Curiosities from the Endeavour

A forgotten collection

Pacific Artefacts Given by Joseph Banks to Christ Church, Oxford after the First Voyage

Jeremy Coote

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Frontispiece (over): Portrait of Joseph Banks by Benjamin West (1738–1820), painted 1771–72, oil on canvas, 2340 x 1600 mm. Photograph by Andy Weekes, 2003; © Lincolnshire County Council, Usher Gallery.

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Captain Cook Memorial Museum
Whitby 2004

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Introduction: A Forgotten Collection

'I was highly entertained at Oxford with a sight of some curiosities you sent from Otaheita & new Zealand.'

So wrote Thomas Falconer (1738–92), classical scholar and Recorder of Chester, to his friend Joseph Banks on 16 January 1773, eighteen months after Banks's return from accompanying James Cook to the Pacific in the *Endeavour*. Falconer's words constitute first-hand evidence of the existence in Oxford of a collection of artefacts from Cook's first Pacific voyage. Strangely, until recently this reference to a collection of first-voyage Pacific artefacts in Oxford has received little, if any, attention from students of Cook's voyages and the related collections. When a previously unidentified collection of Tahitian and Maori artefacts at the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum came to my attention in 2002, however, it proved a crucial piece of evidence.

For these artefacts were all quite clearly early pieces, showing no evidence of contact or post-contact techniques, styles, or materials; they must, I thought, be from one of the early voyages. When I realised that the collection had come from Christ Church, the Oxford college Banks had attended as an undergraduate from 1760 to 1765, it dawned on me that the collection may have come from Banks and may have been acquired on the first voyage. In cases such as this, documentary evidence is vital. Falconer's remark is brief, but when I came across it in Bernard Smith's *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768–1850: A Study in the History of Art and Ideas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), I knew it was the crucial piece of evidence I needed. Subsequent research has confirmed that these artefacts do indeed comprise 'Curiosities from the *Endeavour*: A Forgotten Collection'. While it is true that Falconer does not specify that he saw the 'curiosities' at Christ Church, his comment is firm evidence that Banks had sent a collection to Oxford by 16 January 1773. Thus we know that Banks sent a first-voyage collection to Oxford and we have at the Pitt Rivers Museum a collection of artefacts from Tahiti and New Zealand that was formerly held at Banks's old college Christ Church and has all the characteristics of a first-voyage collection. It seems safe to conclude that the collection in question was given by Banks to Christ Church after the first voyage.

James Cook's expedition to the South Seas and back in the Whitby-built *Endeavour*, from August 1768 to July 1771, is one of the most famous voyages of all time. Its main purpose was to enable observations of the Transit of Venus, an important astronomical event, to be made from a suitably located island in the Pacific; Tahiti famously being chosen as the most appropriate place from which to observe the Transit on 3 June 1769. Scientists had established that if sufficiently accurate observations of the phenomenon could be made from a variety of places around the Earth, it would be possible to work out the distance of the Earth from the Sun and thus begin to measure the universe. The voyage is also famous, of course, for the seamanship and leadership shown by Cook, for the 'discoveries' (of Botany Bay and elsewhere), and for the charting of the east coast of Australia and much of the coast of New Zealand. For natural historians, the voyage is famous for the botanical and zoological research carried out by Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander (and their assistants and servants); for the wealth of specimens they collected and illustrated and for the observations they recorded. Finally, and for present purposes most importantly, for anthropologists and historians of the Pacific the voyage is famous as the first in which the

ways of life of Pacific Islanders were recorded in detail by literate European observers, and as the source of the first collections of Pacific artefacts to be acquired in anything like a systematic fashion. Thus, throughout the world those few museums fortunate enough to have such material pride themselves on their 'Cook collections', of artefacts that can be traced—with certainty, confidence, or hope—to one or other of his three famous voyages (or failing that to the voyages in general).

Such collections are of particular importance because they provide evidence of the cultures of Pacific Islanders at the time of first European contact; thus providing primary evidence of pre-contact society and the contact situation itself. Collections that can be documented as being from the first voyage are, however, especially rare. Apart from the one presented here, the *only* other documented first-voyage collection is that held at the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge. This was given to Trinity College, Cambridge in 1771 by the Earl of Sandwich, who was then First Lord of the Admiralty. It is perhaps not surprising that two of England's most famous colleges should have been given collections from the voyage, though it is surprising that the collection given to Christ Church should have been forgotten for so long. Its rediscovery at the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum in 2002 is an important event in the study both of Cook's voyages and of the history and cultures of the Pacific.

Founded in 1884, the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum is one of the world's great anthropology museums. Its ethnographic and archaeological collections number more than 275,000 individual artefacts. Taken together with the 125,000 images in the historic photograph collection, and the related manuscript and library collections, the Pitt Rivers Museum can justifiably claim to be one of the world's major resources for studying the historic and contemporary cultures of the world. Though comprising only some 14% of the total, the collections from the Pacific (including Australia) have received increasing attention in recent years, partly because of a general growth of anthropological and historical interest in this part of the world, but also because of the personal interests of a number of the Museum's staff (for an overview, see Coote, Knowles, Meister, and Petch 1999). As is well known, the Museum's displays are organized primarily by type rather than by culture, so that rather than there being a Pacific section, an African section, and so on, the Museum contains displays of pots, baskets, drums, amulets, and so on from all parts of the world. For most of the Museum's history, however, an exception to this typological system has been made for the important collection of Pacific artefacts given to the University in 1776 by Reinhold and George Forster after their return from accompanying Cook on his *second* famous voyage to the South Seas (see Coote, Gathercole, and Meister 2000 and www.prm.ox.ac.uk/forster). From 1886 to 1940, and from 1972 until today, the Museum's 'Cook collection', as it is often known, has been displayed separately in its own case, as well as in a special exhibition 1970-71 (Gathercole 1970). Moreover, almost every account of the Museum, however brief, includes a reference to the 'Cook collection' as one of the Museum's treasures and highlights. Given the amount of attention that has been paid to this collection over the years, therefore, it was something of a surprise for me to discover in 2002 that, unbeknownst to itself, the Museum had for more than a hundred years been caring for a collection from Cook's

first voyage. This publication introduces this forgotten collection, discusses what is known of its history, and serves as an accompaniment to the exhibition of the same name held at the Captain Cook Memorial Museum in Whitby during 2004. Given current constraints, it will be some years before the Pitt Rivers Museum is able to add this newly discovered first-voyage collection to its permanent displays. It was thus with enthusiasm that the Museum accepted the invitation of the Captain Cook Memorial Museum to exhibit the collection temporarily in the attic where Cook himself had slept when serving his apprenticeship to shipowner and master-mariner, John Walker (1706–85).

From a scholarly point of view, the collection has only just been rediscovered and it will be some time before a full account of it and its history can be given. However, the best way of ensuring that the collection receives the attention it deserves, from scholars and the wider public alike, is to exhibit and publish it. I am thus grateful to the Captain Cook Memorial Museum for giving me the opportunity to do both these things so soon after I first stumbled upon it.

