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The traditional Māori ‘internal-barb’ fishhook

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ABSTRACT: Pre-contact Māori used a variety of fishhook designs to target fish species in different habitats. Following the introduction of metal hooks by Europeans, many traditional fishing practices were abandoned and the mātauranga, or knowledge, surrounding the use of the different hooks was lost. However, mātauranga contained in ancient Māori karakia, or incantations, documented by early historians reveals clues to how some of the traditional hooks functioned.

KEYWORDS: mātauranga, matau, Māori fishhooks, pre-European fishing techniques, hook design.

Introduction

European explorers were quick to note the profusion of fish in New Zealand waters and the importance of fishing to Māori. William Anderson, ship's surgeon on the *Resolution* during Cook's third voyage in 1777, commented on the odd shape of the hooks used by Māori, noting that 'they live chiefly by fishing, making use ... of wooden fishhooks pointed with bone, but so oddly made that a stranger is at a loss to know how they can answer such a purpose' (Beaglehole 1967). Joseph Banks, on the first Cook voyage in 1768, noted that 'Their hooks are but ill made, generally [*sic*] of bone or shell' (Beaglehole 1962). Early explorers, such as Pottier de l'Horme, an officer on de Surville's ship *St Jean Baptiste* in 1769, expressed doubt as to the efficiency and function of Māori fishhooks (Ollivier & Hingley 1982), while European settlers dismissed them, stating they were 'very clumsy affairs' (Polack 1838; Baucke 1905). Ethnologists and archaeologists throughout the twentieth century also questioned the Māori hooks, which were described as 'impossible looking' and 'shaped in a manner which makes it very difficult to imagine could ever be effective in catching a fish' (Hamilton 1908; Beasley 1928; Leach 1998).

Prior to the European introduction of metals to New Zealand, indigenous Māori relied on natural materials of shell, bone, ivory, wood and stone to make fishhooks

(Hamilton 1908; Beasley 1928; Best 1929). Sharp points and barbs required for piercing and holding the fish on the line, as with present-day metal hooks, could not easily be manufactured from these materials owing to their sometimes brittle nature. Because natural materials lack the strength of metals, hook design had to be a compromise so that the hook functioned efficiently to catch fish without breaking. As a result, traditional Māori fishhooks differed markedly in design and function from modern metal hooks (Paulin 2007, 2010).

Large hooks were composite and made with differing materials – strong, curved wooden shanks lashed firmly to stout bone, shell or stone points (Fig. 1). Shanks were made by training growing plants and young saplings into the desired curve; the saplings were then harvested after they had grown and become rigid. Large composite hooks were used to capture the bigger reef-dwelling fishes such as groper (hāpuku, *Polyprion oxygeneios*), bass (moeone, *P. americanus*), ling (hokorari, *Genypterus blacodes*) and sharks, including bronze whaler (toiki, *Cacharinus brachyurus*). Smaller species were taken with hooks made from a single piece of bone or shell (Best 1901, 1929; Matthews 1911; Beasley 1928; Crosby 1966; Leach 2006; Paulin 2007).

Māori soon recognised the superiority of metal over natural materials for manufacturing tools following the arrival of European explorers. James Cook gifted metal tools to



Fig. 1 Composite hook with a strong, curved wooden shank, made by training a growing plant to the desired shape and lashing it to a bone point, 128 × 99 mm (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: ME 014838).

Māori and frequently provided metal nails in exchange for supplies of fish. At Hawke Bay, a few days after sighting New Zealand in late October 1769, Cook gave local Māori gifts of linen cloth, trinkets and spike nails, and noted that they placed ‘no value’ on the metal nails (Beaglehole 1955). Several weeks later, however, in February 1770 off Cape Palliser, 200 km south of Hawke Bay, the crews of three canoes boarded the *Endeavour* and requested nails, which they had heard of but not seen (Salmond 2003).

Archaeological studies have shown that early Māori fishhooks (ascribed to the period of Māori culture referred to as ‘Archaic’, or ‘Settlement’, phase) were predominantly made from one piece of bone (Davidson 1984; Furey 1996). Wooden Archaic hooks with flax lashings are rare, but this is perhaps because they are less likely to survive well in archaeological sites (Hjarno 1967; Furey 1996; Jacomb 2000).

Even old wooden hafted tools such as adzes are rarely found archaeologically, as the wooden hafts and fibrous lashing material decay, leaving only the stone heads (Buck 1949).

Fishhook material and form

Three principle types of one-piece bone hooks were used by Māori: circle or C-shaped rotating hooks; U-shaped, or jabbing, hooks; and an unusual design referred to as ‘internal-barb’, or ‘shank-barb’, hooks (Skinner 1943). The rotating circle hook function has been described by Leach (2006) and Paulin (2007), and the use of jabbing hooks has long been understood, as their function is similar to that of present-day metal hooks. However, the nature and function of the internal-barb hook has not been documented.

Māori manufactured single-piece fishhooks using bone or shell, and rarely stone. The absence of large terrestrial animals limited source material to bone from moa, seals, stranded whales, dogs and humans. Moa bone became increasingly rare as the birds were driven to extinction; however, the abundant whale populations around the coasts provided a steady supply of bone through beach strandings, and suitable material was then transported throughout the country via extensive trading networks (Henare 2005). Human bone was prized as a material for fishhooks, and the bone of enemies was doubly valuable as its use was considered an act of revenge. Hooks made from human bone were sometimes given special names, and their use often led to prolonged tribal warfare (Taylor 1855; Tregear 1904; Best 1929).

The maximum size of one-piece bone and shell hooks was determined by the strength of the material required to land a large fish and by the size of the bone itself, hence they rarely exceeded 75–80 mm in length. Although bones from moa and stranded whales could be used to make larger hooks and were readily available, a hook could easily snap when subjected to the stress of a large fish pulling its point limb against the line attached to the shank limb. There are numerous archaeological examples of broken hook shanks in museum collections (Furey 2002; Leach 2006). One-piece bone hooks were made with a broadly rounded curve to spread the load and reduce the chance of the hook breaking; hence circular bone hooks were stronger than hooks with a narrow angle, which allowed tension to be focused at the bend (Paulin 2007).

Large, strong bone hooks made in two sections by lashing a point directly to a bone shank resulted in a stronger hook,

but the straight shank did not allow the point to be directed inwards as required for the rotating circle hooks. The use of these hooks was generally, but not always, restricted to the manufacture of lures (Fairfield 1933; Paulin 2007). Because of the inherent weakness of bone, such hooks were comparatively thick in contrast to modern steel hooks. This thickness made it difficult to thread bait onto the hook, and instead it was tied to the lower portion of the hook by means of a thin string (pākaikai) attached to a small hole or lug at the base of the hook. The point of the hook was left bare, free of any bait, to ensure the hook functioned efficiently.

Hook function

Rotating circle hooks (Fig. 2)

Circle hooks functioned by rotating. The stout but often bluntly pointed bone point of the hook acted as a guide, directing the fish's jawbone through the narrow gap between the point and the shank, into the loop of the circular hook, thus acting as a trap or snare to hold the fish. The fishing line was attached to the snood (a short length of line permanently connected to the hook, bound with a whipping of fine twine to protect it from the teeth of the fish), which in turn was lashed to the hook shank in a narrow, angled groove, with the line leading from the inner head of the shank so that when under tension the line pulled at right angles to the point of the hook. This caused the hook to rotate, away from the direction of the point, pivoting on the point and trapping the fish's jawbone without penetrating the flesh.

Circle hooks fished using hand lines could rotate under increasing tension as the fish moved away. Once snared around the fish's jaw, the hook could not reverse its direction of rotation (Nordhoff 1930; Forster 1973), and hence there was no need for Māori to use rods to provide leverage to 'set' the hook (Paulin 2007). An alternate rotating hook theory has been proposed in which it is suggested that increased leverage on the hook as the fish swam away caused the hook to be driven forward, causing the point to penetrate the fish behind the jawbone (Leach 1973, 2006). However, this is not possible, as the snood attached to the fishing line, tied to the inner side of the head of the shank at right angles to the point of the hook, caused the hook to rotate away from the direction of the point under tension (Paulin 2007).

U-shaped hooks (Fig. 3)

U-shaped, or jabbing, hooks required the use of short rods. These hooks were fished with a short line and the rod was used to flick the fish out of the water into a canoe, in a



Fig. 2 Rotating circle hook, 80 × 53 mm (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: ME 002237).



Fig. 3 U-shaped, or jabbing, hook, 67 × 50 mm (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: ME 013790).

manner similar to that used when trolling with pā kahawai and pohau mangā (Buck 1949). The U-shaped hook did not have a barb, and the fish was held on the line by keeping tension on it during the short time between hooking and retrieving the fish. Jabbing hooks did not rotate and the snood attached to the line was tied to the hook shank parallel to the direction of the point for maximum efficiency. U-shaped hooks are much less common archaeologically than C-shaped rotating hooks, but were particularly abundant at the Chatham Islands, where they appear to have been the preferred design.

Internal-barb hooks (Fig. 4)

Internal-barb, or shank-barb, hooks are smaller than other bone hooks (usually less than 40 mm in length) and are characterised by two bluntly pointed internal barbs (kāniwha), which create a narrow gap at the top of the loop of the hook. The barbs were not used as a cleat to hold bait (Buck 1949), nor was the design simply a convenient way of narrowing the gap during manufacture of the hook (Leach 2006). Instead, the barbs performed the same function as the main inturned point of the circle hook, and were an integral part of this hook design. The point of the small hook was not directed inwards as with the larger one-piece bone or composite wooden hooks, but was directed forward, and served to guide the hook into position. As with the larger circle hook design, the hook rotated when pivoted by tension on the line pulling in a direction away from the direction of the point.

Internal-barb hooks are more commonly represented from archaeological sites in sheltered eastern bays and north-eastern coasts of New Zealand (e.g. Northland to Bay of Plenty; Hawke Bay; Golden Bay, Nelson), although there is a paucity of archaeological research in west coast areas of both main islands (Trotter 1956). No fish species are limited to an eastern distribution pattern and it is unlikely that the hooks were designed to target a particular fish species. Several examples of internal-barb hooks were collected by Cook and other early explorers in the nineteenth century, including some with attached portions of fishing line (Paulin 2010).

New Zealand flax (harakeke, *Phormium* spp.) provided fibrous material for fishing lines and was recognised in the early 1800s as equal, or superior in quality, to the jute, hemp and sisal in use by Europeans at the time (Polack 1838; Beaglehole 1955). Lines were made from prepared flax fibres, or muka, by rolling the fibres on the bare thigh with the palm of the hand. Two lengths of rolled twine, or takerekere,



Fig. 4 Internal-barb hook, 30 × 18.8 mm (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: ME 023204).



Fig. 5 Internal-barb hook with line, 30.4 × 26.9 mm (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: ME 004877).

were then rolled together to produce two-ply twine, or kārure, and many different forms of twine and cordage could be produced with varying numbers of strands (Best 1929). Internal-barb hooks in museum collections with original fishing lines attached are unusual in that the line is as thick as, or even thicker than, lines attached to large composite wooden hooks (Fig. 5).

Mātauranga

Because of the limited interest in fishing by Europeans, details of how Māori fishing equipment was made and used were not widely documented. Some general observations of Māori fishing activities were recorded by explorers and early settlers (Yate 1835; Polack 1838; Dieffenbach 1843; Taylor 1855; Colenso 1869, 1891; Mair 1873), but by the end of the nineteenth century historians were beginning to note that the details of fishing knowledge had been lost as the kaumātua, or elders, passed away (Hamilton 1908; Matthews 1911). It was not until the early twentieth century that Elsdon Best (1924, 1929) prepared what is arguably one of the most important records of Māori life and culture. Best himself noted that little information on Māori fishing had been recorded and that he ‘could do little to supply the deficiency’. However, some knowledge was also recorded in Māori, a format that was not readily available to scholars and researchers who did not speak the language.

Best (1929) noted an ancient karakia, or incantation, that was chanted over hooks before fishing to ensure they functioned effectively, and quoted it as an appendix in Māori but without a translation. Versions in Māori and English are reproduced here:

Na, mo te matau hi ika tenei karakia

Tenei au he atu [ʔau tu], he au noho ki nga tipua aro
nui, aro rangi, aro nuku
Ki tenei taura nga tipua, na nga tawhito nuku, nga
tawhito rangi
Ki enei matau riki, ki enei matau piha, ki enei matau
pakiwaha
Kia tau aro, kia tau whiwhia, kia tau rawea mai
Kia piri mai ki tenei tama, kia rawea mai ki tenei
tamaroa
He awhi tu, he awhi noho taumanu kia tamaua take
Kia tamaua piri, kia kai nguha, kia kai aro, kia kai
apuapu
Kia taketake nui, kia taketake aro ki enei matau
Hirere awa, hirere au, hirere moana
Tamaua, tamaua take, eke eke uta ki runga I taku waka.. e
Hui.. e! Taiki.. e!

This is an incantation for a fishing hook

This is the current that connects us to the elements from
the heavens above to the earth below
Bound here by the ancient elements
Bless these small hooks, these hooks for the gills, these
hooks for the mouth
That they strike true, that they are well fastened, that
they are wrapped well
That they become one with this fisherman
Embracing the line, held firm in the canoe, holding fast
Holdfast hooks, hunt your prey, strike true, hook me
many fish
Be long lasting my hooks
From the rivers, from the currents, to the ocean
Hold firm, board this vessel, journey with me
We are united!

Internal-barb hook function – ‘ki enei matau piha’

The large numbers of internal-barb hooks from archaeological sites now in museum collections indicates that they were widely used by Māori, but the actual method of use has been forgotten and lost over the 240 years since the arrival of Europeans and the introduction of metal fishhooks.

Within the karakia recorded by Best, two lines relate to the way the fishhooks functioned. In line four, the phrase ‘kia tau whiwhia, kia tau rawea mai’ (that they are well fastened, that they are wrapped well) possibly refers to circle hooks, which trapped the jaw by rotating and holding the fish on the line without penetrating the flesh. The phrase in the preceding line ‘Ki enei matau riki, ki enei matau piha’ (Bless these small hooks, these hooks for the gills) suggests a unique method of fishing that may be related to small internal-barb hooks.

Fish gill filaments are supported on a series of gill arches (branchial arches). The fish takes in water through the mouth, where it passes between the gill arches and over the gills, and exits through the gill opening, which is shielded by the gill cover (operculum). The anterior or leading edge of each gill arch is lined with comb-like structures known as ‘gill rakers’ (Parker & Haswell 1897). These enable water to flow continuously in through the mouth and out via the gill opening, passing over the gill filaments to supply oxygen, while trapping food items which can then be swallowed. When the mouth of the fish is closed, the gill rakers lie flat along the gill arch; as the fish expands the branchial cavity by opening the operculum to expel water and debris, the gill arches flare outwards and the rakers become erect, forming a grid that allows water and detritus to pass, while preventing larger food items from being ejected. Fish feeding on the sea floor will often suck in quantities of sand and shell

debris, along with food items, by suddenly expanding the gill covers. Sand, small shell fragments and detritus can then be ejected between the branchial arches and out through the gill opening.

Small internal-barb hooks possibly functioned by slipping between the gill arches and catching elements of the gill arch in the narrow gape between the two barbs, in a similar manner to the rotating circle hook, in which the gape functioned as a trap to hold the jawbone (Paulin 2007). In an introduction to a paper on oilfish (*Ruvettus pretiosus*) fishing by Gudger (1927: 206), Professor Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History mentioned small shell hooks, resembling an open ring, which were used to 'seize the gills of the fish and hold him firmly, but without injury' in scattered locations across the Pacific, including Japan and the states of Alaska and Washington in the USA.

While it is possible that a small hook could catch the branchial arch as unwanted material is ejected through the gill opening (Davidson & Leach 2008), even a very small hook could not pass through the mesh or grid created by the gill rakers of small to medium-sized pelagic fish, which have long, closely spaced gill rakers. However, the relatively widely spaced gill rakers of very large benthic fish, such as ling, bass and groper, species that can reach lengths of 2 m, would enable the small hook to slip between the gill rakers and catch on the branchial arch. Hence, the small hooks were used with heavy, multi-stranded fishing lines that were capable of holding a large fish.

Conclusions

Metal fishhooks were avidly sought after by Māori, and many nineteenth-century explorers, sealers and whalers often used metal fishhooks as a form of currency (Dieffenbach 1843; Wakefield 1845). In the 1800s, metals were used by Māori to make fishhooks, which were carefully fashioned into shape following the traditional circle design, with barbless, inturned points. These hooks were quite distinct from the mass-produced J-shaped metal hooks introduced by Europeans, which were widely available by the mid-1800s. The overwhelming number of cheap mass-produced metal hooks, and the ease of making hooks from copper ships' nails, wire and even horseshoes, soon led to the abandonment of traditional hook-making by Māori, and the subsequent loss of knowledge.

Mātauranga, or knowledge, surrounding the form and function of the internal-barb hook design is suggested within

the incantation documented by Best and provides valuable clues to how these traditional fishhooks functioned. The occurrence of the internal-barb hook in archaeological sites along the eastern coast and large sheltered bays probably reflects areas where it was possible to fish regularly from canoes well offshore and target large reef-dwelling fishes at depths – reefs that were not as accessible on the exposed west coast, where larger waves prevented safe fishing at distances from shore. A single large fish would have provided Māori with significantly more food than much smaller species such as barracouta (mangā, *Thyrsites atun*), blue cod (rāwaru, *Parapercis colias*), snapper (tāmure, *Pagrus auratus*) and others whose bones are more numerous in middens. However, heads of large fishes were disposed of at sea by Māori as an offering to the god Maru (Best 1929; Buck 1929), a practice that would result in a lack of diagnostic head bones in middens.

Although species such as bass, groper and ling are not represented in the archaeological record in large numbers (Leach 2006), they were extremely common in coastal waters of New Zealand prior to the development of large-scale commercial fishing in the twentieth century. In 1886, it was reported that ling were usually caught in 3–8 fathoms (6–15 m) and were cast up on beaches outside Wellington Harbour after heavy gales in 'extraordinary profusion' (Sherrin 1886). Graham (1956) reported that from 1900 to 1905 fishermen could hook two to three dozen groper per hour off Otago Peninsula, and that between 1922 and 1927 two men working could catch five to fifteen dozen of fish (80 lb, or 36 kg) per day. Today, these species are generally taken at depths of 200–500 m (Paul 1986).

The capture of large benthic reef-dwelling fishes using small fishhooks to entangle the branchial gill arch represents a fishing method that is unknown today and has not been documented for any other culture (Gabriel *et al.* 2005). The only accounts of the practice are recorded in mātauranga provided by Māori karakia, and in passing reference by Professor Wissler as evidence of cultural diffusion (Gudger 1927). The recent rediscovery of the rotating circle hook design is regarded as an innovation for improved landing rates in long-line pelagic and deep-water fisheries, and, as fish are rarely harmed by being gut-hooked, it has also been regarded as innovative in recreational catch-and-release fisheries (Taylor 2002; Cooke & Suski 2004). The use of small gill-hooks by Māori may also represent a previously unrecognised technological achievement. Unfortunately, the removal of large benthic and demersal fish species from

coastal waters by intensive commercial fishing in the twentieth century (Graham 1956; Paulin & Paul 2006; Maxwell 2010) may make experimentation with this fishhook design and confirmation of its effectiveness problematic.

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A unique Māori fishhook: rediscovery of another Cook voyage artefact

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ABSTRACT: Examination of Māori fishhooks known to have been collected during Captain Cook's voyages of exploration (1768–79) suggests that ornately carved examples were extremely rare pre-European contact. One uniquely carved hook, held in the National Museum of Ireland, can be confirmed as a Cook voyage artefact through an illustration in an unpublished early nineteenth-century portfolio by Kenelm H. Digby, held in the New South Wales State Library, Sydney, Australia.

KEYWORDS: matau, Māori fishhooks, pre-European, carving, Cook voyage artefact.

Introduction

The Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook (1768–79) revealed to the Western world an entirely new vista of geographic and scientific knowledge (Beaglehole 1955, 1961, 1967). The first voyage was, in fact, a scientific mission organised by the Royal Society of London to observe the transit of Venus from Tahiti. The British Admiralty went to considerable lengths to ensure that on each of his voyages Cook was accompanied by learned men of science, their assistants and artists. The scientists included Joseph Banks, Daniel Solander, Georg and Johann Forster, Anders Sparrman, Sydney Parkinson, Alexander Buchan, David Nelson, William Hodges, John Webber and others, whose primary interests were botanical and zoological, rather than ethnographical. The importance of the 'natural curiosities' collected on these voyages of discovery was recognised, and many biological specimens – well documented with notes on localities and dates of collection – were taken back to England. They were later formally described and published, becoming type specimens for numerous species. In contrast, although scientists, officers and crew made extensive collections and observations of ethnographic materials, the objects themselves were often poorly documented (Kaeppeler 1978a) and frequently not highly regarded.

For example, in an address to the Dublin University Zoological and Botanical Association in 1856, the chairman, Dr Robert Ball, opened the meeting by saying: 'Tonight Professor Harvey favours us with some remarks on the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands, whose arms, etc., you see hung around the room. Collections of this kind have been sneered at but very improperly as a right knowledge of them is of great importance in the very difficult and very high study of ethnology' (Freeman 1949).

Māori artefacts were obtained by early explorers and taken back to Europe, but few were documented and many in museum collections cannot now be identified. Ethnographic artefacts known to have been collected during Cook's voyages that have endured to the present day represent the earliest exchanges between Māori and European, and are objects that have not been influenced by the impact of European culture and technology.

Many artefacts from Cook's voyages were distributed to wealthy patrons or sold to collectors of 'artificial curiosities' and, after 200 years of curio trading, most have now lost their association with those voyages. Hence, not surprisingly, few fishhooks can be verified as Cook artefacts (Kaeppeler 1978a, b; Paulin 2010). The date of collection of many fishhooks can be broadly established through museum catalogue records and known details of donors; however,



Fig. 1 Fishing hooks from New Zealand illustrated in Kenelm H. Digby's 'Naturalist's companion' (1810–1817: 215) (New South Wales State Library, Sydney, Australia: digital order number a155030).

many hooks passed from collector to collector and original details have been lost. Today, artefacts from Cook's voyages are represented in almost every major European museum (Kaepler 1978a, b; Paulin 2010), and more than 100 smaller museums and private collections throughout Europe hold collections of early Māori artefacts (Hooper 2006; Arapata Hakiwai, pers. comm. 2010).

The often haphazard composition of late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century European museums reflected the then widely held belief that the diversity and complexity of nature was positive proof of the existence of a divine creator. This encyclopaedic approach is well demonstrated by Kenelm Henry Digby's 'Naturalists companion', a portfolio prepared from specimens and objects in the museums of Trinity College and the Dublin Society in Ireland in the early 1800s (Digby 1810–1817). This portfolio, now held in the New South Wales State Library (Sydney, Australia), includes numerous illustrations of a wide variety of animals and birds, as well as of many

human artefacts, including two Māori fishhooks (Fig. 1). Digby's stated intention was to highlight to all 'but the most insensible mind wonder at the formation and the various properties, and dispositions of the Brute Creation'. Comparison of Digby's (1810–1817) manuscript with published catalogues from contemporary museums, such as the Leverian Museum (Holophusikon) or William Bullock's Museum, shows how close his conceptual work was to the layout and interpretation of these museums (New South Wales State Library 2001).

The National Museum of Ireland collection

The collection of Māori artefacts held in the National Museum of Ireland (NMI) includes 16 composite fishhooks (matau) and 14 lures (pā). Some of these hooks and lures were obtained during Cook's voyages, while others were collected in the late 1800s (Freeman 1949; Cherry 1990).

On Cook's second voyage, James Patten of Ulster sailed as surgeon on the *Resolution*. Patten later settled in Dublin. His collection of Pacific artefacts (including several Māori fishhooks), was subsequently presented to Trinity College, Dublin, around 1777. Another collection in Dublin came from Captain James King, who sailed on Cook's third voyage and who took over command of the *Discovery* following the death of Captain Charles Clerke (Freeman 1949; Cherry 1990). The items collected by King on the voyage were not presented to Trinity College until after his death in 1784; they were donated by his father, the Reverend James King, who was Dean of Raphoe in County Donegal. The Dublin Marine Society donated further 'curiosities' to Trinity College in 1792, which must also have been collected on one of Cook's voyages (Freeman 1949).

Most items in the collection of Trinity College were transferred to the National Museum of Ireland (established in 1877) in 1882 and 1885 (Freeman 1949; Cherry 1990), but the clubs, spears and other weapons were not transferred until 1894 (National Museum of Ireland 1895; Cherry 1990). It is unclear when the fishhooks were transferred, and no complete catalogue of the objects from Trinity College exists, so it is not possible to distinguish fishhooks collected by Patten from those collected by King.

In 1909, the museum purchased a collection of Māori artefacts from Dr Isaac Usher, who had acquired them from his father-in-law, Captain George Meyler. Meyler fought in the New Zealand land wars between 1860 and 1889, and had deposited some items in the museum in 1891. Further items were later added by travellers such as Dr James McKellar, and from other collections donated to the Science and Art Museum of the Royal Dublin Society, which has now become the National Museum of Ireland (Cherry 1990).

Unfortunately, the numerous items from New Zealand in the National Museum of Ireland were not clearly labelled and became mixed during reorganisation of the collections in the early twentieth century, to the extent that it is not possible to identify items collected during Cook's voyages from those in the Meyler and later collections (Cherry 1990). However, one composite wooden hook with a bone point (Fig. 2) held in the museum's collection (item NMI AE1893-760) is of great interest. It is stoutly made and has a detailed carving of a full human figure on the shank. This hook is one of two illustrated in the early nineteenth century by Digby (1810–1817) (Fig. 1, left). The second hook illustrated by Digby (Fig. 1, right) is also a composite wooden hook with a bone point and may possibly be item



Fig. 2 A unique composite Māori fishhook with a carved figure on the shank, almost certainly from Cook's second or third voyage (National Museum of Ireland, Dublin: AE1893-760).

NMI AE1893-761, which has a carving on the head of the shank; however, the illustration is poorly executed and does not allow a positive identification.

