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Pā in Porirua: social settlements

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines the records of 12 pā (fortified settlements) and kāinga (settlements) in use during the Ngāti Toa occupation of Porirua in the 1823–52 period. The histories of each pā and of their major builders are briefly recorded, focusing on the reasons for both the founding and the abandonment of the pā. This information is examined and the conclusion drawn that the creation of these pā was primarily the result of social dynamics. Environmental resources seem to affect the siting of these pā rather than causing their creation. This interpretation may shed some light on why so many pā were built throughout the later part of New Zealand prehistory and the European contact period.

KEYWORDS: Pā, kāinga, settlement pattern, Porirua, New Zealand, Ngāti Toa.

Introduction

The construction of a new pā or large kāinga is a monumental undertaking in the true sense of the word. It was not carried out lightly, nor was it carried out for a single reason. At least two deliberate decisions need to be made before a new pā is made: first to create a new pā; and second, where to site it. At times we can confuse the where of pā construction with the why, but a good position for a pā is not the same as a need to have more pā. The question that lies at the heart of the contention that pā are created as part of a social dynamic, is why build more pā?

Travel routes, resources and defence determine the placement of a pā. The historical record can generally tell us who the constructors were as well as give a general idea of when pā were built. A case study, such as the example of Porirua in southwest North Island, New Zealand, discussed here, seeks to separate all the reasons behind the existence of each pā.

Porirua has 12 pā or kāinga within an area of approximately 2100 km² built in the 30-year period between 1823 and 1852, giving a very dense settlement pattern. The primary reasons behind this density were social rather than based on speciality resources or even defence. By demonstrating that social development was a primary factor in settlement patterns, we can begin to place the construction and occupation of pā in a more human context.

Is it a pā? A note on nomenclature

The term pā is used in this paper. Historically it was often used interchangeably with the term kāinga. This is because in some instances it is difficult to determine if the defence of a settlement was considered a defining point from the occupants' perspective. In Porirua, the term pā is still used locally for any concentrated Ngāti Toa settlement.

Any taxonomy used to describe settlements is artificial, and as a result actual settlements don't always fit neatly into the categories commonly applied in anthropology. In this analysis, it has not been easy to be exact about the type of Ngāti Toa settlements dating from this period, and this has led to the exclusion of other settlements in Porirua from this analysis.

The most basic of criteria were used to establish which settlements should be included in the study: the settlement must have had some defensive capability; it must have been occupied year-round; and the population of the settlement must have been a significant proportion of the total population of the region. However, even these basic propositions are very hard to prove, and in fact may not apply all of the time for any given settlement. For example, in some settlements defences were added long after they were founded, and in

Table. 1 Pā in Porirua, 1823–52.

Pā	Primary occupation period	Chief
Pukerua	1835–51	Tungia
Hongoeka	1824–present	Nohorua
Motuhara	1823–90	Karehana Whakataki
Taupo Pā (Turi Karewa)	1843–46	Te Rangihaeata
Taupo Village	1838–50	Te Rauparaha
Paremata	1835–45	Te Rakaherea, Te Kanawa
Kaitawa	1840s–48	Unknown
Komanga-rautawhiri	1839–51	Te Rangi-takarore
Takapuwahia	1845–present	Rawiri Puaha
Motukaraka	1846	Te Rangihaeata
Matai-taua	1846	Te Rangihaeata
Mana Island	1831–43	Te Rangihaeata

others their defences lapsed. Some defences might even be considered more boundary markers than workable defensive lines. Similarly, pā populations would often wax and wane year by year and even season by season.

A good example of a settlement that is hard to define is the one at Titahi Bay. It began as a fishing village and pā for Ngāti Ira. Some Ngāti Maru settled there after 1832, having journeyed south in the Tama Te Uaua heke (migration) of that year (Smith 1910: 489). No fortifications are recorded at Titahi, and although ethnologist Elsdon Best mentions three distinct small sites (Best 1914), little else is recorded. It may be that there is no discrete site there. So although it is certain that Titahi was occupied and we even know by whom, at best it can be classed as a kāinga and even then perhaps one that was only seasonally occupied. Other Porirua settlements are even smaller, such as Aotea, or more notably seasonal, such as Onepoto.

A 13th pā, Te Paripari, has been excluded from the study as it falls outside the Porirua basin geographically, being more than one day's walk from the next-nearest pā in Porirua. Te Paripari did lie within the geopolitical sphere of Porirua, as did Kapiti Island, Waikanae and other areas of settlement. However, the study area needed to be delineated, and for

good or bad the Kapiti Coast pā, Te Paripari and the pā to the south and east of Porirua are excluded.

In addition to the decisions required for identifying which settlements to include in the study, it has also been difficult to be precise about periods of occupation in the absence of independent accurate scientific dating of each site. As a result, much reliance has had to be made on historical records and later recorded traditions.

Pā in Porirua

From an academic point of view, Porirua is an excellent region for a case study on pā locations, primarily because between 1819 and 1822 the existing resident iwi, Ngāti Ira, was replaced in total by Ngāti Toa. Because of this we can trace the development of a settlement pattern for a region from its beginning. The observance is made possible due to the fact that the change of settlement from Ngāti Ira to Ngāti Toa was close to the time when memories from oral traditions were written down for the Māori Land Court records and other proceedings.

The hydrographic chart surveyed by HMS *Acheron* dated to 1850 (HMS *Acheron* 1850; Fig. 1) is one of a few

cartographic sources for the area, but even so only prominent pā and kāinga are depicted, notably Hongoeka (marked as ‘Pah’ in Anchorage Bay), Taupo, Takapuwahia (marked as ‘Maori Village’ south of Cooper Valley) and Komangarautawhiri (marked as ‘Bridge Pah’). Minor occupations are not shown, while others – like Mana Island – had been abandoned by this date. Table 1 gives a summary of the pā and kāinga discussed in the text.

Background to the 1820s settlement of Porirua

From the mid-seventeenth century, Porirua was the territory of Ngāti Ira, who also occupied Wellington and parts of the Wairarapa. At the time of Ngāti Toa’s first incursions into the area, the leading local Ngāti Ira chief was Whanake (also named Te Huka-tai-o-Ruatapu). Best (1901) records Whanake’s favourite dwelling place as being the entrance to Porirua Harbour, while historian Angela Ballara (2006) relates his home as being at Omanga-rau-tawhiri (presumably Komangarautawhiri, about 2 km southwest of Titahi Bay).

The Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Toa Amiowhenua taua (war party) in 1819–20 found Korohiwa (just south of Titahi Bay) to be a stockade pā, and Waimapihi at Pukerua Bay and Te Pa o Kapo just north of Titahi Bay to be earthwork pā (Best 1901: 148). Prior to the Ngāti Toa occupation, the number of fortified pā present seems to have been limited: ‘some of Ngāti-Ira, at Porirua, were slain in their cultivations but that no fortified villages were seen there’ (Best 1919: 73, probably quoting Smith 1899).

Ethnologist Percy Smith records how in the second Amiowhenua raid, in 1821, an unnamed informant described the lack of (occupied) pā in Porirua: ‘then we proceeded to Porirua and Kapiti; at the former place we saw the kotuku (white crane), and killed some of the people of that Port (Ngāti Ira) but there were no pas; the people were found and killed in their cultivations’ (Smith 1899: 49–50).

Pressure from Waikato iwi and a desire for European trade led some Ngāti Toa to migrate to Kapiti and Porirua under the chiefs Te Pehi Kupe, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata. Ngāti Toa settled on Kapiti Island, turning it into a strategic fortress. Within a few years they invited several other iwi into the area, later forming a confederation of related iwi that included Ngāti Raukawa and Te Ati Awa.

The Battle of Waiorua (c. 1824) signalled the end of Ngāti Toa’s confinement to Kapiti Island; henceforth the iwi would

begin to spread out to occupy the area they had won by force of arms. A second expansion from Kapiti, described by Tamihana Te Rauparaha, is recalled as taking place in the years after the defeat of Ngāti Tahu at Kaiapoi and Onawe in 1831 (Butler 1980: 52).

‘The living together on Kapiti was now finished, as it had become too crowded ... Te Rauparaha stayed on at Kapiti and Otaki. Te Rangihaeata went to live at Mana, among other places. Some went to Porirua; others to Wainui and all along the coast to Pukerua and Wairaka’ (Butler 1980: 52). This movement is reiterated by historian Wakahuia Carkeek (1966: 81): ‘Ropata Hurumutu was the chief of Wainui Pa, having resided at that place since the Haowhenua Battle in 1834.’

With the defeat of all the Kapiti Coast iwi and the South Island Ngāti Tahu, not only could Ngāti Toa colonise the mainland, but they could also build unfortified kāinga as well as pā. In fact, prior to 1843 and the Ngāti Toa–European conflicts, none of the Porirua pā was strongly defensive in nature.

Ngāti Toa had small settlements at Aotea, Papakowhai, Kahutea and other places around Porirua Harbour, but for the purposes of this paper they are not considered. This is because the archaeological and traditional evidence indicates they were seasonal camps of a temporary nature rather than permanent, year-round occupation sites during this period.

It is also important to remember that chiefs had pā in other places, or at least held sway over them – for Ngāti Toa, these sites extended to the other side of the Cook Strait. For example, the missionary John Hobbs felt that Kakapo in the Marlborough Sounds was Rawiri Puaha’s principal residence in 1839 (Roberts 1992: 63), but naturalist Ernst Dieffenbach wrote that Nohorua was the chief of Kakapo at this time (Dieffenbach 1843: vol. I, p. 63).

The pā builders of Porirua

The 1819–20 Amiowhenua raid, which brought Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa to Porirua, included a number of other leaders. These Percy Smith (1899) lists as Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata, Tungia, Te Rako, Te Kakakura, Hiroa, Nohorua, Puaha, Tamaihengia and ‘others’. Most of these reappear as chiefs of Porirua pā over the next 30 years, but were they chiefs of pā as a reward for their loyalty or was it simply that the qualities required for taking part in a taua were the same as those needed by the leader of a pā? Certainly in Porirua, the chiefs of pā were fighting chiefs.

The most important of the Ngāti Toa chiefs of this period was undoubtedly Te Rauparaha. Often said to have been born in the 1760s (although his actual date of birth is unknown), Te Rauparaha was the son of Werawera of Ngāti Toa and his second wife, Parekowhatu of Ngāti Raukawa. Although not of the highest rank, Te Rauparaha rose to the leadership of Ngāti Toa because of his aggressive defence of his tribe's interests and his skill in battle. He took his tribe from defeat in Kawhia to the conquest of new territories in central New Zealand. The history of Te Rauparaha is essentially the history of Ngāti Toa in the period 1810–49.

In the 1820s, Te Rauparaha led a major portion of Ngāti Toa south to the Cook Strait area and resettled there. After securing the iwi's position, he led raids to the South Island and established alliances with local iwi. Te Rauparaha also established a strong trading relationship with European whalers and traders in the Cook Strait, with the result that the area became the second-largest source of European materials, particularly muskets, in New Zealand (Ulrich 1970: 404). The arrival of the New Zealand Company in 1839 and subsequent land sale disputes led to a series of confrontations with surveyors, settlers and the British Army, resulting in the Wellington land war of 1846. In July of that year, Te Rauparaha was seized from Taupo Pā. He was kept on HMS *Calliope* for 10 months, then allowed to live in Auckland under 'house arrest'. In 1848, he was returned to his people in Otaki, where he led them in building Rangiaitea Church. He died on 27 November 1849.

The most notorious chief, as far as the European settlers were concerned, was Te Rangihaeata. He was probably born in the 1780s. His father was Te Rakaherea and his mother Waitohi, the elder sister of Te Rauparaha. Often called Te Rauparaha's lieutenant, Te Rangihaeata was a major chief in his own right, a warrior of great renown, a poet, an orator and a master carver. He was the leader of Māori resistance to land sales in the Wellington region, and in 1846 was forced from Porirua into the Horowhenua. He died on 18 November 1855.

The father of chief Te Whatarauhi Nohorua was Werawera, making him the elder half-brother of Te Rauparaha. He was also uncle to Te Rangihaeata – Nohorua's mother, Waitaoro, was the sister of Te Rangihaeata's father, Te Rakaherea. He was acknowledged as the primary tribal tohunga tumutauka, a term associated with spiritual war leaders (Mitchell & Mitchell 2007: 103) and is recorded as having fought as a warrior. His first wife was Whare-mawhai of Ngāti Rahiri, and he later married Miriama Te Wainokenoke of the Ngāti Haumia hapū (sub-tribe).

After moving off Kapiti Island, Nohorua first went to Pukerua and then to Taupo/Hongoeka and Titahi Bay. By 1843, he was resident at Cloudy Bay in the South Island. He drowned shortly after when his canoe capsized between Titahi Bay and Mana Island (Rei 1980).

Tungia of the Ngāti Te Maunu hapū of Ngāti Toa was the son of Pikauterangi and grandson of Te Maunu, who in turn was the younger brother of Kimihia. Tungia's wife Rangimakiri was also directly descended from Kimihia. Tungia was known as the 'Wild Fellow' by local whalers (Wakefield 1845: vol. I, p. 92) and was one of the original warriors of the 1819–20 Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Toa Amiowhenua raid into the lower North Island. His actions in taking the Pukerua pā while a member of that taua were of particular note according to Smith (1910: 303). Tungia built his first pā, called Waiorua, around 1822–24 at Te Kahu o te Rangi on Kapiti Island (Māori Land Court 1874: 435–449). Later, he built a new pā at Pukerua Bay. In 1840, he signed the Treaty of Waitangi at Port Nicholson alongside other Ngāti Toa chiefs. His daughter Oriwia married Ropata Hurumutu of the Ngāti Haumia hapū, who had captured the Ngāi Tahu pā at Kaikoura and was later the chief of the pā at Wainui in the Paekakariki area. A second daughter married the whaler Tommy Evans, to whom Tungia sold Tokomapuna Island off Kapiti. The date of Tungia's death is unknown, but was before 1846.

Rawiri Kingi Puaha was the eldest son of Hinekoto (sister to Nohorua and half-sister to Te Rauparaha) and Te Matoe Hinekoto. Puaha was a high-ranking Ngāti Toa chief; his elder brother Te Kanae and younger brother Tamaihengia were both important chiefs in their own right (Wakefield 1845: vol. I, p. 105), and he married Ria Waitohi, daughter of the paramount Ngāti Toa chief Te Pehi Kupe. Puaha was one of the leading warriors in Ngāti Toa's migration from Kawhia in the 1820s (Smith 1910: 303), and he fought at the battles of Haowhenua (c. 1834) and Te Kuititanga (1839). In the early 1840s, he converted to Christianity and became a Wesleyan missionary teacher ('A noted chieftainness' 1912: 6). Puaha died at Takapuwahia, Porirua, on 6 September 1858.

Besides these prominent chiefs there were others of lesser renown. One such chief was Hoani Te Okoro, whose statement at the Ngakaroro hearing of the Māori Land Court in 1874, when he was talking of Te Waha o te Marangai near Otaki, is a blunt summary of his rights and mana over the land: 'I killed men there. I am of Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Kimihia' (Māori Land Court 1874). Te Okoro was also listed as having been given land by Ngāti Toa at

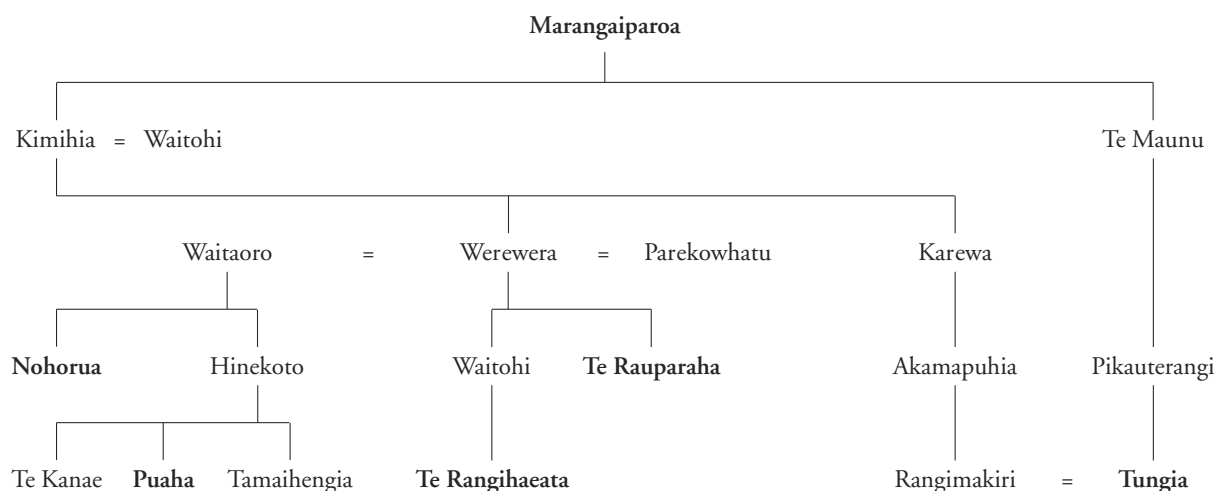


Fig. 2 Descendants of Kimihia, with the builders of pā in the Porirua basin in bold.

Takapuwahia, where he became the Episcopalian minister. Little else is recorded about him, but from these few lines we can see that he fits the pattern of a chief of the Kimihia hapū who had been a warrior of note. He was one of the 26 Ngāti Toa chiefs who received a grant of 200 acres (80 ha) from the government in 1853.

Hapū: the people in the pā

Moving beyond the level of individual, we can begin to see how the relationships between the chiefs extend to the next social level of extended family group or hapū.

At the time of the Battle at Waiorua on Kapiti Island in 1824, the Ngāti Toa hapū of Te Kiriwera, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Hangai and Ngāti Haumia are recorded as being present there. This is according to Ihaia Te Pahi, who related the information to Elsdon Best (Best 1901: 163). Percy Smith also includes Ngāti Rārua among the major Ngāti Toa hapū but notes that ‘there are many hapu claiming ancestry with Ngāti Toa’ (Smith 1910: 315). Ngāti Kahutaiki was the hapū of Nopera te Ngiha, an important witness at the Māori Land Court hearings of the 1870s.

Te Pehi Kūpe’s hapū was Ngāti Te Maunu, and according to the evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi (Ballara 1990: 20), the chief of the Ngāti Toa Te Rā hapū was Te Rakaherea Te Tuaruau. Te Rakaherea survived the massacre associated with the attempt on Te Rauparaha’s life at Ohau in 1822, and confusion in the records between him and Te Rangihaeata’s father, who had the same name, appeared from early on (Graham 1945: 77).

Te Rauparaha’s own hapū, Ngāti Kimihia, had control of the major pā in the Porirua basin. Te Rauparaha and Nohorua were both grandsons of Kimihia, while his great-grandsons included Te Rangihaeata, Te Kanae, Puaha and Tamaihengia; all of these descendants were prominent chiefs of the area. Tungia was married to another descendant of Kimihia, Rangimakiri, and he was a grandson of Kimihia’s brother Te Maunu. Between them, the descendants of Kimihia were responsible for building nine of the pā and kāinga in Porirua; the relationships between them are shown in a simplified form in Fig. 2.

Te Rauparaha gave the land at Hongoeka to Nohorua, his Ngāti Haumia wife Miriama Te Wainokenoke and her people. The Māori Land Court judgment of 1871 granted this land to seven individuals, among them several leaders, some of whom had had little to do with Hongoeka. These included the chief of the Wainui pā, Ropata Hurumutu. However, Ropata was probably the most prominent Ngāti Haumia leader of the time, so in effect the claimants were reasserting the right of the hapū to the land through descent from Te Wainokenoke (Hongoeka Marae 1997: 10).

Relationships between individuals is complex; the ties of hapū are strong, as is respect for earlier generations. Tamihana Te Rauparaha refers to Tungia and Te Hiko as Te Rauparaha’s grandchildren (Butler 1980: 64), when they were not related in this way in the strict genealogical sense. The Māori Land Court minutes also contain numerous references to elders being referred to as mātua (parents) when they are in fact an older relation. It should be noted that the European fixation on direct genealogical relationships being

the basis of inheritance (of authority as well as of property) did not always apply in Māori society at this time.

It is also important to note that what distinguishes iwi, hapū and extended whānau (family) groups is not always clear, the aforementioned Ngāti Haumia being a case in point – Raiha Prosser (née Puaha) stated in 1905 that the pā at Waikanae was occupied by Ngāti Toa *and* by Ngāti Haumia, a hapū of Ngāti Toa (Royal Commission 1905: 11). Quite what she meant to convey by distinguishing a hapū as separate from its iwi is unclear. Perhaps she identified her own hapū, Kimihia, as Ngāti Toa and wished to distinguish it from Haumia, or perhaps she was trying to convey a subtlety of tribal organisation that is lost in translation.