There are a number of ways in which the material in the collection could be presented and discussed here. For the exhibition itself, it was decided to present the material in four main sections: 'Polynesian Dress', 'Maori Belts', 'Maori Hand Weapons', 'Tools and Instruments of the Society Islands', and 'Maritime Polynesia'. These seemed to be both the 'natural' groupings into which the objects fitted and took due account of the exhibition space available. After a brief account of the history of the collection, therefore, it is presented here under the same headings as those used in the exhibition. Where relevant and possible, I have drawn on J. C. Beaglehole's authoritative edition of Banks's own account of the voyage in his journal, to give some sense of the man and his experiences on the voyage. A brief checklist of the collection, including the few pieces that for one reason or another it was not possible to include in the exhibition, is also provided, as is a list of references and further reading.

My research into the collection and its history continues. Further documentary evidence may await discovery, but my efforts will now be concentrated on detailed descriptive analysis of the individual artefacts, for which I hope to be able to continue to draw on the expertise of visiting researchers and colleagues around the world, and in trying to link the individual artefacts to specific passages in the extensive voyage literature. Already I have been able to draw on the knowledge and experience of a number of colleagues in identifying and describing the individual artefacts and in piecing together the history of the collection. The keen and critical eye of Ngahuia Te Awekotuku led indirectly to the discovery of the collection, while much of the initial work on identifying and describing it was carried out with my colleague Jenny Peck to whom I am particularly indebted. I am also indebted to Lindsey Richardson for sharing the results of her research on Charles A. Pope and to Neil Chambers for sharing information on Banks himself. I am grateful to the editor of the *Journal of Museum Ethnography* for permission to reuse here material published in that Journal in March 2004. Finally, I am grateful to a number of colleagues for commenting on individual pieces in the collection and/or for discussing with me aspects of the collection and its history: Anne D'Alleva, Judith Curthoys, Sophie Forgan, Peter Gathercole, Amiria Henare, Steven Hooper, Adrienne

Joseph Banks, the Voyage, and the Christ Church Connection

Kaeppler, Merata Kawharu, Jennifer Newell, Laura Peers, Alison Petch, Heather Richardson, Hilary Scothorn, Paul Tapsell, Patricia Wallace, Hermione Waterfield, and Chris Wilkinson. While I am grateful for their help, I take full responsibility for any errors in the identification of individual pieces and in the account of the collection given here.

In many ways, work on the collection has only just begun. One area of research that seems likely to be particularly fruitful is in making comparisons with other established Cook-voyage collections. It will be particularly rewarding to compare this collection with the only other established first-voyage collection in Cambridge, with other Banks-associated collections, as well as with such established second-voyage collections as the Forster collection at the Pitt Rivers. Such comparisons will involve not only comparing individual pieces, but also reflecting on the composition of the collections and the patterns of donation that seem to emerge. For example, previous understandings of the history of the Forster collection at Oxford must be revised in the light of this new knowledge that when the Forsters gave their second-voyage collection to the University in 1776, there was a significant, if smaller, first-voyage collection in the city already.

Joseph Banks, the Voyage, and the Christ Church Connection

Joseph Banks was born at 30 Argyle Street, London on 13 February 1743 to William and Sarah Banks. His father was, at the time, member of parliament for Grampound in Cornwall, but the family estates were centred in Lincolnshire, the family home being Revesby Abbey. After, rather unusually, attending both Harrow and Eton, Banks went up to Christ Church, Oxford where he matriculated on 16 December 1760. Little is known of what he studied or otherwise did there, apart from pursuing his botany, in which he had already become interested. Indeed, after the death of his father in September 1761 he spent much time away attending to the complexities of his inheritance of the family estates, which were to make him financially independent for the rest of his life. It is known, however, that at his own expense he arranged for Israel Lyons to come over from Cambridge in July 1764 to provide a series of botanical lectures that were otherwise unavailable in Oxford. While away from Oxford a good deal, Banks kept rooms at Christ Church until the late summer of 1765 when he left without taking a degree. Though he left Oxford without any qualification, this mattered little for a man of independent means. More importantly, he had pursued his botany and made many friends, in particular John Parsons (1742–85), of whom more later, with whom he went botanizing in the surrounding countryside on a number of occasions.

Even for the eighteenth century, Banks was of an exceptionally adventurous and enquiring nature. Notably, however, this enquiring nature was not particularly scholarly. While genuinely interested in the natural world and its study and classification, his interests were also always practical. He wanted to know how things worked and he wanted to know how plants could be used and exploited economically. In later life, he was to become the unofficial director of Kew Gardens and to be a great advocate and supporter of botanical research, the setting up of botanic gardens, and the transfer of species between areas of the empire. Arguably, he was the founder of what is now known as economic botany; but that is beyond the scope of this account.

After leaving Oxford, Banks travelled extensively in England, both to his newly inherited estates, but also further afield. He also spent a good deal of time at the British Museum, where he got to know Dr Daniel Solander (1736–88), a Swedish student of the great naturalist Carl von Linné (Carolus Linnaeus; 1707–78), who was working there as an 'assistant-librarian'. Banks and Solander were to become life-long friends and colleagues. At a time when it was customary for gentlemen of means to tour the more comfortable parts of Europe, Banks set off in April 1766 for Newfoundland and Labrador, botanizing and enquiring at every opportunity. He arrived back in England in January 1767 and continued his enquiring travels closer to home, though not for long. Within a year or so he had formulated his plan to join the prospective voyage to the South Seas to observe the Transit of Venus. In November 1767 the Royal Society had petitioned the Government to provide a ship, with observers and the necessary equipment, and by early the following year Banks had resolved to join the expedition. In April 1768, James Cook was appointed to command of the *Endeavour* for the voyage, and no doubt Banks and Cook, who were to forge a working relationship of mutual appreciation and admiration, met soon afterwards. On Thursday 25 August 1768 the Whitby-built *Endeavour* set sail from Plymouth with Banks and his entourage on board. At his own expense, Banks took with him: Solander, as his companion and co-scholar; Herman Dietrich Spöring, as secretary; Sydney Parkinson, as botanical and natural history draughtsman; Alexander Buchan, as landscape and figure artist; as well as four servants—Peter Briscoe, James Roberts, Thomas Richmond, and George Dorlton. Richmond and Dorlton were to die at Tierra del Fuego before the *Endeavour* reached the Pacific, Buchan to die at Tahiti, and Spöring and Parkinson to die on the voyage home, but each in their own way may be considered—along with those that survived—to have contributed to the collecting and recording that constituted so much of the success of the voyage.

