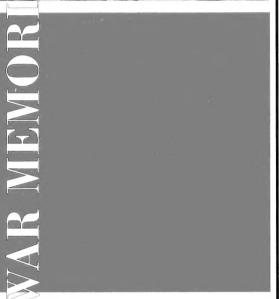
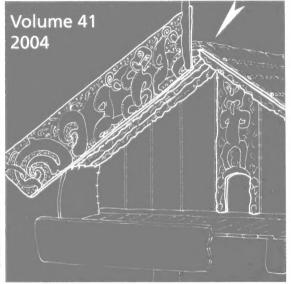
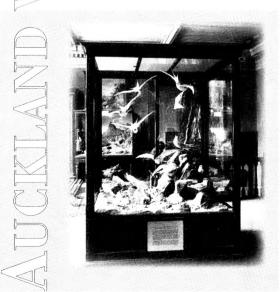


# Records of the Auckland Museum











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# RECORDS OF THE AUCKLAND MUSEUM

# VOLUME 41

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# SARACRINUS (CRINOIDEA: METACRININAE) FROM THE EARLY MIOCENE OF MOTUKETEKETE ISLAND, HAURAKI GULF, AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

# MICHAEL K. EAGLE

Abstract. A new species of stemmed crinoid, Saracrinus motuketeketeensis, is described from the Early Miocene Waitemata Group, Motuketekete Island, Hauraki Gulf, Auckland. It is the first fossil record of Saracrinus, and the first crinoid to be described from Waitemata Group sediments. The new species has morphologic similarities with Recent Saracrinus spp. living in New Zealand and Indo-Pacific waters, suggesting it may be ancestral to these.

KEYWORDS: Echinodermata; Crinoidea; Isocrinidae; Metacrininae; *Saracrinus*; new species; Early Miocene; Otaian Stage; Waitemata Group; Kawau Subgroup; Cape Rodney Formation; New Zealand.

# INTRODUCTION

A paucity of Cenozoic crinoid specimens exists globally (Hess 1999). A lack of appropriate facies and non-preservation of taxa are probable reasons for the scarcity. The number of Cenozoic crinoids (when present) relative to the total number of organisms in a sample, varies considerably in New Zealand. Some units of Oligocene limestone (e.g. Oteikake Limestone) contain crinoid elements in numbers similar to those of molluscs. Conversely, Early Miocene crinoid elements from sandstone at Pakurangi Point, Kaipara Harbour, are in the ratio of approximately 1:1000 molluscs (pers. observ.). Intact crinoids are exceptional in New Zealand (e.g. Stilwell *et al.* 1994), and the majority of Cenozoic crinoids are preserved as disarticulated elements. Crinoid researchers (e.g. Jagt 1999; Stiller 2000; Eagle 2003, 2004; Eagle & Hikuroa 2003) have necessarily described new species from disarticulated skeletal elements.

During a survey expedition to Motuketekete Island, Hauraki Gulf, Auckland, members of the University of Auckland Geology Department and Auckland University of Technology Earth and Oceanic Sciences Research Institute collected 70 macrofossil taxa (Campbell *et al.* in press). Echinoderms included a single crinoid specimen. The object of this paper is to identify and describe the crinoid and consider its paleoecologic, paleoenvironmental, and paleogeographic implications. Comparison with Recent specimens is made in an effort to establish its possible affinities and evolutionary relationships. The Fossil Record number listed is that of the New Zealand Fossil Record File, maintained by the Geological Society of New Zealand.

Rec. Auckland Mus. 41: 5-12

## GEOLOGICAL SETTING

Campbell *et al.* (in press) describe a previously unknown 2 m-thick, 30 m-long lensoidal breccia and conglomerate unit ~1–2 m above the base of the Motuketekete Limestone Member (Kawau Subgroup, Waitemata Group sediments) on Motuketekete Island. They correlate it with the regionally extensive Otaian Stage lithofacies E of Ricketts *et al.* (1989). The single crinoid described herein comes from this horizon on the south-east coast of Motuketekete Island.

The bioclastic Motuketekete Limestone Member (Hayward & Brook 1984) at the south-eastern coast of Motuketekete Island (study site R09/f151) appears (as elsewhere) coeval with Papakura Limestone and contains diverse macrofossils within the breccia. For details of the tectonic setting, stratigraphic section, and lithofacies correlations, see Campbell *et al.* (in press). This upper-breccia facies of the Kawau Subgroup is interpreted by Ricketts *et al.* (1989) as the result of an early Miocene Waitemata Basin tectonic event (e.g. earthquakes, faulting), causing down-slope debris-flows over a wide geographic area.

#### TAXONOMIC REMARKS

Some paleontologists have questioned whether species erected on the basis of disarticulated crinoid elements should be recognised as valid taxa under the *International Code of Zoological Nomenclature* (ICZN). Other groups of Cenozoic organisms preserved in New Zealand as disarticulated elements (e.g. vertebrates) are incorporated within a natural classification without qualification (such as done by suffixes). Stiller (2000) accepted that organisms preserved as disarticulated elements, could be classified within a more or less "natural" system without qualification. In contrast to pelmatazoan crinoids, in which the main body (crown) forms the basis for most taxonomic assignments, fragments and isolated parts of vertebrates – notably isolated teeth, bones – have often been identified and/or described (e.g. Buckeridge 1984). Donovan (2001: 888) summarised the crinoid columnal nomenclatural conundrum: "Much more effort by many more researchers has been spent classifying the relatively rare remains of vertebrates compared to crinoid columnals." This is true for New Zealand crinoids.

Since description of the Articulata in the *Treatise on Invertebrate Paleontology* (Rassmussen & Sieverts-Doreck 1978) papers detailing both fossil taxa (e.g. Oji 1990; Meyer & Oji 1993) and Recent taxa (e.g. Bourseau *et al.* 1991) have described whole specimens. It has become more practical, even "generally relatively straight-forward to classify Post-Palaeozoic crinoid columnals to family, genus, or, not uncommonly, species level, in contrast to those of the Palaeozoic," (Donovan 2001: 888) due to the limited morphological diversity shown by crinoids following the end-Permian extinction (Foote 1996). Hence, there are many systematic studies of crinoids that rely on disarticulated columnals and other ossicles (e.g. Stiller 2000). The ability to link Cenozoic and Recent dorsal cups and crowns and other skeletal elements to genera (and often species), enables systematists to place new crinoid taxa based solely on columnals with confidence within a "natural" taxonomic system.

For fossil crinoids, selective preservation of skeletal elements like the calyx, brachials, or columnals, greatly reduces the range of characters available for identification compared to extant material. Based on disarticulated skeletal elements, a fossil crinoid species will always be a morphospecies, but will ideally conform as closely as possible to the limits expected of a "natural species" (Simms 1989). In this study, crinoid skeletal elements were included within the systematics of an extant genus.

# **SYSTEMATICS**

PHYLUM: ECHINODERMATA Bruguière, 1791

SUBPHYLUM: CRINOZOA Matsumotu, 1929 CLASS: CRINOIDEA Miller, 1821

SUBCLASS: CLADIDA Moore & Laudon, 1943

INFRACLASS: ARTICULATA Miller, 1821

ORDER: ISOCRINIDA Sieverts-Doreck, 1952 SUBORDER: ISOCRININA Sieverts-Doreck, 1952

FAMILY: ISOCRINIDAE Gislén, 1924 SUBFAMILY: METACRININAE Roux, 1976

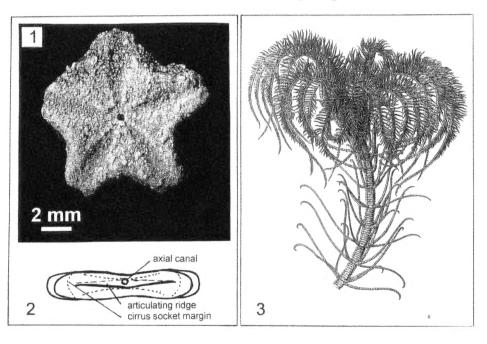
GENUS: Saracrinus Clark, 1923

Type species: Saracrinus nobilis (Carpenter, 1884) (by original designation; Recent, Indo-

Pacific).

Diagnosis: Isocrinid with column pentagonal or pentalobate to rounded subpentagonal; 5–13 internodals in medial and distal stem sections, fewer proximally; nodals larger than internodals; columnal articulum with short crenulae; internodals with 5 large elliptical to circular cirrus sockets facing outward or slightly upward; cirri long (after Clark 1923; Roux 1981).

# Saracrinus motuketeketeensis n. sp. (Figs 1, 2, 4)



Figs 1–3. 1–2. Holotype of *Saracrinus motuketeketeensis*, E657. 1. Distal nodal articulum (reproduced from Campbell *et al.* in press). 2. Diagram of nodal latera with cirrus socket detail. 3. Life illustration of Recent *Saracrinus cingulatus* (from Carpenter 1884) showing how *Saracrinus motuketeketeensis* might have looked in life.

#### **MATERIAL**

Holotype. Specimen number E657, collection number AU17529 (paleontological collections, Geology Department, University of Auckland); pentalobate nodal with proximal (partially covered by matrix) and distal articula; latera with elliptical cirri sockets.

## TYPE LOCALITY

Fossil Record File number R09/f151; grid reference R09/727238 (1989, NZMS 260, 1: 50 000 topographical map); Motuketekete Island, Hauraki Gulf, Auckland; coastal rock exposure above tide line, south-eastern shore. Fossil locality R09/f151 represents a boulder to cobble breccia and conglomerate lens c. 1.5 m above the base, but within bioclastic Motuketekete Limestone.

# DESCRIPTION OF HOLOTYPE

Nodal outline bluntly stellate; proximal articulum symplectial; areolae elongate-ovoid, base convex; interradial areas raised, each petaloid bordered by dissected ridge to form crenulae; petal crenulae about 15, variable in shape and size, rather short, located on areolae margins, turned slightly inwards, large distal crenulae reach columnal periphery, smaller proximal crenula adjacent to each other in interpetaloid spaces, rounded overall, merging with open, large roughly triangular interradial area; perilumen raised, apparently smooth, same height as top of crenulae; lumen outline subpentagonal, medium sized; nodal distal articulum synostosial with similar petaloid arrangement; columnal latera smooth; 5 large, broadly elliptical cirrus sockets directed outward and slightly upward, encroaching both infranodal and supranodal joints; central, circular axial canal sited above prominent obliquely triangular articulating ridge covering two-thirds width of each cirrus socket. Measurements (mm): Diameter 10.3; height 2.4.

# **AGE**

Otaian (Aquitanian), Early Miocene (Hayward & Brook 1984; Ricketts et al. 1989).

### **ETYMOLOGY**

Named after the type locality, Motuketekete Island.

# REMARKS

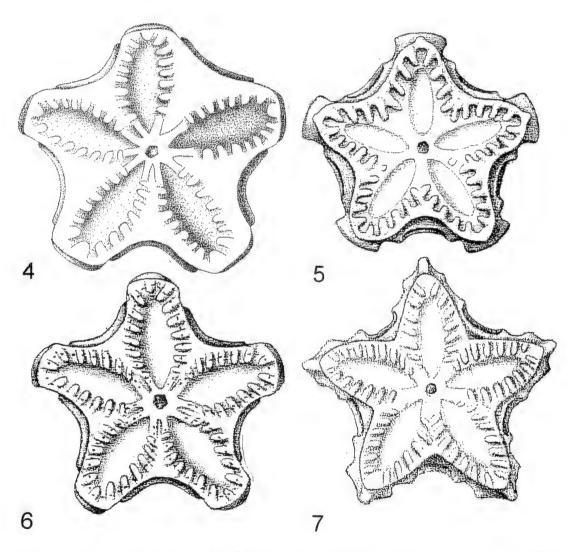
Abrasion of the specimen appears to be the result of post-mortem transportation. The cryptosymplectial articulated specimen is similar to *Isocrinus*, but differs in possessing more elongate areolae, having each petaloid with crenulae constructed from a dissected ridge and not from individual, isolated crenulae, and cirri sockets that are more elliptical laterally and have a longer, more obliquely triangular articulating ridge. The form of the (isocrinid) articulum appears to place this in *Saracrinus* Clark, 1923, confirmed by Roux (1981) as a valid genus. *Saracrinus motuketeketeensis* is similar in nodal articula and cirrus socket arrangement to three Recent saracrinids, *S. cingulatus*, *S. angulatus*, and *S. nobilis*, the latter being most similar in morphology (Figs 3, 5–7). However, although columnal size is about the same for all four species (c. 10 mm), *S. motuketeketeensis* differs from all three by having more crenulae (15 compared with averages of 10, 14, and 13 respectively). It is also less embayed at the interradial margin, possesses a much larger, more open interradial triangular area, and is wider radially.

Saracrinus is an Indo-Pacific genus recorded living southeast of Japan (Clark 1908), north and south of New Zealand (McKnight 1973, 1977), in seas surrounding the Philippines (Roux 1981), and Indonesia (Breimer 1978). Saracrinus is known from eight Recent species (Roux 1981): Saracrinus nobilis (Carpenter, 1884); S. acutus (Döderlein, 1907); S. angulatus (Carpenter,

1884); S. batheri (Clark, 1909); S. cingulatus (Carpenter, 1884); S. suluensis (Döderlein, 1907); S. superbus (Carpenter, 1884); S. varians (Carpenter, 1884). Only two Saracrinus species are recorded from New Zealand waters (McKnight 1973, 1977; McKnight et al. in press): S. nobilis and S. varians, the later described from the Kermadec Islands.

# PALEOECOLOGY, PALEOENVIRONMENT, PALEOGEOGRAPHY

Bathymetric distribution of isocrinids is today constrained by ecologic parameters, primarily temperature, but also pressure, salinity, and water energy. At the specific level, they are generally eurybathic rather than stenobathic. Isocrinids are typical inhabitants of the continental slope



Figs 4–7. Proximal nodal articula of fossil and extant *Saracrinus*. Not to same scale. 4. *S. motuketeketeensis* (reconstructed). 5. *S. cingulatus*. 6. *S. nobilis*. 7. *S. angulatus*. (Figs 5–7 from Carpenter (1884)).

upper zone, with most living at depths of 200–1000 m. The bathymetric range of suspension-feeding *Saracrinus* extends above and below this (55–1152 m). They live on the continental shelf, continental slope, submarine volcanic slopes (e.g. Kermadec Islands), submarine ridges (e.g. Norfolk Rise) and ocean banks (e.g. Wanganella Bank). Because of similar morphology, it is probable that the Early Miocene species *Saracrinus motuketeketeensis* existed at a similar depth and in a similar environment to that of Recent *Saracrinus*. Recent *Saracrinus* is a tropical to warm-temperate genus, but was sub-tropical in the Late Oligocene to Early Miocene. Like most isocrinids, *Saracrinus* appears to lack a diurnal rhythm, and is postulated to feed almost continually (Breimer 1978). Recent *Saracrinus* is a moderate rheophile that anchors (depending on benthic conditions) by radicular cirri and terminal radices that penetrate a sandy or muddy substrate to provide a holdfast, or (being an isocrinid) uses radicular cirri to grasp shelly and rocky substrates (Breimer 1978).

Additional to "plankton rain" captured passively, *Saracrinus* also uses a brachial, parabolic filtration fan that uses water currents for food supply. It is probable that this feeding mechanism was the same for the Miocene Motuketekete Island species. *Saracrinus* is able to relocate to better feeding sites, or away from excessive water energy by dropping onto and crawling along the substrate prior to re-erection in the feeding posture. *Saracrinus* dislikes turbidity currents, requiring aerated, clean, clear water to prevent 'choking' and for respiration. Strong currents are known to prevent the erection of stemmed crinoid filtration fans for feeding and to break erected columns.

Given the faunal assemblage, the Motuketekete Island Saracrinus was likely to have been an itinerant species living at inner shelf depths on sand, shell, and rock (probably out-washed coastal cliff talus) associated with a diverse community of shallow-living, warm-water, marine invertebrates. The mixed assemblage of mainly filter-feeding animals included the corals Turbinaria and ?Alveopora; sponges of unknown affinity; the cidaroid Stereocidaris; bryozoans; the brachiopod Magasella; the gastropods Sarmoturbo, Bolma and Tropicolpus; the bivalves Anomia, Chama, Crenostrea, Grandaxinea and Eucrassatella; the barnacles Armatobalanus, Tasmanobalanus and Bathylasma (with acrothoracican borings); and several growth forms of rhodoliths (Campbell et al. in press).

Hess (1999) explains the non-occurrence of *Metacrinus* and other isocrinids in southern ocean waters today as due to the development of the cold circum-Antarctic current in the Late Oligocene, and subsequent decline of sea temperature to below a level at which they could survive. *Saracrinus* may have been similarly affected, or alternatively, never migrated to such high latitudes. Early Miocene *Saracrinus* living in marginal-tropical New Zealand waters of that time (equivalent to the geographic position and latitude of the Kermadec Islands today) probably occupied the same tropical ecological niche that it does presently. However, it is suggested that *Saracrinus* may have been forced to survive cold Pliocene periods and Pleistocene ice ages by adaptation to temperate Pacific waters or by reciprocal migration, which may explain its Pliocene-Pleistocene absence from New Zealand.

# DISCUSSION

Roux (1981: 512, fig. 10) postulates that *Metacrinus* evolved from *Cenocrinus* during the early Tertiary, and that *Saracrinus* radiated from *Metacrinus* sometime during the middle to early Late Tertiary (the lineage arising from *Isocrinus*). The evolutionary postulation of Roux (1981) is supported by *Metacrinus* occurring fossil Palaeocene to Oligocene in New Zealand (Hess 1999) and by the Motuketekete Island *Saracrinus*, which may also be an ancestor of saracrinids presently living regionally. The specimen is the first fossil record of *Saracrinus* in New Zealand.

Acknowledgements. I thank Jack Grant-Mackie (University of Auckland) for making available the Motuketekete crinoid as well as suggesting improvements to the draft manuscript. Thanks are also due to an anonymous referee for valuable amendments, and to Louise Cotterall (University of Auckland) for the digital image of the fossil specimen. The Auckland Museum supported both research and publication.

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# C.F. ADAMS—AN AMERICAN TAXIDERMIST AT AUCKLAND MUSEUM, 1885–86

B.J. GILL

Abstract. In the early 1880s, H.A. Ward, an American dealer in natural history specimens, helped Auckland Museum to recruit a taxidermist—C.F. Adams—who was trained at Ward's own establishment in Rochester, New York State. Adams worked at Auckland Museum in 1885 and 1886, where his skill in mounting birds for the displays in the museum's Princes Street building was much praised. He created the museum's first natural history dioramas—two small exhibits depicting tuataras and keas—that were pioneering developments at the time. Adams left Auckland early in 1887, visiting the main New Zealand cities and commenting briefly (in a letter to T.F. Cheeseman) on the bird displays in their museums. He then travelled via eastern Australia to British North Borneo (now Sabah, Malaysia), where he collected mammal skins. He returned to the U.S. in 1888, and while at Champaign, Illinois, mounted Bornean mammals for shipment to Auckland Museum, and also provided some U.S. herpetological specimens.

KEYWORDS: Birds; mammals; history; taxidermy; dioramas; Auckland Museum; Colonial Museum; Canterbury Museum; Otago Museum; New Zealand; Australia; Sabah; Borneo; United States; C.F. Adams; H.A. Ward; T.F. Cheeseman.

# INTRODUCTION

Museums that display land vertebrates specimens in their public galleries, by and large need a taxidermist to prepare the animals. Employing, or paying for the services of, a taxidermist is a big expense for small museums, and was a major problem for New Zealand's developing museums during the colonial period. Auckland Museum began in 1852 and not until 1908, with the appointment of L.T. Griffin as preparator, did taxidermy skills become available to the museum on a continuing basis (Gill 2000).

Between 1852 and 1908 only three taxidermists are known to have prepared finished specimens for Auckland Museum, though there must have been others. In 1856–57, Mr I. St John of Nelson supplied mounted native birds that he caught and prepared locally (Park 1999). The Austrian collector and taxidermist Andreas Reischek (1845–1902) spent 12 years in New Zealand (1877–1889). It seems he was employed as taxidermist at Auckland Museum in 1880–81, and supplied further specimens at other times, presumably for purchase by the museum (Gill 2000).

Henry (H.A.) Ward, a natural history collector and dealer from Rochester, New York State, visited Auckland in about 1881. He was well known as an advisor to museums (Kohlstedt 1980), and he undertook to recruit from America a taxidermist for Auckland Museum. In 1883–84 a permanent taxidermist looked imminent—"a thoroughly competent workman has been selected,

and in a few months will arrive in Auckland" (Auck. Mus. Annual Report 1883–84, p. 7). However, he died, and another person had to be selected (Annual Report 1884–85, p. 7). The taxidermist in question was C.F. Adams.

The purpose of this report is to summarise information on C.F. Adams' activities and travels, both within New Zealand and overseas, and to list specimens collected and prepared by him for Auckland Museum. The information was gleaned from:

(1) The Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum (Ann. Rep.).

- (2) Correspondence in the Auckland Museum archives to and from T.F. Cheeseman (1845–1923), the museum's Curator. There are three letters from Adams to Cheeseman (1887, 1890) in MA95/38/1, and two letters from Adams to Cheeseman (1892) in MS58, Box 1, Folder 1(b). In the museum letter-books (MA96/6) there are copies of many relevant letters (1885–91) from Cheeseman to H.A. Ward, Adams himself, and others.
- (3) Consideration of land vertebrates specimens in the Auckland Museum collection which registration details associate with C.F. Adams as collector or presenter (Tables 1–3). Presumably in all or most cases he was also the preparator of the specimens.

# ACTIVITIES IN NEW ZEALAND, 1885-86

C.F. Adams seems to have reached Auckland early in 1885. Auckland Museum then occupied a building in Princes Street (Wolfe 2001). A letter from Cheeseman to H.A. Ward (29 April 1885; MA96/6 museum letter-book 2, p. 278) states: "I ought long ago to have written thanking you for the trouble you have taken in supplying us with a taxidermist, but I have waited while Mr Adams has been here some little time, so that I might tell you exactly how he suits. I like him very much. He is a fair workman, very attentive to his duties, and a nice quiet fellow into the bargain."

On 22 June 1885 Cheeseman told Ward that "Adams has got quite a number of specimens set up since he arrived, and his work looks very well" (MA96/6 museum letter-book 2, p. 291). In the first year, Adams probably spent most of his time mounting local birds newly brought to the museum, and foreign birds and mammals that had been received on exchange in recent years in an unfinished state. Then, in 1886, he travelled to collect local material.

Table 1 lists 22 New Zealand birds, plus tuataras, that are given in the old, inactive Blue and Brown Books, or in the current active catalogues, as having been collected or presented by C.F. Adams. These specimens were presumably also prepared by Adams. All this New Zealand material was received in 1886. Adams' specimens were collected from the Auckland area (including Manukau Harbour), the Waitakere Ranges, Hauraki Gulf islands (Rakino, Motutapu), Pirongia (Waikato), Cuvier Island (off Coromandel Peninsula) and Karewa Island (Bay of Plenty). The visit to Cuvier Island was in October and November, as indicated by labels with the specimens.

The specimens in Table 1 are only those for which Adams is recorded as collector or presenter. The many other birds the museum received in 1886 from other collectors and donors were presumably also prepared by Adams, but the preparator was not noted in the early registers. One such bird is an articulated skeleton of a dabchick (*Poliocephalus rufopectus*, Fig. 1), received in 1886, presumably as a corpse, and presumably skeletonised and articulated by Adams.

Five specimens of North American birds, one mount and four articulated skeletons, were received from Adams in 1885 or 1886 (Table 2). Adams may have brought these with him, or arranged for them to be sent during his time in Auckland. Fig. 2 shows one of these birds.

Table 1. New Zealand birds and reptiles known to have been collected and/or prepared by C.F. Adams for Auckland Museum. Six specimens are recognisable in the museum collections, as indicated by modern LB numbers in bold.

Group of tuataras Sphenodon punctatus (4 or 5) and petrels (3)

Blue Book 1058 (= 1088) (mounts); Karewa Island; collected 1886.