Special individuals in special circumstances: leaders and fighting chiefs

There are two particular instances in the history of pā building in Porirua that stand out. The first concerns the leading chief Te Rauparaha and how little direct impact he had on the number of pā in Porirua. The second instance concerns the creation and occupation of three pā within as many years by Te Rangihaeata.

Te Rauparaha and three pā in 27 years

Descriptions of Te Rauparaha's lifestyle indicate that he was at times constantly on the move from settlement to settlement, and that Kapiti, Taupo Village and Otaki can be described only as his principal residences. We know that he also had houses at Mana Island (Fig. 1) and elsewhere, indicating that he was not just a guest but a regular occupier of some of these places.

Europeans assumed this life of constant travel was because Te Rauparaha feared for his life and moved to outwit any assassination plot. These European observers would not have at first realised just how precarious the alliances between various iwi could be and the constant work needed to hold this confederation together. Ngāti Toa held its position of prominence by trade networks with Europeans and by a confederation of iwi that were not naturally allied. It is apparent that Te Rauparaha would constantly need to be on the move to ensure that flax and other crops were ready for trade and that disputes were resolved.

The confederation was in many respects based on Te Rauparaha's personal mana (prestige). With the confeder-

ation consisting of many who were considerable leaders in their own right, Te Rauparaha would have needed to use his mana to settle disputes and impose his will, something he could not readily delegate. Although the actual growing of the crops, their harvesting and their trading could be trusted to others, the presence of a senior chief would ensure that all remembered it was he who was in overall command and he who settled disputes.

If Te Rauparaha was in such a constant state of movement, and his mana extended over the entire area, why did he have a kāinga of his own at all? The answer is probably that he needed to have a tūrangawaewae – a ceremonial base and a home – for his own whānau, made up of his immediate family and followers. In fact, from the time of Ngāti Toa's successful capture of Kapiti Island in c. 1821, the principal leader of the iwi, Te Rauparaha (as opposed to the paramount chief, Te Pehi Kūpe), had only the three pā or kāinga mentioned above – Kapiti, Taupo Village and Otaki – indicating a more settled lifestyle than is at first apparent.

Te Rangihaeata and three pā in three years

In contrast to Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata built three pā in three years.

In June 1843, disputes over the New Zealand Company's doubtful land purchases from Ngāti Toa came to a head at the Wairau River near modern-day Blenheim, and with the deaths of both colonists and Ngāti Toa (notably Te Rongo Pomamoe, a relative of Te Rangihaeata who was under his protection), the two sides armed themselves for war. In the days following the Wairau Affray, Ngāti Toa left Cloudy Bay and returned to Kapiti Island, and Ngāti Awa returned to Taranaki – the Wesleyan missionary Samuel Ironside records the bay's coves as being empty except for isolated whaling parties (Chambers 1982: 139).

Te Rangihaeata himself moved from Kaitangata, his carved house on Mana Island, to new pā, first Turi Karewa at Taupo Bay (Plimmerton), then Motukaraka, and finally Matai-taua at Pauatahanui, all between June 1843 and June 1846.

The construction of each new pā was forced by strategic reasoning. Mana Island was in a strong defensive position up until the time that British warships and marines made it vulnerable. As Te Rangihaeata became more opposed to the British presence, he moved from Mana to Turi Karewa, and as the situation deteriorated further, he moved from

there, realising the pā's tactical vulnerability. Certainly he was proved correct, as seen in the raid on Taupo, Motuhara and Hongoeka in June 1846 (see below). The patrols by small gunboats proved also that Motukaraka was not immune from attack, hence Te Rangihaeata's last move within the district was to Matai-taua.

People would live at different places at different times – for example, for seasonal harvesting, for the gathering of kai moana (seafood) and in times of war. These movements might be either of individuals, of whole hapū or anything in between, and they might happen on a regular basis or at very short notice.

Pā locations

Pā and kāinga were, of course, placed within the landscape for a number of physical reasons beyond any socio-political importance. All sites were influenced by a number of factors, including the proximity of walking tracks, the availability of resources and defensive capabilities. In the case of the Porirua pā, however, one factor usually predominates.

Routes

Two major tracks ran through Porirua: Purehurehu, which crossed the range between Pauatahanui and Heretaunga; and Taua-tapu, which ran from Pukerua Bay to Plimmerton (Smith 1910: 10). Taupo and Motuhara Pā were sited at the southern end of the Taua Tapu track, while at the northern end were Waimapihi and Tungia's Pukerua Bay settlement. The early colonist Thomas Bevan gives an account of a journey on this track undertaken in 1845 (Bevan 1907).

The village of Takapuwahia was close by the Kenepuru Stream and the long-established Māori track running north from Wellington Harbour. Matai-taua sat at the Pauatahanui (western) end of the Purehurehu track and was at the junction of tracks leading to and from the Hutt Valley, Kapiti Coast and Porirua. Titahi Bay was the launching point for canoes to the South Island, and Paremata sat at the junction of Porirua's two harbours. Besides the regional transport routes linking settlements, there were also local tracks between the Porirua pā.

Resources

Pre-contact settlements seem to have been generally based around a hapū, the size of which was closely related to the sustainability of local resources. Too large a hapū, and the

resources – in particular food – could not cope; too small a group, and effective harvesting of resources could not occur. There were some actions that could be taken to help mitigate strained resources, such as seasonal movements and raiding other groups.

Post-contact, however, settlements may not necessarily have had to follow the previous rules. European goods as trade items would have put pressure on local resources – flax, for example, would have been more heavily drawn upon for trade purposes and hence required a larger workforce. Some resources, on the other hand, would have become more plentiful, such as the total root-crop harvest as hardier and more productive species like the potato and pumpkin were introduced. Historian Hazel Petrie has also made the argument that access to productive land (and defensible productive land especially) is likely to attract followers (Petrie 2002: 1)

Taupo Village was located midway between Taupo Swamp and the water's edge – the perfect place for trading flax grown in the swamp with Europeans arriving by sea. Over a six-month period in 1831, six ships transported more than 600 tonnes of flax from Kapiti to Sydney (Millar 1971: 63). The number of muskets in particular exchanged for flax was enough to make Kapiti one of the top trading centres in New Zealand (Urlich 1970: 404). Komanga-rautawhiri and Paremata Pā were built close to whaling stations specifically for trade and the exchange of labour. The opportunity to provide goods and services to these outside ventures was not one to be missed, and Europeans became a valuable resource to be cultivated and drawn upon.

More traditional resources also helped in the siting of the pā at Mana Island, Komanga-rautawhiri, Paremata and Hongoeka. All remain today as prime fishing spots, and in previous decades Motuhara and Takapuwahia shared the same reputation. Motukaraka, meanwhile, was on the Pauatahanui Inlet, which was named for the size of its shellfish, so clearly this resource had an influence on the location of the pā.

An 1844 illustration (Fig. 3) shows Nohorua with his family at what the artist, George French Angas, described as a potato ground between Takapuwahia and Titahi Bay called Kahotea. The illustration is primarily a family portrait of a prominent Ngāti Toa leader, but the details are interesting: an important leader present in crop fields, the emergence of new produce types and a temporary whare (building).

With the exception of Matai-taua Pā, which was primarily built for battle, all the kāinga and pā are recorded as having



Fig. 3 *Na Horua or Tom Street. Elder brother of Rauparaha. E Wai, his wife. Tuarua, or Kopai, his son. At Kahotea, near Porirua, 1844, hand-coloured lithograph. Artist George French Angas. Acquisition history unknown (Te Papa 1992-0035-710).*

at least small fields of crops, and a few had major areas under cultivation. The hills above Plimmerton (the site of modern-day Camborne) and Whitireia Peninsula were said to have many root-crop gardens, the former area serving Taupo Village, Turi Karewa and Motuhara, and Whitireia supplying Kaitawa and Paremata. Mana Island was occupied by

Europeans in the 1830s, who introduced many new species of plants as an early farm and gardens were established.

European influences in the late 1820s had already started to alter settlement patterns throughout the Cook Strait region. Te Rauparaha and other Ngāti Toa chiefs granted whalers rights to establish stations and other European

occupations in South Island's Port Underwood area (Mitchell & Mitchell 2007: 26), and this was probably also true for Porirua, Kapiti and elsewhere.

Defence

Initially, until British warships altered the type of warfare that was waged, pā on Mana Island had major defensive capabilities, and Turi Karewa, Motukaraka and Matai-taua were all built specifically for military defence. Had anything changed in warfare since the arrival of the Europeans with their muskets and cannon? Ballara argues that nothing had changed in terms of style, but that the scale of warfare may have altered. Inter-tribal warfare was not a new phenomenon but rather an intensified continuation of behaviour prior to the arrival of the musket (Les Groupe quoted in Ballara 2003: 26).

Komanaga-rautawhiri is the most northern of several headland pā stretching south to Makara and was once part of Ngāti Ira's strategic defence of the coast. Pukerua Pā controlled access from the north into the Porirua basin via the Taua Tapu track, with Turi Karewa at the other end. Hongoeke appears to have consisted of both a kāinga and a fortified pā.

The end of pā

The bulk of this article is concerned with why the Porirua pā were created. But when and why individual pā were abandoned is equally crucial. Some obvious reasons are the depletion of resources – for example, the demise of the Korohiwa whaling station and its effect on Komanga-rautawhiri.

One cause for the abandonment of settlements that is often underestimated was the introduction of European diseases. Dieffenbach noted the presence of influenza in the 1840s, which was often fatal (Dieffenbach 1843: vol. II, p. 14; Lange 1999: 19). The denser the population, the more serious and rapidly transmitted were outbreaks of disease. Mason Durie contended that as Māori moved from traditional pā to new styles of settlements based on trading, whaling and missionaries, sanitation declined (Durie 1994: 35). Certainly, contemporary descriptions by Jerningham Wakefield and others of settlements of this type all agree on the lack of cleanliness (Wakefield 1845: vol. I, p. 220), although standards will have varied from place to place depending on the local chief and his European counterpart.

Another example is the movement of Te Rangihaeata and his followers between 1843 and 1846. This is one of the crucial factors that archaeologists need to pay particular attention to: not that Te Rangihaeata was moving from place to place as he was chased by a superior opposing military force, but that he had followers who moved with him. As a leading chief, he had an obligation to provide those he led with the basic necessities of life, and that included a home in return for their allegiance. So the archaeological record will show that his three pā – Turi Karewa, Motukaraka and Matai-taua – were almost concurrent but with no increase in the area's total population.

Māori society at this time was based on chiefdoms and personal mana – without rank and mana, you could not found a pā or kāinga. When chiefs moved, their followers moved with them, and when those chiefs died, their followers dispersed. This is the reason for the abandonment of the pā at Pukerua Bay: its founding chief, Tungia, died. Tungia's daughter married the chief of Wainui Pā and, according to the 1851 *New Zealand Journal*, his followers moved to Takapuwahia to join Rawiri Puaha ('Description of the Port Nicholson district' 1851).

Taupo Village was abandoned when, after his release in 1848, Te Rauparaha resettled at Otaki. Paremata Pā was abandoned in the early 1840s, despite the continuation of the nearby whaling station, when many Ngāti Toa moved across Cook Strait to Cloudy Bay. The death, absence or movement of leaders, resulting in the abandonment of these pā, reaffirms the hypothesis that it was their leadership that led to the construction of the pā in the first place.

Synopsis of major pā and kāinga occupied by Ngāti Toa (Fig. 4)

Pukerua Bay

There are remains of at least two pā at Pukerua Bay that were connected to Ngāti Toa. The first was called Waimapihi and was situated 'on the cliff above the beach and just below the present railway station at Pukerua' (Best 1901: 153). Carkeek placed it on the left bank of the Waimapihi Stream (Carkeek 1966: 6). The pā was captured by the Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Toa Amiowhenua taua in 1819–20, when it was defended by both Ngāti Ira and Muaūpoko warriors. According to some accounts (including Smith 1910: 303), one of the leading chiefs in this action was the Ngāti Toa



Fig. 4 Map of pā and kāinga discussed (after HMS *Acheron* 1850).

chief Tungia. An account by Watene Taungatara says that the pā was taken only after a false offer of a truce was made (Taungatara 1899: 7), a tale further elaborated on by Smith (1910: 303) and recorded by the Māori Land Court: ‘The land was obtained by the conquest by Te Rauparaha and Tuwhare and it was taken possession of by Te Pehi hanging a garment (he Kaka) on a post on the land’ (Māori Land Court 1892: 368).

In the 1830s, a section of Ngāti Toa moved to Pukerua Bay, where they built a second pā, called Pukerua Pā: ‘The first people to occupy this land were Tungia, Nopera Te Ngiha, Te Raupatu, Te Ngou, Tapuiora, Pango and Te Teke. These people and their slaves were the persons who first went on the land’ (Māori Land Court 1892: 368). Te Teke and Tungia were the elders of the party and used to travel between the pā and Kapiti Island (Māori Land Court 1892: 375).

Elsdon Best (1919: 69) states that the pā was on a terrace on the northern side of the Waimapihi stream. The border of the land to the north was between the rock outcrops of Te Ana o Hau and Te Paripari

Following Tungia’s death, Pukerua Pā was abandoned – the *New Zealand Journal* in 1851 records that the late chief’s

followers left Pukerua to join Rawiri Puaha at Takapuwhia (‘Description of the Port Nicholson district’ 1851).

A statement that possibly conflicts with this account comes from Ropata Hurumutu (sometimes spelled as Huruinutu), chief of the Wainui Pā and Tungia’s son-in-law. In evidence given to the Māori Land Court (quoted in Ballara 1990: 31), he stated that Te Hiko and the Ngāti Te Maunu hapū built a new pā at Pukerua following the Battle of Te Kuititanga in 1839. However, Oriwia (Tungia’s daughter and wife of Hurumutu) said that the pā was built following the Battle of Haowhenua in c. 1834, and that Ngāti Haumia and Ngāti Te Maunu moved first from Kapiti to Haowhenua and then on to Kenakena at Waikanae (Carkeek 1966: 39). There is some suggestion that Ngāti Toa returned to the Pukerua district at a later date, but not to the pā (Royal Commission 1905: 22). From 1848, the Māori Land Court records the land as being leased to Europeans by Nopera, Ngahuka Tungia and Potete. In 1861, parts were sold by them under the authority they had from their mātua (Māori Land Court 1892: 376).

Both versions lend credence to the notion that the occupation of the land at Pukerua was linked by conquest: either by Tungia taking the pā; or by Te Hiko, the son of Te Pehi, claiming the land with his garment after battle.

Hongoeka

According to Māori Land Court depositions made by Matene Te Whiwhi, Te Rangihaeata's nephew, Hongoeka was given to Nohorua and the Ngāti Haumia hapū of Ngāti Toa by Te Rauparaha (quoted in Williams 2003: 6).

In November 1839, the missionary Octavius Hadfield was present while church services were held at Hongoeka (Roberts 1992: 54), and in 1843 a hui (meeting) between government officials and Ngāti Toa was held here, at which some 200 Ngāti Toa men were present, including Te Rauparaha. When Te Rauparaha was seized from Taupo Village in 1846, Hongoeka was also searched (Cowan 1983: 121). In the 1850 chart produced during the HMS *Acheron* survey, Hongoeka is marked at Anchorage Bay as 'Pah' (Fig. 1).

Today, Hongoeka remains an active marae, with a new meeting house that was opened in 1997 (Hongoeka Marae 1997: 10).

Motuhara

Motuhara is a settlement whose origin pre-dates the arrival of Ngāti Toa. Archaeological finds suggest that prior to the Ngāti Toa occupation it was a small kāinga with associated urupā (burial ground), and it appears that it did not have an important defensive function. James Cowan describes it as a 'small beach settlement' (Cowan 1983: 119), though who his source for this description was is unknown. Although permanently occupied, Motuhara appears to have been a small kāinga – considered almost an annexe to the larger pā and kāinga surrounding it. According to Matene Te Whiwhi (quoted in Ballara 1990: 20), the Ngāti Te Maunu hapū occupied the settlement.

When Te Rauparaha was seized from Taupo Village in 1846, Motuhara, along with Hongoeka, was also searched. And when Te Rauparaha was being taken to HMS *Driver*, he called out for help from Motuhara.

Te Kanira (also called Kanira Tuhi) had the official certificate of title to Motuhara. He died around 1875 and his nearest relative, his niece Raiha Prosser (née Puaha), succeeded him in ownership (Māori Land Court 1885: 28).

In the 1890s, Motuhara was still occupied by the old chief Te Karehana Whakataki, who at that time was described as living alone. Whakataki was Elsdon Best's primary Ngāti Toa source in his researches (Best 1914). In 1894, Whakataki is said to have been resident at Takapuwhia (Smith 1910: 193). According to Best, Te Rauparaha's canoe, *Te Ahu a*

Tūranga, was still visible as it lay rotting at Motuhara in 1909 (quoted in Smith 1910: 423).

Taupo Pā (Turi Karewa)

Jerningham Wakefield records in early September 1843 that he found 200 Māori in a new village at Taupo Bay (Wakefield 1845: vol. II, p. 426). Māori Land Court records include Rawiri Puaha, Te Hiko and Hohepa Tamaihengia as the builders, but it is Te Rangihaeata with whom the pā is most strongly associated and who occupied it until early 1846.

Of these other chiefs, Wi Parata in his Māori Land Court evidence said he stayed at Taupo Pā with Te Hiko and Ngāti Te Maunu hapū until the death of Te Hiko in 1845 (Māori Land Court 1890). It certainly seems Te Hiko was buried in the urupā behind the pā on Te Rangihaeata's instructions. The grave was painted by John Gilfillan not long after; the image was reproduced by Thomas Downes in his book *Old Whanganui* (Downes 1915: 111).

The 1843 Wairau Affray had a profound influence on life at Porirua. Not least, it led to the decision by Te Rangihaeata to move from Mana Island to the mainland at Taupo, along with several hundred of his followers. The majority left in 1846 to move to Motukaraka (see below), but some of Te Rangihaeata's hapū remained at the pā until at least 1848. Above the pā, a wāhi tapu (sacred place) was created and remains today as an urupā and native reserve. The placement of the pā was related not only to defence, but also brought Te Rangihaeata closer to the paramount chief Te Rauparaha at Taupo Village.

Several European writers and painters, notably John Gilfillan, George French Angas and Charles Gold, recorded Taupo Pā. These contemporary images depict a pā with extremely large palisades extending from the edge of the exposed rocky shore back to the bluff behind that contained the wāhi tapu. Other illustrations show a semi-subterranean house, an elevated pātaka (food store) on a single large post, and the interior of a house with carved ridgepoles, all indicating a substantial occupation. However, no structures have been identified archaeologically, leaving some uncertainty as to the pā's exact position and orientation (Stodart 2002: 32).

Taupo Village

It is uncertain exactly what year Taupo Village was founded but it was between the years 1838 and 1841. Up until 1846, it was the main kāinga of Te Rauparaha and therefore the centre of Ngāti Toa influence. As a domestic kāinga it was, at



Fig. 5 *Porirua Harbour and Parramatta whaling station in Nov.r 1843, 1843*, hand-coloured lithograph. Artist Samuel Brees (PUBL-0011-12, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

least initially, unfortified. In Fig. 5, Taupo Village, illustrated in 1843 by Samuel Brees, is shown as a kāinga. The wāhi tapu where Te Hiko would later be buried is in the foreground above the future pā of Turi Kawera. In the distance can be seen Paremata Whaling Station, alongside which Paremata Pā was sited. The scene in Fig. 6 was drawn by George Angas French two years after Brees' image of the same settlement (and printed in 1847). By then Taupo was clearly palisaded, the fortifications probably added as the result of tension following the Wairau Affray in 1843 (Stodart 2002: 25).

In June 1843, Reverend Ironside recorded in his journal that Rawiri Puaha took his followers from Cloudy Bay and Port Underwood in the South Island to Taupo (Ironside 1839–43: June and July entries). Given that Puaha had converted to Christianity, it is no surprise that Taupo Village became the centre for missionary work in the area. In 1845, Ironside and his fellow Wesleyan missionary James Watkin held a major hui there, and in 1848 a chapel was erected there at the cost of £3 (Roberts 1992: 61).

It was from this site that British troops and the Armed Constabulary, acting under the orders of Governor Grey,

seized Te Rauparaha in June 1846. After this event the village gradually lost its pre-eminence to the kāinga of Takapuwhia and Te Uru Kohika, perhaps as a result of Te Rauparaha's decision to retire to Otaki in 1848. An 1850 survey showed the village as abandoned (Roberts 1992: 79).

Paremata

The pā at Paremata Point was at the water's edge, with a fish fence-trap set up on the foreshore and gardens close by. Although palisaded, Paremata was a kāinga rather than a defensive pā. The date the village was founded was close to that of the nearby shore-based whaling station, although it is not clear which came first (Wakefield 1845: vol. I, p. 220). The cousins Te Rakaherea and Te Kanawa were the chiefs of the Ngāti Te Ra hapū at Paremata according to evidence given by Matene Te Whiwhi to the Māori Land Court (quoted in Ballara 1990: 20).

