

# Rediscovering the collection: Cook Islands material culture in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

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**ABSTRACT:** Artefacts from the Cook Islands have been collected since the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) opened in 1865 as the Colonial Museum. In this article we provide a historical overview of the Cook Islands collection at Te Papa. We discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the collection, review some of the factors influencing its growth, and consider the possibilities for future collection development. This article is an output of a survey of the Cook Islands collection carried out between 2007 and 2009.

**KEYWORDS:** Te Papa, Cook Islands collection, Pacific Cultures collection, Pacific Islanders, New Zealand, museums.

## Introduction

It is only since 1993 that the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) has managed its Pacific treasures as a separate collection. For most of the institution's history (as the Colonial Museum from 1865 to 1907, the Dominion Museum from 1907 to 1972, the National Museum from 1972 to 1992, and Te Papa from 1993 to present), Pacific items formed a significant part of what was called the Foreign Ethnology collection. As currently defined, the Pacific Cultures collection consists of about 13 000 items, encompassing both historical and contemporary material from the Pacific Islands, including Papua New Guinea but excluding Indonesia, the Philippines and Australia. An exception is made for the Torres Strait Islands, which are part of Australia but culturally more aligned to Papua New Guinea.

The Pacific Cultures collection has been shaped by changing institutional and curatorial priorities, which in turn have been influenced by the history of New Zealand as a Pacific nation, the roles that New Zealanders have played in the Pacific Islands, and the migration of Pacific peoples

to New Zealand in recent decades. What began in the nineteenth century as a comparative collection of ethnographic 'specimens' – objects collected during the scientific study of peoples and cultures – has broadened to include contemporary works by known artists. This expansion of the collection's scope has tended to blur the boundaries between the Pacific, Taonga Māori, History, and Art collections. Since the late 1980s, there has been a sustained focus on collecting the art and material culture of Pacific peoples living in New Zealand.

This article originated from a survey of the Cook Islands collection at Te Papa.<sup>1</sup> It highlights key accessions over time and the collectors associated with them. It also describes selected categories of objects such as *tīvaeae* (quilts) and *vaka* (canoes). Previous publications on the collections include a survey by Davidson (1991),<sup>2</sup> which outlines the history of the National Museum Pacific collections and significant acquisitions made during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In addition, Davidson (1997) published an article on the Cook Islands material culture collected at the New

Zealand International Exhibition of Arts and Industries held in Christchurch from 1906 to 1907. Augustus Hamilton, director of the Dominion Museum between 1903 and 1913, published a short article (1911) about the Manganian vaka *A'ua'u*. In recent times, the Cook Islands collection has featured in exhibition catalogues (Davidson 1993) and museum-wide collection publications (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 2004, 2006).

This analysis of the collection of material culture from the Cook Islands takes us back to the beginnings of the Colonial Museum in 1865. It focuses on key accessions through the twentieth century and concludes with a discussion of the conditions of collecting and engaging with Cook Islands communities in the twenty-first century. It is noted that much documentation was lost or never created during the period of the first director of the museum, Sir James Hector, from 1865 to 1903.<sup>3</sup>

## The Cook Islands: an overview

The Cook Islands are a group of 15 islands, of which only 13 are inhabited. Geographically, these islands are divided into northern and southern groups. Seven islands make up the northern group: Penrhyn (Tongareva), Rakahanga, Manihiki, Pukapuka, Nassau, Suwarrow and Palmerston. The southern group comprises eight islands: Ātiu, Ma'uke, Miti'āro, Aitutaki, Mangaia and Rarotonga, all inhabited; and the uninhabited Manuae, used in the past for copra production and now a marine reserve and breeding ground for seabirds, and Takūtea, also a sanctuary for seabirds (Fig. 1). There are two official languages, English and Cook Islands Māori, along with a number of dialects: Tongareva; Rakahanga-Manihiki; the Ngāpūtoru dialect of Ātiu, Miti'āro and Ma'uke; Aitutaki; Mangaia; and Pukapuka. The language of Pukapuka has sometimes been considered as separate, but is more closely related to Samoan (Pawley 1966).

Geologically, the island types within the Cook Islands range from coral atolls in the northern group to upraised coral formations in the south, with Rarotonga being the only volcanic high island, although Aitutaki is a partly drowned volcanic island. The flora is quite distinct between the northern and southern groups. In the south, the soils are more fertile and people are able to grow a large range of crops such as coconuts, breadfruit, yams, kumara, bananas, mangoes, pandanus, chestnuts, tropical flowers, and introduced fruits and vegetables (Gilson 1980: 2). The coconut is abundant on the northern coral atolls, and puraka

(*Cytosperma merkusii*), a coarse type of taro, is generally the only species of aroid that will grow in the poor soil there. The Pukapuka atoll is an exception, where the wetland taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) is commonly grown. The Cook Islands have a moderate tropical climate, with more rainfall and cyclones between the months of December and February (McCormack 2007).

In 1901, the Cook Islands and Niue (collectively referred to as the Cook Islands at the time), were annexed by New Zealand. Prior to annexation, in 1888, the New Zealand government had persuaded Great Britain to declare a protectorate over the islands. The Cook Islands became a state in free association with New Zealand in 1965. In the 2006 Cook Islands census, 1393 people were resident on the islands of the northern group and 11 300 in the southern group.<sup>4</sup> New Zealand statistics for 2006 show that Cook Islanders were the second largest Pacific population resident in New Zealand, totalling 58 011 individuals;<sup>5</sup> some of them have never visited the islands. Today, the Cook Islands retain strong political, cultural and economic links with New Zealand.

## A chronological history of key acquisitions

A chronological survey of the Cook Islands collection helps to clarify the processes under which it was acquired, as it allows the objects to be located in time alongside important personalities and key events of the day. In the following sections, we highlight some of the key accessions of Cook Islands material culture to the museum's collections from 1872 to 2009. This history is not just about the objects but also about the people who collected them, the people who made them, and how they were used, changed hands and found their way to the museum.

Objects have arrived at the museum haphazardly, although their accession and registration is considered an ordered process. Museums have often relied on collectors and other individuals to increase their collection, often by as much as, or more than, the deliberate development of 'scientific' collections carried out by curators. People who travelled to the Pacific Islands in either official or private capacities were great 'traffickers' of things, and museums were often enthusiastic receivers. From 1906, the colonial administration saw New Zealanders working in the Cook Islands as officers of the government, teachers, construction workers, medical officers, engineers, missionaries