Spotted shag Stictocarbo punctatus ("Phalacrocorax punctatus")

Blue Book 930 (mount; destroyed 1989), 931 (skeleton); Rakino Island; collected 1886.

New Zealand falcon Falco novaeseelandiae ("Harpa novae-zelandiae")

Blue Book 840, 841 (both eggs); Cuvier Island; presented 1886.

New Zealand dotterel Charadrius obscurus ("Ochthodromus obscurus")

Blue Book 852 (skeleton); Manukau Harbour; collected 1886.

White-fronted tern Sterna striata ("Sterna frontalis")

Blue Book 887 (LB2907, mount), 888 (mount?), 889 (LB311, articulated skeleton); Motutapu Island; collected 1886.

Morepork Ninox novaeseelandiae

Blue Book 833 (mount?); vicinity of Auckland; collected "1876" (presumably an error for 1886).

Sacred kingfisher Todiramphus sanctus ("Halcyon vagans")

Blue Book 800, 801 (both mounts?); Auckland Harbour; collected 1886.

Tui Prosthemadera novaeseelandiae

Blue Book 786 (mount?); Waitakere; collected 1886.

Bellbird Anthornis melanura

LB4395 (study-skin); Cuvier Island; collected Nov. 1886.

Tomtit Petroica macrocephala ("Petroeca toitoi")

Blue Book 755 (mount); Pirongia Mountain; collected 1886; destroyed.

Saddleback Philesturnus carunculatus

LB4537-9 (all study-skins); Cuvier Island; collected Oct. 1886.

Chaffinch Fringilla coelebs

Blue Book 344 (mount?); Auckland; collected 1886.

House sparrow Passer domesticus

Blue Book 353 (mount?); Auckland; collected 1886.

Cheeseman regretted Adams' departure early in 1887. "I am sorry that my present assistant, Adams, cannot see his way to remain, for he is a really good all round man—both in taxidermy, osteology and modelling." (Cheeseman to Prof. Parker, Dunedin, 11 August 1886; MA96/6 museum letter-book 2, p. 423). Regarding a successor, Cheeseman commented in the same letter: "I should like to have a man who has had a good training at some first class Museum, or like Adams, at an establishment similar to Prof. Ward's, at Rochester." This shows that Ward had provided someone trained at his own biological supply house.



Fig. 1. Articulated skeleton of dabchick *Poliocephalus rufopectus* (LB304, Blue Book 1001); Lake Whangape, Waikato, presented by Mr Brookes 1886. Presumably prepared by C.F. Adams. Photo: Wm. Beattie snr., c. 1900; Auckland Museum B13552.

Table 2. Birds from the United States sold by C.F. Adams to Auckland Museum, or exchanged, and presumably prepared by him. Four specimens survive in the museum collections, as indicated by modern LB numbers in bold.

Brown pelican Pelecanus occidentalis

Blue Book 698, LB337; articulated skeleton; Florida; exchanged 1886.

Roseate spoonbill Ajaia ajaja (Fig. 2)

Blue Book 652, LB8490; mount; Florida; purchased 1885.

White ibis Eudocimus albus

Blue Book 656, LB298; articulated skeleton; Florida; purchased 1885.

Black skimmer Rhynchops niger

Blue Book 696; articulated skeleton; Florida; exchanged 1886; destroyed 1984.

Parakeet auklet Cyclorrhynchus psittacula ("Phaleris microceros")

Blue Book 709, LB321; articulated skeleton; California; exchanged 1886.



Fig. 2. Mounted roseate spoonbill *Ajaia ajaja* from Florida (LB8490, see Table 2). Obtained from C.F. Adams in 1885 and presumably mounted by him. Photo: B. Gill.

# NATURAL HISTORY DIORAMAS

In 1886, Auckland Museum made what seem to have been somewhat pioneering attempts to go beyond individual animals in glass cases, and produced "habitat groups" or what we would today call dioramas. Adams presumably mounted the animals and modelled the backgrounds, and it was presumably his expertise that made the dioramas possible. In a description of Auckland Museum, Bather (1895) noted: "Three cases with birds in their natural surroundings are of much interest." However, he mentioned only two, dealing with the "Kea parrot" (Nestor notabilis) and the "Tuatara lizard" (Sphenodon punctatus). The third one was probably a group of wekas (Gallirallus australis).

# TUATARA DIORAMA

This was "a special group, showing the nature of the habitat and special surroundings of the Tuatara Lizard (Sphenodon)" (Ann. Rep. 1886-87, p. 6). Bather (1895) noted that it "shows the Tuatara lizard in the holes of the Mutton-birds, Puffinus brevicauda, with whom 'as a rule it lives amicably, but the two may sometimes disagree." Fig. 3 shows a display of terns in the museum, behind which, to the left, is visible what appears to be the tuatara diorama. It is a small case on legs, about 1.5 m wide, glazed only at the front. A tuatara appears to be present in the foreground, with seabird burrows and vegetation behind, and a painted scene at the back.

There are contradictory indications of exactly what this exhibit contained. Entry 1058 (Blue Book) lists "Group of Tuatara Lizards (5) with 3 Puffinus", and states "also entered under 1088". Entry 1088 lists "Group containing 2 Puffinus griseus [sooty shearwaters], 1 Pelecanoides urinatrix [diving petrel] with 4 Tuatara Lizards". Both entries state that all these specimens were collected on Karewa Island by C.F. Adams in 1886, and he presumably mounted them.

# KEA DIORAMA

The Annual Report for 1886–87 (p. 6) also announced a kea display. Entry 1057 (Blue Book) is for a group of keas attacking a lamb, the specimens obtained in 1886 "from Otago Alps" and "Prepared in Museum". "The case represents a ravine off the Canterbury plains . . . In the foreground is a parrot engaged on a dead lamb, while in the distance others are seen flying after the scattered flocks" (Bather 1895). Fig. 4 shows an old photograph that is believed to depict this diorama. Adams was presumably the taxidermist and diorama-maker, but the backdrop is thought to have been painted by local artist Kennett Watkins (Wolfe 1998).

#### WEKA DIORAMA

The third display mentioned by Bather was probably the weka diorama. A display at Auckland Museum showing a family party of wekas was illustrated by Harper (1900), and this display is visible above the (larger) tuatara display in Fig. 3. Entry 1087 (Blue Book) is for "Group of 2 adult Ocydromus Earlii [weka Gallirallus australis] and 5 young ones" that were "Collected at Waikato, mounted & presented by F.H. Combes". Though received in 1886 they were not the work of C.F. Adams and the background painting is crude.

# TRAVELS IN NEW ZEALAND, 1887

Cheeseman wrote to Ward on 26 February 1887 that "Adams has just left us en route for Borneo" (MA96/6 museum letter-book 2, p. 480). Letters from Adams to Cheeseman (MA95/38/1)



Fig. 3. Habitat group of white-fronted terns *Sterna striata*, completed 1918–19, in the upstairs gallery of the Main Hall of Auckland Museum. Behind the tern case to the left are two small cases that appear to be the older displays of tuataras (below) and wekas (above). Photo: Auckland Museum C27027.



Fig. 4. Keas feeding on a dead lamb, thought to be the 1886 Auckland Museum display with taxidermy by C.F. Adams and background painting by K. Watkins. Photographer unknown

show that he travelled to several ports in New Zealand en route to Australia. The first letter was written from Port Chalmers, Dunedin, on 19 February 1887. "This is the third day the steamer has been lying here and we are not to get away until tomorrow evening. . . . As a consolation for this long delay . . . we are to call in at Milford Sd. being a treat that the U.S.S.Co. [Union Steamship Company?] occasionally give their passengers. Well I have visited the museums. The Wellington one [Colonial Museum, now Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa], as you know, is not well advanced in a Zoological direction and I found things not nicely arranged and gotten up. So many small cases scattered about. There they have several albino specimens. A pure white pigeon[,] also, Tui, Pukeko, Kaka, Wattled Crow [kokako] and Giant Petrel."

"They also have a similar lot at Christchurch [Canterbury Museum]. They certainly have a lar[g]e museum at the latter place but I was rather disappointed with it. It is not nicely kept[,] that is old labels are left tied to the legs of birds and the mounting is not good. Of course the collection is large and valuable but the museum here in Dunedin [Otago Museum] has pleased me most. They have a large zoological collection here which is nicely arranged in wall cases similar to yours [at Auckland Museum] and the specimens are well done and well kept. Very few unsightly things in the whole lot. Mr. Jennings does very good work and as he has been here from the commencement the work is all of one class. They also have a good collection of Moa skeletons here (eight good ones) besides some good ones of the larger mammals. . . . I have seen some specimens of Athene albifacies [laughing owl *Sceloglaux albifacies*, now extinct] in Dunedin [presumably stuffed rather than live specimens] and think if you would lodge an order with Mr. Jennings he would obtain one for you. . . . Also Smyth [William Smyth, commercial taxidermist at Caversham, Dunedin] has a good skin of Diomedea exulans [wandering albatross]. . . . Smyth is a man about 50 yrs old so I don't think he will ever improve much".

# TRAVELS ABROAD, 1887

The second letter is from Sydney, Australia, 15 March 1887. Adams advised Cheeseman that he had sent him a box for redirection to the U.S. It contained "some N.Z. bird skins which I got of [f] Smyth while in Dunedin". Adams had hoped to "get some things of [f] Mr Ramsay [director, Australian Museum, Sydney] to put with them but he is so bound up by 'Red tape' that he is not free to deal without the matter being brought before a large committee". "They have good museums both in Melbourne and Sydney but there is a great lack of good foreign mammals here." "I was fortunate enough to meet a young man in Melbourne who was three years in North Borneo. He gave me a great deal of information and furnished me with letters to several of his friends including the Governor. He . . . does not think any collector has been in that particular place before. Look out for some good things and write me when you can, to Sandakan [capital, until 1947, of] British North Borneo [now Sabah, Malaysia]."

Adams evidently reached Borneo, and three of the Bornean specimens supplied to Auckland Museum are labelled "near Sandakan" or "Kinabatangan River" (Table 3) showing that he indeed visited British North Borneo as planned. In a letter, dated 29 December 1887, to the Bank of New Zealand, Cheeseman authorised payment to Adams at Singapore of up to £50 for skins (MA96/6 museum letter-book 2, pp. 540–1). The money would allow Adams to continue exploring. The skins were sent to Auckland in a cask of brine. Cheeseman's letter at the same time (MA96/6 museum letter-book 2, pp. 542–3) commented thus to Adams on his travels: "After reading your letter [not located], I think that on the whole, considering the people you have to deal with, the nature of the country, and the climate, you have not done at all badly."

Cheeseman's main news was the death of Sir Julius Haast, Director of Canterbury Museum, and he ended "I am very well, and so are all our people."

Table 3 shows the 13 Bornean mammals and two Bornean birds that Adams supplied to Auckland Museum. The museum wanted mounts for display, but the darter is a study-skin. It has a label attached (64 mm x 25 mm) on one side of which is machine-printed "C. F. ADAMS" and "BORNEAN COLLECTION". Such a printed label suggests that on this expedition Adams made a large collection of study-skins, and others may survive in other museums.

Table 3. Mammals and birds from Borneo (i.e. Sabah, Malaysia) collected and prepared by C.F. Adams for Auckland Museum. Received 1890; all mounts except *Anhinga*. Seven specimens are recognisable in the museum collections, as indicated by modern LM and LB numbers in bold.

Orang-utan *Pongo pygmaeus* (Fig. 6) Blue Book 47, **LM381**, near Sandakan.

Grey gibbon Hylobates muelleri (Fig. 5)

Blue Book 45 (LM383, adult), 46 (LM384, juvenile); near Sandakan.

Proboscis monkey *Nasalis larvatus* Blue Book 42, **LM299**.

Langur *Presbytis cristata* Blue Book 43; destroyed 1980s.

Macaque *Macaca* sp. Blue Book 40; destroyed 1980.

Tree shrew *Tupaia* sp. Blue Book 55; destroyed 1915.

Flying lemur *Cynocephalus variegatus* ("Galeopithecus volans") Blue Book 54; destroyed 1914.

Giant flying squirrel *Petaurista petaurista* Blue Book 85, **LM411**.

Palm civet *Paradoxurus hermaphroditis* Blue Book 62; missing since 1981.

Otter civet *Cynogale bennettii* Blue Book 63; destroyed 1980s.

Malayan sun bear *Ursus malayanus* Blue Book 67, missing (could be LM243 or LM424).

Chevrotain *Tragulus javanicus* Blue Book 99, **LM398**.

Darter Anhinga melanogaster

LB6931; skin; Kinabatangan R.; collected Jun. 1887.

Great argus pheasant *Argusianus argus* ("Argus grayi") Blue Book 609; missing (could be LB4334).

# BACK IN THE UNITED STATES, 1888-92

Cheeseman wrote to Adams on 5? [illegible] October 1888 (MA96/6 museum letter-book 2, pp. 602–3) acknowledging an August letter [not located] that had announced Adams' safe return to the U.S. The cask of Bornean skins had been received in Auckland after long delays, but "... as we shall probably have to send them out of the Colony to be mounted, I may as well ask you what you would charge for doing them for us ..." Subsequent letters from Cheeseman show that the argus pheasant was "set up" in Auckland but that the Bornean mammal skins were sent to Adams in the U.S. for mounting. There were many instructions on the desired result, particularly concerning the orang-utan. Finally, the finished mounts were shipped to Auckland from Adams' workshop. Cheeseman wrote on 14 June 1890 (MA96/6 museum letter-book 2, pp. 731–2): "The following steamer brought the animals in very good condition and [pen?]ding the erection of a new show-case they have been put in the lecture-room, and have attracted a great deal of attention from visitors. I hear nothing but praises of the manner in which they are mounted . . . I will only offer one piece of criticism – would it not have been better to have shewn the teeth of the Orang?"

The total bill came to £47-11-3, with unexpected shipping costs adding another £29. The Annual Report for 1890–91 (p. 7), stated that the Bornean mammals purchased from (and "elegantly mounted" by) C.F. Adams were "placed in a new show case specially erected for them in the centre of the Museum Hall". They were declared to be in many respects "the most important addition received by the Museum for several years." Fig. 5 shows two of the Bornean mammals, a mother gibbon with infant. Fig. 6 shows a printed label for the orang-utan. This was presumably used in 1890, or soon after, but whether it was printed in New Zealand, or printed in America and supplied by Adams, is not known.

A letter from Adams to Cheeseman (10 July 1890; MA95/38/1), sent from Champaign, Illinois, gave much detail of the preparation of the orang-utan. "The lips of an Orang-utan are so exceedingly thick that, to me, an open mouth is a disgusting sight and besides I could not think of a natural excuse why the animal should have its mouth open." "I am glad you are pleased with my work, the pedestals &c. It is really too bad that the freight charges were so very excessive."

At the end of the letter Adams admits that "of late I have been thinking rather seriously of taking another tour of the world . . ." despite a tendency to "suffer so from sea-sickness". He was also considering a trip within the U.S. "to get skins of some of our large mammals which are fast disappearing." "I have disposed of quite a large number of my specimens to several of our public institutions and in each case they were very well pleased with my preparations."

Also sent to Auckland Museum in 1890 was a collection of North American salamanders ("alcoholic Batrachia"). A list of these made out by Adams (Land Vertebrates department files) shows 14 specimens of seven species, but only two survive: LH123 (*Cryptobranchus alleganiensis*; Hot Springs, North Carolina) and LH124 (*Necturus maculosus*; Cincinnati, Ohio).

In a letter from Champaign dated 24 March 1892 (MS58, Box 1, Folder 1b), Adams reported that he "took up some World's Fair work [Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1892–93] for the Ill's. State Lab. of Nat. Hist." In another letter from Champaign, dated 20 April 1892 (MS58, Box 1, Folder 1b), Adams gave Cheeseman much detail of an expedition to the Galapagos Islands in 1891 that Adams made with Dr Baur of Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts. He ended by expressing a hope that Cheeseman would come to the World Fair in Chicago and allow Adams the chance to entertain him.



Fig. 5. Mounted grey gibbons *Hylobates muelleri* (LM383-4, see Table 3). Collected by C.F. Adams in Borneo (Sabah), prepared by him in the U.S. and received by Auckland Museum in 1890. Photo: B. Gill.

# DISCUSSION

In the late nineteenth century, Auckland Museum had around 100 visitors per day on weekdays, and 200 on Sundays, which was about one-third as many visitors as the Australian Museum in Sydney attracted at the same period (Bather 1895). Building up displays of mounted mammals and birds to delight and educate the public was a major preoccupation. The museum was therefore fortunate to obtain the services of C.F. Adams as taxidermist, from all accounts a pleasant man whose work met T.F. Cheeseman's exacting standards. His engagement was for just two years, but much mounting of specimens for display was achieved in that period. With the similarly short engagement of Andreas Reischek (1880–81), it gave a boost to the museum's ability to

# ORANG-UTAN

Adult Male, collected near Sandakan, N.E. Borneo.

The Orang-utan is found only in Sumatra and Borneo, inhabiting dense forests in the lowlands. Although possessed of immense strength, it is sluggish in its habits, and rarely attacks man, unless surrounded and its escape cut off. It spends most of its time among the branches of lofty forest trees, and is seldom seen on the ground. Its food is composed of fruits, succulent branches, and leaves.

It is one of the anthropoid, or man-like, apes, and is very closely allied indeed in its general structure to man. It differs chiefly in its hairy covering, in the projecting jaws, in the great length of the arms, in the imperfectly formed thumb, and in the prehensile foot.

Fig. 6. Label for C.F. Adams' orang-utan, presumably used in the Auckland Museum display from 1890 or soon after. It measures 235 mm x 153 mm and is printed in gold lettering on cardboard coated dark brown both front and back. The bevelled edge is also gold.

display properly and pleasingly mounted animals. This was at a time when it was difficult to find good taxidermists and the money to pay them.

Cheeseman evidently liked Adams, and in the correspondence, Cheeseman's sharing of news from Auckland, and Adams' expressed wishes to entertain Cheeseman in America, are signs of friendship between the two men. These are strong signs given a prevailing social climate in which all Cheeseman's letters began "Dear Mr Adams", and all Adams' were signed "C.F. Adams", such that none of the available documents disclose Adams' first name.

Adams' Bornean mammals were a major attraction upon their arrival in Auckland and were given pride of place in the museum's main gallery. The museum enabled visitors to see wonders of the natural world, at a time when coloured nature books were expensive and the city had no zoo. Currently, the museum's natural history galleries are devoted entirely to New Zealand material, and the surviving Bornean mammals have been relegated to storage or demoted to curiosities in children's exhibitions.

Adams collected and mounted at least 26 tuataras and New Zealand birds (Table 1), but his output was greater than that, because many other birds and mammals received by the museum in 1885 or 1886 were also likely to have been mounted by him. After more than a century, the survival rate of Adams' specimens at Auckland Museum has been poor—only a quarter of the 22 New Zealand birds (Table 1) and half the Bornean mammals and birds (Table 2). Until about

1940, natural light entered skylights or windows in the museum's galleries (both at Princes Street and at the present Domain site) with the result that stuffed animals became faded. Mounted animals, especially large ones, were vulnerable to damage during the shift of the collections from Princes Street to the Domain site in 1928–29, and during many subsequent moves as galleries were redeveloped and storage locations changed.

Cheeseman's recorded comments from the time of Adams' employment indicate that Adams was a first-rate taxidermist, and images of his specimens (Figs 1, 2, 4, 5) testify to his skills in achieving accuracy and realism. His contribution to Auckland Museum deserves to be recorded.

Acknowledgements. I thank Auckland Museum library staff for access to archival documents, and Nigel Prickett and an anonymous referee for helpful comments on a draft of this paper.

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# THE 'TE POTAKA' STOREHOUSE CARVINGS IN AUCKLAND MUSEUM

# KELVIN DAY

Abstract. Five carved panels belonging to Te Potaka pataka which formerly stood at Maraenui are examined. Previously their function was unclear but it is now proposed that they are porch heke, and as such greatly assist in the understanding of how pataka were constructed.

KEYWORDS: Pataka; storehouse; Te Whanau-a-Apanui; Bay of Plenty; Maraenui; Te Kaha.

# INTRODUCTION

Among the many great treasures cared for by Auckland Museum are several pieces which belong to Te Potaka pataka from Maraenui, between Opotiki and the East Cape. These consist of two maihi (bargeboards), the kuwaha (doorway) and five carved panels. According to the museum exhibition label the exact purpose of these panels is not clear. This short paper sets out to suggest a function for them.

Said to have been constructed in the late eighteenth century, Te Potaka was dismantled in the early 1820s and was "given to the Hinemahuru hapu at Raukokore, where a carver, said to be Puhiake, began to renovate it by making new maihi" (Stead 2001:191). Before this work could be completed all the carvings were hidden in a sea cave at Te Kaha in order to protect them from the northern Ngapuhi raiders of 1823. Here they remained hidden until 1889 when "some Europeans learnt of their whereabouts and encouraged Archdeacon Williams to induce the government to acquire them from the hapu" (Stead 2001:191). Before a decision was reached an Auckland artefact dealer, Edward Spencer, heard of their existence and visited Raukokore where he purchased the carvings for £75. Spencer then sold them to the Auckland Museum in 1912 for £425 (Phillipps 1952:174), money subscribed by the citizens of Auckland. At the time of their purchase the Auckland Museum Annual Report stated that they were "remarkably good examples of the best period of Maori workmanship", and were "probably unequalled in the Dominion" (Anon. 1912:9). Made from totara the carvings have been superbly carved using stone tools.

Augustus Hamilton, Dominion Museum, recorded a conversation he had with Archdeacon Williams in August 1909 concerning these carvings which varies slightly from the above (O'Rourke 2001). Williams stated that in 1895 he was at Raukokore where he met the chief Te Hata who told him about some old carvings hidden in a cave near there. "He [Te Hata] said that he could not get them out as the young people were [scared] of them because the Pawa [sic] shell eyes glared at them under the water". After this encounter Williams wrote to Percy Smith and Thomas Cheeseman saying that Te Hata had no objection to the government purchasing the carvings, but nothing came of this. Charles Nelson heard of their existence and sent Alfred Warbrick to purchase them. Warbrick succeeded in getting eight carvings retrieved and told Te Hata that they were worth £20. Te Hata initially agreed to this and was paid the £20 but then felt they

For cultural reasons, this image has been removed. Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 1. Maihi (bargeboards) and kuwaha (doorway) of Te Potaka. (Auckland Museum)

were worth more and would not release them at which point Warbrick returned to Rotorua. Williams stated that Spencer, who was travelling in the area on other business, happened to see the carvings and convinced Te Hata to accept £30 for them and promptly took them away.

The maihi depict a whale with "alternating human and manaia (profile) figures . . . dragging the whale along by a rope of small human figures" (Stead 2001:191). The symbolism of the whale is that of a plentiful food supply, such as may be found in such a prestigious foodstore. The kuwaha (doorway) symbolises Te Tatau-o-te-Po, the doorway into the other world (Fig. 1).

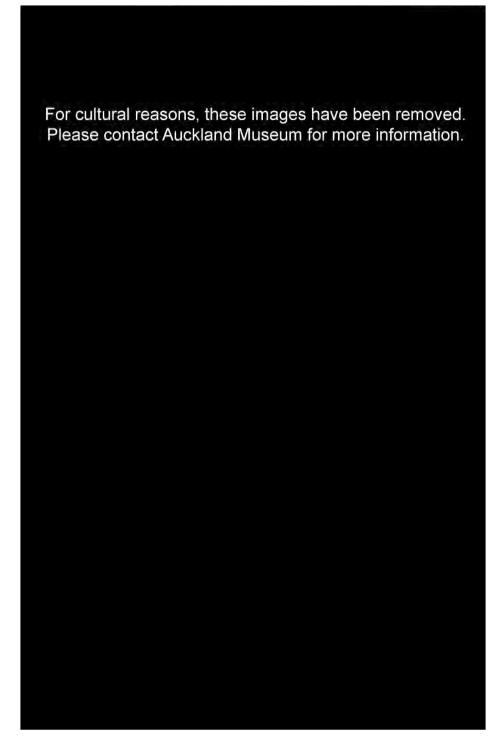
For reasons outlined below I believe that the five panels are heke (rafters) which would have been positioned in the porch of Te Potaka. Archey (1977:57) identified them as "verandah *poupou*" but clearly they could not perform this function due to their length and form.