Joseph Thoms came to Cook Strait to hunt whales; he established a shore whaling station at Paremata in 1835–36, becoming the first European to settle permanently in the



Fig. 6 *Taupo Pa*, 1847, hand-coloured lithograph. Artist George French Angas, lithographer J.W. Giles (PUBL-0014-48, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

area. With a mixture of Pākehā and Ngāti Toa whalers, Thoms hunted the slow right whales that migrated through Cook Strait and past Porirua every year. One of these whalers was Te Ua Torikiriki, daughter of Nohorua. Thoms married Te Ua in c. 1830 and thus linked himself to Ngāti Toa (Wakefield 1845: vol. I, p. 46; Millar 1971: 70; Boulton 1990). Some time after 1844, following the death of Te Ua, Thoms moved permanently over to his Te Awaiti whaling station in the Marlborough Sounds. It seems likely that at this time, with the whaling station at Paremata no longer active, the nearby pā was abandoned.

In 1846, the British Army occupied Paremata and built stone barracks there. Although no mention is made of the pā, the government surveyor Thomas Fitzgerald did mark on his plan of the barracks in 1848 two 'old post of native pa of totara' (Fitzgerald 1848). This complements an earlier map by Fitzgerald showing Joseph Thoms' claim, in which the general area of the 'Parhamatta Pah' is indicated (Fitzgerald 1843).

Kaitawa

In 1841, there was a small Ngāti Toa settlement called Kaitawa at the outer entrance to Porirua Harbour and a defended knoll above the bay. The defended position was formed at the end of a spur, with cliffs on three sides and palisades on the fourth; the postholes of three of the palisade posts can still be found.

It seems that only the kāinga was occupied by Ngāti Toa and that the fortified spur was either predominately or entirely of an earlier occupation. Jerningham Wakefield spent a night in a village below the pā in 1839, but named it Waitawa rather than Kaitawa (Wakefield 1845: vol. I, p. 220).

Some printed versions of the 1850 HMS *Acheron* chart (e.g. the copy in Porirua Library) name Kaitawa and indicate structures on the hill and below it on the beachfront. The Whitireia Peninsula was the site of extensive gardening, which contributed to the wealth of food already available from nearby forests. Like many small kāinga, Kaitawa

appears to have been abandoned gradually in the 1840s. In 1848, the Whitireia Peninsula was granted to the Anglican Church by Ngāti Toa in 1848; by this time, Kaitawa was almost certainly abandoned.

Komanga-rautawhiri

As related above, Angela Ballara states that in the early nineteenth century Komanga was the home of the leading chiefly family of Ngāti Ira, although this presumes that Omangarautawhiri and Komangarautawhiri are one and the same. The location, about 2 km west of Titahi Bay at Green Point, would support this (Ballara 1990: 422). Following the Battle of Haowhenua in c. 1834, Mitikakau of the Ngāti Maru hapū of Te Ati Awa moved with his people from Komanga to Whareroa, north of Paekakariki (Carkeek 1966: 42), but the date they had originally settled at Komanga is not recorded.

Komanga was still occupied when the nearby whaling station of Korohiwa was in operation, and this station was probably established in 1836 under William Thomas. The missionary Henry Williams landed at the whaling station and pā in 1839 and named Te Rangitakaroro as its chief (Best 1914). He was the brother of the Ngāti Tama chief Te Puoho, a firm ally of Te Rauparaha. Te Puoho had led a section of Ngāti Tama in the heke that headed south from Taranaki to the Cook Strait region in 1822.

The 1850 HMS *Acheron* chart shows Komanga as 'Bridge Pah' (Fig. 1). In the same year, Native Secretary Henry Tacy Kemp describes the inhabitants as 'few', saying that they were continually on the move and that their cultivations intermixed with those of Ngāti Toa at Porirua and Nelson (quoted in Fordyce & MacLehn 2000: 15). By 1851, Komanga was listed as having a resident population of 45. In 1880, there was one last kuia (elderly woman) living there, and by 1905 rotting palisades were all that was left standing (Best 1914).

Takapuwahia

According to Percy Smith, Takapuwahia is named after a place at Kawhia Harbour (Smith 1910: 337). Elsdon Best seems to suggest that there was a settlement here prior to the arrival of Ngāti Toa, although his phrasing is ambiguous and he gives no evidence or reference to support this claim (Best 1914). The missionary James Watkin was at Takapuwahia in July 1845, according to his journal (Chambers 1982: 162), and while he was there he spoke with Te Rangihaeata.

In 1851, the village of Takapuwahia had a population of 252, who had moved there from the pā at Taupo and Pukerua after they were abandoned. Besides houses, Takapuwahia Pā had two reed chapels, and a flour mill powered by water from the stream was under construction. Intensive farming of 80 acres (30 ha) included crops of potatoes, maize and kūmera ('Description of the Port Nicholson district' 1851: 314).

A few years later, in 1889, the other pā in central Porirua, Te Uru Kohika (founded after 1852), was abandoned and Takapuwahia became the undisputed primary home of Ngāti Toa. In 1901, the meeting house Toa Rangatira was opened at the settlement, its name taken from that of the founding ancestor of Ngāti Toa. In 1910, a school was built alongside and was used for church services as well as education.

Today, the streets around the marae are named for prominent leaders of Ngāti Toa, including Nohorua, Te Hiko and Puaha. This reflects the fact that Takapuwahia is an old pā around which the city of Porirua has grown up, rather than a new marae built within a growing city. It is also noteworthy that Raiha Prosser (daughter of Rawiri Puaha) stated in 1905 that the inhabitants of the pā at Porirua were all of the same hapū (Royal Commission 1905: 11).

Motukaraka

Occupied by Ngāti Ira prior to Ngāti Toa's arrival, Motukaraka Pā, in the Pauatahanui Inlet, was home to the Ngāti Te Ra hapū of Ngāti Toa by 1845. In 1846, Te Rangihaeata briefly resided here after abandoning Turi Karewa at Taupo and before establishing Matai-taua (Best 1914; Healy 1980: 15).

Matai-taua

The spot now occupied by St Alban's Church at Pauatahanui was formerly the site of a pā built by Te Rangihaeata in 1846 (McKillop 1849: 183; Cowan 1983: 123). Placed on a ridge running into the eastern arm of the Pauatahanui Inlet, the pā was protected on three sides by a stream and a swamp, and was entirely surrounded by a palisade. Covered gun pits were an added innovation, making this a true gunfighter pā. From here, several war parties were dispatched – notably to Boulcott's Farm in the Hutt Valley in May 1846 and to skirmishes on the Pauatahanui Inlet.

On 1 August 1846, a mixed force of native allies, regular British Army soldiers and local militia were sent to attack Matai-taua. Troops were also dispatched from Paremata, but both forces found Matai-taua empty (Power 1849: 18).

Mana Island

From the early 1830s, following Ngāti Toa's defeat of Ngāi Tahu and up until the mid-1840s, the chief and master carver Te Rangihaeata chose Mana Island as his main base. His house there, named Kaitangata, was recorded by the artist George French Angas in a painting in 1844 as well as in his journal, published three years later (Angas 1966: pl. 4; 1847: vol I, p. 265). By that time, however, Te Rangihaeata had left the island and only a few members of the iwi were left in residence.

In 1832, three Europeans – Alexander Davidson, Archibald Mossman and John Bell – paid Te Rangihaeata, Te Rauparaha and Nohorua (the three Ngāti Toa leaders connected to Mana) goods to the value of £24. What the goods were for is disputed: Ngāti Toa said it was rent; the Europeans said it was for a land purchase (Carkeek 1966: 64). From that time on, Mana became the haunt of whalers, traders and other Europeans. However, Te Rangihaeata continued to live there, as stated by James Crawford, who records him on the island in late 1839 with the whalers Alexander and Thomas Fraser (Crawford 1880: 26).

Te Rangihaeata abandoned Mana Island altogether in August 1843 following the Wairau Affray, when he moved to Turi Karewa at Taupo Bay.

Concluding discussion

The timeframe of this case study, in the era frequently referred to as post-contact, might cause some to consider it as irrelevant to earlier Māori settlement patterns. Certainly, all the sites excavated have contained portable European goods. The argument of 'Fatal Impact', as archaeologist Stuart Bedford (1996: 413) calls it, whereupon once Europeans arrived all of Māori society changed, is simplistic. Bedford puts forward compelling arguments that change in society was neither complete nor rapid. Māori agriculture, for example, remained traditional in nature despite the introduction of new crops and tools. Quoting Roger Green, Bedford makes the argument that the end of any 'classic phase' was not at the first introduction of European culture, but at the later point when that culture became dominant (Bedford 1996: 421), and that the transformation was incremental rather than abrupt.

Clearly this was the case in the Porirua basin from the time of Ngāti Toa's arrival. Yes, Ngāti Toa brought European goods with them and selected the region at least partly on

its perceived trading opportunities. However, it was Ngāti Toa's decision to settle there and that decision was made within the framework of traditional Māori society based on resources and pressure from other Waikato iwi. That some of those resources were European and the Waikato pressure was exacerbated by the introduction of muskets is not, I would argue, overwhelming in terms of instituting a change in Māori society. That change began in the late 1840s following the establishment of European society as the politically dominant influence.

The impact of European contact from the 1830s did have an effect on the distribution of pā and kāinga. Cultivation of gardens and flax was increased to provide for whalers and traders, and this, coupled with the supply of labour to shore-based whaling ventures, helped determine the location of sites such as Korohiwa and Paremata. It is difficult to know, however, if European contact also had an effect on the number of pā built.

One of the real questions about the spate of pā building in Porirua is, was this normal? It is likely that the construction pattern may well be normal if we think of pā building as similar to the model for punctuated equilibrium. An iwi moves into a new geographical area and over a short period of time expands into a variety of new groups (with accompanying settlements) until the area is saturated. Then a period of relative stability follows, until a new factor emerges. During this period of stability, it may be possible that the number of settlements decreases even if the population does not. The fact that iwi may, like Ngāti Toa, be expanding into an area already settled is not as important as the factor that they are expanding into an area that is new to them.

As leaders rise and fall, so the resulting dynamics lead to the ebb and flow of population movement within the area. Because these migrating individuals come from within related iwi (primarily the intertwined Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa), there is little physical conflict. And it is for this very reason that new pā are created; if there was conflict, we might see challenges for existing places. It is only towards the end of the period discussed here that we see the continued utilisation of a pā after its primary founders have died. This may be because there are no new areas available, or it might be a normal reaction to external pressures that mean the iwi and hapū remain together for strength.

Is this fluctuating emergence and disappearance of differing leaders and pā a manifestation of what anthropologist Patrick Kirch calls 'an inherently unstable and

oscillating social formation' (Kirch 2000: 283)? It certainly seems that an oscillating pattern occurred in Porirua over the 100-year period between 1800 to 1900, with peaks of Ngāti Ira, Ngāti Toa and European incursions, and troughs of war, disease and population displacement in between. However, Kirch argues that population size is the ultimate cause behind cultural change, leading to cultural controls that result in variations (Kirch 2000: 309–310). On the other hand, it could be argued that the cultural variations themselves are the cause of population fluctuations.

The ability to attract followers relies not only on personal charisma but also on the fundamental basis of a leader's ability to provide for their followers and to exert power in a military manner. Both of these abilities are heightened when the leader is able to demonstrate a 'natural' right to leadership through hereditary status or another form of mana. Te Rauparaha is a classic example of a leader who demonstrated that he had all three requirements on a national scale. Most, if not all, of the other leaders listed here could also qualify on a smaller, more local scale.

Te Rauparaha's constant attention to the hapū of Ngāti Toa and the iwi's allies are a glimpse into the efforts required to hold together a group of followers. This process was also happening simultaneously with every lesser chief. Their successes and failures can be measured in the kāinga and pā of Porirua. Essentially there are a lot of pā in Porirua because each is a physical expression of an individual's ability to form a group of followers, break from their existing situation and create a new living space, and yet at the same time remain within the tribal territory.

Rapid development and discarding of individual pā has repercussions for our approach to the analysis of site distribution. As an example, one of the more significant attempts in this field was carried out by archaeologist Geoffrey Irwin in 1985 when he published a study of pā at Pouto Point in Kaipara Harbour. In it he suggested that 12 pā in the study were occupied contemporaneously between 1650 and 1800. If the examples at Porirua can be held to be true for other parts of the country, we have to revise our thoughts on exactly what we mean by contemporary. Not only do the pā have to fall within the same date range, but hopefully they will also exhibit evidence of a long enough occupation span to overlap with the other pā.

The evidence from Porirua would suggest that a much tighter dating regime is needed if accurate conclusions are to be made. The 150-year time period covered by the pā at Pouto might equate to four or even five generations,

meaning that they could still have been occupied in succession rather than contemporaneously.

The significance of contemporary versus successive occupation impacts heavily on the theory of spheres of influence and dominance. Additionally, it affects the amount of area available in which resources can be gathered for each pā. In real terms, the impact may be only on the specific example rather than on the theory itself, but it does once again highlight the importance of temporal relationships between sites.

Archaeologists have concentrated almost exclusively on the physical resources associated with pā and kāinga, and at times have wondered why some pā and kāinga were abandoned for no clear reason. In the 30 years between 1820 and 1850, many pā and kāinga were built, occupied and then abandoned within the Porirua basin. The reasons why this happened gives us some important insights. By looking into the social structures of the time and regarding these sites as physical manifestations of social actions, we can come to a better understanding of why there were so many settlement sites at Porirua and speculate if these reasons can be extrapolated to a wider New Zealand context.

The implications that can be drawn from the results are important in understanding the social and cultural aspects of tribal leadership amongst Ngāti Toa of this period and, by inference, Māori in general. These implications are also important in terms of our interpretation of the archaeological record of site distribution, particularly of pā, for New Zealand as a whole.

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H.D. Skinner's use of associates within the colonial administrative structure of the Cook Islands in the development of Otago Museum's Cook Islands collections

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ABSTRACT: During his tenure at Otago Museum (1919–57), H.D. Skinner assembled the largest Cook Islands collection of any museum in New Zealand. This paper shows that New Zealand's colonial administrative structure was pivotal in the development of these collections, but that they were also the result of complex human interactions, motivations and emotions.

Through an analysis of Skinner's written correspondence, examples are discussed that show his ability to establish relationships where objects were donated as expressions of personal friendship to Otago Museum. The structure of the resulting collection is also examined. This draws out Skinner's personal interest in typological study of adzes and objects made of stone and bone, but also highlights the increasing scarcity of traditional material culture in the Cook Islands by the mid-twentieth century, due in part to the activities of other collectors and museums.

KEYWORDS: H.D. Skinner, Otago Museum, Cook Islands, colonialism, material culture.

Introduction

During his tenure as ethnologist (1919–57) and, later, director of Otago Museum, Henry Devenish Skinner (usually referred to as H.D. Skinner; Fig. 1) built a collection of at least 958 objects from the Cook Islands. Most of these objects came from individuals involved in the colonial infrastructure of the islands. The mechanics of Skinner's collecting relationships are interesting in that they show that this collection was not acquired passively, but was developed as the result of a clearly defined plan, carried out by Skinner over four decades.

It should be noted here that many Cook Islands objects made their way into Otago Museum's collections by means other than Skinner's connections in the colonial administration. Through purchases from auction houses and private

individuals, exchanges with museums, private donations and, significantly, the purchase by the New Zealand government of the Oldman collection in 1948, Otago Museum's Cook Islands collection grew to be the largest in New Zealand.

Why Skinner collected

When Skinner was appointed assistant curator in 1919, the Otago Museum had one collection item from the Cook Islands: a paddle from Rarotonga donated in 1903. Skinner's research in Britain during the First World War into Māori and Polynesian material culture made him acutely aware of what *had* been available to European ethnographic collectors in the Pacific, including the Cook Islands. Most of the collections he studied in Britain at that time had been assembled as early as the late eighteenth century and



Fig.1 H.D. Skinner in 1928 (neg. sheet 209, Hocken Collections, Dunedin).

included textiles and staff gods, which had long since ceased being produced in the Pacific Islands (see H.D. Skinner to Buck, 23 October 1936). As Table 1 shows, even in comparison to other New Zealand museums, the Otago Museum was late in establishing its ethnographic collections (Livingstone 1998: 19–25).

This delay in acquiring ethnographic objects gave Skinner a sense of urgency, built on a belief that pre-European Polynesian material culture would soon disappear from the market. In a public lecture delivered in 1920, Skinner displayed this view and his own interest in material culture studies: '[E]thnology is the most important of all the component sections of anthropology ... This will certainly not be the case, however, in a century's time. What factor is it, then, that gives this temporary precedence over all other branches of anthropology? It is the fact that the data of ethnology are vanishing data' (Skinner 1920).

In an address given at the end of his directorship in 1957, Skinner reflected on the priorities he and Willi Fels

Table 1 A comparison of Cook Islands objects held in the collections of the four main museums in New Zealand before and at the end of Skinner's tenure at Otago Museum.

	Pre-1919	1957
Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland	165	420
Dominion Museum (now Te Papa), Wellington	230	279
Canterbury Museum, Christchurch	13	117
Otago Museum, Dunedin	1	958

(Otago Museum's most significant benefactor) had made in their Pacific collecting:

What, you may ask, was the plan? The making of the plan began on the day of my appointment, and was forged in never-ending discussions with Willi Fels, our greatest benefactor. There were two preliminary requirements: 1. Quality in material purchased. 2. Careful costing.

The general principles followed were to secure in the first place Maori and Moriori material with scrupulous attention to locality. Next came Polynesian material, followed by Melanesian and other Oceanic material. (H.D. Skinner 1957)

Skinner's collecting priorities radiated out from New Zealand. From his research perspective, the comparative analysis of Pacific material culture could be used to determine the migration routes of the Polynesian peoples. This research could be practically undertaken only in a museum environment, where objects of similar form – but from a variety of locations – could be studied in one place in an attempt to determine their morphological relationships and significance (Freeman 1959).

Adzes and other stone implements were 'the most important class of evidence relating to Polynesian origins, for from many islands in the Pacific they are almost the only evidence we have' (H.D. Skinner 1924: 30). Of the 958 Cook Islands objects accessioned into the Otago Museum's collections during Skinner's tenure, 358 were adzes.

Skinner was also lecturer in anthropology at the University of Otago. His goal was to develop Otago Museum's collections to provide a global sweep of material culture for his students to study, while also providing objects for his own comparative studies.

How Skinner collected

In developing Otago Museum's collections, Skinner was able to draw on the Fels Fund, established by Willi Fels in 1920. Of the 958 Cook Islands objects collected during Skinner's tenure, 356 are noted in the museum's registers as having been purchased through the Fels Fund.

In general, Skinner's ability to purchase objects, rather than having to rely solely on donations, allowed him greater control over the types and quality of objects coming into the museum. In particular, he considered his ability to purchase collections to be the most significant factor in the development of the museum's collections (H.D. Skinner 1951: 9). The purchasing process was undertaken in close discussion with Fels, with whom Skinner shared a vision for developing the museum's collections. They also shared an ambition to bring high-quality and representative collections from throughout the Pacific and the world to Dunedin.

One factor in particular was significant in fostering donations to the Otago Museum. This was Skinner's personal ability to inspire others with his own passion. In a testimonial written in 1924 as part of Skinner's application for the position of curator at the Auckland Museum, Otago Museum's then curator William Benham wrote: 'Mr Skinner has a charm of manner that almost compels people who own a collection to present it to the museum when he approaches them about it' (Benham 1924).

Richard Skinner also considered that his father's personality was pivotal:

Dad's personality, it was an electric personality. I think that if you talked with him, you became ... I won't say you became a collector, but you became extraordinarily interested in what he was doing. And if the opportunity arose, because you happened to be in Egypt or something like that, or doing other work, but at the same time you'd think, 'By Jove, Skinner would have appreciated this opportunity'. (H.R.W. Skinner, interview with author, 2 September 2006)

Alongside H.D. Skinner's 'electric personality', Richard Skinner also emphasised his father's ability to draw influential and wealthy members of the Dunedin community into active involvement with Otago Museum through the numerous dinner parties held at 'Rustar', the Skinner family home: 'There were countless dinner parties at Rustar at which different people were the invited guests, and they would find themselves arriving and by the time they left they were museum enthusiasts' (H.R.W. Skinner, interview with author, 25 July 2006).

J.D. Freeman, himself a former student of Skinner's who aided the donation of several Cook Islands objects to the museum in the early 1940s, believes that through the 'sheer example of his enthusiasm' Skinner 'directed towards the Museum the civic pride of the merchants who had established in Dunedin business houses of national scope' (Freeman 1959: 19).