The details of the voyage will not concern us here, as they are easily available elsewhere. Suffice it to say that one imagines that when the *Endeavour* anchored in the Downs on Saturday 13 July 1771 Banks's and Solander's cabins as well as the great cabin itself must have been full to overflowing. For Banks and Solander brought back some 30,000 plant specimens and some 1,000 zoological specimens (supported by some 300 drawings), as well as sketches, drawings, watercolours, and paintings of the people and places of the South Seas. Banks and Solander also brought back an unknown number of 'artificial curiosities', as the artefacts produced by the peoples of the South Seas were known at the time, as did Cook and, presumably, other participants in the voyage. As would have been expected at the time, Cook seems to have given at least some of the 'artificial curiosities' he acquired to Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, who in turn passed some to Trinity College, Cambridge and some to the British Museum. Cook may also have given some pieces to the king. Until now, it has been unclear what Banks did with his collection of 'artificial curiosities'. It has always been assumed that some of the pieces he collected were given to the British Museum, and he is believed to have given others to friends and acquaintances, the gifts following 'paths of friendship', as his biographer Howard Carter puts it. With a very few exceptions, however, it is impossible to know on which particular voyage most such pieces linked to Banks were collected, as he is known to have acquired much additional

material from those who went on Cook's second (1772–75) and third (1776–80) voyages. Thus the Pennant collection in Cambridge, which is thought to have been given to Thomas Pennant by Banks, and 'the Banks collection' in Stockholm, may well contain first-voyage material, but it is impossible to be sure. Banks is also known to have given 'artificial curiosities' to the British Museum, but there is little significant documentation and the evidence is circumstantial.

One exception is a Tahitian helmet, now in the British Museum, pictured to Banks's right in the famous portrait by Benjamin West (1738–1820) (see frontispiece). Painted in 1771 and/or 1772, the portrait shows Banks wearing a Maori cloak of *Phormium tenax* (New Zealand flax), to the decorative, *taniko*, border of which he seems to be drawing the viewer's attention. To his right is the Tahitian helmet, a Maori paddle, and a *taiaha* or long staff. On the floor to his left are a Tahitian adze and a barkcloth beater. The portrait provides direct evidence of Banks's possession of Tahitian and Maori artefacts and has been subjected to numerous interpretations. These need not concern us here, except to comment that this was not the first time Banks had dressed in Polynesian costume. From his journal we know that he dressed in Tahitian barkcloth on a number of occasions, and he is known to have had his body covered in charcoal and worn no more than a piece of barkcloth around his loins so that he could take part in a Tahitian mourning ritual.

For present purposes, what is most intriguing about the painting is that the Maori cloak or *kaitaka* that he is depicted wearing seems to be the example in the present collection (Fig. 1). While, unfortunately, the tassels cannot be seen in the photograph reproduced here, I can confirm that they are indeed present in the actual object. Close examination suggests that the *taniko* border of the cloak in the portrait closely matches that of the example in the present collection but further work is needed before it can be said with certainty that they are indeed the same cloak. Of the other types of items depicted, only the barkcloth beater is represented in the present collection, though the example in the painting is not depicted by West distinctly enough for it to be possible to comment on whether or not it might be the one in the collection given to Christ Church (see Fig. 19 below).

It is now appropriate to give an account of what is known of the history of the collection itself. While held at the Pitt Rivers Museum, the collection actually belongs to Christ Church, the Oxford college to which I believe it was given by Banks. After further study in London and Edinburgh, Banks's friend John Parsons had returned to Christ Church in 1767 to take up the newly established post of Lee's Reader, funded by a bequest from Dr Matthew Lee (1695–1755), as well as a University Lecturership in Anatomy. One of his tasks as Lee's Reader was to oversee the completion and running of the 'Anatomy School' at Christ Church (Fig. 2), the centre for scientific teaching (anatomy, physics, botany, etc.) in the University until the creation of the University Museum in the mid nineteenth century. According to Banks's biographer, Harold B. Carter, Banks visited Parsons at Christ Church in January 1768, and the two friends are known to have corresponded at least until this time (unfortunately, the present whereabouts of any surviving correspondence between them from after 1768 is not known). No doubt they met again after the voyage when Banks and Solander were

above:
Fig. 1 Maori cloak (detail); PRM 1886.21.20

above:
Fig. 2 Christ Church from the South, by J. M. W. Turner, *circa* 1794, watercolours over pencil on paper, 319 x 425 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum.

given honorary degrees by the University on 21 November 1771. Both Parsons and the Anatomy School would have been well established at Christ Church by then, and it may thus have been as a result of this visit to his old college that Banks made the donation: of course, he must have done so before 16 January 1773 when Thomas Falconer wrote the letter quoted from above. As yet, we have no way of knowing if Banks gave the collection to the college itself or to Parsons personally. Given its later association with the college, however, I will regard it as having been given to it until there is evidence to the contrary. It should also be considered that the gift might have been given by Banks and Solander jointly, but again there is no evidence linking Solander to the gift, so I regard it as having been given by Banks alone.

Banks does not seem to have maintained particularly close relations with Christ Church thereafter. In 1784, the year before Parsons died (thus perhaps severing Banks's last personal link with the college), he sent the library a copy of his edition of *Reliquiae Houstonianae*, while the year before Banks himself died there was a proposal, unfulfilled, to present a portrait of him to the college. Otherwise, Oxford does not appear to have been of much interest to Banks in later life.

There was, of course, much more going on in London, both socially and intellectually, so perhaps this is not surprising. Today Banks is commemorated in a window in the Hall. No record of the gift of the collection seems to survive at Christ Church, nor there is any record of it being on display or otherwise used. Whatever was done with it at the time, it seems that its provenance and origins were in time ignored if not completely forgotten.

More than a century later, in the 1880s, the artefacts entered the collections of the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum, in two parts. The first part comprises twenty objects (twelve from Tahiti and eight from New Zealand), all of which were already on loan from Christ Church to the University Museum when the Pitt Rivers Museum was first founded as a sub-department of it in 1884. Along with other ethnographic material already in the University Museum, these twenty objects were integrated into the Pitt Rivers collections without being formally accessioned, though an incomplete list was drawn up at an unknown, but early, date. The twenty objects had been loaned by Christ Church to the University Museum on the latter's foundation in 1860, along with the college's extensive anatomical and physiological collections. As may be seen on some of the objects (see, for example, Fig. 21 below), each item was labelled 'Dr Lee's Trustees, Ch. Ch.'; Dr Lee's Trustees being the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, who had legal responsibility for the Lee Readership and the related collections.