Discussion

Māori fishhooks with carved ornamentation collected by early explorers or recovered from archaeological sites are rare (Hjarno 1967: 44; Davidson 1984: 68; Furey 1996: 76; Paulin 2010). In his journal of Cook's first voyage, Sydney Parkinson illustrated nine Māori fishhooks, but only one – a large wood and bone composite hook (Parkinson 1773: pl. XXVI, fig. 6) – has any ornamentation, which is in the form of a carved figure, possibly a manaia (a stylised human figure with a bird-like head), on the snood knob (Fig. 3, left). The whereabouts of this carved hook, if it still exists, is unknown, and the remaining eight hooks illustrated are plain. No other Māori fishhooks with carved ornamentation are known among hooks confirmed as being collected during Cook's

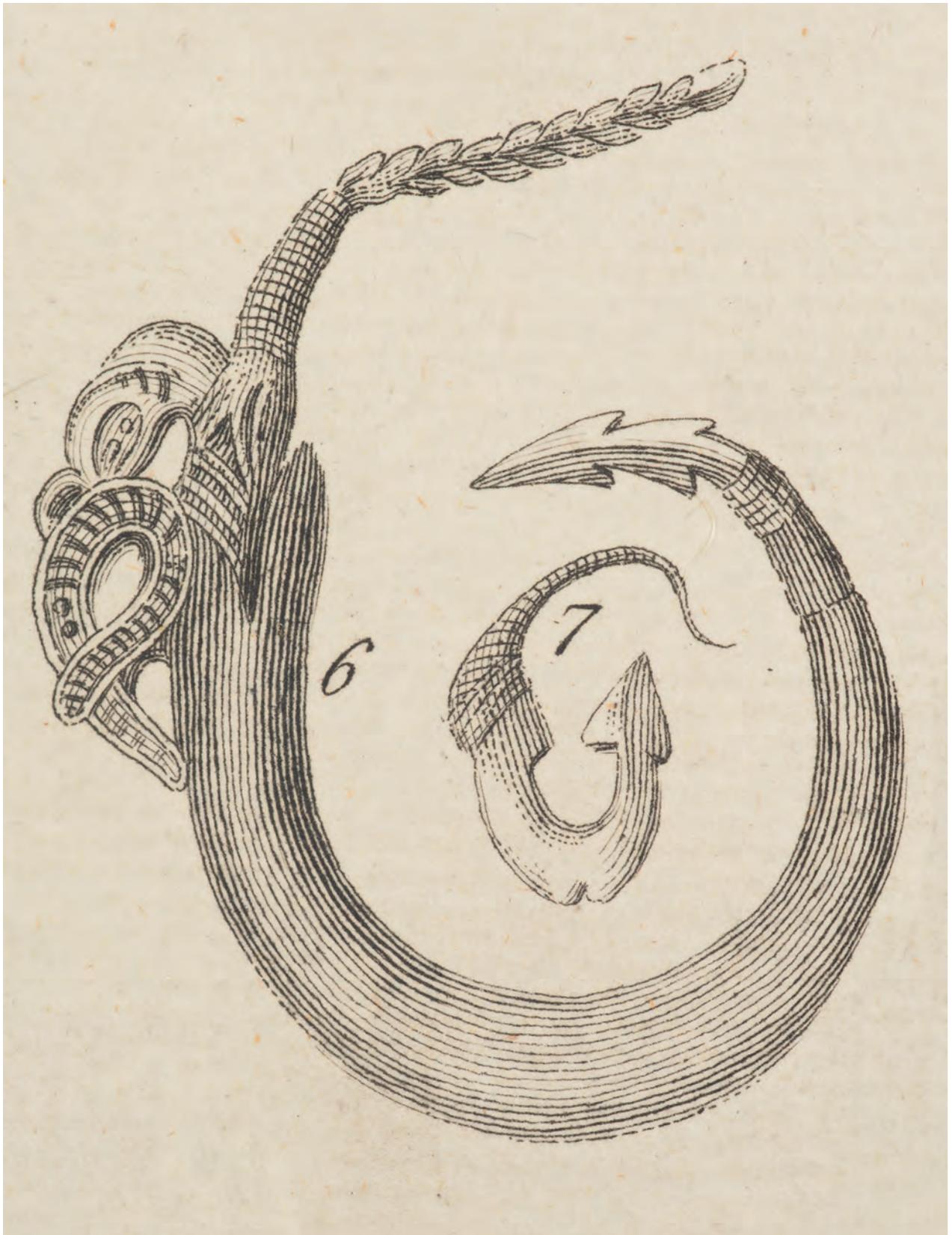


Fig. 3 A carved composite hook and one-piece bone hook illustrated by Sydney Parkinson from Cook's first voyage (detail from Parkinson (1773: pl. XXVI, figs 6–7)).

voyages. Nor are carved examples represented among hooks collected by other early explorers, or among hooks that have unconfirmed but possible links to Cook's voyages. In contrast, many fishhooks obtained by collectors and museums from the mid- to late 1800s often have ornately carved snood knobs, and some hooks obtained by museums in the early 1900s also have detailed and intricate carving on the shanks (Paulin 2010).

Many carved hooks, including examples ranging from those with carved masks to full human figures, are known from among hooks obtained by collectors in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (e.g. Harry Beasley, Walter Buller, Alexander Turnbull and William Oldman collections). However, because these items passed from collector to collector and through various sale rooms in Britain before ending in museum collections, they generally lack detailed information on their origins or historical context. The two carved hooks in the National Museum of Ireland collections (NMI AE1893-760 and 761) must have been acquired by the museum prior to 1817, given the date of Digby's portfolio (1810–1817) in which they are illustrated (Fig. 1). Therefore, these hooks cannot be part of the Meyler or later collections.

The small carved mask on the head of the shank of hook NMI AE1893-761 held in the National Museum of Ireland superficially resembles a carved Māori fishhook in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, England (item 1977.818), which was obtained by Captain John Erskine in 1850, and another hook held in *Musée du Quai Branly*, Paris, France (item 1864 71.1887.14.18), donated by Sir Walter Buller (1838–1906). However, the date of collection of Buller's hook is unknown. Other hooks with similar carved masks are held in many museum collections; however, their dates of collection cannot be verified.

Wooden components of artefacts, including fishhooks, have not persisted in archaeological sites (Buck 1949: 197), except in a few waterlogged locations (Davidson 1984: 62, 109) and dry caves (Skinner 1924), hence the full extent of carving of pre-contact fishhooks is unknown. Early Māori fishhooks of the Archaic period resemble hooks from other areas of Polynesia, and can be distinguished from later hooks of the Classic period, which have more ornamentation and reflect a cultural change that began in northern areas of New Zealand. However, the distinction between the earlier and later styles relies largely on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century evidence and undated pieces to construct a hypothetical sequence of change (Davidson 1984: 211).

The demand for artefacts by European tourists and collectors in the latter part of the nineteenth century resulted in the production of a large number of replica hooks that cannot easily be distinguished from earlier examples (Paulin 2010).

Kaeppler (2010) illustrated two composite Māori fishhooks from the Blackburn collection in Hawai'i. One hook (Kaeppler 2010: 356, fig. 513) is plain, lacking any carving, and has a provenance to Joseph Banks on Cook's first voyage. The second hook (Kaeppler 2010: 19, 356, fig. 512) has a richly carved mask extending over half the shank and pāua-shell inlays; its provenance is attributed to the London Missionary Society and Kaeppler states that it is referred to in a publication by Cousins (1895: '158–159' [error for 138–139?]). However, a comparison of the hook depicted in fig. 512 by Kaeppler (2010) against the hook illustrated by Cousins (1895: 139, fig. 32) shows that they are not the same object, because Cousins' hook has a small, crudely carved mask extending over only one-fourth of the shank, and a different lashing. Kaeppler (2010) described the Blackburn hook as: 'This type of ritual hook was used to catch fish for the gods, priests, chiefs, and chiefly women', but provided no reference for the source of this information.

There is no evidence that pre-European contact Māori produced ornate hooks for ritual purposes (Paulin 2010), and the hook illustrated by Kaeppler (2010) is most likely a late-1800s example made for the tourist trade. Māori ceremonies conducted before line-fishing expeditions involved the lines and hooks that were to be used to catch fish. The Reverend Richard Taylor noted several religious ceremonies connected with fishing and described how, the day before Māori went to sea, they arranged all their hooks around some human excrement, and used an incantation, or *karakia*, 'which will not bear being repeated' (Taylor 1855: 83). All available evidence suggests that these hooks were plain and for practical purposes, without ornate decorations.

Conclusions

Unlike many other richly carved Māori artefacts attributed to the voyages of James Cook (Shawcross 1970; Kaeppler 1978a; Davidson 1984; Coote 2000; Hooper 2006; Kaeppler *et al.* 2009), carved fishhooks that can be dated to pre-European contact are extremely rare. It is possible that pre-contact carved fishhooks were collected by early explorers but were gifted to wealthy patrons and remain in private collections, rather than being donated to public museums.

Detailed ornamental carving of fishhooks was not easily achieved until steel tools became available after the arrival of Europeans. The production of many ornate hooks in the late 1800s and early 1900s by both Māori and European forgers was in response to demand created by European dealers and collectors (Watt 1990; Day 2005; Paulin 2010). Māori were shrewd entrepreneurs and it is clear that these hooks were not intended to catch fish; rather, they were made to catch the eye of the Europeans. Ornate fishhooks are examples of a formerly rare category of taonga, or prized possession, that came to be specifically designed and produced for their desirability as trade items; this process mirrors that of the most internationally identifiable Māori symbol, the hei tiki (Beck & Mason 2010).

The National Museum of Ireland Māori fishhook NMI AE1893-760 (Fig. 2) is unique. The illustration in Digby (1810–1817: 215) (Fig. 1) confirms it as from Cook's second or third voyage, and it is the only known existing example of a Māori fishhook with elaborate carved ornamentation in the form of a full human figure on the shank whose date of manufacture can be reliably given as prior to the mid-1800s.

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Lectotypification of three species of forget-me-nots (*Myosotis*: Boraginaceae) from Australasia

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ABSTRACT: Lectotypes for the names of one Australasian and two New Zealand native forget-me-nots are selected: *Myosotis australis* R.Br., *M. forsteri* Lehm. and *M. goyenii* Petrie, respectively. The collection of the type material of *M. forsteri* by J.R. and G. Forster at Dusky Bay (South Island, New Zealand), and not in Australia, is further supported. Images of all three lectotypes are included.

KEYWORDS: R. Brown, G. Forster, J.R. Forster, J.G.C. Lehmann, D. Petrie, New Zealand flora, lectotypes, *Myosotis*.

Introduction

The genus *Myosotis* was described by Linnaeus (1753), with *Myosotis scorpioides* L., a species native to Europe and Asia, as the type species. Currently, *Myosotis* includes about 100 species (Winkworth *et al.* 2002). They are primarily found in Eurasia and Australasia, but New Zealand is the centre of diversity for *Myosotis* in the southern hemisphere and 42 species have been listed for the country (Moore 1988; de Lange *et al.* 2010). Forget-me-nots can be found by stream banks, in scrub vegetation, on limestone outcrops, in montane settings (snow tussock grassland, fellfield) and on scree in alpine environments (Mark & Adams 1973). The most outstanding features of New Zealand *Myosotis* species are the highly restricted distribution of some, the small size of each population at a single site, and the diversity in flower colour (white, yellow, blue and red/bronze) and breeding systems (Robertson & Lloyd 1991). Unfortunately, this genus is also notable for the numerous species that have conservation problems or are in need of taxonomic revision.

The most recent treatment of indigenous species of New Zealand *Myosotis* was carried out by Moore (1988). This provides a brief description of each species, distribution and habitat details, and a few comments on whether further taxonomic study is required for some species. The treatment

was largely based on an earlier study of the genus also by Moore (1961), where descriptions, synonymies, distribution details and notes on taxonomic status, type localities and potential type material were provided. However, information on type specimens and type localities is lacking or is inaccurate for some species in Moore's revisions.

Uncertainty about the location and identity of the type specimens for New Zealand plant species is not restricted to species of *Myosotis*, and a similar situation has been observed in ferns. Brownsey (1979) compiled a list of putative type specimens of New Zealand ferns held at the herbarium WELT of the Museum of New Zealand, with lectotypification needed for some species names. In his list, Brownsey also mentioned Moore's personal advice regarding the information included under the heading 'Types' in Allan (1961), i.e. that the information should be considered only as a general statement to indicate a putative type specimen for each species or where the original material could be potentially found.

A new revision of *Myosotis* from New Zealand is currently underway at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. The main goals of this project are to resolve species delimitation issues, reassess taxonomic status of several named species and varieties, and describe a number of new species using both morphological and genetic data.

In order to provide a sound and accurate taxonomic background for this project, references to type material and their repository institutions for all currently accepted species have been gathered and their type status corroborated. Furthermore, several New Zealand *Myosotis* species are morphologically very variable and, therefore, the study of type material is necessary to confirm the correct application of published names. In turn, this ensures species can be accurately circumscribed and putative unnamed species recognised.

After studying these resources, it became evident that at least three of the 42 species names currently included in *Myosotis* for New Zealand require lectotypification: *M. australis* R.Br., *M. forsteri* Lehm. and *M. goyenii* Petrie. The aim of this paper is to select lectotypes for each of these species, including illustrations and the rationale supporting their selection.

Lectotypification

The three species names here lectotypified are listed below alphabetically. Images of the material designated as lectotype for each species are also provided. The selection of lectotypes was done following the recommendations of the International Code of Botanical Nomenclature (ICBN) (McNeill *et al.* 2006). Material examined by the author is indicated with an exclamation mark (!).

Abbreviations used in the text

Abbreviations used for the different herbaria follow Holmgren *et al.* (1990) and are listed below:

AK	Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland, New Zealand
BM	Natural History Museum, London, England
CHR	Landcare Research New Zealand Limited, Christchurch, New Zealand
E	Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland
GOET	Universität Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany
K	Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, England
LE	V.L. Komarov Botanical Institute, Saint Petersburg, Russia
MEL	Royal Botanic Gardens, Melbourne, Australia
P	Muséum National d'Histoire naturelle, Paris, France
S	Swedish Museum of Natural History, Stockholm, Sweden
WELT	Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand

Myosotis australis R.Br., *Prodr. Fl. Nov. Holland.*: 495 (1810)

TYPE COLLECTION: Port Jackson and van Diemen Island.

LECTOTYPE (designated here): 'Banks of Paterson River, R. Brown # 2934, Oct. 1804' (BM 000939408! – Fig. 1).

Myosotis australis is one of the most taxonomically challenging species of *Myosotis* in New Zealand. It appears that several unnamed species have been included under this name in New Zealand, possibly none of them matching the Australian type (Moore 1988), and a thorough morphological and genetic study of this species aggregate is needed. *Myosotis australis* has also been described as a morphologically variable species in Australia (Jeanes 1999). Aside from New Zealand, the species is found in New Guinea and Australia.

Myosotis australis was first collected in Australia by Robert Brown during his exploration voyage on the *Investigator* between 1801 and 1805. In the original description by Brown (1810), no type material or representative specimens were listed, and only the regions where it grows were recorded: Port Jackson (New South Wales, Australia) and van Diemen Island (now Tasmania, Australia). Moore (1961) stated that the type material of this species could have been collected in Australia or Tasmania.

Many of the plant specimens collected by Brown in Australia are currently found at BM, E, K and LE (Vallance *et al.* 2001). The set at BM is the largest, and has the best specimens and collection details (Vallance *et al.* 2001). There is a series of three sheets with material of *Myosotis australis* in this set (BM 000939408, BM 000939409 and BM 000939410). All three sheets have labels with collection details written by Brown and two of them with an earlier registration number '2934'. This number was assigned by Joseph Bennett – Brown's assistant – at BM, when preparing a catalogue of Brown's material (Vallance *et al.* 2001). Two of the sheets have material collected near Port Jackson (New South Wales) and the third sheet has material collected in Tasmania, at two different localities: Table Mountain (now Mt Wellington) and Lagoon Beach at Port Dalrymple. This latter sheet also has a modern label indicating this is a 'Type specimen' (Fig. 2). The material in the three sheets was provisionally labelled '*M. uncinata*' and '*M. hirta*' by Brown.

The criterion used to designate the material on the sheet number BM 000939409 as the type of *Myosotis australis*, and the author of such designation, are both unknown. It is likely that the status of type was given to this material based on the annotation 'No21 desc. [description] Mscr

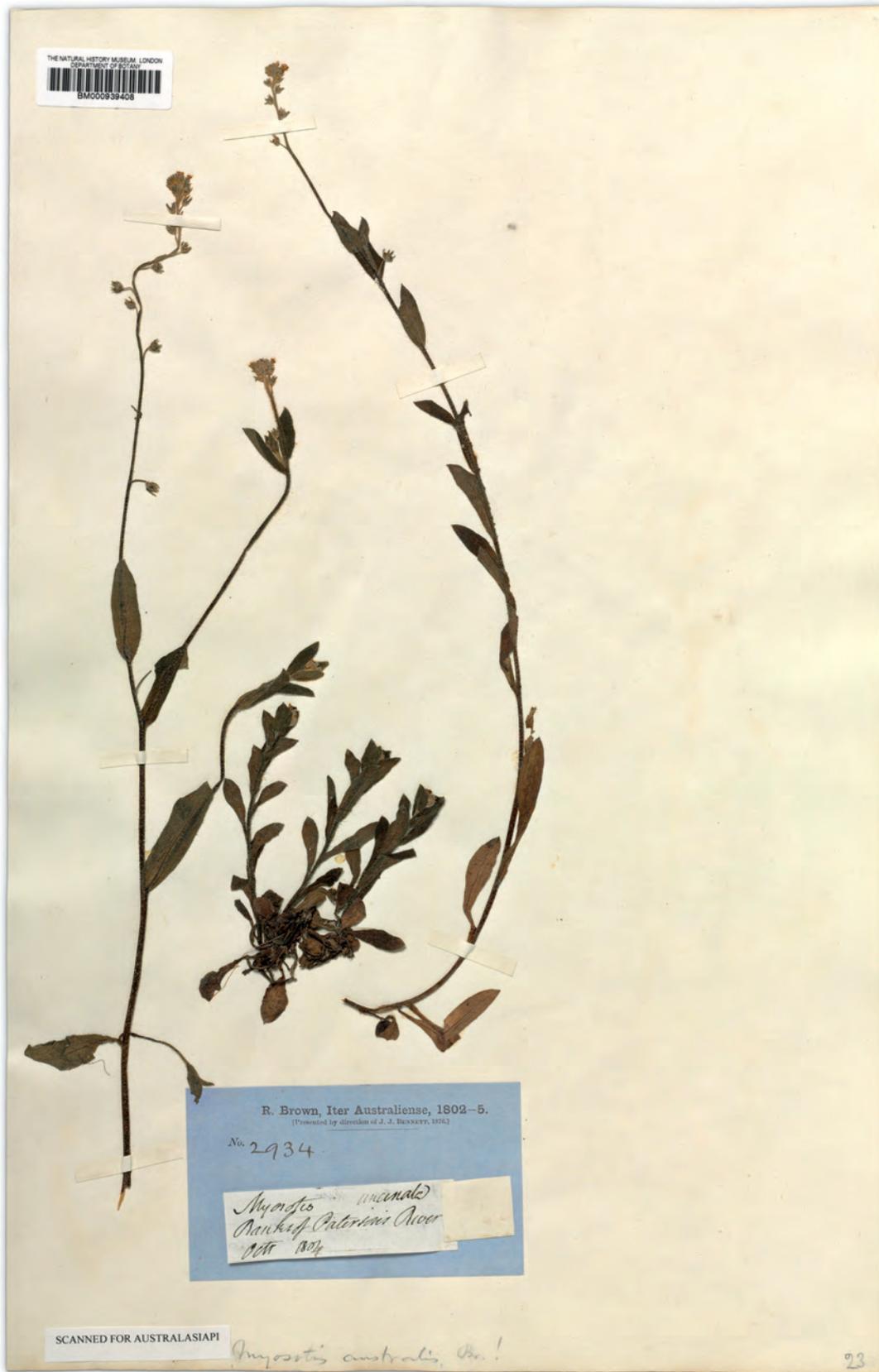


Fig. 1 Sheet BM 2934, holding the lectotype of *Myosotis australis* (photo: Natural History Museum, London, reproduced with permission).

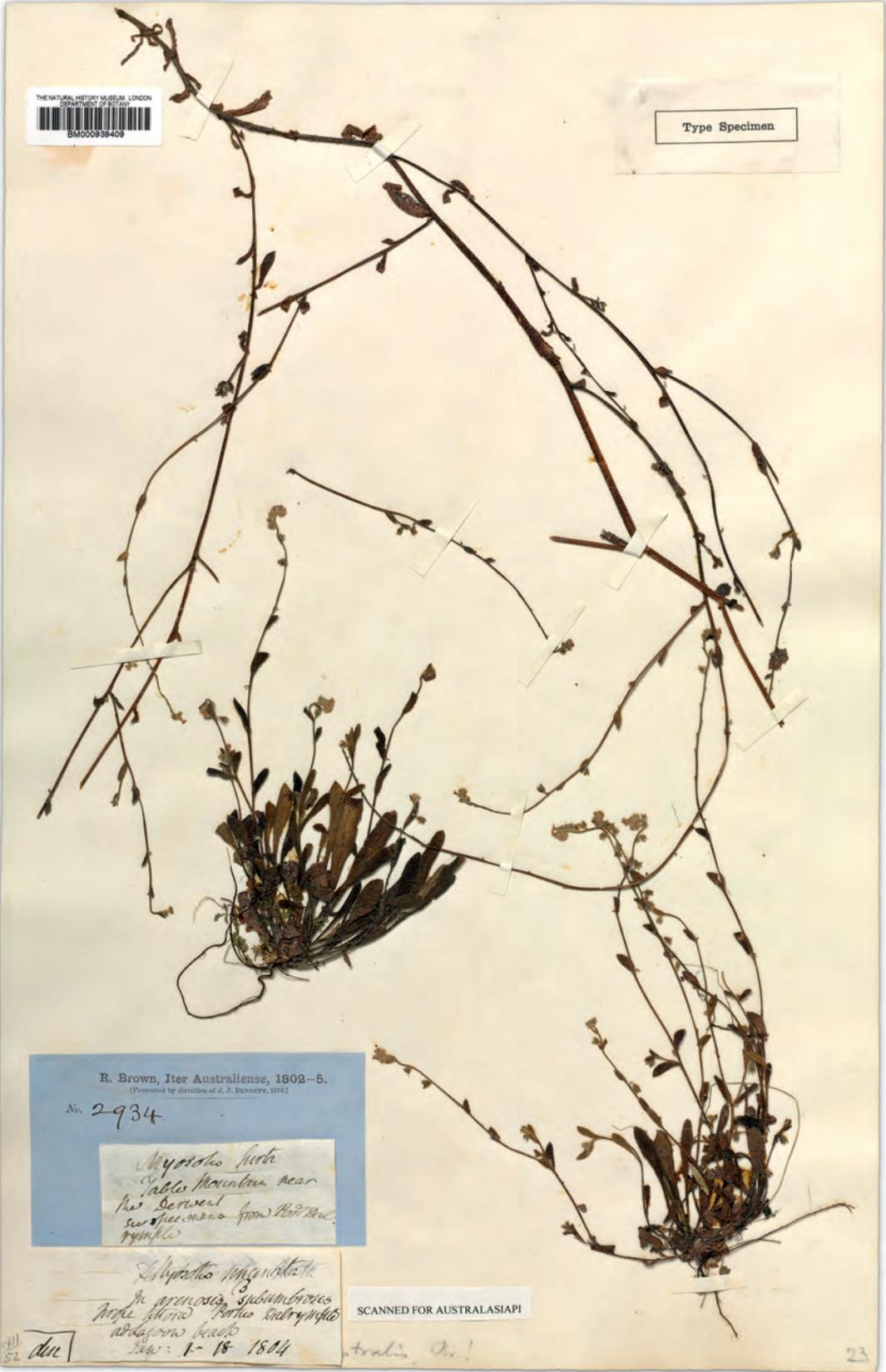


Fig. 2 Sheet holding material of *Myosotis australis* held at BM, labelled as 'Type Specimen' (photo: Natural History Museum, London, reproduced with permission).

[manuscript] P Dalrymple' found on the reverse of Brown's label, which coincides with the notes in Brown's manuscripts. Although that feature makes this material a good candidate to be the lectotype, the specimens on this sheet were collected in different localities, Port Dalrymple and Mt Wellington, and on different dates. The first collection was made during Brown's first trip to Tasmania in January 1804, and the second possibly in mid-January or late March 1804, during Brown's second trip to Tasmania (Vallance *et al.* 2001). Unfortunately, it is impossible to identify with certainty which specimen was collected on his first trip and which on the second. This means that the material on this sheet is not a gathering made at a single locality and date, and thus does not comply with Art. 8.2 of the ICBN (McNeill *et al.* 2006). A similar situation occurs with another sheet in this series, 'R. Brown # 2934' (no BM number). This sheet consists of several specimens collected between 1803 and 1804 at Paterson River and Nepean River, both near the colony of Port Jackson (New South Wales), but again it is impossible to assign each specimen to a locality or gathering.

The last sheet in the series (BM 000939408; Fig. 1), unlike the first two, contains material of *Myosotis australis* from a single gathering, collected at the banks of Paterson River (New South Wales) in October 1804. The specimen, labelled as '*M. uncinata*' by Brown, consists of three fragments, probably all part of the same plant, including rosette leaves, stem leaves, fruits and flowers. All these structures are mentioned in the species diagnosis given by Brown (1810). I designate this specimen as the lectotype of *M. australis*. The forthcoming revision of the genus in New Zealand will deal with the application of this name to New Zealand plants.

Myosotis forsteri Lehm., *Pl. Asper. Nucif.* 1: 95 (1818)

TYPE COLLECTION: *Nova Hollandia*. Type locality in error, correct type locality: Dusky Sound, New Zealand.

LECTOTYPE (designated here): '*M. forsteri* Lehm. *Nova Hollandia*, legit Forster' (MEL 71187! – Fig. 3).

Myosotis forsteri was described by J.G.C. Lehmann in 1818. It is stated in the protologue that the description is based on material collected by the Forsters (Johan Reinhold Forster and son Georg) in *Nova Hollandia* (now Australia). No further details about the locality or the studied specimen(s) were given by Lehmann (1818).

In her flora treatments of New Zealand *Myosotis*, Moore (1961, 1988) neither mentioned the whereabouts of the type specimen(s) of *M. forsteri*, nor proposed a lectotype.

However, she rectified the collection locality given by Lehmann and changed it from '*Nova Hollandia*' to '*Middle Island*', i.e. South Island, New Zealand (Moore 1961). The locality given by Lehmann was incorrect for two reasons. First, *M. forsteri* does not occur in Australia and, second, the Forsters never landed in Australia (Nicolson & Fosberg 2004). The Forsters visited New Zealand as scientists to Captain James Cook's second voyage to the southern oceans between 1772 and 1775. Most of their collections were made in the South Island during 1773, first at Dusky Sound (28 March–5 May) and later at Queen Charlotte Sound (19 May–7 June) (Nicolson & Fosberg 2004).

However, it is possible to infer the exact locality where the Forsters collected specimens of *Myosotis forsteri*. Historical records suggest that this species was collected at Dusky Bay, on the west coast of the South Island, and this is supported by notes on an illustration of *M. forsteri* made by G. Forster (Fig. 4), currently held at the Natural History Museum, London. The illustration depicts a specimen of *M. forsteri*, a detailed drawing of a basal leaf, two cymes and details of the calyx and flowers. The locality '*Dusky Bay*' is indicated in the drawing along with the illustration number '33' and the species name '*Myosotis spathulata*'. This locality was also suggested by Nicolson & Fosberg (2004) as the type locality for *M. forsteri*.

It is important to clarify that the Forsters collected material of two *Myosotis* species during this trip: *M. forsteri* and *M. spathulata*. It appears that, initially, they were unaware of this mixture, and most of their collections were identified and labelled with one name only, *M. spathulata*, a species described in the *Prodromus* by G. Forster (1786). Nicolson & Fosberg (2004) have studied most of the Forsters' material identified as *M. spathulata* and have confirmed that many of the specimens are a mixture of *M. forsteri* and *M. spathulata*. Two herbarium sheets at two different institutions have been labelled as types by Dan Nicolson: GOET Foster 43 (!) and BM 000528770/BM 000645865 (!). Both contain a mixture of material of *M. forsteri* and *M. spathulata*. Nicolson has also labelled the material of *M. spathulata* in these three sheets as type material for this species. Lectotypification of *M. spathulata* is probably also needed, but first further investigation is required and this is not the scope of this study.

