# James Butterworth and the *Old Curiosity Shop*, New Plymouth, Taranaki

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ABSTRACT: James Butterworth established a successful Māori curio dealing business in New Plymouth during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The coastal Taranaki settlement of Parihaka was a favoured place to obtain artefacts for his shop. Butterworth produced three sales catalogues and many of the artefacts he sold carried important information regarding provenances and associations. Some of Butterworth's artefacts found their way into the Canterbury Museum in 1896. Other items helped form the foundation of the taonga Māori collection of the Colonial Museum, Wellington. Locating where other items, which passed through Butterworth's shop, are now held has proved very difficult. This study highlights the need for further analysis of curio dealers who operated within New Zealand and the artefacts in which they dealt.

KEYWORDS: history, James Butterworth, curio dealer, Parihaka, Canterbury Museum, Colonial Museum, New Plymouth Industrial Exhibition, New Zealand International Exhibition.

## Introduction

This paper examines the life and times of James Butterworth (Fig.1), a New Plymouth dealer of Māori 'curios'. Research indicates that Butterworth was the only commercial dealer in Māori artefacts to operate in the Taranaki region and, so far as is known, he was one of two New Zealand dealers – the other was Eric Craig (1889) – to issue sales catalogues (as opposed to auction catalogues) specifically to sell Māori artefacts during the period 1880 through to 1905. Between 1890 and 1903, Butterworth was probably the largest dealer in Māori artefacts in New Zealand. An attempt is also made to locate the present whereabouts of taonga Māori that passed through Butterworth's shop.

Butterworth promoted the notion that he was collecting items that were part of a dying tradition and of a quality the likes of which would never be seen again. Dealing in artefacts also provided him with an income.

The collecting and trading of Māori artefacts in the

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was seen as a legitimate practice. A number of dealers operated during this period, such as Eric Craig (Auckland), Edward Spencer (Auckland), Sygvard Dannefaerd (Auckland and Rotorua), and David Bowman (Christchurch), satisfying the demand of collectors like Willi Fels (Dunedin), Augustus Hamilton (Hawke's Bay, Dunedin), Alexander Turnbull (Wellington), Thomas Hocken (Dunedin), and Walter Buller (Wellington), to name but a few.

Collectors could obtain items for their collections through a number of means. They could find them by curio-hunting over former Māori occupation sites or by looting burial grounds (such as James Robieson in the Rotorua region (Watt 1990)). As Leach (1972: 1) states, 'curio-hunting was both the pastime of the rich and respectable, and an additional source of intellectual stimulation to educated men trained in a variety of natural sciences'. Some curio hunters, such as Alfred Reynolds in Dunedin, made a living from their activities. Another source for collectors was to obtain artefacts directly from

Māori, either by purchase or in lieu of cash payment for, for example, legal work. Alternatively, artefacts could be purchased from a dealer, like James Butterworth.

## James Butterworth

According to his obituary (Anonymous 1903a), James Butterworth was born in Hobart, Tasmania, in 1840. However, a descendant believes that his birth probably occurred sometime during 1839 (Gill Clegg, personal communication, 16 February 2005). James' mother was Janet Forest, who was tried in Edinburgh and sentenced to seven years on 8 January 1836. She sailed from Woolwich, England, on 12 August 1836 aboard the Westmoreland, which arrived in Hobart on 3 December 1836. Following his birth, James spent nearly four years in a Hobart orphanage and, at the time of his admittance, the name of his father was not recorded. He was discharged from the orphanage on 7 January 1844. On 3 July 1843, Janet married William Butterworth. William, alias John Grayson, had been convicted at Northampton Assizes, 9 March 1829, and transported on the Mary to Tasmania for life. His crime was described as felony and his stated offence was 'housebreaking'. William was obviously educated as evidenced by letters he wrote back to his family in England (Anonymous 1903a). It is not clear whether William formally adopted James or if James simply chose to use the name Butterworth.

James married Hannah Head at Maryborough, Victoria, in 1859 and on the marriage certificate his occupation is given as 'gold miner'. The following year a son, James, was born and in 1862 the Butterworths moved from the gold mines of Ballarat to Melbourne where a daughter, Ann, was born, although Hannah died a few months later. Very soon after this the family moved to Dunedin, New Zealand (Anonymous 1903a).

