# waka kuaka

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# NUKUTAWHITI REDISCOVERED: FINDING THOMAS KENDALL'S 1823 *MARIANNA* CONSIGNMENT OF WHAKAIRO RĀKAU (MĀORI WOOD CARVINGS)

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ABSTRACT: In 1823, the Church Missionary Society missionary Thomas Kendall sent 18 whakairo rākau (Māori wood carvings) in three consignments from the Bay of Islands in Aotearoa New Zealand to the Society's headquarters in London. They were accompanied by his letters that described the whakairo rākau's spiritual meanings and a diagram of one carving, depicting the legendary ancestor Nukutawhiti, based on information supplied by Rangihoua Māori and conflated with Kendall's own Māori origin theories. While the letters and diagram arrived (and later influenced twentieth-century Māori art scholarship), one consignment was lost at sea and a second went missing in Australia. The whereabouts of the third consignment has been a mystery, despite an extensive search by the historian Judith Binney. This article presents new archival, photographic and museum research that rediscovers the third consignment's whakairo rākau by tracking them through countries, collections and conflicts. Reassociating Kendall's narratives with the whakairo rākau extends Binney's analysis of them and their meanings and reunites the Nukutawhiti diagram with the whakairo rākau it depicts. The research also reconnects the whakairo rākau, which have existed without provenance for over 200 years in New Zealand, European and United States museums and collections, with their Ngāpuhi tribal origins.

*Keywords:* Rangihoua, Matauwhi, Nukutawhiti, Thomas Kendall, Church Missionary Society, William Oldman, Horatio Robley, taratara-a-Kae, pātaka

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The current location of dozens of taonga Māori (Māori treasures) collected by the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Aotearoa New Zealand during the early nineteenth century and sent to the Society's London headquarters has been a matter of speculation for over 50 years. This article documents new research undertaken to locate surviving taonga from among 18 despatched to London from the Bay of Islands in three consignments by the CMS missionary Thomas Kendall in 1823 (Kendall 5 April 1823: 189–91; 8 April 1823: 599–600; 3 June 1823: 208–10). These are among the earliest taonga sent offshore by Pākehā (Europeans) resident in the country and likely the first to include descriptions derived from Māori informants. Kendall's consignment lists and information in his letters about the taonga's spiritual purpose and meaning were published by the historian Judith Binney

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in a 1967 article in the *New Zealand Journal of History* and the following year in her acclaimed book *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall* ([1968] 2005). Binney's *New Zealand Journal of History* article "The Lost Drawing of Nukutawhiti", interpreting Kendall's diagram which had been misattributed to another missionary for many years, was published in 1980. All of this published information has since been influential in art historical and ethnological understandings of whakairo rākau (Māori wood carving). While finding that one of the Kendall consignments was lost at sea and another went missing in Australia, Binney was not able to locate the largest consignment, which was thought to have arrived in London, despite extensive research (Binney 1980: 21; [1968] 2005: 158, n38). This has frustrated attempts to associate Kendall's sometimes complex and ambiguous descriptions with the types of taonga under discussion, and understand what he was trying to communicate about taonga Māori and Māori spirituality (Binney 1980: 21). Documents recently made public have shed new light on the movements of these taonga through time, collections, conflicts and many countries. By reconstructing these journeys it is finally possible to identify the current locations of most of the "lost" consignment's items.

## CMS COLLECTING OF TAONGA MĀORI

The earliest taonga Māori to arrive at the CMS in London were sent via Parramatta, New South Wales, Australia, and pre-date the December 1814 establishment of the first CMS mission station at Hohi in Rangihoua, a bay in the western Bay of Islands. In June 1813, the Reverend Samuel Marsden, the CMS's Australia-based agent and driving force behind the CMS mission to New Zealand, dispatched from his Parramatta home "a fishing Net, and a Spear [presumably a taiaha (fighting staff with a blade-like end)] and Club" that he had received as a shipment from the rangatira (chief) Ruatara of Rangihoua (Marsden 1813). Only the net was received by the Society (Pratt 1814). Kendall, in September the following year, sent "various curiosities which I collected at New Zealand & which are contained in the Package you will be so kind as to forward to my friends" (Kendall 1814). A wooden self-portrait bust carved at Parramatta by the visiting Ngāpuhi rangatira Hongi Hika at the request of the Reverend Samuel Marsden in October 1814 caused so much excitement on its arrival and display in London that the CMS secretary, Josiah Pratt, asked for "every portable and curious to be collected, and sent to us as we are forming a Museum" (Marsden 1814; Pratt 1815).[1] After settling in New Zealand, Kendall and other Bay of Islands–based missionaries regularly sent quantities—sometimes specified in number and sometimes not—of small, portable items like weapons, pendants, musical instruments, cloaks, dressed harakeke (*Phormium tenax*) and sample handwriting books to "friends" (likely patrons and supporters), other members of the CMS in the United Kingdom and the Society.[2]

Aside from the handwriting samples collected from Māori pupils in the CMS mission school, these items were procured through exchange with local Māori. Māori had their reasons for providing taonga to missionaries. Exchanges of food and important and personal taonga like weapons, cloaks and personal adornments were a means of creating relationships. In return, CMS missionaries gave iron, blankets and eventually muskets as a conversion and survival tactic, to create material "wants" among Māori (Binney 1969: 144–46, 152). Yet, none of the taonga received by the missionaries up to 1823 were likely surrendered through the abandonment of Māori spiritual beliefs in favour of Christianity, as it was 15 years before the CMS in New Zealand secured its first convert (Lineham 2018). The listings of consignments in mission letters are generally short descriptions of purpose. However, by 1819 Pratt was keen to know more, asking the missionaries for information associated with the taonga that might explain "native superstitions" (Pratt 4 June 1819, 20 July 1819).

## THE KENDALL CONSIGNMENTS

Kendall was among the first three CMS missionaries to establish the mission at Rangihoua, which was also the first organised European settlement in New Zealand. Here, the missionaries and their families experienced a precarious existence, being physically distant from, and sometimes underresourced by, Marsden in Parramatta and the CMS headquarters in London. They were, therefore, dependent on food and protection from a succession of local rangatira, including Hongi. In 1820, Kendall travelled with Hongi and another Ngāpuhi companion, Waikato, to the United Kingdom, where the two rangatira worked with the University of Cambridge linguist Samuel Lee on the transcription of te reo Māori (Māori language) and met King George IV. The King gave Hongi gifts that he traded in New South Wales for hundreds of muskets, which were later used to attack iwi (tribes) further south (Binney [1968] 2005: 78; Middleton 2008: 66; Salmond 2017: 148). But in August 1823, Kendall received news that he had been dismissed from the CMS, which objected to his own trading of muskets with Māori; Kendall had previously defended arms dealing as necessary for the mission's survival, as muskets were the main commodity Māori now wanted in exchange for their goods and services (Binney [1968] 2005: 88, 93–95).