The presence of both species in the Forsters' collections is also evident from J.R. Forster's unpublished manuscript '*Descriptiones plantarum quas in itinere ad maris Australis terras suscepto, collegit, descripsit, & delineavit*' (n.d.). In

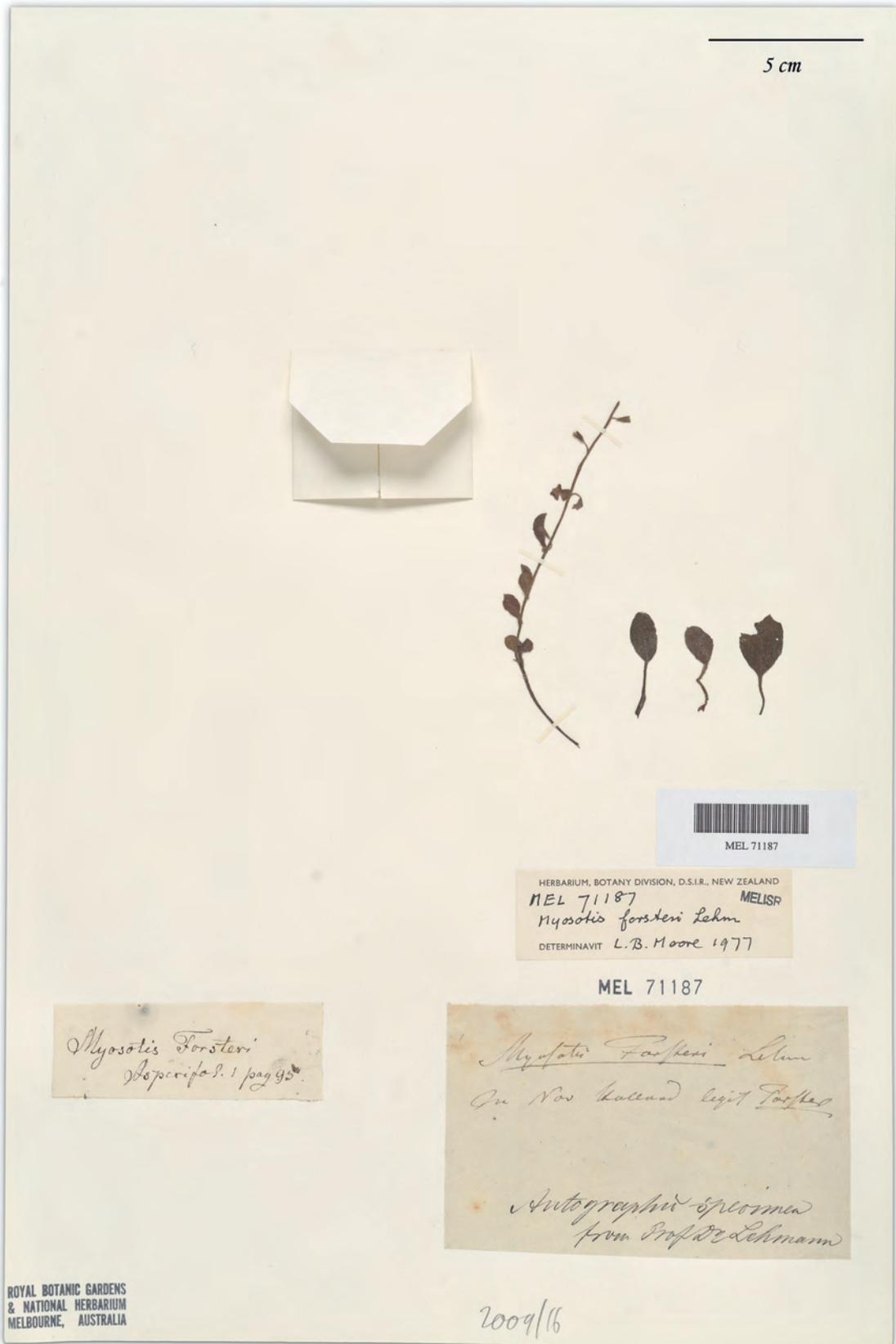


Fig. 3 Sheet MEL 71187, holding the lectotype of *Myosotis forsteri* (photo: J.C. Stahl; reproduced with permission from the State Botanical Collection, National Herbarium of Victoria, Melbourne).



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Fig. 4 Unpublished illustration of *Myosotis forsteri* collected at Dusky Sound by Georg Forster, Forster's folio number 33, held at the Natural History Museum, London (photo: Natural History Museum, London, reproduced with permission).



Fig. 5 Labels associated with *Myosotis forsteri* specimen MEL 71187, selected here as the lectotype: A, Lucy Moore's handwriting; B, Johann G.C. Lehmann's handwriting; C, Ferdinand von Mueller's handwriting; D, unknown writer (photo: C.A. Lehnebach; reproduced with permission of the State Botanical Collection, National Herbarium of Victoria, Melbourne).

it the author gives an extended description of *Myosotis spathulata* that includes the following note: 'Obs: rarius in racemum abit florescentia, communiter, pedunculus uniflorus, solitarii e foliolum superiorum axillis'. The first part of the note makes reference to one of the main differences between *M. forsteri* and *M. spathulata*, i.e. the floral arrangement. Flowers in *M. forsteri* are arranged forming a cyme, while in *M. spathulata* flowers are solitary and located in the axil of every stem leaf. Nicolson & Fosberg (2004) indicated that a couple of years after the *Prodromus* was published in 1786, the Forsters realised the mixed nature of their samples, but it is unknown whether they attempted to resolve the matter. Meanwhile, specimens of *M. forsteri* remained undescribed until Lehmann's publication 32 years later.

Neither Moore (1961, 1988) nor Nicolson & Fosberg (2004) managed to locate the specimen(s) of *Myosotis forsteri* studied by Lehmann. Most of Lehmann's types are held at the Swedish Museum of Natural History in Stockholm. Although this institution bought most of Lehmann's specimens after his death in 1860 (Nordenstam 1980; Nicolson & Fosberg 2004), the type specimens of Lehmann species of Boraginaceae are not there (Nicolson & Forsberg 2004). Historical records indicate that parts of Lehmann's herbarium were sold independently to other botanists, and that the Boraginaceae, in particular, were bought privately by O.W. Sonder, a pharmacist from Hamburg who had studied under Lehmann (Nordenstam 1980; Buys & Nordenstam 2009). Over time, Sonder's collection became too large for him to manage and he offered it to his friend the Baron

Ferdinand von Mueller in Australia, who, after sorting out a number of financial difficulties, managed to raise sufficient funds to purchase most of Sonder's material for MEL (Short 1990).

A loan of *Myosotis* specimens received from MEL included several specimens of *M. forsteri* listed in Australia's Virtual Herbarium Catalogue (Council of Heads of Australian Herbaria 2010). One of these specimens (Fig. 3) has several features suggesting that it be may part of the material used by Lehmann to describe *M. forsteri*. The specimen (MEL 71187) has three labels. One is a determinavit label signed by Lucy Moore in 1977 that confirms the identity of the specimen (Fig. 5A). The second label includes two handwritten annotations made by different people: the first annotation (Fig. 5B) indicates the species name and authority '*Myosotis Forsteri* Lehm', collection locality 'In Nov Holland' and collector 'legit Forster'; and the second annotation (Fig. 5C) reads 'Autographed specimen from Prof Dr Lehmann'. After studying the handwriting styles and comparing them with autograph examples compiled by Burdet (1976, 1977), it became evident that these annotations were made by Lehmann and F. von Mueller, respectively. The third label on the specimen (Fig. 5D) states the name of the species and the page number of Lehmann's *Asperifoliarum* (1818) where *M. forsteri* was described. It was not possible to identify the author of this annotation, but it does not belong to Sonder (see examples of Sonder's handwriting in Buys & Nordenstam 2009) or the previously named collectors.

The specimen MEL 71187 matches the original description in Lehmann (1818), but some described structures, such as roots and the distal section of the cyme, are missing. Whether these structures broke off through handling of the specimens over the years, or whether the specimen is only a fraction of the original material, is unknown. It has been suggested that Sonder, while selling Lehmann's herbarium after his death, kept parts of many specimens or sometimes just small fragments of them. Most of these pieces were later sold to his friend F. von Mueller to be deposited at MEL (Buys & Nordenstam 2009).

Lehmann's notes on the specimen label, which are identical to those in his 1818 *Asperifoliarum*, are a strong indication that this material was studied by him when describing *Myosotis forsteri*. Therefore, this is a good candidate for lectotypification. None of the specimens labelled as type by Nicolson at GOET or BM has features like these that link them to Lehmann.

Ironically, specimens of *Myosotis forsteri* had already been collected by Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander during the first voyage of Captain Cook to New Zealand. The name Solander used for this species in his 1769–1770 manuscript 'Primitiae florae Novae Zelandiae' was *Myosotis rigida*. Duplicates of the material Solander used for the description of *M. rigida* are currently held at WELT.

Myosotis goyenii Petrie, *Trans. & Proc. New Zealand Inst.* 23: 400 (1891)

TYPE COLLECTIONS: Cardrona Valley and Lake Hawea.

LECTOTYPE (designated here): 'Lake Hawea. Steep rocky faces on track on east side of the lake *D. Petrie* (WELT SP002484)' – Fig. 6).

Petrie (1891) did not indicate a type specimen or mention any studied or representative specimens of *Myosotis goyenii* in his description. He mentioned only the localities Cardrona Valley and Lake Hawea (Otago, South Island) for the source of his material. He also acknowledged that the species had been first discovered in Arrowtown in the South Island by Peter Goyen several years before.

Most of Petrie's herbarium is housed at WELT. This collection includes five sheets of *Myosotis goyenii*, with three of them labelled by Petrie as types: WELT SP002482A, WELT SP002482B and WELT SP002482C. These specimens were collected in Arrowtown. The sheet WELT SP002482A has the date of collection written on the label as '1st December 1896'. Moore (1961) noticed that this was a

later date to the publication of the protologue and thereby invalidated the type status of the specimen. However, after reconstructing Petrie's itinerary of botanical expeditions, Hamlin (1958) established that '1st December 1896' is likely to be a transcription error made by Petrie when relabelling his entire collection at the time it was donated to WELT. From the itinerary prepared by Hamlin (1958), it is clear that Petrie was collecting in the North Island in 1896, first in the Bay of Plenty in November and then on Little Barrier Island in December. Petrie's expeditions to Arrowtown and Cardrona Valley, on the other hand, were made in November and December 1890. There is material of *M. goyenii*, probably also collected during this trip, at the Auckland Museum (AK 7475) and this has been considered a potential syntype of *M. goyenii* by Herrick & Cameron (1994). Unlike the WELT material, this specimen still has Petrie's original label. The date of collection in Petrie's handwriting is 'Nov. 1890' and the locality Arrowtown. This evidence further supports Hamlin's conclusion that Petrie collected in Arrowtown during 1890 and not 1896.

Although it can be argued that the material Petrie labelled as types was collected in 1890, prior to the published description of *Myosotis goyenii*, the locality Arrowtown is not the source locality for Petrie's material but where Goyen first discovered the species. Furthermore, it is impossible after reading Petrie's work to establish whether he had seen Goyen's material discovered 'several years ago', as he mentioned in the description, and used it for the description of *M. goyenii*.

There are also two sheets of *Myosotis goyenii* at WELT collected by Petrie from Cardrona Valley and Lake Hawea. The sheet WELT SP002485 was collected in Cardrona Valley but no collection date is indicated on the label. This collection could have taken place in December 1890 (Hamlin 1958) or even earlier, for instance during 1886. In 1886, Petrie visited Lake Hawea and also the Remarkables. These localities are north and south of the Cardrona Valley, respectively. Unfortunately, records for Petrie's expeditions prior to 1889 are very scant (Hamlin 1958), and his itinerary can be neither confirmed nor rejected.

The second sheet, WELT SP002484, contains two specimens collected at Lake Hawea on February 1886, with the label reading 'Lake Hawea. Steep rocky faces on track on east side of the lake'. This description matches the protologue in Petrie (1891): 'I have gathered it ... at the bluff on the east side of Lake Hawea'. This specimen is a good candidate for lectotypification: the collection locality coincides with that



Fig. 6 Sheet WELT SP002484, holding the lectotype specimen of *Myosotis goyenii* (photo: C.A. Lehnebach, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington).

given in the protologue and the collection date is prior to the date of publication of Petrie's work. I designate here the specimen WELT SP002484 as lectotype (Fig. 6).

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A new species of soft tick (Ixodoidea: Argasidae) from the New Zealand lesser short-tailed bat, *Mystacina tuberculata* Gray

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ABSTRACT: *Carios quadridentatus*, a new species of argasid tick associated with the New Zealand lesser short-tailed bat, is described and illustrated from larval material. This is the second species of soft tick found in New Zealand, bringing the total number of tick species breeding in New Zealand to 11. The taxonomic history of bat ticks is discussed, together with the affinities of the new species with the Australian bat-tick fauna.

KEYWORDS: Argasidae, *Carios*, soft tick, lesser short-tailed bat, New Zealand, new species.

Introduction

The ectoparasite fauna of New Zealand's two rare and extant endemic bat species is diverse, but incompletely known. The long-tailed bat (*Chalinolobus tuberculatus* Forster, 1844) is host to a flea (Jordan 1947) and an ornithonyssine mite, but possibly also to a trombiculid mite and a spinturnicid, both still undescribed (O'Donnell 2005). The less common lesser short-tailed bat (*Mystacina tuberculata* Gray, 1843) hosts more ectoparasite species than its sympatric (Lloyd 2005), with a sarcoptid mite (Fain 1963), a myobiid mite (Fain 1972; Uchikawa 1988), a laelapid mite (Heath *et al.* 1987a) and two demodecid mites (Desch 1989). Fain (1972: 153), in his description of *Mystacobia hirsuta* (Myobiidae), gives the locality as 'Isles Stewart (Archipel Salomon), Pacifique, 1932'; this was an error for Solomon Island, off Stewart Island, both also known by the alternative names Rerewhakaupoko and Rakiura, respectively. The sarcoptid mite, *Chirophagooides mystacopsis* Fain, 1963 was collected from the same locality (Fain 1963), although no date is

given for the latter species. The error was possibly carried over from Fain (1968: 160, 184, table 7), where the plural 'Solomon Is' was used, although 'Nouvelle Zélande' is referred to only on p. 160. In the present study, to this eclectic mix of ectoparasites of the lesser short-tailed bat an argasid tick is added, which has until now remained unnamed and undescribed.

Desch (1989) described two species of *Demodex*, but his assertion that the follicle mites, the bat fly *Mystacinobia zelandica* Holloway, 1976 and the myobiid mite *Mystacobia hirsuta* Fain, 1972 were the only known specific parasites of *Mystacina tuberculata* is incorrect in a number of respects. Unaccountably, the sarcoptid and laelapid mites mentioned above were both overlooked by Desch (1989). Furthermore, the bat fly is not parasitic, merely using bats both phoretically and commensally (Allaby 1985), living in the guano and roost surroundings (Holloway 1976).

The lesser short-tailed bat is listed as a Category A species, of highest conservation priority, although it is 'Not critically endangered or endangered but is facing a high risk of

extinction in the medium term future' (Lloyd 2001: 75), but its parasites are not commonly available. The small number of acarine samples that has been collected, with the exception of those species referred to above, consists almost entirely of the mesostigmatid mite *Chirolaelaps mystacinae* Heath, Bishop & Daniel, 1987 (Heath *et al.* 1987a; other material held by the author). In contrast, Daniel (1979) refers to observations on 600 live bats over a three-year period at one colony, without any 'parasitic flies, blood-sucking bugs and fleas' being found (see also notes under 'Materials and methods'). The mites on which Heath *et al.* (1987a) based their description were obtained from a roost used by captive bats at Wellington Zoological Gardens, with additional paratypes from Omahuta Kauri Sanctuary and Featherston in the North Island, and Codfish Island, Big South Cape Island and Stewart Island in the south. The localities are the names that appear on the slide labels for the paratypes. Current convention offers the discretionary use of the alternative names Whenuahou (Codfish Island), Taukihepa (Big South Cape Island) and Rakiura (Stewart Island). That mite also occurs at the locality from which the ticks described here were obtained (Rangataua, near Ohakune, North Island). These localities cover the range of the three subspecies of *Mystacina tuberculata* as defined by Hill & Daniel (1985) and the six lineages proposed by Lloyd (2003).

The first indication that there was an argasid tick parasitic on *Mystacina tuberculata* appeared as a personal communication from G.W. Ramsay in Heath (1977) with a brief reference to 'an as yet unnamed argasid from North Auckland'. This information was repeated by Daniel (1979), but with more collection details, as follows:

Larval ticks have frequently been observed embedded in the skin of *Mystacina* handled at the Omahuta colony – a maximum of four was found on one adult bat and two on one naked 2-week old bat. This tick is an undescribed species of genus *Argas* (*Carios*), and appears to have affinities with *A. (C.) australiensis*, *A. (C.) daviesi*, *A. (C.) dewae*, and *A. (C.) macrodermae*, which are parasitic on six Australian species of bat.

In a checklist of the New Zealand tick fauna, Heath *et al.* (2011) refer to these reports, commenting that there had been no formal published description of the tick in intervening years, and furthermore that the specimen(s) could not be located (G. Hall, pers. comm. 3 May 2011). Following the author's recent discovery of three specimens of Argasidae larvae among material collected from *Mystacina*

tuberculata in the central North Island in 1997, a description is here presented of the eleventh species in New Zealand's somewhat sparse tick fauna, and only the second in the Argasidae (Heath *et al.* 2011). It has been assumed that the tick described here is the same species originally mentioned in Heath (1977) and Daniel (1979). This report illustrates, describes and names the tick, although it might be thought premature to prepare a description on the larva alone, given that no other life stages, and especially adults, are available for description. However, there are precedents for describing bat argasids from larvae alone, with 14 other species so named (Labruna & Venzal 2009).

Larval characteristics are sufficiently diagnostic to the extent that keys for larvae have been provided by Kohls *et al.* (1965), Sonenshine *et al.* (1966) and Jones & Clifford (1972). Furthermore, differentiation using adults of *Alectorobius* species (the now outmoded subgenus to which bat argasids were originally assigned, and which contained around 75% of bat-infesting soft ticks) is complicated in many cases, so the larval stage is indicated for species identification (Hoogstraal & Kohls 1962; Kohls *et al.* 1965; Labruna & Venzal 2009).

Because the new species appears to be rare in New Zealand (being found in only two collections to date, assuming the now lost material is of the same species), it may be, arguably, the only species of bat argasid in the country. This makes a strong case for naming this new species from limited larval material with the aim of stimulating further collections. Apart from the single previous record reported both in Heath (1977) and Daniel (1979), there have been no indications that other workers (e.g. Dwyer 1962) have collected or seen ticks on the bats they have handled. Furthermore, there are unlikely to be opportunities to obtain a full series of all life stages of the tick to complete a description, as this would require radical sampling and perhaps destruction of a colony roost, or at least severe disturbance – operations that most likely would not be permitted with such an endangered mammal, despite evidence showing that it is colonising exotic pine plantations (Borkin & Parsons 2010). If the new species has a biology similar to that known for others in the group to which it apparently has affinities (see 'Discussion'), then the larvae usually feed for 17–19 days, whereas adults and nymphs become replete in 20–50 minutes (Hoogstraal 1985) and spend the remainder of their lives in guano or crevices in the roost. This behaviour makes it much more likely for larvae to be found than other stages when bats are examined.

Taxonomic history

The nomenclatorial history of the Argasidae is convoluted, and even to the present there is lack of consensus for some taxa, with the bat-infesting argasids not excepted. Estrada-Peña *et al.* (2010) provide the most recent summary of attempts by other authors to systematise the taxa, although they themselves do not attempt a classification.

In summary: the first reported argasid tick associated with bats was named *Carios vespertilionis* Latreille, 1802 (later placed in the genus *Argas* by Hoogstraal (1958)), a widespread European species ranging also into North Africa. Other bat ticks were placed in *Ornithodoros*, subgenus *Alectorobius* (see Kohls *et al.* 1965; Jones & Clifford 1972), specifically for predominately Neotropical species associated with bats. Ticks of the Oriental-Australian group discussed in the present paper were included in the subgenus *Argas* (*Carios*) (see Sonenshine *et al.* 1966; Hoogstraal 1985).

The subgenus *Carios* was erected mainly on host predilection, but defined also on the basis of adult morphology (Hoogstraal 1958). There are differing descriptions of what constitutes the morphology of the Haller's organ in the larvae of species within this taxon (Hoogstraal & Kohls 1962; Hoogstraal 1985), which is confusing. In an attempt to provide direction and clarity, Klompen & Oliver (1993) undertook a phylogenetic analysis based on 83 characters across all life stages, partly because mainly post-larval stages had been used previously to establish taxonomic relationships; they, followed by Horak *et al.* (2002), placed nearly all bat-associated species in *Carios*, but as a genus with no subgenera recognised. Finally, Guglielmone *et al.* (2010) reverted all bat-associated argasids to the genus *Argas*, with no subgenera. Subgenera will be used here only where they can be referred directly to the various authors cited.

On balance, despite the lack of consensus among contemporary workers, the inclusion of most bat-associated argasids in *Carios* as a genus seems justified, and that is the rationale followed for the species described here, principally because there appears to be no good reason to diverge either from the conclusions of Klompen & Oliver (1993), or the names proposed by Horak *et al.* (2002). This is contrary to the most recent species list of Guglielmone *et al.* (2010), but they also state (p. 2) that 'most species of Argasidae can be assigned to more than one genus'. The recent use of *Carios* as a genus for new species of bat argasids from Brazil (Labruna & Venzal 2009, although these authors were not in agreement on their choice of genus) and Uruguay (Barros-Battesti

et al. 2011) supports the action taken in this paper. Other tick taxonomists, along with Estrada-Peña *et al.* (2010), are awaiting the expected clarification provided by some future molecular genetics studies.

Materials and methods

In all, 65 *Mystacina tuberculata* from a colony of 3000–4000 individuals in Rangataua State Forest (39°23'S, 175°33'E) near Ohakune, North Island, New Zealand, were examined in December 1997 and a collection of ectoparasites made from five adult bats (B. Lloyd, pers. comm. 5 April 2011). The material (received by the author in 2006) was mounted at that time and put aside without detailed examination. A recent re-examination of the material has shown that three larvae of an argasid tick are present.

Dr Lloyd (pers. comm. 5 April 2011) reported:

I checked all bats for obvious ectoparasites etc. There were bat flies on a significant proportion, but I only noted ticks on 5 of the 65 bats that I handled. Four with ticks were adult females the other a male. Unfortunately, I haven't made notes of where on the bats the ticks were found. At various times I have noted that they were found on: rump, wing, groin, chin and fur.

Dr Lloyd usually refers to all Acari as either 'mites', 'ticks' or 'ectos', although with the exception of the three argasid larvae described here, only various life stages of the laelapid mite *C. mystacinae* were present in the source material. It appears from the collection data (see below) that at least two, and possibly three, bats were the source of the tick larvae.

The tubes containing the specimens of engorged Argasidae larvae, were labelled as follows: '(1) 27 Dec '97, Rangataua, ecto of S-t bat'; '(2) Ecto *M. tuberculata* 30 Dec '97, Rangataua'; and '(3) 27 Dec '97 Rangataua Ecto of S-t bat'. Each larva was mounted individually on a microscope slide in Hoyer's solution, after clearing in lactic acid and rinsing in ethanol. None of the larvae has complete mouthparts; only one has an intact hypostome; another, just half of the chelicerae; the third has neither intact hypostome nor chelicerae. Drawings have been done using a drawing tube and measurements made with a slide micrometer. Anatomical terms and morphological measurements follow Sonenshine *et al.* (1962), Kaiser & Hoogstraal (1974), Evans & Till (1979) and Labruna & Venzal (2009). Measurements are in millimetres.

Systematics

Order Ixodida Leach, 1815

Superfamily Ixodoidea Dugès, 1834

Family Argasidae Canestrini, 1890

Genus *Carios* Latreille, 1796

Carios quadridentatus new species

(Figs 1 and 2)

DESCRIPTION:

Body length (three partly engorged specimens), excluding capitulum, measured from first (anterior) post-hypostomal seta (PH1) (Figs 2A,B): Range 1.163–1.465; mean 1.310.

Body width (at level of coxae III): Range 0.845–0.876; mean 0.855.

Body outline: Oval. Paired apodemes (*sensu* Evans 1992) extending into mid-line to about level with base of first pair of dorso-central setae and arising just anterior to leg I coxae; traces of apodemes at level of coxae II.

Dorsal plate (Fig. 2F): Generally oval with an irregular outline and tapering anteriorly; posterior border slightly concave. Individual ‘cells’ are apparent; circular in outline, giving a ‘snakeskin’ appearance. 0.227–0.241 long, mean 0.235; 0.0818–0.100 wide, mean 0.0939, at the anterior end; 0.141–0.154 wide, mean 0.147, at the base.

Setae, dorsum (Figs 2A,C): Total 15 pairs; 12 pairs dorso-lateral, three pairs central. Setae lightly serrate (*sensu* Evans 1992) in distal half; antero-lateral and postero-lateral setae each 0.0591–0.864 long, mean (of nine) 0.06337.

Setae, ventrum (Figs 2B,D): Short, and number seven pairs (including two on anal plate), together with an unpaired postero-median seta; and two on each coxa (total 21). Setae barely serrate in distal half; 0.0364–0.0545 long; mean (of nine) 0.0439.

Capitulum (Fig. 2H): Basis capituli outline roughly triangular, *c.* 1.4 times as broad as long, measured to insertion of PH2 (posterior post-hypostomal seta); anterior sheath transparent, fusing with ventral portion of hypostome shaft.

Palpi (Fig. 2H): Palpal length formula 1:1.7:1.6:1.7; based on segment IV, 0.041 (all three specimens); segment III, 0.0636–0.0772, mean 0.0681; segment II, 0.0636–0.0682, mean 0.0650; segment I, 0.0636–0.0772, mean 0.0712. Palpal setal counts: article I, 0; article II, 4; article III, 4; article IV, 9.

Hypostome (Figs 2E,H): Arising from a flared anterior extension of the basal ‘collar’ of the capitulum, extending to

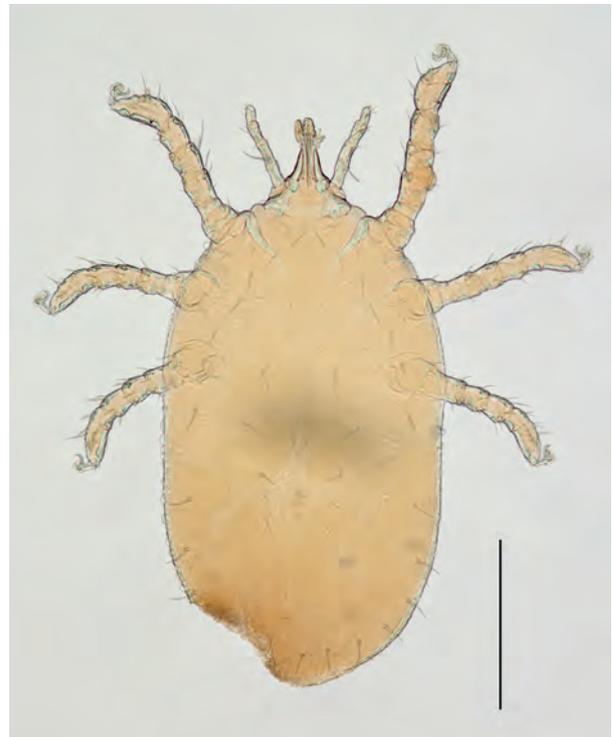


Fig. 1 *Carios quadridentatus* new species, holotype larva: habitus. Scale bar 0.5 mm.

a level of *c.* distal end of palpal segment III; *c.* 2 times as long as broad; measuring 0.091 (from tip to origin); apex bluntly pointed; corona with four minute rounded denticles; dental formula 2/2 in four files, each of four denticles. Post-hypostomal (Fig. 2H), PH1 (anterior), *c.* 0.007 long, 0.0272 between bases (all three larvae); PH2 (posterior) *c.* 0.009 long, 0.0682–0.1 between bases, mean 0.0879. Distance between pairs of PH1 and PH2 setae (measured from the mid-point of a line joining the bases of each pair), 0.06.

Legs: Moderately short, 0.4 times body length; leg I slightly stouter than legs II and III; coxae not contiguous.

Setal pattern (antero-lateral-antero-dorsal/antero-ventral, postero-dorsal/postero-ventral-postero-lateral; see Evans & Till 1979): Trochanters I–III, 1–0/1 0/1–1 (one extra postero-ventral on trochanter II of one larva, and one extra antero-ventral seta on trochanter II of another); femur I, 2–2/2 0/1–1; femur II variable, 2–2/2 1/0–1, 2–2/2 0/1–1, 2–2/1 1/1–1; femur III variable, 2–2/1 0/1–1, 1–2/1 2/1–0, 2–2/1 0/1–1; genua I–III, 1–1/1 0/1–1; tibiae I–III, 1–1/1 1/1–1.