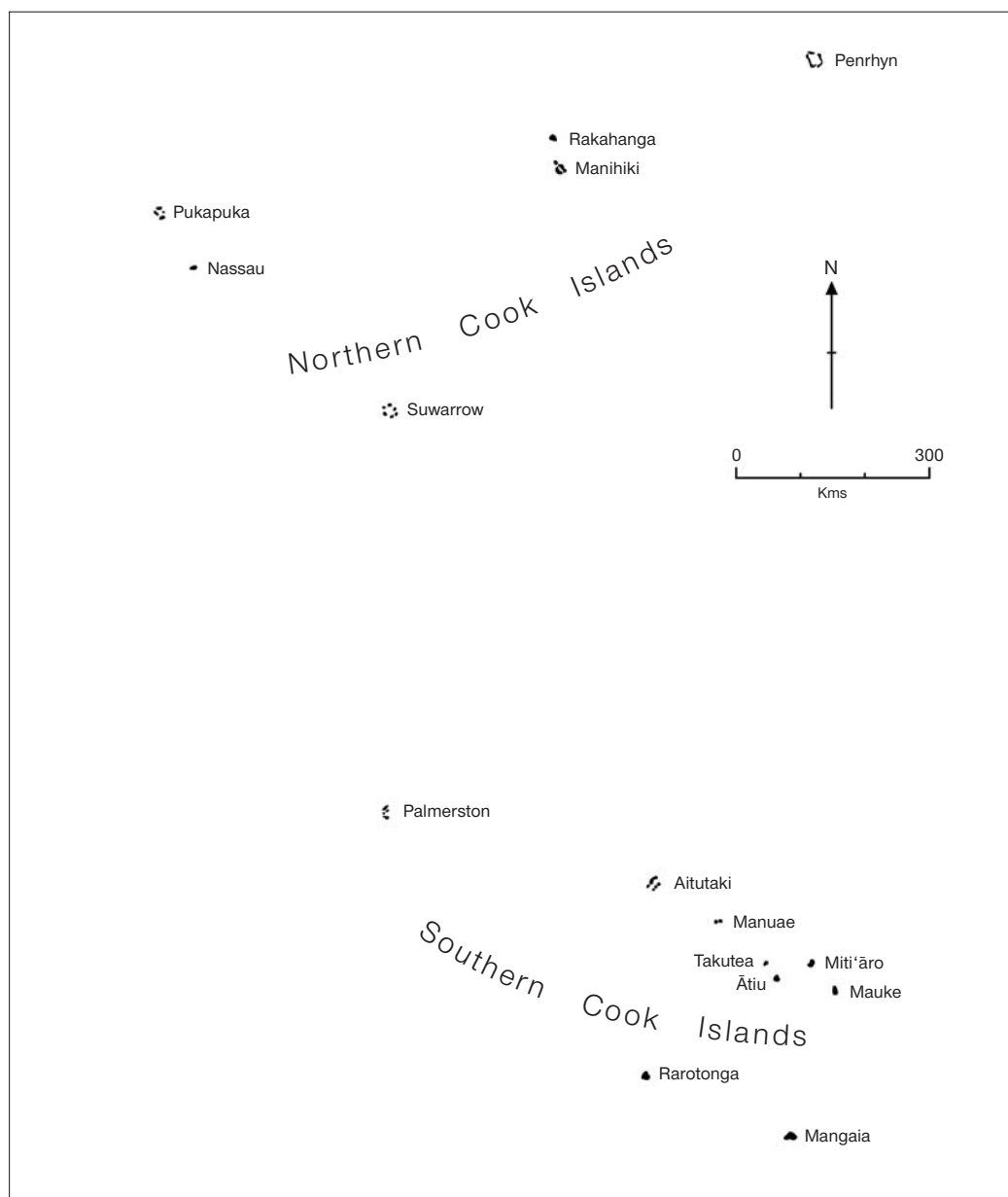


Fig. 1 Map of the Cook Islands.

and soldiers. These people facilitated the movement of objects out of the Cook Islands, into New Zealand and around the world.

However, Cook Islanders themselves also made their way to New Zealand and further afield for much of the nineteenth century. By the 1870s, small communities of Pacific Islanders from places such as Niue and the Cook Islands were established in Auckland. Gilson (1980: 48) quotes from a report written for parliament: 'Sterndale remarked that Auckland was the centre of the Rarotongans' universe

and that recent contact between New Zealand Maoris and Cook Island Maoris had helped to cement relations between them'.

Towards the turn of the twentieth century, Pacific Island leaders visited New Zealand to secure better conditions for their people, negotiate their relationships with the government and demonstrate their loyalty. An early acquisition from the Cook Islands is a memento of one of these visits. In the Colonial Museum's *Annual report*, it is noted that the Rarotongan chief Te Aia Mata'iaipo presented a cloak and a



Fig. 2 Cloak, Cook Islands, c. 1870, wool. Artist unknown. Gift from Te Aia Mata'iaipo, 1872 (Te Papa FE000628).

number of other objects to the New Zealand government in gratitude for the hospitality he had received during a visit to Auckland (Hector 1873). The other objects – one large mat, two pieces of tapa and two fans – were sent to the museum by the then Native Minister, Donald McLean.<sup>6</sup> Other than this information, no official or published record of Te Aia's visit has been located. However, it is likely that the chief came to New Zealand as a member of one or more delegations from the Cook Islands. He made connections with the local scholarly community, as evidenced by his appointment as a corresponding member of the Polynesian Society from its establishment in Wellington in 1892 (Sorenson 1992: 32). The cloak left behind by Te Aia is a stunning and rare example of the way Cook Islands women were combining imported fabric and indigenous fibre in clothing or ceremonial dress (Fig. 2). The cloak's body is of a very fine blue woollen cloth, and the red trim is also imported fabric. The golden fibres are kiri'au from the inner fibre of the bark of hibiscus (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*). Cook Islands women

often combined red and blue imported cloth with kiri'au when making dance costumes during the first part of the twentieth century. The same combination was also popular in other Polynesian islands. In pre-European times, decorative, colourful cloaks were found only in New Zealand and Hawai'i.

In the nineteenth century, the introduction of European cloth and dress fashions provided opportunities for new expressions of status throughout the islands. Pacific people have long experimented with different styles and materials, often with striking results. Dressed with this cloak, Te Aia Mata'iaipo must have been an impressive figure. The garment is a triumphant early expression of a new Pacific style. More than a century later, in 1993, a descendant of Te Aia Mata'iaipo, Viriama Teura, saw this cloak on display in the National Museum. She then donated to the museum a tivaevae and a moenga (sleeping mat), in a renewal of the relationship that her ancestor had established more than a century before.



## Augustus Hamilton

It was not until 30 years after Te Aia's visit, during the directorship of Augustus Hamilton (Fig. 3), that greater emphasis was given to Māori and ethnological collections. Hamilton was director of the Dominion Museum from 1903 to 1913 (Davidson 1991: 9). During this time, he acquired an important collection, comprising a great number of objects, from a Cook Islands cultural group visiting New Zealand. The group was participating in the New Zealand International Exhibition of Arts and Industries held at Christchurch between 1 November 1906 and 15 April 1907. There were two other Pacific Island groups at the exhibition, representing Fiji and Niue. The Cook Islanders arrived first, landing at Auckland on the *Manapouri* in October 1906. The Niueans arrived in Christchurch in December 1906. The Cook Islands group was made up of islanders from different islands: seven were from Mangaia, thirteen from Rarotonga and six from Aitutaki (Davidson 1997). After gaining permission from the Colonial Secretary, Hamilton purchased 51 objects from Mr H.W. Bishop, an agent acting for the Cook Islanders. They consisted of spears, akatara (pole clubs), ceremonial adzes, fish and eel traps, two pātē (drums), four masks, two tiputa (ponchos), an 'are (house), and a painted vaka from Mangaia named *A'ua'u*.