In the months leading up to his dismissal, Kendall thought he could redeem his reputation and retain his position in the mission if he was able to explain the Māori spiritual world to the CMS in London through his letters, using the taonga he collected at the Bay of Islands and sent to the Society as visual aids (Binney [1968] 2005: 127). He believed his knowledge of Māori language, spirituality and customs obtained through his engagement with the community had given him insight into the "language, idolatry, theology, mythology, traditions of the New Zealanders [Māori]" (Kendall 11 April

1823: 202). These aspects of Māori culture, he argued, were "inseparably blended together and if I am correct in my judgement to study their ideas is to study the science of metaphysics from nature itself" (p. 202). The purpose of the taonga he sent was to demonstrate the metaphysics of the Māori world as it was "cut out [of wood] for the purpose of commemorating, preserving and handing down the traditions of their forefathers to posterity" (p. 201). Kendall's project was an attempt to communicate across cultures, one that complemented his work on facilitating te reo Māori transcription.

This work came at considerable psychological, personal and professional cost to Kendall, who increasingly found himself torn between two worlds. After gaining the confidence of the Rangihoua tohunga (spiritual leader) Te Rakau, and while married to Jane Kendall, he had a brief relationship with Te Rakau's daughter Tungaroa in the early 1820s. Unable to continue living in the mission station, Kendall and Tungaroa moved from Rangihoua to nearby Kaihiki in March 1822 (Binney [1968] 2005: 103). The missionary kept moving, alone, over the following months: first further north to Whangaroa and then west to the Hokianga; later in the year, he moved between Kaihiki and Rangihoua before reconciling with his wife and settling under the protection of the rangatira Pomare in the eastern Bay of Islands at Matauwhi, near Kororāreka, in February 1823. Kendall reportedly said that he had cohabitated with Tungaroa "in order to obtain accurate information as to their [Māori] religious opinions and tenets, which he would in no other way have obtained" (Thomas Brisbane to Josiah Pratt 29 April 1823, in Binney [1968] 2005: 127). In addition to Tungaroa, Binney proposed Te Rakau and Tungaroa's brother Wharepoaka as other principal informants that Kendall consulted on Māori spirituality (Binney [1968] 2005: 106). His circle of engagement was probably much wider, however, as Kendall wrote that "some of the native children who are not more than six of seven years of age can explain to me with ease … the mysteries of their own system" (Kendall 9 April 1823: 612). He explained his understanding of Māori spirituality and its representation in whakairo rākau in a series of letters listing and describing the three taonga consignments between 1823 and 1824.[3] This information became entangled in his letters with his own conviction that Māori were descended from Ham's sons and their spirituality had an Egyptian origin, which he attempted to interpret using theories of Pythagoras gleaned from an 18-volume, 1797 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in his possession (Binney 2005: 133, 137, 158 n49).

Three consignments of 18 taonga were sent from the Bay of Islands to the CMS in London in 1823. Six taonga in one consignment were lost at sea with the sinking of the *Mariner* in April 1823.[4] Four, sent separately in April 1823, were received on route to London in Sydney by Marsden's curate, Thomas Hassall, were retained in anticipation of Marsden's return from New Zealand and have since disappeared.[5] The final consignment of

eight arrived in England in June 1823 on the *Marianna* (Binney [1968] 2005: 158 n38). After his dismissal from the CMS, Kendall became a clergyman for the British consulate in Valparaíso, Chile, in 1825 and two years later moved to New South Wales and started farming, only to drown in 1832 when a ship on which he was travelling sank (Binney 1990).

What became of the eight taonga sent on the *Marianna*? After looking for them, in 1968, Binney concluded:

> The CMS are unable to find any record of the carvings, but they state that this does not mean that they were not received. The *Marianna*, which carried the last eight pieces, reached England safely. It is possible that the British Museum may hold some of them, but there are no acquisition records of any carvings from the CMS. (Binney [1968] 2005: 158 n38)

The CMS no longer possessed any taonga Māori that could be related to the early years of the mission at the time of Binney's research. Travelling collection items were not always returned, and patrons and collectors were permitted to remove or possibly purchase taonga for their own collections.[6] The dispersal of the CMS collections coincides with the decline of the New Zealand missions from the 1850s onwards and with competition from other British public museums with stronger collections (Wingfield 2012: 190). The British Museum and the Horniman Museum in London received all remaining CMS material when it was divested in the 1950s and 1960s. But they have little of the original Māori collection, which suggests that most of the taonga Māori had left the CMS collection before this time. An inventory of the CMS Museum collection in 1903, when mission funding was stopped, only lists four remaining taonga Māori, although there is no evidence that the material Kendall sent was ever exhibited at the CMS Museum (CMS n.d.: 111–13).[7]

## REDISCOVERY

A breakthrough in identifying surviving taonga Māori from the CMS collection and (as explained later) Kendall's *Marianna* consignment occurred with the recent rediscovery of a mid-nineteenth-century catalogue showing some of these items (see Table 1). The catalogue (*Musée des missions évangéliques* 1867), acquired by the Getty Research Institute in 1993 and made available online in 2013, illustrates a selection of Indigenous objects shown in the missionary pavilion of the 1867 Exposition universelle d'art et d'industrie in Paris on the Champ de Mars. Missionary organisations working around the world exhibited over 1,500 objects, making it the largest display of Indigenous art in Europe at that time (Vernes 1867). Fifty-four of them were Māori. They included clothing, flax ropes, tools, weapons, fishhooks, body adornments, storehouse carvings, war canoe components,


Figure 1. Taurapa (no. 1), model waka taua (no. 3) and tauihu (no. 6) from the CMS collection illustrated as plate II in the *Musée des missions évangéliques: Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867* catalogue. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (93.R.102).


Figure 2. Kūwaha pātaka (no. 1), poupou (no. 2) and tekoteko (no. 3) from the CMS collection illustrated as plate XI in the *Musée des missions évangéliques: Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867* catalogue. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (93.R.102).

musical instruments and treasure boxes.[8] These taonga were displayed alongside mission and other religious texts in English and te reo Māori. Six taonga Māori are illustrated on two plates of the album (Figs 1 and 2) and all were supplied by the CMS.[9] Using the illustrations as an identification tool, it was possible to identify three of these taonga in current collections: a tauihu (war canoe prow) in the Museum Rietberg, Zürich (Inv.-Nr. RPO 12) and a magnificent kūwaha pātaka (doorway of a raised storehouse) and poupou (wall carving) in Berlin's Ethnologisches Museum (VI 31789 & VI 31790). A taurapa (war canoe sternpost), model waka taua (war canoe) and possible tekoteko (house gable figure) shown in the Paris catalogue could not be located through this process. Records obtained for the three taonga located in museums said nothing of their CMS collection history, although they reveal all three taonga were purchased by the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (the forerunner of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin) from the London-based antiquities dealer William Oldman on 8 May 1911.