Tarsus I (Fig. 2G): Setal formula apical 1, apico-ventral 1, antero-lateral 1, disto-median 1, paracapsular 2 (plus two very small adjacent setae), postero-median 1, baso-dorsal 1

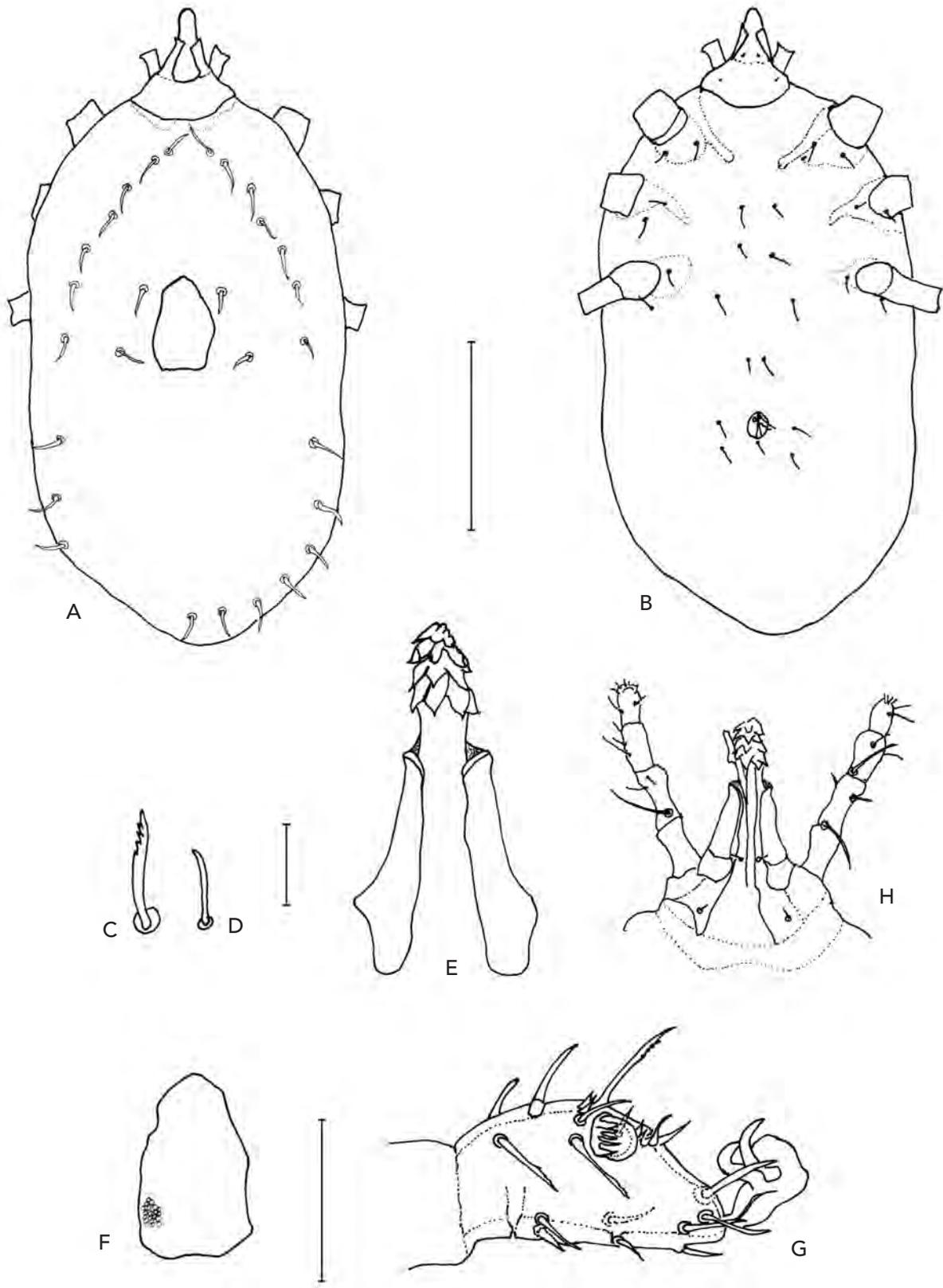


Fig. 2 *Carios quadridentatus* new species, holotype larva: A, B, dorsal and ventral views; C, D, dorsal and ventral setae; E, hypostome, ventral view; F, dorsal plate; G, tarsus I; H, capitulum, ventral view. Scale bars A, B, 0.5 mm; C, D, E, 0.05 mm; F, G, H, 0.1 mm.

pair, baso-ventral 1 pair, mid-ventral 1 pair, pre-mid-ventral 1 pair (17 in total); Haller's organ an open pit, with a few anteriorly directed projections with eight internal sensillae visible, five on 'rim' and three minute setae on an internal disc; anterior pit setae number five, two long, two intermediate and one short; mild serration on larger seta. Large excretory pore opening out onto ventral surface just proximal to baso-ventral setae, and another, smaller pore between insertions of mid-ventral setae.

TYPE MATERIAL: **Holotype** partly engorged larva, ex adult lesser short-tailed bat, Rangataua State Forest, Ohakune, New Zealand, 27 December 1997, B.D. Lloyd (AA.000202). Exact label details as written by collector are: '(1) 27 Dec '97, Rangataua, ecto of S-t bat'. **Paratypes** two partly engorged larvae, ex adult lesser short-tailed bats, Rangataua State Forest, Ohakune, New Zealand, 30 December 1997 and 27 December 1997, B.D. Lloyd (AA.000203). Exact label details as written by collector are: '(2) Ecto *M. tuberculata* 30 Dec '97, Rangataua' and '(3) 27 Dec '97 Rangataua Ecto of S-t bat'. Types deposited in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

ETYMOLOGY: The species epithet *quadridentatus* (Latin = four teeth) refers to the number of hypostomal teeth in each file, a unique feature in the genus.

Discussion

There are around 190 species in the family Argasidae, about 60 of which infest bats (Hoogstraal 1985; Estrada-Peña *et al.* 2010), but those from the Australasian (sometimes termed Australian) and Oriental biogeographical regions appear to provide the best basis for comparison with the species described here. In fact, possible affinities with the Australian fauna have already been proposed (G.W. Ramsay *in* Daniel 1979).

The ancestral mystacinid bats are thought to have dispersed from Australia to New Zealand at some point during Gondwana's break-up phase. Although the superfamily Noctilionoidea, to which the Mystacinidae belong, are now restricted to Central and South America and New Zealand (Lloyd 2001), an Australian rather than American origin for New Zealand bats is more likely, partly on the basis of fossil mystacinids in Australia, partly because the argasid tick described here has morphological affinities with Australian species, and partly because dispersal of bats from Australia to New Zealand seems more plausible than direct dispersal from Central or South America (Lloyd 2001).

A link with the South American tick fauna was also considered, but there is little supporting evidence. Hoogstraal (1985) did not recognise any South American affinity when he combined a group of argasids from insectivorous bats in the *Argas (Carios)* taxon: six species in all, with four from Australia (see below), together with *A. (C.) vespertilionis* from the Ethiopian and Palearctic regions and parts of India, and the smaller *A. (C.) pusillus* Kohls, 1950 from Malaysia and the Philippines. In an earlier study (Hoogstraal & Kohls 1962), larvae of *A. (C.) vespertilionis* were found to differ only in minute details from larvae collected from Australian and New Guinea bats, and although the larvae in question were not referable to *A. (C.) vespertilionis*, neither could they be assigned with certainty to either *A. (C.) australiensis* Kohls & Hoogstraal, 1962 or *A. (C.) pusillus*. Where the supposed larva of *A. (C.) australiensis* is referred to later (see text and Table 1), an interrogation mark (?) is used to indicate the uncertainty mentioned above.

A further reason for rejecting a Neotropical affinity for the new species was evident when using the key to larvae of Argasidae of the western hemisphere (Kohls *et al.* 1965), as well as the revised key to same group (Jones & Clifford 1972). The specimens in the present study keyed out to '*Ornithodoros (Alectorobius) yumatensis*', now known as *Carios yumatensis* (Cooley & Kohls, 1941) (see Horak *et al.* 2002), a bat tick from southern USA and Mexico with eight pairs of ventral setae, excluding coxal setae and an unpaired postero-median seta. The number of ventral setae, dentition and size of that North American species, as well as other lesser features, readily separate it from the specimens in the present study.

In contrast, when using Sonenshine *et al.*'s (1966) key to the larvae of Ornithodorinae of the eastern hemisphere, the new species keyed out to '*Argas (Carios) australiensis* – *A. (C.) pusillus* – *A. (C.) vespertilionis* group', although there were no couplets for species separation. Subsequently, three further species were described in *Argas (Carios)* from Australia: *A. (C.) daviesi* Kaiser & Hoogstraal, 1973; *A. (C.) dewae* Kaiser & Hoogstraal, 1974; and *A. (C.) macrodermae* Hoogstraal *et al.*, 1977.

Some morphological features (see below and Table 1) place *Carios quadridentatus* closer to both *C. dewae* and *C. daviesi* than to the other Australian species. The latter species is from a cave in Western Australia inhabited by bats, while the former was taken by Kaiser & Hoogstraal (1974) from a number of species of bats from southeast Australia and Tasmania, including Gould's wattled bat *Chalinolobus gouldii*.

Table 1 Comparative principal morphological characteristics of a selection of bat argasids from the Oriental and Australasian regions. Taxa as in Horak *et al.* (2002).

	<i>Carios vespertilionis</i>	<i>Carios dewae</i>	<i>Carios australiensis</i> (?)	<i>Carios daviesi</i>	<i>Carios macrodermae</i>	<i>Carios pusillus</i>	<i>Carios quadridentatus</i>
Dorsal setae (n)	36–38	c. 42	26–28	32	22–24	24–30	30
Ventral setae (n)	12–14	17	20	20	28	12–14	21
Capitulum W:L	2×	1.6×	2.3×*	1.6×*	3.3×	No data**	1.4×
Hypostomal teeth	12	12–14	8	11–12	8–10	12	4
Palpal setae	No data	0,4,4,c.9	No data	0,4,4, c. 8	0,5,5,8–9	No data	0,4,4,9

* Measured from illustrations in Hoogstraal & Kohls (1962) and Kaiser & Hoogstraal (1973).

** No measurements available, but clearly broader than long from the rather inadequate illustration (see Kohls 1950).

Note that New Zealand's long-tailed bat, *Ch. tuberculatus*, originated in Australia (Lloyd 2001). Some authors (e.g. Kohls *et al.* 1965; Sonenshine *et al.* 1966) deem the setal formula on tarsus I as diagnostic, but no counts are available for the Australian species for comparison. However, as far as can be seen from figures (Kaiser & Hoogstraal 1973, 1974), the tarsal setae of *C. dewae* are more similar in position and number to those of *C. quadridentatus* than those of *C. daviesi*, although the serrations on the large tarsal seta of *C. quadridentatus* are considerably fewer and less prominent than shown for *C. dewae* (see Kaiser & Hoogstraal 1974).

The body length of the new species falls within the range of *Carios dewae* and *C. australiensis*(?) as measured on partly fed larvae, but *C. pusillus* is much smaller, at just 0.41 mm long. The other Australian species were not comparable because measurements had been made on unfed larvae. Among the Australian species, the shape of the dorsal plate of *C. dewae* is closest to that of *C. quadridentatus*.

The leg:body length ratio of *Carios dewae* is similar to that of *C. quadridentatus* (other species have longer legs), but the latter differs from the Australian species in number of dorsal and ventral setae, a slightly narrower capitulum and, more significantly, reduced hypostomal dentition. The new species has two files of teeth (denticles) on each side of the hypostome (i.e. 2/2 dentition), with only four teeth in each. See Table 1 for comparisons with other relevant species.

The paucity of hypostomal denticles is not a unique feature among Argasidae, because there are eight species in the eastern group of the genus *Ornithodoros* (Sonenshine *et al.* 1966) that have 2/2 dentition, and with two to five denticles in either file. This is, however, the only significant morphological feature that associates them with the new species; also, most members of the eastern group are parasites principally of burrow-inhabiting mammals in Africa, the Middle East, the former USSR and the Far East.

Conclusions

A new species of bat tick is described here that has affinities with Australian bat argasids, and probably evolved from that fauna, but is distinct from it. *Carios quadridentatus* differs from all other bat-infesting species placed in *Argas* or *Carios* principally by the number of dorsal and ventral setae, and by its hypostomal formula. However, it shares the same palpal seta formula, and bears a close similarity in the morphology of the dorsal plate and the relative narrowness of the capitulum, with two species from the Australian region: *C. dewae* and *C. daviesi*.

There was some circumstantial evidence that a mesostigmatid mite had affected the health of captive lesser short-tailed bats in New Zealand (Heath *et al.* 1987b), although later observations have not necessarily supported

that finding (Ruffell & Parsons 2009). The effects of other acarine parasites such as *Chirophagoides mystacopis* are unknown, although sarcoptid mites can cause severe mange (Mullen & O'Connor 2009). It is worth considering also that ticks in general are good vectors of disease, and at least two species of bat argasids have been implicated as vectors of viruses with zoonotic implications (Hoogstraal 1985). The potential for impairing the health of their chiropteran hosts is not known, except that some host resistance through acquired immunity might be expected. An opportunistic survey of 54 lesser short-tailed bats in New Zealand found them largely free of disease (Duignan *et al.* 2003), and although no potential arthropod vectors were found, the authors listed numerous micro-organisms that infect bats worldwide and that can also be zoonotic. This suggests that there can be no complacency where New Zealand's rare bats and ticks are concerned.

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Collecting kids' stuff: in search of the history of childhood in New Zealand museums

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ABSTRACT: This paper questions the extent to which museum collections capture the history of childhood. It advances the premise that collections are shaped by the historical context within which they were created, whether at the level of social discourse or the activities of individual people. This is evident in the types of childhood objects collected and in the changing way these objects are valued by the museum. In the museums examined here, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) and the Auckland War Memorial Museum (Auckland Museum), objects change from being valued as ethnographic specimens to colonial artefacts and high-end decorative art, to everyday objects that embody multiple perspectives and personal stories. Yet within these categories, the object-focused case studies in this paper show that the distinctive way in which museums make history enables children to become more visible. The paper argues that in collecting the material culture of childhood, museums capture a unique and extremely elusive element of history.

KEYWORDS: Te Papa, Auckland Museum, childhood, history, children, material culture, New Zealand, collections, museums.

Introduction

The history of children and childhood is a relatively new field of enquiry that provides 'critical insights into the human past and contemporary social experience' (Fass 2003: xi). In New Zealand, child-focused research followed new social movements such as women's liberation and an increasing desire to understand what it was to be a New Zealander. This led to new intellectual developments in the field of social history and 'a fascination with social and cultural history, which had once been the profession's poor relations' (Phillips 2001: 331). Since the 1960s, social historians have unleashed a wave of child-related topics that focus on women, the family, health, education and social welfare. Scholarship in these areas has provided knowledge about the texture and complexity of the human experience in history, as well as bringing into view the perspective of children.

In comparison, the first museological publications that focused on the way museums include or represent the

history of childhood were produced in the 1990s. Earlier museum literature that focused on children in the museum mainly explored issues around display, delivery style and education. Museums have long been concerned with the child's experience. Thomas Cheeseman, Director of the Auckland Museum from 1845 to 1923, wanted to incorporate a children's museum into the new Auckland War Memorial Museum (Wolfe 2004). This did not occur, but the example illustrates an early desire to engage children in the museum environment and it highlights the way museums have traditionally focused their attention on children. Over time, child-focused education programmes, travelling education boxes and, later, discovery centres became a core component of museum business. New interactive and engaging displays are now expected. Children have a significant presence in the museum environment as visitors, but what I question is whether this is the case in the collections.

This article, based on research for a masters thesis, focuses on child-related objects in the history collections

at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) and the Auckland War Memorial Museum (Auckland Museum), and discusses the extent to which the collections include the perspectives and experiences of children in history. I question how and why collecting priorities have changed over time, and whether the collections reflect changing ideas about children and childhood. This new avenue of enquiry provides fresh insight into the way museums represent children as well as reflecting on curatorial collecting practice in general.

In the article I argue that the perspective and voice of the child has largely been excluded or marginalised by the museum, even though child-related objects have always been included in the collections alongside the inclusion of human history in general. Museum collections contain a diverse range of objects that in their own way reveal much about New Zealand childhood. This study shows how the history made in museums, through the perspectives represented by the material culture of childhood, provides a unique glimpse into the lives of some New Zealand children.

Furthermore, this research demonstrates how objects link the historical perspective of children to the material world, drawing on a physical reality that cannot be captured in any other way. As McKergow (2000: 163) explains, through their tangible presence, objects have the power to fascinate, not only through what we say about them, but 'by the way they look, feel, sound and smell'. Knell (2007: 9) also explores the premise that objects provide both intellectual and poetic possibilities by existing as a link to the external world and to the original context in which they were made. In this article I explore some of the stories behind a few of the child-related objects in history collections and make links to the history of childhood, advocating that objects and their associated stories provide an opportunity to represent, and include the experiences of, children in history. This is especially important considering the fact that children are limited in their ability to express their thoughts in written form and historically have left very little written evidence of their experiences.

Other studies on the history of childhood in museums have focused mainly on exhibitions. They are critical of the way museums often use the banner of childhood as an excuse to exhibit toy collections, revealing nothing about children themselves, and claim that museum displays about children are 'exhibits of childhood without children' (Roberts 2006: 155). Museums typically rely on nostalgia and reflect an image of childhood that is innocent, privileged and idyllic. Shepherd (1994, 1996) and Roberts (2006), who critique

childhood exhibitions in Australia and Britain, both find that the voice or experience of children is missing. Whilst this is also true of the New Zealand collections and the way they are organised and contextualised, they contain the potential for so much more. As Shepherd (1996: 269) points out, 'the challenge for the museum lies in judiciously harnessing its collection and its information to unlock the varieties of children's experience'.

The case study at the heart of this research focuses on the history collections of the two largest museums in New Zealand. In looking at these two nationally significant museum institutions rather than specialist children's museums, I have been able to consider childhood collecting within the broad context of collecting New Zealand history in general.

In order to gain information about the collections, the objects and museum practices, I carried out close scrutiny of museum collection databases, object files and accession registers, documenting what was in the collections, when objects were acquired and what associated information was recorded. I interviewed current and long-serving curators to record their unique perspectives and personal reflections on the realities and complexities of their practice. In addition, I accessed archival information and planning documents to gain crucial information on the strategic collecting direction of each museum.

The structure of this article is organised around three distinct periods of collecting, each of which was characterised by a different set of ideological discourses that frame the period and influenced collecting practice and the acquisition of certain types of childhood objects. I explore the influence of the people who worked with the collections in relation to each collecting period, as well as the influence of exhibition development, and focus on a few key objects from each period and the historical narratives they embody.

1851 to 1950: from cathedrals of science to the infancy of childhood collecting

The first period of collecting by museums in New Zealand, 1851 to 1950, was one in which the focus was on scientific collecting, mainly of natural history specimens, closely followed by the inclusion of ethnographic and Māori 'artefacts'. The early collections and origins of both the Auckland Museum and Te Papa occurred at a time when the British Empire and its colonising ideologies were enthusiastically



Fig.1 Child's moccasins, date unknown, moosehide. Made by Prairie Indians, North America. Gift of C.E. Crawford, 1934 (Te Papa FE003649).

followed in various colonial settlements throughout the world, including New Zealand. The foundations of both museums were built on collections that were clearly part of a colonial project involving the exploration and classification of New Zealand's natural resources (McCarthy 2007: 16). James Hector, Director of the Colonial Museum, the precursor of Te Papa, illustrated this when he said he aimed to 'organise for the use of the Colony a complete typical museum of reference that will illustrate all the branches of its natural history and mineral resources' (Dell 1965: 8). It wasn't until the 1940s, when New Zealand was celebrating the centenary of the British settlement of New Zealand under the Treaty of Waitangi, that New Zealand history was regarded as significant and worthy of attention, and the first objects relating to the history of New Zealand childhood were included in the collections. It is important to note that small provincial museums and historical societies were much quicker to respond to the growing interest in New Zealand history, and therefore many of these museums have a much richer collection of child-related objects from this early period. Furthermore, most of the pre-1950 child-related objects in the Auckland Museum's collection were acquired by the Old Colonists' Museum in Auckland and incorporated into the Auckland Museum's collection only in 1965.

The total number of child-related objects collected by Te Papa's pre-1950 predecessors, the Colonial Museum and the Dominion Museum, was 17. Eleven of these objects are now classified and stored as part of the Pacific collection or the International collection (previously known as the Foreign Ethnology collection). They include two sets of moccasins from the United States of America, one made in the 1700s and donated in 1912, and the other, a pair of child's moccasins, donated in 1934 (Fig. 1). A boy's dress from South Africa was purchased in 1915, along with four Indian drinking cups. Polynesian objects acquired from London dealer W.O. Oldman, now known as the Oldman collection, were also acquired by the museum at this time, including a Hawai'ian wand or puhenehene, sometimes used by children to play a guessing game. In addition to these ethnographic objects, an ancient Egyptian child's shoe, dating from the fifth to sixth century AD, was acquired through the Egypt Exploration Society in 1914. At this time, the museum subscribed to the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* and the Egypt Exploration Society, and as part of its contract with the society received a portion of any archaeological finds.

These objects, which have no connection to the history of New Zealand childhood, demonstrate past collecting priorities and the way museums construct history around

the dominant ideology of the time. The encyclopaedic collecting paradigm of the museum practitioners from this period is evident in the way that ethnographic objects were collected and preserved as 'scientific specimens' in the same way as natural history specimens – i.e. collected as illustrations of the laws of the natural world. As an extension of this, the objects or specimens of human history illustrated Darwinist ideas about the evolution of human society (McCarthy 2007: 20). Furthermore, non-Europeans or indigenous peoples were regarded as an 'exotic other' (Pearce 1995). Evolutionist ideas were progressed according to a belief that understanding the 'self' could be achieved only in relation to a perceived 'other' that is seen as different and as inferior, unpleasant and dangerous (Pearce 1995: 308). Childhood ethnographic objects collected prior to the 1950s were included as part of an ethnic 'other' that was of interest to European New Zealand but not considered to be part of it, and in so doing they set up a dichotomy between who was or was not part of New Zealand society.

Through the formation of collections, museums are engaged in a process of 'western identity formation' (Clifford 1994; Kavanagh 1999; Lawson 1999; Kreps 2003; Spalding 2002). Far from being neutral places, they reflect, create and reinforce the dominant ideologies of the culture within which they are positioned. As Hooper-Greenhill writes (2000: 49), 'Groups of objects brought together in the form of a collection generate social and cultural statements. These statements are produced through the objects combined together in such a way that each individual object confirms the statement as a whole.'

Pearce (1995) explains that collecting is tied up with notions of things being the same or different – i.e. the self and the other. Ethnographic objects, as part of the 'other', defined who we were as 'it is only by gazing on the abnormal that we can appreciate our normality' (Pearce 1995: 316). Furthermore, scientific and ethnographic collections reinforced a belief that colonisers were superior, progressive and intelligent peoples (Henare 2005). The 'scientific and practical know-how of settlers' was juxtaposed against indigenous peoples, who were perceived to be less progressive (Henare 2005: 13).

In contrast to the objects collected from Polynesia, North America, India and ancient Egypt, all of which became part of the Foreign Ethnology or Pacific collections, other objects of non-New Zealand origin were included in the History collection. These were a French child's bodice made in the 1700s (a bequest from Mrs Alec-Tweedie in 1946) and clothing thought to have been worn by England's King

George III. Although these objects were not of New Zealand origin, their European lineage was considered part of the New Zealand story. They were not considered 'other' because they were European, and therefore became part of the History collection.

From another point of view, the inclusion of objects relating to children suggests that the objects were perceived as an integral part of an ethnic or cultural group. Even though such objects weren't actively included, they weren't excluded either. The same could be said of New Zealand colonial or early settler material, which had started to trickle into the collections from the 1940s. Colonial objects in the Auckland Museum, originally acquired by the Old Colonists' Museum, typify this type of collecting. Some of the first items collected were slate boards, children's clothing, christening gowns, a christening mug, furniture and books.

Growing up: collection development between 1950 and 1990

By the 1950s, the accession registers at Te Papa and the Auckland Museum confirm that a strategic change had begun. These museums had started to expand their collecting beyond science and ethnography. Colonial settler history had become topical thanks to the New Zealand centennial celebrations in 1940 (McLean 2000: 30). By the 1950s, Pākehā (European) New Zealanders were beginning to explore their own culture, identity and history (Belich 2001; McCarthy 2007). Objects that represented New Zealand's colonial past predominated in history collecting. These included childhood objects of the same genre, mainly colonial dress, and objects that represented an interest in decorative arts. Childhood objects were included because they were the best and finest examples of clothing, toys, dolls, arts and crafts, samplers and embroidery. Some of the toys reflect changing technologies and the introduction of new materials such as sheet metal; others, including a set of elaborately decorated alphabet blocks, demonstrate an educational focus; others still, such as a toy kettle, a child's tea set and toy kitchen scales, illustrate the use of toys to train girls for domestic duties.

The number of history objects acquired at this time, including many child-related examples, grew at an immense rate. At Te Papa, the volume of childhood objects collected in each decade steadily increased from about 60 in the 1950s

to more than 300 in the 1980s. At the Auckland Museum, the numbers were lower, with the most significant increase in the 1960s, when the museum focused on setting up a colonial-based exhibition entitled *Centennial Street*.

Typically, minimal information was recorded about the objects. It usually included a brief record of who the adult donor was but none, or very little, information about the child associated with the object. As in the previous period, the history collections continued to develop in a passive and ad hoc way. Most of the objects acquired during this period are typical of the type that make up the bulk of museum childhood collections. As Shepherd noted (1994, 1996), the objects and their classifications reinforce nostalgic and stereotypical ideas about children. He points out: 'Almost inevitably access to information pertaining to childhood in this type of museum is to be found through objects classified as dolls, games, juvenilia, children's clothing, and the like' (Shepherd 1994: 71). By using these narrow fields of classification and collecting along these lines, museums risk 'entrenching stereotypes, constructing social myths and masking rather than revealing the social issues that surround the development of young people and the environment in which they are raised' (Shepherd 1994: 71).

The early collections at the Auckland Museum and Te Papa conform to this type of collecting. They contain the material culture of childhood without any associated information, and they reveal very little about individual children. Furthermore, the information collected is superficial, and in most cases it and the objects themselves reflect the interests of adults rather than the lives and experiences of children. This trend is further reinforced by the tendency to orientate the information around the object rather than the experience of a child. It therefore becomes difficult to find information and objects that explore the social, economic or political experience of children, and their work life, home life or recreational life. Even so, there are exceptions and some objects do offer a connection to the experiences of children in history.

A christening gown donated to the Dominion Museum by Mrs Wheatman in 1968 is a good example of the type of child-related object that was collected during this period (Fig. 2). It is described in the museum record as: 'Christening gown, incorporates Ayrshire embroidery, white lawn, lace and hand broderie anglaise insertion. Hand-made'. Although the record contains very little information, and the specific history associated with this object is unknown, it embodies many important strands of information about



Fig. 2 Christening gown, 1800s, cotton, 1060mm (centre back). Maker unknown. Gift of Mrs Wheatman, 1968 (Te Papa PC001597)

the museology of the time and also the child's experience.