Skinner's social networks – the Cook Islands administration

Skinner's ability to enthuse others with his vision led to the development of long-standing collecting relationships with individuals involved in New Zealand's Cook Islands colonial administration. Most of Skinner's relationships were developed or maintained through written correspondence, as he had few opportunities to undertake fieldwork himself owing to his teaching obligations and logistical or funding restraints.

New Zealand administered the Cook Islands after its annexation from Britain in 1901, with all subsequent governance directed from Wellington until independence in 1965. The colonial administrative structure was headed by a resident commissioner, with resident agents in charge of local administration on the various islands within the group. School teachers and medical officers were also provided by the New Zealand government during this period (Scott 1991).

Collecting through resident commissioners

The first two collecting relationships discussed here relate to two individuals who successively held the most senior role in the Cook Islands: that of resident commissioner. Personal friendship and a sense of obligation were the driving elements behind these donations.

F.W. Platts

F.W. Platts was resident commissioner in the Cook Islands from 1915 to 1920. Prior to his appointment, Platts had practised as a lawyer in Dunedin, also spending one term as mayor of Port Chalmers (Scott 1991: 156). Skinner and Platts were obviously acquainted, as Platts wrote near the end of his tenure that he was 'getting together a few things for the museum' and that he would 'call upon' Skinner when



Fig. 2 A fan from Manihiki, presented to Otago Museum by resident commissioner Hugh Ayson in 1933 (D34.957, Otago Museum, Dunedin).

he arrived back in Dunedin (Platts to H.D. Skinner, 25 October 1920). With the arrival of 22 objects in 1921, ranging from fans to paddles, Skinner proclaimed that Platts had 'laid the foundation not only of our Cook Islands collection but of our whole Polynesian collection' (H.D. Skinner to Platts, 16 May 1921).

Hugh Ayson

While studying law at Victoria University between 1906 and 1909, Skinner had met and befriended fellow law student Hugh Ayson (H.R.W. Skinner, interview with author, 13 July 2007). Ayson went on to become resident commissioner of the Cook Islands between 1922 and 1943 (Crocombe 2006).

Ayson donated 10 Cook Islands objects to Otago Museum: two in 1933 and eight in 1934. Skinner wrote that the two adzes donated in 1933 were actually given to Major Fred Waite MP by Ayson, and were handed over to Otago Museum by Waite only 'after some discussion and very evident regret'. Skinner had needed to convince Waite that the adzes, 'were safer and also of greater use to students in our galleries than in a private house. I therefore entered them as your gift' (H.D. Skinner to Ayson, 12 December 1932).

In his letter to Ayson, Skinner continued by saying that the museum's Cook Islands collection was now 'fairly large' and 'one of the most important in existence', but, 'I very

much hope that you will be able to help us further in developing our Cook Islands section – we would certainly appreciate any help you can give'. Skinner comments that he was reading a draft of Felix Keesing's *Modern Samoa: its government and changing life* (1934), adding, 'The administration of the Cook Islands is referred to occasionally in very appreciative terms'.

Skinner's opportunism bore fruit the following year with the arrival of a consignment of the eight Cook Islands objects (mainly fans; Fig. 2) from Ayson.

Skinner must have been encouraged when Ayson suggested that he would try to get a double canoe for him (Ayson to H.D. Skinner, 30 January 1933), as he later wrote to Ayson stating that Otago Museum would be happy to 'supply the timber for a boat, or whatever else you consider adequate return for the double canoe' (H.D. Skinner to Ayson, 12 December 1934). Raising this request with another correspondent, Skinner wondered whether his offer of timber would 'touch [Ayson's] conscience' (H.D. Skinner to D. Low, 1934). Unfortunately, Ayson was unable to acquire a canoe as he found it was 'not an easy matter to get the people to part with them' (Ayson to H.D. Skinner, 28 November 1934).

Ayson also facilitated Skinner's brief collecting episode in Rarotonga in 1931. Although much of Otago Museum's collections were built as a result of purchases or donations arranged via written correspondence, Skinner took any

opportunity to add to them directly. While on the return journey to New Zealand from Tahiti after several months spent working in the Society Islands with staff from Honolulu's Bishop Museum, Skinner and his family stopped for the day in Rarotonga (H.D. Skinner to Trenn, 4 May 1937) and Ayson invited them to go for a tour around the island. Richard Skinner recalls:

And Dad, of course, he took to this like lightning. And so we got into the car and so we drove around. But he had the most amazing 45° vision, or 90° vision I suppose. He could be watching the road ahead, but at the same time, if you passed anything on either side of the road that looked interesting, he would signal the driver to either slow down or stop. And he'd leap out of the car and go and investigate what he'd seen. I mean the average person would not have picked any of this stuff up. But he picked up quite a few bits and pieces.

And if the fellow wanted to bargain, he'd bargain with him. And Dad was a pretty good bargainer [laughs]. He'd bargain with them and he normally won. But, however, that was how we spent the day. (H.R.W. Skinner, interview with author, 13 July 2007)

Collecting through resident agents

Lionel Trenn

Lionel Trenn worked for Union Steam Ship Company as a radio operator on a number of cargo ships operating between New Zealand and central Polynesia in the late 1920s to mid-1930s (Anonymous 1936), before being appointed resident agent on Manihiki and, later, Mangaia in the Cook Islands.

It seems likely that Skinner made Trenn's acquaintance in 1930 or 1931 while the former was in Tahiti. Aside from sourcing and donating Cook Islands objects, Trenn played a significant role in shipping many items free of charge to the Otago Museum.

Trenn sent five spears and paddles to Skinner in 1936. This was in gratitude to Skinner, who had been 'one of the prime movers' in securing Trenn the resident agent's position on Manihiki, which he held from the beginning of 1937. Trenn hoped that Skinner would be 'prepared to be [his] advisor and instructor in amateur anthropological research' (Trenn to H.D. Skinner, 28 September 1936). Trenn donated 54 objects from Manihiki during his tenure on the island (Fig. 3).

Skinner purchased a much-coveted shell adze from Manihiki through Trenn. The adze and several other objects were paid for with clothing and books. Trenn had suggested this form of payment because Manihiki Islanders were very poor during this period as a result of the decline in returns for copra and pearl shell, and so Skinner promised to send some literature and second-hand clothing for the adze (H.D. Skinner to Trenn, 8 November 1937). The following year, Trenn wrote: 'The man who gave me the adze, and the one who gave me the other things were really overjoyed' at the receipt of the clothing. Trenn described utilitarian items such as clothing as being like 'luxuries' at the time on Manihiki Island (Trenn to H.D. Skinner, 4 February 1938).

Near the end of Trenn's first year as resident agent on Manihiki, Skinner had written:

I was writing to [Peter] Buck two or three days ago, and was able to tell him we have now almost enough Manihiki material to make a separate collection. This does not mean that we are satisfied: far from it. The reverse in fact. As I think you know I am especially keen on adzes, and it was with the deepest regret that I read Buck's account of how the three known adzes in stone from your island have gone to the Bishop Museum. If you can lay your hands on stone or shell adzes you will put me everlastingly in your debt. (H.D. Skinner to Trenn, 8 November 1937)

Here Skinner not only shows his penchant for adzes, but also his competitive nature when trying to acquire objects ahead of other ethnologists.

Trenn also donated four objects from Rakahanga Island in 1943. Trenn was in a position to acquire these objects because the jurisdiction of his position covered both Manihiki and Rakahanga (Anonymous 1936).

In 1939, Skinner had paid Trenn for a wooden bowl from Pukapuka and a coconut grater from Tongareva (Penrhyn) (H.D. Skinner to Mr Chapman, 21 June 1939). Skinner had earlier asked Trenn to find these objects for the Otago Museum (H.D. Skinner to Trenn, 4 May 1937), but Trenn had replied that this could be difficult: '[B]ecause they are still useful household articles ... I will have to pay a few shillings for them. From where I'm writing this letter I can see a fine semi-oval legless bowl ... It is in such continual use that I doubt whether I could swap a good enamel basin for it' (Trenn to H.D. Skinner, 4 February 1938). Later that year, Skinner wrote offering £1, suggesting this would 'cover the cost of a good enamel bowl' (H.D. Skinner to Trenn, 20 May 1938).



Fig. 3 A fishhook from Manihiki, presented by Lionel Trenn in 1937 (D38.291, Otago Museum, Dunedin).

Upon reading of Trenn's transfer to Mangaia, Skinner wrote: 'We have had so much from you and I am hesitant to ask for more. Still, greed is powerful, and I am hoping that you may be able to send us material from Mangaia' (H.D. Skinner to Trenn, 3 November 1942). Skinner then goes on to list the objects he desires from Mangaia, starting with adzes, but also suggesting 'gimlets of all sizes, chisels, saws ... half-made adzes showing the process of chipping and flaking would be welcome'.

The success Skinner felt regarding his collecting relationship with Trenn can be gauged in a letter he wrote to Steven Savage, a former resident agent in the Cook Islands, in which he says: 'Through the help of Trenn we have secured a representative collection from Manihiki, and I am hoping he may help us still further now that he has moved down to Mangaia' (H.D. Skinner to Savage, 22 December 1942).

Despite Skinner's hopes, Trenn donated no Mangaian objects, even though he wrote that he had 'got the police keeping an eye out for stone implements and have told many officers, but so far nothing has come along' (Trenn to H.D. Skinner, 20 November 1944). There are three reasons for the lack of Mangaian donations from Trenn, and, in fact, for the lack of donations from Trenn altogether after the mid-1940s. First, his role on Mangaia kept him busy, with little time for ethnographic pursuits. Second, by the mid-1940s Trenn was married with a young daughter and family life occupied much of his spare time (Trenn to

H.D. Skinner, 4 December 1945). And third, in 1947 Trenn left Mangaia to take up the position of registrar at the High Court in Rarotonga (Anonymous 1947). This new position in the centre of the administration appears to have curtailed any further opportunities for him to assemble objects for Otago Museum.

W.A. Allison

In the late 1940s, Skinner engaged in a collecting relationship with the resident agent of Atiu, W.A. Allison. Skinner had met Allison at Otago Museum through Gordon Anderson, the museum's first education officer (Allison to H.D. Skinner, 6 October 1947).

In another instance of Skinner encouraging the ethnographic pursuits of one of his field collectors, Allison wrote to Skinner with notes he had compiled, at Skinner's suggestion, of string games played on Atiu (Allison to H.D. Skinner, 6 October 1947). Allison remarked: 'I have not forgotten your request for certain native artefacts'. It can be argued that through mediating between his field collectors and the editors of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Skinner created a subtle form of obligation from his collectors to repay the favour through the sale or donation of objects to Otago Museum.

In 1949, Allison sent 12 adzes to Otago Museum, accompanied by a letter in which he wrote, apologetically:

Unfortunately when some of the owners heard that I was buying these adzes they began to sharpen them on the grind stone which marks you will probably see : others again come in coated with oil , and I believe some have been rubbed with a preparation made from candle nut which is supposed to blacken the stone : some are in the raw state and I presume that is the way in which you prefer : The actions of the owners are quite understandable because they thought that a sharpened and polished axe or adze would realise a greater payment. (Allison to H.D. Skinner, 2 August 1948)

In his next letter, Allison mentions that he held little hope of finding 'rimers, needles etc' from other islands as 'the Americans during the "occupation" cleaned out all the stone and wooden artefacts of Aitutaki', although he was still 'getting quite a thrill out of collecting' (Allison to H.D. Skinner, 16 August 1948).

Skinner was obviously thrilled by this outcome as well. His eagerness is evident in the extensive requests of his following letter:

As regards ethnographic material from Atiu, we should be delighted to receive whatever you collect. Would it be possible to secure any of the coir head dresses that were used in fighting in ancient times? The wood weapons would be long ago either collected or destroyed except such as may be found occasionally in old taro swamps. Any wooden material from such swamps would be of great value. Wooden bowls or food dishes would be of great value. I ought to have said at the beginning that we would be glad to pay such prices as you think reasonable. I myself am specially interested in stone implements, not only adzes, though of course these would be welcome, but also food pounders and such long forgotten implements as gimlets, rimers, scrapers and saws. (H.D. Skinner to Allison, 1 December 1948)

In 1951, Allison left Atiu to take up the temporary position of headmaster at Avarua School in Rarotonga ('Cook Islands appointments' 1955). Skinner wrote to Allison suggesting, 'When you return to Atiu renew the hunt for artefacts with redoubled vigour' (H.D. Skinner to Allison, 24 January 1951), but Allison remained in Rarotonga, eventually becoming director of education for the colony ('Cook Islands appointments' 1955).

In 1950, Skinner attempted to purchase an adze found in the vegetable plot at Avarua School, Rarotonga. In reply to Skinner's offer, P.F. Henderson, assistant master of the school, wrote, '[I]t is the wish of the school [that] it shall be given on long term loan to any properly constituted Museum in Rarotonga, if and when, such a Museum is set

up here' (Henderson to H.D. Skinner, 27 June 1950). In lieu of the adze itself, Henderson offered Skinner a cast of it for Otago Museum.

Henderson's letter displays a different attitude towards Cook Islands material culture than that generally observed in Skinner's correspondence during earlier periods of his tenure. Avarua School's desire to retain the adze in the Cook Islands, in the hope that it would eventually be displayed in a local museum, is indicative of a growing desire for indigenous cultural objects to remain in the Cook Islands at a time when little pre-European material was left. During this period there was also a growing and strong desire for independence from New Zealand, which explains the intention to establish indigenous cultural institutions such as a museum in the Cook Islands. Curiously, the headmaster of Avarua School at this time was the aforementioned W.A. Allison ('Cook Islands appointments' 1955). There must, however, have been a strong, broad consensus among those involved in the school for the adze to stay in Rarotonga.

Donations from medical officers

Several medical officers serving with the colonial administration also donated objects to Otago Museum. Here, the ties of friendship, as well as the precedent of earlier donations, are significant in encouraging these individuals to donate. The most significant of these donors was Dr Gordon Dempster.

Gordon Dempster

Dempster donated objects from a variety of localities in Polynesia to Otago Museum over a period of 30 years. His motivations to donate were both his friendship with Skinner and the passion for curio hunting he had shared with the ethnologist while he was a student, as the following extract from a letter written in Samoa illustrates: 'Both my wife and I are looking forward to our return to civilisation in October, and have promised ourselves a relic-digging holiday on return. We would welcome suggestions from you as to a suitable location. Unfortunately all my old searching grounds now seem to be finished' (Dempster to H.D. Skinner, 15 May 1937).

Upon graduating from the University of Otago Medical School, Dempster had been stationed as the sole medical practitioner in Niue from 1931 to 1935, later working in Samoa for several years ('Obituary: Dr G.O.L. Dempster' 1972). Dempster donated objects from both of these locations while stationed there.



Fig. 4 Three Rarotongan toki (adzes) donated by R.B. Wicks in 1927 (D27.64, D27.73 and D27.78, Otago Museum, Dunedin).

With regard to Dempster's Cook Islands donations, his first, a fishhook, was made in 1931. The bulk of his donations were made in 1951 and come from Pukapuka. These are 10 objects collected while he was leading a research group investigating 'medical and health problems in the Cook Islands' ('Dunedin medical officer promoted' 1955).

Edward Pohau Ellison

Edward Pohau Ellison served as medical officer of health in the Cook Islands in 1926 and from 1931 to 1945. He donated few objects from the Cook Islands to Otago Museum, but the correspondence between him and Skinner shows that Skinner was not afraid to ask Ellison to collect for him. Skinner's hopes were not without precedent. From 1919 to 1923, Ellison had served in various roles in the colonial administration of Niue (Brons & Ellison 2006), resulting in his donation of 51 objects from the island to Otago Museum in 1924–26.

Ultimately, Ellison donated only three Cook Islands objects to Otago Museum, one in 1925 and two through Dr D.W. Carmalt-Jones in 1948. However, Skinner did make attempts to get Ellison to collect more for the museum. In 1932, Ellison wrote, 'I see you are as keen as ever on obtaining samples of Cook Islands material culture & I will be in the que vive in regards to collecting some material for you' (Ellison to H.D. Skinner, 20 June 1932). No further material came to the museum through Ellison, but this letter illustrates Skinner's incessant collecting zeal.

Collecting through Department of Education staff

R.B. Wicks

Skinner obtained 85 Rarotongan adzes through the agency of school teacher R.B. Wicks in 1927 (Fig. 4). Skinner had met Wicks in Rarotonga while travelling to San Francisco on his Rockefeller Travelling Fellowship that year.

Upon reading of Skinner's arrangement to purchase the adzes, Willi Fels wrote: 'I must say you paid an exceedingly long price for the Rarotongan lot, but as the money will be used for Native School purposes in Rarotonga, it is satisfactory to know that it will be spent in a good cause' (Fels to H.D. Skinner, 27 February 1927).

The 'good cause' Fels is referring to here is made clear in a letter written by Skinner several years later: 'Some years ago through the agency of Mr. R. W. [sic] Wicks, teacher at [Takitumu School] Nga Tangiia [sic] Rarotonga, this museum was able to secure the largest collection in existence of Cook Island adzes. These were brought in by Mr. Wicks' school-children, and the money we paid secured for the school an adequate cricket outfit' (H.D. Skinner to Rutherford, 19 November 1930).

In June 1928, Wicks donated a further 92 Rarotongan adzes to Otago Museum from his new base in Christchurch, where he had accepted a teaching position at Opawa School. Wicks wrote that as Skinner had been 'hauled over the coals on account of paying so much for those adzes ... I hope that

if I present my present collection, it will make things alright for you!' (Wicks to H.D. Skinner, 21 March 1928).

William Bird

William Bird donated nine adzes, eight of which were also from Takitumu School.

Bird spent much of his career in the Department of Education in New Zealand as inspector of native schools, rising to chief inspector of primary schools in 1926. From 1930 to 1931 he held the post of superintendent of native and island education (Renwick 2007). It can be assumed that this was the period in which Bird acquired the objects he subsequently donated to Otago Museum, as he wrote to Skinner saying that the adzes were given to him by the pupils of Takitumu School, which was located by an outcrop of basaltic rock, mined in pre-European times for adze production (Bird to H.D. Skinner, 8 May 1935). This explains the large quantity of adzes R.B. Wicks acquired from the same location in 1927.

In 1950, Bird donated a further eight Cook Islands objects to Otago Museum. These objects had been given to Sergeant J.W. Berry while training Cook Islanders for military service during the Second World War. Berry had been killed during the Italian campaign in the war and his small collection had passed into the hands of Bird (see Otago Museum anthropology register D50.255).

Concluding comments

From resident commissioners to medical officers and teachers, Skinner forged collecting networks throughout all levels of the Cook Islands colonial administration. Personal friendships with Skinner can be seen as the primary motivation for these individuals to donate. The donations of resident commissioners Platts and Ayson, resident agent Trenn, medical officers Dempster and Ellison, and education service workers Bird and Freeman were expressions of friendship towards Skinner. For the amateur anthropologists such as Trenn, Allison and Dempster, the objects they collected were also symbols of gratitude for Skinner's support of their ethnological endeavours.

Forces beyond Skinner's control influenced all of the relationships, donations and purchases discussed here. Trenn's changing role in the Cook Islands administration and his growing responsibilities to his family meant that he

simply did not have the time to collect for Skinner by the mid-1940s. Ayson, Platts, Bird, Ellison and Dempster were limited by the duration of their tenures in the Cook Islands, as well as by the time-consuming responsibilities of their roles in the colonial administration.

The fact that much of the pre-contact material culture of many islands in the Cooks group had already been removed by Skinner's era also influenced the types and quantities of objects he was able to collect – and the willingness of Cook Islanders to part with their family possessions.

The peak period of Otago Museum's Cook Islands collection development was the mid-1930s. The Second World War brought to the Pacific Islands large numbers of servicemen who 'cleaned out' the region of its ethnographic objects (Allison to H.D. Skinner, 16 August 1948), and a government-imposed embargo on sending money off shore (H.D. Skinner to Buck, 2 October 1939) was also influential. The international growth in private ethnographic collecting, particularly from the 1950s, additionally increased the competition for collecting and the resulting prices for objects (MacClancy 1997: 30). The irony of all this is that Skinner's willingness to pay for objects also increased their value, creating difficulty for later generations of museum curators, who had to compete for highly priced objects on the open market (Leach 1972: 11–12).

Most significantly, the Cook Islands Amendment Act (1950) prohibited the export of 'Native antiquities' without the written permission of the High Commissioner. As evident in the response to Skinner's offer to purchase the adze found that year at Avarua School, the latter period of his tenure at Otago Museum saw attitudes changing, both among indigenous Cook Islanders and the Europeans living there, towards keeping and preserving indigenous material culture in the Cook Islands.