# THE PANELS

#### PANEL 1

This panel (Fig. 2) measures 3.1 m in length and is *ca* 600 mm wide. On the left side can be found 18 lashing holes while the right side carries 17. A lashing hole is present on the top right corner while a large hole has been cut at the base of the panel roughly in the centre. Along each of the long sides space has been provided which would allow for the use of lashing taka (battens). There is also free space along to top of the panel. An undecorated area at the base of the panel has been formed into a 'flange' and between 280–360 mm from the basal edge has an angled cut 200 mm wide which extends across the panel. This is angled so that the deepest part is just below the carved surface.

The carving on this panel consists of three frontal figures, the middle one of which is female. The top figure is playing a putorino (flute). What appears to be a lizard extends down between



Figs 2–3. Te Potaka panels: 2. Panel 1. 3. Panel 2. (Krzysztof Pfeiffer)

the legs of the middle figure and over the forehead of the lower figure. In creating the angled cut most of the lower legs of the lower figure have been removed.

#### PANEL 2

This panel (Fig. 3) measures 2.6 m in length and is *ca* 630 mm wide. On the left side can be found 17 lashing holes while the right side carries 10, although the panel has suffered damage along both the upper and lower parts of this side which has removed evidence of other lashing holes. The top of the panel has also suffered from decay. Along each of the long sides an area has been provided which would allow for the use of taka. The base of the panel has been cut which makes it impossible to now know whether an angled flange ever existed as on Panel 1.

Three frontal figures are present, one above the other. The middle one is female. The top figure is playing a putorino. A lizard appears to be lying over the stomach of the central figure. Most of the legs of the bottom figure are missing due to the panel having been cut.

# PANEL 3

This panel (Fig. 4) measures 2.9 m in length and is ca 450 mm wide. On the left side can be found 15 complete lashing holes with another partial one while the right side has 18. The top left corner of the panel has been damaged. Along each of the long sides space has been provided which would allow for the use of taka. The base of the panel has a 'flange' which carries the angled recess as on Panel 1. This appears 300 mm above the basal edge. The width across the panel of the angled cut is 170 mm.

Three frontal figures, one above the other, appear on the panel. Most of the legs belonging to the lower figure are missing due to the construction of the 'flange'.

#### PANEL 4

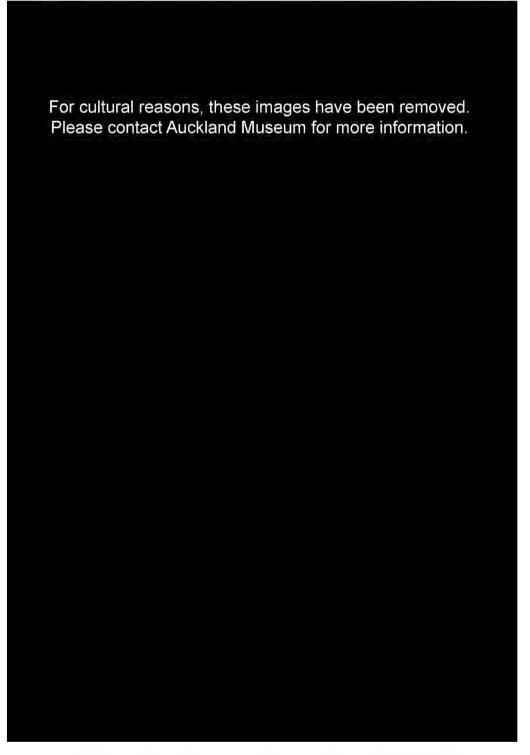
This panel (Fig. 5) measures 3.06 m in length and is *ca* 390 mm wide. On the left side can be found 14 complete lashing holes with a further three incomplete while the right side carries only five as most of this side of the panel has suffered damage. Along the left long side space has been provided which would allow for the use of taka. A significant undecorated area appears at the top of the panel. The base of the panel has a 'flange' which carries the angled recess as on Panel 1. This appears 300 mm above the basal edge and the width across the panel of the angled cut being 160 mm.

Three frontal figures, one above the other, appear on the panel. Most of the lower legs belonging to the lower figure are missing due to the construction of the 'flange'.

## PANEL 5

This panel (Fig. 6) measures 3.2 m in length and is *ca* 370 mm wide. On the left side can be found 18 complete lashing holes while the right side has 17. Along both long sides space has been provided for the use of taka. A significant undecorated area appears at the top of the panel. The base of the panel has a 'flange' which carries the angled recess with the top part being squared-off. This appears 330 mm above the basal edge. The width across the panel of the angled cut is 270 mm.

Three frontal figures, one above the other, appear on the panel.



Figs 4-6. Te Potaka panels: 4. Panel 3. 5. Panel 4. 6. Panel 5. (Krzysztof Pfeiffer)

# DISCUSSION

A number of features point to these panels being heke. Perhaps the most compelling is the basal 'flange'. The angled recesses have been deliberately fashioned as a structural attribute and are present on four of the panels (the basal area of the other panel has been cut off). This would allow the lower part of the panel to rest securely on the kaho paetara (top wall plate) or the rauawa (side panels) while the top of the panel could rest on the tahuhu (ridgepole). Due to the size and weight of the panels such support along the lower edge would be necessary rather than relying solely on lashings. The lower edge of the panels would overhang the side of the building effectively providing eaves which would greatly assist in ensuring that the pataka remained weather tight. A row or rows of kaho (roof battens) would probably have been used to assist in their support. Figures 7 and 8 show how I believe the porch area of Te Potaka may have looked and how the heke fitted into place. The number of piles depicted in Figure 7 is speculation.

As often seen in houses the heke would have been lashed into the structure using taka or battens. The number of lashing holes on the sides of the panels (where they are still present) is mostly between 17 and 18. Interestingly, no panel carries the same number of lashing holes on both sides. This perhaps provides a clue as to their placement which could be as follows: Panel 1

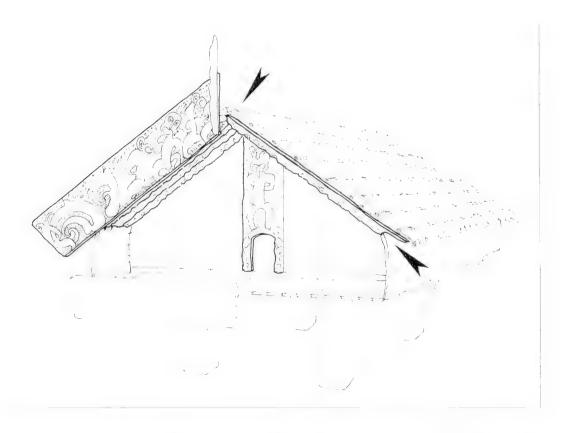


Fig. 7. Scaled reconstruction showing how the heke fitted into the porch of Te Potaka pataka. (Caroline Phillips)

and 2 on one side and Panels 3, 4 and 5 on the other. A sixth panel, needed to complete the set, appears not to have survived. Te Potaka was certainly large enough to accommodate three heke in the porch which would have given it a depth of between 1.5 to 2 m. Alternatively only two paired heke were used and the current heke represent a combination of 'old' and 'new' or replacement heke. On first impression the number of lashing holes found on the heke seems excessive, but they provide an indication of what was required to securely hold them in place.

Another factor supporting the theory that the panels are heke is that, on all of them, their length allows them to sit comfortably behind the maihi (one measures 3.15 m while the other measures 3.6 m) and not protrude beyond them.

A further interesting feature is that the legs of the lower figures have been largely removed in order to construct the 'flange'. This suggests that it was necessary to shorten the heke at some

stage, perhaps in preparation for the newly carved maihi.

Examples of early heke, whether from pataka or whare, are rare in museum collections and only seemed to have survived if they were carved, such as the Te Potaka examples. Exceptions are three heke, belonging to a wharepuni, which were among material excavated from the swamp pa at Kohika, in the Bay of Plenty. These were identified by the tenon joints on the lower ends while the upper ends were bevelled to "allow joints to be formed flush with a ridge pole" (Wallace and Irwin 2000:73). It is not unusual for only decorated building components to have been deliberately hidden in caves or swamps which has resulted in a lack of understanding of the finer details of how structures, such as pataka, were built due to the absence of other structural components.

The use of carved heke in the porch of a pataka can be seen on Te Oha which was carved in 1825 (Neich 2001:389) and is now in Auckland Museum. Double paired heke with corresponding taka make up the ceiling of the porch. The heke on this pataka have a carved central ridge on either side of which the panel remains undecorated. At the lower end the raised ridge has been cut short so that while the heke passes over the rauawa it is prevented from slipping by the carving. It appears that the lower ends of the heke have been cut with a saw so it cannot be determined if they once protruded further over the rauawa than they do now. A carved tahuhu

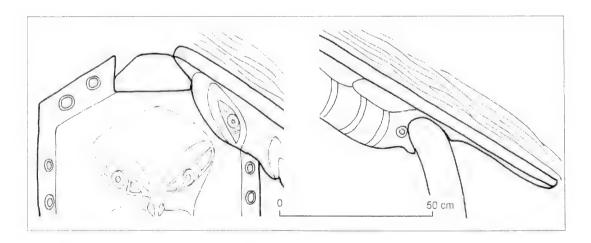


Fig. 8. Detail showing how the heke sat on the tahuhu (ridgepole) and the rauawa (side panel). (Caroline Phillips)

(ridgepole) hides the top ends of the Te Oha heke making it difficult to determine how much they are hidden and what form the ends take.

Many pataka have heke which are painted with kowhaiwhai while others remain undecorated. Unfortunately only one of the 1827–28 paintings of pataka by Augustus Earle in the Bay of Islands (Murray-Oliver 1968) shows the porch area in detail, and while the maihi carry the same whale symbolism as the Te Potaka maihi, the heke appear to be uncarved (Fig. 9). This could suggest that the carving of pataka heke was restricted to the eastern North Island region.

To determine the height and width of Te Potaka the recess at the top of the kuwaha which sets the angle of the maihi was checked against the maihi, and the angles found to agree (Fig. 1). Comparing the interior porch dimensions of Te Potaka against Te Oha and Te Puawai-o-Te Arawa (constructed about 1878–80 and also in Auckland Museum) reveals that Te Potaka was wider, at 4.9 m, than Te Puawai at 4.78 m. The porch of Te Puawai has a depth of 2.1 m. Te Oha is much smaller at 2.99 m wide, with a porch depth of 0.9 m. Neich (2001:314) states that Te Puawai was, "Probably the largest pataka ever built . . .". We have no way of knowing what the full dimensions were for Te Potaka but it was undoubtedly a substantial building and it could well have been of a comparable size to Te Puawai-o-Te Arawa.

Te Potaka and Te Oha are useful models (being constructed within 20 years of each other) with regard to how porches were decorated on superior pataka in the early nineteenth century. Whether decoration was used on heke would have depended on the size of the pataka and the prestige embodied within it. Te Potaka was undoubtedly a prestigious and superior pataka, both in size and decoration. It would therefore have been entirely appropriate for it to have had carved heke.

For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 9. 'A Tabooed House belonging to Shulitea, Kororadica [Kororareka], Bay of Islands, N. Zealand.' Watercolour by Augustus Earle. (Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia)

Acknowledgements. I thank Professor Roger Neich, Auckland Museum, for providing access to the museum files pertaining to the panels and for discussing them with me. Dr Caroline Phillips drew Figures 7 and 8. Auckland Museum photographer, Krzysztof Pfeiffer, re-photographed the heke for inclusion in this article. The National Library of Australia kindly gave permission to reproduce Augustus Earle's watercolour of a Bay of Islands pataka. Dr Robin Watt, Wellington, commented on an early draft of this paper.

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# MAORI CASUALTIES AT PUKEHINAHINA (GATE PA), 29 APRIL 1864

# NIGEL PRICKETT

Abstract. Two generally unknown Maori casualty lists from the Battle of Gate Pa (Pukehinahina), Tauranga, 29 April 1864, are reproduced. These give the names of most Maori killed in the engagement, and are presented here together with other published information on Maori casualties. Information from the sources is compared to derive a list of 19 Maori dead who were laid out at the pa the morning after the battle, and later buried nearby. The names of other dead and wounded men are given where available. Further development of a Maori casualty list for Gate Pa is likely to depend on manuscript material and oral history.

KEYWORDS: New Zealand Wars; casualty list; Maori; Gate Pa; Tauranga.

#### INTRODUCTION

In early 1864 a British military expedition landed near the Te Papa mission station on the point of land now occupied by the city of Tauranga, with the two objectives of putting pressure on local tribes supporting the Maori King fighting European forces in the Waikato, and stopping further reinforcements for the Kingite cause from tribes to the east. Two major battles took place in the Tauranga Campaign of autumn and early winter 1864. On 29 April at Pukehinahina ('Gate Pa'), a small Maori force defeated a much larger British army in one of the best–known actions of the New Zealand Wars; on 21 June there was an equally emphatic European victory at Te Ranga, 5 km inland of Gate Pa. More than 200 Maori and Pakeha were killed at these two engagements, or died of wounds afterwards. This paper makes available generally unknown data on Maori casualties at Gate Pa, and derives a casualty list from the information. Some of the published record has been checked against original manuscript or typescript material.

The engagement itself is not described here. Official reports are in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, British Parliamentary Papers, and Selections from Despatches and Letters Relative to the Conduct of Military Operations in New Zealand 1860–5 published by the War Office in London. There are also valuable accounts in Auckland newspapers The Daily Southern Cross (reprinted in The Weekly News) and The New–Zealander. First hand Maori accounts are by Hori Ngatai in Mair's The Story of Gate Pa (Mair 1926:20–26), and by Heni Te Kiri Karamu in Cowan (1922–23 I:412–423). Typescripts of these two accounts show changes in the later printed versions (Cowan ms a; McDonald ms). The best recent account of the battle and its significance is by Belich (1986:178–188). A contemporary map showing the area of Te Papa and Gate Pa is given in Figure 1. The outstanding pictorial record of the battle is by Lieutenant Horatio Gordon Robley, 68th Regiment (see Fig. 3).

Gate Pa is now cut by Cameron Road, 4 km from the Tauranga city centre. East of the road a grassy reserve rises to a memorial that is within the area once occupied by the main Maori



Fig. 1. Contemporary map showing Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) and disposition of British forces, and the mission station and British military camp at Te Papa. Map by Major G.R. Greaves, 70th Regiment, in Colonel Gamble's *Journals of the Deputy Quartermaster General in New Zealand* (War Office 1864).

fortification. A plaque on the memorial referring to '... unnamed Maoris who were killed at this battle and buried here', is wrong in two important respects: there is good information on Maori casualties, and they are not buried at Gate Pa.

# MAORI AT GATE PA

In his report dated 3 May 1864, the Civil Commissioner at Tauranga, Thomas Smith (GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, p. 63) relates information on the Maori force at Gate Pa from a wounded prisoner found in the pa the morning after the engagement:

'The prisoner Reweti informed me that there were under 200 Natives in the entrenchments, principally belonging to Tauranga. The remainder were Ngati Paoa from the Thames, who had come over from the Waikato, with the Ngaiterangi [who returned home when the troops landed at Tauranga]. Judging from the size of the place, I think the number given by Reweti is correct, as it did not appear capable of holding more.'

Governor George Grey adopts the figure of 200 in his 6 May 1864 report to the Colonial Secretary in London (GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, p. 37).

Cowan (1922–23 I:413) gives the Maori force as follows:

'The main pa... was garrisoned by about two hundred warriors of Ngai–te–Rangi with a few men of the Piri–Rakau and other tribes. The small pa was occupied by the party of Koheriki, under Wi Koka, of Maraetai... With them were about ten men of various tribes, chiefly Piri–Rakau. This wing of the Gate Pa was defended by not more than forty men, besides a brave young half–caste woman, Heni te Kiri–karamu (Heni Pore)... so that the total garrison of Puke–hinahina did not exceed two hundred and fifty.'

Cowan's information comes partly from an account by Te Kiri Karamu, now in the Cowan Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library (Cowan ms a). Note that although of Arawa descent she identifies as Koheriki because she had relatives in that hapu of Ngati Paoa, and joined them in the fighting south of Auckland in 1863 and 1864 (Cowan ms a).

'There were not quite forty people defending our wing of the Gate Pa. We Koheriki numbered 30, and there were besides about six men of the Piri–Rakau. Among those who were in the <u>pa</u> were Wi Koka (our leader), Timoti te Amopo (the <u>Tohunga</u>), Hori and Patu–witi (lay–readers, both killed), Ihaka (shot in the ankle and taken prisoner), Hone (wounded in the shoulder) Arema Karaka (missing, believed killed, Te Apaapa, Takurua, Taua, Te Paratene, Tukeka, Tamati Wake, Piha, Wi Tu–Wehewewe, Te Pekawhero, and Te Matewai. These are all whose names I can recollect. Tukeka was a man of the Ngai–Raukawa tribe; Tamati Waka belonged to Ngati–Rangiwerehi, of Puhirua, Lake Rotorua.'

The record was made by James Cowan, '. . . taken down from her lips on Jan 2nd. and Jan. 4th, 1919' (Cowan ms a). There are many errors in the typescript, especially in the spelling of Maori names, some corrected presumably by Cowan, but others not (e.g. Arama and Rangiwewehi).

Hori Ngatai of Ngaiterangi, who fought in the battle, describes Gate Pa as consisting of two strong–points on an entrenched line extending between the Waikareao and Waimapu arms of Tauranga Harbour (Mair 1926:22; see Oliver 1990a; and see Fig. 2). He describes the small pa as having been,

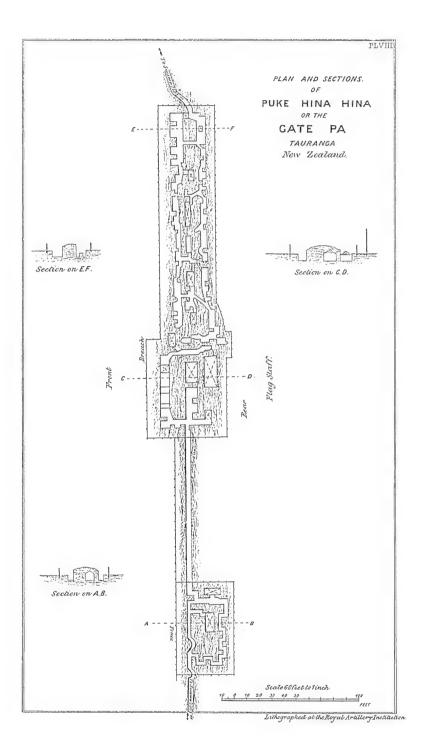


Fig. 2. Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) showing the large and small pa and connecting trench which extended each side to the harbour or adjacent swamp (Mould 1869).

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Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 3. Gate Pa the morning after the battle. Sketch by Lieutenant H.G. Robley. Auckland War Memorial Museum.

... built by the Pirirakau (bush denizens) and Ngaitamawhariua hapus of Ngaiterangi and the Koheriki people. Heta and from thirty to thirty–five men garrisoned it. The large pa on the eastern side of the ridge was garrisoned by about two hundred men of the Ngaiterangi.' (Mair 1926:22)

On the principle that contemporary data is more likely to be correct than later reports, Reweti's total of 'under 200' Maori at Gate Pa is considered most likely to be correct. The Ngatai and Cowan figures date from long after the battle and their similarity suggests a shared source or general agreement at that time. The fighting strength brought together at Pukehinahina was made up largely of local Ngaiterangi, including Pirirakau, plus 30 Ngati Paoa from the Hauraki district. The main pa was commanded by Ngaiterangi chief, Rawiri Puhirake (see Rorke 1990), and the smaller by Wi Koka of Koheriki (Cowan ms a). Ngatai refers to, 'Our leaders – Rawiri Tuaia [Puhirake], Hakaraia Mahika, Timoti and Poihipi . . .' and also to a chief 'Te Haua' (McDonald ms).

Individuals from other tribes were involved, but no other tribal contingent – in contrast to the fight at Te Ranga in June where there were large contingents from outside the Tauranga district. Among listed casualties is a Ngati Raukawa chief, a Waikato man, one Ngati Maru and another 'supposed to be from Hauraki', and possibly also an individual from the Rotorua Ngati Rangiwewehi tribe (see Table 1). Other Arawa at Gate Pa were Heni Te Kiri Karamu and her brother Neri, of Ngati Uenukukopako and Ngati Hinepare (Oliver 1990b:461). Ngatai tells of Te Poihipi of Whakatohea taking part in the battle (Mair 1926:23), and Tamaki of the same

eastern Bay of Plenty tribe also apparently being present (Mair 1926:21). (But note that Wi Matenga Te Kuru of Te Arawa wrote on 28 April 1864 that Te Poihipi was killed at Otamarakau on 27 April (GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, p. 62)). Other Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Rangiwewehi names are given by Te Kiri Karamu (above).

Exactly how many Maori were killed at Gate Pa on Friday 29 April 1864, or died of wounds afterwards, will never be known. A *Daily Southern Cross* (5 May 1864) report written two or three days after the battle states that, 'The natives acknowledge to a loss of thirty killed and missing.' Hori Ngatai puts the number at 'about 25' (Mair 1926:26), this apparently accepted by Cowan (1922–23 I:423), although his summary casualty list has twenty (Cowan 1922–23 I:453). Mair's (1926:17) figure of 'about' 45 is based on the wrong conclusion that 29 Maori dead were found by British troops the day after the battle.

On the principle of contemporary information being most likely to be accurate I take 30 killed or missing to be closest to the actual number, although this number may not include wounded prisoners, at least two of whom died after the number was reported. The number of wounded who escaped the pa but died later being cared for in Maori settlements is unknown. A total of 24 Maori are actually recorded as being killed or dying of wounds, including 19 bodies brought together at Gate Pa the morning after the battle, a chief named Piwharangi whose body was found a few days later and four men who died of wounds in the British hospital.

The Daily Southern Cross of 5 May reports that the Saturday morning after the battle (see Fig. 3) 19 Maori dead were found: 'Ten of these were killed in the pa, and nine in the swamp during the retreat.' Five are said to have been killed by rifle fire in the smaller pa. The report adds that a wounded prisoner died that night (30 April), bringing to 20 the number of confirmed dead at that time. This agrees with the GBPP report of 19 men 'killed' (see below). The New–Zealander (3 May 1864) carries a report that, 'One party of the 68th found ten dead natives lying in a heap amongst the fern', but this seems unlikely.

In his official report, General Cameron writes,

'The loss of the enemy must have been very heavy, although not more than twenty bodies and six wounded were found in and about their position. It is admitted by the prisoners that they carried off a large number of killed and wounded during the night, and they also suffered in attempting to make their escape . . .' (Cameron to Grey 5 May 1864, GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, pp. 37–38)

# THE SOURCES

The best casualty information is provided by Thomas H. Smith, Civil Commissioner at Tauranga, enclosed in a report dated 3 May 1864, which was addressed probably to the Colonial Secretary at Auckland, and later forwarded to England with Governor Grey's official report (Table 1). It is published in the *British Parliamentary Papers* (GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, pp. 63–64). The manuscript list in The National Archives, at Kew, London (Smith ms), is used here because of changes in the printed version including 'Kahopora' for 'Rahopora' and 'Ngaiteaki' for 'Ngaiteahi'. This is in turn clearly a copy of the original hand—written list made at Gate Pa. A second casualty list, acquired in the same circumstances but different enough to have depended on another informant, was published in the Auckland newspaper, *The Daily Southern Cross*, 5 May 1864, and reprinted without variation in *The Weekly News* on 7 May 1864 (Table 2). This is given as printed.

Table 1. Gate Pa Maori casualty list according to Thomas Smith, Civil Commissioner at Tauranga (The National Archives CO209/180; printed with errors in GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, pp. 63–64). The manuscript list is copied directly, except that the format has been altered for clarity, and bracketed information is repeated on consecutive lines where it applies.