Oldman is a legendary figure in ethnological antiquities dealing. Born in 1879, Oldman began collecting when he was 15 years old, amassing the largest private collection of its type owned by a single individual (Waterfield 2006: 65). He stored his inventory in his homes, the first in Brixton and the second in Clapham, which were literally packed to the rafters with Indigenous art from around the world (Roger Neich and Janet Davidson in Oldman 2004: viii). Indeed, photographs taken about 1911 inside his Brixton house show the kūwaha pātaka and poupou from the CMS collection that were exhibited in Paris, the taurapa (which he kept for his own private Māori and wider Polynesian art collection) appearing in a later image of his Clapham home (Hales and Conru 2016: figs 111 & 112 (Brixton); Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, image no. O.027325 (Clapham)). Despite not travelling internationally, apart from one brief trip to mainland Europe, Oldman had an extensive sales network buying from other dealers, auction houses and small collections and selling to museums, universities and collectors around the world. His private collection of taonga Māori was first published in catalogue form by the Polynesian Society in *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts* (Memoir 14, serialised in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* between 1936–1938); then as *Skilled Handwork of the Maori: Being the Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts Illustrated and Described* (1938; reprinted 1946); and again as *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts* (2004) with an introduction by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson. He sold most of his Māori and Polynesian collections to the New Zealand Government for £44,000 in 1948, a year before he passed away (Neich and Davidson in Oldman 2004: xix). These have been widely distributed to metropolitan and regional museums around New Zealand (xxvii).

The taurapa exhibited in Paris remained in his private collection and was listed in the *Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts* catalogue (no. 49) as being from Te Puke in the Bay of Plenty—with no mention of its time in the CMS collection (Oldman 2004: 25, plate 69). Two other taonga in the Oldman catalogue were also attributed to Te Puke: a damaged taurapa now in Tūhura Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand (Oldman catalogue no. 49A; Oldman 2004: 26, plate 70; Tūhura Otago Museum object number O50.037), and a pare (which Oldman calls a "korupe") (door lintel) in Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, New Zealand (Oldman catalogue no. 42; Oldman 2004: 29, plate 84; Canterbury Museum object number E150.594A).

An examination of Oldman's detailed and extensive outward sales registers, currently in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa archives in Wellington, provided his object numbers for the three Paris-exhibited items at their time of sale to the Museum für Völkerkunde (Oldman 1902–1916). While the CMS is not mentioned as an earlier vendor in the sales register, a small label found with others in an envelope kept with registers appears to belong to the taurapa shown by the CMS in Paris (Fig. 3). On one side of the tag is the black pen inscription "[Tau]Rapa—the carved stern of a Māori war canoe from Te Puke Bay of Plenty" with a circled number "49" in blue pen at the top right-hand corner. The other side of the label reads "Ex Missionary Society" in Oldman's handwriting and with a similar blue pen to the number on the verso but different handwriting to the black pen inscription (which is not Kendall or Oldman's handwriting). Since 49 was the catalogue number given by Oldman to the taurapa in *The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts* it could be assumed that he was aware of the CMS connection to at least one of these taonga Māori and had deliberately chosen not to pass this information on to the Museum für Völkerkunde (Schindlbeck 2018: n.p.).

Oldman's inward purchase registers show that the Paris-exhibited tauihu, taurapa, kūwaha pātaka and poupou, the taurapa in Tūhura Otago Museum and the pare in Canterbury Museum, as well as a paepae pātaka (threshold of a raised storehouse) cut in two were sold to him by Horatio Robley on 8 November 1910 (Oldman 1910). Robley had been a colonial soldier, fighting against Māori at Pukehinahina (Gate Pā) in 1864 and fathering a Māori son with Herete Mauao during his two years living in New Zealand (Walker 1985: 4). In the United Kingdom Robley began his Māori collection, which infamously included upoko tuhi (preserved Māori human heads). Since he does not appear to have kept a register of his collecting, it is difficult to know whether Robley or someone else directly acquired some if not all of these taonga from the CMS collection, which he is known to have visited.[10]

Table 1. 1823 *Marianna* consignment's collection history.

| Taonga and dimensions | 1823 Kendall number | 1867 Paris *Exposition universelle* | 8 Nov. 1910 Oldman purchase from Robley | 8 May 1911 Oldman sale register | 1938 *Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts* | Current location |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Poupou<br>h 165 × w 66 × d 10 cm<br>(from Ethnologisches Museum) | 7 [engraved "VII"] | Vernes catalogue no. 1214; illustrated catalogue plate XI no. 2 | No. 23695<br>"Door or Board"<br>£20 | No. 23695<br>"New Zealand Door Board"; sold Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, £66 | | Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, object no. VI 31790 |
| Pare<br>h 53 × w 154 cm<br>(from Oldman cat.) | 8 [engraved "VIII", with "V" currently covered by earlier repair] | | No. 23690<br>"New Zealand Over Door" £10 | "Over Door"; kept for Oldman collection | "House Lintel (korupe)", catalogue no. 42, plate 84 | Canterbury Museum, object no. E150.594A |
| Pare<br>h 34.3 × w 89.2 × d 4.8 cm<br>(from Brooklyn Museum) | 9 [engraved "IX"] | | n/a | n/a | n/a | Sold by Judith A. Small Galleries, New York, on 11 October 1961 to Brooklyn Museum; Brooklyn Museum object no. 61.126 |
| Taurapa<br>h 224 × w (at centre) 43 cm (from Oldman cat.) | 10, attributed | Vernes catalogue no. 1213; plate II no. 1 | No. 23691<br>"New Zealand Stern (Te Puke, Bay of Plenty)" | No. 23691<br>"New Zealand Stern Te Puke, Bay of Plenty"; kept for Oldman collection | "Stern ornament of a war canoe (taurapa)", catalogue no. 49, plate 69 | "Stern", Oldman 1948 catalogue no. 49; not sold at 1950 auction; current location not known (presumed New Zealand) |

| Taonga and dimensions | 1823 Kendall number | 1867 Paris *Exposition universelle* | 8 Nov. 1910 Oldman purchase from Robley | 8 May 1911 Oldman sale register | 1938 *Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts* | Current location |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Taurapa h 196 × w 26 cm (from Oldman cat.) | 11 [engraved "XI"] | | No. 23692 "New Zealand Stern damaged" £10 | No. 23692 "New Zealand Stern damaged"; kept for Oldman collection | "Stern ornament of a war canoe (taurapa)", catalogue no. 49A, plate 69 | Oldman 1948 catalogue no. 49A; current location Tūhura Otago Museum, object no. O50.037 |
| Tauihu h 48 × w 40 × l 130 cm | 12 [engraved "XII"] | Vernes catalogue no. 1213; plate II no. 6 | No. 23693 "New Zealand Canoe Prow" £20 | No. 23693 "New Zealand Prow"; sold Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, £38 10s | | Acquired by Arthur Speyer in 1939; current location Museum Rietberg, Zürich, object no. RPO 12 |
| Paepae pātaka (left piece) h 37 × l 177 × d 10.5 cm (right piece) h 36.5 × l 129 × d 9 cm (from Ethnologisches Museum) | 13 [engraved "XIII"] | | Nos. 23696 & 7 "New Zealand 3 Boards in Front" £20 (£12 one piece, £8 other piece) | Nos. 23696 & 7 "New Zealand Front Board" & "Front Board smaller"; sold Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, £42 10s as one lot | | Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, object nos. VI 31791 and VI 31792 |
| Kūwaha pātaka h 175 × w 61 × d 15 cm (from Ethnologisches Museum) | 14 [engraved "XIV"] | Vernes catalogue no. 1214; plate XI no. 1 | No. 23694 "New Zealand Granery [*sic*] Doorway and piece of leg" £32 (£2 for the leg, assumed £30 for the rest of the taonga) | No. 23694 "New Zealand Granery? [*sic*] Door"; sold Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, £85 | | Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, object no. VI 31789 |