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Abbreviations

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A silver slice of Māori history: the Te Pahi medal

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ABSTRACT: The sudden reappearance and subsequent sale by Sotheby's Australia of the Te Pahi medal in April 2014 was a significant numismatic event. The medal is a unique object in early Australasian colonial history. The circumstances of its presentation by the Governor of New South Wales, Philip Gidley King, to Te Pahi, a Ngāpuhi chief, provide insights into colonial and indigenous contacts and relationships in the early 1800s.

This paper considers the circumstances behind the commissioning of the medal in 1805–06 and its disappearance following colonist and whaler raids in 1810. When the medal reappeared, Ngāpuhi demanded its repatriation and attempted to have its sale postponed. Although this proved unsuccessful, the medal was repatriated thanks to a winning bid jointly made by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and the Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira. At the time of writing, the Te Pahi medal has just returned to New Zealand after an absence of more than 200 years.

KEYWORDS: Medal, numismatics, Māori, Ngāpuhi, Te Papa, Philip Gidley King, Te Pahi, whalers, James Finucane, Hugh Rihari, Sotheby's Australia, cultural heritage, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Bay of Islands, New Zealand.

Introduction

The dramatic reappearance and sale by Sotheby's Australia of the Te Pahi medal (Figs 1 and 2), largely hidden from view for more than 200 years, is surely the most notable Australasian numismatic event of 2014.¹ Made by transportees at the behest of a colonial governor for presentation to a Māori chief, the medal was aptly characterised in a *Sydney Morning Herald* headline as a slice of history.² While it is interesting enough in its own right as a very early and extremely scarce example of Australian silversmithing, the medal drew still greater attention in raising issues of historical and indigenous identity, as well as the contested politics and ethics of cultural property and its repatriation.

This writer must declare a personal interest in the matter. The Te Pahi medal was due to be auctioned just weeks after I had taken up the position as curator of historical and international art at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa

Tongarewa (Te Papa). I believed that every effort needed to be made to secure the medal for the national collection. Fortunately, through an unprecedented joint move with the Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira (Auckland Museum), this came to pass on a shared basis. Had the medal been withdrawn from sale – which at one stage appeared a real possibility – and had high-end private collectors been less adversely affected by the global financial crisis, the outcome could well have been very different: probably a bleaker one for Te Pahi's Ngāpuhi tribal descendants and numismatists alike. This article aims to fulfil Te Papa's mission statement in telling a story 'with authority and passion' about a taonga (treasure) that relates to the 'land and people' of Aotearoa New Zealand.³ The 'passion' aspect is not hard to feel, as the story is one of triumph (1806), tragedy (1810) and triumph again (2014), with considerable mystery in between.



Fig. 1 (*above*) Te Pahi medal, obverse, c. 1805–06, silver, 45 mm diameter. Artists John Austin and Ferdinand Meurant [attributed] (Te Papa TMP021966).

Fig. 2 (*below*) Te Pahi medal, reverse.

The inscription and the makers

Although the Te Pahi medal could be credibly ‘unpacked’ in a post-colonial academic context as a signifier of boundary-crossing and cross-cultural travel, its inscription and message have a disarming straightforwardness. The story it tells is literally inscribed on its two sides. Its patron, Philip Gidley King, Governor of New South Wales (1758–1808) (Fig. 3), recorded the circumstances behind it thus:

To give [Te Pahi] some proof of the estimation he was held in by me and the inhabitants of this place, I caused a medal to be made of silver with the following engraving: ‘Presented by Governor King to Tip-a-he, a Chief of New Zealand, during his visit at Port Jackson, in January, 1806’: and on the reverse: ‘In the reign of George the Third, by the Grace of God King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland’. This medal was suspended by a strong silver chain around his neck.⁴

There are small but significant discrepancies between King’s recollection of the inscription, and how this was actually rendered. On the medal, ‘TIPAHEE’ is capitalised and not hyphenated, giving the chief greater force and equal billing with ‘GEORGE THE THIRD’ on the reverse. Significantly, what the governor had mistakenly rendered as ‘Port Jackson’ is in fact ‘Sydney’, which makes the message more understandable today to an audience unfamiliar with the former appellation. These variations furthermore serve to underline the genuineness of the medal; surely a forgery would have conscientiously copied King’s rendition verbatim.

The inscription spells out the immense historic interest of the medal, as one of the very first official taonga associated with Māori and trans-Tasman relations. Described on page two of Leslie Carlisle’s authoritative monograph, *Australian historical medals 1788–1988*, the Te Pahi medal post-dates the iconic *Charlotte* medal (1788; Australian National Maritime Museum) (Figs 4 and 5), widely regarded as Australia’s first colonial work of art, by just 18 years.⁵ Poignantly, Carlisle illustrated the Te Pahi medal with two schematic blank circles of tentative dimensions, as his study preceded its reappearance by several years. Up to that point, King’s record of the inscription was presumed to have been accurate.

As the inscription visually dominates and defines the medal, this potentially lessens its appeal as a work of art. Yet technically, the copperplate lettering of the Te Pahi medal is considerably more refined and more conventionally beautiful than that of the more naive – if incredibly



Fig. 3 *Governor Philip Gidley King*, c. 1800, oil on canvas, 600 × 500 mm. Artist unknown. (ML 1257, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney).

compelling – *Charlotte* medal. Furthermore, as David Hansen stated in his admirable sale catalogue essay, the Te Pahi medal is in a class apart from most of the ‘crude amateur’ convict love tokens, which frequently utilised recycled late eighteenth-century ‘cartwheel’ pennies.⁶

Although the maker of the Te Pahi medal is unknown, the field of suspects is narrowed owing to the extreme paucity of skilled silversmiths in early nineteenth-century New South Wales, together with the documented knowledge of the timeframe in which it was made. Indeed, the medal’s authorship may be fairly confidently attributed to the Irish seal engraver and silversmith John Austin (c. 1761–1835) and his close associate and one-time partner in banknote forgery, the French-born Ferdinand Meurant (1765–1844).⁷ Both men were transportees from Dublin who arrived in Sydney in 1800; Austin had been a freeman of the Dublin Company of Goldsmiths. The capitalised lettering on the reverse of the medal describing George III as King ‘of Great Britain/ AND/ IRELAND’ could well be a reference to the artists’ (particularly Austin’s) backgrounds.

A few months after the medal was made, King’s bitter enemy, the Irish political convict William Maum, complained that ‘these men were never in the employ of



Fig. 4 (left) *Charlotte* medal, obverse, 1788, silver, 74 mm diameter. Artist Thomas Barrett [attributed] (Australian National Maritime Museum, Sydney).



Fig. 5 (right) *Charlotte* medal, reverse.

government since their arrival nor were they in any degree instrumental in contributing to the welfare of the colony and were solely employed in making jewellery and trinkets for Mrs King.⁸ A sauce ladle, one of the earliest-known pieces of Australian marked silver (c. 1810; private collection) has been attributed to Austin, while Austin and Meurant have been credited as makers of a gold-mounted turbot-shell snuff box (c. 1808; Powerhouse Museum, Sydney), whose engraving corresponds in its quality to that of the Te Pahi medal.⁹

The sourcing of the silver for the medal can likewise be identified reasonably confidently. With its diameter of

45 mm, the medal cannot have been a recycled Spanish eight-real coin or a British crown coin, as both have diameters of 38 mm. While either of these coins could have been hammered into a wider medal, such an object would be thin indeed, which the Te Pahi medal is not. The medal's edge (Fig. 6) instead suggests that it was made from two joined watch cases, a technical feat compatible with the documented skills of Austin and Meurant.¹⁰ Although such a practice was rare, this was probably an instance of making a virtue out of necessity in what was then an economically primitive – even sterile – colony, where bullion was in short supply.



Fig. 6 Edge of Te Pahi medal (Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira, Auckland).



Fig. 7 *Tippahee [Te Pahi] A New Zealand Chief*, 1827, engraving, 106×78 mm. Artist William Archibald, after a drawing by George Prideaux Harris (A-092-007, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

Background to the commission

Te Pahi's place in history has been admirably incorporated into accounts of Māori and European contacts by Anne Salmond and Vincent O'Malley.¹¹ Te Pahi (c. 1760–1810) (Figs 7 and 8) came from a Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Awa tribal background, and was paramount chief of the Te Hikutu people of Rangihoua Bay and Te Puna in the Bay of Islands. The location of his island pā has been the subject of historical speculation. Traditionally, it was identified as Roimata (also known as Te Pahi or Turtle Island), but recent research by

archaeologist Angela Middleton and Ngāpuhi architectural historian Deidre Brown has instead pointed rather more convincingly to the neighbouring Motuapo Island.¹²

Te Pahi extended protection to the British and American whalers whose activities were greatly expanding in the opening years of the nineteenth century; the locale provided excellent anchorage. Sir Joseph Banks, veteran of James Cook's first voyage to New Zealand in 1768–71 and a leading advocate of Australian colonisation, noted how 'the South Whalers ... have been in the habit of visiting the Bay of Islands for Refreshments & have obtained besides wood



Fig. 8 *Tippiabee [Te Pahi]*, 1808, watercolour and ink. Artist James Finucane (SV* / Mao / Port / 14, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney).

& water Potatoes both Sweet & the Common sort ... & fish in abundance They have always been well Received there by the Chief [of] Ta-Poonah [Te Puna].¹³ King received Te Pahi's son Matara (also known as Maa-Tara) at Government House, Port Jackson, in June 1805, referring to him as 'the son of a powerful chief at the Bay of Islands who had always been extremely hospitable to the whalers'. He gave Matara metal tools and other gifts, including 'two female and one male swine with two female and one male Goat', supplemented by 18 sows and two boars picked up at Norfolk Island 'as a present to Tip-pa-he'.¹⁴ Te Pahi, accompanied by four of his sons, resolved to thank King in person, and went to Port Jackson via Norfolk Island, arriving there in November 1805.

Te Pahi's three-month sojourn at Government House is well documented. O'Malley observed that it was 'motivated not just by the need to reciprocate the gifts he had received from King, but also in the expectation of establishing an ongoing relationship with the Governor for the benefit of his people'.¹⁵ Te Pahi was on what today would be termed a fact-

finding mission, particularly on the agricultural, textile and construction fronts, which he evidently pursued with intelligence and enthusiasm: 'here was a man with which the British could do business', as David Hansen put it.¹⁶ In turn, King appreciated New Zealand's growing economic significance as a source of whale oil, flax and spars for ship masts and yards.

The visit was, furthermore, a personal success. If Te Pahi corresponded to the Enlightenment construct of the 'noble savage', he was surely more noble than savage. 'To say that he was nearly civilised falls far short of his character', asserted King.¹⁷ He likened Te Pahi's manners to those of 'a well bred Gentleman allowing a little for the Country he comes from'. King admired Te Pahi's 'high relish for civilisation' and intelligent curiosity, and how he never missed 'any opportunity of gaining the most particular information respecting the cause and use of everything that struck his notice'.¹⁸ Te Pahi's 'ideas on the existence of God' also impressed King and his European companions. The Reverend Samuel Marsden of the Church Missionary Society praised Te Pahi's 'Clear,



Fig. 9 New Zealand Christmas stamp, 'First Christian service in New Zealand', 2½d, 1964. Designer Leonard Cornwall Mitchell (Te Papa PH.000538).

Strong and Comprehensive mind'. Marsden was influenced by his example (and still more so by Te Pahi's successor, Ruatara) to locate the first New Zealand Christian mission in Rangihoua Bay several years later in 1814 (Fig. 9).¹⁹

Central to the visit, and of particular relevance here, was the exchange of gifts, with King receiving a ceremonial patu (club) and several kākahu (cloaks), and Te Pahi carrying home fruit trees, iron tools and a prefabricated house, the first such to be constructed in New Zealand.²⁰ King concluded: 'Nor have I a doubt that the attention Shewn him by the Inhabitants in General And the Abundant presents he took from hence will procure the greatest Advantage to our South Sea Whalers.'²¹ While this may read somewhat disingenuously today – there was no such thing as a governor's free board and lodging – O'Malley recognises that 'King had come the closest of any of the eighteenth-century Europeans who encountered Māori to finding the middle ground'.²²

'Proof of the estimation in which he was held'

The medal almost certainly was not commissioned in anticipation of the success of Te Pahi's visit. Instead, it represented a prompt response on King's part to the personal qualities of Te Pahi that emerged during his sojourn. The medal inscription indicates that it was presented in January 1806; very likely it had been commissioned the previous month. It symbolised, as King stated, 'proof of the

estimation' in which Te Pahi was held. 'With this and other presents he was pleased and gratified', and with his passion for 'real utility', this particularly applied to 'the numerous tools and other articles of iron given him from the public stores and by every class of individuals'.²³

As King implies, the medal – which is pierced – would have been worn as a pendant, like a pounamu hei-tiki (greenstone pendant figure), and on Te Pahi's return home would have boosted his already considerable mana (prestige) still further. Had Te Pahi gone on to enjoy a peaceful and serene old age, like the venerable chiefs and elders portrayed at the other end of the century by Gottfried Lindauer and Charles Goldie, then the medal might well have either remained in Ngāpuhi hands or been presented at some point to a museum. But this, of course, is counterfactual history and the reality is considerably more complicated.

The medal's uniqueness needs emphasising. It remains the sole physical evidence of the significant contact between Te Pahi as an independent and sovereign chief, and Philip Gidley King as governor of a recently established British colony. It is the first state award presented to a Māori chief, and commemorates the earliest visit of such an eminent person to Australia. And while the medal is a token of esteem, it could also be interpreted more liberally as a kind of bravery and good conduct award in recognition of Te Pahi's intrepid mission. Leaving New Zealand went 'much against the wishes of his dependants',²⁴ as King noted, but Te Pahi realised that much was at stake in establishing an ongoing relationship with the governor for the benefit of his people. King stated that Te Pahi 'considered himself under my protection. If I wished him to remain here, go to Europe, or return to his own country, he was resigned to either, and in the most manly confidence submitted himself and his sons to my direction. All this was said in such an imposing manner that no doubt could be entertained of his sincerity'.²⁵

Historians have perhaps understated how Te Pahi had to cope with a very alien, 'goldfish bowl' milieu at Government House, his every action and statement under careful colonist scrutiny. Te Pahi appears to have given as good as he got, and 'spared no pains to convince us that the customs of his country were in several instances better than ours, many of which he looked on with the greatest contempt'.²⁶ In one such instance, Te Pahi was horrified by what he regarded as the cruel excesses of the British justice system in this era of convict transportation, when a man was sentenced to death for stealing pork. He tearfully appealed to King to spare the thief's life. When Te Pahi was told at a subsequent dinner



Fig. 10 *The blowing up of the Boyd*, 1889, oil on canvas, 1218 × 1837 mm. Artists Louis John Steele and Kennett Watkins (Te Papa 1992-00-19-2).

party at Government House that British law ‘secured to each individual the safe possession of his property, and punished with death all those who would deprive him of it’, he pointed to the captain of the *Mercury*, Theodore Walker, sitting at the table and demanded: ‘Then why not you hang Captain —, he come ashore and [stole] all my potatoes – you hang up Captain —’.²⁷ This ‘touché’ moment naturally caused Walker acute discomfort but greatly amused and perhaps even impressed the rest of the company.

On Te Pahi’s departure, King told Banks: ‘He will return to his own Country the greatest Monarch that ever left it’,²⁸ while the *Sydney Gazette* noted: ‘We cannot doubt the sincerity of his professions, or his friendly disposition towards our countrymen, which his treatment from our Government has very much improved.’²⁹ Te Pahi himself returned with high ideals of cultural and technological exchange, and had suggested that several of his people – the Ngāpuhi equivalent of a skilled working class – should visit New South Wales to train as shepherds and bring these skills home. Further plans to settle a party of colonial observers under Te Pahi’s protection – and living in his new

prefabricated house – did not, however, materialise. His second visit to Port Jackson in 1808 was marred by ill health and the absence of two critical allies: King, who had resigned, exhausted, as governor and was a prematurely dying man in England, and Marsden, who was on leave there. Internal political tensions following the overthrow and arrest of King’s successor, William Bligh, did not improve matters. On his visit, Lieutenant James Finucane, unofficial private secretary to Acting Governor Joseph Foveaux, portrayed ‘Tippahee a Chief of New Zealand’ wearing military uniform (Fig. 8), and presented him with a Masonic medal and ribbon whose own story is discussed below.³⁰

The burning of the *Boyd*

Worse was to follow for Te Pahi, in the form of an episode crucial in explaining the subsequent fate of both medals: the so-called *Boyd* Massacre, ‘Burning’ (as Salmond and O’Malley favour) or, more euphemistically, ‘Incident’, of December 1809. As with Te Pahi’s first visit to Port Jackson, historians have analysed it in detail.³¹ Many years after its

occurrence, the theme would inspire a fascinating pair of nostalgic history paintings, with depictions by Louis John Steele and Kennett Watkins (*The Blowing up of the Boyd*, 1889; Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa) (Fig. 10), and by Walter Wright (*The Burning of the Boyd, Whangaroa Harbour, 1809*, 1908; Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki).³²

En route to Cape Town from Sydney, the transport ship *Boyd* anchored in Whangaroa Harbour to load kauri spars and allow Māori passengers to disembark. Contemporary accounts suggest that the flogging during the voyage of Te Ara (also known as ‘Tara’ and ‘George’), a Ngāti Pou chief’s son from Whangaroa, prompted the ensuing events. Such treatment represented an indignity not only to Te Ara but, according to Māori protocol, to his father and, indeed, his iwi (tribe). The chief offender, Captain John Thompson, and his crew were lured ashore, massacred and the *Boyd* was then looted. Further fatalities occurred with the accidental ignition of gunpowder on board the vessel, the source of inspiration to the later painters. Some 70 Europeans and an unknown number of the attacking party were believed killed.

Te Pahi was the wrong person in the wrong place at the wrong time. It was his tragedy to have been implicated in the attack on the *Boyd* and its crew when from all preceding evidence he would have vehemently opposed such an outrage. A retrospective account states that ‘when they were killing the sailors Tippahee held his hand over his eyes and shed tears’,³³ while another version had him unsuccessfully attempting to save a group of sailors who had climbed the rigging.³⁴ Te Pahi had arrived in Whangaroa the day after the attack to conduct trade, and evidently he did receive some of the subsequent plunder from the vessel in accordance with custom.

A combination of factors effectively ‘did for’ Te Pahi: ongoing misunderstandings and tensions with whalers; inter-tribal rivalries, which were probably compounded by personal jealousy of his status; but above all, the colonial authorities needed to identify and punish a ringleader, or in this case a scapegoat, among ‘a people long deemed treacherous and unpredictable’.³⁵ A likely element of convenient confusion was made between Te Ara’s brother Te Puhī, who was almost certainly involved in the attack, and Te Pahi’s near namesake. The upshot was, as Salmond states, that ‘this “friendly chief”, who had lived with Governor King at Sydney ... was castigated as a treacherous cannibal’.³⁶ A contemporary broadsheet ballad (Fig. 11) colourfully describes Te Pahi’s alleged foul deeds of murder and cannibalism:

Chief Tippahee came on board
With all his company.
Some time he view’d the vessel o’er,
Then gave a dreadful yell,
Which was the signal to begin,
Upon the crew they fell.
Thirty of whom the monsters tore,
Limb from limb with speed,
And while their teeth did reek with gore,
They ate it as ’twere bread.³⁷

News of the attack on the *Boyd* reached Sydney in March 1810, and created understandable alarm among crews planning to visit the Bay of Islands. A hurried investigation conducted by supercargo Alexander Berry, informed by a Bay of Islands chief variously rendered as ‘Matengaha’, ‘Matingiro’ and, by Salmond, ‘Matengaro’, concluded that Te Pahi had been responsible. The report memorably ended: ‘let no man (after this) trust a New Zealander’.³⁸ Following the comparatively recent discovery of Finucane’s journal, now in the National Library of Ireland, and its publication by Anne-Maree Whitaker, it can be established that three revenge attacks on the part of colonists and whalers took place, rather than the two that had been previously documented.³⁹ The first consisted of cannon shots from Berry’s ship, the *City of Edinburgh*, directed at Te Pahi’s residence, which evidently missed their target but which ‘must have sent a frightening message to the residents of Wairoa Bay about their changing relationship with Europeans’.⁴⁰

Further attacks took place on 26 March and 10 April 1810. Historically, they have been conflated, and the third has only recently emerged with the publication of Finucane’s journal. Their combined effect left Te Pahi’s settlement in ruins, with an unknown number of deaths of his people, estimates varying from the lower 20s to more than 70. Te Pahi’s own fate is likewise uncertain. One account claimed that he had died in the third attack after being shot seven times. Traditionally, however, his death was said to have occurred several weeks later ‘from a wound suffered in fighting between his people and those of Whangaroa, caused by the *Boyd* affair’.⁴¹ More definite was the assault on his prefabricated house, the repatriation of gifts made to him earlier, the end of both the governor’s sanction of trade in the area and the Crown’s recognition of Te Pahi’s chiefly authority, and the delay for several years of the establishment of Marsden’s mission station. Finucane’s journal entry of 10 April is highly relevant here:

Atrocious and Horrible MASSACREE,

Of the Crew of the Ship Boyd, Capt. Thomson, Newcastle, who were all devoured by the Cannibals of New Zealand, here the Ship had touched on her passage home from Botany Bay.