List of casualties on the side of the Native Insurgents at the attack on Pukehinahina on the 29<sup>th</sup> April 1864.

Killed

Te Monhouho Ngatiraukawa chief of Patetere and the Wairoa

Tikiku Native teacher at Poiki
Te Tuhi of Poiki Ngaiteahi Tribe
Tamihana of Poiki Ngaiteahi Tribe

Te Kau chief of Tuhua Te Urangawera Tribe
Rotohiko of Tuhua Te Urangawera tribe
Te Kiriparara of Te Wairoa – Te Pirirakau Tribe
Te Wano of Te Wairoa – Te Pirirakau Tribe
Te Kani Brother of Rawiri Puhirake

Paiawa of Poiki – Te Haenga

Te Motupuka of Poiki of Waikato Ngatitawhaki Ihau brother of Henare Taratoa Te Ngare tribe

Petariki of Te Matewaitai tribe
Timoti of Matakana Ngaitamawhariu
Keni of Otumoetai, Ngatiraukawa

Arama Karaka Kiritiana Ngatimaru Ngaitamarawaho

Te Harawira (?) of Rotorua Ngatirangiwewehi

- not identified, supposed to be from Hauraki

Wounded.

Te Reweti Manotini chief of [? – not given]
Te Rahopora of Poiki (since dead)

Eruera newphew [sic] of Rawiri Puhirake of Ohuki

Hone of Ohuki
- Ngatipaoa
- Ngatipaoa

Both lists are based on the identification of bodies brought together by British soldiers at Gate Pa the morning after the battle.

'Nineteen bodies were collected and placed in a row for identification. Of these, not more than four or five had been killed by shot or shell. Seven prisoners were taken in the course of the morning, of whom six were wounded....' (Smith letter, GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, p. 62)

The Daily Southern Cross reporter describes British troops entering the pa on Saturday morning to locate and recover British and Maori casualties.

'One Maori had been cut in two by a shell, and the head, trunk, and extremities were carefully gathered and placed in line with the remaining dead in front of the pa... The dead bodies were covered with blankets.'

Table 2. Gate Pa Maori casualty list first published in *The Daily Southern Cross*, 5 May 1864; reprinted without variation in *The Weekly News* 7 May 1864. Given here as originally published.

#### KILLED.

NGAITERANGI TRIBE.

Te Matewaitai hapu:-

Petarika Te Kanae.

Te Ngare hapu:-

Ihau Hoani.

Matekiwaho hapu:-

Te Kani.

Eruera Taratikitiki.

Wrungawera hapu:-

Te Kau.

Rotohiko.

Kohamo.

Patutahora hapu:-

Kini.

Ngaitamawharina hapu:-

Timoti.

Ngatiteniha hapu:-

Tamihana Wahakore.

Rahopora.

Parawai.

Ngatiruahine hapu:-

Tikiku.

Ngaitamarawaho hapu:-

Tapatopa.

Te Tuhi.

NGATUAUKAWA TRIBE.

Pekekioie hapu:-

Te Mouhouho.

WOUNDED.

Reweti Mauotrini.

Hone Amomako.

Eru Noa.

PRISONER.

Niko, Ngapuhi tribe, Bay of Islands.

Including wounded there appear to be 17 names on both lists, 13 of them among the dead identified at Gate Pa the morning after the battle.

Other published information on Maori casualties is from Hori Ngatai, speaking in 1903 to a Wellington audience. His story was translated by Gilbert Mair of the Native Department and taken down by a shorthand secretary (Mair 1926:20–26). There is also an account from the only woman in the pa, Heni Te Kiri Karamu, again recorded long after the battle, this time by James Cowan (1922–23 I:423–429).

In all sources there are problems arising out of the process by which records were made. For the *British Parliamentary Papers* (GBPP) and *The Daily Southern Cross* (TDSC) lists, a Maori

informant would have viewed the dead and given the names to a European recorder, likely to have been Smith and the newspaper correspondent. This provided the first opportunity for mistakes or spelling errors in the transmission of information. The hand–written list was then used by a typesetter to prepare the printed version that has come down to us. Similarities in hand–writing between n, u, i, a, r, etc., and other like letters, gave wide scope for mistakes in the printed version.

The information from Ngatai and Te Kiri Karamu presents other problems. The first is that the recollections date from long after the battle, 39 years in the case of Ngatai and 55 years with respect to Te Kiri Karamu. This gives ample time for the memory to be partial at least, and perhaps not always correct. Also, the record of what they said was made by others, providing further opportunity for errors despite Mair and Cowan being fluent Maori speakers and familiar

with the Maori world.

In the papers of James McDonald, formerly Assistant Director of the Dominion Museum, now in the Hocken Library, Dunedin, is a foolscap typescript of what appears to be a carbon copy of the original typed record of Ngatai's address (McDonald ms). This is significantly different to the published version (Mair 1926 and 1937) and is a reminder of the difficulties in transmitting such information. The typescript is used here as being closer to what Ngatai said, but of course still may not be what he actually said. Another typescript of the address among the Cowan Papers in the Alexander Turnbull Library is somewhat different and not the version used by Mair (Cowan ms b). A typescript of Te Kiri Karamu's account to Cowan in 1919 is also among the Cowan Papers and again provides a useful check on the published version (Cowan ms a).

The typescript of Ngatai's 1903 address in the McDonald Papers, Hocken Library, Dunedin, gives Maori casualties as follows:

"... Petarika, Te Reweti, Manotini (taken the next day to Te Papa, where he died), Eru Puhirake, Te Kani, Reka, Tamatea, Ihaka, Te Wano, Te Rauhuhu, Tikiku, Te Rangihau, Te Keni, Te Wharepouri, Parawai. Wi Heti was both bayoneted and shot but got away. Hone Taheranga and Te Moananui were also wounded. The latter had three gunshot wounds." (McDonald ms)

Elsewhere in the McDonald typescript Ngatai is reported as stating that, "Te Kou was bayoneted to death, and many others received bayonet wounds", which did not reach the published version. Te Kani and Te Keni and 'a number of other men' are said to have been killed trying to break through the 68th Regiment cordon inland of the pa during the battle. Wounded are given as Te Ipu, Rerekaipuke ('my younger relative'), 'Raweti' (Reweti, see below; incorrectly 'Rawiri' in Mair 1926:25), and 'Wieri' ('Wiari' in Mair 1926:25).

The names Petarika, Te Reweti Manotini, Eru Puhirake, Te Kani, Te Wano, Tikiku, Te Keni, Parawai and 'Te Kou' (probably the Te Urungawera chief Te Kau), in the typescript, can be matched with names on the GBPP and TDSC lists. Other dead recorded by Ngatai and not elsewhere are: Reka, Tamatea, Ihaka, Te Rauhuhu, Te Rangihau and Te Wharepouri. Cowan's

(1922–23 I:433) casualty list appears to be based on the Ngatai information.

Heni Te Kiri Karamu (or Heni Pore (Jane Foley), after her second husband), was the only woman in the pa when it was attacked, others who helped build it having been sent away. She states that the very first cannon shot killed two ministers, Hori and Iraihia te Patu—witi, who were conducting prayers in the pa according to Church of England rites (Cowan 1922–23 I:426; and see Cowan ms a). Ngatai has a similar story, except that just one minister (Ihaka) was killed, while leading prayers (Mair 1926:24). Ngatai adds that some hours later, the tohunga Te Wano

was reciting karakia, again from an exposed position, only to be killed in the same way. Te Kiri Karamu also mentions 'Arema Karaka' as 'missing, believed killed' (Cowan ms a).

In the W.F. Gordon Papers in the Museum of New Zealand, is the following comment by Te Kiri Karamu, apparently dated 1903,

"... the chaplain who was killed by the first shell, was one of our men in our pa [i.e. the smaller pa] & his name was <u>Hori</u>, a Koheriki man, and not <u>Ihaaka</u> as is stated by Hori Ngatai, and there were two killed by the same shell, the other was <u>Eraihia</u>, he was also a layreader before the fight took place ... ' (see Walker 1985:241)

Among sketches of Gate Pa by Lieutenant H.G. Robley is one of 'The remains of the Christian preacher in the Gate Pah, 30 April 1864', this being Hori as identified by Te Kiri Karamu (Walker 1985:241).

# THE IDENTIFICATIONS OF 30 APRIL 1864

Resolving the different casualty data is not straightforward. Sources used here give the names of more than 30 Maori said to have been killed at Gate Pa or who later died of wounds. Some names will be incorrect: individuals were wrongly identified at the time, or incorrectly stated to have killed, or individuals were known by more than one name. Research carried out by someone familiar with Ngaiterangi/ Ngati Ranginui and other relevant whakapapa may help clarify matters. Contemporary sources are more likely to be accurate than later recollections – ignoring for now the age—old capacity for disinformation in war. Also, since the major identification exercise at Gate Pa the morning after the battle was almost certainly carried out by local people the identification of local casualties is more likely correct than those from outside the Tauranga district.

Table 3 gives a preliminary list of the 19 men laid out for identification at Gate Pa on Saturday morning. Only new information will improve on this. The table is based largely on the manuscript *British Parliamentary Papers* list, which gives 18 names plus one unidentified. Except for the wounded who died in hospital, the only new name in *The Daily Southern Cross* is Kohamo, who, as a local man, is unlikely to have been wrongly identified. Table 3 is in two sections: the 13 names in both lists may be regarded as confirmed identifications. The second section is of those only in one list, of whom Arama Karaka and Te Wano are confirmed by Te Kiri Karamu and Ngatai respectively. Thus we appear to have 15 confirmed names. The total of 20 identifications is one more than the 19 bodies laid out. Where this leaves the evidence of Te Kiri Karamu for Hori and Iraihia being killed in the pa, or the other dead named by Ngatai, is not clear.

The Daily Southern Cross reported five killed by rifle fire in the smaller pa (see above), but Ngati Paoa who made up three—quarters of the garrison are not represented in either of the Saturday morning lists of those killed, although the unidentified man in the GBPP list '. . . said to be from Hauraki' may be from that tribe. Te Kiri Karamu's 'Arema Karaka' in the small pa is presumably the same as Arama Karaka Kiritiana of Ngati Maru (a Hauraki tribe) in the GBPP list. The two Pirirakau killed are likely also to have been in the small pa. There are many reasons for labelling this a preliminary list.

The Daily Southern Cross report of 5 May 1864 describes the burial two days after the battle of the 19 men, most or all of whom will be identified in Table 3.

Table 3. Preliminary list of Maori casualties identified at Gate Pa on Saturday 30 April 1864, from contemporary records in manuscript *British Parliamentary Papers* data (Smith ms) and *The Daily Southern Cross*.

# A. Names appearing in both lists.

#### Ihau Hoani

TDSC gives the above name, and the hapu as Te Ngare; Smith (ms) has 'Ihau brother of Henare Taratoa Te Ngare tribe'. In his February 1864 'Return showing Native Settlements and Tribes in Tauranga . . .' Smith associates the Te Ngare tribe with the settlement of Opounui on Rangiwaea Island (AJHR 1864 E–2 p. 13).

#### Parawai/Paiawa

An error in transcription is likely for 'Paiawa' – or there are two men here. Ngatai has 'Parawai'. The ms GBPP list gives 'Paiawa of Poiki – Te Haenga', that is, from Poiki – presumably of a hapu or group called 'Te Haenga'. TDSC gives 'Parawai' of Ngatiteniha hapu. Neither tribe is in Smith's February 1864 'Return showing Native Settlements and Tribes in Tauranga . . .', where Poiki (or 'Hairini') is located on the south side of Waimapu Estuary (where there is a Poike Road today), and associated with the 'Ngai te Ahi' (AJHR 1864 E–2 p. 13).

#### Petarika Te Kanae

TDSC gives the above name, and hapu as Te Matewaitai; Ngatai also has Petarika (see McDonald ms); GBPP gives 'Petariki, of Te Matewaitai tribe.' In the February 1864 'Return showing Native Settlements and Tribes in Tauranga...', Te Matewaitai are associated with the settlement of Otuatara near Otumoetai (AJHR 1864 E–2 p. 13).

#### Rotohiko

Of Te Urungawera hapu, Tuhua (Mayor Island) in GBPP and TDSC lists. See Te Kau entry.

#### Tamihana Wahakore

The above name is given in TDSC, which also gives Ngatiteniha hapu. In the GBPP list (Smith ms) is 'Tamihana of Poiki Ngaiteahi Tribe'. See Parawai entry regarding Ngaiteahi.

#### Te Kani

Described in the GBPP ms list as brother of Rawiri Puhirake; TDSC gives Matekiwaho hapu. In his February 1864 'Return showing Native Settlements and Tribes in Tauranga . . .', Smith the locates the 'Te Matekiwaho' tribe to Te Apititu on the south side of Rangataua Bay, Tauranga Harbour (AJHR 1864 E-2 p. 13).

#### Te Kau

Described in GBPP list as 'chief of Tuhua [Mayor Island], Te Urangawera tribe'; the spelling of Te Urungawera is wrong in both major sources. 'Te Kou' in McDonald (ms).

#### Te Keni

Ngatai gives the name as above; Smith (ms) has 'Keni of Otumoetai, Ngatiraukawa'; the TDSC list has 'Kini' of Patutahora hapu – this hapu lived at Otumoetai according to the 1864 list of settlements and tribes of the Tauranga district (AJHR 1864 E–2 p. 13).

#### Te Mouhouho

Ngatiraukawa, Pekekiole hapu, according to TDSC; spelt incorrectly in Smith (ms) where he is described as 'Ngatiraukawa chief of Patetere and the Wairoa'.

#### Te Tuhi

TDSC gives Ngaitamarawaho hapu; GBPP ms list has 'Poiki Ngaiteahi Tribe.' The Ngaitamarawaho lived at Huria on the north side of the head of the Waikareao Estuary (AJHR 1864 E–2 p. 13). See 'Parawai/ Paiawa' entry regarding Poiki.

# Table 3 (continued)

#### Tikiku

Described in the GBPP ms list as 'Native teacher at Poiki'; TDSC gives Ngatiruahine hapu, who lived at 'Poihakena, Ranana' – near Poiki (see AJHR 1864 E–2 p. 13). 'Tikiku' in McDonald (ms) but, incorrectly it would seem, 'Tikuku' in Mair (1926:26).

#### Timoti

'of Matakana Ngaitamawhariu' in GBPP ms list; TDSC gives Ngaitamawharina hapu. Correct is Ngaitamawhariua.

Topatopa or Tapatopa

'Ngaitamarawaho' according to Smith (ms) and TDSC; TDSC has 'Tapatopa'. The Ngaitamarawaho lived at Huria on the north side of the head of Waikareao Estuary (AJHR 1864 E–2 p. 13).

# B. Names appearing in one list only.

#### Arama Karaka Kiritiana

Of Ngatimaru – according to manuscript list for GBPP. Presumably 'Arema Karaka' in Te Kiri Karamu's record.

#### Kohamo

Te Urungawera hapu -TDSC list only.

# Te Harawira

Of Ngatirangiwewehi – according to GBPP ms list, where there is a question mark after the personal name but not after the tribe. The query may be in the original list to suggest the identification is uncertain, or it indicates an unsure transcription from the original.

#### Te Kiriparara

'of Te Wairoa – Te Pirirakau Tribe' according to the GBPP ms list. The two Pirirakau men in the GBPP list, Te Kiriparara and Te Wano, were not identified by the TDSC informant.

# Te Motupuka

'... of Poiki of Waikato Ngatitawhaki' according to the GBPP ms list, which is the only record.

#### Te Wano

'. . . of Te Wairoa – Te Pirirakau Tribe' according to the GBPP ms list; Ngatai (in Mair 1926:24) records Te Wano as a tohunga, killed when reciting karakia from an exposed position. See the Te Kiriparara entry.

- not identified, supposed to be from Hauraki (GBPP ms list)

'Yesterday (Sunday [1 May]) the dead rebels were buried close to the Gate pa, in graves prepared for them by their countrymen, assisted by men of the Flying Column. The day was miserably wet throughout. The Venerable Archdeacon Brown read the burial service. General Sir Duncan A. Cameron, K.C.B., had sent over two natives to the friendly hapu on the south side of the harbour early on Sunday, to say that if the natives desired it, they had his permission to come over and bury their dead; if not, that he would order them a proper burial. Twenty men afterwards came over, and these formed the burial party. They laid the common men in a row, and the chiefs and more important personages across their stomachs, and then covered them with earth. This was done in accordance with an old Maori saying – "Kati ano ia kia mate hei whariki ano aku rangatira" – it is well (or proper) that he should die to be a couch for my chiefs.'

Thomas Smith's account of the burial is slightly different (GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, p. 63).

'The day after the engagement Wm. Patene and the friendly chiefs at the Matapihi requested permission to bury the dead, which was readily granted by General Cameron, on my application. Accordingly on Sunday the 1st inst. I accompanied a party of 18 natives to Pukehinahina. They assisted to dig a grave about 50 yards from the entrenchment, within the boundary of the Church Missionary Society's land, and placed the bodies in it. The Venerable Archdeacon Brown attended, and read a portion of the burial service over the dead; after which the grave was filled in by the natives, and a low mound raised to mark the last resting place of their unfortunate countrymen.'

Mair (1926:17) describes the grave as west of Cameron Road, `... between it and the swamp in the grove of trees there.' The grave is understood to be in the reserve off St George St, its exact location being unknown to the writer.

Another casualty was found a few days after the battle on 4 May, The Daily Southern Cross of

7 May reporting:

'On Wednesday last Mr Rice, accompanied by a number of friendly natives, searched the swamp near Gate Pa, where the great fight took place. They found the body of Pi Wharangi, a third–rate chief. He had been wounded in the temple and the thigh, and was interred near the camp.'

The New-Zealander of 7 May reports that, 'Mr. Rice, of the Native department,' with a few natives.

'... came upon the remains of a chief named Piuharangi; the body was found some considerable distance from the gate. It was so offensive that a hole was dug and the body placed in it.

This chief belonged to the Ngaterangi tribe, and, though a person of great birth, never took any prominent lead in Maori affairs. He is well spoken of by the old settlers, as

having been a very quiet, inoffensive character.'

According to Mair (1926:17), 'Piwharangi' '... was found and placed with the others' – i.e. in the mass grave near Gate Pa.

The Daily Southern Cross (5 May 1864) tells of enquiries by wounded Maori prisoners as to whether the bodies of 'Ta Tara' and other chiefs had been found, thus providing the name of another man who may have been killed.

# THE WOUNDED

Wounded men found in the pa on Saturday morning were taken to the British camp and attended to there (TDSC 5 May 1864). The GBPP report gives six wounded including two unnamed Ngati Paoa, one of whom is presumably 'Eru Noa' on the TDSC list. Te Kiri Karamu (Cowan ms a) gives 'Ihaka (shot in the ankle and taken prisoner), [and] Hone (wounded in the shoulder)'; Ihaka is likely to have been the second wounded Ngati Paoa (Koheriki), captured the day after the battle, and Hone, probably 'Hone of Ohuki' (see Table 1). Four of the wounded were later to die, including Rahopora and Eruera who are named among wounded in the GBPP list but shown as killed in *The Daily Southern Cross* (see Tables 1 and 2).

'Rahopora' of Ngatiteniha hapu died in hospital on Saturday night (TDSC 5 May 1864). 'Eruera Taratikitiki' died no later than Monday since he is reported as dead in *The Daily Southern Cross* article sent that day to Auckland. Eruera is listed in the TDSC as belonging to the same Matekiwaho hapu as Te Kani who is said to have been Rawiri Puhirake's brother (see Table 3); among GBPP ms list wounded is 'Eruera — newphew [sic] of Rawiri Puhirake of Ohuki', who is almost certainly the same man. The newspaper report also states that, 'Arue, nephew of Rawiri their fighting general, is wounded', again probably the same man. Ngatai gives 'Eru Puhirake' as having been killed.

Another of the wounded in both lists is Reweti Manotini. *The Daily Southern Cross* states that he '... was wounded in seven places by bullets, and had both his legs broken'. He is also referred to as 'Davis' in the report, and is described as '... private secretary and agent for Wm. Thompson [Ngati Haua chief, and 'Kingmaker', Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi] in the Bay of Plenty.' Letters from Tamihana to Reweti early in the Waikato War are published in AJHR (1865, E11, pp. 14–15; and see also Stokes 2002:343–345). He is reported in the TDSC of 5 May as having written to his wife, '... telling her how very kind the pakehas had been to him and the other wounded men.' But on being asked if the Maoris had had enough of fighting, '... he replied, "Ka he, ka he, ka he," meaning "wrong, wrong, wrong," His right leg was amputated below the knee, but he died at 4 a.m. on Sunday, 8 May (*The New–Zealander* 12 May 1864). Several 'respectable friendly chief's' attended Reweti's burial at 9 a.m. on 9 May, Archdeacon Brown reading the burial service. Several copies exist of a picture by Lieutenant Robley of the wounded Reweti in Gate Pa on the morning of April 30 (Walker 1985:237–240).

Also named in the GBPP ms list of wounded is 'Hone of Ohuki', presumably Hone Amomako in *The Daily Southern Cross* list. Two Ngati Paoa including Eru Noa and probably Ihaka complete the GBPP wounded. In *The Daily Southern Cross* of 12 May 1864 it is reported that two prisoners died on 8 May, but only Reweti is identified. The only remaining prisoner had had one leg amputated but was said to be doing well, suggesting Ihaka who was shot in the ankle.

In its report of the battle, *The Daily Southern Cross* (5 May 1864) names other wounded men, an unknown number of whom quit Gate Pa on Friday night. Atewera, of the same (Ngaitamawhariua) hapu as the leading chief Timoti, is said to have escaped with a wound in his thigh. From the same hapu, Pomare left the pa with a severe wound in the arm, and Ihaiah and Tihi are reported as missing. Ngatai (McDonald ms) states that, 'Wi Heti was both bayoneted and shot but got away. Hone Taheranga and Te Moananui were also wounded. The latter had three gunshot wounds.' He also names Te Ipu and 'Wieri' as being badly wounded trying to get through the British cordon inland of the pa during the battle, and Rerekaipuke also wounded.

The prisoner Niko in the TDSC list is later mentioned in *The New Zealander* (7 May 1864) which tells of 'Hare Honi Niho' arriving a prisoner in Auckland, asserting that he had not been fighting and was wrongfully made a prisoner. *The Daily Southern Cross* of the same date had more to say concerning this man:

'A rebel prisoner, captured by a party of the 68th, has been brought up by the 'Falcon.' He was taken about five miles from the Gate Pa, and declares that he was not engaged in the encounter, which, however, if true, does not alter his position.'

# THE 'CENOTAPH' PROJECT

The information reported here is part of a project to develop a database record of Maori and Pakeha killed in the New Zealand Wars. This is a further development of the Auckland War Memorial Museum 'Cenotaph' database, originally designed as a record of New Zealanders who lost their lives in overseas wars including the South African War (1899–1902), the First and

Second World Wars and other subsequent conflicts, but since then enlarged to include all who served overseas. This database is widely used by descendants, who add information and portraits to their family member's record, to share these with other descendants and database users. 'Cenotaph' is a growing and evolving resource of great significance for many New Zealanders.

The New Zealand Wars were fundamentally different to overseas conflicts in which New Zealanders served and gave their lives, in that the fighting took place in this country – between Maori and Pakeha and among Maori groups. In all campaigns, from 1845 to the early 1870s, Pakeha casualties are better recorded than Maori. The colonial government and British Army in New Zealand required detailed reports, and possessed a bureaucracy which supplied them. Newspapers also reported at length on the fighting.

There is nonetheless a surprising amount of data available on Maori casualties, which is not always widely known. A start is made here in making available for descendants and students of the period the published data on one important battle. It is hoped this will prompt the recovery of more information on individuals whose names are given, and on other casualties where records may be available in oral or manuscript form or elsewhere. The information presented will be entered in the Auckland War Memorial Museum 'Cenotaph' database as it is developed to include the New Zealand Wars.