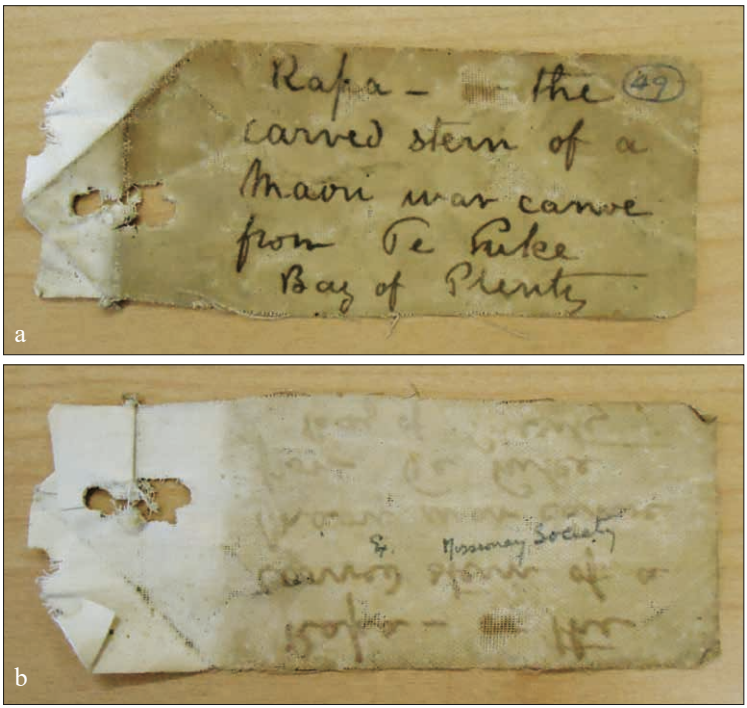


Figure 3. Front (a) and back (b) of label included in Oldman outward sales registers collection at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa archives in Wellington. Label registration number CA000225/001/0007/0001.

The next phase of research sought to establish whether all seven of the taonga sold by Robley to Oldman in 1910 might have come from the CMS collection and if there was a Māori provenance for them. Unlike the small, portable taonga sent offshore by CMS missionaries before 1823, the seven taonga Robley and Oldman were dealing in were sizeable items, likely acquired by missionaries through exchanges of other high-value goods. The only documented large taonga sent to London by a CMS missionary were those sent by Kendall who, in his words, "procured a large assortment of carved work" in 1823 (Kendall 7 April 1823: 594). These taonga had been acquired from Māori when Kendall started trading muskets in the early 1820s, a time that coincides with Ngāpuhi's raids on other tribes during a period of nineteenth-century intertribal conflicts known collectively as the Musket Wars. Binney claimed that Kendall exchanged muskets for these

taonga, although the citation she provides and Kendall's writings about the taonga make no mention of this arms trade (Binney [1968] 2005: 134). Nevertheless, it is conceivable that muskets would have been exchanged, as the taonga Kendall acquired had a high exchange value and guns were in high demand. Each of the items in Kendall's consignments was listed with an Arabic number in the letters that accompanied them. One of his letters, sent in early June with the *Marianna* consignment list, instructed Pratt: "As soon as you receive the first six pieces of carved work which I sent by Capt. Dalrymple [of the *Mariner*] you will be pleased to direct them to be numbered with a chisel, according to the directions on the cards" (Kendall 3 June 1823: 210). No doubt this was to aid cross-referencing with the list number for the carving descriptions in his letters.


Figure 4. Taurapa "XI" (Kendall no. 11) as illustrated (a and b) in the Oldman catalogue (pl. 49A); full length and detail of Roman numeral (c), Tūhura Otago Museum, O50.037.

Although the "cards" associated with Kendall's consignments have not been located, the taurapa now in Tūhura Otago Museum, and sold by Robley to Oldman who kept it for his private collection, has a Roman numeral "IX" or "XI" (depending on its orientation) carved into its surface. The number is clearly visible in a photograph of the taurapa published in *The Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts* (Oldman 2004: plate 70; Fig. 4). Number 11 on Kendall's *Marianna* consignment list is "Another stern…" (Kendall 3 June 1823: 209). An inspection of the taurapa shows the number has been expertly cut with a knife, rather than a chisel, onto a cut-down surface that would have once, according to the repetition of patterns elsewhere on the taurapa, been a raised double koru (spiral) motif. The inscription raised the question of whether there were similar numbers carved onto the other taonga Robley had sold to Oldman that could be associated with Kendall's *Marianna* consignment list.

My visits to the four taonga identified above in Berlin and Zürich have indeed confirmed that they, and the Tūhura Otago Museum taurapa, Canterbury Museum pare and another pare in Brooklyn Museum, were part of the *Marianna* consignment of taonga acquired from Ngāpuhi in 1823 by Kendall and sent to the CMS in London. Three of the four in Europe all have engraved Roman numerals that correspond to the same types of taonga on Kendall's list. The fourth is also engraved with a Roman numeral but was described by meaning rather than type by Kendall. The difficulty in cutting curves with a chisel or knife may have influenced the decision to use rectilinear Roman rather than curvilinear Arabic numerals. The consistent correlation between the items on Kendall's numbered list and the numbered taonga in Berlin, Brooklyn, Canterbury, Otago and Zürich leaves no doubt that they are the taonga he put on board the *Marianna* in 1823.

At Berlin's Ethnologisches Museum, the Roman numeral VII appears on the back of the poupou exhibited by the CMS at the 1867 Paris *Exposition universelle* (Fig. 5). This taonga was described on Kendall's list as follows:

> No. 7 The representation of the Creator completing a Human Being, by means of the principle of light or knowledge which is suspended at the breast; & being no other than a serpent or reptile cut in pieces and placed in the form of a fishing line, fishhook and bait which according to the ideas of the New Zealanders are descriptive of the three essential or first principles from which man derives his origin; namely the breath of life, or fishing line, likeness or the fishhook, and the knowledge or the bait. (Kendall 3 June 1823: 208)

Binney proposed that the references to man's creation, breath of life, likeness and knowledge were concepts drawn from the Book of Genesis's creation sequence (Binney [1968] 2005: 144). She was sceptical of the references and allusions to trinities, of which the tripartite serpent could be

Figure 5. Poupou (wall carving, left) "VII" (Kendall no. 7) and detail (right) of Roman numeral from back, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, VI 31790.

one, that pervade Kendall's writings on the taonga and Māori spirituality, calling this out as "completing for himself the Christian Godhead" (p. 145). The figure "suspended from the breast" is a manaia (beaked character in profile) on the Berlin poupou and not a serpent—with all of its biblical allusions—described by Kendall. On either side of the main figure's head are female manaia and between the main figure's legs is a female tiki (carved figure in an abstract form of a human). A wrought-iron screw is fixed to the back of the poupou. It may be a remnant of the fixings Kendall used for his "cards", since such screws were produced in the mission's blacksmith workshop at Rangihoua (Smith 2019: 118).[11]


Figure 6. Kūwaha pātaka "XIV" (Kendall no. 14) front view (left) and back view (right) showing Roman numeral at top, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, VI 31789.