It appears that whilst the Boyd was at Botany Bay the Captain went with one of the two Chiefs who govern the Island of New Zealand, named Tippooee & agreed with him to purchase some timber to take to England. As soon as the voyage would permit, the ship arrived at the Island, and the Captain was promised the timber in two days. In the mean time, he was invited on shore, and attended the Chief with part of the ship's company in the boat. Nothing particular transpired on this occasion; but the Chief returned on board, the ship attended by a number of canoes full of men. They were permitted to examine the ship, as a matter of curiosity. Tippooee was treated with great respect; and having continued on board some time, he got into his boat, for the purpose as was supposed, of meeting the Captain who had gone to see the timber. Instead however, he gave a dreadful yell, which was the signal for the massacre of the whole ship's company.—There were about 40 in all, 30 of whom the horrid monsters tore limb from limb, and regaled themselves on the flesh of the unfortunate victims. Ten of the men, 2 women passengers, and a lad, ran below; the Chief hailed the men, and told them they had got all they wanted, having plundered the ship, and if they would come down their lives should be spared. The deluded men obeyed, and fell like their comrades, a sacrifice to the inordinate and brutal appetites of the cannibals. The 2 women and the boy were taken on shore, and their lives spared but the ship was burnt. The rival Chief, Pari, situated at a different part of the Island, heard of the affair, and expressed his sorrow on the occasion to the Captain of the City of Edinburgh, who was at the Island for timber, and prepared to accompany him with an armed force to release the women & boy, in which they perfectly succeeded.

The following address has been circulated on the subject of the late massacre by the cannibals natives of that quarter;—"All Masters of ships frequenting New Zealand, are directed to be careful in not admitting many natives on board, as they may be cut off in an instant by surprise. These are to certify, that during our stay in this

YE British seamen hearts of gold,
Who plough the raging sea,
Attend, while I to you unfold,
A horrid Massacre.
Which did of very fate take place,
Upon a British crew,
So dismal and so foul a case,
Before you never knew.
Returning home from Botany Bay,
The Captain and his crew,
At anchor at New Zealand lay,
Some timber for to view,
And while the Captain went on sho e,
The timber for to see

Chief Tippooee came on board,
With all his company.
Some time he view'd the vessel o'er,
Then gave a dreadful yell,
Which was the signal to begin,
Upon the crew they fell.
Thirty of whom the monsters tore,
Limb from limb with speed,
And while their flesh did rack with gore,
They eat it as 'twere bread.
Two women and a lad they took,
On shore, and both were sav'd,
The Captain murder'd was on shore.
All by these Blood-hound knives.

harbour, we had frequent reports of a ship being taken by the natives of the neighbouring harbour of Wangangoa, and that the crew were killed and eaten. In order to ascertain the truth of this report, as well as to rescue a few people who were said to be spared in the general massacre, Mr. Berty accompanied by Mr. Russel, and Metangangoa, a principal Chief of the Bay Islands, who volunteered his services, set out for Wangangoa in three armed boats, on Saturday the 4th of May and upon their arrival they found the miserable remains of the ship Boyd, which the natives after stripping of every thing of value, had burnt down to the water's edge. From the handsome conduct of Metangangoa, they were able to rescue a boy, a woman, and two children, the only survivors of this shocking event; which, according to the most satisfactory information, was perpetrated entirely under the direction of that old rascal Tippooee who had been so undeservingly censored at Port Jackson. This unfortunate vessel intended to load with spars, &c. She had been there 3 days; after her arrival, the natives informed the master, that in two days they would show the spars. Next day, in the morning, Tippooee came from Tippooee, and went on board; he staid only a few minutes. He then went into his canoe, and remained along-side the vessel, which was surrounded with a considerable number of canoes that had collected for the purpose of trading; and a great number of the natives gradually intruded into the ship, and sat down upon the deck. After breakfast, the master left the ship to look out for spars with two boats. Tippooee, after waiting a convenient time now gave signal for Massacre—in an instant the savages, who appeared peaceable on deck, rushed upon the unarmed crew who were variously employed about the ship; the greater part were massacred in an instant, and were no sooner knocked down than they were cut to pieces still alive. Five or six men escaped by the rigging. Tippooee now having possession of the ship, hailed them with a speaking-trumpet, and ordered them to unbind the sails and cut away the rigging and they should not be hurt they complied with his commands, and afterwards came down upon the deck he then took him on shore in a canoe, and immediately killed them. The master went ashore without arms, and of course, was easily dispatched. The natives of the Spar district in this harbour have behaved well, even beyond expectation, and seem much concerned on account of the event; and desiring the displeasure of King George, have requested a certificate of their good conduct, in order to exempt them from his vengeance; but let no man after his trust a New Zealander.

(Signed) Simon Pattinson, Alex. Berry, Surorengo, James Russel.
Given on board the City of Edinburgh, Captain S. Pattison, at the Bay Islands.

The boy Davinson, mentioned above, owed the preservation his life to his being club footed, the natives taking him for a son of the devil.

Printed by J. Catnach, 2, Manmouth-court, 7 Dials

The ship they robb'd of all her store,
Then burnt her up with speed,
The Monsters hatten a to the shore,
When they had done the deed.
Be warn'd ye Captains, by the fate,
Of Thomson, and his crew,
Touch not that cursed shore left you
These Cannibals pursue.
Those murd'rous fiends who live by blood,
Like Tigers watch their prey,
For while they smile they're bent the while,
To take your lives away.

Fig. 11 Atrocious and horrible massacre, c. 1810–11, broadsheet (St Bride Library, London).

We soon cleared the island of its inhabitants. A few were killed and the remainder throwing away their arms leaped into the sea and swam to the mainland, leaving their King's house with the presents he had at various times received from our government and from individuals as a booty to the invaders. Amongst them was the medal which I gave him at Port Jackson, and which the sailor who found it again restored it to me.⁴²

Despite having met Te Pahi in more civilised circumstances two years previously and alluded to here, Finucane was convinced of his guilt in 'the infernal purpose which he so well planned and effectually accomplished'.⁴³

A problematic provenance

Finucane does not mention the original Te Pahi medal in his journal, and was perhaps not even aware of it. Its whereabouts between 1810 and 1899 must remain speculative, even if it is likely to have been among the items repatriated in the revenge attacks. Marsden's companion John Liddiard Nicholas noted in his *Narrative of a voyage to New Zealand* (1817) that one of Te Pahi's daughters was seen wearing the chain for the medal in 1815.⁴⁴ Contrary to local historian Jack Lee's far more recent statement, this did not mean the medal itself.⁴⁵ To refer to it, as the Ngāpuhi kaumātua (elder) Hugh Rihari categorically did in his initial approach to Sotheby's, as a 'Stolen Medal Up for Auction' is emotionally compelling but impossible to prove. When Ngāpuhi considered imposing an injunction to postpone its sale, their lawyers, Henry Davis York, specifically quoted Finucane's passage referring to the repatriation of the Masonic medal.⁴⁶ Sotheby's lawyers, John F. Morrissey and Company, immediately responded by saying 'the facts and circumstances that you have identified under the heading "Provenance" is not accepted by my client ... The diary extract refers to the medal presented by Lieutenant Finucane, not the medal presented by Governor King.'⁴⁷

That said, the provenance provided by Sotheby's was spotty. Hansen describes the medal in his catalogue essay as 'only recently rediscovered after a "disappearance" of some 200 years'.⁴⁸ It had 'possibly' been in the possession of Dutch land surveyor Johan Peter du Moulin (1816–1901), who emigrated to Australia in 1834 and who – appealingly but probably coincidentally – resided in the Bay of Islands in the mid-1840s. The first written record of the medal since King dates from the will of 1899 made by Johan Peter's nephew, Dr Edward Joseph Brooks du Moulin (1856–1900), of

Dubbo, New South Wales.⁴⁹ It thence proceeded through descent to its vendors, who have to date furnished no further information about the provenance.

The reappearance of a medal

The resurfacing of the Te Pahi medal in March 2014, scratched and scuffed but in a numismatically 'fine' condition, created instant excitement. Among certain Ngāpuhi, however, not least Te Pahi's many descendants, the response took the form of anguish, even anger. This was conveyed in a *Bay Chronicle* article of 3 April – 12 days before the sale – under the headline 'Te Pahi's long-lost medal "needs to come home"'. It reported that Hugh Rihari had 'gathered [Deidre] Brown and other experts together, to look into the history of the medal and whether it was indeed one of the several taonga stolen from Te Pahi's prefabricated house'. Brown described the medal as 'an important taonga that ... symbolises the promise of an equitable inter-cultural relationship that we were robbed of in the confusion that followed the *Boyd* attack'.⁵⁰

This tone was repeated in Rihari's first direct approach to Geoffrey Smith, chairman of Sotheby's Australia, when he referred to the medal's 'theft and disappearance through looting in April 1810', which 'brings back a lot of emotion, and rekindles the pain associated with the tragic circumstance under which that medal left our shores unauthorised'.⁵¹ In his reply, Smith was partly conciliatory, indicating that Sotheby's had made an application for an export permit under Australia's Protection of Movable Cultural Heritage Act 1986 to facilitate its potential repatriation to New Zealand, but 'that said, I must regretfully advise that we are unable to accede to your ... request for postponement of the sale'. This was due to the explicit contract with the vendors and the implicit contract with interested buyers: 'While we have every sympathy and understanding for your Iwi's interest in the medal, in this case we remain bound by legal and professional constraints.' Smith suggested that the question of the return of the medal 'might more properly, fully and profitably be addressed through representation to the Australian and New Zealand Governments rather than to Sotheby's Australia or its clients'.⁵²

Legal medalling

Following Smith's reply, Ngāpuhi – specifically the Ngāti Torehina hapū (sub-tribe) of Hugh Rihari – instructed the lawyers Henry Davis York to pursue the matter further. In

their letter to Sotheby's, Henry Davis York referred to the passage in Finucane's journal recounting the removal of the Masonic medal with the unstated implication that both medals were thus affected. Perhaps the lawyers were on stronger ground when they deemed the provenance for the Te Pahi medal insufficient: 'Despite its policy of only presenting the finest quality artefacts "with impeccable provenance", Sotheby's Australia has failed to establish provenance of the Medal with any reasonable certainty.' It was made clear that 'our clients wish to resolve the issue of provenance without resort to litigation if possible', and to that effect, invited Sotheby's and their clients to attend a meeting with representatives of the Ngāti Torena hapū to provide further information. Henry Davis York requested that the medal be withdrawn from sale, and that Sotheby's agree to hold and secure it, pending determination of provenance. Should they fail to do so, 'urgent injunctive relief' in the Supreme Court of New South Wales would be sought.⁵³

In response, Sotheby's lawyer, John F. Morrissey, demanded to know the personal or corporate status of the 'Ngāti Torehina hapū', and whether such clients resided and/or owned assets in Australia. Morrissey noted the distinction between the two medals, questioned the legal validity of any arguments of 'cultural and spiritual significance' and reiterated Smith's refusal to withdraw the medal from sale. If the injunction proceeded, Sotheby's would 'require security for costs prior to any order being made by the [Supreme] Court', together with an undertaking as to damages. This meant that if Sotheby's had been enjoined and had the plaintiff lost the case, the latter would undertake to pay the damages that the auction house had incurred. The figure stipulated was AU\$882,000, which consisted of AU\$120,000 plus GST as Sotheby's loss of fee, AU\$500,000 (the upper end of the estimated value) as 'the loss of value of the medal', AU\$200,000 as the loss of proceeds of sale and a further AU\$50,000 towards legal costs 'in respect of any interlocutory application and any preliminary matters'.⁵⁴

While this dispute of a local hapū versus a global auction house may smack of David and Goliath, or to take a localised example, the Kerrigan family's opposition to property developers in the endearing Australian film *The Castle* (1997), the legal issues at stake – and indeed the standpoint of the prospective defendant, Sotheby's – merit serious consideration. It is hardly surprising that Sotheby's did not roll over when they received the demand to withdraw the medal from sale, as this would have had serious commercial

consequences, both on the commission from the sale and in terms of reputation. It is normal in injunction applications for the defendant to ask for payment to cover any potential loss that may be incurred as a consequence of not doing something they want to do. Courts wish to deter vexatious claims that interfere with sales, and it is next to certain that security costs would have been ordered in this instance.⁵⁵

Even if AU\$882,000 may well be regarded as an extravagant demand, Sotheby's stance cannot be regarded as intimidatory; the figure was not plucked out of the air. Morrissey was effectively protecting Sotheby's interests in the absence of what they regarded as compelling evidence that they were doing anything wrong. Lawyers normally make estimates at the high end of the range to give them room to negotiate downwards if such an injunction application would proceed – 'aim high and hope the Court comes down on your side'.⁵⁶ That said, there is a whiff of a large corporate (and powerful law firm) calling the bluff of a humbler claimant that they regard as a nuisance, and scaring them with the threat of financial repercussions.

Sotheby's request for their fee (AU\$120,000), in addition to the value of the medal (AU\$500,000), pushed their case to its limits. As the medal did not belong to them, they could not credibly claim the latter amount, as their only loss would have been the fee. It would have been up to the vendor to make any separate representation. While this must remain hypothetical, it is therefore unlikely that the Supreme Court would have upheld Sotheby's figure. Determining costs is a balancing process to facilitate justice, and while adequate and fair protection should be provided to the defendant, it is a hallowed legal principle that 'poverty is no bar to a litigant'.⁵⁷

In common with most injunction applications, that proposed came at the 11th hour: just two days before the auction, a document was drafted on behalf of the larger and wealthier tribal authority, Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi (Ngāpuhi Tribal Council), rather than the Ngāti Torehina hapū. Kingi Taurua agreed to act as the first plaintiff, and Sonny Tau, chairman of the rūnanga, as the second. Taurua agreed to the medal being delivered to the rūnanga should proceedings be successful, or on the assumption that it could not be lawfully exported from Australia, for the rūnanga to make arrangements for its safekeeping in that country.⁵⁸ In the event, the injunction proceedings were dropped.⁵⁹ Even if the figure had been significantly lowered by the Supreme Court, as seems likely, the costs would still 'have been huge ... it could have easily ended up as a six-figure sum. Our



Fig. 12 Protesters performing a haka, Intercontinental Hotel, Sydney, 14 April 2014 (photo: Dominic Lorrimer/Fairfax AUS).

people have not historically done well within the court system and this would have been ... in somebody else's country.⁶⁰ Furthermore, it seems highly doubtful that spending large amounts on legal fees to pursue a historical and numismatic cause would have sat happily with the rūnanga's core responsibilities as a provider for Ngāpuhi social services and educational and training scholarships.

'Gee, this medal belonged to me'

Although neither Ngāti Torehina nor the Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi issued a press statement, the contested medal enjoyed a steady build-up of news coverage, with the *New Zealand Herald* carrying the headline: 'Ngāpuhi fear medal will be lost for good'. The same account stated that Rihari's bid 'for a postponement of the auction so he could have a discussion with Sotheby's ... was "flatly refused"'.⁶¹ Smith's crucial role was not reported; instead, Sotheby's spokesperson was Gary Singer, a member of its board of directors, a former Deputy Lord Mayor of Melbourne and, in his colourful private life, Smith's partner.⁶² Singer robustly

questioned the basis of the Ngāpuhi claim: 'We don't know who they are or what they want, so it's impossible to give a definitive reply ... No one has come forward and said, "This is the basis of my claim" – when people make a claim, they usually back it up.'⁶³ He reiterated this point to *SBS World News*: 'If they had a claim, they should have put up their hand and said ages ago [*sic*], gee this medal belonged to me, where is it?'⁶⁴ The medal was, he asserted, an important piece of Australian history and one of its 'prouder moments. This was an incident where we recognised an indigenous visitor and we have gone out of our way to be friendly and treated him with respect.'⁶⁵ It is worth postulating whether Philip Gidley King's enlightenment should somehow serve to ease Sotheby's conscience over 200 years later.

Whatever its deficiency in causality, Singer's standpoint is certainly at odds with recent shifts in thinking – at least among museum directors and curators – on the return of cultural property, 'a legitimate and morally correct thing to do', according to museologist Piotr Bienkowski. Such restitution and repatriation centres on 'objects looted or

wrongfully removed during colonial occupation’, and here the Te Pahi medal seems like a credible candidate.⁶⁶ Such an argument would probably have cut little ice with Singer, whose take on ‘challenges to ownership’ was to say ‘these sorts of things go on all of the time – you only have to look at Greece and the Elgin Marbles’.⁶⁷ Ironically, by citing this notorious precedent, Singer arguably strengthened rather than weakened the Ngāpuhi case. Lord Elgin derived full advantage from the *firman* (letter of instruction) granted him by the Ottoman Porte – and thus in the context of pre-independence Greece – to ‘take away any pieces of stone with inscriptions and figures thereon’.⁶⁸ The outcome was a denuded Parthenon. The parallel with Te Pahi, whether in terms of the absence of colonist and whaler sovereignty over his land and people in 1810, or in the brutal outcome, seems apparent. Understandably, perhaps, Singer chose to emphasise the happier climate of events in 1806, as well as to question Ngāpuhi’s title claims.

Far more newsworthy than the official standpoint of either Ngāpuhi or Sotheby’s was the haka (posture dance) performed by half a dozen Ngāpuhi expatriates at Sydney’s Intercontinental Hotel, the venue of the sale (Fig. 12). The protest received prominent coverage in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *SBS World News*. The leader of the haka, Kiri Barber, saw the protest as complementing but also reinforcing Ngāpuhi’s legal moves. It was an attempt ‘to shame Sotheby’s into withdrawing the medal’. Barber claimed: ‘You can’t put a price on our history ... This is such an important part of our story – the first time a British leader recognised one of our leaders. It cannot just become someone’s investment plaything or disappear into a private collection.’⁶⁹ Although this action received no formal Ngāpuhi sanction, Deidre Brown much admires Barber’s courage and determination.⁷⁰

At the sale the next day, despite being initially told he was not allowed to be present, Barber followed his protest by standing up to address those present in Māori. Security officers let him have his say before politely escorting him from the auction room. He later claimed that he was simply proclaiming a *karakia* (ritual chant) of farewell to the medal: ‘It was such a sad moment for us. Because after 204 years, we see it for a week. And it’s gone.’⁷¹ Rihari’s sentiments on the night of the sale were near identical. He was ‘resigned to the fact that an important piece of Ngāpuhi and New Zealand history would likely be gone’, and added that ‘we have gone as far as we can but at the end of the day there’s not much more we can do’.⁷¹

Under joint ownership

The Te Pahi medal was sold at the lower end of its estimated range, attracting a winning bid of AU\$300,000 made jointly by Te Papa and Auckland Museum. Contrary to the expectations of independent valuers who predicted that it might rival that of the *Charlotte* medal (which realised AU\$750,000 in 2008), bidding proved conservative. There are several possible explanations. The Te Pahi medal lacks the *Charlotte* medal’s pictorial richness. It is primarily of Aotearoa New Zealand rather than Australian historical interest, and therefore lacked a critical mass of avid and affluent local collectors. The global financial crisis almost certainly cast a shadow on the enthusiasm of such private collectors, and at least one Australian museum evidently had misgivings over the inadequate provenance that Sotheby’s provided.⁷³ It is even possible that these same demonised investors, with their lifestyle of ‘playthings’ (to paraphrase Barber), demonstrated an iota of restraint, and what might be construed as cultural sensitivity, following the highly publicised protests. Certainly the same factor, compounded by concerns over legitimacy of title, significantly influenced the desultory bidding at a controversial Eve auction of indigenous Hopi masks in Paris in June 2014, where only nine of 29 lots were sold.⁷⁴

The Te Pahi medal’s new owners were revealed the day after the sale, following consultation with Ngāpuhi. Te Papa and Auckland Museum had been in close contact for at least two weeks prior to the sale and had agreed on an equally split financial contribution, with a corresponding share of the ownership, should their joint bid be successful. Auckland Museum will enjoy possession of the medal in the first instance, in recognition of the interest of Ngāpuhi, for a period of one year commencing with its arrival in New Zealand. Te Papa will then have possession of the medal for the equivalent period; thereafter, possession will be for a period of five years for each institution. Both parties will jointly enter into a *kaitiaki* (stewardship) agreement with the descendants of Te Pahi and other relevant Ngāpuhi hapū that recognises their association with the medal and their ongoing involvement in its management. Initially, a ceremonial ‘handover’ of the medal at the Rua Rau Festival at Parramatta was proposed for late October 2014, but this never took place. Instead, for reasons of protocol, when the medal was brought back to New Zealand on 28 November 2014 it was taken by museum staff and Ngāti Rua (Te Pahi’s former descendants and today a hapū) to Te Pahi’s estate and

was welcomed back onto that land. The medal was then formally handed back to the custodianship of its new owners by Ngāti Rua, Ngāti Torehina and Ngāti Rehi at Auckland War Memorial Museum on 6 December 2014.⁷⁵

The acquisition of the Te Pahi medal was acclaimed by Roy Clare, director of the Auckland Museum. It was a

uniquely important acquisition by two of the country's leading institutions [that] affirms the strength of the rapidly evolving day to day relationship with iwi, hapū and whānau [family groups] across Aotearoa New Zealand ... The museum is among the kaitiaki that care for and re-connect taonga with people and their communities. As such, we're thrilled to have worked together with Te Papa, with encouragement from Te Pahi descendants in Ngāpuhi, to secure the return to Aotearoa of an exceptionally significant piece of history relating to early relationships between Māori and Europeans.⁷⁶

Arapata Hakiwai, the kaihautū (Māori leader) at Te Papa, concurred, declaring

The partnership between Te Papa and Auckland Museum, working in collaboration with Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi, demonstrates the importance for this nationally significant taonga to return home. It is important to uphold the principle of Mana Taonga, which recognises the relationship between treasures and their descendant source communities. In the case of the Te Pahi medal, this acknowledges the value of this tribal treasure to present and future generations.⁷⁷

In turn, Rihari believed that the acquisition 'brings closure to the pain and suffering that our peoples have endured for these past 204 years, following the medal's loss in the attack on Te Pahi's islands, Motuapo and Roimata'.⁷⁸

Conclusion

This case study testifies to the political significance of the Te Pahi medal in history – and art history. It is one that is repeatedly and frustratingly overlooked by practitioners in these respective disciplines, particularly the latter. Several significant questions remain unanswered. Even if the immediate circumstances of its disappearance, on or about April 1810, are unlikely ever to be determined, the near-90-year gap in its provenance prior to Edward Joseph Brooks du Moulin's will of 1899 *must* somehow be resolved, however partially. The du Moulin family – or their descendants – deserve thanks from Ngāpuhi for their role as the careful kaitiaki of the medal over the past century and more, as

Deidre Brown has acknowledged.⁷⁹ More may well emerge about the medal's history as a consequence, even if the recent glare of controversial publicity over the Sotheby's sale has understandably caused its former owners to wish to maintain anonymity, at least for the moment. Finally, the whereabouts of the second Te Pahi medal, repatriated by its original donor, James Finucane, remain tantalisingly unknown.