*A'ua'u* is a highlight of the Pacific Cultures collection and is the world's only surviving example of an old-style Mangaian vaka, or outrigger canoe, although it no longer has its original outrigger (Fig. 4). *A'ua'u* is an ancient name for Mangaia, where the vaka was built. Three carvers with the

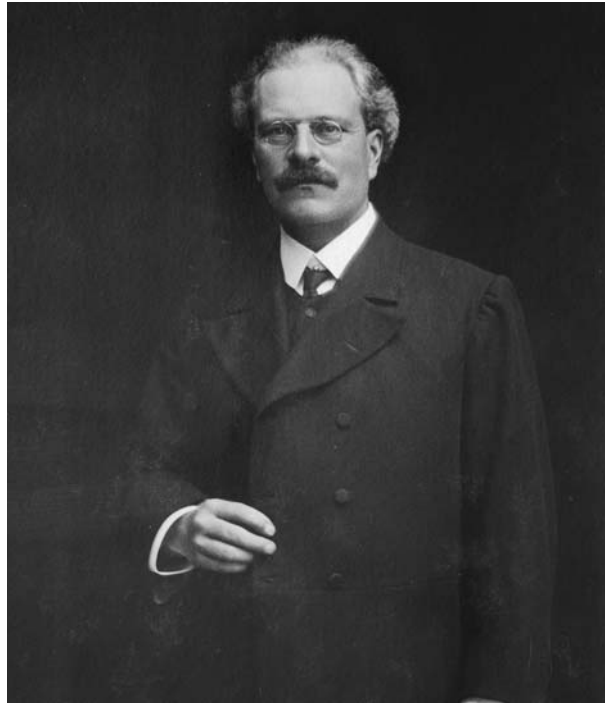


Fig. 3 Portrait of Augustus Hamilton. Director of the Dominion Museum 1903–13 (Te Papa MA C.000843).

Cook Islands group, Tangitoru, Terepo and Autemate, made *A'ua'u* and travelled with it to Christchurch for the exhibition. The hull was created from a hollow log; Tangitoru painted the hull patterns, which were said to replicate the tattoos on his

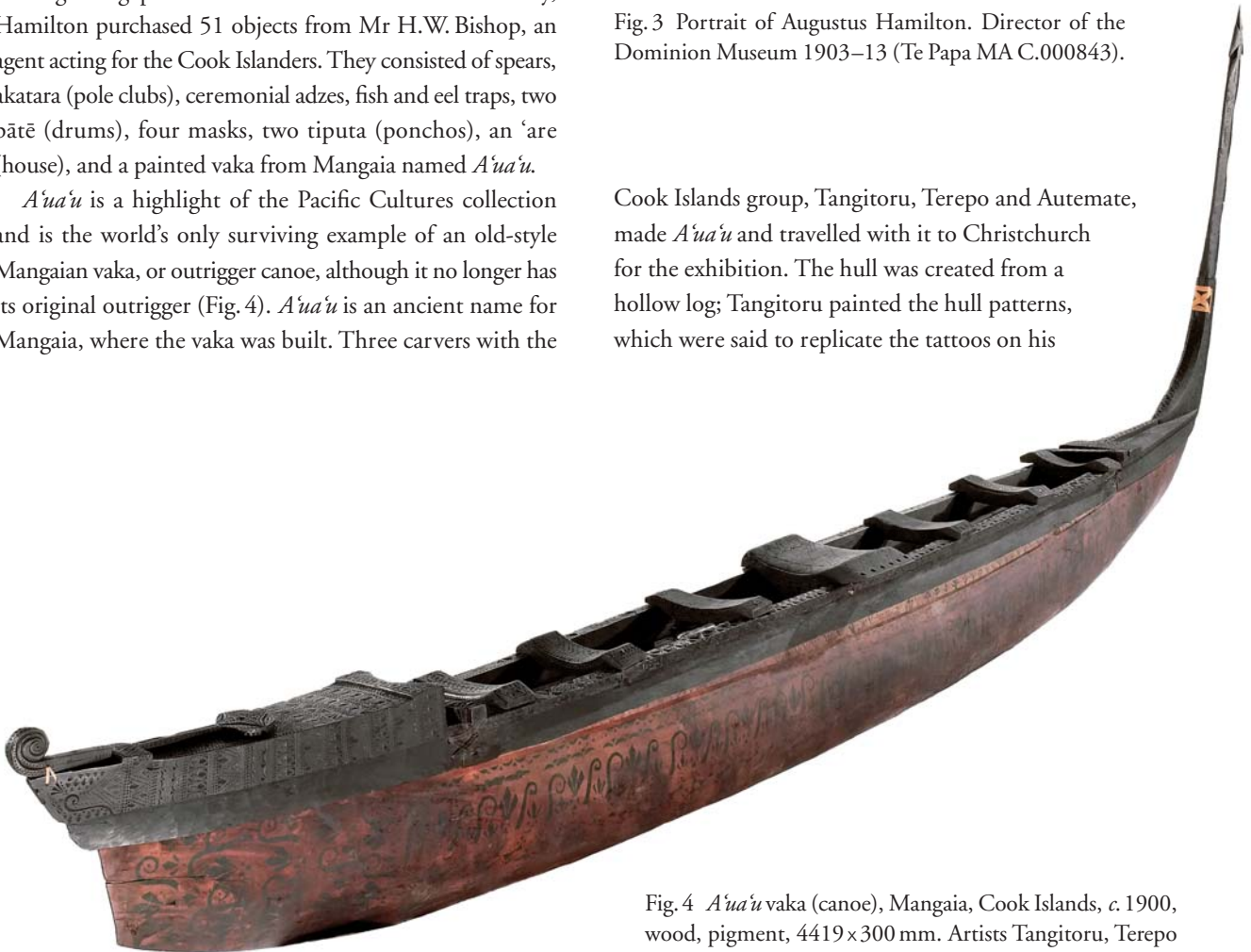


Fig. 4 *A'ua'u* vaka (canoe), Mangaia, Cook Islands, c. 1900, wood, pigment, 4419×300 mm. Artists Tangitoru, Terepo and Autemate (Te Papa FE010422).



Fig. 5 *Tauhunu* vaka (canoe), Manihiki, Cook Islands, c. 1900, wood, pigment, pearl shell, 8860 × 430 mm. Artist unknown (Te Papa FE010422).

own body (Hiroa 1911). The carved star motif on the bow is believed to have been used as a navigational aid. *A'ua'u* is just over 4 m long. British explorer Captain James Cook saw painted vaka this size at sea in the 1700s. However, *A'ua'u* is not a voyaging vessel, which could measure up to 9 m in length, and would have been used for fishing and short journeys instead.

Hamilton also purchased another vaka, originally from Manihiki and named *Tauhunu* (Fig. 5). He acquired it with the help of Lieutenant Colonel Walter Gudgeon, a New Zealander who was Resident Commissioner in the Cook Islands at the time. *Tauhunu* is one of only three such vaka that survive in museums worldwide, and is named after the main village on Manihiki. Originally, *Tauhunu* would have had an outrigger attached for stability. It would have been paddled, but it could also have been sailed, mainly inside the lagoon. Removing the outrigger would have allowed it to be used as part of a double canoe. The outrigger was separated from the vaka at some time in the past, probably for ease of transportation and storage, and remains part of the museum's collection. *Tauhunu* is made from wood lashed together with sennit (coconut-husk fibre), and is decorated with inlaid pieces of pearl shell. Canoe-building continued on Manihiki until recently, but modern vaka do not match the quality of workmanship of *Tauhunu*. At Te Papa in 2006, the Manihiki and Mangaian communities celebrated the 100th anniversary of the arrival of *A'ua'u* and *Tauhunu* in New Zealand (Fig. 25).

Augustus Hamilton and James McDonald took many photographs on glass-plate negatives of objects displayed at the International Exhibition and its participants; these are

held in Te Papa's photography collection. There are several images of the two larger Cook Islands participating groups, the Rarotongans and the Mangaian, and in each the two leaders are prominent, their status signalled by their placement in the photographs. For example, Makea Daniela from Rarotonga (Fig. 6) is wearing a fine white tapa tiputa, and a fine mat appears to be wrapped around his waist. In an earlier image, published by Scott (1991), Makea Daniela is sitting holding a spear that is similar to the one he holds at the International Exhibition. In the 1906 photograph, the Rarotongans are pictured standing in front of a house, likely to be that mentioned in Hamilton's correspondence to Major Large on 20 May 1908 and cited by Davidson: 'The Mangaian house I purchased hoping to set it up in the Museum but after it was taken to pieces it was found impossible to transport it, and I only have the rafters which still retain their lashings, which I consider curious' (Davidson 1997: 162). Anthropologist Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter H. Buck) was also photographed with the Cook Islanders at the International Exhibition (Fig. 7), and in his book *The material culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)* there is an image of a similar house to that at the exhibition (1927: 3). Nevertheless, after completing the collection survey, we still have not been able to find the house rafters.