Acknowledgements. I would like to thank Auckland Museum volunteer Elise Edwards who for some years has worked with me on the project to record published names of Maori and Europeans killed in the New Zealand Wars. Francean McCall of St George's Church, Tauranga, has been generally helpful, not least in showing me the location of the grave of Maori killed at Gate Pa. Jinty Rorke drew my attention to Tim Walker's thesis. Hocken and Alexander Turnbull library staff provided copies Ngatai and Te Kiri Karamu manuscript material.

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# NINETEENTH TO MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY INDIVIDUAL MAORI WOODCARVERS AND THEIR KNOWN WORKS

# ROGER NEICH

Abstract. This listing assembles references to all the named individual Maori woodcarvers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries whose works can still be identified, whether in standing meeting houses, museum collections, or by photographs and other artworks. The life dates, floruit dates, tribal relationships of each carver, and a listing of their works are given where known. Comprehensive bibliographical references to their works are cited. It is recognised that such a listing can never be complete but the intention is to provide the beginning of a resource for students and those with a detailed interest in the history of Maori art.

KEYWORDS: Carvers; carvings; individuals; tribes; dates; nineteenth century; twentieth century.

# INTRODUCTION

This is a first attempt to synthesize all of the scattered information about individual Maori carvers. Of necessity, it obviously contains many errors and confusions, which reflect the nature of the information presently available in the public domain. If nothing else, this attempt highlights the huge amount of research that is awaiting future scholars. This research needs to include the recording of information about standing meeting houses and their carvers, documenting carvings held in museum collections, linking archival and manuscript records with actual carvings, and especially by recording oral information and family papers about individual carvers still retained by families and descendants.

These references assembled here show how haphazard and skimpy have been the recording of individual carvers' names, their origins and iwi relationships, and their separate works, even in recent accounts of meeting houses by Maori writers. This listing also demonstrates how so much of the literature on individual Maori carvers has relied on and repeated a very limited corpus of original published information, even often repeating the same errors.

Carvers who worked into the mid-twentieth century are included. For the period after the 1950s not covered here, the need for better recording is even more pressing with so many carvers working and so many diverse projects being completed. One urgent lesson of this attempt at listing is that the names of carvers and the identification of each of their individual works is so quickly forgotten and confused. This is especially poignant in the case of the houses built by the carvers of the Rotorua School of Maori Arts and Crafts as recently as the 1930s, when one might have expected more detailed record keeping. At least, many of the present practising carvers are now keeping their own records of their work.

With so much confusion in this literature over first names, surnames and patronyms, it was decided to give the names of each carver in the order that they usually appear but then to list them alphabetically by the last (surname) name, with some cross-referencing by other commonly used names.

Entry framework: Name (with published variations)

Birth-death dates and/or floruit dates (period when active)

Hapı Iwi

Works with their dates

References

Meeting houses are listed by name and opening date where known. Other objects are described as canoe, church, bowl, tokotoko etc. The list includes some carvings, pataka and meeting houses now known only from sketches, paintings and photographs. Only references referring to a person's carving activity are included, except for some references which give a photograph of the person or biographical information on the less well-known carvers. Therefore, for the better known and better documented personalities, many other references to their lives and activities are not included. References to the Maori Land Court records have not been included but information derived from this source is often incorporated into the more detailed recent published studies. Additional references to Maori Land Court information on carvers can be accessed through the Maori Land Court Minute Book Index Database established by University of Auckland.

Of necessity, this list is based on information of very variable quality and reliability, mainly because the sources are so diverse. These sources are a combination of oral history and documented history such as museum files and registers, published books and articles, Land Court records, theses, and private papers such as diaries and other manuscripts. Some of the information in these sources is actually based on attributions by Maori informants and more recently on attributions by academics. Compounding these problems are the basic sources of confusion resulting from carvers with the same name, a carver known under different names, different spellings of same name, patronymy which results in the same name for father and son, patrons named as carvers, and famous carvers' names used as a shorthand term for several lesser carvers or their pupils. A common situation is the recording of several carvers working on a house making it very difficult to identify the work of any one individual.

For all of these carvers listed and especially for the more recent carvers, this is by no means a complete list of their works. Nevertheless, within the ethnic world of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this list describes a unique situation where so many indigenous artists and their works can be identified (Neich 1997). At the very least, the hope is that it may serve as a foundation for future research and may inspire others to continue with the recording.

# LISTING

Te Ahoaho, Ngati Pikiao. Houmaitawhiti 1820s, (McEwen 1947:176; Neich 2001; Phillipps 1946:38; Stafford 1996:77).

Te Amo-a-Tai (c1800–c1880), Ngati Tarawhai. Te Rangiunuora c1840s, Rangitihi 1871, Uenuku-mai-Rarotonga 1875, Nuku-Te-Apiapi 1878 (Kernot 1984:148–151; McEwen 1947:176; 1966:422; Mead 1986:119, 193; Neich 1983:252; 1993a:257; 1996:111; 2001; Phillipps 1970:71)

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Pareti Amopiu, Ngati Ahuru hapu, Ngati Raukawa. Te Tikanga 1927 (Cresswell 1977:63)

Charlie Anaru. Aotea at Papawai 1903 (Hakiwai 2003:299)

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Tamati Te Aorere, Ngati Kahungunu. Nga Tau-e-Waru 1881 (Hakiwai 2003:293; Mead 1986:141; Neich 1993a:303; Paewai 1984; Phillipps 1939)

Kihirini Te **Aotapunui** (Kihirini Umutapi) (early 19th century-1880s) of Rakaihoea, Ngati Porou. Tuauau 1880, Porourangi (two poutahu and pane) 1888 (Ellis 1998; 2002a:38; Oliver 1993a:355; Porter 1979: 139)

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Te Aritopuru, Ngati Tarawhai? House for Arama Karaka Mokonuiarangi (later Nuku Te Apiapi) 1878 (Neich 2001)

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Taringa Te Atua, Te Arawa. Okahukura 1893 (Gardiner 1993:37; Neich 1993a:259; Phillipps 1955:169)

Ihakara Te **Aukaha** (Ihakara Wharepouri, Ihakara Taharua?), Ngati Pikiao. Bowl held by descendants, tobacco pipe and bowl in Auckland Museum, Kaihu church altar rail (Neich 1991:127, 129–131; 1997: 191–193; 2001; *Northern Advocate*, 15 August 1974; Warbrick 1934:39–47)

Hamiora Te Awarau, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Halbert 1999:91)

Tara Te **Awatapu** (c1800–1885), Ngati Tarawhai. Te Rangitakaroro gateway 1820, Rauru 1850? (McEwen 1966:422; Mead 1986:193; Neich 1983:252; 2001; Phillipps 1970:71; Stafford 1988:21, 184)

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Te Nahu **Haeata** (Haeta), Te Arawa. Nga Tau-e-Waru 1881 (1940 reconstruction) (Cresswell 1977:112; Hakiwai 2003:294, 297)

Te Hake, Te Arawa. Kearoa (pare) 1888 (Phillipps and McEwen 1948:60)

Apanui Te Hamaiwaho, Ngati Hokopu hapu, Ngati Awa. Taurapa from Whakatane AM 20014 in Auckland Museum, Mataatua 1875, Hotunui 1878 (Mead 1986:192; 1993:8–9; Simmons 1985:138, 140; 2001:178)

Hararaia (Hararia), Te Whanau-a-Rakairoa hapu, Ngati Porou. Ruakapanga 1880 (Ellis 1998; Neich 1993a:272; Phillipps 1944:109)

Te Hata, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Te Hine-o-Paoa 1860, Mataatua 1875 (McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Simmons 2001:220)

Te Hata, Ngati Raukawa /Ngati Wai. Niu pole at Kuranui (Martelletti 1996:6; Simmons 1985:78, 79; Stokes 1984)

Hami Te Hau (c.1830–1899), Ngati Rakaipaaka, Ngati Kahungunu. Te Poho-o-Kahungunu 1876 (Hakiwai 2003:165–6, 242, 316; Lambert 1925:photo facing 257; *Te Wananga*, Vol. 3, number 9, 4 March 1876:125)

Wi Hau (see Wi Hau Te Raihi)

Te Hauiti, Ngati Whakaue. Tamatekapua 1872 (Cresswell 1977:42; McEwen 1966:422; Mead 1986:115; Phillipps 1946:8: Simmons 1985:128; Stafford 1986:142)

Henare Rukingi **Haupapa**, Ngati Tunohopu hapu, Ngati Whakaue. Mahinarangi 1929, Apanui 1942 (Brown 1997:193; Hurinui 1971:25; Schwimmer 1959:32)

Rotohiko Haupapa (Te Haurangi Rukingi Haupapa) (1891–1932), Ngati Tunohopu hapu, Ngati Whakaue. Makahae, Te Roro-o-Te-Rangi 1924, Tunohopu 1926, Mahinarangi 1929 (Brown 1997:193, 455; 1999:245; Cresswell 1977:43, 44,58; Ellis 2002:24; Hurinui 1971:25; Neich 2001; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:49, 100; Schwimmer 1959:34; Sorrenson 1986:64; 1987:101, 259; 1988:88; Stafford 1986:184; 1988:130; *Te Ao Hou* 42:63, 1963)

Rukingi Haupapa (Wharetutaki) (fl.1880–1900), Ngati Whakaue. Makahae, (Brown 1997:193; Cresswell 1977:58; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:100; Simmons 2001:210)

Herbert Joseph **Heberley** (1877–1911), Te Ati Awa. Walking sticks in private ownership, Whatu-Tamainupo 1909 (Neich 1991:137–139)

Jacob William Heberley (Hakopa Heperi) (1849–1906), Te Ati Awa. Many small carvings including model storehouses, bowls, walking sticks, weapons, treasure boxes, model canoes, carved picture frames, paddles, replicas, model storehouse for Duchess of Cornwall and York (now in British Museum TRH83 (Neich 1991; 1993:206–207; 1994; 1997:193; 2001; Starzecka, Neich and Pendergrast forthcoming)

Thomas Henry Heberley (1876–1937), Te Ati Awa. Many house and canoe carvings in Museum of New Zealand and smaller objects in private ownership, Te Hau-ki-Turanga additions 1936 (Brown 1997:338; Neich 1991:134–137)

Hekemaru, Te Arawa. Post on front of Te Tokanganui-a-Noho 1912 (Cresswell 1977:94; Porter 1979:170)

Paul Hekenui, Ngati Rangi, Whanganui. Oruamatua c1890 (Cresswell 1977:111; Geelen 1988; Phillipps 1955:68; Simon 2002:88)

Hekerangi, Tuhoe. Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888 (McEwen MS Papers 6717-032)

Te Hemara, Taiwhakaea hapu, Ngati Awa. Taiwhakaea 1913 (Brown 1997:316; Phillipps 1948:3; Takotohiwi 1980:25)

Te Hoe Pita Heperi. Ngatokimatawhaorua canoe 1940 (Brown 2003:65)

Tamati Wanakore Herangi (?–1955), Ngati Mahuta. Tu Turuapapa Kamutu 1940, Papa-o-Rotu 1946, Rangiwahitu at Tauranganui 1950s, Pare Hauraki 1952, Tapeka 1959, Wairere, Te Ohaki (Brown 1997:200, 205, 206, 207, 212; Cresswell 1977:29, 32, 34, 37; Hurinui 1959:7; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1955:228, 237, 238; Porter 1979:73)

Heremia, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Mataatua 1875, Hotunui 1878 (McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Mead and Te Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa 1990:15; Phillipps and Wadmore 1956:33; Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Matiu Heremia, Ngati Rua hapu, Te Whakatohea. Tutamure 1901. (Amoamo, Tupene and Neich 1984; Neich 1993a:227)

Te Motu Heta, Ngati Raukawa / Waikato. Hoturoa 1882, Takihiku at Owairaka 1890s, Takihiku II at Aotearoa, Turangawaewae House (Kauhanganui Maori Parliament) 1919, Waitahanui house (Brown 1997:46, 48; Cresswell 1977:33; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Neich 2002b:9; Phillipps 1952:112; 1955:216, 225, 228)

Merito Hetaraka, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Ruataupare 1927 (Mead and Phillis 1982:98; *Pukaea*, November 1995, p.6)

Riini Hetaraka (?–1938), Te Whanau-a-Apanui / Ngati Hokopu hapu, Ngati Awa. Wairaka 1894 (1912 renovation), Tangiharuru 1916, Ruataupare 1927, Apahapaitaketake 1930, Te Rere at Opotiki, Tanewhirinaki 1938 (Cresswell 1977:61; Mead and Phillis 1982:98; Neich 1993a:263, 264; North 1974:1, 2; Phillipps 1959:2; *Pukaea*, November 1995, p.6; Takotohiwi 1980:70, 72)

Iwikau Te **Heuheu** (Te Heuheu Tukino III) (?–1862), Ngati Tuwharetoa. Tapeka dwelling house at Waihi 1844, Nuku-Tewhatewha storehouse 1856, Hinana-ki-uta Hinana-ki-tai storehouse 1855, two amo from Pukawa in Museum of New Zealand, Wellington (Angas 1846:plate XXI; Brown 1997:36, 37; Easdale 1992; Grace 1959:436; Hurinui 1959:5; McEwen 1966:412, 425; Oliver 1993:515–516; Peterson and Mead 1972:caption to plate 42; Phillipps 1952:102–3; 1955:158; Simmons 1985:135)

Kahotea Te Heuheu, Ngati Tuwharetoa. Nukutaimemeha (poutahu) (McEwen MS Papers 6717–029)

Patatai Te Heuheu (Te Heuheu Tukino IV, Horonuku) (1823–1888), Ngati Tuwharetoa. House at Waihi 1844, Nuku-Tewhatewha storehouse 1856, Hinana-ki-uta Hinana-ki-tai storehouse 1855, ridgepole for Te Poho-o-Materoa at Manutuke 1884 (Brown 1997:36, 37, 38; Grace 1959:461; McEwen 1966:425; Mead 1986:127; Oliver 1993:515–516; Simmons 1985:134; Simpson 2003:82–87)

Raniera Te Heuheu, Ngati Tuwharetoa. Te Poho-o-Materoa 1884 (Phillipps 1944:99)

Hongi Hika, Ngapuhi. Bust of himself 1814, Auckland Museum AM 44973 (Binney 1968:48; Brown 2003:31, 132; Selwyn 1996:216)

Iharaira Piripi Hikairo, Tuhourangi. Tuhourangi 1905, Wahiao 1908 (Cresswell 1977:46, 57; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:59, 108)

Hone Hikanga, Ngati Tarawhai. Rangitihi 1871 (Neich 2001)

Piko Hikuroa, Whenuakura. Matangirei (Phillipps 1955:114)

Hira (see Hira Hotene)

Te Ahinamu Te Hira, of Te Waiti, Tuhoe. Te Maungarongo at Ohope 1947 (amo in Whakatane Museum)

Hirini, Ngati Porou. Iritekura c1880 (pers.comm. D.R. Simmons)

Hoane (father of Te Wano), Taiwhakaea hapu, Ngati Awa (Phillipps 1948:3)

Tio Hoera, Waikato. Mahinarangi 1929 (Brown 1997:193; Cresswell 1977:31; Hurinui 1971:25; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1955:205)

Hoete (Hoete Te Pahau), Ngati Pikiao. Whare Manuhiri at Taheke 1870, Rangitihi 1871 (Neich 2001)

Hohepa, Te Arawa. Kearoa (tekoteko) 1888 (Phillipps and McEwen 1948:60)

Matiu Hohepa, Tuhoe. Te Ohaki 1903 (Brown 1997:318)

Rikirangi Hohepa, Tuhoe. Te Ohaki 1903 (Brown 1997:318)

Rawiri Hokeke, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:7; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:91)

Hokohinu (Hokoinu), Ngati Makino, Ngati Pikiao. Te Ake gateway at Maketu 1837 (Neich 2001:88, 89; 2002:12, 19, 20; 2002a:256, 260)

Honatamakoro, Ngati Awa. Te Awhi-o-Te-Rangi (II) (Phillipps and McEwen 1948:110)

Rotia Hoone, Ngati Kahungunu. Kahukuranui 1903 (Brown 1997:364; Neich 1993a:297; Phillipps 1952:127)

Hopa, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:5; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:91)

Matenga Te Hore, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:7; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:91)

Te Horeta (c1820–c1880), Ngati Tarawhai. Whare Manuhiri Taheke 1870, Rangitihi 1871 (Neich 1983:252; 2001)

Horo, Tuhoe. Eripitana 1884 (Brown 1997:298; North 1974:4; Cresswell 1977:74)

Piwiki Horohau, Ngati Huia hapu, Ngati Raukawa. Kikopiri 1889, Toarangatira 1900, model house in British Museum 1904.12–6.1, tobacco container in Auckland Museum AM6853 (Adkin 1948:186; Geelen 1983:15; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Neich 1991:79, 127; Phillipps 1944:105; 1955:24, 43; Starzecka, Neich and Pendergrast forthcoming; Simmons 1985:165)

Horonuku (See Patatai Te Heuheu)

Rewiata Horotiu. Ko-Rahiri-o-Te-Rangi at Te Manuka, Waimana 1874–1886 (Brown 1997:302)

Hotene, Ngati Hokopu hapu, Ngati Awa (Phillipps 1948:5)

Hira **Hotene** (son of Hotene, also a carver), Ngati Hokopu hapu, Ngati Awa. Wairaka 1894, Rangataua 1908 (Phillipps 1948:5, 6)

Te Hati **Houkamau**, of Hick's Bay, Whanau-a-Tuwhakairiora hapu, Ngati Porou. Porourangi 1888 (Ellis 1998; Cresswell 1977:81; Mead 1986:193)

William Howard of Panguru. Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1939 (Brown 1997:358)

Te Huaki, Ngati Te Rangiunuora hapu, Ngati Pikiao. Te Rangiawheta gateway at Maketu 1837 (Neich 2002:12, 19; 2002a:256, 259)

Hukanui (?–1922) of Waimaha, Tuhoe / Ngati Kotore hapu, Ngati Kahungunu. Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888, 1924, Te Poho-o-Tamaterangi 1893 (Brown 1997:309; Hakiwai 2003:169; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; MS Papers 6717–032; Neich 1993a:280; North 1965:33; 1974:12; Orbell 1961:36; Phillipps 1959:9)

Hune **Hukanui**, Tuhoe / Ngati Hinganga and Ngati Kotore, Ngati Kahungunu. Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1924 (Hakiwai 2003:169, 170; Neich 1993a:280; North 1965:33; 1974:6, 12; Phillipps 1959:9)

Huki, Ngati Whakatere hapu, Ngati Raukawa. Whitikaupeka 1890, Hauiti 1885 (Phillipps 1955:62, 67)

Tiopira Hukiki, Ngati Awa. Hotunui 1878 (Barton and Reynolds 1985:5; Neich nd:2, 7)

Wiremu **Hukor**e, Ngati Kahungunu. Te Poho-o-Tiakiwai 1864/1891 (Brown 1997:313; Hakiwai 2003:187; Neich 1993a:295; Phillipps 1944:82)

Hune, Ngati Rangiwewehi. Wahiao 1908 (Cresswell 1977:46; Phillipps 1946:27)

Hutana, Te Arawa. Nga Tau-e-waru 1881 (Cresswell 1977:112)

Iharaira, Te Arawa. Mahinarangi 1929 (Brown 1997:193; Hurinui 1971:25)

Te Ipu (Te Ipu Whakatara?, Te Ipu Pumipi?), Te Arawa. Te Takinga 1902, Manutuke Church 1913 (Stafford 1988:338; *Te Pipi Wharauroa*, No.177:9, April 1913)

Iwikau (see Iwikau Te Heuheu)

Te Iwikino, Tuhoe. Te Rangimoaho 1906, Te Poho-o-Te-Paena at Ruatahuna 1925 (Cresswell 1977:75; North 1974:8; Phillipps 1948:6; 1959:13)

Iwipupu, Taranaki. Nga Hau-o-te-Rangi pataka (Simmons 1985:34)

Iwirakau (Iwirakau Tangirua), Te Whanau-a-Tipiwai hapu, Ngati Porou. Kuwaha pataka in Berlin Museum VI 31 789 (Hakiwai 2003:141; Simmons 1985:150; 1997:146, 151; 2001:230)

Ransfield Johnson (fl.1920–1940), Te Arawa. (McEwen MS Papers 6717–029)

Rua Kaika, Ngati Porou. Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1939, Uepohatu hall 1947 (McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Brown 1997:358; 2003:59)

Wiremu Kaimoana, Ngati Kahungunu. Te Tokanganui-a-noho 1875 (Brown 1997:289; Binney 1995:273; Hakiwai 2003:168; Neich 1993a:178; Phillipps 1938; 1955:139; Porter 1979:170)

Kaipatoto, Ngati Tarawhai. Uenukumairarotonga 1872–1875 (Stafford 1996:21)

Kaiwhaka, of Tairua. Photo taken about 1904. (Letter Dr Raw to R. Neich, 2 May 1995, Files of Ethnology Department, Auckland Museum)

Te Hau Kakawa, Ngati Pukeko hapu, Ngati Awa. Ruataupare 1827 (Mead and Phillis 1982:98)

Kapu, Te Arawa. Wharepakau 1930 (Cresswell 1977:61; North 1974:5; Phillipps 1959:7)

Eramiha Neke **Kapua** (1875–1955), Ngati Tarawhai. T.E. Donne's house 1905, Whakarewarewa storehouse 1906, Christchurch Exhibition gateway 1906, Ruaihona 1910, St Mary's Church (window frames, altar and roll of honour) 1926; Panguru house 1930, Te Hono ki Rarotonga 1933, Te Aute College Assembly Hall 1933, Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1940, Nga Pumanawa-e-waru-o-Te-Arawa 1941, Tia 1945, Tumatauenga 1947, Ngapuhi Moana Ariki 1947, Rakeipoho 1950, Tuwharetoa at Matata 1942 (*Auckland Star* 11 May 1972; 17 May 1972; Brown 1996:18; 1997:161, 171, 330, 334, 358, 362, 367, 456, 466; 1999:245–246, 262; 2003:52, 57, 58, 62; Cresswell 1977:18; Davis 1976:(5)30; Doig and Davidson 1989:64; Ellis 2002:25; Hakiwai 2003:91; Kawiti 1953:10; King 1983:152, 201; Mead 1986:25, 120, 193; Neich 1983:258, 259, 265; 1993a:260; 1996:112; 2001; 2002:27, 28; 2002a:266, 267; Ngata 1958:22:33; O'Reilly 1967:59; Phillipps and McEwen 1948: 92; Ruaihona Committee 1993; Schwimmer 1959:34; Shadbolt 1973a:2435; Sorrenson 1988:88; Stafford 1988:129, 255; Taiapa 1960; 1961; *Te Ao Hou* 4, 1953:38; Te Teko School Centennial Booklet 1981; Wilson 1993)

Neke Kapua (1842–c1920), Ngati Tarawhai. Rauru 1899, Te Mahau c.1900, model canoe for Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York 1902 (now in British Museum TRH82); Nuku Te Apiapi 1905, T.E. Donne's house 1905, Wahakarewarewa storehouse 1905, Christchurch Exhibition gateway 1906, Kahuranaki 1912

(Archey 1977:46; *Auckland Weekly News* 15 March, 1906:14–15; Cowan 1910:318, 321, 322, 329, 330, 351; 1911:25, 27, 35, 36; Doig and Davidson 1989:64; Firth 1925:281; Hakiwai 2003:91, 159; Hamilton 1911:7, 13; Mead 1986:25, 120, 138, 193; Neich 1983:255, 257, 258, 259; 1991:129; 2001; 2002:27, 28; 2002a:266; *New Zealand Graphic*, 7 April, 1900:645–8, 14 April, 1900:689, 691, 13 January 1906:31; Ngata 1958:22:33; Phillipps 1944:78; 1970:72; Pomare and Cowan 1930:261, 269; Porter 1979:69; Ruaihona Committee 1993; Simmons 2001:110; Stafford 1988:17, 21, 22; Starzecka, Neich and Pendergrast forthcoming; Tischner 1971:12, 20)

Tama Te Kapua (See Tama Te Kapua Te Raihi)