The second part of the collection comprises ten artefacts (five each from Tahiti and New Zealand) recorded as having been transferred to the Pitt Rivers Museum from Christ Church in 1886, possibly via the University

Museum and/or the Ashmolean Museum (the records are unclear). At the time, they were thought to be North American and to have come from the collection of Dr Charles A. Pope of St Louis, Missouri, whose son John O'Fallon Pope was at Christ Church from 1868 to 1871. The artefacts were quickly identified by the Museum's first curator Henry Balfour as being Polynesian in origin, but all connection with Banks and the other Christ Church material seems to have been lost. Indeed, it was not until my recent 'discovery' of the 'Dr Lee's Trustees' component of the Banks collection that the true origins of this other part of the collection were appreciated. Until then it had been a puzzle how Dr Pope, whose acquisition of North American material is well documented, had acquired such obviously early Pacific material; now the question was why the material had ever been ascribed to him. What I suggest is that whoever found the ten items at Christ Church in 1886 knew about Dr Pope's collection of North American material that had been handed over recently and quite reasonably assumed that the additional 'ethnographic' material also came from his collection. The fact that the artefacts were labelled 'North America' supports this.

above:
Fig. 3 Tahitian barkcloth (detail); PRM 1886.21.18

There are other grounds for assigning these ten additional pieces to the Banks collection. First, like the material on loan from 'Dr Lee's Trustees', they are all quite clearly early pieces that show no evidence of contact or post-contact techniques, styles, or materials. Secondly, one of the pieces of barkcloth (Fig. 3) has embedded in it small black feathers that appear to have come from the breast ornament on loan from 'Dr Lee's Trustees'. (If that is indeed their source, it would not be at all surprising as it is known that barkcloth was used to wrap other ethnographic material. The breast ornament may have been wrapped in that piece of barkcloth to protect it on its journey to Oxford, or perhaps even earlier to protect it on its journey from Tahiti to England. It may even have been given to Banks in that way in Tahiti, as it is known that gifts were presented wrapped in barkcloth.) Thirdly, without the second part the collection would feel incomplete. This is difficult to explain, but without the two cloaks (see Fig. 1 above and Fig. 6 below) and the three belts (see Figs. 8, 9, and 10 below), as well as the barkcloth (Fig. 4) and matting (too fragile to be exhibited, but see Fig. 35 below), it would feel like a *partial* collection; the cloaks and the belts, in particular, help to 'round' it out, as it were, and make it feel more like a Cook-voyage collection. As with a number of other Cook-voyage collections, this collection can be seen as typological in structure and to have been selected so as to provide examples of different types of object: for example, four types of Tahitian barkcloth of different thicknesses and colours (Fig. 4), examples of three types of Maori belt of different widths (Figs. 8, 9, and 10 below), and examples of each type of a range of Maori cleavers (Figs. 11 to 15 below). Finally, as suggested above, it now seems extremely likely that one of the Maori cloaks in this part of the collection (Fig. 1) is the one Banks is wearing in the well-known portrait of him by Benjamin West (see Frontispiece). Taken together, these factors establish that the Tahitian and Maori materials once ascribed to Pope in fact form part of the collection given to Christ Church by Banks a hundred years earlier.

As well as constituting a forgotten *collection*, few of the individual pieces were previously known to scholars and their history not at all. So far as I am aware, only three of the pieces

have been published previously or even referred to in the literature. Of the Tahitian artefacts, only the canoe baler (Fig. 28) appears to have been published (Oliver 1974: 199, fig. 8.7). Of the Maori artefacts, only the two cloaks appear to have been published (Roth 1923: nos. 50 and 12). At the time I began to research the collection in 2002, only the Tahitian barkcloth beater (Fig. 19 below) and nose-flute (Fig. 20) and the two Maori cloaks were on display, though there is evidence that some of the other pieces had been exhibited in the past. Interestingly, an old Museum label for the nose-flute says that it was collected on Cook's first voyage, though without mentioning Banks. This is one of a number of tantalizing 'echoes' of what I think might be some previous awareness of aspects of the history of the collection. These 'echoes' will be the subject of further research in the years to come. For now, however, we must turn our attention to the artefacts themselves and the aspects of eighteenth-century Tahitian and Maori culture they can be taken to illustrate.

Banks and some of the other voyagers learned to speak a little Tahitian during their three-month stay on the island, and a further month cruising through the other Society Islands, as well as a smattering of Maori during their circumnavigation of New Zealand and occasional landings. They also attempted as best they could to understand the social organization and cultural practices of the people they met. In trying to do so, of course, they were hampered by the limited circumstances of their visits and the assumptions and prejudices they brought with them. Nevertheless, the observations they made and recorded in their journals are still of great value, as they provide first-hand observations of Tahitian and Maori society at the time. Frequently, however, it is the descriptions of the material aspects of Tahitian and Maori life that are the most valuable. Banks, in particular, noted what he observed in his daily journal and then wrote summary accounts on leaving Tahiti and New Zealand. Taken together with the actual, though limited, examples of material culture that Banks and others brought back, these provide crucial evidence for understanding late eighteenth-century Polynesian cultures and societies. Using the headings from the exhibition, we can now look at the collection in a little more detail.

Polynesian Dress

Banks and his companions on the *Endeavour* were fascinated by the clothes and ornaments of the inhabitants of Tahiti and New Zealand. Banks and the other journal writers wrote long descriptions of what the people they met were wearing and the voyage artists paid careful attention to dress and ornament in their sketches, drawings, and paintings (see Figs. 23 and 24). For example, Banks wrote a long account of the production of Tahitian barkcloth, describing the whole process from the cultivation of the trees, through the obtaining of the bark, to the beating of the cloth itself and the subsequent dyeing. In Beaglehole's edition of the journal, this account takes up more than eight pages. Banks stresses the variety of types of cloth and their dyeing, a variety reflected in the four examples illustrated here (Fig. 4). These four pieces of Tahitian barkcloth are made of the bark of various trees and are of varying quality, thickness, and colour. As illustrated they are, from the top: a medium thick piece, yellowish with a (deliberate?) splattering of brown spots; a thin, cross-ribbed piece, dyed brown; a thin white, finely ribbed piece; and a thick, felted piece, lightly stained red on one side, with small black feathers (believed to

below:
Fig. 4 Tahitian barkcloths (detail); (from the top) PRM 1886.21.17 1886.21.16 1886.21.29 1886.21.18

come from the Tahitian breast ornament) embedded in the fibres.

Banks gives a particularly detailed account of the process of beating the cloth:

> They lay it upon a long peice of wood one side of which is very Even and flat, which side is put under the Cloth; as many women then as they can muster or as can work at the board begin; each is furnished with a battoon made of a very hard wood called by the natives *Etoa* (*Casuarina equisetifolia*) these are about a foot long and square with a handle; on each of the 4 faces of the square are many small furrows of as many different fineness…which cover the whole face of the side. With the coarsest then they begin, keeping time with their strokes in the same manner as smiths or Anchor smiths, and continue until the Cloth which extends itself very fast under these strokes shews by the too great thinness of the Grooves that are made in it that a finer side of the beater is requisite.
> (Banks 1962: I, 354–55)

As well as barkcloth, other items of dress were also collected on the voyage, including Tahitian breast ornaments or *taumi* (Fig. 5). These extraordinary creations were made of cane, plant fibre, sennit (coconut fibre), shark-teeth, feathers, dog-hair, and pearl-shell. Such ornaments appear to have been relatively common, as they are depicted in many of the contemporary illustrations (see Fig. 23 below). Apparently, they were often wrapped in barkcloth when they were given as gifts. It is believed this ornament may have been presented to Banks in one of the pieces of barkcloth in the collection.