Acknowledgements

I am particularly grateful to my colleague Matiu Baker (Curator Historic Māori Visual Materials, Te Papa), who wrote the acquisition proposal for the Te Pahi medal, for answering numerous questions, offering considered advice and reading the draft of this article. I appreciate the comments and corrections made by the two readers, Deidre Brown (School of Architecture, University of Auckland) and Roger Fyfe (Senior Curator, Human History, Canterbury Museum). My warm thanks also go to the following: Briar Barry (Logistics Coordinator, Icebreaker, Wellington); Marcia Hau (Contact BAS Agent, Sydney); Hugh Rihari (Chair, Rangihoua Pā Native Reserve); Peter Lane (Honorary Numismatist, Art Gallery of South Australia); Conal McCarthy (Museum and Heritage Studies, Victoria University of Wellington); Jim Noble (Noble Numismatics Pty., Sydney); Zoe Richardson (photographer, Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira); Rachel Spencer (School of Law, University of South Australia); Sonny Tau (Board Chair, Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi); and John Wade (editor, *Australiana*).

Notes

- 1 Sotheby's Australia, Fine Asian, Australian & European Arts and Design sale, Sydney, 15 April 2014, lot 125.
- 2 Damien Murphy, 'Maori haka protest against auction of a slice of their history', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 April 2014, retrieved on 7 October 2014 from www.smh.com.au/national/maori-haka-protest-against-auction-of-a-slice-of-their-history-20140414-36nq1.html.
- 3 Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, *Te Papa: more than a museum*, brochure, retrieved on 7 October 2014 from www.tepapa.govt.nz/SiteCollectionDocuments/PlanYourVisit/TePapa.Generic.Online.Brochure.English.pdf.
- 4 Quoted in Tim Flannery (ed.), *The explorers: stories of discovery and adventure from the Australian frontier*, Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1998, p. 103.
- 5 Leslie J. Carlisle, *Australian historical medals 1788–1988*, Sydney: Leslie J. Carlisle, 2008, p. 2.

- 6 David Hansen, 'The Te Pahi silver medal', in: *Fine Asian, Australian & European Arts & Design: Sydney 15 April 2014*, sales catalogue, Sydney: Sotheby's Australia, p. 42. See also Michele Field and Timothy Millett (eds), *Convict love tokens: the leaden hearts the convicts left behind*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1998.
- 7 See John Hawkins, *Nineteenth-century Australian silver. Volume 1*, Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collectors' Club, 1989, pp. 33–35; and John Houstone and John Wade, 'John Austin, forger and silversmith', *Australiana* 31(4), 2009, pp. 34–35.
- 8 Quoted in Hawkins, *Nineteenth-century Australian silver*, p. 33.
- 9 Hawkins, *Nineteenth-century Australian silver*, p. 35.
- 10 Jim Noble, email to the author, 8 July 2014.
- 11 See Anne Salmond, *Between worlds: early exchanges between Māori and Europeans 1773–1815*, Auckland: Penguin, 1997, pp. 327–329, 349–372; and Vincent O'Malley, *The meeting place: Māori and Pākehā encounters, 1642–1840*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012, pp. 45–50, 55–56, 59–62. See also Angela Ballara, 'Te Pahi', in: *Dictionary of New Zealand biography* [website], retrieved on 7 October 2014 from www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t53/te-pahi.
- 12 Deidre Brown, 'Te Pahi's whare: the first European house in New Zealand', in: *Fabulation: myth, nature, heritage: Proceedings of the 29th Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians Australia & New Zealand, Launceston, Tasmania, 5–8 July 2012*, Launceston: Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand, pp. 181–183. See also Angela Middleton, *Te Puna: a New Zealand mission station*, New York: Springer, 2008.
- 13 Quoted in Salmond, *Between worlds*, p. 329.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 O'Malley, *The meeting place*, p. 46.
- 16 Hansen, 'The Te Pahi silver medal', p. 42.
- 17 Quoted in Flannery (ed.), *The explorers*, p. 100.
- 18 Ibid., pp. 100–101.
- 19 Quoted in Salmond, *Between worlds*, p. 351. For a discussion of Te Pahi's 'ideas on the existence of a God', see Robert McNab (ed.), *Historical records of New Zealand. Volume 1*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1908, p. 267.
- 20 For an excellent study of this house, see Brown, 'Te Pahi's whare', pp. 164–186.
- 21 Quoted in James Frederick Watson (ed.), *Historical records of Australia. Series 1, volume V, July 1804–August 1806*, Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1915, p. 658.
- 22 O'Malley, *The meeting place*, p. 45.
- 23 Quoted in Flannery (ed.), *The explorers*, p. 103.
- 24 Ibid., p. 100.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid., p. 101.
- 27 Quoted in Salmond, *Between worlds*, p. 354.
- 28 Ibid., p. 356.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 For details of Te Pahi's second visit to Port Jackson, see Salmond, *Between worlds*, pp. 369–372.
- 31 See Salmond, *Between worlds*, pp. 368–397; and O'Malley, *The meeting place*, pp. 61–63.
- 32 For Steele and Watkins, see Roger Blackley, 'Louis John Steele 1843–1918; Kennett Watkins 1847–1933', in: William McAloon (ed.), *Art at Te Papa*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2009, p. 100; for Wright, see 'Walter Wright, *The Burning of the Boyd, Whangaroa Harbour, 1809*', in: *Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki* [website], retrieved on 7 October 2014 from www.aucklandartgallery.com/the-collection/browse-artwork/234/the-burning-of-the-boyd-whangaroa-harbour-1809.
- 33 O'Malley, *The meeting place*, p. 62.
- 34 Salmond, *Between worlds*, p. 392.
- 35 O'Malley, *The meeting place*, p. 62.
- 36 Salmond, *Between worlds*, p. 392.
- 37 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 388; illustration *ibid.*, p. 389.
- 38 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 387.
- 39 Anne-Maree Whitaker (ed.), *Disturbed settlement: New South Wales after Bligh: from the journal of Lieutenant James Finucane*, Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 1998, pp. 99–100.
- 40 Brown, 'Te Pahi's whare', p. 176.
- 41 Ballara, 'Te Pahi'.
- 42 Quoted in Whitaker (ed.), *Disturbed settlement*, p. 100.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 J.L. Nicholas, *Narrative of a voyage to New Zealand, performed in the years 1814 and 1815, in company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden. Volume 2*, London: James Black and Son, 1817, p. 179.
- 45 Jack Lee, *The Bay of Islands*, Auckland: Reed Publishing, 1983, p. 41.
- 46 Kathy Merrick and Andrew von Königsmark, Henry Davis York, fax and email to Geoffrey Smith, 10 April 2014.
- 47 John F. Morrissey, email to Kathy Merrick and Andrew von Königsmark, 11 April 2014.
- 48 Hansen, 'The Te Pahi silver medal', p. 40.
- 49 Ibid. Edward Joseph du Moulin decreed that the 'old Australian Silver medal presented to Tiappahee which I desire shall not be parted with' should be left to his son William Edward du Moulin (1892–1949) 'on his attaining his majority', 25 October 1899. I am grateful to Marcia Hau for providing me with a copy of the will.
- 50 'Te Pahi's long-lost medal "needs to come home"', *Bay Chronicle*, 3 April 2014, retrieved on 7 October 2014 from www.stuff.co.nz/auckland/local-news/northland/bay-chronicle/9895113/Te-Pahis-long-lost-medal-needs-to-come-home. In turn, Brown and Rihari alerted Te Papa to the sale. They worked in collaboration with the museum, they were interested parties in the imminent legal action with Sotheby's Australia, and they were kept informed of the direct protest action in Sydney by its leaders. Independently, Professor Alison Jones, of Te Puna Wānanga, University of Auckland, also saw the relevant newspaper

- item and alerted her son, Finn McCahon-Jones, associate curator of applied arts and design at Auckland Museum. These responses and activities testify to the collaborative efforts of hapū, museums and other organisations in their efforts to repatriate the medal.
- 51 Hugh Rihari, letter (faxed) to Geoffrey Smith, 9 April 2014.
- 52 Geoffrey Smith, email and fax to Hugh Rihari, 9 April 2014. On an informal level, Rihari informed the Minister of Culture and Heritage and Attorney-General, Chris Finlayson, of his concerns, with the latter conveying his moral support without making any commitment to Government intervention (Deidre Brown, conversation with the author, 29 August 2014).
- 53 Merrick and von Königsmark to Smith, 10 April 2014.
- 54 Morrissey to Merrick and von Königsmark, 11 April 2014.
- 55 Rachel Spencer, School of Law, University of South Australia, email to the author, 2 October 2014.
- 56 Briar Barry, logistics coordinator, Icebreaker, Wellington, email to the author, 30 September 2014.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Sonny Tau, draft statement to Kathy Merrick, 13 April 2014.
- 59 In a draft letter to John Morrissey dated 15 April 2014, Kathy Merrick and Andrew von Königsmark stated, 'Given the size of the undertaking claimed, our clients are unable to proceed with any application for urgent injunctive relief'.
- 60 Deidre Brown, email to the author, 5 August 2014.
- 61 James Ihaka, 'Ngapuhi fear medal will be lost for good', *New Zealand Herald*, 16 April 2014, retrieved on 7 October 2014 from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11238826.
- 62 'Gary Singer', in: *Wikipedia: the free encyclopedia* [website], retrieved on 7 October 2014 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gary_Singer.
- 63 Murphy, 'Maori haka protest against auction'.
- 64 Naomi Selvaratnam, 'Historic Maori medal returning to NZ', *SBS World News* radio transcript, 18 April 2014, retrieved on 7 October 2014 from www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2014/04/18/historic-maori-medal-returning-nz?__federated=1.
- 65 Ihaka, 'Ngapuhi fear medal will be lost'.
- 66 Piotr Bienkowski, "'You're gonna make me lonesome when you go": a critique of museum restitution and repatriation practices', in: Conal McCarthy (ed.), *Museum practice: the contemporary museum at work*, Oxford and Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, forthcoming.
- 67 Ihaka, 'Ngapuhi fear medal will be lost'.
- 68 For an excellent summary of the controversial status of the *firman* and its translation, see 'Elgin Marbles', in: *Wikipedia: the free encyclopedia* [website], retrieved on 7 October 2014 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elgin_Marbles.
- 69 Murphy, 'Maori haka protest against auction'.
- 70 Deidre Brown, conversation with the author, 29 August 2014.
- 71 Selvaratnam, 'Historic Maori medal'.

- 72 Ihaka, 'Ngapuhi fear medal will be lost'.
- 73 Peter Lane, honorary numismatist, Art Gallery of South Australia, conversation with the author, 4 July 2014; Deidre Brown, communication with the author, 16 December 2014.
- 74 Mike Boehm, 'Sacred Hopi tribal masks are again sold at auction in Paris', *Los Angeles Times*, 29 June 2014, retrieved on 7 October 2014 from <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/culture/la-et-cm-native-american-hopi-sacred-mask-auction-paris-20140627-story.html>.
- 75 For information on the Rua Rau Festival, see 'Rua Rau Festival 2014', in: *Discover Parramatta* [website], retrieved on 7 October 2014 from www.discoverparramatta.com/events/festivals/rua_rau_festival. Deidre Brown supplied the updated information in a communication with the author, 16 December 2014.
- 76 Cherie McQuilkin, 'Te Papa and Auckland Museum work together to return Te Pahi medal to New Zealand', Te Papa press statement, 16 April 2014, retrieved on 7 October 2014 from www.tepapa.govt.nz/AboutUs/Media/Pages/TePapaandAucklandMuseumworktogethertoreturnTePahiMedaltoNewZealand.aspx.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Deidre Brown, conversation with the author, 29 August 2014.

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Re-evaluation of the taxonomic status of *Cyathea kermadecensis* and *C. milnei* (Cyatheaceae) supports their continued recognition

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ABSTRACT: Two species of *Cyathea* (Cyatheaceae) have been recognised as endemic to Raoul Island in the Kermadec Islands: *C. kermadecensis* and *C. milnei*. However, their relationships to their mainland relatives – *C. cunninghamii* and *C. dealbata*, respectively – have been uncertain, with their morphological distinctiveness in question. Here, we review their taxonomic status. The DNA sequences investigated are uninformative as to delimitation of the Kermadec plants, but they do support a close relationship to the mainland species. Morphologically, we find that *C. kermadecensis* can be consistently distinguished from *C. cunninghamii*, and likewise *C. milnei* from *C. dealbata*. With no data to reassess whether species or subspecies rank is most appropriate, we recommend the taxonomically conservative approach of retaining both *C. kermadecensis* and *C. milnei* as separate species for now.

KEYWORDS: Cyatheaceae, *Cyathea cunninghamii*, *Cyathea dealbata*, *Cyathea milnei*, *Cyathea kermadecensis*, ferns, Kermadec Islands, New Zealand Botanical Region, taxonomy.

Introduction

Seven species in the tree fern family Cyatheaceae are currently recognised as indigenous to the New Zealand Botanical Region (sensu Allan 1961) – *Cyathea colensoi* (Hook.f.) Domin, *C. cunninghamii* Hook.f., *C. dealbata* (G.Forst.) Sw., *C. kermadecensis* W.R.B.Oliv., *C. medullaris* (G.Forst.) Sw., *C. milnei* Hook. ex Hook.f. and *C. smithii* Hook.f. – along with one fully naturalised species, *Cyathea cooperi* (Hook. ex F.Muell.) Domin (Brownsey *et al.* 1985; Brownsey & Smith-Dodsworth 2000). Of the indigenous species, five occur on the main islands of New Zealand, and two, *C. kermadecensis* and *C. milnei*, are endemic to Raoul Island. This is in the Kermadec Islands, c. 980 km northeast of New Zealand's North Island (Sykes 1977). These species from the Kermadec Islands, particularly their taxonomic status, are the focus of this paper.

Cyathea milnei was first collected during the voyage of HMS *Herald* in 1854. Joseph Hooker (1856) used plant

collections made by John Macgillivray and William Milne to publish an account of the botany of the Kermadec Islands, but initially misidentified the tree ferns as *C. medullaris*. He only later recognised *C. milnei* as a new species (Hooker 1867), based on a brief manuscript description by William Hooker. Nevertheless, he asserted that the species was 'very similar to *C. medullaris*', a belief that was held by Cheeseman (1888, 1906), Oliver (1910), Dobbie (1921) and Crookes (1963). Cheeseman (1925) and Allan (1961) were non-committal about its affinities, and it was not until Holttum (1964) revised *Cyathea* in Australasia and the Pacific that its true affinity became clear. Holttum noted that it was 'very near *C. dealbata*, the only clear distinction ... being the lack of white covering on lower surface of lamina' and 'the indusia are perhaps more fragile than in *C. dealbata* and do not so persistently form cups with [an] entire rim'. This affinity was also noted by Sykes (1977) and Brownsey & Smith-Dodsworth (2000). Recently, the

status of *C. milnei* as a distinct species has been questioned by Dawson & Lucas (2011), while de Lange (2009a) has suggested that plants from the far north of New Zealand around Te Pahi are very similar to *C. milnei*. We have also noted this during fieldwork in Northland, and have speculated that the morphological characters used to separate *C. milnei* may actually be encompassed by the variation exhibited by *C. dealbata*.

Cyathea kermadecensis was not recorded until W.R.B. Oliver's 10-month visit to the Kermadec Islands in 1908. In his account of the vegetation, Oliver (1910) pointed out that only one species had been recognised from Sunday [Raoul] Island, but that two species had been confused under the name *C. milnei*. In describing *C. kermadecensis* he identified a number of morphological characters that distinguished them, and noted that they were also ecologically distinct, *C. kermadecensis* being more common in the higher, wetter forest, and *C. milnei* being more common in dry forest at lower altitudes. Cheeseman (1925) acknowledged his confusion of the two species and accepted that both occurred on Raoul. Subsequently, Allan (1961), Crookes (1963) and Holttum (1964) all accepted *C. kermadecensis* as a distinct species. Sykes (1977), Brownsey & Smith-Dodsworth (2000), de Lange (2009b) and Dawson & Lucas (2011) also all accepted the species, but pointed out that it was very similar to *C. cunninghamii*.

The status of *Cyathea cunninghamii* itself has not been universally agreed by New Zealand authors. It was described by Joseph Hooker (*in* W.J. Hooker 1854) but he later observed that it was 'very similar to *C. medullaris*, and perhaps only a variety of it' (Hooker 1867). Thomson (1882) agreed, noting that 'probably it ought to be reduced to the rank of variety of *C. medullaris*'. Cheeseman (1906, 1925) and Dobbie (1921) regarded it as a separate species, but continued to ally it with *C. medullaris*. However, Allan (1961) noted that 'the status of the various forms that have been assigned to *C. cunninghamii* needs much further study, including the possibility that some may be the progeny of *C. medullaris* × *C. smithii*'. Crookes (1963) accepted the species and allied it with *C. medullaris*, but concluded that 'the species needs further study'. Holttum (1964) finally demonstrated that *C. cunninghamii* was a distinct species, indicating that it was fundamentally different to *C. medullaris* by placing the two in different subgenera. Brownsey (1979) confirmed this distinction, showing that it was actually closer to *C. smithii*, and provided illustrations of the scales and indusia to distinguish all three species.

In preparing the treatment of Cyatheaceae for the electronic *Flora of New Zealand* (Brownsey & Perrie 2015a), including typification (Brownsey & Perrie 2015b), we have examined all the New Zealand species in detail. We present here the results of our comparisons of the Kermadec Islands species with their mainland relatives. We address concerns about their distinctiveness, and provide more detail than Holttum (1964), the only previous critical comparison.

Methods

The collections of New Zealand *Cyathea* in AK, CHR and WELT were examined (herbarium abbreviations follow Thiers 2015). We also inspected mature plants of *C. kermadecensis* and *C. milnei* in cultivation at Otari-Wilton's Bush, Wellington. This was combined with previously published information about morphology and ecology. Because it is closely related (Korall *et al.* 2007), we included the Australian *C. australis* in our comparison of *C. milnei* with *C. dealbata*.