Tuhaka Kapua (?–1971, fl.1920–1969), Ngati Whakaue. Mahinarangi 1929, Raukawa 1936, Apanui 1942, Tama Te Kapua 1943, Tapeka 1959, Houmaitawhiti 1969 (Brown 1997:193, 206, 342, 466; Cresswell 1977:116; Hurinui 1959:7; 1971:25; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1946:16; 1955:33; Porter 1979:73; Schwimmer 1959:32, 50, 51; Stafford 1988:365; 1996:77; *Te Ao Hou* 70, 1971:4)

Karauria, Ngati Kahungunu. "Tumoanakotore" 1872, Te Poho-o-Manutai 1910 (Hakiwai 2003:206; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Neich 1993a:284)

Tamati Kare (see Wero Taroi)

Wano **Kauhoe**, Ngati Taiwhakaea hapu, Ngati Awa. Tumakaurangi 1896, Taiwhakaea 1913, Rangihouhiri 1922, Puawairua 1922 (Brown 1997:316, 317; Cresswell 1977:111; Phillipps 1948:3; 1955:68; Takotohiwi 1980:25, 36)

Paora Kawharu, Ngati Whatua. First Taheretikitiki canoe 1882 (Brown 2003:31, 79; Cowan 1930:157; Merata Kawharu, pers. comm. December 2001)

Poparae Kemaka (Kemara), Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:7; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:91)

Te **Kere** (Ngataierua), Te Ati-Haunui-a-Paparangi. Nga Tau-e-waru 1881, Aotea 1883 (Cresswell 1977:122; Hakiwai 2003:293; Neich 1993a:303; Phillipps 1944:74; Young 1998:134–137)

Waka (Calvin) Kereama (Graham), Waikato. Rotorua Boys High School front entrance 1926, Te Honoki-Rarotonga 1928, Mahinarangi 1929, Te Aute College Assembly Hall 1933, Te Winika canoe 1938, Takitimu 1938, Whitireia 1939, Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1940, Tukaki 1944, Raukawa 1936, Maori Battalion Memorial Hall, Rangiunuora 1960 (Brown 1997:193, 199, 334, 342, 362, 455, 466; 1999:245; Cresswell 1977:31; Davis 1976:(6)33; Ellis 1998;2002:24; Hurinui 1971:25; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Nelson 1991:63; Phillipps 1955:205; Schwimmer 1959:34, 51; Stafford 1988:338; *Te Ao Hou* 64, 1968:41)

Kereru, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Side strakes of Te Toki-a-Tapiri 1836 (Mead 1986:77; Simmons 1985:154; 1997:148)

Kereti, Ngati Whakaue. Te Roro-o-Te-Rangi 1920s, Nga Pumanawa-e-waru-o-Te-Arawa 1941 (Phillipps and McEwen 1948:50, 92)

Natanahira Te **Keteiwi** (see Natanahira Toromata, Natanahira Toumata) Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Te Toki-a-Tapiri war canoe c1840, Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842, Manutuke Church 1849, Te Poho-o-Rawiri 1849 (Barrow 1965:7; Brown 1996:20, 22; Lambert 1925:206; Neich 1990c:170, 171, 173; 1993a:56, 80, 82, 86, 274; 1996:111; Phillipps 1944:100; Simmons 1985:156)

Wiremu Te Keteiwi, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki / Rongowhakaata. Te Toki-a-Tapiri war canoe c1840 (Halbert 1999:91; Lambert 1925:206; Neich 1993a:56, 86)

Atama Te Kikiwa, Tuhoe. Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888 (Brown 1997:309; Cresswell 1977:74; McEwen MS Papers 6717–032; North 1965:33; 1974:6, 12; Phillipps 1959:8)

Wiremu Te Kikiwi (see Wiremu Te Keteiwi), Rongowhakaata. Te Toki-a-Tapiri canoe (Oliver 1990:340) Joe King (see Hohaia Toko Mokaraka) Te Wi Kirihotu, Patuwai. Mataatua 1875 (Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Te Ngaru Koeke, Ngati Pikiao. Te Takinga I (McEwen MS Papers 6717-029)

T. Kohere. Raurunui-a-Toi 1913 (Cresswell 1977:83)

Te Kokau, Tuhoe. Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888 (McEwen MS Papers 6717–032)

Kokouri (Te Amo Kokouri), Tuhoe. Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888, Te Puhi-o-Mataatua 1917, Te Poho-o-Te-Paena 1925 (Brown 1997:309; Cresswell 1977:75; McEwen MS Papers 6717–032; Mead 1986:103; Neich 1993a:280; 1996:111; 2001:70; North 1965:33; 1974:6, 8, 12; Phillipps 1948:7; 1959:3, 8, 13; Pouwhare 1996:33)

Huri Konui, Ngati Tuwharetoa. Rangikapuia (Rakeipoho) 1924 (Cresswell 1977:102)

Hare **Kopakopa** of Rangitukia, Ngai Tane hapu, Ngati Porou. Fireplace surround in Auckland Museum 1901 (Ellis 1998; Mead 1961:19)

Kopeke, Whanganui. Poutama 1884 (Cresswell 1977:109; Hardie 1975:19; McEwen 1966:426; MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1955:74, 98; Simmons 1985:96)

Koroneho, Ngai Tamanuhiri. Te Poho-o-Tamanuhiri 1913 (Cresswell 1977:90; Halbert 1999:91; Phillipps 1944:86)

Koroniria (1830s–1880s) of Waipiro Bay, Ngati Porou. Ruakapanga 1880, Ruatepupuke 1881 (Hakiwai and Terrell 1994:11; Phillipps 1944:109; Simmons 2001:190)

Karaitiana Kotorewai, Ngati Kahungunu. Te Poho-o-Manutai 1910 (Hakiwai 2003:168, 206)

Te Whare Kotua, Tuhoe. Turanganuiakiwa at Manutuke 1882, Eripitana 1884, Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888, Tama-ki-Hikurangi 1904, Te Ngawari 1908 (Brown 1997:91, 298, 309, 319, 320; Cresswell 1977: 73, 74, 76; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; MS Papers 6717–032; Mead 1986:102, 103, 104; Neich 1993a:280, 282; North 1965:33; 1974:6, 9, 11, 12; Phillipps 1959:8, 13, 16; Pouwhare 1996: 32–33)

Kara Te Kowhai, Te Arawa. Te Roro-o-Te-Rangi c1920. (Phillipps and McEwen 1948:50)

Te Uraputa Kuawa, Ngati Pikiao. Tokipoutangata in Auckland Museum (AM896) 1844. (Neich 2001:232, 233, 375)

Maroki Kurapipi (Kurapopi) of Motueka, Nelson. Carved tobacco pipes (Auckland Museum AM767, AM768) about 1863.

Te Waka Kurei, Rongowhakaata. Manutuke Church 1849 (Neich 1993a:82, 84, 85; Porter 1974:537, 548; Ria 1987:84)

Kutu, Tuhoe. Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888 (McEwen MS Papers 6717–032)

Walter Leaf of Panguru. Te-Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1939 (Brown 1997:358)

Pakake Heketore **Leonard** (?–1954), Te Arawa. Te Arawa Trust boardroom arrangement of older carvings from Nuku-Te-Apiapi.

Mahikore, Ngati Tarawhai. Te Rangitakaroro gateway 1820 (Neich 2001)

Mahumahu, Ngai Tamanuhiri. Te Poho-o-Tamanuhiri early 19th century, Te Toki-a-Tapiri war canoe c1840, Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842, Te Poho-o-Rawiri 1849 (Barrow 1965:5; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:90, 91; Lambert 1925:206; Neich 1993a:86; Oliver 1990:340; Phillipps 1944:86)

Mahuruhuru, Ngai Tamanuhiri. Te Mana-o-Turanga 1882 (Fowler 1974:10; Simmons 1985:38)

Hokowhitu Makarika (McGregor), Ngati Raukawa. Hoturoa 1881, Raukawa I (by attribution from photograph RN), Mahinarangi at Koputaroa 1906, Takihiku at Koputaroa 1906, Te Poho-o-Kahungunu

1912 (Brown 1997:48; Cresswell 1977:33; Hakiwai 2003:91, 159, 160; McEwen 1966:420; MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1944:77; 1955:32, 51, 52, 228; 1959a:1; Simmons 1985:162)

Manawa, Ngati Pikiao. Te Oha storehouse 1825 (McEwen 1947:176; Neich 2001; Phillipps 1952:156; Simmons 1985:29, 30; Stafford 1994:38)

Wiremu **Mangapouri**, Ngati Porou. Ruatepupuke II 1880s (Field Museum, Chicago). (Hakiwai and Terrell 1994:11; Ihimaera 2002a:92).

Bob Manihera. Aotea at Papawai 1903 (Hakiwai 2003:299)

Hapi Manihera. Aotea at Papawai 1903 (Hakiwai 2003:299)

Te Mapu, Ngati Pikiao. Uenukumairarotonga 1872–1875 (Stafford 1996:21)

William (Willie) Marama, Cook Islands. Raukawa 1936, Te Ikaroa-a-Maui 1936, Takitimu 1938, Te Tiritio-Waitangi 1940 (Brown 1997:340, 342, 347, 358, 458, 466; Cresswell 1977:14, 116, 119; Phillipps 1955:33, 261)

Te Marupo, Ngati Pikiao. Tamakari gateway at Maketu 1837. (Neich 2001; 2002:12, 20; 2002a:256, 260)

Matika (Metua) (son of Te Whenuanui), Tuhoe. Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888, 1924 (Brown 1997:309; Cresswell 1977:74; McEwen MS Papers 6717–032; North 1965:33; 1974:6, 12; Phillipps 1959:8)

Matuakore, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Te Poho-o-Mahaki poutokomanawa c1830 (Phillipps 1944:92)

Ranui Maupakanga, Waikato. Te Winika canoe 1936 (Nelson 1991:62, 63)

Heta Meha, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:7; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:91)

Hemi Mei (1927–), Ngati Awa, Ngati Tarawhai. (Neich 2001; Ruaihona Committee 1993)

Te Waaka Mei, Ngati Awa. (Neich 2001; Ruaihona Committee 1993)

Te Metara, Ngati Pikiao. Te Awhi storehouse 1839 (Neich 2001; Phillipps 1952:162)

John Metekingi, Whanganui. Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1940 (Cresswell 1977:14; Phillipps 1955:261; Schwimmer 1959:51)

Metua (see Matika)

Mihaera (Mihaere), Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Mataatua 1875, Hotunui 1878 (Mead and Te Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa 1990:15; Phillipps and Wadmore 1956:33; Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Takuira Mita, Ngati Pikiao. Te Awhi-o-Te-Rangi II. (S.Kereopa list)

Mohetei (Moheta), Te Urewera hapu, Tuhoe. Mataatua 1875 (Mead and Te Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa 1990:15; Phillipps and Wadmore 1956:6; Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Utiku **Mohuia**, Whanganui. Te Paku-o-Te-Rangi 1877, Waiherehere c1870, Whakaueroa (Whanganui) (Barns 1937:12; Church 1996:410; Cresswell 1977:108; Hardie 1975:16; Kirk 1989:9; McEwen 1966:426; MS Papers 6717–029; Neich 1993a:306; Phillipps 1955:74, 86, 91; Simmons 1985:96; *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* 22 August, p.197, 1876, Vol. 12b, No. 17)

Hohaia Toko **Mokaraka** (Joe King) of Waima, Ngapuhi. Te Hau-ki-Turanga additions 1936, Te Ikaroa-a-Maui 1936, Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1940; Te Rito 1946 (Brown 1997:337, 340, 358, 389, 466; 2003:plate 7, 58, 63; Cresswell 1977:14, 15; Phillipps 1955:261; Schwimmer 1959:50, 51)

Kawana Moraro, Whanganui. Te Paku-o-Te-Rangi 1877 (Barns 1937:12; Church 1996:410; Cresswell 1977:108; Kirk 1989:9; McEwen 1966:426; MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1955:74, 86; Simmons 1985:96)

Morehu, Ngati Huia hapu, Ngati Raukawa. Te Takinga storehouse posts c1890 (Phillipps 1952:166)

Rawiri Te Motutere, Te Ati Awa. Probably carver of effigy of Te Wharepouri set up beside his canoe memorial at Ngauranga in 1848, now in British Museum 1850.7–3.1. (Best 1918:168; Brees 1850:frontispiece, 23; Starzecka, Neich, and Pendergrast forthcoming).

Wi Te Parihi Mou, Ngapuhi. Te Hau-ki-Turanga additions 1936, Te Ikaroa-a-Maui 1936, Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1940, Te Rito 1946, Te Poho-o-Pikihoro 1958 (Brown 1997:337, 340, 358, 389, 466; 2003 plate 7, 58, 63; Cresswell 1977:14, 15; Phillipps 1955:261; Schwimmer 1959:35, 50)

Haha Mouhara (of Maungaroa), Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Mataatua 1875, Hotunui 1878 (Phillipps and Wadmore 1956:33; Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Piri Munro, Ngati Whakaue. Te Aomarama 1912 (Cresswell 1977:44; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:54)

George Muru, Waikato. Mahinarangi 1929 (Brown 1997:193; Hurinui 1971:25)

Homai Muru, Waikato. Pare Hauraki 1952, Wairere (Cresswell 1977:32, 37; McEwen MS Papers 6717-029)

Pero Muru, Ngati Kawhatu and Ngati Whatua. Turangawaewae 1991, Pare Waikato 1927, Mahinarangi 1929 (Brown 1997:191; Cresswell 1977:31; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1955:205)

Pihikete Muru, Waikato. Turongo 1938, Pare Hauraki 1952, Wairere, Te Ohaki (Brown 1997;201; Cresswell 1977:32, 37; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029)

Taupiri (Bill, Wiremu) Muru, Ngati Kawhatu and Ngati Whatua. Turangawaewae 1991, Pare Waikato 1927, Mahinarangi 1929, Paki-o-Matariki 1945 (Brown 1997:191, 193, 205; Cresswell 1977:31; Hurinui 1971:25; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1955:205)

Naera, Te Arawa. Kearoa (maihi) 1888 (Phillipps and McEwen 1948:60)

Tame (Tom) Te Naera, Te Arawa. Raukawa 1936, Takitimu 1938 (Brown 1997:342, 347, 466; Cresswell 1977:116, 119; Mitchell 1944:202; Phillipps 1955:33; Schwimmer 1959;50)

Natanahira, (also see Natanahira Toumata), Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki / Rongowhakaata. Te Toki-a-Tapiri canoe c.1840. (Halbert 1999:90; Lambert 1925:206; Neich 1993a:86; Oliver 1990:340)

Tene Neke, Ngati Tarawhai. Gateway to model pa at Christchurch Exhibition 1906 (Neich 1983:258, 259; 2001; Ruaihona Committee 1993)

Ngaiwaina (see Ngawaina)

Kahunini Ngakaho, Ngati Porou. Porourangi 1888. (Halbert 1999:169)

Tamati Ngakaho of Kaitaha and Rakaihoea, Waiapu (?–1904), Te Whanau-a-Rahui hapu, Ngati Porou. Hau-Te-Ananui-a-Tangaroa 1874, Porourangi 1888 (Brown 1997:344; Cresswell 1977:81; Ellis 1998; 2002a:38, 41; Hakiwai 2003:91; Halbert 1999:169, 170, 171; McEwen 1947:179; 1966:423, 424; Mead 1986:193; Neich 1990c:169; 1993a:55, 271; 1996:111; Ngata 1896:85; 1942:3; Oliver 1993a:354–355; Phillipps 1944:111, 112, 113, 115; Porter 1979:139; Simmons 1985:150; Sorrenson 1987:101, 123; Stack 1876; Te Ao and Stocker 1994:13–17; Walker 1990:8)

Karauria Ngamana. Aotea at Papawai 1903 (Hakiwai 2003:299)

Ngamotu, Ngati Tuwharetoa. Tuwhare c1890 (Neich 1993a:262)

**Ngaoko** (fl.1860–1890s), Ngati Hinekura hapu, Ngati Pikiao. Koura 1870, Waitaha-a-Hei 1890s (Cresswell 1977:59; Neich 2001; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:106)

Hakaraia **Ngapatari**, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:5; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:91)

Te Ngaru (see Te Ngaru Ranapia)

Hori (Hoani, Hone) Ngatai (mid 19th century–1910) of Rangitukia, Te Whanau-a-Hunara hapu, Ngati Hokopu hapu, Ngati Porou. Te Maunga a Tere 1850s, Ohinewaiapu 1870s, Tumoanakotore 1872, Ruatepupuke 1881, Hinerupe 1880s (Ellis 1998; 2002a:37, 41; Hakiwai 2003:91; Halbert 1999:180; Ihimaera 2002a:92; Lawson 1986:161; McConnell 1996:19; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Mead 1986:193; Simmons 2001:102; Taiapa 1959:1, 5; Tamahori 1990:558)

Reone Ngatote (Reone Wahapapa), Ngati Hinekura, Ngati Pikiao. Houmaitawhiti 1875 (Neich 2001; Stafford 1988:365)

Ngatoto, Ngati Porou. Poutokomanawa in Auckland Museum 163 c.1850, Nga Maunga-o-Tere c1850, Tumoana I 1860, pataka front in Auckland Museum 22149 (Simmons 1997:148, 149, 150, 151, 152)

Hone Ngatoto (?–1928, fl.1870–1925), Ngati Uepohatu hapu, Ngati Horowai hapu, Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare, Te Whanau-a-Te-Ao, Ngati Porou. Te Kani-a-Takirau c1880, Ohinewaiapu 1870s, "Tumoanakotore" 1872, Hinerupe 1885 (1910), Rakaitemania 1888, Hinetapora 1883–1896, Te Pohoo-Te Aotawarirangi, Tai Rawhiti 1890s, Rongomaianiwaniwa 1890s, Iritekura 1880 and 1901, Drawing room in the Bungalow at Waiomatatini 1916, Hinekorako 1920, St Mary's Memorial Church 1926, Kapohanga (Brown 1997:330, 331, 345, 453; 1999:243; Bryant, 2002:20, 21; Cresswell 1977:83; Davis 1976:(5)28–29; Ellis 1998;2002a:23, 37, 38, 41, 43; Halbert 1999:161, 176; Lawson 1986:161; McConnell 1996:21; McEwen 1947:179; 1966:424; Mead 1986:82, 193; Neich 1993a:268, 269, 271;1996:112; 2001; Ngata 1942:2, 3, 4; Phillipps 1944:112; Porter 1979:206; Simmons 1985:39, 150, 151; 1997:151; Sorrenson 1986:107; 1987:86; 1988:88, 193)

Piripi Ngatuere. Aotea at Papawai 1903 (Hakiwai 2003:299)

Ngawaina (Ngaiwaina), Tuhourangi. Te Rangiawheta gateway at Maketu 1837 (Neich 2001; 2002:12, 19; 2002a:256, 260)

Koroniria **Ngawehenga**, Ngati Porou. Ruakapanga 1880s, Ruatepupuke II 1880s. (Hakiwai and Terrell 1994:11; Ihimaera 2002a:92)

Te Ahirau Kaka Niao (Kaka Niao Ngaheu) (10 November 1921–2 July 2001), Ngai Tamaoki, Ngati Awa / Ngati Tarawhai. Nga Pumanawa-e-waru-o-Te-Arawa 1941, Tuwharetoa 1942, Rakeipoho 1946–1950, Te Awhe-o-Te-Rangi 1945–1951, Rangitihi 1951, Ta Apirana Turupa Ngata 1953, Te Rangiunuora 1960, Moko 1972, Te Poho-o-Tuhoe-Potiki 1973, Te Rangiunuora 1974, Tapuika 1977, Te Aotahi 1979, Tarawhai 1979, Ruaihona 1991 (Cresswell 1977:59, 68; Davis 1976:(6)27; Mead 1986:120, 193; Neich 1983:264, 265; 2001; 2002a:267; New Zealand's Nature Heritage 1956–1957:1954; Pukaea September 2001, p. 8; Ruaihona Committee 1993; Stafford 1988:255, 295, 338; Te Teko School Centennial 1981)

Tauha Nikora, Ngati Rua hapu, Te Whakatohea. Tutamure 1901. (Amoamo, Tupene and Neich 1984; Neich 1993a:227)

Nopera, Ngati Pamoana. Bailer for Tahuhuroa canoe, ME.3821, Museum of New Zealand

Ike Nomana. Aotea at Papawai 1903 (Hakiwai 2003:299)

Te Pina Nuku, Tuhoe. Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888 (McEwen MS Papers 6717–029)

Nutana (Te Nutana Waihi?), Ngati Kawiti hapu, Ngati Pikiao. Uruika 1908, tokipoutangata handle, walking sticks (Brown 1997:349; Cresswell 1977:54; Neich 1997:190; 2001:242; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:99)

**Owaihaputangirangi**, Ngati Warahoe hapu, Ngati Awa. Ridgepole in Auckland Museum AM 50434 (Mead 1990:278)

Hoete Te Pahau, Ngati Te Takinga, Ngati Pikiao. Whare Manuhiri at Taheke 1870, Rangitihi 1871 (Neich 2001)

Iriapa Te **Pahau**, Ngati Te Takinga, Ngati Pikiao. Whare Manuhiri at Taheke 1870, Rangitihi 1871 (Neich 2001)

Hori Paihia, Ngati Porou. Takitimu 1887 (Binney 1995;299; Brown 1997;303; Hakiwai 2003;159; Neich 1993a;304; Phillipps 1944;71)

Patorounu (Patoromiu/Patoromu) Pakapaka, Rongowhakaata. Te Toki-a-Tapiri war canoe c1840 (Halbert 1999:91; Lambert 1925:206; Oliver 1990:340)

Riwai Pakerau (1830s–1930s), Te Whanau-a-Rakairoa hapu, Ngai Taharora hapu, Ngati Porou. Ruakapanga 1880, Iritekura c1880, Ruataupare 1882, Te Poho-o-Materoa 1880s, Taharora 1889, Te Kuri c1900, Mauitikitiki-a-Taranga 1913, window lintel and poupou in Auckland Museum (Brown 1997:363; Ellis 1998; Neich 1990c:169; 1993a:55, 271, 272–3; 1997:188–190; Phillipps 1944:109)

Te Ao Pakurangi (see Te Aopakurangi)

Hamuera Pango (?–1893), Ngati Whakaue. Interior of St Michael's Church, Ohinemutu 1890 (Stafford 1986:412)

Paniora, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Mataatua 1875, Hotunui 1878 (Mead and Te Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa 1990:15; Phillipps and Wadmore 1956:6, 33; Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Himiona Te **Papaapiti**, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:7; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:91)

Tauria Papanui of Whanganui. Aotea at Papawai 1903 (Hakiwai 2003:299)

Raimona **Papuni**, Ngati Rua hapu, Te Whakatohea. Tutamure 1901. (Amoamo, Tupene and Neich 1984; Neich 1993a:227)

Ngaheu Paora (?-1930), Ngati Awa. Ruataupare 1927 (London 1966; Evening Post 30 March 1932)

Parehe, of Te Tairawhiti. Rua-toki-Te-Hau at Puniho mid-1870s (Day 2001:121, 122)

Parekura, Ngati Taiwhakaea hapu, Ngati Awa. Taiwhakaea 1913, Rangihouhiri 1922 (Brown 1997:316, 317; Takotohiwi 1980:25, 36)

Haenga Paretipua, Ngati Kahungunu. Palisade figures at Ruataniwha Marae (Hakiwai 2003:170, 215)

Parinui, Waikato / Maniapoto. Monument to daughter of Te Wherowhero 1840s (Angas 1846:plate X; Firth 1925:282; Hakiwai 2003:91; Mead 1986:192; Peterson and Mead 1972:caption to plate 40)

Wiremu Keepa Patahuri, Ngati Unukukopako / Ngati Whakaue. Hinemoa 1905 (Stafford 1994:68)

Hune Patini (Pitini), Ngati Rangiwewehi. Whakaokorau 1880s, Wahiao 1908, Tia 1912 (Cresswell 1977:58; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1946:27, 31; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:103) Cowan 1930:134;

Kaporere Patuwairua, Whanganui. Purangi Church 1905 (Neich 1993a:307)

Ikanui Pene, Patuwai. Toroa 1952 (Takotohiwi 1980:62)