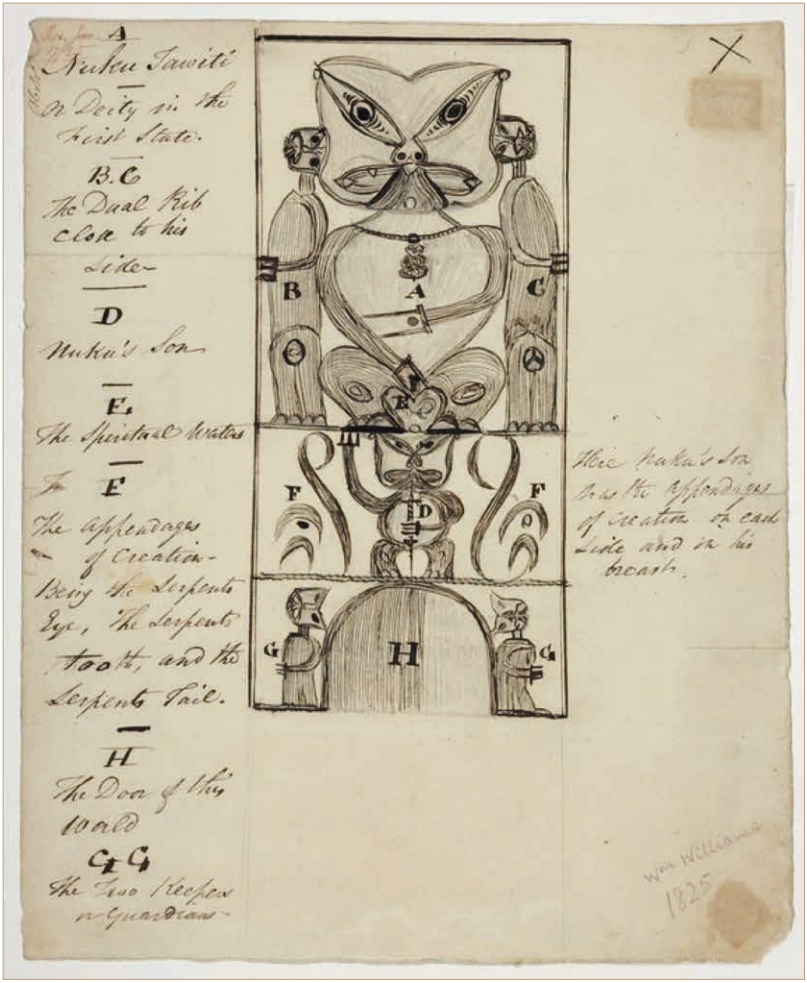


Figure 7. Thomas Kendall's 1824 annotated diagram of a kūwaha pātaka featuring Nukutawhiti as the main figure. Kendall named the diagram "Nuku Tawiti, a Deity in the First State". Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, A-114-045.

A Roman numeral "XIV" is carved onto the back of the kūwaha pātaka in the Ethnologisches Museum (Fig. 6). The taonga also has a clear provenance back to the CMS, through its exhibition in Paris in 1867. On Kendall's list, no. 14 is "Another representation of man in Creation or the second state" (Kendall 3 June 1823: 210). Kendall makes multiple references to three Māori "states of existence" in his letters, which Binney summarised as:

> The first "state" was a state of "*Union*" or perfection, a timeless existence before creation or conception; the second "state" was a state of "Equal and *Dual*", the state of creation and therefore imperfection; the third "state" was "*Triune*", or the end, and a state of rest, and without motion—existence beyond death. The first state is therefore the embryonic or potential state: "creation in pure Embryo". The second state of existence is life in this world. The third is the termination of existence in that it is life without movement: humans and all things are at rest. (Binney [1968] 2005: 137)

The kūwaha pātaka bears a strong resemblance to a kūwaha pātaka drawn as a diagram by Kendall in July 1824, which he included with a long letter to Pratt about Māori spirituality (Kendall 27 July 1824: 246–54; Fig. 7). Kendall may have sketched it from memory as all three of his consignments had been sent the previous year. In the diagram's annotations, Kendall identified the main figure in his diagram as Nukutawhiti, the captain of the *Ngātokimatawhaorua* migratory waka and Ngāpuhi ancestor, and stated that the carving depicted him in the first state of existence. On the Ethnologisches Museum kūwaha pātaka the main figure is flanked above their shoulders by two male figures, whom Kendall calls the "dual rib[s]", and holds a female tiki. The main figure stands above another smaller figure that may have been male, but has had its genitals removed, the prudish CMS being the most likely culprits. In Kendall's diagram, the main figure has a hei tiki (tiki pendant) rather than a held tiki on their chest and is holding a lizard. The smaller figure beneath Nukutawhiti, which also appears on the Ethnologisches Museum kūwaha pātaka, is identified as Nukutawhiti's son, who Binney suggests could be the Sky Father, based on Ngāpuhi narratives accessible to her (Binney 1980: 8). The figures flanking him are the "appendages of creation—Being the Serpents Eye, the Serpents Tooth, and the Serpents Tail" in Kendall's diagram.[12] These are manaia on the Ethnologisches Museum example. Kendall had similarly misidentified manaia as serpents in his description of the poupou also at the Ethnologisches Museum. Tiki figures on either side of the Ethnologisches Museum kūwaha pātaka doorway were labelled as guardians on Kendall's diagram. As a total composition, the kūwaha pātaka represented the passage from the first state of existence, a pre-creation realm, to the second, or life in this world, and as such would have been highly tapu (restricted, sacred).

Kendall's description of the three states was particularly influential on the work of the ethnologist David Simmons, who extrapolated the narrative to encompass the Māori creation narrative comprised of Te Kore (The Void), Te Pō (The Darkness) and Te Ao Marama (The World of Light) (Simmons [1985] 1994: 43; 1997: 153–54). Binney was highly critical of Simmons's approach, which she felt attributed meanings to Kendall's statements that were not justified or properly cited and cast serious doubts on the reliability of Simmons's Ahupiri Council of Ariki informants (Binney 1986: 139–40). In 1997, Simmons published an article on the Ethnologisches Museum's kūwaha pātaka, which he claimed (based on the advice of the Ahupiri Council) was part of a pātaka (raised storehouse) called Te Paringamouuhoki, carved by the legendary Ngāti Porou tohunga whakairo (master carver) Iwirākau, and generations later given to Ngātoto, who reassembled it at Te Horo on the East Coast (Simmons 1997: 151). In interpreting the kūwaha pātaka's composition and meaning, Simmons made reference to Kendall's Nukutawhiti diagram and his own interpretation of the three states of existence described in Kendall's letters, unaware of the close relationship between these documents and the Ethnologisches Museum's kūwaha pātaka (pp. 153–54).