Banks had less time to observe the production of Maori cloaks, also represented in the collection, but still managed to provide an informative account:

> they have several kinds of Cloth which is smooth and ingeniously enough workd: they are cheifly of two sorts, one coarse as our coarsest canvass and ten times stronger but much like it in the lying of the threads, the other is formd by many threads running lenghwise and a few only crossing them which tie them together. This last sort is sometimes stripd and always very pretty, for the threads that compose it are prepard so as to shine almost as much as silk; to both these they work borders of different colours in fine stitches something like Carpeting or girls Samplers in various patterns with an ingenuity truly surprizing to any one who will reflect that they are without needles…. but the great pride of their dress seems to consist in dogs fur, which they use so sparingly that to avoid waste they cut it into long strips and sew them at a distance from each other upon their Cloth, varying often the coulours prettily enough. (Banks 1962: II, 15)

This may be read as an account of the two types of Maori cloak in the collection. The first is the type known as *kaitaka*, made of New Zealand flax, *Phormium tenax*, with a decorative, *taniko*, border edged in places with narrow strips of dog-skin (Fig. 1 above). It is certainly this type of cloak that is worn by Banks in the portrait by Benjamin West, and it may actually be this one. The second, 'the great pride of their dress', is the type known as *kahu-waero*, also made of New Zealand flax, *Phormium tenax*, with a deep, decorative, *taniko*, border and decorated on the front with tassels

of white dog-hair (Figs. 6 and 7). This is thought to be the only surviving example of this type of highly valued, chiefly cloak.

Maori Belts

Banks had less to say about Maori belts, *tatua*. Nor is it known how many he acquired during the voyage. What is striking, however, is that in selecting the three to give to Christ Church, he or his assistants seem to have been careful to choose examples that illustrate the variety of Maori production. Though all made by the same plaiting technique with the same material (again New Zealand flax, *Phormium tenax*) they are of a variety of sizes, colours, and patterns: one relatively narrow example woven in two colours (Fig. 8), one woven in a single colour, but broader and of finer weave (Fig. 9); and the third even wider and finer, with the edges stitched with strips of dog-skin—this also has patches where it has been repaired, suggesting that it may already have been quite old, and highly valued, at the time it was collected (Fig. 10).

Maori Hand Weapons

Even more clearly than the Maori belts, the five cleavers in the collection represent five of the main types of Maori hand weapon. Such weapons are frequently referred to as 'clubs', but this is misleading as it implies that they were used, indeed, to club opponents. As their shapes suggest, however, they were used to strike, jab, and slice in dance-like movements. While the English word cleaver is also inadequate to convey the ways in which the weapons were used, it is less misleading than 'club' and, in response to requests from Maori scholars, it is therefore used here.

Such weapons were not merely functional objects. As explained by Maori scholar Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, 'weapons were regarded as precious heirlooms, passed from one generation to the next. They were also coveted battlefield trophies, and many of the most acclaimed carried personal names, such as "Kaitanga" ("Man-Eater"), "Te Ngaheretoto" ("Forest of Blood") or "Te Ngakimate" ("Vengeful Death")' (Te Awekotuku 1996: 38). She goes on to explain how, 'being intimately associated with the god of war and the shedding of blood, they were highly tapu and were concealed when not in use; possession of such treasures was a weighty responsibility' (ibid.).

Of the five cleavers in the collection, three are of wood, one of whalebone, and one of basalt. The first is a simple wooden cleaver, *patu*, rather roughly worked, with a perforation for a strap near the grip (Fig. 11). The second, also of wood, is an example of a *kotiate* (Fig. 12), often referred to as a 'figure-of-eight' or 'fiddle' shaped. This hardwood cleaver also has a perforation for a strap near the grip. The indentations that give it its characteristic shape are not quite symmetrical; in comparison to a number of other early examples, they also seem to be particularly wide and deep. Characteristically, there is a face carved at the end of the grip. The last of the three wooden cleavers is a *wahaika* (Fig. 13), often referred to as 'crescent'-shaped. This is a fine example, with simple, gracefully incised forms on the inside edge of the blade and the grip. The whalebone cleaver was called *patu paraoa* (Fig. 14). This long, spatulate, gently curving cleaver is undecorated except for roughly executed incised lines (four on one side and three on the other) across the faces of the rounded end of the grip. There is a very smooth, round

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Fig. 5

Fig. 5 Tahitian breast ornament; PRM 1887.1.392
Fig. 6 Maori cloak (front view); PRM 1886.21.19
Fig. 7 Maori cloak (back view); PRM 1886.21.19
Fig. 8 Maori belt; PRM 1886.21.3
Fig. 9 Maori belt; PRM 1886.21.4
Fig. 10 Maori belt; PRM 1886.21.2

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

Fig. 15

Fig. 14

Fig. 11 Maori cleaver; PRM 1887.1.388
Fig. 12 Maori cleaver; PRM 1887.1.389
Fig. 13 Maori cleaver; PRM 1887.1.393
Fig. 14 Maori cleaver; PRM 1887.1.387
Fig. 15 Maori cleaver; PRM 1887.1.714

Banks's Brass Patus

from the top:
Fig. 16 Brass replica of a Maori cleaver; PRM 1932.86.1

Fig. 17 John Frederick Miller, '[Tools and Instruments from the Society Islands]', probably 1771, pen and wash on watermarked paper, 165 x 203 mm. Courtesy of the British Library, London (Add. MS 23921, f.54(a)).

right:
Fig. 18
Tahitian gouge or chisel; PRM 1887.1.390

perforation near the grip for a strap and there are discoloured patches, possibly bloodstains, on both faces. The final cleaver, *patu onewa*, is of basalt (Fig. 15). There is an unfinished perforation, for a strap, near the grip. It was a cleaver of this type that was used as the model for the brass 'patus' that Banks had made for the second voyage.

Banks's Brass Patus

The replica in brass of a Maori basalt cleaver illustrated here (Fig. 16) is not, of course, a Pacific artefact, nor a curiosity from the *Endeavour*, and it does not form part of the present collection. As an item inspired by what Banks had seen and collected on the first voyage, however, it seemed appropriate to include an example in the exhibition. Banks had forty such replicas made to take with him on the second voyage, on which (because of a dispute with the Admiralty about the nature of the accommodation for himself and his even more extensive entourage) he did not go. He later gave at least some of them to Charles Clerke to take on the third voyage and Clerke seems to have been responsible for distributing them in New Zealand and on the north-west coast of America. We do not have Banks's own account of why he had these replicas made. Many of the Islanders had, of course, been suitably impressed by European tools and weapons, especially those of metal. Banks may have wanted to impress the Maori he met with an example of European technology in a recognizable form. Other examples of metal weapons, as well as thousands of 'trinkets' and other items, were also made for trading on the second voyage. The fact that Banks had these particular items engraved with his name and crest, however, suggests to me that they were intended as a form of permanent visiting card that would serve as evidence to posterity of his activities on the second voyage.