Matenga **Peraro**, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Mataatua 1875 (McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Mead and Te Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa 1990:15; Phillipps and Wadmore 1956:33; Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Te Pere, Ngati Pikiao. Whare Manuhiri at Taheke 1870, Rangitihi 1867–1871 (Neich 2001)

Wi Pere, of Waiapu. Model Maori canoe 1876, "Maori house at Christchurch Museum" [Hau-Te-Ananui-a-Tangaroa] (*Poverty Bay Standard*, June 10, 1876; *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* 11 July, p.172, 1876 Vol. 12b, No. 14)

Te Waaka **Perohuka**, Rongowhakaata. Te Toki-a-Tapiri war canoe 1840, Manutuke Church 1849 (Hakiwai 2003:143, 144; Halbert 1999:90, 91; Lambert 1925:206; MacKay 1949:373; Mead 1986:77; Neich

1993a:82, 84, 86: Nelson 1991:58; Oliver 1990:340-341; Porter 1974:537; Ria 1987:84; Simmons 1985:154)

Piere, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Te Poho-o-Mahaki poutokomanawa c1830 (Phillipps 1944:92)

Pihopa, Tuhoe. Eripitana 1884 (Cresswell 1977:74; North 1974:4)

Te Tuhi **Pihopa**, Tuhoe. Turanganuiakiwa at Manutuke, Eripitana 1884, Manutuke Church 1913, Hinenui-Te-Po 1920, house carvings in Bremen Museum, Waikotikoti pataka pre-1925 (Brown 1907:70; Brown 1997:298; Cresswell 1977:60, 74; 'Dana' 1964; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Neich 1993a;284; 2001; North 1974:3, 4; Phillipps 1944:90; 1952:126; 1959:3; Porter 1979:207; Ria 1987:85; Schurtz 1900; *Te Pipi Wharauroa*, No.177:9, April 1913))

Te Pina (Nuku?), Tuhoe. Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888 (Brown 1997:309; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; North 1965:33; 1974:12; Phillipps 1959:8)

Pine, Rangitane / Ngati Kahungunu. Aotea 1883 (Paewai 1984)

Te Pirini, Ngati Awa. Hotunui 1878 (Barton and Reynolds 1985:5; Neich nd:2, 7)

Iharaia Piripi (fl.1900-1920), Te Arawa. (McEwen MS Papers 6717-029)

Pitini (see Patini, Hune Patini)

Tame Poata. Raurunui-a-Toi 1913 (Cresswell 1977:83; Ellis 1998)

Ringatu Poi (c1900–1940), Whanau-a-Tapuhi, Ngati Porou. St. Mary's Church 1926, Te Ao Kairau c1935, Takitimu 1935, Iritekura 1936, Hinerupe 1936, Porourangi 1938, Whitireia 1939, Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1940, Rongomaitapui dining hall, Taihoa dining hall (Neich 1993a:55–56, 119; Ngata 1942:4)

Ki (Kiriona) Pokai, Ngati Ruanui. Te Ikaroa-a-Maui 1936, Raukawa 1936 (Brown 1997:342; Cresswell 1977:116; Day 2001:122; Phillipps 1955:33)

Pomare, Tuhoe. Te Poho-o-Parahaki 1916 (Cresswell 1977:75; Neich 1993a:284; North 1974:8; Phillipps 1959:14)

Te Wheoro **Poni**, Te Arawa. Kearoa 1888, Te Aomarama 1912 (Cresswell 1977:44; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:54)

Ponaho Porikapa, Ngati Rua hapu, Te Whakatohea. Tutamure 1901 (Amoamo, Tupene and Neich 1984; Neich 1993a:227)

Te Poroa, Ngati Ranginui. House for Te Waru 1850s? (Neich 2001)

Tom Porter, Waikato. Turangawaewae 1919, Pare Waikato 1927 (Brown 1997:191; Cresswell 1977:31 McEwen MS Papers 6717–029)

Te Porue, Ngati Tarawhai. Uenukumairarotonga 1872–1875 (Stafford 1996:21)

Pototi, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Te Poho-o-Mahaki poutokomanawa c1830 (Phillipps 1944:92)

Hahana Patuaka. Raukawa 1936 (Porter 1979:75)

Hahana Potuwaka (Patuaka?). Te Ikaroa-a-Maui 1936 (Brown 1997:340, 466)

Wi Te Parihi Pou (see Wi Te Parihi Mou)

Te Ture **Poutama**, Whanganui. Poutama 1884–1888, Christchurch Exhibition 1906, Te Waiherehere 1922 (Binney 1995:431; Hardie 1975:16, 19)

Piri Wiremu Terangi (Te Ranga) **Poutapu**, Waikato. Rotorua Boys High School front entrance 1926, Pare Waikato 1927, Te Hono-ki-Rarotonga 1928 Mahinarangi 1929, Te Aroha-nui-o-Te-Tangata 1930s, Te Aute College Assembly Hall 1933, Te Winika canoe 1938, Takitimu 1938, Turongo 1938, Whitireia 1939,

Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1940, Ngatokimatawhaorua canoe 1940, Tuturu-a-papa-ka-mutu 1940, Tukaki 1944, Taheretikitiki canoe, Raukawa (Anonymous 1972:3, 10; Brown 1997:191, 193, 198, 199, 200, 210, 212, 334, 362, 455, 466; 1999:245; 2003:65, 80; Cresswell 1977:31, 32; Davis 1976:(6)27; Ellis 1998;2002:24; Hurinui 1971:25; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Nelson 1991:63, 64, 66, 70; Phillipps 1955:205; Porter 1979:137; Schwimmer 1959:34, 51; Te Wiata 1976:15)

Puatia, Waikato. Maketu house at Otawhao 1844 (Angas 1846:plate XXV)

Te **Puehu**, Ngati Hikakino hapu, Ngati Awa / Ngati Pikiao. Awatope gateway at Maketu 1837 (Mead et al 1994:A24,A25, B6–B7,B11,B19; Neich 2001; 2002:20; 2002a:256, 260)

Puhiake, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Te Potaka pataka c1820 (Simmons 1985:29, 77; 1997:148, 150)

Hori Pukehika (Hori Te Tua) (23 March 1851 – 31 May 1932), Ngatiruaka, Ngati Hinepango, Ngapaerangi, Ngati Tuera hapu, Te Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi. Te Paku-o-Te-Rangi 1877, Poutama 1888, Tawhitinui 1880s, Maranganui 1905, Christchurch Exhibition 1906, Te Waiherehere restoration 1921, mantelpiece for Melbourne Exhibition, mantlepiece for Dunedin South Seas Exhibition (Barns 1937:10–13; Church 1996:410–411; Cresswell 1977:108; Cowan 1910:330; Hardie 1975:19, Kirk 1989:9; McEwen 1966:426; MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1955:74, 86; Simmons 1985:96; Simon 2002:94; Sorrenson 1988:119, 165)

Piri Pukei, Ngati Mahanga. Papa-o-Rotu 1940s (Cresswell 1977:34; Phillipps 1955:228)

Hurae Puketapu, Tuhoe, Ngati Ruapani? Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888, Models and replicas for Elsdon Best, ?Gateway on model pa at Ruatahuna (McEwen MS Papers 6717–032; Neich 2001)

Mata Puku, Ngai Tamanuhiri. Te Poho-o-Tamanuhiri 1913 (Cresswell 1977:90; Phillipps 1944:86)

Arekatera Te Puni, Te Arawa. Whakarewa 1878 (Stafford 1994:57)

Ivor Te **Puni** (1885–29 May 1967, Te Ati Awa. Walking sticks and bowl in private ownership, ex-Island Love Collection (Neich 1991:140; *Te Ao Hou* 60:2)

Puria, Tuhoe tribe. Rongokarae 1901 (McEwen MS Papers 6717-029; Phillipps 1948:8)

Te Putere, Ngati Awa. Hotunui 1878 (Barton and Reynolds 1985:5; Neich nd:2, 7)

Puwhakaoho, Ngati Hinekura, Ngati Pikiao. Houmaitawhiti 1820s, poupou in modern Houmaitawhiti (McEwen 1947:176; Neich 2001; 2002a:259, 264; Simmons 1985:56;126; Stafford 1996:77)

Te Matangi Puwhakaoho, Ngati Hinekura, Ngati Pikiao. Te Rangiawheta gateway at Maketu 1837 (Neich 2001; 2002:12, 19; 2002a:256, 259; Stafford 1988:365)

Anaha Te Rahui (1822–1913), Ngati Tarawhai. Te Arawa canoe 1868, Whare Manuhiri at Taheke 1870, Rangitihi 1871, Tokopikowhakahau 1878, Te Waata Taranui tomb 1882, Rauru 1899, model canoe for Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York 1902 (now in British Museum TRH82); Nuku-Te-Apiapi 1905, carving motif samples 1909, Te Aomarama 1912 (Barrow 1969:68; Blackley 1997:39, 134, 159, 187; Cresswell 1977:44; Davis 1976:(5)28; Doig and Davidson 1989:86; Firth 1925:281, 289; Hakiwai 2003: 91; Kernot 1984:148–151; Loughnan 1902:91; Mead 1986:119, 168–172, 193; Neich 1983:255, 259, 260, 261; 1990:486–487; 1991:127, 129; 1995:36–37, 48; 1997:193–195; 1998:11; 2001; Phillipps 1938a; 1941:11; 1970:72; 1946:43; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:54, 79; Pomare and Cowan 1930:261, 269; Simmons 1985:131; Stafford 1988:17, 21; 1996:104; Starzecka, Neich and Pendergrast forthcoming; Taylor and Glen 1977:139–140, 204, 207, 238; Tischner 1971:12, 20; Auckland Weekly News 15 March, 1906:14–15; New Zealand Graphic, 7 April, 1900:645–8, 14 April, 1900:689, 691, 13 January 1906:31)

Tama Te Kapua Te Raihi (1873–?), Ngati Whakaue. Tumahaurangi 1928, Mahinarangi 1929, Raukawa 1936, Te Ikaroa-a-Maui 1936, Takitimu 1938, Tamatekapua 1943, Tawakeheimoa 1943 (Brown 1997:340, 342, 347, 455, 466; 1999:245; Cresswell 1977:51, 116, 119; Hurinui 1971:25; Michell 1944:202; Phillipps

1946:16, 32; 1955:33, 127; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:53; Porter 1979:138, 139; Stafford 1988:130; Wilson 1990:52)

Wihau Te Raihi (1886–1951, fl.1920–1940), Ngati Whakaue. Te Roro-o-Te-Rangi 1924, St Mary's Church at Tikitiki 1925–1926, Tunohopu 1926, Tumahaurangi 1928, Mahinarangi 1929, Wharepakau 1930, Tuwhare at Rangitahi College 1936–1938, Hurunga Te Rangi 1937, Te Ngakau 1940, Nga Pumanawa-e-waru-o-Te-Arawa 1941, Tamatekapua 1943 (outer poutokoihi), Ngatoroirangi flagstaff (Brown 1997:193; Cresswell 1977:44, 49, 50, 51, 61; Ellis 2002:25; Hurinui 1971:25; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; North 1974:5; Phillipps 1943:16; 1959:7; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:49, 53, 60, 73; Sorrenson 1986:64; Stafford 1988:130, 184, 255; Wilson 1961)

Te Motu Raimapaha, Ngati Raukawa. Waitahanui house, Te Tikanga 1880s, Rongorito 1901 (Kimura 1991; Phillipps 1955:48, 50, 51; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Mead 1986:66; Neich 1993a:306)

Paora Rakaiora, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:7; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:91)

Te Whare Rakau, Ngati Kahungunu. Hokapo at Aropaoanui (Hakiwai 2003:170)

Te Ngaru Ranapia (Ranapia Te Pakura, Te Ngaru Te Pakuru Ranapia, Ngaru Rapana?) (?–1936) (fl.1890–1930s), Ngati Pikiao. Te Takinga 1879, 1902, 1922, Te Arawa 1881, Hinemoa 1905, Hatupatu 1905, Uruika 1908, Uenukukopako 1925, Kahuranaki 1912, Manutuke Church 1913, Kahumatamomoe 1913, Maori Affairs Committee Room, Parliament Buildings 1919, flagpole for the Prince of Wales 1920, mausoleum of Te Heuheu Tukino V (Tureiti) 1921, Pikiao 1924, Tawakemoetahanga (Pukehina) 1925, Tuhourangi (tekoteko) 1931, Parua-Haranui 1932, (Brown 1997:349; Cresswell 1977:53, 54, 55, 59; 'Dana' 1964; Dollimore 1973:46; Kereopa list; McEwen 1947:176; Neich 1993a:256; 2001; Ngata 1958:22:33; Phillipps 1944:90; 1955:154; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:62, 83, 85, 89, 99, 109; Porter 1979:206; Ria 1987:85; Sorrenson 1988:88, 219; Stafford 1988:130, 182, 338; 1994:134; *Te Pipi Wharauroa*, No.177:9, April 1913))

Petera Te **Rangi**, Ngati Turangitukua hapu, Ngati Tuwharetoa. Tuwharetoa-I-Te-Aupouri 1917 (Cresswell 1977:100; Neich 1993a:257)

Te Rangihaeata (c1750–1855), Ngati Toa. Kaitangata 1830s, Waitohi's mausoleum 1840 (Angas 1846:plate IV,plate XLVI; Hakiwai 2003:91; Kernot 1984:145–148; Mead 1986:191; Phillipps 1955:15, 18; Simmons 2001:144)

Wi Maihi Te Rangikaheke, Ngati Rangiwewehi. Whakaue 1887 (Phillipps and McEwen 1948;75)

Maehe Ranginui, Whanganui. (Phillipps 1955:74)

Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitaake, Te Ati Awa. War canoe prow Auckland Museum AM7375 (Archey 1977:58, 59; Day 2001:75, 76; Neich 1991:79; Simmons 2001:226)

Rangiteaorere (?–1940s), Ngati Uenukukopako. Rangiwhakaekeau (door and window) 1890s, Uenuku-Kopako 1915 (Cresswell 1977:49, 53; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1952:144; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:67, 70)

Rangiteremaui (Te Rangiteremauri), Tuhoe. Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888 (Brown 1997;309; Cresswell 1977:74; McEwen MS Papers 6717–032; North 1965:33; 1974:6, 12; Phillipps 1959:8)

Timoti Rangitotohihura (Rangitotohihira), Rongowhakaata. Te Toki-a-Tapiri war canoe c1840 (Lambert 1925:206; Oliver 1990:340)

Rangitukehu, Ngati Awa. (see Rangitukehu Te Wharewera)

Rapihana, Te Arawa. Houngarea 1916 (Cresswell 1977:120; Hakiwai 2003:159; Neich 1993a:299; Phillipps 1944:79)

Raupata, Te Arawa. Wharepakau 1930 (Phillipps 1959:7)

Ihaka Rautahi, Rangitane, Aotea 1883 (Cresswell 1977:122; Paewai 1984; Phillipps 1944:74, 75)

Paraone (Brown) Rauwhero, Waikato. Mahinarangi 1929, Turongo 1938, Tuturu-a-papa-ka-mutu at Hukanui marae 1940, Te Ohaki (Brown 1997:201; Cresswell 1977:32; McEwen MS Papers 6717-029)

Huiti Rawero, Ngati Mahanga. Tu Turuapapa Kamutu 1940 (Phillipps 1955:238)

Hawera Rehe, Whanganui. Poutama 1884–1888 (Cresswell 1977:109; Hardie 1975:19; McEwen 1966:426; MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1955:74, 98; Simmons 1985:96)

Te Rehua, Ngati Pikiao. Kawiti gateway at Maketu 1837 (Neich 2002;12, 21; 2002a;256, 260)

Matiu Repanga, Ngati Rua hapu, Te Whakatohea. Tutamure 1901. (Amoamo, Tupene and Neich 1984; Neich 1993a:227)

Renata, Te Arawa. Moko 1880s (McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:100)

Renata, Ngati Awa. Puawairua 1922 (Takotohiwi 1980:25)

Reweti of Waikaremoana, Tuhoe. Kahukuranui 1903 (Brown 1997:364; Neich 1993a:297; Phillipps 1952:127)

Wi Paki Reweti. Apanui 1942 (Schwimmer 1959:32)

Te Rewiata, Te Whakatohea. Irapuaia 1904 (Neich 1993a:267)

Apanui Ringamotu, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Te Potaka pataka c.1780 (Simmons 1985:29, 76, 77; 1997:148)

Ririhino, Ngati Porou. Wairuru 1830s (pers. comm. D.R. Simmons)

Rangi Rito. Aotea at Papawai 1903 (Hakiwai 2003:299)

Te Rito of Wairoa. Palisade figures at Papawai (Hakiwai 2003:302)

Ropitini Te Rito, Ngati Kahungunu. Te Poho-o-Tiakiwai 1864/1891, Hinewhata at Mahia 1875, Papawai (Brown 1997:313; Hakiwai 2003:169, 187, 206; Neich 1993a:295; Phillipps 1944:82)

Rongomai, Ngati Porou. Te Mana-o-Turanga 1882, Rahiri 1914 (Fowler 1974:10; Neich 1993a:251)

Ropata, Te Arawa. Wharepakau 1930 (Cresswell 1977:61; North 1974:5)

Hori Ropiha, Ngati Kahungunu. Kahuranaki 1877 (Hakiwai 2003:168, 233, 329-30; Te Wananga Vol. 3, number 9, 4 March 1876:125; Te Wananga Vol.4, number 35, 1 September 1877:348-9)

Karepa Ruatapu, Rongowhakaata. Te Mana-o-Turanga 1882 (Fowler 1974:4, 28; Porter 1979:71; Simmons 1985:38)

Te Ruato, Arawa. Kearoa (amo) 1888 (Phillipps and McEwen 1948:60)

Ruihae (Ruehae), Kiore gateway at Maketu 1837. (Neich 2001; 2002:12, 18; 2002a:256, 259)

Raharuhi Rukupo (Lazarus) (c1800-1873), Ngati Kaipoho hapu, Rongowhakaata. Te Toki-a-Tapiri war canoe c1840, Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842, Manutuke Church 1849, Te Mana-o-Turanga 1860s (Archey 1977:47; Barrow 1963:20; 1965:5, 78, 9; 1969:78; Brown 1996:7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 21; 1997:170, 335; Davis 1976:(3)29; Ellis 2002a:39; Fowler 1974:4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 28; Hakiwai 2003:91, 96, 135, 143, 144, 145, 164; Halbert 1999:91; Harrison and Oliver 1993:431-432; Historic Places in New Zealand 13, 1986:12; Ihimaera 2002:45-46; Kernot 1984:151-155; McEwen 1966:424; MacKay 1949:374; Mead 1986:75, 77, 191; Neich 1990c:171, 173; 1993a:82, 84, 85, 86; 1995:61, 62; 1996:111; Oliver 1990:340; Phillipps 1944:87; Porter 1974:341, 535, 537, 548; 1979:71; Ria 1987:76, 77, 82, 84, 85; Simmons 1985:27, 38, 40, 60, 61, 154; Sorrenson 1988:216; Turei 1873:179; Walker 1990:7)

Rukuwai, Ngati Whatua / Kawerau. Tutangimamae storehouse 1820s now in Auckland Museum AM6394 (Brown 2003:31, 111; Selwyn 1996:214; Simmons 1985:54)

Te Rupe, Ngati Hinekura. Te Rangiawheta gateway at Maketu 1837 (Neich 2001; 2002:12, 19; 2002a: 256, 259)

Rura (Rure), Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Mataatua 1875, Hotunui 1878 (McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Mead and Te Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa 1990:15; Phillipps and Wadmore 1956:33; Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Jim Ruru, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Te Poho-o-Pikihoro 1958 (Schwimmer 1959:35, 51)

Patoromu Ruru, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Rongopai 1887 (Neich 1993a:191)

Hira (Hema?) Solomon, Waikato? Pare Hauraki 1952, Wairere (Cresswell 1977:32, 37; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029)

Hone (Hoane) Taahu (c1825-?, fl c.1860-c.1896), Ngati Uepohatu hapu, Whanau-a-Hinetapora hapu, Whanau-a-Rua hapu, Ngati Porou. Te Poho-o-Te-Aotawarirangi 1860s, "Tumoanakotore" 1860s [1870s], Mauitikitiki-a-Taranga 1865, Hau-Te-Ananui-a-Tangaroa 1874, Te Poho-o-Materoa c1870, Kapohanga c1880, Raurunui-a-Toi 1882, Porourangi 1888, Te Aotahi at Hicks Bay 1889, Hinetapora 1896, Omahu storehouse (Brown 1997:331; Cresswell 1977:83; Ellis 1998, 2002a:37, 40, 41; Hakiwai 2003:91; Halbert 1999:161, 169, 170, 176; Lawson 1986:161; McEwen 1947:179; 1966:423; McEwen MS Papers 6717-029; Mead 1986:82, 193; Neich 1993a:55, 271; 1996:111; Ngata 1896:85; 1942:2; Oliver 1993a:355; Phillipps 1944:111, 112; Simmons 1985:150, 151; 2001:186, 192, 224; Stack 1876; Te Ao and Stocker 1994:13-17)

**Taepa**, Te Arawa. Nga Tau-e-Waru 1881, Aotea 1883 (Cresswell 1977:122; Hakiwai 2003:293; McEwen 1986:150; Mead 1986:141; Neich 1993:303; Paewai 1984; Phillipps 1939; 1944:74)

Taunu 'Doc' Taepa (Taunu Tai Taepa), Te Arawa. Tutanekai (pare) 1900s, Tamatekapua 1943, Tawakeheimoa 1943 (McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1946:16, 32; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:64; Stafford 1988:365)

Te Taero (Te Tairo), Ngati Pikiao. Makino gateway at Maketu (Neich 2001)

Tuhi (Turi) Tahapeehi, Waikato. Turongo 1938, Wairere at Kai-a-te-Mata Marae, Te Ohaki (Brown 1997:201; Cresswell 1977:32, 37; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029)

Wi Tahata (c1850–c1910), Ngati Uepohatu hapu, Ngati Rangi hapu, Ngati Porou. Hinetapora 1896 (Brown 1997:331; Cresswell 1977:83; Ellis 1998; Halbert 1999:161; McEwen 1947:179; 1966:423; Mead 1986:82; Neich 1993a:269; Phillipps 1944:112)

**Tahuriorangi**, Ngati Pikiao. Te Oha storehouse 1825, Irohanga gateway at Maketu 1837 (McEwen 1947:176; Neich 2001; 2002:12, 16, 18; 2002a:256, 259, 263; Phillipps 1952:156; Stafford 1994:38, 133

Thompson Tahuriorangi, Ngati Pikiao. Te Rangiunuora 1960, Houmaitawhiti 1970, Parua-Haranui 1984 (Stafford 1988:338, 365, 367)

John Taiapa (Hone Te Kauru Taiapa) (1911–10 May 1979), Ngati Porou. Rotorua Boys High School front entrance 1926, Te Hono-ki-Rarotonga 1928, Te Aute College Assembly Hall 1933, Raukawa 1936, Te Ikaroa-a-Maui 1936, Takitimu 1938, Whitireia 1939, Aroha-nui-ki-Te-Tangata 1930s, Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1940, Mangahanea dining hall, Kakohangarangi at Hiruharama, Ruakapanga II 1944, Tukaki 1944, Kapohanga 1940s, Nga Tamatoa dining hall 1940s, Hukarere chapel 1940s, Te Poho-o-Pikihoro 1958; Tapeka 1959, Cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist at Napier 1960, Polynesian Cultural Centre at Laie 1960s, Mataatua at Rotorua (Brown 1997:206, 334, 340, 347, 353, 358, 362, 363, 364, 455, 457, 466; 1999:245; Cresswell 1977:14, 119; Davis 1976:(6)27; Ellis 1998; Hurinui 1959:7; Mitchell 1944:202; O'Reilly 1967:59; Phillipps 1955:261; Porter 1979:69, 72, 73, 139; Schwimmer 1959; Wilson 1990:52)

Pineamine Taiapa (1901–1972), Ngati Porou. St Mary's Church 1925, Te Whare-o-Rangi 1920s, Rotorua