The paepae pātaka, which Oldman sold in two pieces to the Museum für Völkerkunde, is engraved with a "XIII" on the back of the now rejoined taonga (Fig. 8). Its composition is described in detail by Kendall under no. 13 on his list:

> No. 13 The seven first principles constituting man in his second state or this world. On each side of man may be noticed a Beast of a peculiar form dragging man along with one hand and pushing him forward with the other. This beast represents the Sun and Moon. The upright horn or single horn pointed towards the eye of man signified the horn of the sun which enlightens him. The downward horns or dual horn or mouth resting upon the shoulder of the man signifies the two horns of the moon. The Moon is man's timekeeper and presides over his bones. The human being in the centre with a lame leg represents time: the lame leg has a particular reference to time past and the sound leg to present time. Man is partly a living and partly a dead creature. He is dead as to time past, and only lives in present time. (Kendall 3 June 1823)

Kendall's description closely matches the arrangement of elements on the taonga: seven tiki figures each being pulled and pushed on either side by manaia that each have a "horn" (a protrusion above the mouth, likely the nose) pointing to the tiki's eye, and a beaked mouth resting on the tiki's shoulder. The central tiki is female and has one foot facing down, which is the able leg, and one foot curled under the body, the so-called "lame" leg. There is one other female tiki figure on the paepae pātaka, and the other five have had their genital area sanded down; perhaps these were male figures


Figure 8. Paepae pātaka "XIII" (Kendall no. 13) front (above) and detail (left) of Roman numeral from back, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, VI 31791 and VI 31792.

altered by the CMS. Binney correctly deduced from Kendall's description that this taonga was a paepae pātaka (Binney [1968] 2005: 140). She also associated Kendall's references to horns as the sun and moon with the description of Pan as he was described in the 1797 *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "Chasing the fantasy of the Middle-Eastern origins of Maori, Kendall had found the worship of 'Universal Pan', the God of Nature, in New Zealand" (p. 140). A physical examination I conducted of the severed ends reveals the paepae pātaka was hand sawn, rather than broken, into two pieces, which is how Oldman received it from Robley in 1910. The cut may have been made to facilitate transport of the taonga on the *Marianna* or storage at the CMS in London.

The tauihu in Zürich's Museum Rietberg is engraved with a "XII" on the upper, back surface of the taonga. On Kendall's list, no. 12 is described as "The Head of a War Canoe called the Pitao or Mystic Tongue or Spear [Fig. 9]. It will be shewn that to enter the head or stern of the war Canoe is according to the New Zealanders a change of state or death" (Kendall 3 June 1823). Pītau is a type of tauihu, like that at Museum Rietberg, composed of perforated spiral (pītau) embellished panels and a front bow figure with arms stretched back. Binney believed that Kendall had confused the sound *tau*, in "pītau", with *tao*, a spear, thus conflating and confusing the meaning of both terms (Binney [1968] 2005: 149). The concept of the waka taua as a type of liminal zone between life and death is another reference to the states

Figure 9. Tauihu "XII" (Kendall no. 12) side view (above) and detail (left) of Roman numeral, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, RPO 12.

of existence defined by Kendall and is still evident in the tikanga (customs) surrounding embarking and disembarking this type of vessel in use today. On the Museum Rietberg tauihu, the thighs of the main figure have less accomplished, possibly later surface carving. This may have been made after success in battle, as Kendall included a description of another type of carving, "A Statue", that had "a shield upon one of its thighs as a commemoration of victory" in his inventory list for the *Mariner* consignment (Kendall 5 April 1823). A wrought-iron screw on the torso of the tauihu's main figure is of the same type found on the back of the poupou at the Ethnologisches Museum, and may be further evidence that these fixings were used to attach Kendall's cards. The tauihu was exhibited by the CMS in Paris and was one of the lot sold by Oldman to the Museum für Völkerkunde in 1911. Unlike the others, it did not stay in Berlin. In 1939, the tauihu was one of 170 museum artefacts sold by the curator of the Oceania Department at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hans Nevermann, to the German ethnographic art dealer Arthur Speyer (Schindlbeck 2012: 147). The Museum Rietberg purchased the tauihu from the Speyer collection for 20,000 Deutschmarks in 1964. By this stage it had been damaged with the loss of both arms from the main figure, since at least one was present when it was illustrated in the 1867 *Exposition universelle* exhibition catalogue.

The pare Oldman acquired from Robley was published as part of *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts* and transferred to the Canterbury Museum (object no. E 150.594A) in 1952 following the collection's purchase by the New Zealand government (Neich and Davidson in Oldman 2004: xxxvii [no. 42], 29, plate 84; Fig. 10). At the time of its illustration in the Oldman catalogue, the pare was damaged with four missing sections, all of which were replaced after it arrived in New Zealand by Iotua Taringatahi (Charlie) Tuarau (Hatesa Seumanutafa, pers. comm., 4 September 2023). Tuarau, who was Rarotongan and had learned whakairo rākau at the Rotorua School of Māori Arts and Crafts, was working as a carver and restorer at the Dominion Museum (known today as the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa) when he repaired the pare (Brown 1999: 247). The pare is engraved with a "VIII" behind the main figure's head, with the "V" obscured by a wooden brace. No. 8 is described on Kendall's list as "The Crown of the Store house of nature being the representation of a Trinity opening the firmament of heaven and Supporting the light of day. The circular carved work in the field of light" (Kendall 3 June 1823). Perforated spirals, like those on each side of the figures, are regarded in whakairo rākau practice as showing the entry of light into the world ("Te Ao Marama") as described in the Māori creation narrative.


Figure 10. Pare "VIII" (Kendall no. 8) as illustrated in the Oldman catalogue (plate 42; top); in repaired condition (middle) and detail of Roman numeral (bottom), Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, E150.594A.

Number 9 on Kendall's list is "The crown of a man's Bed Room" (Kendall 3 June 1823). This is almost certainly a pare in the Brooklyn Museum, New York, which has a Roman numeral "IX" engraved into the back of the main figure's head (object no. 61.126; Fig. 11). Unlike the other whakairo rākau in Kendall's 1823 *Marianna* consignment, it was not acquired by Oldman. The museum purchased the pare from the Judith A. Small Galleries in New York on 11 October 1961 and has no definitive record of previous ownership (Meghan Bill, pers. comm., 1 November 2023). The distinction Kendall makes between larger carved pare for use on a "Store house", as for number VIII in Canterbury Museum, and a smaller "man's Bed Room" is supported in historical and pictorial evidence of their installation on pātaka and wharepuni (sleeping houses).


Figure 11. Pare "IX" (Kendall no. 9) front (above) and back showing Roman numeral (left). Brooklyn Museum, New York, 61.126.

Kendall also sent two taurapa to the CMS on the *Marianna*:

> No. 10 The stern of feet of a War Canoe; representing the Dual of Mystic Rib, held together at the extreme points or toes by a bird, and defended at the lower part adjoining the Canoe by a narara [*sic*] or reptile.
>
> No. 11 Another Stern, or feet of a War Canoe & sent in order to shew the Society the Uniformity of the design of the natives in respect to the signification of the figures cut out upon them. (Kendall 3 June 1823)


Figure 12. Taurapa thought to be Kendall no. 10 as illustrated in the Oldman catalogue (plate 49). Current location not known but possibly in New Zealand.