It was previously thought that the brass patus were made for Banks by his friend Matthew Boulton of Soho, Birmingham. However, the invoices relating to their manufacture survive in the Banks archive at the State Library of New South Wales. These show that they were made at the brass foundry of Eleanor Gyles of 9 Shoe Lane, Fleet Street, London, and engraved by Thomas Orpin, whose shop was opposite Northumberland Court in the Strand. Gyles charged Banks £19, and Orpin £2. The engraving consists in Banks's family crest, his name 'Ios Banks, Esq.', and the date '1772'. Of the 40 replicas, the present whereabouts of only six are known. There are two in the Pitt Rivers Museum; the one illustrated here and another that formed part of the Museum's founding collection. There are others in the British Museum, the Museum of London, and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC. A sixth is known to be in private hands. There are also records of some being seen in New Zealand and on the north-west coast of America in the early nineteenth century. The example illustrated here was purchased in Bristol by F. Ellis Esq. in 1908 and presented by him to the Royal Society, with which Banks was associated for so long, serving as its President from 1778 until his death in 1820. It was transferred to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1932.

Tools and Instruments from the Society Islands

After the voyage, Banks employed a number of artists to work on the collections he had brought back. They worked up finished versions of the sketches made on the voyage by the artists Buchan, Parkinson, and Spöring, and they prepared drawings of selections of artefacts. In the exhibition, a selection of tools and instruments from the Society Islands is arranged to follow closely that of some similar objects illustrated in pen and wash by John Frederick Miller (*fl.* 1768–80), one of the artists employed by Banks to illustrate his collections (Fig. 17). Above the barkcloth beater is a plan giving the number of grooves on each face. There is no thatching needle in the collection, nor a hafted adze—though there is an adze blade; otherwise, however, every other type of object illustrated is represented in the collection by a very similar example. The chisel or gouge in the collection, made of what is probably a piece of human bone set in wood and bound with sennit (Fig. 18), *may* be one of those depicted by Miller, but the other items do not seem to be the particular examples depicted. However, the similarities between the artefacts drawn by Miller and those in the Christ Church collection are striking.

In his journal, Banks provided information on each of these types of object. I have already quoted from his account of Tahitian barkcloth beating. The barkcloth beater in the collection is quite typical (Fig. 19), the faces having 8, 16, 24, and 36 grooves so they could be used in sequence for finer and finer work. The Tahitian nose-flute (Fig. 20) is also quite typical. As Banks wrote, these are 'made of a hollow bamboo about a foot long in which is 3 holes; into one of these they blow with one nostril stopping the other with the thumb of the left hand, the other two they stop and unstop with the fore finger of the left and middle finger of the right hand' (Banks 1962: I, 349). The fourth hole visible in this flute seems to have been made in error and is plugged up.

Tahitian pounders, *penu*, of black basalt were used to macerate breadfruit. They have been classified into three main formal types: 'forked top', 'cross-bar' and 'facetted'. The example in the collection (Fig. 21) is an example of a 'forked top' pounder. Once the breadfruit had been cooked, Banks wrote, '2 or 3 dishes are made by beating it with a stone pestil till it make a paste, mixing water or Cocoa nut liquor with it and adding ripe plantains, bananas, sour paste &c' (Banks 1962: I, 344). Banks seems to have collected a number of adze-blades, *faoa* (as well as a number of hafted adzes like that illustrated by Miller), though there is only one in the collection (Fig. 22). According to Banks, 'their stones axes are made of a black stone not very hard but tolerably tough' (Banks 1962: I, 363). Banks was impressed with the skill with which Tahitian 'carpenters, joiners, and stone cutters' put to use their limited set of tools:

> an axe of Stone in the shape of an adze, a chisel or gouge made of a human bone, a file or rasp of Coral, skin of Sting rays, and coral sand to polish with, are a sufficient set of tools for building a house and furnishing it with boats, as well as for quarrying stone for the pavement of any things which may require it in the neighbourhood. (Banks 1962: I, 363)

Maritime Polynesia

Though an experienced voyager, Banks was by no stretch of the imagination a sailor. Despite this, his journal contains many

from the top:

Fig. 19
Tahitian barkcloth beater; PRM 1887.1.383

Fig. 20
Tahitian nose-flute; PRM 1903130.20

Fig. 21
Tahitian pounder; PRM 1887.1.391

Fig. 22
Tahitian adze-blade; PRM 1887.1.10

A War Canoe

above left:
Fig. 25 Tahitian shark-hook;
PRM 1887.1.378

above right
Fig. 26 Maori fish-hook;
PRM 1887.1.379

right:
Fig. 27 John Frederick Miller, '[Fishing tackle from Tahiti and New Zealand]', probably 1771–72, pen and wash on watermarked paper, mounted sideways on folio paper 203 x 165 mm. Courtesy of the British Library, London (Add. MS 15508, f.28 (no. 30)).

facing, top left:
Fig. 23 Sydney Parkinson, *A [Tahitian] War Canoe*, probably August 1769, wash on watermarked paper, 298 x 483 mm. Courtesy of the British Library, London (Add. MS 23921, f.21).

facing, bottom left:
Fig. 24 Sydney Parkinson, *New Zealand War Canoe*, probably April 1770, pen and wash on watermarked paper, 298 x 482 mm. Courtesy of the British Library, London (Add. MS 23920, f.46).