On close examination of the Hamilton and McDonald photograph of the Aitutaki participants at the International Exhibition, a skirt can be seen wrapped around the shoulders of a young man (Fig. 8). This is very similar to an example donated to the museum by Dr Edward P. Ellison, a medical health officer in Niue and the Cook Islands in the late 1920s. Interestingly, from 1906 to the early 1930s the types and





Fig. 6 Group from Rarotonga, with Makea Daniela at the front of the line holding a spear (photo: Hamilton/McDonald; Te Papa C.O0001332).



Fig. 7 Group of Cook Islanders with Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck), seated fourth from left, and Judge Jones, seated centre front (holding umbrella) beside Makea Daniela (photo: Hamilton/McDonald; Te Papa 1764).



Fig. 8 Group from Aitutaki, including a man (third from left) with skirt around shoulders (photo: Hamilton/McDonald; Te Papa C.O0001331).

styles of Cook Islands objects that were made and collected did not change much. As Davidson notes (1997: 175), ‘some items, such as fish traps, sandals, tapa, tapa beaters, slit drums, pitching games and pounders had probably changed little, if at all, over a long period’.

Richard Seddon, New Zealand Premier 1893–1906, saw the International Exhibition as a way to demonstrate New Zealand’s ‘distinctiveness and imminent greatness’ to the world, with the islanders participating as part of its ‘empire’ (Cowan 1910: 4). New Zealand had recently taken administrative control of the Cooks and Niue, so its relationship with these islands was closer than ever. But the significance of the objects acquired by Hamilton goes beyond this relationship, as they reveal how the islanders chose to represent themselves a century ago. The quality of

workmanship varies across the collection and in some cases is quite poor. Nevertheless, some items – such as the two vaka – are the only surviving examples of nineteenth-century artefacts, making them priceless treasures for Cook Islands communities today.

Associated with the objects is a small collection of audio recordings. In 1907, Mr Alfred John Knocks<sup>7</sup> of Otaki made wax-cylinder recordings of the Māori and Cook Islands groups singing at the International Exhibition (Knocks 1907). The collection was acquired by Percy Grainger, and is now held at the University of Melbourne.<sup>8</sup>

In summary, materials collected from the International Exhibition offer both tangible and intangible glimpses into the cultural world of Cook Islanders at the turn of the century.



## Reverend John Joseph Knight Hutchin

Two significant accessions of material relating to the missionary work of Reverend John Hutchin were received by the Dominion Museum in 1919 and 1948. Hutchin was born in Yorkshire, England, in 1857. He married Ellen Davies on 12 July 1882 in Essex, and they sailed to Rarotonga on 22 July 1882 (Fig. 9) (Hobbs 1999). They were part of the London Missionary Society (LMS), a private Christian organisation that sent ministers and, often, their wives to the Pacific Islands and elsewhere to conduct missionary work. From the early 1800s, the LMS was active in the Cook Islands, Samoa and Tahiti. Reverend John Williams first brought Christianity to Aitutaki in October 1821, through Papehia and Vahapata, student missionaries of Ra'iatea in the Society Islands (Rere 1980: 65; Garrett 1982: 30). Reverend Williams encouraged indigenous converts to help him talk to and convert the chiefly class, initially, to Christianity as a means of converting the greater population (Lovett 1899: 253).

In the 1880s, Reverend Hutchin was engaged in missionary work, teaching and educating young people and generally becoming involved in island life. Most of his time was spent in Rarotonga, but for shorter periods he was also on other islands, including Ma'uke and Mangaia. In addition, he spent some time in Orokolo in Papua New Guinea. Te Papa's holdings of material collected by the Hutchin family during the period 1882–1912 relate to their time living in both Papua New Guinea and the Cook Islands.

In 1895, the LMS built Takamoa Theological College, which is still located behind the palace in Avarua, Rarotonga, on land donated by Makea Ariki. Reverend Hutchin worked at the mission, teaching indigenous pastors to minister to their own people once they returned to their island communities. Over the years, the Hutchins would have been invited to many ceremonies to farewell and welcome them on the different Pacific Islands they visited and worked on. In June 1912, Reverend Hutchin fell ill and sailed to Wellington for medical treatment, where he died on 27 September (O'Brien 1994).<sup>9</sup>

On 4 February 1919, the widow of Reverend Hutchin, Mrs Ellen Hutchin, presented a first group of objects to the Dominion Museum – a pātē, two 'ike (tapa beaters) and 13 spears. Two of the spears were given to the Hutchins by Ngamaru, an ariki (chief) from Ātiu and husband of Queen Makea, and Rongomatane, one of the early converts to



Fig. 9 Reverend Hutchin, his wife Ellen with child on chair (right), and an unknown female and child on ground, c. 1896 (photo: George Crummer; Te Papa O.025498).

Christianity and also an ariki from Ātiu. These men were important chiefs of the late 1800s. Although we have identified the 13 spears, there is no record of which two were associated with the chiefs.

In 1948, a sizeable and wonderfully diverse collection of bags, fans and baskets (Fig. 10), along with costumes, adzes and a large collection of books, were presented by the Hutchin family to the museum.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, there is no detailed provenance attached to these objects, although different styles of baskets and fans specific to various islands in the Cook group can be identified. It is possible that some of the objects donated to the museum in 1948 were made or gifted by the wives of students at Takamoa when Ellen was teaching there (O'Brien 1994: 42).



Fig. 10 Left to right: kete pāpā (satchel) Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus fibre, 355×140 mm (Te Papa FE012041); kete po'o (basket), Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus fibre, 890×100 mm (Te Papa FE012031); kete pāpā, Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus fibre, 210×240 mm (Te Papa FE012034); kete pāpā kaka'o, Cook Islands, date unknown, fernland reed (*Miscanthus floridulus*), 120×220×220 mm (Te Papa FE012057); kete (basket), Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus fibre, 200×130 mm (Te Papa FE012032); kete pāpā, Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus fibre, 195×320 mm (Te Papa FE012035); kete pāpā, Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus fibre, 160×200 mm (Te Papa FE012033). Artists unknown. Gift from Mr J.D. Hutchin, 1948.

### Captain John Peter Bollons

In 1931, several items were acquired by the Dominion Museum following the death of prolific collector Captain John Peter Bollons, a mariner, naturalist and ethnographer (McLean 1996). Born in London in 1862, Bollons arrived in New Zealand on the barque *England's Glory*, which shipwrecked in Bluff Harbour in 1881.

After settling in Bluff, Bollons worked on several vessels and gained his Master's Certificate in 1892. He became master of the *Hinemoa* in 1897, a yacht that, among other tasks, serviced lighthouses along New Zealand's coastline (New Zealand National Maritime Museum 2009). In 1896, he married Lilian Rose in Invercargill, and the family moved to Wellington around 1911. After 24 years with the *Hinemoa*, Bollons commanded the government steamer

*Tutanekai* for seven years, until his sudden death in 1929 at the age of 67.

