoa, the maiden of Rotorua, and the version chosen as the argument for the present musical setting is merely that which was most suitable for the purposes of a cantata'; *Hinemoa*, Tohunga's introduction.
- 26. These nine scenes are shown only in the vocal score: the programme for the Wellington Industrial Exhibition Opening Concert divides the work into fifteen 'numbers' (see Figure 2).
- 'Carried off gold medals': Sydney Mail, 20 March 1897. ML MSS. 'Chrichton in petticoats': Bulletin, 3 April 1897. ML MSS.
- Painters too used the story of Hinemoa as a pretext for eroticised images of Māori women. See Bell, Colonial Constructs, pp. 210–18.
- 29. 'Crushed beneath the hero's might; / Cries their chief "Oh, Raha, save / My people" False Waikato, run, / Dim not Ngatitoa's sun!'. Thomas Bracken, Musings in Maoriland (Dunedin, 1890), p. 53.
- 30. 'The Stage', Sporting Review, 4 March 1897. ML MSS.
- 31. Evening Post, 19 November 1896. ML MSS.
- 32. 'At several removes': Leonard Bell, *The Maori in European Art* (Wellington, 1980), p. 72. A few nouns are the only Māori-language component in the libretto. Pronunciation guides and the occasional gloss appear at the foot of the page on which they occur, e.g. 'Haere ra "Hi-rey rah" a Maori farewell'; 'Mere pronounced "Merry". A battledore shaped club; a stone weapon for hand-to-hand fighting'.
- 33. Edward Tregear, letter to Alfred Hill, 20 November 1896. Mitchell Library, Alfred Hill Papers, 528 Box 8 Item 1 (hereafter Hill Papers, ML).
- Robert Stout, letter to Alfred Hill, 19 November 1896. Hill Papers, ML; James R. Purdy, letter to Alfred Hill, 19 November 1896. Hill Papers, ML.
- 35. Evening Post, 21 November 1896. ML MSS.
- 36. Wairarapa Daily Times, 19 November 1896. ML MSS.
- 37. London Musical Courier, 4 February 1897. ML MSS.
- 38. Hastings Standard, 18 January 1897. ML MSS.
- 'No calls for sequels': John M. Thomson, personal interview, 17 March 1992. 'America, London and Paris': Wairarapa Daily Times, 19 November 1896. ML MSS.
- 40. 'Adams's hopes': Evening Post, 19 November 1896. ML MSS. 'Hayward's planned film': 'I am writing to see if you would be interested in the idea of making a sound-film version of your Maori Opera "Hinemoa" for overseas release It would be necessary to change the story somewhat for picture purposes but the music and lyrics could be adapted with great advantage'. Rudall Hayward, letter to Alfred Hill, 14 September 1932. Mitchell Library, Alfred Hill Papers, 528/3.
- 41. Jeremy Commons, 'Alfred Hill's Tapu', Opera in New Zealand News (Nov.-Dec. 1990), 5-7.
- 42. Owen Jensen, 'Alfred Hill, Douglas Lilburn, Burl Ives and All', Landfall, 23 (1952), 236-38.
- 43. Thomson, *ADM*, p. 218.
- 44. The Hawera and Normanby Star reported that Hinemoa was 'the boldest work of the kind that New