The Wheatman christening gown represents my initial impression of the way museum collections portrayed New Zealand childhood. Both the Auckland Museum and Te Papa have a vast array of infant, child and baby clothes from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this collecting period most of the articles of children's clothing were categorised as applied or decorative arts, and were collected because they were examples of the finest or best of

colonial dress, or because they contained examples of elaborate and intricate lace and embroidery. The associated classification system for the Wheetman christening gown, 'PC' (for 'period costume'), highlights the original collecting category and positioning within the museum. Shepherd argues that, by examining how museums represent childhood, insight can be gained into the way they create, represent and appropriate culture. He points out that 'it provides a uniquely suitable spring board for thinking about some common practices and assumptions used in representing social groups in museums' (Shepherd 1994: 66). The 'PC' category, no longer in use at Te Papa, is evidence of the way museums form collections around specific priorities and construct history through them. The fact that this cataloguing system was superseded by another is illustrative of the changing nature of museum collecting practices.

New Zealand museum studies scholar David Butts argues that 'once garments enter a museum collection their lives continue' (Butts 2007: 89). They reflect changes in museum practice and focus, and as such their significance varies over time. In contrast to today, the museum practice and curatorial emphasis associated with the early history collections focused on the aesthetic qualities of objects. A main priority was the physical care of objects, and effort was given to dealing with a backlog of objects that had never officially been accessioned. The initial focus of the museum staff who were involved in the history collections in the 1950s was to sort, store and record objects in the museum accession registers.

Although the physical care of objects and the accumulation of high-quality examples was a priority at the time of their acquisition, they are also valued for their ability to illustrate social and cultural practices associated with childhood. McKergow (2000: 164) observes that 'dress is a fundamental dimension of shared cultural experience', and that at any given point in time it reflects the social and cultural circumstances of people's lives. The Wheetman christening gown, for example, marks the participation of at least one child's involvement in a Christian religious ceremony. Furthermore, christening gowns were commonly passed on from one generation to the next and as such represent a family tradition involving generations of children. In addition to the christening ceremony, the Wheetman christening gown is symbolic of a period when a great deal of time and energy was put into creating children's clothing. Christening gowns were traditionally hand-made by the mother or grandmother, evidence of a physical and emotional investment in children. They embody the 'hopes



Fig.3 Child's harness, c. 1900, wool, metal. Maker unknown. Gift of Mrs C.J. Lindsay, 1953 (Te Papa PC000887).

and aspirations' of parents and grandparents for their children in the early stages of life (Butts 2007: 66).

Another collection item from Te Papa further illustrates the value of objects in encapsulating the historical experiences of children. In 1953, C. Lindsay donated an infant's harness (Fig. 3), made in about 1900. The harness was hand-knitted in shades of red and pink wool and has five bells attached to the front panel.

The original record for the Lindsay harness was made by Nancy Adams, one of the earliest professionals at Te Papa to engage with the History collection. She was responsible for sorting, storing and recording many of the museum's early

historical items. Curatorial input started in the 1960s and was followed by input from conservators and subject specialists, resulting in additional research and the creation of object files in the 1980s (Fitzgerald 2007). Thus, the Lindsay harness has an object file containing additional associated information, including a copy of a page from the *Weldon's Practical Knitter* (date unknown) that has a pattern for making the harness.

The changing nature of childhood and associated parenting ideas and methods is exemplified through this object. The harness provides a point of comparison between past and present parenting ideas and concerns. Walking harnesses or restraints became popular in Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when parents were concerned about keeping their children safe in an expanding urban environment with increasing traffic (Anonymous 2003). The harness was considered to be an acceptable way of keeping children nearby and even entertained. In the *Weldon's Practical Knitter*, the introduction reveals, 'These reins are quickly and easily knitted and afford a great deal of amusement to children, besides being capital exercise'.

Opponents of the use of reins and harnesses advocate that they restrain not only the physical exploration of children but also their mental and psychological development. This attitude could be a reason for the decline in their use in the 1960s, when concern about the psychological and mental development of children was paramount (McDonald 1978). By the 1970s, the rights of the child had become an important issue in New Zealand (McDonald 1978; Dalley 1998). In an era of 'children's liberation' (McDonald 1978: 51), the use of harnesses and restraints would have been at odds with this movement: 'Growing legal advocacy for children, the mention of children's rights in the 1973 *New Zealand Handbook of Civil Liberties*, and the 1979 International Year of the Child all suggested a new awareness of the child as an individual' (Dalley 1998: 262). It is rare to see children's harnesses being used in New Zealand society today, although there has been a recent increase in their use in Europe as parents there have become increasingly concerned, fearful of child safety and of their children being abducted in cities (Anonymous 2003).

In the early twentieth century, when this harness was made, parents had a different set of priorities. The fact that it was hand-knitted is typical of a time when parents and other family members hand-made clothing and toys for children. Mothers traditionally knitted or sewed most of their children's clothes, toys and games were also mainly

hand-made, and less emphasis was placed on bought and manufactured items in general. Like the Wheetman christening gown, the knitted harness illustrates the fact that family members – usually mothers or grandmothers – spent a great deal of time and energy making children's clothes and accessories. Further, financial constraints meant that this was a necessity, especially as families were generally large and most lived on a limited budget. It wasn't until the more affluent decades of the 1950s and 1960s that there was a substantial increase in the availability of consumer goods for children. The harness, as an item that was hand-made in the early twentieth century, is therefore evidence of a broader New Zealand history. It is representative of the activities and everyday life of both adults and children, and of parenting ideas and methods.

A third example, a walking doll named Christie, donated by Frances de Lisle in 1986 (Fig. 4), further illustrates the type of history museum objects can encapsulate. This time, a note from the donor provides information and an opportunity to illustrate a specific child's experience in history.

The letter states that the doll was made by the 'Returned Services Rehabilitation Centre' following the First World War, although it seems more likely that it was only repaired or partly made by the rehabilitating soldier. The doll has since been identified as a Harry H. Coleman mechanical walking doll, patented as the 'Dolly Walker' in America and made by the Wood Toy Co. between 1917 and 1923 (Coleman *et al.* 1968: 170). The post-war rehabilitation story is an important one, as hundreds of New Zealand soldiers returning home from war were involved in projects at rehabilitation centres.

For this study though, the childhood recollection is more significant. Frances de Lisle was given this doll for Christmas in 1920, at the beginning of the commercialisation of childhood. Cheap mass-produced toys made their appearance in New Zealand from the 1890s, and sales were boosted through the growth of chain stores in the 1920s (Belich 2001: 367). The doll also represents other significant changes in New Zealand childhood. When de Lisle donated the doll to the museum, she explained that when she was a child, she and her cousin were 'crowd stoppers' as they walked the doll down the street in Whangarei. This charming childhood memory has multiple layers of meaning. On one level it is a story about two children playing together with a much-loved doll; on another, it is illustrative of the changing nature of children's play. By the 1920s, children were raised with more rules and controls than their colonial predecessors. Belich



Fig.4 Christie, a Harry H. Coleman Mechanical walking doll, c.1920, wood, iron, leather, cotton, rubber, paint, 760×280×120mm. Made by Wood Toy Co., United States; repaired by Department of Soldiers' Re-establishment, Auckland. Gift of Frances de Lisle, 1986 (Te Papa GH003513).

(2001) described this as a process of taming the colonial 'wild child'. From the 1890s, children's leisure time was increasingly 'provided for and organised' (Sutton-Smith 1981: xv). The supervision and control of children's play and recreational activities were increasingly implemented in schools through the introduction of sports, military drills and physical education (Belich 2001: 365). Supervised play during school breaks meant that there were fewer rough and tumble games. Boys were encouraged to be less physical in their play, but at the same time girls were encouraged to participate more in physical sports activities. Even so, children were a lot less supervised in their free time than they are today. Frances and her cousin were able to parade their walking doll up and down the street in Whangarei, entertaining crowds of strangers. This provides an interesting point of comparison to the experience of modern-day children today in New Zealand, who are closely supervised and whose parents tend to be acutely attuned to safety issues.

Story time at the museum: collecting between 1990 and 2007

By the third period of collecting, 1990 to 2007, an emerging 'new museology' and the growing impact of social history were key influences. Collections continued to grow at an accelerated pace, especially at the Auckland Museum, where an exhibition about the history of New Zealand childhood, entitled *Wild Child*, was developed. At this point in time, childhood collecting at the Auckland Museum by far exceeded that at Te Papa, not only in terms of the number of objects collected but also in their variety, the breadth of themes covered and the inclusion of the child's perspective in history. At both museums, practices developed such that objects were now collected to both illustrate and invoke personal histories, and curators recorded more detail about the donor and associated stories. Alongside this, both institutions initiated a focus on everyday objects. The intrinsic value of objects was no longer the most important aspect of collecting. Much of this change has been exhibition-driven and evolved out of a need for museums to be more engaging and relevant to the community. Exhibition-driven collecting has proven to be one of the most important factors in developing comprehensive and detailed collections of childhood objects.

The following example demonstrates how increased curatorial input and a commitment to a new museological



Fig. 5A–C Paper doll ‘Ruth’ and clothes, c. 1958, paper, ink, pencil. Maker unknown, hand-drawings by Drusilla Megget. Gift of Joyce Megget, 2006 (A, Te Papa GH011542/1; B, GH011542/4; C, GH011542/8).

philosophy has had a direct impact on the type of objects collected and the type of information recorded. Curators in the 1990s and 2000s have either come through museum studies programmes, trained as historians and were influenced by the growth in social history as a topic at university, or been exposed to the ideas and thoughts expressed through these disciplines. All the curators I interviewed were committed to collecting objects that preserve New Zealand’s social, cultural and political history. Especially important to them were everyday objects that tell the stories of New Zealanders. The impact of individual curators, their interests and passions can also be seen in the collections and are therefore an important variable when considering the way collections grow and develop. Stephanie Gibson, a history curator at Te Papa, revealed this when she said, ‘I really think interest, experience and taste have a huge impact on what we collect’ (Gibson 2007). She explained that she had an interest in collecting what

she called ‘the low end. That’s more where anything’s up for grabs; any little remnant of everyday life has potential’ (Gibson 2007).

Te Papa’s largest collection of childhood objects was acquired by Gibson in 2005–06, and comprises mainly ephemeral items from everyday life. The collection came from the Megget family in Wellington and was acquired by the museum because it was an important representation of the experiences of two generations of children in the 1920s–30s and 1950s–60s, although there are some objects that date back to 1909. It consists of more than 100 objects and includes paper dolls and paper dolls’ clothes (Fig. 5), party hats and whistles, masks, decorations, scraps, bubble-gum swap cards, hairclips, Christmas cards that have been coloured in by children, musical toys, books and other ephemera.

The story of how these objects were sourced is also indicative of what happens to many childhood items. When

Gibson went to assess the objects, the party ephemera – hats, whistles and other items – had been saved and were shown to her by the family, but most of the paper dolls and their clothing had been thrown in a rubbish skip outside. Gibson (2007) recalls that the house had been packed to the ceiling with ephemera, a great deal of which had been thrown out, including some of the objects Te Papa eventually acquired. Gibson said, ‘They [the Megget family] confessed to me while I was there that they had thrown out the paper dolls. I got really excited and jumped into the skip and got them out.’ The fact that the family, in their sorting process, had thrown the dolls out is significant. It demonstrates the fate of many childhood objects and also the public’s perception of what would or would not be of interest to the museum. By investigating further, Gibson found a rich source of material culture that was extremely revealing about New Zealand childhood in the early to mid-twentieth century. As had become Te Papa’s usual practice by 2005, a detailed provenance and brief family history was recorded. But the most exciting and important aspect of the acquisition was the associated childhood memories. In recording these memories Gibson was able to capture some specific childhood experiences from the family, allowing the objects to be put into context. In relation to the paper dolls that belonged to Drusi Megget, Gibson recorded (on KE EMU, Te Papa’s online collections database):

Paper dolls – I do remember them and playing with them. I enjoyed dressing them, designing clothes for them and think they playacted domestic dramas. One of the things I remember – naming them was very important to me. One time (at least) I made sure I had a full alphabet of names, e.g. Anne, Barbara, Clare ... In this game teddy bears and ordinary dolls were roped in too. Q for Queeny was important, as Queeny was the only girl’s name starting with Q that I knew of. Other drawing and daydreaming/scheming games I played were a Girl’s Detective Agency called GDA for short. I drew lots of uniforms for them to wear. There was a red and brown uniform and a black and lime green for swimming, walking, office work, riding horses (however I was not much interested in horses), adventuring and so on. (Drusi Megget, pers. comm. April 2007)

These objects have provided the means for recording and preserving a historical childhood experience, but unlike the majority of objects collected in previous decades they are accompanied by a first-hand account of associated childhood memories. The vivid recollection of Drusi Megget makes the objects all the more vital, even if the recollection

has been filtered through the memories of an adult. Most child-centred source material produced by children themselves is relatively rare; this example reminds us that because of the nature of childhood, most of the evidence draws heavily on adult perceptions (Graham 1999: 203).

Finding the child’s voice

The following example reveals the value in groups of objects, acquired as a collection from a child. In 1999, the Auckland Museum acquired a ‘pocket collection’ from a 10-year-old boy, who at the time attended a kura kaupapa (total-immersion Māori-language primary school) in the Auckland region. The collection consisted of two *Star Wars* cards, a Superman Candy Sticks packet, plastic Dracula teeth, a blue plastic pencil sharpener, a felt tip pen lid, part of a seashell, a blue glass marble, a yellow marble, a white plastic button, a golf tee, a metal screw and a piece of plastic Glad Wrap (plastic food wrap).

Like the Megget collection, and in stark contrast to child-related items acquired in the previous decades, these objects are not rare, financially valuable or representative of the best of the decorative arts. They are everyday items, some of which would normally have been thrown away, and that individually appear to have little value or collection appeal. Even so, the pocket collection is a simple but poignant artefact of New Zealand childhood at the end of the twentieth century. These objects, along with the child’s personal and social history, are very revealing about childhood in New Zealand in 1999: the popularity of swap and bubblegum cards, the interaction and influence of the film industry, and that film and television are now a common everyday aspect of children’s lives. While plastic is a commonly used material in children’s toys, glass marbles are still valued and played with. Glad Wrap is used to wrap food in school lunches. Finally, the fact that children pick up and keep in their pockets odd bits and pieces like shells, buttons and golf tees is an important aspect of childhood to document. Equally of interest is that this child attended a kura kaupapa. This is an important aspect of the child’s personal and social history that was documented as part of the acquisition. It reflects a changing aspect of New Zealand childhood and demonstrates the increasing bicultural nature of New Zealand society.

The objects also highlight the way in which groups of items can provide an insight into the hidden, unknown and elusive world of the child. Children are often unable

to articulate their ideas, thoughts or feelings (Shepherd 1994: 70). However, even though the exact reason these objects were chosen is not known, collections of objects are informative about the child and the material world with which they are interacting. The content of a pocket collection would obviously change over time, reflecting the changing material world, but this collection underlines the elements of childhood that stay the same. Play and the experience of childhood is typically difficult to capture through static material culture (Jordanova in Shepherd 1994: 72), but as Shepherd (1994) explains, it is possible when objects are juxtaposed together with the interpretive elements of display. Collections and groups of objects, like the pocket collection, represent one way of capturing the experience of childhood.

The circumstances surrounding the acquisition of the pocket collection emphasise another museological shift in this period: that new acquisitions were actively sought out to illustrate concepts, storylines and themes in new exhibitions. There was, however, one key point of difference between the two museums at the time that had a huge effect on the way their childhood collections evolved. The Auckland Museum developed a specific exhibition about the history of New Zealand childhood – *Wild Child* – and acquired a huge volume and variety of child-related objects specifically for the exhibition; at Te Papa, the acquisition of child-related objects continued as usual. The pocket collection was initially gathered as part of the development process of this exhibition, and like many of the objects collected by the museum at this time, it then became part of the permanent collection.

Conclusions

The influence of broad discourses, ideologies and changing museum philosophies has proven to be a key factor in determining which childhood objects were collected during each period of time. This article has shown that museums have always included childhood objects in their collections and therefore a particular aspect of childhood history has been preserved.

Knell (2007: 8) argues that 'decades or even centuries of resource-starved keeping and "misuration" can leave just about any collection of objects decontextualised and historically unreliable'. In the 1990s, curators at the Auckland Museum and Te Papa were committed to ensuring objects had context. They recorded detailed information for new

acquisitions and updated records from past acquisitions when possible. Most of the childhood objects collected after 1990 have associated personal and intimate childhood stories recorded in their acquisition files. At Te Papa, Christie the walking doll is one early example, and the Megget childhood collection, acquired together with the recording of Drusi Megget's childhood memories of playing with the paper dolls, is another example of this practice.

Despite my findings about the way museums have included and collected the material culture of childhood, the broader context shows that these large institutions have traditionally marginalised children and the history of childhood. Although child-related objects have been collected, the thoughts, feelings and ideas of the children who used them have not. 'Childhood has a tendency to be revered and romanticized by adults in our society, and it is often viewed with a sense of nostalgia, as it comprises our own fond memories of when we were children' (James *et al.* in Roberts 2006: 154). The childhood collections at the Auckland Museum and Te Papa comprise mainly toys, games, dolls and beautiful clothes, all representing pleasant, happy or privileged childhoods. This is clearly at odds with the experience of many children. New Zealand society has always contained unhappy childhoods, and for many children the idyllic picture commonly presented by museums is far from their reality.

Museums have in their history collections material culture that can engage a broader range of childhood narratives. But an important link is missing: how can museums make their collections more relevant and representative of the child's experience? Shepherd (1994: 71) recommends that in order to make the experiences of childhood visible, museums should include classifications that specifically focus on childhood experiences, including play, school life, home life and work life. This became possible for New Zealand museums in the late 1990s and 2000s, when new electronic databases were introduced that contained fields for recording these types of subject headings and associations.

It is impossible for museums to be encyclopaedic and all-inclusive in their collecting (Gardner & Merritt 2002). Storage space is increasingly constrained and there is a need for museums to be more strategic about what they collect (Anderson 2004; Simmons 2004). However, I believe this must be done within the context of including multiple perspectives from all factions of society. Sandell (2003: 58) concludes that 'it is likely that the underlying demands for museums to become more responsive to changing

socio-political agendas and to adopt a greater degree of social responsibility will continue'. It is therefore significant and timely that the history of childhood and childhood perspectives in history are carefully and strategically considered. Children make up a significant proportion of society and traverse all cultural, ethnic and minority groups, including disabled and homosexual people. Children's history is everyone's history, and to leave the child's perspective out is to seriously diminish reality and sacrifice an exciting aspect of New Zealand history. Furthermore, I believe museums have a social responsibility to include childhood perspectives. Sandell (2003: 45) argues that museums have the potential to empower individuals and communities, and to contribute towards combating multiple forms of disadvantage. Museums, as advocates for children and the inclusion of multiple childhood perspectives, have the potential to give the child a voice in the museum environment and therefore a presence and status in the community.

Recent museum practice has allowed for the preservation of a few stories of childhood and the childhood memories of adults. However, one aspect of collecting the history of childhood is still underdeveloped – the contemporary child's voice in history. This paper has indicated that this is an opportunity for future development. The only way of collecting a childhood perspective or the child's voice in history is by actively pursuing it and recording the child's thoughts, while they are still a child. Museums now have the capacity and opportunity to collect objects that provide the material evidence of New Zealand childhood, including childhood perspectives, experiences and the child's voice in history. The challenge for museums is to collect a far more diverse range of childhood objects, and to record the sad and painful memories alongside the happy and joyful ones. In doing so, a considerably more poignant and diverse childhood collection will emerge. It is time to ensure that all childhood perspectives are represented in the museum.

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Tuku: gifts for a king and the panoplies of Titore and Patuone

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ABSTRACT: The customary practice of tuku, or gift exchange, by Māori chiefs is exemplified in the formal gifts of two mere pounamu (greenstone clubs) by Titore and Patuone to King William IV of the United Kingdom in 1834, in the expectation of a formal return. The formal return was of two sets of plate armour, that for Titore arriving in 1835 and that for Patuone two years later, in 1837. The former is in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) but the latter is lost, although a receipt and a detailed description survive, along with good documentation. The two mere pounamu (as far as can be determined) have also been located and are illustrated for the first time; they are still in the Royal Collection, at St James's Palace, London. 'His Highness Titore' was killed at the Bay of Islands in 1837, but a formal salute to him was fired from HMS *Rattlesnake* on the orders of Captain William Hobson at that time. Patuone dined with Hobson on HMS *Herald* on 6 February 1840, presenting him with a further mere pounamu for Queen Victoria, as he had for her late uncle. This mere is one of two that were retained in Hobson's family after his death in 1842, and is also in Te Papa, here illustrated. Patuone's gifts to the Queen symbolically confirmed his cession of sovereignty to her.

KEYWORDS: tuku, mere pounamu, plate armour, Titore, Patuone, panoplies, King William IV, Captain William Hobson, Treaty of Waitangi, archival records.

Introduction

Two panoplies (complete sets of armour) were sent to Titore and Patuone, chiefs of New Zealand, as diplomatic gifts in exchange for presents sent by them to King William IV of the United Kingdom in 1834. While the remnants of the armour of Titore are in Te Papa, and even the accompanying letter from the Earl of Aberdeen has survived, the panoply of Patuone has vanished, although his receipt for it, with his moko (tattoo), is extant. As for the two mere pounamu given to the King, while provenance data are uncertain, these are likely to be two fine but unattributed mere now in the Royal Collection at St James's Palace, London, and located after much searching in May 2001. These, their history and their likely associations, along with the available documentation, are described and illustrated, as is a further mere pounamu given by Patuone to Lieutenant-Governor

William Hobson as a gift for Queen Victoria, confirming the chiefly link to the British Crown, when they dined on HMS *Herald* on the evening of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 6 February 1840.

The alleged 'armour of Hongi Hika'

Stories about chiefs and their armour have become confused over the decades, that of Titore (displayed for a long time in the former Dominion Museum at Buckle Street) sometimes being muddled with the 'armour' that allegedly belonged to Hongi Hika, which for many years was displayed at the Auckland War Memorial Museum. But Hongi Hika, after meeting King George IV in 1820, received not a suit of armour but rather a shirt of chain mail, later said to have

been stolen by a servant of the chief, then recovered and buried with Hongi after his death in 1828. The armour at the Auckland War Memorial Museum (breastplate, back plate and helmet) was actually purchased by the Auckland Institute and Museum on 5 September 1936 from Mr F.O. Peat.¹ At the time, the armour was 'said to have belonged to Hongi. Consists of breast plate, back plate & helmet' but probably has nothing at all to do with the chief; it is, in fact, early nineteenth-century cavalry armour, probably from the 1st Regiment of Life Guards or 1st or 2nd Dragoon Guards.² At some point, the Peat armour and helmet were separated, but they are in fact unrelated items; the latter is now identified as a kind of regimental helmet complete with a Roman-style crest and red horsehair.

In the time between Hongi's meeting with George IV in 1820 and the gifting of the panoplies, there was another royal connection with Māori, when, in 1831, 13 chiefs from the Bay of Islands wrote to King William IV asking for his protection against the French. Both Titore and Patuone were among the chiefs who put their moko on the letter (marks numbered as 6 and 3, respectively), which had been prepared for them by the missionary William Yate.³ It was this letter that resulted in the appointment of James Busby as British Resident in 1833 and initiated the more regular diplomatic connections between the British Crown and the independent chiefs between 1833 and 1840, New Zealand being regarded as a foreign country.

Titore and Te Toru

Titore of Kororareka (now Russell) was one of the principal chiefs in the Bay of Islands from 1830 until his death in 1837, and effectively replaced Hongi Hika as the leading chief when he died in 1828. Evidence about Titore, however, is conflicting and requires elucidation, as two quite different but well-attested individuals (Titore and Te Toru) have been persistently confused in the published sources. Titore has usually been misidentified with 'Tetoro, Chief of New Zealand', who is the subject of the frontispiece in Cruise (1823), but this chief is actually Te Toru. The variation in the spelling of Māori names before the missionaries settled on a consistent orthography in 1830 accounts for this confusion.

Rogers (1961) calls Titore of Kororareka 'Titore', but also includes references to the alternative spellings 'Tetore' and 'Tetoree'. 'Titore' is said by Rogers to have gone with 'Tuhi' (correctly Tuai, brother of Korokoro) to England in 1817 (actually 1818), but this is an erroneous reference to

another man, Titere, Tuai's companion; portraits by James Barry of both men are in the Alexander Turnbull Library.⁴ Two small silhouette portraits of Tuai and Titere, also made during their brief visit to England, and which came to light at auction in 2002, were acquired by Te Papa in 2006.⁵ The statement by Rogers (1961) that 'Titore' returned to New Zealand two years later with Samuel Marsden refers to Te Toru, who journeyed home with Marsden and Cruise on HMS *Dromedary* in 1820, and who is the imposing figure depicted in the frontispiece of Cruise's *Journal of a ten months residence in New Zealand* (1823). Thus, three distinct people (Titere, 1817–18; Te Toru, 1820, i.e. Cruise's 'Tetoro, Chief of New Zealand'; and Titore, c. 1830–37) have been confused. There is a single further reference to Titere by Rogers (1961: 109) as 'Tetoree' in error, mentioned on 28 February 1828. Titore is first mentioned by Rogers in a reference to March 1830 at the start of the 'Girls' War' (1961: 58); he is thereafter mentioned frequently until his death, at the hands of Pomare II, in 1837. Titore was married to a sister of Hongi. An authenticated and dated sketch of him by Conrad Martens is in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.⁶

It is most unlikely that Cruise knew Titore, but he did know 'Tetoro' in 1820 and also knew Hongi Hika, Korokoro and his brother Tuai, as well as Te Uri o Kana of Rangihoua, Te Koki of Paihia, Kiwikiwi and the Whangaroa chiefs Te Ara and Te Puhi. All these figures are mentioned in Cruise's account and thus there is little likelihood that he confused them. 'Tetoro' (from Waikare at the Bay of Islands) had resided with Marsden and Hongi's son Ripiro at Parramatta in New South Wales, where he learned English. Cruise reports that 'Tetoro' saw a military pike and asked if he might have it. On being told that it belonged to King George III, 'he observed that King George, if he were here, would give it to him'. The number of valuable articles 'Tetoro' saw in the ship, 'caused him frequently to express his surprise, "that the white people should be so rich, while his countrymen were so poor"' (Cruise 1823: 9). Further references to George III occur later in the work (Cruise 1823: 12), and the title 'King George' was also adopted as an honorific name for the *Dromedary* itself, on which the party sailed from Sydney to New Zealand (Cruise 1823: 14).

According to its inscription, the original portrait of 'Tetoro' (i.e. Te Toru) on which Cruise's frontispiece is based was 'Drawn by R. Read from Life, 1820' (Fig. 1). This artist can be identified as Richard D. Read Jr (1796–1862), who arrived in New South Wales in November 1819. Read is now



Fig. 1 *Tetoro, chief of New Zealand*, by Edward Finden, 1823 (after an original painting by Richard Read Jr, [1820]), hand-coloured aquatint, 238 × 165 mm on sheet 362 × 275 mm (Alexander Turnbull Library A-114-036).

also thought to have drawn the undated portrait of Te Uri o Kana in the Alexander Turnbull Library,⁷ which was published as an engraved plate by John William Lewin in 1824 as ‘A Hoodee O Gunna. Chief of Ranghee Hoo.’⁸ In February 1821, Read described himself as a ‘miniature, portrait and historical painter’ and had for sale a ‘most elegant collection of drawings consisting of natives of New

Zealand and New South Wales, views, flowers &c.’ (Kerr 1992). It is probable that ‘Tetoro’ was drawn by Read in his Sydney studio in 1820, just before the chief returned to New Zealand on the *Dromedary*.

The original picture of ‘Tetoro’ (which is now in a private collection) shows the chief holding not a taiaha (long weapon), but what appears to be a Marquesan spear. This

original was illustrated in the Christie's catalogue when the work was sold by the London auction house on 26 September 2001, and there gives the artist as 'Read the Elder'.⁹ As stated above, however, the artist is now thought to be Richard Read Jr. The very odd-looking taiaha held by 'Tetoro' in Cruise's frontispiece is evidence of artistic licence on the part of the engraver (Edward Finden). Aside from portraits by Cook's artists, and the unnamed chief shown in the frontispiece to the first volume of Nicholas's (1817) *Narrative of a voyage to New Zealand* (which is partly an adaptation of a plate designed by Sydney Parkinson), Read's is the first published drawing of a Māori in the nineteenth century. The same 'Tetoro' image was also adapted to depict another chief in an engraving published in the *United Service Journal* (Anonymous 1830: 651), but here he is called 'Enararo, or, the Lizard' (i.e. Ngārara).