Bollons had an interest in natural history and Māori culture. His marine work, fluency in the Māori language, and friendship with scientists and ethnographers such as Elsdon Best allowed him to pursue this interest. During Bollons' time, the *Hinemoa* was actively used for expeditions as well as coastal inspections. Between December 1900 and January 1901, the vessel sailed to New Zealand's Sub-antarctic Islands. In 1906, the *Hinemoa* collected sea lions, penguins and albatrosses for the New Zealand International Exhibition (1906–07) in Christchurch.

Following Bollons' death, his extensive collection was acquired in 1931 by the Dominion Museum through his wife Lilian. In a letter written to the Under Secretary, Internal



Fig. 11 Clockwise from back left: reru (pounder), Cook Islands, date unknown, 125 (height)×85 (diameter) mm (Te Papa FE06146); no'oanga (seat), Cook Islands, date unknown, wood, 158×503 mm (Te Papa FE008395); toki (adze blade), Cook Islands, date unknown, 102×24 mm (Te Papa FE006408); toki, Cook Islands, date unknown 130×38 mm (Te Papa FE006409); reru, Cook Islands, date unknown, 155 (height)×88 (diameter) mm (Te Papa FE008392). Artists unknown. Purchased 1931.

Affairs Department, on 16 July 1931, Walter R.B. Oliver, the museum's director at the time, welcomed Bollons' collection 'on account of the high ethnological value'. The collection comprises 5107 Māori artefacts and specimens, 42 Pacific artefacts and 9 items related to Pākehā history. The massive number of Māori specimens and artefacts reflects Bollons' main collecting interest. Seven of the 42 Pacific items in the Bollons collection are from the Cook Islands: a kumete roroa (long bowl), a kete pāpā (satchel), and a no'oanga (seat), two toki (adze blades) and two reru (pounders) (Fig. 11).

The precise provenance of individual objects is not recorded. Bollons may have purchased some of these items at the International Exhibition or at the New Zealand South Seas Exhibition held in Dunedin in 1889–90. It is likely that some items may have been gifted to Bollons, or collected by him during his marine work.

## Dr Edward Pohau Ellison

In 1931, the same year as the Bollons collection arrived at the museum, another small group of items was received from a Māori administrator with strong ties to the Cook Islands and Niue. Edward Pohau Ellison, of Ngāi Tahu and Te Āti Awa, was a rugby player, doctor and public health administrator. In total, Ellison worked and lived in the Cook Islands for 16 years. Although he was probably based in Rarotonga, Ellison also visited the northern group of islands; however, his collection is only a small reflection of the time he spent in the Cook Islands (Ihaka 1963; Brons & Ellison 2007).

Born at Waikanae in 1884, Ellison was adopted by Harirota, his father's cousin, and grew up in Taranaki. In the mid-1890s, he returned to live with his parents, who then moved to Otakou on the Otago Peninsula. Ellison attended Te Aute College in 1902 and Te Rau Theological





Fig. 12 Pāreu rau'ara (dance skirt), Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus fibre, string cord, plant fibre, 870×1320 mm. Artist unknown. Gift from Dr Edward Pohau Ellison, 1931 (Te Papa FE008353).

College in 1904. In 1913, he married Tini Wiwi Taiaroa in Christchurch. Enrolling at Otago University and, later, its Medical School in 1914, Ellison graduated with Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery degrees in 1919. Following his graduation, he was appointed Chief Medical Officer (CMO) for Niue in 1919 and, later, Medical Officer and Resident Magistrate for the Chatham Islands in 1923.

After returning to study tropical medicine and leprosy at Otago University in 1925, Ellison was appointed CMO and Deputy Resident Commissioner to the Cook Islands in 1926. While in the Cook Islands, his wife died from acute rheumatic fever. Two years later, Ellison returned to New Zealand as Director of the Division of Maori Hygiene in the

Department of Health, replacing Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa). In 1928, he married Mary Karaka Boyd.

Ellison donated 27 items from Niue and the Cook Islands and one from Papua New Guinea to the Dominion Museum in 1931, probably before taking up his position as CMO to the Cook Islands again in the same year. As with the Bollons collection, Ellison's collection was acquired by Oliver (letter, 24 March 1931), who acknowledged the increase in the number of Cook Islands artefacts at the museum since the International Exhibition in 1906.

Cook Islands items in Ellison's collection were mainly from the northern group, particularly Manihiki, and consist of a pāreu rau'ara (dance skirt; Fig. 12), a headdress, a reru, a moenga, mats for tupe (pitching discs) and a tā'iri (fan).

### William Ockelford Oldman

In 1948, the New Zealand government purchased the Māori and Pacific collection of the London dealer William O. Oldman. The collection was divided and distributed among the four large New Zealand metropolitan museums as indefinite loans, with a few objects also going to smaller public museums with adequate fireproof buildings. The Dominion Museum received the majority of the Māori, Marquesan, New Caledonian and Admiralty Island components of the collection, together with small numbers of items from other island groups (Neich & Davidson 2004).

The highlights of Te Papa's Cook Islands holdings from the Oldman collection include a rei (Fig. 13), a form of necklace attributed to the chain of islands extending through the Austral group as far as Mangaia in the southern Cook Islands. The rei consists of seven small ivory or bone units suspended at regular intervals from a fibre cord. Sea-mammal ivory was much prized for personal adornment and ceremonial presentation in these islands, as it was in many parts of the Pacific, including New Zealand. The cord is composed of plaited sennit seized with plaited human hair, and is looped at one end and frayed at the other. The pendant pieces are four curved, rectangular plates, two 'double spheres', and a well-modelled 'pig' in the centre with a spiral-ridged tail. A necklace such as this would have been worn only by people of high status. The symbolism of the amulets is unknown, although some scholars consider the double spheres to represent testicles (Davidson 2004).<sup>11</sup>

A small female deity is another collection highlight (Fig. 14). This sculpture, only about 130 mm tall, is attached to a slender, tapering wooden shaft, flattened and perforated



Fig. 13 Rei (necklace), Mangaia, Cook Islands, 1800s, sea-mammal ivory, bone, coconut fibre, human hair, length 470 mm. Artist unknown. Oldman collection, purchased 1948 (Te Papa OL000479).

at the base, indicating that it may have been the handle of a sacred flywhisk. Oldman recorded that it came from the Hervey Islands (an old name for part of the southern Cook Islands), although some scholars have attributed it to the Society Islands on stylistic grounds. Its history indicates that it was brought to England in 1825 by George Bennett, a London Missionary Society worker based in the Society Islands. During the 1820s, many 'idols' from the Cook Islands fell into missionary hands. A number of them were illustrated and described by the missionary William Ellis (1829), and were subsequently acquired by Oldman, including this piece. One of the shortcomings of the Oldman collection is that because the items passed through various sale rooms in Britain, they often lack detailed information on their origins or historical context. Despite this, their quality is outstanding.



Fig. 14 Female deity, Cook Islands, c. 1800, wood, 130×35 mm. Artist unknown. Oldman collection, purchased 1948 (Te Papa OL000370).

## John and Edith Paterson

One group of items rediscovered in the recent audit of the museum's Cook Islands material is the collection made by John and Edith Paterson (Fig. 15). It is a remarkable assortment of woven hats, fans and baskets.

John, also known as Jack, was born in Wellington in 1881 to immigrant parents, and trained as a marine engineer. In 1906, while he was on his way back to Wellington from England, where he had finished his employment working as a marine engineer, he became acquainted with Edith (Edie) Mary Fletcher, who was immigrating to New Zealand with her mother. They married in October 1912. From that year



Fig. 15 Edith and John Paterson (photo from Annabell & Annabell (1999); reproduced with permission).

until his death in 1954, John was slip master in Wellington. Ship travel was in its zenith in the years leading up to the Second World War, and it was a busy time for a slip master. The Wellington Patent Slip Company (Ltd) was created to repair and paint boats, and had a site on the seaward side of Evans Bay. It was decommissioned in 1969. Because of John's experience and qualifications, he was employed to help build the wharf at Avarua in Rarotonga (Annabell & Annabell 1999).