top left:
Fig. 29 Maori canoe-baler (from above); PRM 1887.1.381

left:
Fig. 30 Maori canoe-baler (from below); PRM 1887.1.381

far left:
Fig. 31 Maori canoe-baler (detail); PRM 1887.1.381

left: Fig. 28
Tahitian canoe-baler; PRM 1887.1.380

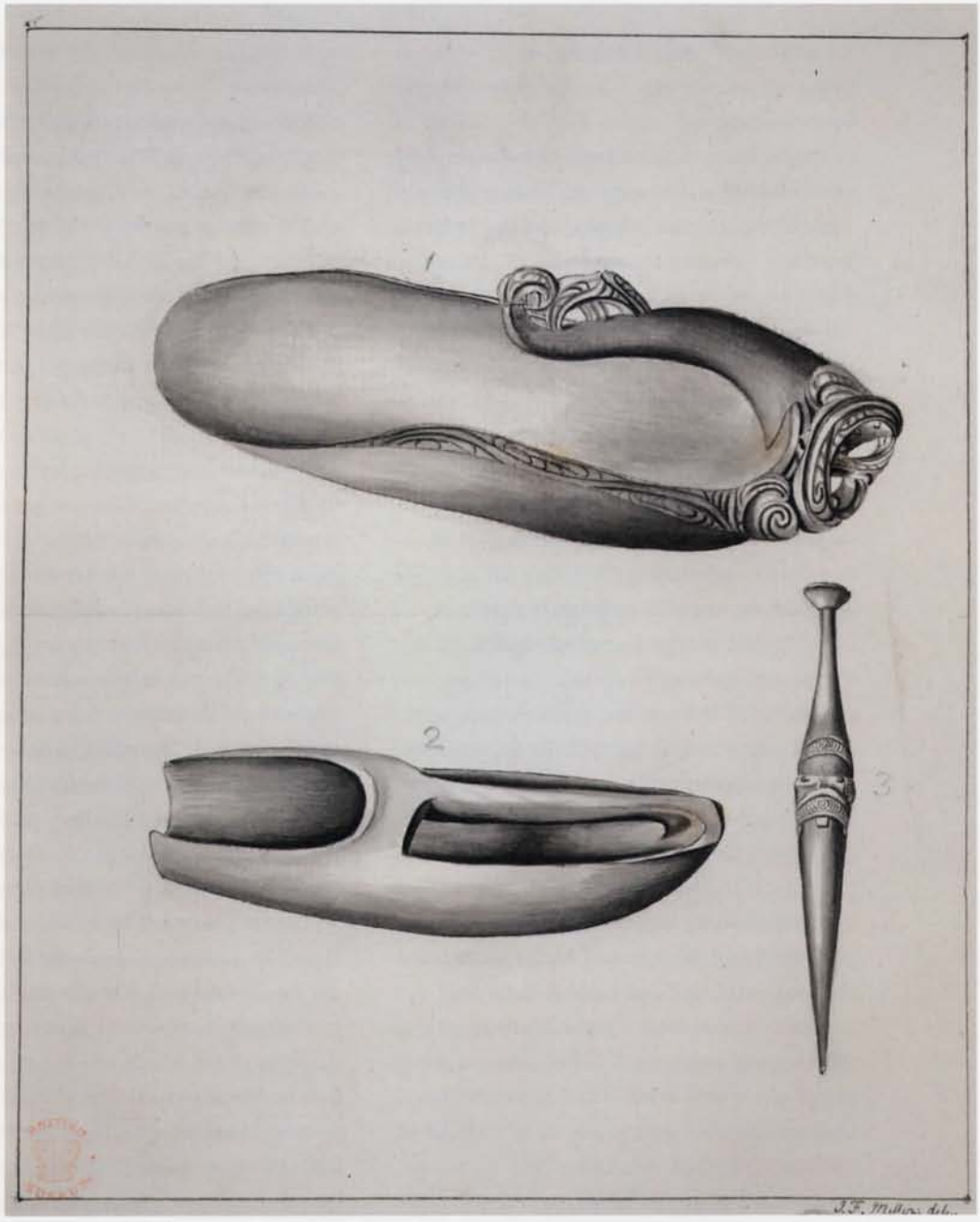

Fig. 32
John Frederick Miller, '[Artefacts from Tahiti and New Zealand]', probably 1771–72, pen and wash on watermarked paper, mounted sideways on folio paper 203 x 165 mm. Courtesy of the British Library, London (Add. MS 15508, f.28 (no. 30)).

reflections on the performance of the *Endeavour* and its crew. Some of these are more informed than others, but no doubt such matters were under continual discussion in the great cabin. No doubt too, the maritime achievements of the Tahitians and the Maori were also discussed at length. In his journal, Banks records with interest their skills in constructing canoes and outriggers and in sailing and navigating, in both in-shore and off-shore waters. Despite having the Tahitian high priest-navigator Tupaia aboard for the cruise through the Society Islands, as well as for the voyage to and from New Zealand and up the east coast of Australia, neither Cook nor Banks ever seemed to reach a full appreciation of his knowledge and skill. Nevertheless, they did seem to understand that the sea was not simply a barrier between islands and that the peoples of Polynesia were skilled sailors and navigators. The sea was also clearly a major economic resource for the Islanders, a source of food and raw materials (shell, whalebone, etc.).

The voyagers' accounts contain many descriptions of Tahitian and Maori canoes and the artists sketched and painted numerous maritime scenes (Figs. 23 and 24). Intriguingly, after witnessing young Tahitians riding the waves on a plank from an old canoe, Banks also provided the very first written account of surfing: 'their chief amusement was carried on by the stern of an old canoe, with this before them they swam out as far as the outermost breach, then one or two would get into it and opposing the blunt end to the breaking wave were hurried in with incredible swiftness... We stood admiring this very wonderful scene for full half an hour...' (Banks 1962, I: 283).

Of course, it was not practicable for the voyagers to bring back Tahitian or Maori canoes, but they did bring back other evidence of Polynesian maritime life, in addition to the artists' illustrations. The collection includes two hooks and two canoe-balers, in each case one example each from Tahiti and New Zealand. The Tahitian shark-hook is of wood, with a separate point (also of wood), bound with sennit (Fig. 25). The Maori fish-hook is also of wood but with a bone point and an attached cord, bound with plant fibre (Fig. 26). Very similar hooks, if not these actual pieces, were illustrated by Miller (Fig. 27).

The Tahitian canoe baler, *tata*, is a rather simple but very functional construction, carved with an integral handle from a single piece of wood (Fig. 28). A baler like this is being used by one of the figures in Parkinson's sketch of a Tahitian war canoe (Fig. 23 above). The Maori canoe baler, *tiheru*, also carved of a single piece of wood with an integral handle may be regarded, however, as a work of art in its own right (Fig. 29). Beautifully proportioned and balanced with fine, curving lines, it is a pleasure to contemplate—as, one imagines, it must have been a pleasure to use; a pleasure reinforced by its decoration with classic Maori human figure forms, *manaia*, on the handle and end. It seems that this must have already been an old object at the time Banks acquired it, and also a highly valued one for it had been badly split and carefully repaired using what seems to be New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*), carefully set into the base to ensure a smooth surface that would not catch during baling (Figs. 30 and 31). Other, necessary repairs (using raffia) were made recently by conservation staff at the Pitt Rivers Museum (Richardson 2004). Very similar balers, if not these actual pieces, were illustrated by Miller (Fig. 32), along with a Maori weaving-stick a similar example to which also forms part of this collection (not exhibited; but see Fig. 33).

Conclusion: A Collection for the Future

Conclusion: A Collection for the Future

In the eighteenth century, the artefacts made by Pacific Islanders and brought back by Banks and the other voyagers were known generally as 'artificial curiosities'. Our knowledge of how they were regarded by Banks and his contemporaries is limited. We know that illustrations of them were published in the accounts of the voyages and we also know that selections were made from larger collections to be presented to Oxford and Cambridge colleges, individual collectors, and museums. Some of these given collections appear to be systematic. They seem to have been organized to provide a representative sample of the material culture of individual societies, or at least of those types of objects that had been brought back. So collections avoided duplicates and contained a range of types: of Maori weapons, of types of barkcloth, and so on. We know little about how they were displayed, either to private or public visitors, or how they were interpreted, if they were interpreted at all. In many cases, as in West's portrait of Banks, it seems that they were regarded more as evidence of the adventures and escapades of the voyagers than as evidence of previously unknown ways of life.