On his return to the Bay of Islands, 'Tetoro' lived in the southern arm at Waikare with his elder brother, 'Wevere'. In his 1822 list of chiefs at the Bay of Islands, the disgraced missionary Thomas Kendall names three chiefs at 'Waikadii' (Waikare): 'Maki Wiwia', 'Waikakadii' and 'Tetodu', the last of these being Te Toru (Kendall [1827–1832]: 135). The missionary Henry Williams also mentions Te Toru, in March 1828, as 'Tetoru one of the head chiefs' of Waikare, and again in July 1834 as 'Te Toru ... very civil tho hard as flint rock' (Rogers 1961: 111). Rogers adds the footnote 'Te Toru, one of the principal chiefs of Waikare. He lost five sons in the fight at Hokianga in 1828, in which Pomare's son and Whareumu were killed' (Rogers 1961: 379). Henry Williams also mentions Wiwia on 10 October 1833: 'very obstinate and would not come near' (Rogers 1961: 332). These references show that the linguistically competent missionaries distinguished Te Toru from Titore. Wiwia was a signatory to James Busby's 'Declaration of Independence' in October 1835, but his brother was not. The last reference to Te Toru is in 1834 (Rogers 1961: 379), and his absence from Busby's list probably indicates that he had died in that year; Cruise indicated that Te Toru had been born about 1778 and was about 45 when his portrait was painted (c. 1820) or when the engraving was published in 1823. Nevertheless, the picture of Te Toru at Treaty House, Waitangi, is still misidentified as Titore.

The attributed status of Te Toru and Te Uri o Kana, the two figures drawn by Read in about 1820 and both called 'King', as if they were local monarchs in some way comparable to the King of England, was brief. Marsden sought a

successor to Ruatara, when that chief was dying in 1815, and determined to establish Te Uri o Kana as 'King' of the place.¹⁰ Marsden executed a land purchase deed, through which a parcel of 200 acres was bought for 12 axes from 'Ahoodee o Gunna, King of Ranghee Hoo' on 24 February (Salmond 1997: 506). But the use of this title was not to last. Thereafter, Te Uri o Kana and Te Toru would be referred to as 'sovereign chiefs' (the term used by the adventurer Charles Philippe Hippolyte de Thierry in his absurd pretensions to the sovereignty of New Zealand in 1835 (FitzRoy 1839: 515)). Marsden soon recognised that his 'King of Rangihoo' was not a replacement for Ruatara.

A watercolour copy of Read's portrait of 'Tetoro' in the Wesleyan Historical Society collection, currently on loan to the Auckland Art Gallery, has been identified as another person, Te Puhi, spelled 'Tabooha'. This portrait, and another in the collection of 'George' (Te Ara), are illustrated in Salmond (1997: 576). The portrait of Te Puhi was inscribed by the Wesleyan missionary Samuel Leigh: 'The New Zealand King Tabooha at the Wesleyan Missionary Settlement, Wesleydale, Wangaroa, New Zealand. Samuel Leigh 1823'. Salmond (1997) accepted the ascription to Leigh on the basis of the evidence, but in fact the two portraits are not by Leigh, who was merely the collector of the images. Certainly both Te Ara and Te Puhi were known to Leigh, as he met them at Whangaroa in 1822. Strachan, in his biography of Leigh, calls them 'Tara [Tārā]' and 'Tepui [Te Puhī]', respectively: 'Tara, called by the sailors "George"' and 'George and Tepui his brother' (Strachan 1853: 166, 179). It is uncertain whether Leigh knew Te Toru. The frontispiece in Cruise (1823) of 'Tetoro' (i.e. Te Toru), engraved by Finden after Read's original, combines disparate elements (as is often the case with portraits); here, the head of 'Tetoro' (i.e. Te Toru) is the same as the head of 'Tabooha', but with the addition of two white feathers. In essence, however, this is not Te Puhi (or 'Tabooha'), but Te Toru again, the acceptable face of a 'typical' chief, misidentified. Given the scarcity of images of notable Māori from this early period, it is not so surprising that one can readily be passed off as another.

In 1835, however, the Reverend William Yate commented on the Read portrait (as engraved by Finden), stating that it was 'an excellent specimen of a fully-tattooed face, in the likeness given of Te-Toru. It is admirably done and the features are so strikingly portrayed, that even at this distance of time it is easily recognised by anyone who has seen

the original' (Yate 1835). Yate knew what Te Toru looked like because Te Toru was still alive in 1834. Yate also distinguished 'Te-Toru' from Titore, another chief whom he knew personally (Yate 1835: 244).

A genuine portrait of Titore

The pencil portrait of Titore by Conrad Martens, inscribed 'Bay of Islands, April 8 1835', shows somebody quite different from Te Toru,¹¹ indicating that the confusion of misspelt names appears to be a more modern phenomenon. Descriptions of the stature of 'Tetoro' (i.e. Te Toru) and Titore also serve to distinguish them. Captain Frederick W.R. Sadler (see below) stated in 1835 that Titore stood 5 ft 10 in, but according to Cruise (1823: 6), 'Tetoro' was 45 years old, 6 ft 2 in in height and 'perfectly handsome both as to features and figure; though very much tattooed, the benignity and even beauty of his countenance were not destroyed by this frightful operation'. Let us hope that the confusion of names is now ended.

Titore writes to King William IV, 1834

HMS *Buffalo* came to New Zealand in 1833 on a diplomatic mission to deliver a proposed flag for the chiefs to adopt at the behest of the recently appointed British Resident, James Busby. The flag, however, was rejected because it contained no red, and a new attempt was made in 1834, this time meeting with success. On the second visit the vessel also came for the economic purpose of collecting kauri spars, and that part of the enterprise resulted in the development of connections with Titore and Patuone, who supplied the spars, as described by Campbell (1988). After its first visit to New Zealand, the *Buffalo* returned to Sydney in April 1834, but in June, on her way home to England, the ship called again at the Bay of Islands. Here she picked up William Yate, who had prepared the 1831 letter to William IV on behalf of the 13 chiefs, and who was now returning to England with some of the mission children and with scriptural translations to be printed there. Titore (using Yate as his amanuensis) now wrote to King William, seeking to advance his own project of obtaining a ship. In his unpublished diary for 1833–1845 (entry dated 26 June 1834, pages 116 and 117), Yate writes:

Putting all to rights in my cabin and preparing for sea. Titore asked me to write down what he said to me and be

fingers for him to the King of England. I accordingly at his dictation wrote the following letter which, with the translation was given to Captain Sadler to convey to His Majesty:

Kia Wiramu te Kingi o Engarani
E Kingi Wiramu

Tenei ano a hau te hoa o Kapene Harara. Ka tomo te kaupuke – ka tahi ka rere. Kua rongoa a hau he Rangatira Kaipuke koe i mua – mau e titiro inga rakau me he pai ranei – me he kino ranei. Ka wawai korua ko Manoa tenei ano nga rakau mou he rakau mo ou kaupuke wawai.

Ka tahi nei a hau ka wakaro ki te tahi kaupuke moku. He waka maori toku kaupuke – kahore aku mea ke. Ka tahuri te waka maori ma tomo ki nga kapana, nga aha ra nei mo ou.

Ka utaina ke te 'Puwaro', te tahi Meri Pounamu me nga kakahu e rua. He oi tonu to te tangata maori mea. Me he mea pai atu ka ho atu e hau ki a Kapene Karara?

He oi toku ki a koe

Te Titore

Ki a Wiremu te Kingi o Engarani

[June 24th 1834 Wangaroa]

King William —

Here am I, the friend of Captain Sadler. The ship is full and is now about to sail. I have heard that you afore time were the Captain of a ship. Do you therefore examine the spars, whether they are good, or whether they are bad. Should you and the French quarrel, here are some trees for your Battle-Ships. I am now beginning to think about a ship for myself. A native canoe is my vessel, and I have nothing else. The native canoes upset, when they are filled with potatoes, and other matters for your people.

I have put on board the *Buffalo* a meri ponamu and two Garments for you: these are all the things which New Zealanders possess. If I had anything better, I would give it to Captain Sadler for you.

This is all mine to you, mine.

Titore

To William, King of England

The text is printed with minor alterations and the caption 'Letter XXIII. A New-Zealand Chief to the King of England' in Yate (1835: 271). Soon after his arrival at Plymouth, on 20 November 1834, Captain Sadler sent ashore the presents from Titore and Patuone to King William, via the Admiralty.

One mere (said to have been presented to Captain Sadler) is in the British Museum, but this would appear to be a personal gift to the captain from Titore, and not the present to the King. Jill Hassell of the Department of Ethnography at the British Museum wrote: 'The British Museum collections contain four artefacts brought to England by Captain Sadler.

These were acquired by the British Museum in 1896, purchased from Sadler's grand-daughter, Miss B.S.M. Sadler. She stated that they were "New Zealand objects presented to my grand-father F.W.R. Sadler, KTS, Commander, by Tetore King of New Zealand about 1833 or 34" (pers. comm. 20 October 2000). The four objects are a nephrite tiki (carved figure), the nephrite mere, a carved bone flute and a bone cloak pin.¹² It is possible that a further message may have been sent via Sadler to King William from Patuone of Hokianga, but if so there is no documentation of it.

The armour of Titore

As was explained by Campbell (1988), on 26 December 1834, Sir Herbert Taylor, Private Secretary to William IV, wrote to Lord Aberdeen, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, ordering that a suit of armour be sent for Titore. Robert Hay, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, then wrote to Sir George Murray on 1 January 1835: 'You will perhaps be surprised at receiving a requisition from this department to supply a suit of armour. It is for one of the King's new Allies in New Zealand, and Sir H. Taylor has suggested by H.M.'s Command that the particular present for which application has been made to the Ordnance would be the most acceptable to the Chief' (Hay to Murray, 1 January 1835, *in* Campbell 1988: 17). The order was put into action that day, but officials at the Tower of London raised some practical questions about the fit of the armour (R. Porrett to R. Bryham, 2 January 1835, *in* Campbell 1988: 18):

The description of armour which I should consider best adapted for this service is the Black Armour of the time of Charles the First which reached only to the knee, and was worn with Boots and Gauntlets of Leather. Bright Armour I should imagine would quickly become rusty and useless in New Zealand where it is not to be expected it could be kept in the best state of repair.

The curator of armour at the Royal Armouries, Thom Richardson, advised:

the only difference between bright cuirassier armours and black ones is basically polish: black ones were originally left in black from the hammer condition, and quite a few survive in that state in the armoury. Bright ones were the same but polished bright. A lot of that polishing happened in the early 19th century, and during the same century a lot of armour was painted black also. (Natasha Roberts, Royal Armouries, pers. comm. 20 October 2011)

The armour supplied was a cuirass. Hay then wrote to Sadler himself for information about Titore's stature, and Sadler replied (Sadler to Colonial Office, 12 January 1835, *in* Campbell 1988: 19):¹³

In reply to your communication if the 2nd inst. I beg to state for the information of Lord Aberdeen that Titore the New Zealand chief for whom the armour is ordered is a man of five feet ten inches high rather slender for his height with muscular limbs. I believe Titore's influence is greater than any other chief in the north of the North Island. [...] I beg to remark that I brought home presents from another chief, Patuone, to our most gracious Majesty, whose name does not occur in your communication. I therefore think that this omission is a mistake. Patuone is a chief of Hokianga and a man of considerable property and great influence.

Hay sent this letter on to Bryham at the Board of Ordnance, ignoring the reference to Patuone, and Bryham then invited Sadler to inspect the armour at the Tower, but in April Sadler was thought to be absent from England and Hay told Ordnance to select the armour themselves. Letters were written to the Board of Ordnance to accompany the armour for Titore. Bryham subsequently reported that (without further advice from Sadler) the Board of Ordnance was selecting a suit of armour, and on 1 May he stated that 'A Suit of Bright Armour having been selected for the New Zealand Chief Titori, which has been put into proper order and is now at the Tower ready for issue together with a suit of clothing to be worn under it, also with Gauntlet Gloves and a pair of boots' (Bryham to Hay, 1 May 1835, *in* Campbell 1988: 20). The items were then packed and made ready for shipping. The bill from the Board of Ordnance Department to the Colonial Office for the armour was sent in August 1835 and reveals that it was valued at £20 11s 10d.

Meanwhile, a letter to Sir Richard Bourke, Governor of New South Wales, from Lord Aberdeen asked that he 'take measures for having the armour, together with the enclosed letter addressed to Titori, conveyed to Mr Busby, the Resident at New Zealand, in order that they may be presented to the Chief in whatever manner may be most calculated to gratify his feelings' (Aberdeen to Bourke, 2 April 1835, *in* Campbell 1988: 20). Aberdeen's letter to Titore is transcribed below, and shows that Titore was recognised a 'highness' in status (as opposed to the appellation 'King' used in 1820 for Te Toru and Te Uri o Kana) (Aberdeen to Titore, 31 January 1835, *in* Campbell 1988: 20):¹⁴



Fig. 2 Armour of Titore (Te Papa collection ME 001845).

The Earl of Aberdeen,
 One of His Majesty's Principal
 Secretaries of State to His Highness Titore
 Friend and Brother

I have received the commands of my Most Gracious Sovereign King William the Fourth to thank you for your letter brought to him by the hands of Captain Sadler, Commander of His Majesty's Ship the 'Buffalo', and for the assistance which you rendered to him in obtaining the articles for which that ship was expressly sent to Your Country.

King William will not forget this proof of your Friendship and he trusts that such mutual good offices will continue to be interchanged between His Majesty's Subjects and the Chiefs and People of New Zealand as may cement the Friendship already so happily existing between the two countries, and advance the commercial interests and wealth of Both.

The King, my Master, further commands me to thank you for your Present, and in return, he desires you will accept a Suit of Armour, such as was worn in former times by His Warriors, but which are now only used by His own Body Guard.

This letter, as well as His Majesty's Royal Present will be conveyed to you through James Busby Esquire, His Majesty's authorised Resident at the Bay of Islands, whose Esteem and Friendship you will do well to cultivate, and who in his turn, will do all in his power to promote your Welfare and that of your Countrymen.

I am your Friend and Brother

Aberdeen

Colonial Office

London

31 January 1835

Scant information has been found with regards the shipping of the armour in New Zealand, but Busby reported to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales on 30 November 1835 (Campbell 1988: 21) that he had received the armour from the Reverend Robert Maunsell when that missionary arrived at the Bay of Islands from Sydney on the *Active*: 'I lost no time in apprising Titore of the arrival of His Majesty's gift, and I received a visit from him without delay, when I delivered Lord Aberdeen's letter, after having explained its contents; and also the case containing the Armour which was received with much gratification.'

The original of the letter from Lord Aberdeen to Titore has not been located recently, but it was in the hands of Titore's descendent, Takiri Titore Puriri, of the Native Department at Whangarei, in October 1939. A photographic copy was made and sent to the General Secretary of

the Centennial Committee in the Department of Internal Affairs; this is now in the Alexander Turnbull Library. Mr Puriri advised that the suit of armour did duly arrive 'but was later presented by Titore to Potatau the Maori King'.¹⁵

The official continues:

Mr Tukere te Anga who is on the staff here tells me that a suit of armour was found on a battlefield at Puketuka on the Wanganui River after a battle in which the Northern Tribes were involved. Probably both Hongi [Hika] and Titore were present at this fight and it is said that Hongi also had a suit of armour. Titore's was of steel, Hongi's was of chain armour. About 18 years ago Mr te Anga tells me the armour was found to be held by the natives at Korinihi [i.e. Corinth] Wanganui River and it was then placed in the Wellington Museum.¹⁶

The recollection garbles the tradition, however, as Hongi died in 1828 (and had been fitted out with chain mail rather than plate armour) and Titore did not receive his armour until 1835.

The painter George French Angas saw this armour in 1844, when it was in the possession of Taonui, a chief of Mokau. In a further confusion over the tradition of the 'armour of Hongi', Angas understood the armour had been given to Hongi Hika and then passed to Titore and then to Te Wherowhero, who had been affronted by Titore and demanded the armour as *utu* (payment) for the insult. Angas (1847, vol. 2: 86) said it was now old and rusty, and was of steel inlaid with brass. It was not worn, but was regarded 'with a sort of superstitious veneration by the natives, who look upon it as something extraordinary'.

Some of these accounts are corroborated by Hamilton (1910), including an illustration of the armour, but others are incompatible with the evidence, as Hamilton points out. Today, Titore's armour (Fig. 2) is in Te Papa, but is no longer on display.¹⁷

The armour of Patuone

In 1836, after his return to England, Captain Sadler again took up the case of the armour for Patuone. According to a memorandum written by Sadler on 9 July 1836, the Under-Secretary of State had authorised him in June 1835

to go to the Tower and select a suit of armour for Patuone (a New Zealand chief in my employ during part of the time I was selecting Masts in the country). On my late visit to the Tower to inspect some articles for barter, I found no further orders respecting the said armour had been given. On my return home to England I brought home presents from two chiefs – Titore and Patuone to His Majesty –

stating the New Zealand practice of a return being expected – and I presume by some oversight one suit of armour was ordered instead of two – there is no probability of a ship going to Hookianga [*sic*] of which place Patuone is a great forest owner. I think it will prove of great service to the present expedition [of the *Buffalo*] that a present be sent to this man.¹⁸

A few days later, on 14 July, Sadler wrote to the Admiralty:

On leaving New Zealand in June 1834 I was requested by two chiefs – Titori [*sic*] and Patuone – to take charge of and deliver to His Majesty on my arrival in England, as a present from them two Meares punamu [mere pounamu] (stone war clubs considered of great value) and some native garments – mats – which on my arrival in November following I forwarded by their Lordship's direction to the Admiralty, accompanied by a letter from me explanatory of the motives of these chiefs in sending the presents and the New Zealand custom of a return being made. As these chiefs are men of great influence in the North part of the Island and Patuone a great land proprietor of the Hookianga (the port at which HMS *Buffalo* will most likely obtain her cargo of spars) I am of opinion the service will be considerably forwarded should their Lordships see fit to send a suit of armour to this chief as an acknowledgement for the present sent to His Majesty in the *Buffalo*.

Annotations of the documents by James Stephen (dated 11 July) state that the Colonial Office had no record of correspondence on the subject of the armour, except in reference to the armour sent to Titore. According to Sadler's 9 July memorandum, Lord Glenelg, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, knew nothing about a present from Patuone, his motive for sending it or whether it had been accepted.¹⁹

A memorandum written by William Yate's friend Sir Edward Parry and dated March 1836 (shortly after Yate left England for Australia) provides further information about contacts between Māori chiefs and the Crown (Parry to Colonial Office, March 1836):

The encouraging success of the Church Missionaries in New Zealand and the increasing importance of that country in a political point of view cannot but render every particular relating to it interesting to our beloved sovereign. I have therefore, with His Majesty's gracious permission collected a few gratifying facts from the Rev. Wm Yate, a pious and talented clergyman of the Church of England who has been many years resident in New Zealand. [...] This gentleman has lately come to England for the purpose of procuring some new schoolmasters for the southern parts of the island and will shortly return to the scene of his labours. [...] The cargo of masts lately brought home by His Majesty's Ship store-ship *Buffalo* are considered very good. [...] the Chiefs of New Zealand

are extremely well disposed towards this country. [...] As a proof of the entire confidence they feel in the goodwill of the natives, it may be mentioned that Mr Yate is about to take his sister out to New Zealand to assist in the work of instructing them. One of the most influential of the chiefs is Titore, successor to Hongi who was introduced to his late Majesty George the Fourth in England. Titore professes so much power that with a little assistance from England it is more than probable that he would obtain the control of all the Northern District of New Zealand and thus exert an influence over the whole island. Titore wrote a letter to His Majesty by Mr Sadler of the *Buffalo* of which the following is a copy as translated literally from the original.

Titore's letter has been quoted in full above and so is not repeated here, but Sir Edward Parry continues: 'The great object of Titore's ambition is to obtain from His Majesty a small cutter of 30 or 40 tons which would give him great influence and at the same time secure that influence on behalf of Great Britain. Should His Majesty be graciously pleased to grant his request a small vessel of this kind could be procured from New South Wales.' It is not recorded whether this wish was granted, but it was probably considered that the armour was sufficient. Yate himself had had a long interview with the King in January, recording in his journal (Yate 1833–1845: 176):

He then enquired whether the natives would quietly submit to having their country colonised and assured me that it was only for information that he enquired and that as long as he had anything to do with it no more colonies should be added to the British Crown for he had now more than he knew what to do with, or that his shoulders would bear.

After the experience with Hongi Hika in 1820, arming Ngā Puhi further was surely considered inadvisable.

In July 1836, Captain Sadler was preparing to resume command of the *Buffalo* and tasked with taking proposed governor John Hindmarsh to South Australia to establish a new colony there. But at this point Lord Aberdeen was replaced by Lord Glenelg and Hay had been replaced by James Stephen. It was Sadler who then discovered that the matter of the armour for Patuone had still not been attended to. Charles Wood, Secretary to the Admiralty, wrote to Sir George Grey, Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, on 9 July: 'I have to request that you will move Lord Glenelg to cause steps to be taken with as little delay as possible to procure the suit of armour referred to in the memorandum [by Sadler] for the New Zealand chief Patuone that it may be sent out in the *Buffalo* now at Portsmouth.'²⁰



Fig. 3 A suit of cuirassier armour matching the general description of that supplied to Patuone and Titore, c.1630, made in the Netherlands (collection of the Royal Armouries, Tower of London, II.104, © Board of Trustees of the Armouries; reproduced with permission).

The Colonial Office took notice of Sadler's letters, ensuring that the armour for Patuone was indeed on board the *Buffalo*, but on 15 July 1836 Sadler was replaced as commander of the ship by James Wood. Hindmarsh wrote from Spithead on 3 August 1836 that he was at last underway, and on 27 December he reached Holdfast Bay, in South Australia (Campbell 1988). He remained there with the *Buffalo* until 14 June 1837, by which time there was war in the Bay of Islands and Titore had been killed by Pomare II. By a curious coincidence, William IV had died just two days earlier. Governor Bourke advised Lord Glenelg on 19 September 1837 that the *Buffalo* was cleared to resume the spar trade to Hokianga (Campbell 1988: 24). This was

the day the *Buffalo* reached Kororareka with Patuone's armour, but by then the chief had left the Bay of Islands.

Six weeks later, the log of the *Buffalo* records: '31 October 1837: Sent 2nd cutter to the Thames with Mr Chegwyn (Senior 2nd Master), six men and a months provisions, and a Suit of Armour for Patuone a New Zealand chief, a present from His Majesty' (Campbell 1988). Two days after the news of the accession of Queen Victoria was confirmed on 27 November 1837, a belated royal salute was fired. Chegwyn had returned to the *Buffalo* by 1 December but there is no indication of the occasion of the delivery of the late King William's gift. However, a delivery note to accompany the armour was sent to Sir Frederick Maitland at Portsmouth (Fig. 4A), and this shows that it was a suit of bright armour consisting of a helmet and visor, breast plate and back plate, gorget (a covering for the throat), pauldrons (coverings for the shoulder areas), rerebraces (protection for the upper arms) and vambraces (protection for the forearms), cuisses (armour for the thighs) and genouilleres (kneecap plates).

The accompanying suit of clothes consisted of a green jacket, breeches, cap, worsted stockings, gauntlets and a pair of fisherman's boots. The receipt bearing Patuone's mark was made out on 4 November 1836 at Maraetai, the station occupied by the Fairburn family and Robert Maunsell. The original documents, formerly in the Library of the Royal Commonwealth Society as MSS 89, are now in the Royal Commonwealth Society collection at Cambridge University Library (Fig. 4).²¹ They were also described in an article (Anonymous 1966), and were exhibited at the *National Book League Commonwealth Book Exhibition*, New Zealand House, London, in 1966.

The fate and current location of Patuone's armour is unknown but an anecdote records what happened after its delivery. An undated newspaper clipping in the Fildes collection at Victoria University of Wellington reveals that:

A daughter of Mr Fairburn, the missionary, who interpreted for the naval officer who brought the suit of armour from King William IV to Patuone adds some interesting reminiscences to the story recently told by Mr E. Fairburn of Parnell. She says that when Patuone had managed to get into the armour, which was several sizes too small for him, he asked what it was for. 'To prevent your enemies wounding you,' answered the officer. 'If I wear it,' retorted Patuone, 'they kill me for sure. I am not able to run away.' Finally, Patuone handed the armour over to Mr Fairburn to keep for him, and strode away in the red baize suit with which it was lined, and which greatly pleased him.²²

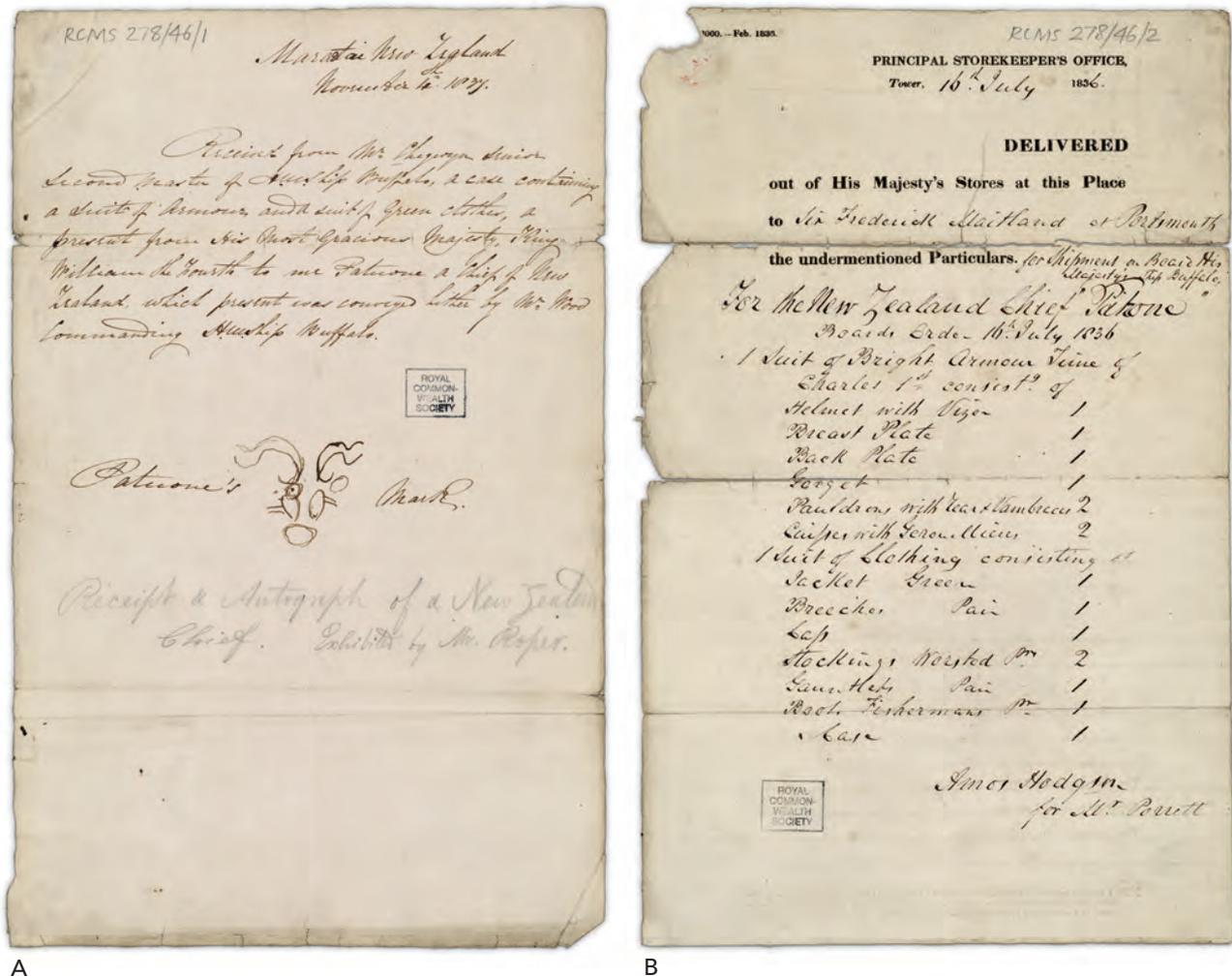


Fig. 4 Documents relating to the armour made for Patuone: A, receipt for the armour supplied to Patuone, with his moko (tattoo) as signature; B, list of items comprising Patuone's armour (Cambridge University Library RCS/RCMS 278/46; reproduced with permission).