On 8 August 1866 James married Ann Margaret Carnell in New Plymouth. At this time he was described as a 'widower and settler'. There were 11 children from this marriage. Ann died 26 July 1891. James married a third time to Mary Lambert on 7 March 1896 and there were a further six children. When James died on 18 August 1903 his obituary noted that in his 'youthful days he was engaged in the whaling industry', which is an interesting statement. He was ever the opportunist and in November 1890 he purchased whalebone collected from a stranded whale off New Plymouth and he advertised that the

following day he would be displaying a whale's filter in his shop, presumably baleen, for which 'a small charge will be made for admission, except to ladies and children, who will be admitted free' (*Taranaki Herald*, 6 November 1890). Seven years later he purchased another whale that had stranded near the Waitara Heads, which he rendered down to produce 4–5 tonnes of oil. In 1891 Butterworth advertised that he had 'Whalebone in its natural state, direct from the whale' (Govett & Skinner 1891: 22). These activities may explain the reference to whaling. It was also stated that, apart from a brief period in Auckland, he remained in the Taranaki province for the rest of his life.

In September 1867 James Butterworth announced that he had just 'opened the shop next to Bartlett's dining rooms as a Greengrocer and General Dealer, hopes by keeping a constant supply to gain a share of public patronage' (*Taranaki Herald*, 7 September 1867). By November 1890 he was advertising his business as 'The Old Curiosity Shop', a name used also by other dealers, such as Eric Craig in Auckland.

In June 1891 it was reported that:

Mr Butterworth, finding himself incommoded for want of room, has taken the centre shop of the Alexandra Hall, in addition to the lower one, which he has hitherto occupied, and has now on view a very large assortment of Maori mats, spears, greenstones, and all kinds of curios. His general stock also includes a great variety of odds and ends, everything, as he himself puts it, 'from a needle to an anchor', being obtained at his shops. (*Taranaki Herald*, 15 June 1891)

Three months later it was announced that Butterworth had purchased, for £600, the Devon Street East property of Mr Granville and that he would be relocating there in a few days. A newspaper article reported, 'everything, we believe, is to be found in Mr Butterworth's shop, but his Maori collection is a most unique and valuable one'. The article further reported that 'Mr Butterworth is well known all over New Zealand as a dealer of Maori curiosities, and he is often called upon to execute very large orders for foreign tourists coming to New Zealand. Visitors, therefore, could not go to a better person, for what he cannot supply they may reckon upon as being unobtainable' (Taranaki Herald, 19 September 1892). During the late 1880s and 1890s Butterworth was, on several occasions, mentioned in the local press as having purchased commercial and residential real estate within New Plymouth.

After his death in 1903 his widow continued to





Fig. 1 James Butterworth c.1903. Note the hei tiki fob. The carved tokotoko (walking stick) is possibly the work of Jacob Heberley, of Wellington (see Neich 1991) (photo: Gill Clegg, New Plymouth).

operate the business until 1907. In July 1907 the New Plymouth auctioneering firm of Wilson and Nolan purchased the remaining Māori curios. William H. Skinner, New Plymouth historian and curio collector, was asked by Wilson to value the collection. Skinner's valuation came to £350 as opposed to Mrs Kennington's (Mary Butterworth had remarried by this time), which was £410. Skinner noted that 'I keep my prices very low so that the owner[']s valuation is a very reasonable one I consider' (Skinner diary, 5 July 1907). Wilson and Nolan did purchase the collection on the basis of Skinner's valuation. Skinner

assisted in packing up the items and recorded, 'Thus ends a chapter as it where [sic] in my N. P. life. This shop has always been a place into which I could stroll and spend an hour or two and many pounds I have spent over curios etc at Butterworths' (Skinner diary, 6 July 1907). It is suspected that Wilson and Nolan then sold the collection as individual items through their business as they do not appear to have auctioned them. This may explain their outright purchase of the curios. They certainly auctioned the other non-Māori shop stock when Mary closed her business at this time.

An indication of how Māori felt about James Butterworth is recorded in a letter written by the Rev. F. A. Bennett, a Māori missionary in New Plymouth, in the Taranaki Herald. Writing just after James' death, Bennett stated that on 'behalf of the Maori people of this district may I be allowed to express the very great regard and respect that we one and all had for the late Mr Butterworth' (Bennett 1903). He further states that James was 'one of those men in whom the Maoris placed absolute confidence, and whenever they were in difficulties they knew that in Mr Butterworth they would find a true friend, and one who would always help them. On scores of occasions when the visiting Maoris found it impossible to get accommodation in the town, Mr Butterworth would take them in, and make them feel quite at home by his never failing kindness' (Bennett 1903).

Skinner wrote that 'Butterworth was a most charitable man and quite an institution in New Plymouth. I always found him a most straight-forward man whose word was his bond' (Skinner diary, 20 August 1903).