John and Edith visited Rarotonga three times between 1922 and 1924, and they were there when the island was hit by a hurricane in 1924. John was an amateur photographer and captured images of the hurricane and of island life. His photographic collection was donated to the Cook Islands Museum in 1980.<sup>12</sup> Edith was an avid gardener who had an

extensive vegetable plot and won prizes for her dahlias. She also taught singing, painted in oils, crocheted and enjoyed floral art (Annabell & Annabell 1999: 19). In 1954, John retired and then died, and in the same year Edith donated a collection of objects to the Dominion Museum.

There are a few unique items that make this collection particularly special. One such item, and no doubt a very personal gift, is a purse with 'Mrs E.M. Paterson' embroidered on the lid (Fig. 16). There are also two placemats, each with a different letter woven in the centre: one has a 'J', probably for John; and the other has the letter 'R'. John and Edith had no children of their own, but they did have a nephew, Roy, and he may have been with them in Rarotonga.<sup>13</sup> Some of the pieces are unusual in that they are copies of papa'a (European) objects. For example, a pare (hat; Figs 16 and 17), serviette rings, and wall-hangings woven from pandanus and a dyed reed called kaka'o (fernland reed, *Miscanthus floridulus*<sup>14</sup>) are made with indigenous materials but are obviously European in design.

### From the 1960s to the 1980s

There were no other major acquisitions of Cook Islands material in the 1950s or 1960s, apart from a small group of items within an accession from Thomas Kirk in 1950. In 1969, the Dominion Museum acquired seven garments, these being four pāreu kiri'au and four rakei'ura (dance costumes) from Mrs Dobson. The records indicate that they were collected in the 1930s by a missionary in Rarotonga. Some of the garments were decorated using European dyes, whereas others are natural in colour and feature fine weaving techniques and artificial flower decorations.

In 1980, the museum acquired nine Cook Islands items from the estate of George Monckton-Arundell, 8th Viscount Galway, who was Governor General of New Zealand from 1935 to 1941 and a patron of the Polynesian Society in April 1939. Highlights of that accession are two tivaevae manu (ceremonial quilts) made from rayon and probably dating to the 1930s–1940s. Galway visited several Pacific Islands, including the Cook Islands, in the late 1930s.

### Richard Walter

In the early 1990s, Janet Davidson, then ethnologist at the National Museum, led a particularly active period of collecting that included the acquisition of a significant group of items collected by archaeologist Richard Walter on behalf





Fig. 16 Left to right: purse, Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus, 145×81 mm (Te Papa FE008468); clutch purse, Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus, 140×240 mm (FE008458); clutch purse, Cook Islands, c. 1920s, pandanus, wool, 203×158 mm (Te Papa FE008460); tablemat, Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus, 575 ×380 mm (FE008469); kete po'ō (handbag), Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus, 270×164×145 mm (FE008490); napkin ring, Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus, 26 (height)×40 (diameter) mm (Te Papa FE008486); 'ei (necklace), Cook Islands, date unknown, pupu shells, ua puka (puka seeds), poepoe (Job's tears) seeds, length 2300 mm (Te Papa FE008516); napkin ring, Cook Islands, date unknown, pandanus, 34 (height)×52 (diameter) mm (Te Papa FE008483); pare (hat), Cook Islands, c. 1920, kāka'ō (fernland reed, *Miscanthus floridulus*) (FE008434); tā'iri (fan), Cook Islands, date unknown, rito (coconut leaf), kiri'au (hibiscus fibre), 355×305 mm (Te Papa FE008445). Artists unknown. Gift from Mrs Edith M. Paterson, 1954.



Fig. 17 Detail of pare (hat), Cook Islands, c. 1920s, kāka'ō (fernland reed, *Miscanthus floridulus*), 400×37×115 mm. Artist unknown. Gift from Mrs Edith M. Paterson, 1954 (Te Papa FE008434).



Fig. 18 Tini kā'ara (drum kit), Aitutaki, Cook Islands, 1992, wood, goat skin, metal, synthetic rope. Artists Rurutura Tauta and Teokota'i Pita. Purchased 1992 with Lottery Board Funds, acc. no. 1993/54 (Te Papa photo negative F.004471/01).

of the museum. While Walter was in the Cook Islands, he obtained a number of *tīvaevae*, one of which was made on the island of Aitutaki and represents the legend of Ina and the shark. Walter also facilitated the acquisition of a small outrigger *vaka* from Ma'uke and a complete drum kit from Aitutaki (Fig. 18). The collection is well documented, listing the names of makers and indigenous materials used.

### Lily Marsters

By the mid-1990s, Davidson, now Conceptual Leader Pacific at Te Papa, turned her attention to acquiring collection items made in New Zealand or imported from the Cook Islands. The museum was in a redevelopment stage and was creating

two new Pacific exhibitions for a new building, so there was a need to develop collections to support these exhibitions. One key opportunity pursued by Davidson was the acquisition of high-quality items created by renowned New Zealand-based Cook Islanders. It is at this point that this paper turns from focusing on collectors to an emphasis on artists and makers, highlighting the emerging engagement Pacific communities were developing with the museum.

Lily Marsters, an artist and maker of Cook Islands costumes, is an example of this new engagement. Six pieces were purchased from her in 1995 with funds from the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board. In total, Te Papa has approximately 13 items made by Marsters in 1995. Although these items were made in Wellington, some of the materials, such



as kiri'au (fibrous bark of hibiscus), were imported from Mangaia and Rarotonga.

Lily was born on 25 November 1956 in Ureia village on Aitutaki, and raised in Amuri village in the Tangi Ka'ara district. Later, she moved to Mangaia, where she attended high school, and then to Rarotonga to attend college. In 1973, Lily migrated to New Zealand, and after a few years living with her grandparents in Auckland, she moved to Wellington, where she has resided ever since. She married Jacob Marsters in October 1988 in Porirua, where they have lived with their four children: Nigel, Cleo, Robert and Keanu.

During her time at high school in Mangaia, Lily and other students were taught how to make dance costumes, Cook Islands style. Her teacher, Kimiora Vaevae Pare, was instrumental in guiding students to create costumes that reflected the Cook Islands flora and fauna, in their natural colours. Kimiora emphasised that students must 'never forget how to make [their] island costume', a lesson Lily recalls vividly.<sup>15</sup>

For 11 years, Lily managed the Avaiki Turama Nui dance troupe, which travelled and performed mainly in New Zealand. Working closely with the Wellington City Council, Avaiki Turama Nui performed at the Oriental Bay Parade in 2000, as New Zealand and the world awaited the dawn of the new millennium. Lily's daughter, Cleo, who won the Miss Cook Islands New Zealand title in 1995, wore costumes designed and made by Lily at the pageant, and these are now in Te Papa's Pacific Cultures collection.

The highlight of Lily's collection is her use of natural materials such as kiri'au and 'ei pupu shells (Fig. 19). Stitched on the titi designed for her daughter are the words 'Au Au Enuu' (the ancient name of Mangaia) using yellow 'ei pupu shells. This collection offers a rare portfolio of costumes created by a local costume-maker and designer at a high point in her career. Some of the costumes are award-winning garments, associated with key competitions and renowned models from the Cook Islands communities. By giving permission for her costumes to rest with Te Papa, Lily has allowed the museum the opportunity to share a part of Cook Islands culture with both museum visitors and future generations.