The story 'recently told by Mr E. Fairburn' refers to the reminiscences of Edwin Fairburn (1827–1911) and his sister Esther Hickson (1829–1913) in the manuscript 'Maharatanga', some of which may have been published in the *New Zealand Herald*. In his manuscript, which from internal dates appears to have been written between 1908 and 1910, there is a comment dated 3 December 1908: 'There was a warship at Maraetai about June 1837 which brought a suit of plate armour for Patuone from King William, and while that suit was being unpacked in our verandah on a rainy day a boat from a sailing craft just arrived from the Bay brought news of King William's death.' A further note corrects the date to 1838, identifies the ship as the *Buffalo* and adds: 'It was then Lieutt Cheguin brought the armour from the *Buffalo* which came for spars from the

RN at Mercury Bay & was wrecked there.' The discrepancy over the colour of the baize coat (red or green) is probably not significant, the events having occurred almost 80 years before. However, the matter of the armour of Patuone is mentioned by neither Davis (1876) nor Webster (1966).

The mere pounamu, gifts from Titore and Patuone to King William IV

In November 2000, I decided to see if there was any trace of the gifts sent by Patuone and Titore (mere and mats) to William IV in the Royal Collection.²³ It was easily established that members of Britain's royal family who had visited New Zealand had received objects such as feather



Fig. 5 Mere pounamu (greenstone clubs). Without documentation, the provenance of these two objects cannot be verified, but they are probably those given to William IV by Titore and Patuone (Royal Collection, St James's Palace; A, 62810; B, 62811; © The Royal Collection, HM Queen Elizabeth II; reproduced with permission from the Royal Collection Picture Library).

cloaks as presentations, as they had been photographed with them on formal occasions, and such gifts were likely to have been stored safely. In the case of mere, which are relatively indestructible and made of a precious substance (nephrite), there was a good possibility that at least some of those presented to members of the royal family would have survived, especially if they were accompanied by historical documentation, such as registers. The case for the Titore mere was particularly interesting to me as the circumstances of its presentation and the clear evidence that it had been received was beyond question. What then, might have become of it?

Two mere were reportedly found in the estate of the late Duchess of Windsor, relict of Edward VIII. They

were then allegedly acquired by Mohamed Al-Fayed, and subsequently sold to a private New Zealand collector, but this appears quite speculative. After some months of searching, a research assistant at the Royal Collection Trust advised me (M. Winterbottom, pers. comm. 14 May 2001) that no specific mere known to be associated with Titore and Patuone could be identified, although there were as many as five mere in the collection

about which we know very little due to the paucity of contemporary records or inventories. It is very likely that there two mere that you are particularly interested in are among are among this group. I am therefore sending you photographs of all five, in the hope that you may be able to shed more light on them. I suspect that the two presented to William IV are numbers 62810 and 62811 – the older looking, more ‘battered’ examples, which have obviously been used. According to an old inventory number 62167 was ‘taken in the first Maori war’ although no further details are given.²⁴

High-quality black and white images of items 62810 and 62811 were supplied in a further letter of 6 November, and the images (Fig. 5) were then discussed with various curators at Te Papa and at the Auckland War Memorial Museum. These discussions revealed nothing authoritative as to the source of the stone used, the likely date of manufacture or the carving and abrading style.

What is, at least, clear is that these two mere are excellent examples of their type. One of them is provided with a leather carrying strap made from a belt, with eye holes. It is not possible to tell whether these two mere are actually those presented by Titore and Patuone, let alone which is which, but they do fit the bill as valid candidates. It is clear, moreover, that such taonga (treasured objects) were rare by 1840. Many of those produced in later decades were possibly not even made using traditional methods in New Zealand, as modern manufacturing techniques for drilling and polishing stone enabled the production of fakes in Europe. Other mere in the Royal Collection are RCIN 62167, RCIN 61972 and RCIB 69759 (the last being on long-term loan to another institution).

The mere pounamu intended for Queen Victoria

In a letter to his wife on 7 February, Felton Mathew noted that after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 February 1840, the chief Patuone (newly baptised as Edward Marsh,



Fig. 6 Two mere pounamu (greenstone clubs) originally in the possession of Captain William Hobson. One of these was presented by Patuone on 6 February 1840 and intended for Queen Victoria. A, 'mere pounamu with three grooves on butt, pre-European drilled hole. Pale green, 15 inches, greatest width 3.5 inches' (Te Papa ME 010819); B, '19th century, dark green with paler flecks, with a fairly thin blade and a slight chip on the top edge, the butt without ridges and a bi-conical perforation' (Waitangi National Trust WNT1961/1/1; reproduced with permission).

or Eruera Maihi) had joined the party invited to dine with the officers of the *Herald* (he could understand English but did not speak it). The old chief now presented a further mere pounamu for Queen Victoria as a token of submission to her authority. Mathew wrote:

One of the most powerful of them [the chiefs] named Patuwooni, who in years past has been distinguished as a friend of the English then advanced to the Governor & presented him with one of their splendid Green Talc Hatchets, or 'mare' as a present for the Queen. This is the most valuable offering he could have made for they are

now so scarce it is impossible to procure them – not one of the chiefs present but himself had one.²⁵

This mere was one of two returned to New Zealand in 1937 by William Hobson's grandson Arthur Rendel (son of Hobson's daughter Eliza) (Fig. 6). Rendel told the then New Zealand High Commissioner, 'There is a legend in the family that the axes were intended for Queen Victoria, but that my great grand-mother never passed them on.' There is no conclusive proof which of these two mere was that belonging to Patuone. Today, one of them is displayed in Te

Papa (Fig. 6A) and the other is at the Treaty House at Waitangi (Fig. 6B). The latter was formally presented to the Waitangi National Trust by the Secretary for Internal Affairs on 6 February 1961, but was in the custody of the Auckland Institute and Museum until it was returned to Waitangi on 19 June 1967.

Conclusion

The Māori custom of *tuku* (ceremonial gift exchange) to cement alliances was employed in most of the contacts between chiefs and the Crown in the years preceding the formal colonisation of New Zealand from 1840. Hongi Hika received gifts from George IV in 1820, William IV gifts from Titore and Patuone, and Victoria from Patuone again in 1840. That the presentation of gifts required a reciprocation is clear from the documentation described in this article, and was well understood at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. The gifts to Māori were sometimes physical *taonga* such as oddly impractical suits of armour, and sometimes more practical ones useful in the long run, such as literacy and technology – for example, printing presses like the one gifted in 1859 by the Emperor of Austria. Sometimes they were more abstract gifts such as systems of laws and government, including protection from foreign occupation, which the chiefs recognised as new kinds of *taonga*, to be employed in a roughly conceived sort of partnership to take effect in the near future. This was part of the reason that the chiefs accepted the advantages of a treaty. The physical objects discussed here, while of little value in themselves, held the *mana* (prestige) of the donors and the recipients, and laid the ground for the more useful benefits expected to come from international associations.

Acknowledgements

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Kingdom) for providing cited information and supplying Fig. 5; Delwyn Walker, Curator, Waitangi National Trust, Paihia, New Zealand, for supplying Fig. 6B; Rose Young, History Curator, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, for information about the 'Hongi Hika armour'; Jill Hassell (Department of Ethnography, British Museum, London, United Kingdom) for information about New Zealand objects in the British Museum collection; and Michael Fitzgerald and Awhina Tamarapa (Te Papa) for assistance with Te Papa collections. Also, I thank an anonymous referee for his suggestions on improving the original draft.

Notes

- 1 Auckland War Memorial Museum accession no. 252/36.
- 2 Information supplied by Liz Denton (Royal Armouries, HM Tower of London) and Rose Young (History Curator, Auckland War Memorial Museum) (see MS-Papers-9215-074, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).
- 3 The original letter is in the National Archives at Kew, London, CO 211/221, ff. 384–388.
- 4 James Barry, *Teeterree, a New Zealand Chief*, October 1818, G-626, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; and *Tooi, a New Zealand Chief*, October 1818, G-618, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. 'Titeri' is now the accepted form of the name 'Teeterree' and 'Tuai' the accepted form of his companion 'Tooi'.
- 5 Reg. 2006-00114/11 and 2006-00114/12, Te Papa, Wellington.
- 6 Conrad Martens, *Tetore, Bay of Islands, April 8 1835*, Sketchbook 1834–1836, p. 43, PX C294, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- 7 A-237-42, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
- 8 A-92-2, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
- 9 *The New Zealand chief King Tetoro*, inscribed and dated '[sketch]d by Read the Elder. Taken from the life 1824 / the New Zealand Chief King Tetoro', catalogue Maroon-6493, 'Exploration and travel', 2001, Christie's, London.
- 10 'King' had earlier been the term used by Marsden, in reporting in 1813 that, on Ruatara's return to Rangihoua, the chief had been saluted as 'King' after the death of Te Pahi and of Ruatara's elder 'brother' (Salmond 1997: 424). In his letter to Ruatara in March 1814, Marsden addresses him as 'Duaterra King' (Salmond 1997: 433), and a similar letter to Tara addresses him as 'King Terra' (Salmond 1997: 436).
- 11 Martens, *Tetore, Bay of Islands, April 8 1835*. The illustration is most conveniently depicted in plates following p. 240 in Crosby (1999).
- 12 British Museum catalogue numbers: tiki, 96-925; nephrite mere, 96-929; carved bone flute, 96-930; bone cloak pin, 96-931. The tiki is illustrated in Starzecka (1998: fig. 116).

- 13 Campbell (1988: endnote 26) gives the location of this letter as 'CO 209/2 (AJCP 988, New Zealand)', but it has not been found therein.
- 14 The text of the letter was given by Campbell, citing the official copy in the National Archives, Kew, London, and copied in the Australian Joint Copying Project, (Campbell 1988: 20, citing Aberdeen to Titore in CO 202/30, p. 274, AJCP 222, New South Wales), but the original letter to Titore survived in the hands of his descendants.
- 15 Titore died in June 1837, so the statement that his armour was 'presented' to Potatau (Te Wherowhero) seems questionable, as the latter was 'erected' as the Māori 'King' only in 1857.
- 16 Letter, Native Department, Auckland, 12 October 1939, [illegible signature] to A.W. Mulligan, General Secretary, Centennial Committee. MS-Papers-6770 'Titore Paki Correspondence', Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
- 17 ME 001845, Te Papa, Wellington. The associated file of documentation is MU 00001, box 003, item 0059, file 2/2/9.
- 18 A footnote to the memorandum adds that the suit of armour was already in the Tower of London.
- 19 See also Charles Wood to James Stephen, 15 July 1836, CO 209/2, pp. 374–376, National Archives, Kew, London.
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First World War posters at Te Papa

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines a collection of international First World War posters held by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa), in terms of its provenance, reception and display at the end of, and in the years immediately after, the First World War (1914–19). The paper details how and why the posters entered the Dominion Museum (now Te Papa) in 1918–19, their subsequent display from 1921 to 1924, and how they were received during this period.

The posters came to New Zealand as a result of transnational networks that existed in the British Empire. They were intended for the national collection and display in a hoped-for national war museum because they could illustrate important aspects of the war. However, their function and meanings shifted as they moved from the streets to museums and exhibitions. They became markers of imperial effort and relationships, but also reminders of the emotions of the war years. The paper discusses reasons for this memorialising impulse and continuing engagement with war posters.

The colourful and dramatic international posters in the collection are briefly compared to New Zealand's comparatively plain letterpress printed posters. The lack of pictorial content in New Zealand's posters, and the New Zealand government's reliance on imported posters for recruitment purposes, has led to absences in the relevant literature, which this paper addresses.

KEYWORDS: First World War, New Zealand, British Empire, Te Papa, Dominion Museum, propaganda, war posters, recruitment, transnationalism.

Introduction

This paper explores the acquisition, reception and display of a collection of First World War (1914–19) posters held by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa).¹

Posters were a widespread form of propaganda and communication well established by the time of the First World War. They were predominantly used by industry and commerce to advertise products and entertainments, and were the most publicly visible and powerful medium available. For the first time, governments launched major publicity campaigns using the visual and emotional techniques of advertising to gain public support for recruitment, labour (including women's work), war loans and fundraising, conserving resources and food economy (Aulich & Hewitt 2007: 9).²

War posters were prominent and familiar in New Zealand towns and cities during the war, adorning a wide range of public buildings and spaces, such as recruitment stations, post offices, banks, shops, factories, tramcars, passenger ships, railway stations and train carriages (Fig. 1). New Zealand government posters were seen alongside British and Australian posters sent to New Zealand for display to encourage recruitment of men and money. American recruiting posters were occasionally seen as well.³ Many of these international posters were large, colourful works of graphic art with hard-hitting emotional and manipulative images and messages (e.g. Figs 2–8). They were in distinct contrast to New Zealand's traditional notice-style posters, which were created to inform citizens of government decisions and regulations (e.g. Figs 9, 10).



Fig. 1 The Auckland City Recruiting Station on 23 April 1917. This photograph illustrates imperial networks in practice, with British, Australian and New Zealand recruitment posters neatly framed and displayed around the walls. These posters had been on display since at least March 1916, but would have been redundant by the time this photograph was taken as conscription had come into force eight months earlier. This indicates that the currency of such posters outlived their original purpose. For example, the large poster above the porch portrays soldiers in a Gallipoli-like landscape of 1915 ('Come Lads Give us a spell', 1915, by Annie J. Hope Campbell, published by the Victoria State Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, Australia). This landscape had long been left behind for the trenches of France by the time this photograph was taken (photo: Henry Winkelmann. Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries; 1-W1595).

What is of particular interest to this paper is the continuing engagement with war posters in the years immediately following the war until the early 1920s – a period when war 'moved to the heart of New Zealand identity' through increasing commemoration (Phillips 2000: 349). Posters were no longer seen in the streets, but were collected by museums, archives and individuals, and disseminated in publications and exhibitions worldwide. They were collected because they provided a window onto the war; they demonstrated participation and war effort; and they reminded audiences of the emotions of the war years. They were also

admired for their aesthetics and design, and poster exhibitions and displays were well received in this light. Regardless of their lack of veracity as historical evidence and their propagandist nature, war posters were considered important material culture of war until at least the early 1920s.

Te Papa holds about 130 such posters, published mainly in Britain, the United States of America and Canada. Most of these posters entered the Dominion Museum (predecessor of Te Papa) at the end of the war, when there were hopes of establishing a national war museum in Wellington. They represent a small fraction of the huge amount of war posters



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

Fig. 2 Poster, 'Come into the ranks', 1915 (printed by Roberts & Leete Ltd; published by Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, United Kingdom. Lithograph on paper, 949×630 mm. Gift of Department of Defence, 1919. GH016323, Te Papa). This poster is a perfect manifestation of attitudes towards men during the war – that they could be turned from passive civilians into seamless, purposeful and useful military columns.

Fig. 3 Poster, 'Women of Britain Say – "Go!"', May 1915 (by E.V. Kealey, United Kingdom; printed by Hill, Siffken & Co.; published by Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, United Kingdom. Lithograph on paper, 754×504 mm. Gift of Department of Defence, 1919. GH016292, Te Papa). Images of women and children were used to inspire or shame men into enlisting, regardless of the emotional pain and financial strain of losing a husband, brother or son to war.

Fig. 4 Poster, 'Remember Belgium', November 1914 (printed by Henry Jenkinson Ltd; published by Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, United Kingdom. Lithograph on paper, 1010×744 mm. Gift of Department of Defence, 1919. GH16304, Te Papa). Germany's violation of Belgium's neutrality was portrayed in several posters during the war to stimulate recruitment and fundraising. Such images and slogans had a legitimising effect on the business of war.

Fig. 5 Poster, 'Remember Scarborough!' January 1915 (by Lucy Kemp-Welch (1869–1958, United Kingdom); printed by David Allen & Sons Ltd; published by Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, United Kingdom. Photolithograph and block print on paper, 1510×985 mm. Gift of Department of Defence, 1919. GH016641, Te Papa). This poster portrays British anger over the German Navy's attack on Scarborough in December 1914, which killed dozens of civilians. It was probably seen in New Zealand during the war, and was at least discussed by the press, which singled it out as an example of 'the pictorial poster which has proved most attractive in securing recruits to His Majesty's forces' (Anonymous 1915a).

Fig. 6 Poster, 'I Want You For U.S. Army', 1917 (by James Montgomery Flagg (1877–1960, United States of America). Lithograph on paper, mounted on board and varnished, 1011×741 mm. Gift of Department of Defence, 1919. GH016374, Te Papa). This is the most famous of all American war posters, and was by one of America's best-known and admired illustrators.



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10

Fig. 7 Poster, 'Food is Ammunition', c. 1918 (by J.E. Sheridan (1880–1948, United States); printed by Heywood Strasser & Voigt Litho. Co.; published by United States Food Administration. Lithograph on paper mounted on strawboard and varnished, 738 × 534 mm. Gift of Department of Defence, 1919. GH016649, Te Papa).

Fig. 8 Poster, 'If ye break faith – we shall not sleep', 1918 (by Frank Lucien Nicolet (c. 1887/89–1944, Canada). Lithograph on paper mounted on board and varnished, 580 × 873 mm. Gift of Department of Defence, 1919. GH014067, Te Papa). Even though this poster was created for the specific purpose of raising money at the end of the war, the quote from the famous and enduring war poem by Canadian John McCrae (1872–1918) and the image of fields of red poppies would have resonated greatly with viewers in the 1920s (Poppy Day began in New Zealand in 1922).

Fig. 9 Poster, 'Military Service Act, 1916', August 1916 (signed by Malcolm Fraser, Government Statistician; printed by Marcus F. Marks, Government Printer, Wellington; issued by the National Recruiting Board, Wellington. Letterpress on paper, 765 × 504 mm. Eph-D-WAR-WI-1916-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

Fig. 10 Poster, 'Help to Win the War!', 5 August 1916 (signed by Joseph George Ward, Minister of Finance; probably printed by Government Printer, Wellington. Letterpress on paper; 570 × 450 mm. Eph-D-WAR-WI-1916-02, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

created and printed throughout the world. But their presence in New Zealand is a manifestation of British imperial culture and the transnational networks of cultural consumption of visual and print culture that operated at this time.

The visual plainness of New Zealand's own war posters, and their lack of national distinctiveness, has led to virtual silence in the relevant literature on war posters. This would not have been a surprise to the Director of the Dominion Museum, James Allan Thomson, who said in 1920: 'I have to advise that no war posters of artistic value were issued by the New Zealand Government' (Thomson to Hislop, 20 July 1920).

This paper begins to redress the absences by focusing on the history of Te Papa's First World War poster collection.

War poster literature

Internationally, the key works on First World War posters are virtually silent on New Zealand's particular experience (Hardie & Sabin 1920; Rickards 1968; Darracott & Loftus 1972; Stanley 1983; Rawls 1988; Paret *et al.* 1992; Aulich 2007; Aulich & Hewitt 2007; James 2009).⁴ There is very little analysis of the mechanics and experience of war posters on New Zealand's home front apart from minor references and reproductions as general illustrations. This omission is arguably due to the small numbers of posters produced in New Zealand, and that most were traditional letterpress notices. Two publications survey posters in New Zealand, both of them briefly noting First World War posters: Ellen Ellis's *The New Zealand poster book* (1977) and Hamish Thompson's *Paste up* (2003).⁵

As soon as First World War posters were printed and displayed by the warring nations, they attracted comment and analysis, initially in terms of their artistic merit and the degree of success achieved in design. An early text on First World War posters is *War posters: issued by belligerent and neutral nations 1914–1919* by Martin Hardie and Arthur K. Sabin (published in London, 1920). Their central premise was that posters were the one form of art that could meet the propaganda needs of warring governments. The merits of each country's war posters were judged as to whether they contributed to poster art in general. It is unknown whether the authors had seen New Zealand's war posters.⁶ This focus on pictorial qualities dominates the subsequent literature and helps to account for the absence of New Zealand's experience.

Maurice Rickards wrote what is considered to be the classic text on First World War posters, *Posters of the First World War* (published in London, 1968). He observed discernible phases in poster creation, and that most of the warring nations' posters exhibited more similarities than differences. Again, New Zealand is not mentioned.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, war posters continued to be investigated as important and relevant cultural objects of the First World War by scholars of history, design, literature, communication studies, and visual and print culture. Walton Rawls's *Wake up, America!* (1988) and Aulich and Hewitt's *Seduction or instruction?* (2007) provide detailed research on the production, distribution and reception of posters in the United States, United Kingdom and Europe. Aulich and Hewitt briefly note that countries such as New Zealand produced posters in an ad hoc manner, but with similar results to other countries within the empire (2007: 59). There is no further analysis.

Most recently, a wide range of international authors in Pearl James's *Picture this* (2009) interpret how posters functioned in various contexts at their time of production. New Zealand's experience is implied when James acknowledges that posters could function as messages between nations and 'from colonial powers to their imperial outposts' (James 2009: 4, 25). There is much to investigate in this observation and it forms a key idea in this article.

Transnational posters

Transnationalism is an important area for study because New Zealand belonged to both the British Empire and to the trans-Tasman world (Byrnes 2009: 14; Pickles 2009: 223). Most poster scholarship is dominated by the nation as the major category of analysis, and ignores other models of consumption in which print and visual culture were imported, as was the case in New Zealand during the First World War.

Colourful and dramatic British recruitment posters were sent to countries within the empire to encourage recruitment. The New Zealand government periodically received such posters from late 1914 to early 1916 (Mackenzie to Massey, November 1918). The decision to rely on these imports would have been pragmatic and economic, as New Zealand's advertising industry was relatively undeveloped in this period, and the Government Printing Office was hard hit

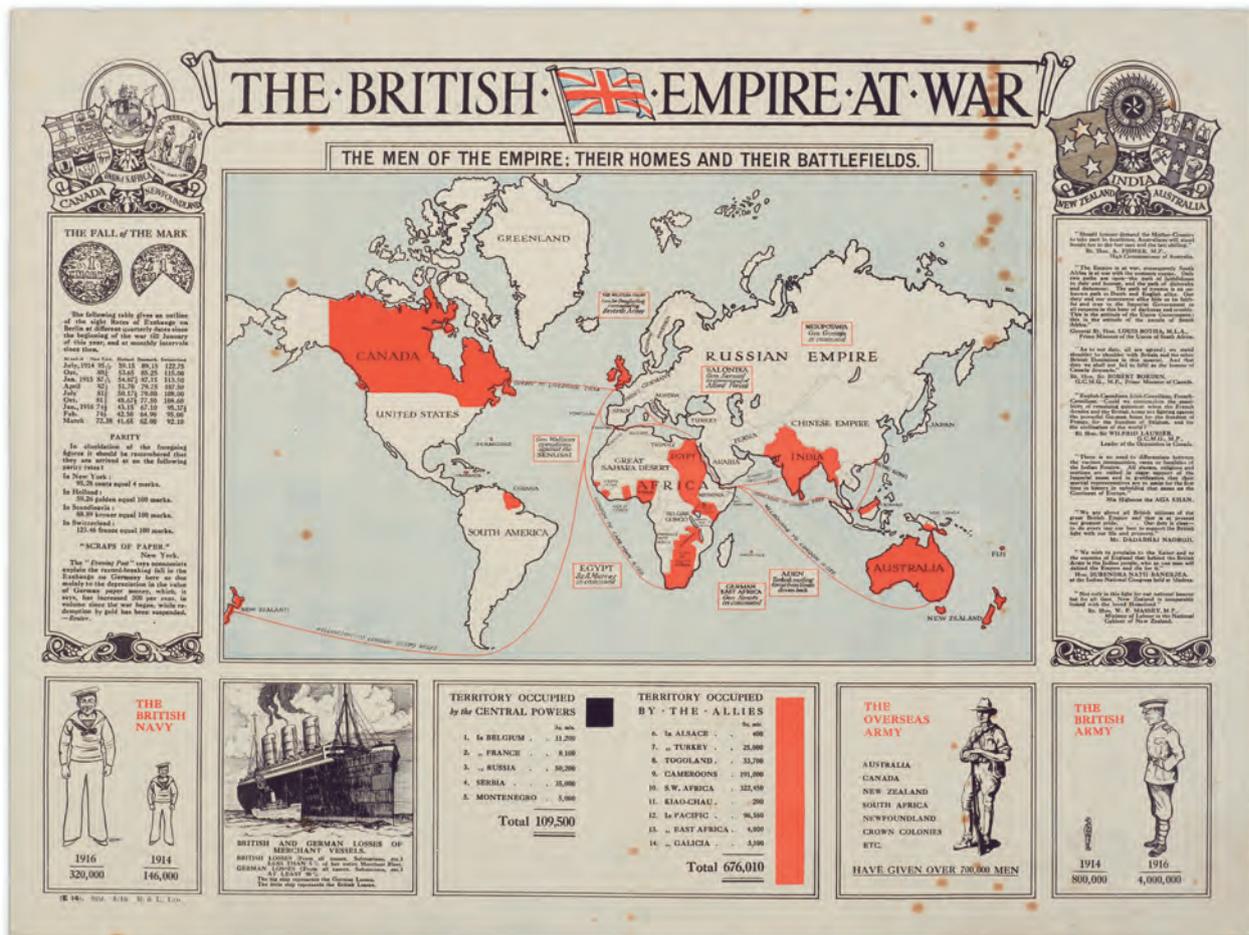


Fig. 11 Poster, 'The British Empire at War', 1916 (printed by Roberts & Leete Ltd, United Kingdom. Printed paper, 382 × 505 mm. Gift of Department of Defence, 1919. GH016657, Te Papa).

by the war, with many of its employees on active service, and paper shortages and antiquated equipment to contend with (Glue 1966: 99).⁷

Importation of British print culture also suggests that the New Zealand government relied on British posters to do the emotional and psychological work of recruitment, thereby acknowledging the shared imperial visual and textual languages of duty, courage and sacrifice prevalent across the empire at the time. The New Zealand government printed its own posters only when it needed to address local and specific concerns, such as the introduction of conscription and the raising of war loans (e.g. Figs 9, 10). These concerns were based on legislation or government policy and therefore did not require pictorial content, or the techniques of advertising, to persuade the viewer.

New Zealand also belonged to trans-Tasman cultural, political and economic networks, which saw Australian war posters being imported by the New Zealand government to

help stimulate recruitment. For example, in March 1916 the New Zealand Recruiting Board purchased 100 copies of each of the 'eleven best designs' from the Victoria State Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, which were then distributed throughout New Zealand for display in March and April 1916 by local recruiting committees (Massey to Robinson, 6 March 1916; Gray to Secretaries of Recruiting Committees, April 1916) (see Fig. 1 for an example of such a poster on display).

New Zealand's reliance on war posters from Britain and Australia is not surprising considering the political, cultural, social and economic ties of empire at that time (McKinnon 1993: 237). New Zealanders saw themselves as imperial subjects, sharing an empire-wide culture. A separate sense of identity had been growing in New Zealand, but it coexisted with support for the empire (McIntyre 1992: 343). This support was unwavering during the war, both materially and intellectually.