As mentioned earlier, No. 11 (engraved with an XI) is currently located in Tūhura Otago Museum, and the current whereabouts of No. 10, exhibited by the CMS in Paris in 1867 and included as no. 49 in *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts*, is unknown (Oldman 2004: 25, plate 69; Fig. 12). The latter is not on the list of locations in *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts*, which notes that "unlisted items are in Te Papa or did not come to New Zealand" (Oldman 2004: xxxvii). A search of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa online collection database does not yield any former Oldman collection taurapa matching the photographs of this taonga. Māori and Pacific taonga from Oldman's private collection not bought by the New Zealand Government were auctioned by Oldman's widow in 1950; however, the taurapa is not listed in the catalogue (Sotheby & Co.: 1950). The process of dividing between museums the Oldman collection purchased by the New Zealand Government was described by Neich and Davidson as "tortuous", and it is possible that the taurapa did come to New Zealand and is yet to be rediscovered in a museum (Neich and Davidson in Oldman 2004: xxiii).

Kendall was correct in his assertion that these two taurapa were of a common compositional type for waka taua. What he identified as a "narara" is a manaia, as is the "bird", since manaia can be expressed artistically with reptilian or avian (and humanoid) characteristics (Brown 2013: 162–64). Binney believed that Kendall misinterpreted the word ngārara, which means "reptile" in te reo Māori, by conflating it with ngā rara, or "the ribs", and projecting this understanding into the two stem-like parts of the design that run the length of the taurapa (Binney [1968] 2005: 149). That led him to associate the "Dual of Mystic Rib" (the two stems) with the rib that God took from man to create woman in the Book of Genesis, thus reinforcing his flawed proposition that Māori spirituality was connected to Christianity (Genesis 2:22; Binney [1968] 2005: 149).

## TAONGA TUKU IHO: TREASURES PASSED DOWN

The identified taonga in Kendall's *Marianna* consignment are skilfully executed examples of whakairo rākau that were clearly in use before they were traded with Kendall. Each taonga will have its own history that can be revealed through further research. Some observations can be made about their possible origins based on carving style and events in the Bay of Islands in 1823.

Consistencies in surface carving, specifically the distinctive taratara-a-Kae (also spelt taratara-a-Kai) raised notched pattern, suggest that the paepae pātaka, the kūwaha pātaka and possibly the poupou in Berlin are stylistically related. The surface carvings are not sufficiently similar to suggest they were made by one carver, but this does not preclude them from being parts of the same multiartist-created pātaka. Paepae pātaka, kūwaha pātaka and poupou of similar composition were illustrated in 1827 by the travelling artist Augustus Earle on pātaka at Kororāreka (near Matauwhi; National Library of Australia,

Rex Nan Kivell Collection, NK 12/81) and Papuke (a headland pā (fortified village) at the southern end of Rangihoua Bay; National Library of Australia, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, NK 12/69) in the Bay of Islands, places where Kendall lived in the 1820s and just four years after he sent his *Marianna* consignment to the CMS in London. Taratara-a-Kae is associated with Bay of Plenty and Rotorua carving styles (Mead [1986] 1995: 86–88, 93; Simmons [1985] 1994: 29, 77). It is named after the legendary tohunga Kae, who had broken or crooked teeth (thus notched teeth and bite), a person that Kendall refers to in his 1824 letter to Pratt (Kendall 27 July 1824: 254). European accounts from the 1820s describe tohunga whakairo from Tauranga in the Bay of Plenty and the neighbouring East Coast region working in the Bay of Islands as commissioned experts or as captives.[13] This form of patronage, which likely included directives about content, might explain how whakairo rākau carved in the Bay of Plenty style could be interpreted by Tungaroa and her community according to Ngāpuhi traditions and ancestral stories. That their narratives are the ones associated with these pātaka would also suggest that the paepae pātaka, kūwaha pātaka and poupou were obtained by Kendall in Rangihoua, as this was where Tungaroa, Te Rakau and Wharepoaka lived. Matauwhi, on the other side of the bay, was the home of rival hapū (subtribes) that would not be integrated into Ngāpuhi for several years and was, therefore, a place where Tungaroa's hapū were unwelcome (Sissons *et al.* 1987: 149).

Both taurapa and the pare in Canterbury Museum were listed in *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts* as being from "Te Puke, Bay of Plenty", which is about 500 km south of the Bay of Islands. Inspection of Oldman's inward register only shows the more intact taurapa with a Te Puke attribution, the same attribution given on the associated object tag mentioned above. It would appear that the attribution to Te Puke for the second, damaged taurapa and the pare was transcribed incorrectly at the time of making *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts*, probably because they were always together in numerical order in Oldman's registers and almost 30 years had passed since their purchase from Robley. Kendall does not mention Te Puke in his list for these taonga. It is possible that the accompanying "cards" he mentioned for his *Mariner* consignment were also included in the *Marianna* consignment and had additional information.

There are many possible scenarios for the "Te Puke" attribution. The modern-day township of Te Puke is 18 kilometres inland and southeast of Tauranga in the western Bay of Plenty. Although Marsden visited Tauranga in 1820, his CMS missionaries did not travel to Tauranga until the late 1820s (Elder 1932: 264; Williams and Rogers 1961: 488). There seems to have been little to no European contact with this "Te Puke" in the early 1820s. However, Ngāpuhi were active in the Bay of Plenty at this time and could have brought the taurapa back to the Bay of Islands. Hongi, Pomare and fellow Ngāpuhi rangatira Te Morenga, Tītore and Te Wera individually,

and sometimes in pairs, led forces to attack Bay of Plenty and East Coast iwi on several occasions between 1818 and 1823 (Crosby 2012: 30). Hongi and Pomare's combined 1823 war party fought at Paengaroa in the Te Puke district. However, this was probably later in the year, since Hongi's war party did not return to the Bay of Islands until September, and Pomare's January 1824, months after Kendall sent his carving consignment on the *Marianna* (Adams 2021: 84; Crosby 2012: 127, 132, 135). There are also other places with the same or similar name to Te Puke, which can be translated as "The Hill", that had a connection to the CMS. Marsden visited a pā called "Te Puke" near the mouth of the Waihou River on the Firth of Thames, during his 1820 expedition (Elder 1932: 260–21). As he was travelling on foot it is unlikely that he acquired the taurapa here. "Papuke", the fortified pā at Rangihoua Bay, could have been confused with the township of Te Puke at a later date on CMS labels. With so many possibilities, community-based research is required for the Te Puke attribution to be confirmed.

## CONCLUSION

Since their publication by Binney, Kendall's descriptions of the taonga Māori he encountered and collected have been influential in some of our contemporary understanding of the compositional and metaphysical aspects of whakairo rākau. They are the basis for interpretations of carvings by prominent scholars such as Roger Neich and David Simmons (Neich 1996: 86, 103–4; Simmons [1985] 1994: 18–19, 22, 28–32). Stripping away Enlightenment and Christian thinking in Kendall's letters reveals the compositional meanings explained to him by Tungaroa and her community, which remain evident in contemporary whakairo rākau. Pare, paepae pātaka, kūwaha pātaka and tauihu are transitional spatial markers that, when physically crossed over, also shift people between states, akin to moving between pre-life, life and death. Although it is beyond the scope of this article, a more fulsome comparison of the now identified taonga that Kendall sent on the *Marianna* with Binney's exacting analysis of his writings and contemporary understandings of whakairo rākau could be made. The rediscovery of the four taonga sent by Kendall to Hassall in April 1823 and then "lost" in Australia would strengthen such a project.