### Mi'i Quarter

The Cook Islands collection includes a number of objects obtained from Mi'i Quarter, a Cook Island designer of



Fig. 19 Costume, Cook Islands, 1995, shell, cloth, coconut-husk fibre, plant fibre. Artist Lily Marsters, Porirua. Purchased 1995 (Te Papa FE010630).

costumes and tivaevae, as well as a creative maker of jewellery, hats and other textile and fibre objects. At the time of writing, Mi'i lives in Rarotonga, but she has lived in Auckland and Australia over the past 10 or more years. She runs a small business in Rarotonga where she employs several women to sew work that she designs. The pieces are usually sold in Rarotonga, although Mi'i comes to New Zealand





Fig. 20 Tīvaevae tataura (embroidered appliqué quilt), New Zealand, 1996–97, cotton, 2160 × 2740 mm. Artist Mī'i Quarter, Auckland (Te Papa FE011186).

from time to time – generally in the summer months – to sell their work.

Te Papa first became aware of Mī'i's abilities in 1997, when she approached the staff about a tīvaevae she had made on commission for Television New Zealand's Channel 2 (Fig. 20). It was used in an advertising campaign for the station, and features a hand holding up two fingers to signal the number '2'. Te Papa also acquired two small wall-hangings: one with the Te Papa thumbprint logo, being a collaborative design with the artist Kay George from Rarotonga; and the other featuring five unga (coconut crabs)

on a white background. In 2007, a headdress with a cloak and mu'umu'u (woman's dress), designed and made by Mī'i, were acquired by the museum. These garments were worn at the 40th anniversary celebration of the House of Ariki in Rarotonga in 2007, which marked the establishment of a legally recognised institution in accordance with the Constitution of the Cook Islands. The House of Ariki consists of 15 members who advise the government on land use and customary issues. In addition to these objects, a rakei 'ura and three small framed prints, also from Mī'i, have been acquired by Te Papa.



Fig. 21 Paroe (large food bowl), attributed to Ātiu, Cook Islands, c. 1900, wood, 3350×1150×810 mm. Artist unknown (Te Papa FE010517).

## Discussion

Davidson (1997: 162) states that ethnologists have been reluctant to ‘engage in active collecting of contemporary material during most of the 20th century’. That attitude has resulted in a general unevenness among items acquired by Te Papa for its Pacific collections over time. The museum’s Cook Islands collection is fragmented in its overall coverage, but because of the history of the islands’ political and administrative relationship with New Zealand, it is well represented through the twentieth century, with a bias towards portable items given to visitors as gifts or collected as tourist souvenirs. For example, necklaces, hats, baskets and fans in the collection are generally objects linked to colonial administrators or people with long-term residential connections with the islands. Larger items, such as a paroe (large food bowl; Fig. 21)<sup>16</sup> and a double-hulled vaka, were acquired at the start of the twentieth century or earlier.

Most of the objects in the Cook Islands collection are from Rarotonga, Aitutaki and Mangaia. Rarotonga has long been the economic and political capital of the Cook Islands, while Aitutaki and Mangaia are situated relatively closer to Rarotonga than to the other islands in the archipelago. The northernmost and less accessible islands, Penrhyn, Pukapuka and Nassau, are less well represented, as is Miti‘āro in the southern group.

Other collection strengths include full-size vaka, in addition to *Tauhunu* and *A‘ua‘u* mentioned above. Te Papa also has a magnificent collection of tīvaevae, and since the 1990s a concerted effort has been made to develop this to represent a broad chronology and a variety of styles. The tīvaevae in the collection range in age from the early 1900s to contemporary pieces from the first decade of the twenty-first century, and have been acquired from Cook Islanders living in New Zealand and in the Cook Islands. The collection covers all the varieties of tīvaevae made by Cook Islands women over the last 100 years, including four main kinds: tīvaevae ta‘orei (patchwork), in which hundreds of small patches are sewn together to form a pattern; tīvaevae manu (appliqué) and tīvaevae tataura (embroidered appliqué), both with designs sewn to a backing cloth; and tīvaevae tuiauri, made using a sewing machine.

As mentioned above, significant tīvaevae in the collection include two that were gifted by the estate of the 8th Viscount Galway to the National Museum in 1985. These two unique pieces are made from rayon, an uncommon material for tīvaevae, because its slippery nature and tight weave make it difficult to embroider. These two items were the first tīvaevae acquired by the museum. Other significant tīvaevae in the collection were obtained from well-known Wellingtonians Mama Parea, Tapaeru Tereora, and the late Mrs Caroline Hutton and Mrs Jasmine Underhill.





Fig. 22 Tīvaevae ta'orei 'akaipoipo (ceremonial quilt), Cook Islands, c. 1960, cotton, 2680×2280 mm. Artist Tuainekore Tara'are (Te Papa FE010469).

Recent acquisitions of tīvaevae made by contemporary artists have enabled the names of the artists and different aspects of their practices to be recorded. Local artist Tapaeru Tara'are-Skinnon is probably recognised as the foremost maker of tīvaevae ta'orei in Wellington. She learnt to sew patchwork from her mother, Mrs Tuainekore Tara'are, who was also a well-known tīvaevae maker within the Cook Islands community. Te Papa has a very fine tīvaevae ta'orei 'akaipoipo (Fig. 22) made by Tuainekore, acquired through her daughter. A method to assess the quality of a tīvaevae, as pointed out by Tapaeru, is to look at the size of each piece of cloth: the smaller the pieces, the more time and skill needed to sew them. In 2000, Tapaeru made a distinctive tīvaevae

integrating a narrative about her great-grand uncle Te Ariki Tara'are Mata'ipao Tutara, who held the Mata'ipao chiefly title. The tīvaevae, called *Turou a Tara'are* (*Greetings from Tara'are*), depicts the peaks of Ikurangi and Teruamanga (the tallest mountains in Rarotonga), taro leaves, coconuts, and a photograph of Tapaeru's great-grand uncle printed onto cloth. These elements represent the pe'e, or welcoming chant, that is part of the Tara'are chiefly title.

Te Papa also has a small selection of items made by artists of Cook Islands descent, who were trained in New Zealand art schools, and whose works are primarily located in museums and art galleries. Since the early 1990s, pieces made by tertiary-trained artists such as Ani O'Neill have been





Fig. 23 *Tangaroa*, New Zealand, 1992, corduroy, c. 370 × 320 × 200 mm. Artist Ani O'Neill (Te Papa FE010521–3).

acquired for the collection. O'Neill's work has explored the textile techniques of Cook Islands women through such stunning pieces as *Rainbow country* (2000–01) and *Star by night* (1994), and a series of 'cuddly' cloth dolls called *Tangaroa* (1992), three of which are held in Te Papa's collections (Fig. 23). Collecting contemporary artworks made for gallery contexts expands the possibilities of representing Cook Islands people and their experiences through material culture. The increasing number of professional artists producing and exhibiting artworks in both New Zealand and the Cook Islands will surely develop the collection even further in this area.

## Community engagement and collecting

Cook Islands community groups have been actively engaged with Te Papa staff since before the new museum building opened in 1998. Their interest in the museum has influenced collecting practices and museum programming. During the 1970s, the Wellington Cook Islands Society was involved in the museum's public programmes, and that

relationship continued through the 1990s. Over the years, itineraries of visiting tour groups from the Cook Islands have included a scheduled stop at Te Papa. School and church groups, cultural groups and sports teams regularly pass through Wellington after they have visited Auckland. Occasionally, some of these groups have turned up unannounced, such as the Ātiu Tengtangi Group in 1999, who came to demonstrate tapa-making (Fig. 24).