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

Fig. 12 Poster, 'The Empire Needs Men!' [also known as the 'Lion' poster], 1915 (by Arthur Wardle (1864–1949, England); printed by Straker Brothers Ltd; published by Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, United Kingdom. Chromolithograph on paper, mounted on board and varnished, 762 × 503 mm. Gift of Department of Defence, 1919. GH016383, Te Papa). The 'Lion' poster was originally printed without the list of countries (with 'The Overseas States all answer the call' instead). It was modified for far-flung parts of the British Empire, and a large supply was printed by the New Zealand government and distributed throughout the country to encourage recruiting (Allen to Mackenzie, 25 May 1916, 12 May 1919; Andrews to Australian War Museum, 15 January 1920; Anonymous 1915b). It was also slightly reworked locally by the *New Zealand Herald*, demonstrating the flexibility of such propaganda (Fig. 13).

Fig. 13 Poster, 'The Empire Needs Men!' 1915 (original design by Arthur Wardle, United Kingdom; redesigned and printed by the *New Zealand Herald*, Auckland. Letterpress and offset print on paper, 764 × 505 mm. AD 1 9/169/2/1 SEP 598, Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

From the 1890s, through the First World War and the years afterwards, values of imperialism, militarism, monarchism and patriotism were instinctive and widespread in New Zealand society. They were transmitted through, and reinforced by, the press, literature, popular culture (including the theatre and cinema), education, imperial exhibitions, patriotic associations, and through such activities as compulsory military training for boys and young men (MacKenzie 1984: 11; Baker 1988: 11; McIntyre 1992: 343; Belich 2001: 104; Aulich & Hewitt 2007: 36). British war posters drew upon and reinforced these values, employing shared languages of imperial rhetoric and imagery. Therefore, British posters were New Zealand's posters – officially everyone was part of the same empire, sharing its values and symbols, and participating in the same causes.

This mutual relationship was expressed in several British war posters, which included New Zealand as a key part of the empire's war efforts. The 1916 poster 'The British Empire at War' (Fig. 11) indicated the importance of New Zealand's contribution to the war, and would have reminded British viewers of the depth of loyalty and support being made by countries of the empire, and thereby, the usefulness of empire (Fogarty 2009: 174). The poster includes an emotional quote from New Zealand's Prime Minister William Massey, illustrating his deep loyalty to the British Empire: 'Not only in this fight for our national honour but for all time, New Zealand is inseparably linked with the loved Homeland.'

The most evocative poster illustrating the relationship between New Zealand, Britain and the empire is known as

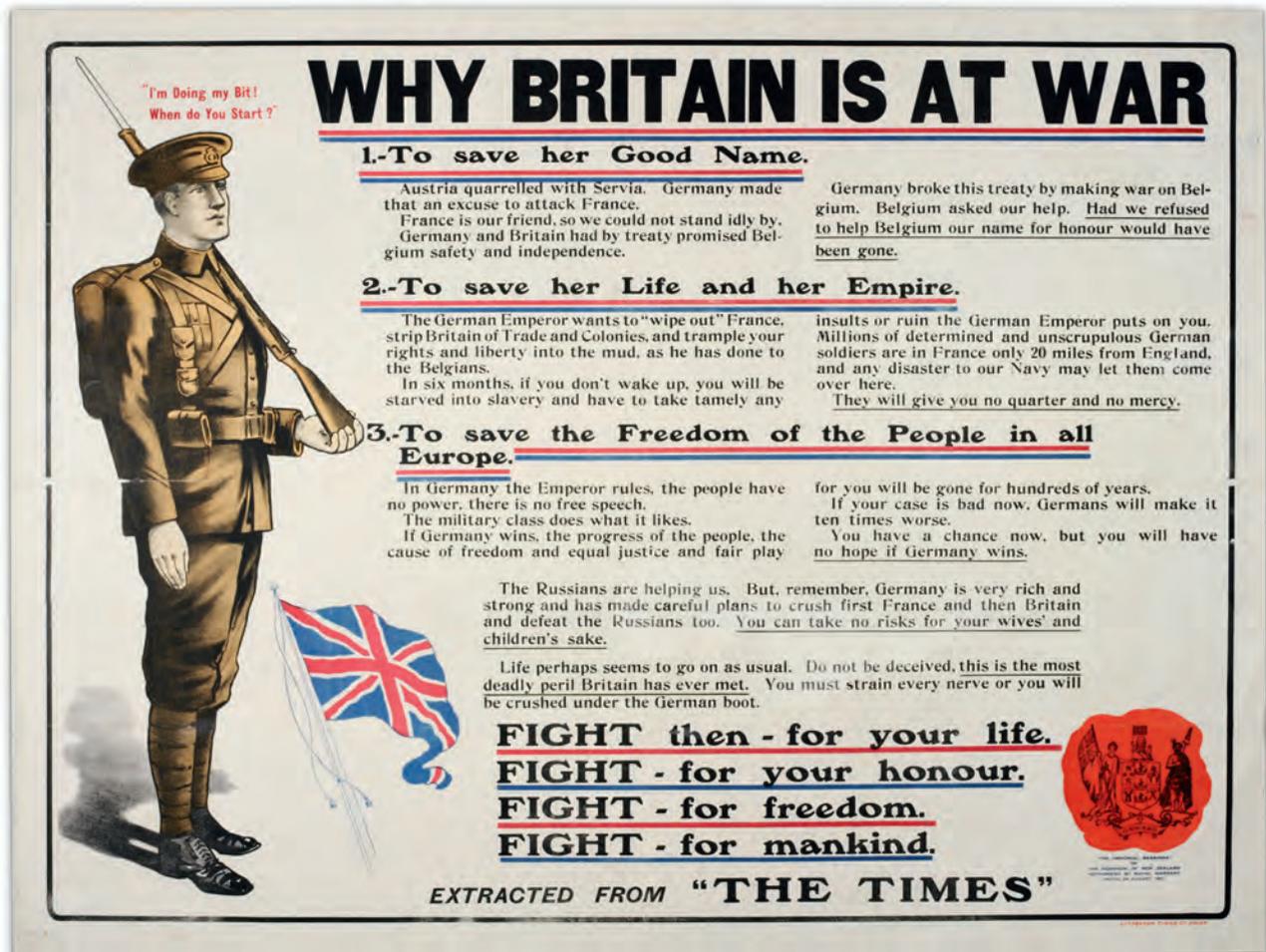


Fig. 14 Poster, 'Why Britain is at War', 1915 (printed by Lyttelton Times Company, Christchurch. Letterpress and lithograph on paper, 765 × 1010 mm. AD 1 917 44/235 SEP 412, Archives New Zealand). This poster is based on a British poster published in December 1914 (IWM PST 0948, Imperial War Museum, United Kingdom). It is notable for its large size and colour image, contrasting with New Zealand's smaller, text-only official posters of the same period.

the 'Lion' poster, and was widely seen in New Zealand from mid-1915 (Figs 12, 13). In this image, the young lion cubs (Australia, Canada, India and New Zealand) do not rebel against the 'Old Lion' (Britain) but take their place by their father's side (McKinnon 1993: 239).

The relationship was also expressed publicly by individuals. Businessman Frederick Ferriman was an enthusiastic supporter of various war efforts and fundraising. He instigated the production of a New Zealand version of a British poster (Fig. 14). The text for the poster was extracted from *The Times* newspaper in Britain, but was printed locally by the Lyttelton Times Company and distributed in Christchurch and 'other parts of the South Island with a view of stimulating recruiting' (Ferriman to Allen, 15 December 1915). Ferriman sent a copy of the poster to the

Minister of Defence, who declared it to be 'excellent' (Allen to Ferriman, 22 December 1915).

Collecting war posters

A poster ... is by its nature a creation of the moment ... In its brief existence the poster is battered by the rain or faded by the sun, then pasted over with another message more urgent still. (Hardie & Sabin 1920: 4)

War posters achieved their initial meaning in public spaces at particularly intense moments of time. Few have survived because posters are essentially ephemeral – they are intended for short-term display to meet particular time-based needs. They are either pasted over or scraped off. Posters that last longer risk fading and degradation from exposure to the



Fig. 15 A man stands in front of a slightly dilapidated 'Help to Win the War!' poster in late November 1916. The poster would have been pasted onto the window at least three months earlier, when it was issued. This photograph is rare visual evidence of an official New Zealand poster on display, and shows how tenacious a seemingly vulnerable piece of paper can be (photo: *New Zealand Observer* (25 November 1916, p. 19); reproduced courtesy of Auckland City Libraries).

elements (Fig. 15). The very materiality of posters puts them at risk, as they can be recycled for other purposes. This ephemerality prompted proactive collecting strategies. When the Imperial War Museum was established in London in 1917, it soon sought out war material from India and the dominions (including New Zealand), particularly posters and proclamations dealing with recruitment and war loans. 'It is important to collect such material as soon as possible as Posters and leaflets disappear very soon after the reason for their existence ceases to be of importance. This is specially the case with Recruiting Posters' (Lascelles to Mackenzie, 23 January 1918).

Many of the other nations involved in the First World War established specific war museums and/or collections

either during or after the conflict. Individuals and public institutions – including museums, archives and the armed forces – actively collected the material culture of war, from posters to 'war trophies' such as guns. Collecting for war museums in this way was both a commemorative act to show the 'stupendous character' of the conflict and each nation's efforts, and a patriotic act as the material often became the basis for important national collections (Winter 1995: 80).

Like war trophies and other objects of warfare, posters were considered significant as markers of imperial war effort, achievement and victory. They were seen as records of the part played by each nation. At the very least, they could illustrate some of the most important aspects of war, such as recruitment and fundraising (Anonymous 1919c). However, unlike the hardware of war, the visual and textual nature of posters could be a reminder of the 'sentiments and emotions of the war years' (Anonymous 1921b). They acted as a window on the past – how people remembered or imagined the war – even though their meanings were far from the realities of actual warfare (James 2009: 32).

Collecting war posters at the Dominion Museum

From 1917, the Dominion Museum began collecting war material with assistance from the New Zealand High Commissioner in London, and from the Department of Defence, mainly through its New Zealand War Records Section in London. The War Records Section was established in 1917 to gather posters, pamphlets, war literature, diaries, war trophies, maps, photographs, pictures, uniforms and medals in anticipation of the establishment of a war museum in New Zealand (Anonymous, 16 December 1918).

The Dominion Museum's aim was to develop a collection 'illustrating the history of New Zealand's part in the present war', which it elevated to the 'Great War' in 1918 (Dominion Museum 1917: 3; 1918: 2). The director of the museum, James Thomson, hoped for a new building to house and display the large amount of material being collected.⁸ Such a facility was to be similar to the newly established British Imperial War Museum, which aimed 'to record for all time the valour of the Empire's fighting services, the sacrifices of the Empire's peoples' (Dominion Museum 1919: 1). The press concurred with the desire for an appropriate war memorial, which could take the form of a museum to 'record to us and to our children what New

Zealand citizens, called to arms in the cause of liberty and justice, could suffer and achieve'. Such a museum would 'illustrate every phase of the great struggle'. War posters would play a role by illustrating recruitment and fundraising campaigns (Anonymous 1919c).

Concerns about how the war should be commemorated for New Zealanders and a sense of the exceptional historical significance of the 'Great War' were major driving forces in the Dominion Museum's collecting:

The Great European War of 1914–1918 is one of the most important events of all history, and as such calls for some material representation by which the children of this, and future generations may adequately picture what the war was and meant. Not only so, but it was one of the most important events in New Zealand history, and we would fail in our duty to posterity if we did not attempt to preserve the fullest knowledge of what part New Zealand and New Zealanders took in it ... For the non-reading public a war museum will furnish the best way of envisaging the war and what it has meant. (Thomson (attrib.) to Allen and Russell, July 1919)

During this period of discussion, First World War posters were given to the Dominion Museum by private collectors and government departments, including the Department of Defence and the Department of Internal Affairs. In April 1918, the Department of Defence gave a parcel of 'British War literature', including posters, to the Dominion Museum (Dominion Museum 1909–1966: 38). At the same time, a parcel of French war material, including posters, was received, purchased through the New Zealand High Commissioner in London, Sir Thomas Mackenzie (Dominion Museum 1909–1966: 38).⁹ In February 1919, the Dominion Museum received a parcel of over a hundred British and American war posters from the High Commissioner (Thomson to Hislop, 19 February 1919). This parcel contained British and American food economy posters, American recruiting posters and coal economy literature collected by the War Records Section in London (e.g. Figs 6, 7).

In July 1919, the museum received gifts of Canadian and American war posters from two Wellington donors (Dominion Museum 1909–1966: 79). In his acknowledgement letters, Thomson noted that about 200 British, American and Canadian posters had been received, and that he hoped to exhibit them 'at an early date' (Thomson to Holmes and Von Haast, 14 July 1919). Thomson made no distinction between the different nations' posters, reinforcing the notion of shared visual and textual languages across the empire and its allies.

Later in July 1919, the Dominion Museum provided a 'rough' list of its war-related material to the New Zealand Military Forces, which included American and French war posters (Thomson to Richardson, 30 July 1919).¹⁰ The day after the museum provided the list, and possibly prompted by the omission of New Zealand-made posters in its collection, Thomson asked the Department of Internal Affairs for 'as complete a collection as possible of posters used in New Zealand in connection with Recruiting, Military Service, and War Loans, as well as those used for patriotic purposes' for the proposed war museum. He recommended that posters and notices be sought from the Government Statistician, Treasury Department and the Post and Telegraph Department (Thomson to Hislop, 31 July 1919). This request was duly carried out, and posters and other ephemera from all three departments arrived at the Dominion Museum during September 1919 (Dominion Museum 1909–1966: 88, 92). None of these official New Zealand posters now remains in Te Papa's collections. They were possibly part of the transfer of war literature and propaganda to the newly established Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington in August 1920.¹¹

Ultimately, a national war museum was not established in New Zealand, and many of the military objects stored either at Trentham Military Camp in the Hutt Valley or at the Dominion Museum were eventually distributed to museums and city councils around the country. The Dominion Museum kept only international posters, mainly from the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada, and these remain in Te Papa's collection today.¹² Ironically, Te Papa holds only four privately produced New Zealand-made war posters and their provenance is unknown.

War posters as aesthetic objects

Exhibitions of war posters were held both during the First World War and afterwards, for example in London, Berlin and New York (Darracott & Loftus 1972: 7).¹³ Most of the warring nations were interested in the degree of success achieved by propaganda posters in terms of design and message, and there was great interest in the artistic merits of each nation's posters. This interest was part of a continuum of study into poster art and design from before the war. Exhibitions of war posters continued to be held after the war and continued to engage audiences even though their original functions and meanings had passed.¹⁴

The aesthetic and comparative approach appears to be in tune with how New Zealand audiences understood war

posters. For example, on their arrival in 1919, the majority of Te Papa's posters caused a stir in the press when acting director James McDonald showed the collection to journalists from the *Evening Post* and *New Zealand Times* newspapers (Anonymous 1919a,b). The *Evening Post* reported at length on the differences between the British and American posters, favouring the American ones as having a 'snap and freshness that are generally lacking in the English poster' (Anonymous 1919a). The *Post* also considered American posters 'of distinct educational value as to what may be achieved in the direction of poster appeals' (Anonymous 1919a). The favouring of American posters was not surprising given that poster production and advertising were far more technologically advanced and sophisticated in the United States than in Europe during this period (Kazecki & Lieblang 2009: 111).

In terms of subject matter, war posters were seen as educational and colourful exhibits for conveying the main themes and issues of the war, which in the case of the Dominion Museum were considered to be recruitment, military service, war loans and patriotism (Thomson to Hislop, 31 July 1919). Whether or not the content of the posters was ever true to the experience of the home front or actual warfare appears not to have been a subject for debate.

Exhibiting war posters

War had become crucial to New Zealand identity in the 1920s, and was publicly expressed through the legislating of Anzac Day as a formal day of remembrance in 1921, huge attendances at Anzac Day parades, and the building of hundreds of war memorials throughout the country (Phillips 2000: 349; Worthly 2002; Anonymous 2007).

These types of commemoration may account for Thomson observing in 1920 that there was 'little public interest' in the large military war trophies such as trench mortars. He proposed storing the larger objects at Trentham Military Camp to free up space at the Dominion Museum, which he was able to achieve later that year. In the meantime, he proposed exhibiting the war posters instead (Thomson to Richardson, 18 June 1920; Anonymous 1920).

In March 1921, the Defence League held a 'citizen soldiers' carnival' in Wellington (Anonymous 1921a). The carnival was a success and prompted the Department of Defence to tour an exhibition of 'war trophies and wounded soldiers' work' around the country (Richardson to Minister of Defence, 23 March 1921). The Dominion Museum

offered 100 framed British, American, Canadian and French war posters to the Defence Department for inclusion in the exhibition (Hislop to Richardson, 5 July 1921; Hislop to McDonald, 20 July 1921).

The posters were mounted on wood-pulp board or strawboard, varnished for protection, and then framed in wood. The posters were varnished for at least two reasons. First, glazing was expensive and ephemera such as posters would not have justified such expense. Second, the risk of breakage while transporting glazed works by rail and steamer was considered too great, as had been proven by earlier experiences (Hislop to Richardson, 5 July 1921).

The posters began their tour with a 10-day display at the Dominion Museum in August 1921, which was advertised as a 'Special Exhibition of British, American, and Canadian War Posters' (Anonymous 1921c). It is difficult to measure the effectiveness of war posters at their time of posting, but the enthusiastic reception of this exhibition by the press indicates that First World War posters still had currency and meaning in the years immediately following the war:

A very interesting exhibit of war posters is on view at the Dominion Museum at the present time. It forms a part of the National War Collection, and presently it is to be added to the exhibition of war trophies now visiting various centres in New Zealand ... They include many striking designs and some attractive examples of the printer's art ... Some of them are the work of well-known artists, who gave of their best in national causes. They range from the grim to the gay, and are of historic value as recording the sentiments and emotions of war years ... The collection is bound to interest very many people. (Anonymous 1921c)

After the exhibition at the Dominion Museum, the framed posters were added to the touring exhibition about halfway through its itinerary. From April to December 1921, the exhibition spent about a week in each venue throughout the lower half of the North Island (Wanganui, Napier, Hastings, Masterton, Palmerston North, New Plymouth, Stratford, Hawera, Taihape, Feilding, Levin) (Various 1921–1922). Auckland declined to be involved, as its War Memorial Committee aimed to display its own material (Potter to Defence Headquarters, 7 May 1921).

The touring exhibition was met with varying degrees of public enthusiasm and local authority support (Various 1921–1922). Overall, it was considered 'every way successful', particularly in Hawera and Hastings, and particularly in terms of educational value to both adults and children (Central Military Command to Defence Headquarters,

15 March 1922). The war posters are not mentioned in reports on the exhibition, but were possibly among the ‘attractions which absorbed’ visitors for ‘considerable periods’. ‘It is plainly evident these war mementos, each of which carries a history which anyone with an imagination can weave around, have become a consuming attraction’ (Central Military Command to Defence Headquarters, 5 September 1921).

The exhibition then began to tour the South Island. However, declining public interest was identified at the Christchurch and Kaiapoi displays in December 1921, and the rest of the tour was cancelled, with the objects being returned to Wellington (Southern Command to Defence Headquarters, 14 December 1921).

From 1922 to 1924, the mounted war posters received a new lease of life in the context of two trade exhibitions. The Dominion Museum sent 101 mounted war posters to Christchurch for an ‘Art and the War Section’ of the Dominion Industrial Exhibition held from November 1922 to January 1923, along with war art, war photographs, portraits of notable servicemen and war memorial designs (Anonymous 1922b). In this context, the posters were far removed from war and commemoration, and were diffused by being scattered throughout the exhibition. Nevertheless, they made an impact on the press:

Perhaps the most interesting of exhibits not manufactured in New Zealand, are the posters used in various countries during the war. These adorn the walls in various parts of the building, and some of them are fine examples of art. The best painters of the various countries lent their skill in the cause of recruiting, and the posters ... are very striking. (Anonymous 1922a)

In late 1923, the Dominion Museum sent eight cases of the mounted war posters (along with war memorial designs and photographs) to Hokitika Museum for the British and Intercolonial Exhibition held from 15 December 1923 to 2 February 1924 to commemorate the completion of Arthur’s Pass Tunnel and to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of the Province of Westland (Evans to Thomson, 15 February 1924). The posters were presented as ‘Government War Posters and Pictures’ (British and Intercolonial Exhibition 1923: 207). This exhibition appears to be the last time that the mounted war posters were sent out for display. Possibly the success of Anzac Day in commemorating the war, and the building of permanent and personalised war memorials throughout the country, lessened the need for temporary displays of wartime artefacts such as posters.



Fig. 16



Fig. 17

Fig. 16 Poster, ‘Serve Your Country By Saving Money’, 1918 (by Reinhold Palenske (1884–1954, United States); published by United States government. Lithograph and block print on paper, mounted on strawboard and varnished, 738 × 534 mm. Gift of Department of Defence, 1919. GH016656, Te Papa).

Fig. 17 The remains of framing nails are still embedded into the backing board of this particular poster (GH016656, Te Papa).

Conclusion

Posters are ephemeral objects, intended for temporary public lives. But no matter how ephemeral, some First World War posters survived through the efforts of individuals and institutions such as the Dominion Museum, now Te Papa.

A recent assessment project has identified that 40 of the original 100 mounted war posters remain in Te Papa’s

collections but no longer have their frames. The remaining 60 may have been damaged in transit, destroyed, taken as souvenirs or given to other institutions. The mounted posters show much wear and tear. The varnished glazing has yellowed over time, with drips and brush hairs visible. Rusty remains of nails are embedded into the backing boards. Dirty edges show evidence of where the frames once touched the posters (Figs 16, 17).

Te Papa's collection of First World War posters provides an interesting case study on imperial networks and transnational consumption of print and visual culture during and immediately after the war. The New Zealand government printed its own posters only when absolutely required, and generally relied on the importation of colourful and dramatic British and Australian posters to encourage recruitment. Long-standing transnational networks and shared imperial ideology made the acceptance of overseas posters possible within a New Zealand context.

Until at least the early 1920s, war posters were significant as markers of imperial war effort, achievement and victory, and appeared to hold sentimental and emotional value for audiences. The details of the collection of the posters at the Dominion Museum, their display around the country and their reception in press reports at the time demonstrate that New Zealand society continued to engage positively with such objects in the years immediately following the war, even though their original functions had long passed.

Back in 1917, the original driving force had been to build a collection worthy of a national war museum. Such a museum was not achieved, but the collection of international First World War posters remains at Te Papa, providing a window onto the war and how people remembered and imagined it – a process still continuing today.

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Notes

- 1 This paper is part of a larger research project into the creation, display, circulation and reception of First World War posters in New Zealand. The dating of the First World War from 1914 to 1919 is based on the official end of the war in June 1919, when the Treaty of Versailles was signed.
- 2 The United States of America printed more than 20 million copies of around 2500 poster designs – this was more than all the warring nations combined (Rawls 1988: 12). The British Parliamentary Recruitment Committee produced 12.5 million copies of 164 poster designs (Aulich & Hewitt 2007: 36).
- 3 For example, *The Colonist* reported that 'an American recruiting poster now on view in Dunedin, is attracting much attention' (Anonymous 1917). 'Two very interesting American recruiting posters' were displayed in a Wellington pharmacy (Anonymous 1918). These examples suggest that private individuals may have sourced war posters from overseas as part of their personal war efforts.
- 4 One interesting comment can be found in an Imperial War Museum exhibition catalogue, which observed that Auckland's recruiting station represented 'the slickness of New Zealand poster display' as opposed to messy, crowded British displays (Darracott & Loftus 1972: 72) (Fig. 1).
- 5 Ellen Ellis features one First World War poster in *The New Zealand poster book* (1977: iv and 30). She notes the paucity of New Zealand-produced posters and the reliance on British posters. Hamish Thompson's *Paste up: a century of New Zealand poster art* (2003: 48) features three posters, very briefly focusing on their design. The author's work on Second World War posters briefly compares the posters of the two world wars (Gibson 2008: 14).
- 6 If New Zealand's posters had been seen, they may have been considered 'mediocre' as they were predominantly letterpress printed and generally lacked pictorial content (Hardie & Sabin 1920: 36).

- 7 This is in contrast to other British dominions such as Australia, Canada and South Africa, which printed many of their own striking posters featuring non-British imagery and vernacular language, regardless of imported posters. The author has not yet uncovered documentation on the government's decision to rely mainly on British and Australian recruitment posters.
- 8 Thomson had hoped for a new museum building since before the war. The Dominion Museum building was inadequate, decaying, overcrowded, unattractive to visitors and unable to meet the functions of a museum. The large incoming collections of war material at the end of the war, and their national significance, provided Thomson with compelling calls for change (Dominion Museum 1919: 1).
- 9 It appears that most of the contents of these two parcels were transferred to the newly established Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington in August 1920 to await the establishment of a 'War Museum Library' as part of the proposed war museum (Dominion Museum 1909–1966; McDonald to Hanna, 30 January 1922). However, a few British posters remain in Te Papa's collection from this period. A spare copy of one of these posters was transferred to Auckland Museum and is stamped 'Dominion Museum, 10 Jul 1918' (GH016636, Te Papa; PW1 (55), Auckland War Memorial Museum).
- 10 None of these French and Australian posters now exists in Te Papa's collection, and their subsequent history is currently unknown. The 'rough' list does not mention the British and Canadian war posters held by the museum. This lack of item-level accuracy is typical of how museums treated ephemera such as posters during this period. In the Dominion Museum's first history register (known as the F-GH Register), posters were grouped loosely by parcels and packets, and described by country of origin and broadly by type. It is almost impossible to know which organisation or individual gave which posters. The following posters and their dates of receipt were noted by the Dominion Museum in the History Department's F-GH Register:
- April 1918 (F.716). 'Parcel of French Pamphlets ... relating to the German occupation of Belgium together with several cartoons and other Posters, purchased through High Commissioner' (transferred to Alexander Turnbull Library, 28 August 1920) (Dominion Museum 1909–1966: 38).
 - April 1918 (F.717). 'Parcel of British War literature comprising ... Posters ... Presented by Col. Gibbons' (transferred to Alexander Turnbull Library, 28 August 1920) (Dominion Museum 1909–1966: 38).
 - June 1919 (F.1263). '15 U.S.A. War Posters presented by Miss K. Holmes' (Dominion Museum 1909–1966: 79).
 - September 1919 (F.1378). 'New Zealand War Loan Posters and Sundry [War Loan] Notices. Presented by Internal Affairs' (Dominion Museum 1909–1966: 88).
 - September 1919 (F.1379). 'Sundry Notices, Forms, Etc used in connection with Enrolment of the N.Z. Expeditionary Forces and Reinforcements. Presented by the Govt. Statistician' (Dominion Museum 1909–1966: 88; Fraser to Hislop, 29 August 1919).
 - September 1919 (F.1386). '24 American War Posters, from Prime Minister's Office' (Dominion Museum 1909–1966: 89).
 - 24 September 1919 (F.1428). '1 Pcl. War Loan Posters & Postal Notices re Correspondence N.Z.E.F.' from the General Post Office via Department of Internal Affairs (Dominion Museum 1909–1966: 92; Morris to Hislop, 18 September 1919).
- Missing from the F-GH Register are the large consignment of posters from the High Commissioner in London in early 1919 (Mackenzie to Massey, November 1918), and the gift of Canadian war posters from Mr K.F. Von Haast, solicitor of Wellington, in July 1919.
- 11 They could be what was referred to in the *Turnbull Library Record* as 'some propaganda dross of the war' (Bagnell 1970: 100).
- 12 The posters can now be accessed on Te Papa's Collections Online database (<http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz>).
- 13 New Zealand's war posters were seen at least once in London, when the High Commissioner displayed the government's posters alongside examples from other Dominions as 'part of a vigorous recruiting campaign' (Gray to Defence Headquarters, 25 August 1916; Anonymous 1916).
- 14 For example, a large exhibition titled *War Posters of Many Nations* was held in London in June 1919 (Aulich & Hewitt 2007: 12).

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