Binney's conclusion that Kendall's descriptions were heavily influenced by Christian thinking holds true when they are compared to the now identified taonga. Less convincing today is her argument that "knowledge of the lore connected with them [whakairo rākau] is lost, and there is no one who knows the meaning of the old forms" (Binney [1968] 2005: 136). Since *The Legacy of Guilt* was originally published, there has been a significant whakairo rākau revival, with the remaining "lore" now passed on to many more practitioners who will have their own mātauranga (Māori knowledge)–informed opinions about the nature and Māori origins of these taonga.

The whakairo rākau identified in this study are remarkable taonga that have survived the upheavals of the Musket Wars, the perils of long sea journeys and narrow escapes during the Blitz (for the taonga that stayed in Oldman's private collection) and the Allied bombing of Germany (for those kept in Berlin) during World War II (Neich and Davidson in Oldman 2004: x). For more than 80 years they were in the possession of the CMS in London, some exhibited in Paris and perhaps taken on tour with others to further missionary exhibitions and meetings or maybe displayed in the CMS Museum in Salisbury Square. This is sadly a rather poorly documented collection given its origins (Barnes 1906: 215). The identification of seven of the eight taonga from Kendall's *Marianna* consignment in museums is a small step forward in the cultural contextualisation of the Oldman collection, which is notorious for being light on origin details even though, it appears, he knew more than he recorded (Neich and Davidson in Oldman 2004: xxxi). It is not clear why Oldman did not pass on the CMS collecting history of these taonga to their new owners when he was happy to attribute a Te Puke origin to three of them in his personal collection catalogue. The most important outcome of this research is that these taonga can finally be identified as being in the hands of Ngāpuhi ancestors in the Bay of Islands in 1823, and perhaps more precisely from either Rangihoua or Matauwhi, where Kendall had his strongest Māori relationships.

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NOTES

1. Three carvings have since been attributed as Hongi Hika's self-portrait bust in different museum collections around the world: those at Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum (New Zealand) (on loan from Tūhura Otago Museum, Dunedin), the Macleay collection at the Chau Chak Wing Museum

of the University of Sydney (Australia) and the Brighton & Hove Museums (United Kingdom). Exactly which one (if any) might be the original is an ongoing discussion, since each has characteristics both for and against being made by Hongi. Furthermore, none have evidence of ever having been in the possession of, or removed from, the CMS in London (Brown 2016; Kerehona 2019).

2. Reference to these consignments can be found throughout the correspondence of missionaries up to 1823 that is available in the Marsden Online Archive, https://marsdenarchive.otago.ac.nz/.
3. Binney believed that the description in Kendall's letters "were probably culled from notebooks which have been lost" ([1968] 2005: 106, 129).
4. Described by Kendall as follows: No. 1 "Represents a Trinity in Union and perfection"/"A Trinity in perfection and in the First State"; No. 2 "Represents a Trinity in Creation and imperfection"/"A Trinity in Creation and in the Second State"; No. 3 "Represents the Covenant of a New Zealand Espousals"/"A Pregnant Woman"; No. 4 "Represents a Trinity holding up the Earth with the feet, and bearing up the heavens with the 3 Middle fingers of each hand. The Crown of the Universe"/"New Zealand Crown"; No. 5 "The crown of a family"/"New Zealand Crown"; No. 6 "A Statue with a shield upon one of its thighs as a commemoration of Victory"/"The Statue of a Chief" (Kendall 5 April 1823: 190–91/11 April 1823: 201).
5. Described by Kendall as "No. 1 Man in his first State. Presence; No. 2 Man at his End. –Station; No. 3 A New Zealand Crown; No. 4 The Brazen Serpent, having one head broken off" (Kendall 8 April 1823: 599–600).
6. I am indebted to Dr Chris Wingfield who in September 2015 explained to me the likely scenario for the dispersal of the CMS taonga Māori collection, based on his knowledge of the London Missionary Society Museum.
7. The four taonga were a stone patu (cleaver weapon), a wooden patu, an uhi (chisel) and a patu aruhe (fernroot beater). Three additional Māori items are listed as deposited or loaned by individuals who were not attached to the New Zealand mission.
8. Vernes, *Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris*, object nos. 53–61, 713–16, 722, 724, 733, 756–57, 760, 762–63, 765, 768, 797, 799, 802, 804–5, 808–9, 852, 855–57, 862, 864, 880, 886, 892, 908 and (CMS taonga Māori) 1197–1214.
9. More of the taonga sent by Kendall in the *Marianna* consignment may have been displayed in the *Exposition universelle* as the Vernes catalogue descriptions of grouped exhibits—"Parties d'un canot de guerre sculptées" (carved parts of a war canoe) and "Poteaux sculptés" (sculpted posts)—are ambiguous in number (Vernes 1867: object nos. 1213 and 1214). An oar illustrated in plate II (no. 4) of *Musée des missions évangéliques* (1867) may have been incorrectly identified as Māori in the catalogue.
10. I am indebted to Lucie Carreau at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, for showing me (in 2017) an undated letter from Robley to Baron von Hügel, in which Robley describes his knowledge of the Church Missionary Society headquarters in London's Salisbury Square where the museum was based.

11. Less likely is that the screws were attached by the CMS or later collectors, since machine-made screws were common in the United Kingdom by the early nineteenth century.
12. Binney misidentifies these figures as the lizard held by Nukutawhiti's son in her analysis of the diagram in the 2005 edition of *The Legacy of Guilt* (p. 154), although she correctly identifies them in "The Lost Drawing of Nukutawhiti" (1980: 16).
13. These include accounts from 1820 by Alexander McCrae and Richard Cruise, Samuel Marsden in 1823 and John King in 1825 (Binney [1968] 2005: 227 n45).

## GLOSSARY

The terms included in this glossary are te reo Māori unless otherwise stated.

| | |
|---|---|
| hapū | subtribe |
| hei tiki | tiki pendant |
| iwi | tribe |
| koru | spiral |
| kūwaha pātaka | doorway of a raised storehouse |
| manaia | beaked character in profile |
| mātauranga | Māori knowledge |
| ngārara | reptile |
| ngā rara | the ribs |
| pā | fortified village |
| paepae pātaka | threshold of a raised storehouse |
| Pākehā | European |
| pare | door lintel |
| pātaka | raised storehouse |
| patu | cleaver weapon |
| patu aruhe | fernroot beater |
| pītau | perforated spiral |
| poupou | wall carving |
| rangatira | chief |
| taiaha | fighting staff with a blade-like end |
| tao | spear |
| taonga (Māori) | (Māori) treasures |
| taonga tuku iho | treasures passed down |
| tapu | restricted, sacred |
| taratara-a-Kae | raised notched pattern in carving |
| tauihu | war canoe prow |
| taurapa | war canoe sternpost |
| tekoteko | house gable figure |

| | |
|---|---|
| te reo Māori | Māori language |
| tikanga | customs |
| tiki | carved figure in an abstract form of a human |
| tohunga | spiritual leader |
| tohunga whakairo | master carver |
| uhi | chisel |
| upoko tuhi | preserved human head |
| waka taua | war canoe |
| whakairo rākau | Māori wood carving |
| whānau | family |
| wharepuni | sleeping house |

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