However, the most significant gathering of Cook Islanders at Te Papa was for the celebration, or *akamā'ara'anga* (remembering the centenary), of 100 years since the vaka *Taubunu* and *A'ua'u* were acquired by the museum in 1906. In 2005, while attending the weekly *tivaevae* group known as the Porirua Vaine Tini group, the senior author was approached by Tangi Ngaro, daughter of Vaine Ngaro, who was the *ta'unga* (expert cutter and sewer) of the group. Tangi knew about the vaka *A'ua'u* and that it had been in Te Papa for almost 100 years. Tangi enquired about whether it was possible for the Manganian people to have a celebration, given that the centenary was approaching. The Vaine Tini group was unaware that the Manihiki vaka *Taubunu* had also been acquired at the same time. When another member of



Fig. 24 Group from Ātiu visiting Te Papa, making tapa (photo: Norman Heke; Te Papa 02.12.1999 MAI.135083).

the tivaevae group, Kura Browne, originally from Manihiki, discovered the vaka's existence, she also became interested in the event. Kura then contacted a Manihiki/Rakahanga group based in Auckland, and over many weeks the excitement grew in both island communities about the idea of having a celebration for the two vaka. Eventually, it was decided to have the centenary celebration for both vaka on the same day, Saturday, 11 November 2006. In consultation with the communities, the guest lists and the programme for the day were proposed by individuals representing the Mangaian, Manihiki and Rakahanga groups.

The communities' enthusiasm during preparations for the event was such that they were involved in carrying the crated *Taubunu* vaka up a flight of stairs from the Level One public entrance to a public space on Level Two. The Wellington Manihiki/Rakahanga group arrived at 6pm on Friday, 10 November to assist with setting up for the momentous occasion. In total, about 30 Cook Islands people and seven Te Papa staff gathered around the crate. Following



Fig. 25 Celebration day of the Mangaian and Manihiki communities, Te Papa, 2006 (photo: Grace Hutton).

Reverend James Marsters' pure (prayer), the group lifted the crate and carried the vaka on their shoulders up the stairs. A major highlight of the following day was a tremendous drum battle between two drum troupes. Two blessing ceremonies took place, the first with the Manihiki vaka and the second with the Mangaian vaka, *A'ua'u*, which was already placed on the Marae. Speeches and dances relating to *Tauhunu* took place on Level Two, before moving to Level Four for the Mangaian part of the day.

A number of important dignitaries attended this special occasion, including the Mayor of Manihiki, Kora Kora; Labour MP Hon. Luamanuvao Winnie Laban; and a representative of the Queen of Mangaia, Nooroa Numangatini Ariki Vaine. In many ways, this memorable event offered an opportunity for the museum to connect with the community, and for the community to reconnect with its treasures. It was a great success for all involved, showing that Te Papa has been, and continues to be, an important forum for Pacific Islands community groups (Fig. 25).

## Conclusions

This article has been developed from a collection survey undertaken by the authors to improve their own knowledge of the museum's holdings from the Cook Islands and to verify the existence of objects, their catalogue descriptions and their locations.

Since the early 1990s, collection development has increasingly aimed to represent the material culture and history of Pacific peoples in New Zealand. The scope is broad, and ranges from contemporary high art and fashion through to new forms of weaving, *tivaevae* and *tapa* that migrants have brought with them to New Zealand. Complicating this changing curatorial focus is the fact that many island-based communities have become more trans-national in nature as a result of developments in telecommunications, air travel, email and print media. Migrant communities throughout the world can now retain a sense of connectedness that transcends national boundaries. This is reflected in recent acquisitions at Te Papa and in a shift in decision-making about what items should be added to the museum's collection. More Cook Islanders are now involved in, and concerned about, the representation of their cultural heritage in museums. Their participation highlights what is important for them and their cultural heritage, but also shows that they view Te Papa as a place to protect, record, document and, indeed, celebrate the tangible and intangible forms of

their culture. As Te Papa develops its understanding of what is important to the communities it represents, its collections will continue to grow in ways that record and reveal their hidden stories.

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## Notes

- 1 In 2008, the Pacific Cultures team commenced a survey of Te Papa Pacific Cultures collections. The Cook Islands was the first island group to undergo this process. The survey of the collection included recording or upgrading object information such as descriptions, measurements, provenance, storage locations, key terms of association to assist online and database searching, and the updating of accession lot records. In addition, a digital photographic record of each object was taken and added to the museum's *Collections online* database (<http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz>).
- 2 Dr Janet Davidson was a staff member at the museum who filled various positions: Vacation Assistant (summers of 1959–61, Dominion Museum); Ethnologist (February 1987–October 1991, National Museum of New Zealand); Senior Collections Curator History (November 1991–November 1993, National Museum of New Zealand); Conceptual Leader Pacific (November 1993–July 1996, Te Papa); Curator Pacific Collections (July 1996–July 2002, Te Papa).
- 3 James Hector was a well-known naturalist and geologist, and first director of the Colonial Museum. Although he gave greater emphasis to collecting geological and biological specimens, cultural items, especially from Māori and Pacific peoples, were also acquired.
- 4 See [www.stats.govt.ck](http://www.stats.govt.ck).
- 5 See [www.stats.govt.nz](http://www.stats.govt.nz).
- 6 At the time of writing, no record could be found of the objects that Te Aia gave to the government, apart from the cloak.
- 7 Alfred J. Knocks was born at Waikanae, New Zealand, in 1851. He was the son of the whaler John Anthony Knocks, who came to the Kapiti area in 1839 aged 12 years. Alfred was employed by William Wakefield to help translate from



- the Māori language as they travelled around to buy land for settlement.
- 8 Percy Grainger collection of folk songs, copied by the Library of Congress. Disc 1. Title nos 752260, 752261. Recorded in 1906–07.
  - 9 During her visit to Te Papa and the Pacific store on 17 September 2009, Mrs Carolyn McCracken, Hutchin's great-granddaughter, confirmed biographical data.
  - 10 Dominion Museum acquisition number 1948/126.
  - 11 Davidson (2004) points out a suggested parallel with a small group of early Māori stone amulets, usually described as 'divided' rather than 'double' spheres. This necklace is one of several fine examples of adornments made from sea-mammal ivory in the Oldman collection.
  - 12 Cook Islands Library and Museum Society (Inc.), Paterson Glass Negative collection 1923–24, Negative 1-110.
  - 13 Correspondence with Mrs Alison Milne, niece of John and Edith, shows that the 'R' referred to their nephew Roy.
  - 14 Fernland reed grows in several of the Cook Islands but is very rarely used today. We were informed by one Cook Islands woman that anyone with artefacts made from this fibre – a hat or a basket, for example – is very fortunate to have them. (See <http://cookislands.bishopmuseum.org/default.asp>. Accessed 30 October 2009.)
  - 15 Interview with Lily Marsters by Safua Akeli, Te Papa, Wellington, 29 September 2009.
  - 16 The paroe was delivered by the New Zealand Express Co. Ltd to the Colonial Museum without prior notice. There followed some correspondence among Augustus Hamilton, the company and the Department of Justice regarding storage payment. A letter dated 18 September 1908 from the New Zealand Express Co. Ltd states that the 'bath' was delivered because the company had instructions to do so, and that the museum staff should check who had accepted delivery. The final sentence of the letter says, 'The gentleman who gave us instructions is a tall man with a dark beard' (Hamilton 1908).
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