Additionally, DNA sequences for the *rbcL* and *trnL-trnF* locus (*trnL* intron, *trnL* 3'-exon and the *trnL-trnF* intergenic spacer) were investigated because they are available for many *Cyathea* species, and because we have found them (particularly the *trnL-trnF* locus) to be useful for discerning closely related fern species (e.g. Shepherd *et al.* 2007; Perrie *et al.* 2013, 2014). Sequences for *C. kermadecensis* and *C. milnei* were generated for individuals cultivated at Otari-Wilton's Bush. These were vouchered with WELT P027384 and P027383, respectively. Extraction of genomic DNA from silica gel-dried frond tissue, polymerase chain reaction (PCR) amplification of the target loci, purification of PCR products and DNA sequencing followed Shepherd *et al.* (2007), but the *rbcL* sequences were amplified using the primers ESRBCL1F and ESRBCL1361 of Schuettpelz & Pryer (2007). GenBank accession numbers are given in Table 1.

The sequences for *Cyathea kermadecensis* were compared with sequences previously published to GenBank for *C. cunninghamii*, along with other close relatives as indicated by previous studies (e.g. Janssen *et al.* 2008; Korall & Pryer 2014). The same was done for *C. milnei* and *C. dealbata*. All the sequences compared are noted in Table 1. Sequences were aligned using Clustal X v.2.1 (Larkin *et al.* 2007). Because of the small number of genetic differences recovered among the focal species, we did not undertake phylogenetic analyses.

Table 1 *Cyathea* samples included in the DNA sequence comparisons of *C. kermadecensis* and *C. milnei*.

Species	<i>rbcL</i> GenBank accession	<i>trnL-trnF</i> GenBank accession	Reference
<i>C. kermadecensis</i>	KR153993	KR153995	New to this study
<i>C. colensoi</i>	AM177322	AM410318	Korall <i>et al.</i> (2007)
<i>C. cunninghamii</i>	AM410211	AM410339	Korall <i>et al.</i> (2007)
<i>C. smithii</i>	AM410210	AM410338	Korall <i>et al.</i> (2007)
<i>C. milnei</i>	KR153992	KR153994	New to this study
<i>C. australis</i>	AM177319	AM410314	Korall <i>et al.</i> (2007)
<i>C. dealbata</i>	AM410199	AM410326	Korall <i>et al.</i> (2007)
<i>C. macarthurii</i>	AM410204	AM410335	Korall <i>et al.</i> (2007)

Results

Morphology of *Cyathea cunninghamii* and *C. kermadecensis*

Cyathea cunninghamii and *C. kermadecensis* both belong to subgenus *Alsophila* (Korall *et al.* 2007), lacking the scales with dark marginal setae found in subgenus *Sphaopteris* (Brownsey 1979: fig. 1H). They differ from all other New Zealand species of *Cyathea* in having indusia that open at maturity to form a hood shape (Brownsey 1979: fig. 2B), and a more diverse array of hairs and scales, including larger, pale scales with a bullate base and a single apical seta (Brownsey 1979: fig. 1D), and acaroid (or stellate) scales that sometimes have expanded bases (Brownsey 1979: figs. 1E–G; Brownsey & Smith-Dodsworth 2000: fig. 102). Both taxa grow into tree ferns with trunks up to 20 m tall, covered in appressed stipe bases or hexagonal scars, and bear fronds that drop with age (Oliver 1910: pl. XXII; Large & Braggins 2004: pls 39–40; Dawson & Lucas 2011: 110–111). The fronds themselves are of very similar proportions and dissection (Table 2), and have stipe bases that are tuberculate and rough to the touch (Large & Braggins 2004: pl. 55). Ecologically, *C. cunninghamii* and *C. kermadecensis* are also similar, occurring as emergent species in forest in wetter areas.

One of the most obvious differences between the two species (Table 3) is that *Cyathea kermadecensis* lacks the thickened red acaroid scales that are common in *C. cunninghamii*

(Brownsey 1979: fig. 1E). However, *C. kermadecensis* does have colourless acaroid scales (Brownsey 1979: fig. 1F), sometimes forming a dense appressed tomentum on the stipe, rachis and costae. In *C. cunninghamii*, both red and colourless acaroid scales are often present, sometimes also with expanded pale bases (Brownsey 1979: fig. 1G), but in *C. kermadecensis* the scales with expanded bases normally have only colourless apical proliferations, not thickened red ones. *Cyathea kermadecensis* also usually has irregularly curled acicular hairs on the abaxial surfaces (absent in *C. cunninghamii*), and a greater proportion of larger, pale scales with bullate bases (Brownsey 1979: fig. 1D) that tend to obscure the acaroid scales (Fig. 1). The tertiary pinnae of *C. kermadecensis* are usually crenate rather than deeply divided. The stipe bases are predominantly black with pale brown scales in *C. cunninghamii*, whereas both are pale or red-brown in *C. kermadecensis* (Figs 2 and 3).

Morphology of *Cyathea dealbata* and *C. milnei*

Cyathea milnei and *C. dealbata* also belong to subgenus *Alsophila*, and lack the scales with dark marginal setae characteristic of subgenus *Sphaopteris*. They differ from all other New Zealand species of *Cyathea* in having indusia that open at maturity to form a deep cup, and having curled hairs, rather than scales, as the predominant indumentum on the abaxial lamina surfaces (Brownsey & Smith-

Table 2 Trunk and frond dimensions for *Cyathea cunninghamii* and *C. kermadecensis*, as well as *C. dealbata* and *C. milnei*.

	<i>C. cunninghamii</i>	<i>C. kermadecensis</i>	<i>C. dealbata</i>	<i>C. milnei</i>
Trunk height (m)	<20	<20	<12	<8
Frond length (mm)	1500–3000	2250–4000	2000–4000	1500–4000
Stipe length (mm)	80–450	80–250	80–900	70–400
Stipe scale length (mm)	<50	<35	<70	<50
Stipe scale width (mm)	1–2	1	<3	<3
Lamina dissection	2-pinnate-pinnatifid to 3-pinnate-pinnatifid	2-pinnate-pinnatifid to 2-pinnate-pinnatisect	2-pinnate-pinnatifid to 2-pinnate-pinnatisect	2-pinnate-pinnatifid to 2-pinnate-pinnatisect
Length of longest primary pinna (mm)	270–600	325–610	290–650	350–700
Width of longest primary pinna (mm)	80–210	110–195	135–240	150–260
Length of longest secondary pinna (mm)	43–110	65–115	70–145	85–145
Width of longest secondary pinna (mm)	9–28	14–35	13–30	15–27
Length of longest tertiary pinna (mm)	5–15	8–22	7–18	8–15
Width of longest tertiary pinna (mm)	1.5–3	2–2.5	2–4	2.5–4
Diameter of sori (mm)	0.5–0.9	0.6–0.9	0.5–0.8	0.7–1.0

Dodsworth 2000: fig. 103). The general form of the plants is comparable (Fig. 4) – both are medium-sized tree ferns with trunks reaching 8–10 m tall, covered in projecting stipe bases or stipe scars, and with fronds that are up to 4 m long and held horizontally (Oliver 1910: pl. XXI; Large & Braggins 2004: pls 41–44; Dawson & Lucas 2011: 112–113). The fronds are of very similar proportions and dissection (Table 2), and have stipe bases that are tuberculate and rough to the touch. Ecologically, *C. milnei* and *C. dealbata* are also similar, occurring as sub-canopy species in drier forest and open scrub.

The most obvious difference between the taxa (Table 4) is that in *Cyathea dealbata* the abaxial surface of the lamina is usually white, whereas the abaxial lamina surfaces in

C. milnei are green (Fig. 5). The scales and hairs on the abaxial surfaces of the costae are morphologically similar in both taxa, but proportionally there are fewer hairs and more scales in *C. milnei* than in *C. dealbata* (Fig. 5), and the scales of *C. milnei* are often bunched along the costae, obscuring the hairs. The sori of *C. milnei* are slightly larger than those of *C. dealbata* (0.7–1.0 mm cf. 0.5–0.8 mm in diameter) and the indusia are more fragile, less often forming a continuous rim. The dead fronds of *C. milnei* are more frequently persistent on the trunks than in *C. dealbata*, and the stipe bases are more conspicuously tuberculate (Fig. 6).

The most compelling difference between the taxa is the colour of the abaxial lamina surface, but even this is somewhat equivocal (Fig. 5). Young plants of *Cyathea*

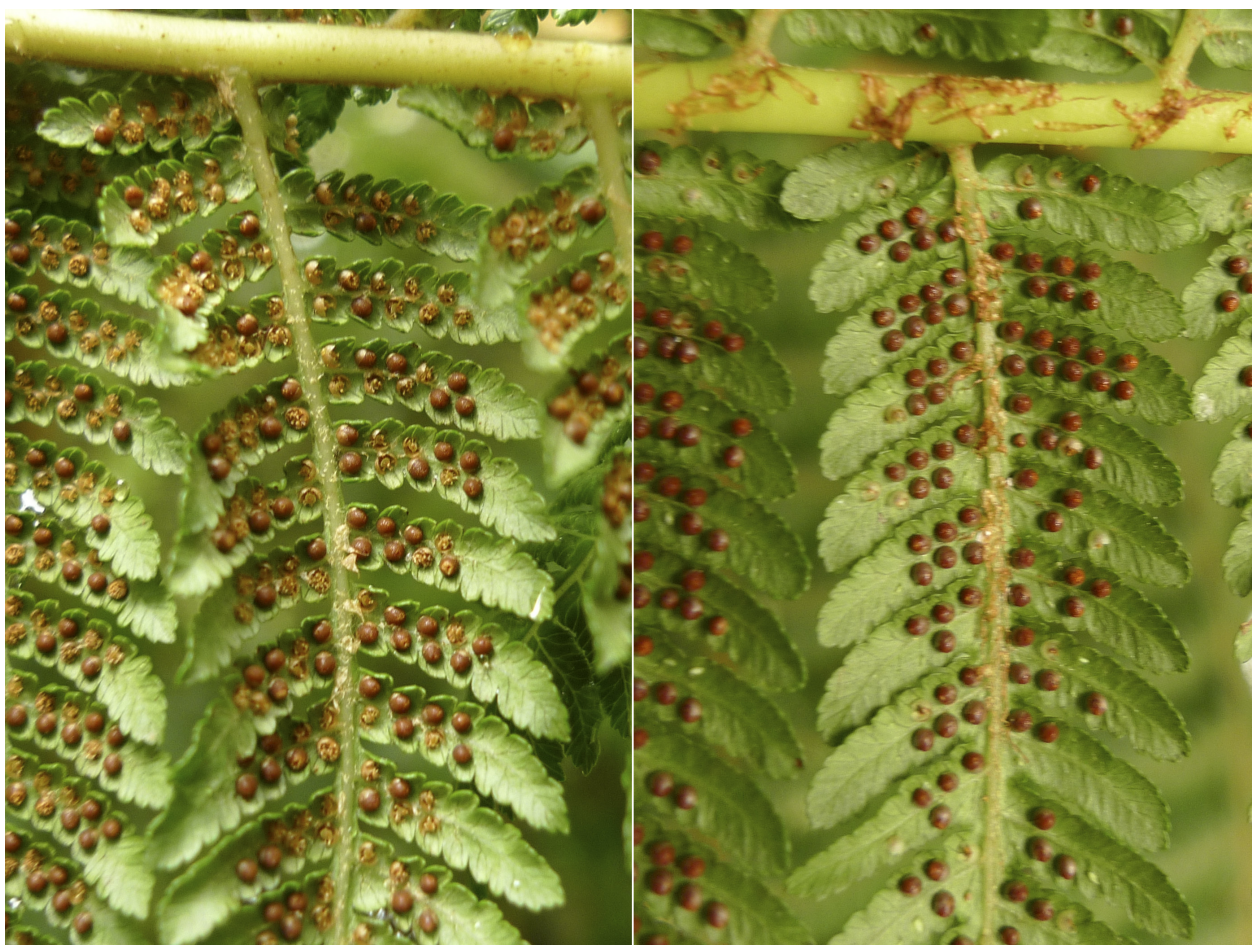


Fig. 1 Abaxial surfaces of lamina and costae of *Cyathea cunninghamii* (left) and *C. kermadecensis* (right).

Table 3 Distinguishing characters for *Cyathea cunninghamii* and *C. kermadecensis*.

	<i>C. cunninghamii</i>	<i>C. kermadecensis</i>
Colour of stipe base (Figs 2 and 3)	Black	Pale or red-brown
Tertiary pinnae (Fig. 1)	Divided up to $\frac{2}{3}$ to midrib	Crenate
Indumentum on abaxial surface of costae (Fig. 1)	Red or colourless acaroid scales present	Red acaroid scales absent; colourless scales often present
	Ovate pale brown scales only scattered	Ovate pale brown scales abundant
	Pale brown ovate scales bearing red apical setae	Pale brown ovate scales lacking red apical setae
	Irregularly curled acicular hairs absent	Irregularly curled acicular hairs usually present



Fig. 2 The crown and trunk apices of *Cyathea cunninghamii* (left) and *C. kermadecensis* (right).



Fig. 3 Crown indumentum and stipe bases of *Cyathea cunninghamii* (left) and *C. kermadecensis* (right).



Fig. 4 *Cyathea milnei* (left) and *C. dealbata* (right) in cultivation at Otari-Wilton's Bush, Wellington.



Fig. 5 Colour of the abaxial surface of the lamina, and indumentum on the abaxial surfaces of the costae, on specimens of *Cyathea dealbata* from outside Northland (left) and within Northland (centre), and of *C. milnei* (right).

Table 4 Distinguishing characters for *Cyathea dealbata* and *C. milnei*.

	<i>C. dealbata</i>	<i>C. milnei</i>
Dead fronds	Usually persistent only in young plants	Often persistent, forming a skirt around trunk
Colour of stipe base (Figs 6 and 7)	Usually whitish or pale brown	Pale brown or green
Surface of stipe base (Fig. 6)	Tuberculate, rough	Strongly tuberculate, very rough
Abaxial surface of lamina of mature plants (Fig. 5)	Usually white, rarely blue- or grey-green, or very rarely green	Green
Indumentum on abaxial surface of secondary costae (Fig. 5)	Curly hairs abundant	Curly hairs scattered
	Ovate pale brown scales occasional	Ovate pale brown scales abundant
Sori	Forming a deep cup at maturity, becoming shallow 0.5–0.8 mm diameter	Forming a deep cup at maturity, quickly breaking up 0.7–1.0 mm diameter

dealbata produce fronds with a green undersurface; white undersurfaces are produced only as the plants get older. Some populations of *C. dealbata* in northern New Zealand, from Raglan to North Cape, and on Coppermine Island and the Three Kings Islands, have mature laminae with blue-grey, grey-green or almost green abaxial surfaces. The coloration of the stipes varies similarly (Figs 6 and 7). The northern plants do not appear to differ in any other character from populations with white undersurfaces, except that plants with prostrate rhizomes have been reported from Warawara Forest (Rawlings 1969), from Warkworth (Bryony Macmillan, CHR 199046) and from Radar Bush (Peter de Lange, WELT P027464; de Lange 2004). *Cyathea tricolor*, described by Colenso (1883) from Seventy-mile Bush between Norsewood and Dannevirke but now reduced to synonymy with *C. dealbata* (Brownsey *et al.* 1985), was also noted for its 'bluish tint', as well as for its 'shining dark-green upper foliage'. Occasional fertile fronds of *C. dealbata* that lack the white undersurface are also found.

The Australian species *Cyathea australis* (R.Br.) Domin is closely related to *C. dealbata* (Korall *et al.* 2007), and therefore also related to *C. milnei*. *Cyathea australis* differs morphologically most obviously from *C. dealbata* and *C. milnei* in lacking indusia, which are replaced by a fringe of scales around the sori (Bostock 1998: fig. 62D). It also

differs from *C. dealbata* by lacking the characteristic white underside to the laminae, although plants in Queensland sometimes have a glaucous surface (Bostock 1998). *Cyathea australis* is generally a much larger tree fern, with trunks to 20 m tall (Holttum 1964; Andrews 1990; Large & Braggins 2004: pls 22–23) and stipes to 800 mm long that have conical spines to 3 mm long (Bostock 1998). The hairs on the undersurfaces are much narrower and less abundant, and the scales rather smaller (generally less than 0.5 mm long) than in the New Zealand taxa. The morphological evidence therefore suggests that *C. milnei* and *C. dealbata* are more similar to each other than either is to *C. australis*.

DNA sequences

There were no substitution differences in the *rbcL* or *trnL-trnF* sequences of *Cyathea kermadecensis* and *C. cunninghamii*. However, they did differ in the lengths of two mononucleotide runs, with *C. kermadecensis* having three fewer adenine bases at one mononucleotide run and one less adenine at a second mononucleotide run.

The only substitution differences amongst the *rbcL* and *trnL-trnF* sequences of *Cyathea milnei*, *C. australis* and *C. dealbata* were single (and separate) apomorphies for each of *C. australis* and *C. dealbata* in their *trnL-trnF*



Fig. 6 The stipe bases of specimens of *Cyathea dealbata* from outside Northland (left) and within Northland (centre), and of *C. milnei* (right). *Cyathea milnei* is more tuberculate.



Fig. 7 The crown and trunk apices of specimens of *Cyathea dealbata* from outside Northland (left) and within Northland (centre), and of *C. milnei* (right).

sequences. There were also length differences at two mononucleotide runs, with *C. milnei* having one more adenine base than *C. dealbata* and one less than *C. australis* at one mononucleotide run, and three more thymine bases than *C. dealbata* and six more than *C. australis* at a second mononucleotide run.

Discussion

Cyathea kermadecensis and *C. milnei* from the Kermadec Islands have long been recognised as separate species. On Raoul Island, they are easily distinguished from one another (Brownsey & Perrie 2015a): *C. kermadecensis* has hood-shaped mature indusia and lacks obvious curly hairs on the abaxial surface of the lamina, while *C. milnei* has cup-shaped mature indusia and abundant curly hairs on the abaxial surface of the lamina. Further differences include stipe colour (Figs 2 and 7), the form of the trunks (including the general persistence of dead fronds as a skirt on *C. milnei*, although this is not evident on the cultivated plant in Fig. 7) and ecology, as previously noted. However, the status of *C. kermadecensis* and *C. milnei* with respect to species from elsewhere has received little critical examination. Our study is the first comprehensive account of how they compare with the species to which they are each most closely related.

Substantial differences between the DNA sequences of the Kermadec Islands plants and the mainland plants could have been taken as support for their recognition as distinct species. However, in both pairs of species the DNA sequences are nearly invariable, and variation is of a level consistent with both infraspecific and interspecific differences that have been reported previously in ferns, particularly in the context of the deceleration of molecular evolution observed in tree ferns (Korall *et al.* 2010). These genetic data are therefore inconclusive as to whether the Kermadec Islands populations should be segregated as distinct species; however, they do reinforce the close relationships inferred from the morphology.

Morphological examination indicates that, in both cases, the Kermadec Islands populations can be distinguished consistently (Tables 3 and 4). The critical question then is whether the Kermadec Islands populations should be segregated taxonomically from their allopatric relatives, and, if so, at what rank – subspecies or species? In the case of *Cyathea cunninghamii* and *C. kermadecensis*, the former is a widespread species occurring in Australia from Tasmania to southern Queensland, and in New Zealand from

Fiordland to North Cape and on the Chatham Islands. *Cyathea cunninghamii*, or an ancestor, has evidently in the past also spread to the Kermadec Islands, where it has evolved in isolation some minor, but consistent, variation. The Kermadec Islands plants are morphologically more distinct from either the Australian or New Zealand plants than the latter two are from each other. With *C. dealbata* and *C. milnei*, it seems that morphological divergence has similarly occurred as a result of geographic isolation on Raoul Island.

In conclusion, the Kermadec Islands plants in both species pairs are morphologically distinct. However, we have no informative data as to their precise relationship to their mainland relatives, in particular as to whether they are reciprocally monophyletic or metaphyletic/paraphyletic (see Brownsey & Perrie 2014). Consequently, with no definitive evidence to the contrary, we adopt the taxonomically conservative approach of retaining both *Cyathea kermadecensis* and *C. milnei* as separate species in our treatment for the electronic *Flora of New Zealand* (Brownsey & Perrie 2015a). This includes full descriptions, based on specimens at AK, CHR and WELT (all annotated as seen for the *Flora*), and an identification key for all New Zealand *Cyathea*. We note, nevertheless, that future analyses that provide a more detailed understanding of the genealogy of the Raoul Island *Cyathea* may see their taxonomic rank revisited.

Cyathea kermadecensis and *C. milnei* are noteworthy in being among the *c.* 25 species of vascular plants endemic to the Kermadec Islands (Sykes 1977; West *et al.* 2010). The two *Cyathea* species nevertheless conform to a general pattern where most of the indigenous vascular plants of the subtropical Kermadec Islands are closely related to, if not conspecific with, those of temperate mainland New Zealand (Sykes & West 1996). This likely reflects the geological youthfulness (Pleistocene), instability (volcanism) and small size of the Kermadec Islands (Sykes 1977).

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