Boys High School front entrance 1926, Te Hono-ki-Rarotonga 1928, Te Aute College Assembly Hall 1933, Te Ikaroa-a-Maui 1936, Tawhiwhirangi Hall 1936, Te Hau-ki-Turanga renovations 1936, Raukawa 1936, St. Pauls Church at Putiki 1937, Hinerupe 1937–1938, Takitimu 1938, Uruika 1938, Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1934–1937 and 1940, Whitireia 1939, carvings used in Te Aroha-nui-ki-Te-Tangata at Waiwhetu 1930s, Ruakapanga II 1944, Taihoa at Wairoa, Tukaki 1944, Hinepare 1945, St Paul's Memorial Church 1947, Tutamure War Memorial Hall at Omarumutu, Kahungunu at Nuhaka, Te Rehu-o-Karuwai ar Maraehara 1951, Tikitiki cultural room 1957, Te Poho-o-Pikihoro 1958, Tuwhakairiora 1959 (Amoamo, Tupene and Neich 1984; Barrow 1969:68; Brown 1996:20; 1997:334, 337, 339, 340, 345, 347, 353, 358, 362, 455, 457, 466; 1999:245; 2003:59; Bryant, 2002:21, 22; Cresswell 1977:14, 119; Davis 1976:(5)28;(6)27; Ellis 1998;2002:24; McEwen 1947:179; Mepham 1969:8; Michell 1944:202; Ngata 1942:4; Neich 1996:112;2001; O'Reilly 1967:59; Phillipps 1955:261; Porter 1979:72, 139, 205; Schwimmer 1959; Shadbolt 1973; 1973a; Sorrenson 1987:86, 101; 1988:193, 212; Tumataroa 1990:42; Wilson 1990:52)

O.Timi Taiki, Ngati Kahungunu. Nohomaiterangi c1890 (Neich 1993a:301)

Taiko, Ngati Pikiao. Te Hei 1899 (Phillipps and McEwen 1948:104)

Taimona. Nukutaimemeha 1912–1916 (Hakiwai 2003:305; Te Ao Hou 55, 1966:5)

Hotereni Taipari, Ngati Maru. Hotunui ridgepole 1878 (Barton and Reynolds 1985:5; Mokomoko 1898; Neich nd:2, 7)

Te Tairo (Taero), Ngati Pikiao. Makino gateway at Maketu 1837 (Neich 2002:12, 18, 19; 2002a:256, 259)

H. Taka. Te Hau-ki-Turanga additions 1936 (Brown 1997:337)

Huhi (Huki) Takerei, Ngati Hinemihi at Taupo / Ngati Whakatere hapu, Ngati Raukawa. Te Tikanga 1880s, Hoturoa 1881, Hauiti 1885, Whitikaupeka 1890 (Brown 1997:48; Cresswell 1977:33; Geelen 1988; Kimura 1991; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Neich 1993a:306; Phillipps 1944:78; 1955:51, 228)

H. Takoko. Te Hau-ki-Turanga additions 1936 (Brown 1997:337)

Rawiri Tamainu, Waikato. Te Winika canoe 1936 (Nelson 1991:63)

Matenga **Tamaioria**, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:5; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:91)

Maihi Tamatama-Arangi, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Kaiaio 1914 (pers.comm. D.R. Simmons)

Patoromu Tamatea (?-c1890), Ngati Tamateatutahi hapu, Ngati Pikiao. House carvings, weapons, bowls, boxes, walking sticks, tobacco pipes in Auckland Museum and Museum of New Zealand, Madonna and Child in Auckland Museum AM22 (Cowan 1934:112–8; Henare 1986:14, 15; Neich 1991:127, 131–133; 1995:43, 65; 1997:190–191; 2001; Roach 1972; Simmons 1986:128)

Paora Tamati, Ngati Wahiao. Posts around Arawa war memorial, Rotorua 1927, posts around vicarage at Ohinemutu, figures of King George V and his Queen in Te Amorangi Museum, puppet in Museum of New Zealand ME 13382, kauri gum heads (Neich 1993:99; Papakura 1938:41, 56; Sorrenson 1987:192; Waaka 1982:57; pers. comm. Arthur Sheward)

Tamihana (Pihopa Tamehana?), Tuhoe. Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888 (Brown 1997:309; Cresswell 1977:74; McEwen MS Papers 6717–032; North 1965:33; 1974:6, 12; Phillipps 1959:8)

Tamihana (Tamehana), Ngati Kahungunu. Hinewhata at Mahia 1875, Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888 (Hakiwai 2003:169, 206)

Te Waharoa Tamihana, Waikato. Turongo 1938, Wairere at Kai-a-te-Mata Marae (Brown 1997:201; Cresswell 1977:32, 37; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029)

Te Iho Tangohau, Patuheuheu hapu, Tuhoe. Tama-ki-Hikurangi 1909 (Neich 1993a:261)

Paira Tangora, Ngai Tamanuhiri. Te Mana-o-Turanga 1883 (Simmons 1985:38)

Wi **Taokuku**, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Mataatua 1875, Hotunui 1878 (Mead and Te Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa 1990:15; Phillipps and Wadmore 1956:33; Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Turi Tape, Waikato. Pare Hauraki 1952 (Cresswell 1977:32; McEwen MS Papers 6717-029)

Tare, Ngati Tarawhai. Uenukumairarotonga 1872–1875 (Stafford 1996:21)

Wi Tarina, Ngati Manawa? Tangiharuru 1916 (Neich 1993a:263)

Taringa, Ngati Tuwharetoa. Nuku-Tewhatewha storehouse 1856, Okahukura 1893 (McEwen 1966:425; Phillipps 1955:169)

Taringa-kuri (Kaeaea), Te Ati Awa. House at Kaiwharawhara 1844 (Peterson and Mead 1972:plate 2)

Wero Taroi (Wero Mahikore, Karu) (c1810–c1880), Ngati Tarawhai. Te Puawai-o-Te-Arawa storehouse 1868 [Auckland Museum], Te Arawa 1870 [Te Papa, Museum of New Zealand, Rotorua Museum], Rangithi 1871 [Auckland Museum], Uenuku-mai-Rarotonga 1875, Houmaitawhiti 1875 [Rotorua Museum and standing], House for Arama Karaka Mokonuiarangi (later Nuku-Te-Apiapi) 1878 [Auckland Museum, Arawa Trust Board, Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua Museum], Tokopikowhakahau 1878 [Te Papa, Museum of New Zealand, Waikato Museum], Tiki-a-Tamamutu 1878, Hinemihi 1880 [Clandon Park, England] (Dennan 1968:35; Doig and Davidson 1989:92; Gallop 1996:37; 1996a:20; 1998:27–28; Heath 1938:5; Hooper-Greenhill 1998:133; Kernot 1984:148–151; McEwen 1947:176; 1966:411, 421, 422; Mead 1986:117, 119, 193; Neich 1983:252; 1990a, 1991:127, 129; 1993a:257; 1995:42, 46; 1996:111; 2001; 2002a:264; Ngata 1958:22:32–33; Phillipps 1946:38; 1955:184; 1970:71; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:75, 76, 96; Simmons 1985:56, 130, 133; Stafford 1988:21, 184, 365; 1996:21, 77, 104)

Meihana Te Tauakura of Te Teko, Ngati Tarawhai / Ngati Awa. Tamapahore at Karikari, Tauranga 1883 (Now in Tauranga Museum) (Coffin 2000)

Wiremu Tauri, Ngati Tuwharetoa. Hari at Taumarunui 1935, Rongomai 1942 (Cresswell 1977:97, 100)

Patuaka Tauwehe (pupil of Patupatu), Ngati Raukawa. Otaki Convent 1890, Tukorehe 1894, Uawhaki 1898, Kauwhata c1900 (Cresswell 1977:112, 115; McEwen 1966:420; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Neich 1993a:305; Phillipps 1944:105; 1952:112; 1955:35, 36–37, 39, 60–61; Simmons 1985:164) (Photos, B13147, B16245 Museum of New Zealand)

Hemi Tawa, Tuhoe. Te Kawa-a-Maui at Maungapohatu 1919 (Cresswell 1977:76; North 1974:11; Phillipps 1959:14)

Tawari, Tuhoe. Te Poho-o-Te-Paena 1925 (Cresswell 1977:75; North 1974:8; Phillipps 1959:13)

Tawhana, Te Arawa. Te Kuri (Fairy Springs) (Cresswell 1977:51; Kereopa list)

Hohepa Te Tawhero, Ngati Awa. Tomb previously at Te Whare o Toroa, Whakatane, now in Auckland Museum? (Mead 1990:20; Mead and Te Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa 1990:20; Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Waiapu Te Tawhiro, Ngati Rua hapu, Te Whakatohea. Tutamure 1901 (Amoamo, Tupene and Neich 1984; Neich 1993a:227)

Pera Tawhiti, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:7; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:91; Harrison and Oliver 1993:431)

Tommy Taylor (see Te Teira Wi)

Te Teepa, Te Arawa. Whakaue 1885 [Canterbury Museum, Rotorua Museum] (Phillipps 1946;28)

Tehuruhuru. Nukutaimemeha 1912-1916 (Hakiwai 2003:305; Te Ao Hou 55, 1966;5)

Teira, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Mataatua 1875, Hotunui 1878 (Mead and Te Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa 1990:15; Phillipps and Wadmore 1956:33; Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Te Teira (Te Teira Ringarore Te Hanene), Ngati Tehiki hapu, Ngati Kahungunu. Tawhirimatea 1880s, Te Mana-o-Turanga 1882, Eripitana 1884, Te Poho-o-Hiraina 1885, Rongopai 1887, Te Poho-o-Rukupo 1887, Tanenuiarangi (Brown 1997:321; Fowler 1974:10; Hakiwai 2003:167, 222; Neich 1993a:187, 275, 277; Phillipps 1944:97, 98; Simmons 1985:38)

Peri Terangi, Waikato. Mahinarangi 1929 (Cresswell 1977:31)

Hone Tiatia, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:7; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999: 91)

Te Tikao, Ngati Tamateatutahi, Ngati Pikiao. Kawiti gateway at Maketu 1837 (Neich 2001; 2002:12, 20, 21; 2002a:256, 260)

Tikitiki, Te Whakatohea. Mataatua 1875 (Mead and Te Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa 1990:15; Phillipps and Wadmore 1956:6; Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Tamihana Tikitiki, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Te Poho-o-Pikihoro 1889 (Brown 1997:311; Cresswell 1977:88; Neich 1993a:274; Phillipps 1944:95)

Tiopira, Ngati Awa. Mataatua 1875 (Mead and Te Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa 1990:15; Phillipps and Wadmore 1956:6; Wadmore and Wairua 1935)

Tipua, Ngati Awa. Ruataupare 1927 (Mead and Phillis 1982:98)

Tiweka (fl.1860–1880), Ngati Pikiao. Koura 1870, Waitaha-a-Hei 1890s (Cresswell 1977:59; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:106)

Arekatera Te Toa, Ngati Tarawhai. Houmaitawhiti 1875 (Neich 2001:324–325)

Timoti Tohi (Tuhi, Tohe, Timoti Rangitotohihura), Rongowhakaata? Poutokomanawa figure representing Waaka Perohuka 1860 [Hawkes Bay Museum, Napier] (Barrow 1963:16; 1969:36; Hakiwai 2003:260; Halbert 1999:90; Lambert 1925:206)

Tohuruhuru, Te Arawa. Uenukukopako 1915 (Cresswell 1977:49; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:70)

Toikapumai, Ngati Kahungunu. Rongomaiwahine 1860s (Simmons 1985:158)

Henare Toka, Tai Tokerau. Raukawa 1936, Te Ikaroa a Maui 1936, Pou on Turuturu-mokai pa in Hawera 1938, replacement Fitzroy pole, carvings at Normanby Maori Mission (Brown 1997:340, 342, 466; Cresswell 1977:116; Day 2001:122; Phillipps 1955:33; Schwimmer 1959:50; *Te Ao Hou* 10:33)

Haare Toka-a-Kuku of Mahia, Ngati Kahungunu. Te Poho-o-Taharakau 1895 (Hakiwai 2003:168)

Hare **Tokoaka** (Tokoata), Ngati Porou. Tumoanakotore 1872, Te Aotahi 1889 (Ellis 2002a:37, 41; Hakiwai 2003:91; Lawson 1986:161; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Mead 1986:193; Simmons 1985:151; Taiapa 1959:1, 5)

Paora (Paira) Tongara, Ngai Tamanuhiri. Te Mana-o-Turanga 1882, Te Poho-o-Tamanuhiri 1913 (Cresswell 1977:90; Fowler 1974:10; Phillipps 1944:86)

Natanahira Toromata (Toumata), Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Te Toki-a-Tapiri canoe c1840, Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842, Manutuke Church 1849 (Barrow 1965:7; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:90, 91; Lambert 1925:206; Neich 1993a:82, 86; *Te Pipi Wharauroa*, No.142:1–2, February 1910; No.177:9, April 1913)

Timoti Totohirangi. Te Toki-a-Tapiri canoe c.1840. (Halbert 1999:91)

Totorere, Ngati Whakaue. Mokoia pataka (pers.comm. D.R.Simmons)

Toumata (See Natanahira Toromata)

Tu, Arawa. Kearoa (maihi) 1888 (Phillipps and McEwen 1948:60; Possible photograph in Hammond Collection, B7032, Auckland Museum; Neich 2001:242–3)

Hori Te Tua (see Hori Pukehika)

Charles Iotua Tuarau, Rarotonga, Cook Islands. Raukawa 1936, Te Hau ki Turanga additions 1936, Takitimu 1938, Hinerupe 1938 (and replacement koruru 1973), Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi 1940, Apanui 1942, Tamatekapua 1943, Tawakeheimoa 1943 (Brown 1997:337, 340, 342, 347, 358, 458, 466; Cresswell 1977:14, 116, 119; Mitchell 1944:202; Phillipps 1946:32; 1955:33, 261; Schwimmer 1959:32, 34, 51)

Reweti Tauri Tuhura, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:5; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:91)

Mita **Tuhuruhuru**, Ngati Uenukukopako, Ngati Pikiao. Uenuku-Kopako 1915, Taoitekura dining hall at Ruamata Marae 1931 (Cresswell 1977:49; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:70; Stafford 1988:182)

Patara Te Tuhi, Waikato. King Koroki's house at Huntly (McEwen MS Papers 6717-029; Phillip ps 1955:237)

Te Tuiti-moeroa of Awa-te-take pa near Waitara. Two epa and a maihi (Taranaki Museum A77.329, A77.330, A71.200) (Day 2001:44, 54, 121; Houston 1958)

Matenga **Tukareaho** (Marsden Tukareaha), Ngati Rakaipaaka, Ngati Kahungunu. Te Poho-o-Kahungunu 1876 (Portrait photo by S. Carnell ATL 135799\_) (Hakiwai 2003:160–6, 233, 235, 242, 329–30, 316, 317; Lambert 1925:258; MacKay 1949:159, 160; Porter 1974:66, 91, 109, 133, 180, 351–2; Simpson 2003:18–23; *Te Wananga* Vol. 3, number 9, 4 March 1876:125; *Te Wananga* Vol. 4, number 35, 1 September 1877:348–9)

Te Heuheu Tukino IV, Horonuku (See Patatai Te Heuheu)

Hirawanu Tukuamiomio, Rongowhakaata? Te Hau-ki-Turanga 1842 (Barrow 1965:7; Brown 1996:22; Halbert 1999:91)

Ihakara Tukumaru (c1813–18 January 1881), Ngati Ngarongo hapu, Ngati Raukawa. Taurapa for Te Whangawhanga canoe at Kereru, Koputaroa 1831–1832 now in Manawatu Museum, Te Aputa ki Wairau 1878, Rongorito ?1901 (Adkin 1948:344; Buick 1903:64; Frean 1984; Phillipps 1955:54–55, 145)

Whata Tupaea, Waikato. Turongo 1938, Pare Hauraki 1952, Te Ohaki (Brown 1997:201; Cresswell 1977:32; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029)

Tupara, Ngati Rua hapu, Whakatohea. Tutamure 1901 (Amoamo, Tupene and Neich 1984; Neich 1993a:227)

Tupenehou, Ngati Kahungunu. Rongomaiwahine 1860s (Simmons 1985:158)

Paratene Turangi, Rongowhakaata. Manutuke Church 1849 (Neich 1993a:82, 86; *Te Pipi Wharauroa*, No.142:1–2, February 1910; No.177:9, April 1913)

Ture, Whanganui. Poutama 1884 (Cresswell 1977:109; McEwen 1966:426; MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps 1955:74, 98; Simmons 1985:96)

Mohi Turei (c1830–1914) of Rangitukia, Ngati Hokopu hapu, Te Aitanga-a-Mate hapu, Ngati Porou. Ohinewaiapu interior carvings 1870s, Tuwhakairiora 1872, Hinerupe 1885, Porourangi 1888 (Cresswell 1977:81; Ellis 1998; McConnell 1996:19; Mead 1986:193; Tamahori 1990:557–558)

W.E. Turei. Aotea at Papawai 1903 (Hakiwai 2003:299)

Patea Turi-Kautahi, Ngai Tahu. Poutokomanawa representing Tutekawa and a portion of another poutokomanawa both from original runanga hall named Tutekawa at Kaiapoi 1860–1880 (Canterbury Museum E.122.6) (Beattie 1994:252; Taylor 1952:39)

Bill Turner, Waikato? Pare Hauraki 1952, Wairere (Cresswell 1977:32, 37; McEwen MS Papers 6717-029)

Topia Turoa, Ngati Patutokotoko. Poutokomanawa from Te Ao Marama 1870 (Young 1998:89, 90)

Whare Tutaki, Te Arawa. Houngarea 1916 (Neich 1993a:299; Phillipps 1944:79; 1959a:5)

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Kihirini Umutapi (see Kihirini Te Aotapuni) (early 19th century-1880s) of Rakaihoea, Te Whanau-a-Rahui hapu, Ngati Porou. Tuauau 1880, Porourangi (two poutahu and tahu over porch) 1888 (Brown 1997:344; Cresswell 1977:81; Ellis 1998; 2002a:38; Mead 1986:193; Ngata 1942:3; Oliver 1993:355; Phillipps 1944:115; Sorrenson 1987:123)

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1905, Nuku-Te-Apiapi 1905, Whakarewarewa model storehouse 1908, Te Koha 1908, Whakarewarewa gateways and posts 1909, Tuhoromatakaka 1909, Te Awhi storehouse replacement 1910, storehouse for model village at Clontarf Sydney 1910 (now in British Museum 1933.7–8.1), Te Koura monument 1912, Te Ao Marama 1912, Tiki 1912, Uenukukopako 1915, Te Ihingarangi monument 1918, flagpole for Prince of Wales 1921, Lucy Rongoheikume Reid house 1925, Hinemihi 1927, Te Rimupae monument 1931 (Archey 1977:46; *Auckland Weekly News* 15 March, 1906:14–15; Barrow 1969:39; Binney 1995:325; Blackley 1997:111; Cresswell 1977:44, 47, 49; Davis 1976:(5)28; Doig and Davidson 1989:61; Dennan 1968:12–15, 21, 33, 35, 44, 85–86; *Evening Post*, 14 September 1931; Gallop 1996:37; 1996a:20; 1998:29; Hakiwai 2003:91; Heath 1938:6; Heermann 1993; Loughnan 1902:91; Mead 1986:118, 120, 193; Neich 1983:255, 257; 1990b; 1991:127, 129; 1993a:142–146; 1996:551–552; 2001; 2002:23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30; 2002a:265, 266, 267; *New Zealand Graphic*, 7 April, 1900:645–8, 14 April, 1900:689, 691, 13 January 1906:31; Ngata 1958:22:33; Phillipps 1955:188; 1970:72; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:52, 56, 60, 70; Pomare and Cowan 1930:261, 269; Rickit 1984; Simmons 1985:131; Stafford 1988:17, 21, 22, 199, 365; 1996:77; Starzecka, Neich and Pendergrast forthcoming; Tischner 1971:12, 20;)

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Kohe Webster, Ngati Toa. Te Ikaroa-a-Maui 1936, Toa Rangatira restoration, Kikopiri restoration 1973 (Brown 1997:340, 466; Geelen 1983:15; Schwimmer 1959:50; Te Wiata 1976:6, 9; Wilson 1990:52)

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Whakaniwha, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Te Poho-o-Mahaki poutokomanawa c1830 (Phillipps 1944:92)

Te Ngaru Whakapuka (see also Te Ranapia, Te Ngaru Koeke), Ngati Pikiao. Te Takinga 1879, Te Arawa 1881, Rakeaio 1887, Kahumatamomoe (poutokomanawa) 1914, Tawakemoetahanga 1925, Paruaharanui (door) (Cresswell 1977:55, 59; McEwen 1947:176; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:83, 86, 94; Neich 2001)

Te Ipu Whakatara (Te Ipu Whakatara Pumahu, Te Ipu Pumipi?), Ngati Pikiao. Rakeaio 1887, Kahumatamomoe (amo, maihi, tekoteko, poutahuhu) 1914 (Cresswell 1977:53; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Phillipps and McEwen 1948:86, 94; Simmons 1985:132; Stafford 1994:134)

Te Whanake, Ngati Te Wehi. Tokanganui-a-noho 1860s (Mead 1986:53; Phillipps 1955:216)

Te Whanarere, Ngati Pikiao (Neich 2001).

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Rangitukehu Te Wharewera, Ngati Awa. Hotunui 1878 (Barton and Reynolds 1985:5; Neich nd:2, 7)

Te Whata, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Ruataupare 1927 (Mead and Phillis 1982:98)

Kohuru Te Whata, Ngai Tu Te Auru (Ngaitu) hapu, Ngatene (Ngati Ue) hapu, Te Roroa / Ngapuhi. Burial chests in Auckland Museum 18th century, Te Ipu Hakena storehouse c1700 in Auckland Museum AM45506 (Files of Auckland Museum; Brown 2003:31, 110, 151; Fox 1983:5, 7, 49; Selwyn 1996:206, 208; Simmons 1985:66, 67; Sunday Star Times 7 January 1996)

Toko Whati, Ngati Mahanga. Papa-o-Rotu 1940s (Cresswell 1977:34; Phillipps 1955:228)

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Te Whenuanui (Te Haka) (?–1907), Te Urewera and Ngati Rongo hapu, Tuhoe. Tuhua c1863, Eripitana 1884, Te Whai-a-Te-Motu 1888, Te Tapuae, Te Ohaki 1903, Te Poho-o-Tuhoe-Potiki 1905, Te Poho-o-Hinekura 1912 (Binney 1995:475, 478, 479, 521; Brown 1907:71; Brown 1997:91, 309, 318; Cresswell 1977:74, 75; McEwen MS Papers 6717–032; Mead 1986:103; Neich 1993a:280; 1996:111; 2001; North 1965:33; 1974:6, 8, 12; Phillipps 1959:6, 8, 12; Temara 1993:528–530)

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Te Wheoro, Arawa. Kearoa (maihi) 1888 (Phillipps and McEwen 1948:60)

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Turei **Wiari**, of Taumarunui and Waikato. Monument for Papanui Tama-hiki at Mokai (Cresswell 1977:102; Phillipps 1955:175)

Inia Te Wiata (Inia Te Iwiata), Waikato. Kawhia Methodist Church 1934, Te Winika canoe (prow especially 1938, Turongo (especially mantelpiece) 1938, Pouihi at New Zealand House, London 1964–1971 (Anonymous 1972; Brown 1997:201, 216; Cresswell 1977:32; Latta 1980:144, 151; McEwen MS Papers 6717–029; Nelson 1991:63; Te Wiata 1976)

Wihau (see Wihau Te Raihi)

Te **Wikirihotu**, Te Patuwai hapu, Ngati Awa. Mataatua 1875 (Mead and Te Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa 1990:15; Phillipps and Wadmore 1956:6)

Kamu (Kanui) Wikiriwhi (fl.1920–1940), Te Arawa. Ohomairangi (Pikirangi) (McEwen MS Papers 6717–029)

James Wilson (Tiemi Wirihana), Ngai Tamanuhiri. Te Poho-o-Tamanuhiri 1913 (Neich 1993a:278)

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