More than two hundred years later, the artefacts collected on Cook's voyages are of greater interest and significance than ever before. In the last twenty years or so, anthropologists and historians have paid increasing attention to the material world and to the evidence contained in museum specimens. Because the voyage literature is so rich, the collections brought back by Banks, Cook, and the Forsters do not stand alone, but can be interpreted alongside the accounts that the collectors themselves have left us of their experiences. Taken together, the material artefacts and the literary texts comprise a rich resource for studying the history and culture of the Pacific in the late eighteenth century. In addition, the collections provide hard evidence of the relationships between the Islanders and the voyagers. Again, taken together with the voyagers' accounts and the indigenous histories preserved in oral traditions, the collections provide key materials for reassessing the events of the 1770s.

More importantly, as the peoples of the Pacific attempt to regain control of their cultural presents and futures, they turn with increasing interest and determination to the interpretation of their cultural pasts. The Cook-voyage collections held in museums, mostly though not exclusively in Europe, preserve the cultural histories of the peoples of the Pacific. Those artefacts collected on the first voyage, including those that have concerned us here, are of especial importance as they preserve examples of forms that predate significant European contact and were, in many cases, soon to be transformed by the changes that followed missionization and colonization. The collection Banks gave to Christ Church may have been a forgotten collection, but its recent rediscovery, exhibition, and publication will help to ensure that neither it nor the skill, workmanship, and creativity it embodies will be forgotten again.

Checklist
Tahitian Artefacts

Checklist

The collection is listed here in two sections: the Tahitian artefacts followed by the Maori. In each section the order followed is that of the accession numbers assigned retrospectively and piecemeal over the years by staff at the Pitt Rivers Museum. In giving Tahitian and Maori names for types of object, I have followed respectively, the usages in Anne D'Alleva's doctoral thesis on eighteenth-century Tahiti (D'Alleva 1997) and in the catalogue of the British Museum's recent *Maori* exhibition (Starzecka 1996). Unfortunately, it has not been possible to reproduce here macrons on the Maori terms, for which I apologize. Further details of what is known about each item in the collection may be found in the relevant entries in the Pitt Rivers Museum's regularly updated, online database at http://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/databases.html

Tahitian Artefacts

PRM 1886.21.16: barkcloth, thin, cross-ribbed, dyed brown; 1900 x 1920 mm (Fig. 4).

PRM 1886.21.17: barkcloth, of medium thickness, yellowish with a splattering (possibly deliberate) of brown spots; 2610 x 3040 mm (Fig. 4).

Fig. 33
Maori weaving-stick (not exhibited); PRM 1887.1.715

Fig. 34
Tahitian head-rest (not exhibited); PRM 1887.1.382

PRM 1886.21.18: barkcloth, thick, felted, lightly stained red on one side; 2070 x 1040 mm (Fig. 4; see also Fig. 3).

PRM 1886.21.29: barkcloth, thin, finely ribbed, white; 1220 x 3450 mm (Fig. 4).

PRM 1887.1.10: adze blade, *faoa*, of black basalt; 175 mm long, 60 mm wide (Fig. 22).

PRM 1887.1.378: shark-hook; of wood, with a separate point (also of wood), bound with sennit; 355 mm long (Fig. 25).

PRM 1887.1.380: canoe baler, *tata*, of wood; 410 mm long, 145 mm wide (Fig. 28).

PRM 1887.1.382: head-rest, *tuarua*, of wood; badly broken; 292 mm long, 120 mm wide (Fig. 34). *Not exhibited.*

PRM 1887.1.383: barkcloth beater, *i'e*, of wood; 330 mm long, 38 mm wide (Fig. 19).

PRM 1887.1.384, 1887.1.385, 1887.1.386: three barkcloths. *Not exhibited; not illustrated. Unlocated. There are four other barkcloths in the collection (see above) and it may be that these three barkcloths are not actually missing but were somehow accessioned twice. For various reasons, I continue to doubt this, but trust that further research will resolve the matter.*

PRM 1887.1.390: chisel or gouge, *tohi*, of (probably) human bone set in a wooden handle bound with sennit; 210 mm long (Fig. 18).

PRM 1887.1.391: pounder, *penu*, of black basalt; 155 mm high (Fig. 21).

PRM 1887.1.392: breast ornament (or gorget), *taumi*, of cane, plant fibre, sennit, shark-teeth, feathers, dog-hair, and pearl-shell; 510 mm wide (Fig. 5).

PRM 1903.130.20: nose-flute, *vivo*, of bamboo; 413 mm long, 344 mm maximum diameter (Fig. 20).

PRM 1945.11.130: matting, of plant-fibre (bark?), fringed along one long edge; 2310 mm long, 560 mm wide (Fig. 35). *Not exhibited.*

Fig. 35
Tahitian matting (not exhibited); PRM 1945.11.130

Maori Artefacts

PRM 1886.21.2: belt, *tatua*, of *Phormium tenax*, finely woven, with plaited tying cords, the edges stitched with strips of dog-skin; 1800 mm long (excluding ties), 130 mm wide (Fig. 10).

PRM 1886.21.3: belt, *tatua*, of *Phormium tenax*, woven in two colours, with plaited tying cords; 1360 mm long (excluding ties), 55 mm wide (Fig. 8).

PRM 1886.21.4: belt, *tatua*, of *Phormium tenax*, woven, with plaited tying cords; 1250 mm (excluding ties), 75 mm wide (Fig. 9).

PRM 1886.21.19: cloak, *kahu-waero*, of *Phormium tenax* with a deep *taniko* border, decorated with white dog-hair tassels; 1300 x 1030 mm (Figs 6 and 7).

PRM 1886.21.20: cloak, *kaitaka*, of *Phormium tenax* with a *taniko* border edged in places with narrow strips of dog-skin; 1780 x 1270 mm (Fig. 1).

PRM 1887.1.379: fish-hook, of wood with a bone point and attached cord, bound with plant fibre; (excluding cord) 180 mm long (Fig. 26).

PRM 1887.1.381: canoe baler, *tiheru*, of wood; with *manaia* forms on the handle and end and four indigenous repairs made (probably) with *Phormium tenax* and four contemporary museum repairs made with raffia; 500 mm long, 320 mm wide, 145 mm high (Figs 29, 30, 31).

PRM 1887.1.387: cleaver, *patu paraoa*, of whalebone; 478 mm long, 94 mm wide (Fig. 14).

PRM 1887.1.388: cleaver, *patu*, of wood; 365 mm long, 100 mm wide (Fig. 11).

PRM 1887.1.389: cleaver, *kotiate*, of wood, in the form of a 'figure-of-eight'; 380 mm long, 130 mm wide (Fig. 12).

PRM 1887.1.393: cleaver, *wahaika*, of wood, 'crescent'-shaped; 440 mm long, 100 mm wide (Fig. 13).

PRM 1887.1.714: cleaver, *patu onewa*, of basalt; 343 mm long, 100 mm wide (Fig. 15).

PRM 1887.1.715: weaving-stick, *turuturu*, of wood; 455 mm long (Fig. 33). *Not exhibited.*

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