## Methods of obtaining artefacts

James Butterworth is known to have produced at least three sales catalogues, one published in 1895 (Fig. 2), another in 1901, and the third, posthumously, in 1905. No prices were put against the artefacts, as these were probably negotiated with Butterworth at the time of purchase. The foreword to each catalogue is exactly the same, and is worth quoting in full:

From the accompanying Catalogue it will be seen that I am offering the public a rare opportunity of securing most valuable Maori Curios. For years past I have spared neither time or money in collecting articles, great or small, of Maori manufacture. The large number of Maori visitors to Parihaka – the great meetings of which I have regularly attended since their commencement – has afforded me exceptional advantages in making my collection. I am, therefore, enabled to offer for sale the largest and best assortment of purely Maori valuables now in existence. Many of the articles comprised in this Catalogue were only parted with under circumstances of great need, and had the Maoris the money, they would gladly repurchase very many of these goods which are of historical value to particular Tribes.

What I offer for sale I can never replace. The manufacture of most of these things is a lost art, while those more easily made are not now manufactured by the younger people. In a short time it will impossible to secure the

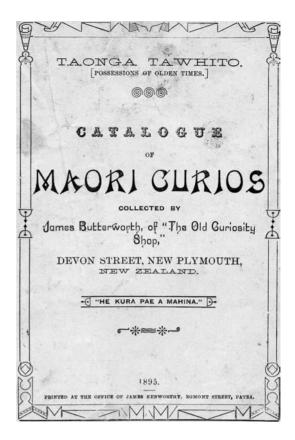


Fig. 2 Cover of 1895 catalogue (215 x 165 mm).

simplest of the articles enumerated in this list. I have endeavoured to supply, as far as possible, CORRECT information respecting the names, uses, and history of the things offered for sale, which largely enhances the value of the collection.

I am now anxious to recoup my large outlay in the purchase of these curios, and am, therefore, open to receive offers for the whole or part of my valuable collection. (Butterworth 1895: 1)

These three paragraphs say much about how Butterworth thought, the times in which he operated, and his *modus operandi*. First, it is clear that he had a 'discerning' eye for what curios were valuable. This is borne out in the detailed descriptions of items that were provenanced, something which Butterworth clearly realised would add value to the artefacts. Not only was he selecting on the basis of perceived quality but also on the association with known individuals or events. However, the perceived quality of the items would have been largely dictated by the then current European taste for such items.

Butterworth was proud to point out that Parihaka, the large coastal Taranaki village, was a favoured place to obtain

his curios (as Skinner also did). Regular monthly meetings, which he often reported on for the Taranaki Herald, were held at Parihaka by followers of the prophets Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi. Butterworth obviously saw these occasions as great opportunities to purchase items that 'were only parted with under circumstances of great need'. In June 1891 the local press reported that 'Mr J. Butterworth returned on Thursday from Parihaka, where he has been spending a week collecting Maori curios. He states that he is thoroughly satisfied with his visit, Te Whiti showing him great hospitality' (Taranaki Herald, 19 June 1891). On another occasion it is stated that he 'is always a welcome visitor at Parihaka, where Te Whiti is ever ready to assist him when anxious to procure "Maori curios" (Taranaki Herald, 19 September 1892). Butterworth's newspaper advertisements emphasised that 'Being a particular friend of Te Whiti's, he has the best collection of Maori Curios'. Māori, particularly those in Taranaki, at this time were still suffering from the effects of the New Zealand Wars and confiscations. Many Māori would have been extremely poor and vulnerable. One can imagine that the selling of such taonga must have been done with great reluctance in many instances. There is also evidence that items were being manufactured at Parihaka specifically for sale, as Skinner recorded that 'the town is overstocked with the same articles [kete] from Parihaka of a superior make and cheaper' (Skinner diary, 5 March 1888).

In 1898 Skinner wrote, 'Constable Hickman met me and we drove to Parihaka, here we made a sketch survey of a portion of Parihaka village ... After finishing this called on Te Whiti, no success in picking up any curios, Butterworth has spoiled the market' (Skinner diary, 2 March 1898). Possibly by this date there were few saleable artefacts remaining in Parihaka, and Butterworth seems to have been prepared to pay more for items than Skinner and hence Skinner's remark.

Butterworth also obtained artefacts from Māori in other parts of Taranaki, and probably further afield, as well as from European settlers. One 'box lot' in his catalogue was sourced from Canterbury. Butterworth also acknowledged that taonga Māori were becoming rarer and that they were not being made any more. The sentiment at the time that Māori were a dying race probably helped reinforce this belief.

His final introductory paragraph raises the issue of whether he wanted to move out of the business of selling Māori curios. However, he was still purchasing items in

1901, as Skinner noted that Butterworth had recently got a 'greenstone tawatawa [tewhatewha?], a small one of course, this is the first of its kind I have seen' (Skinner diary, 11 December 1901), and Butterworth purchased the Sheppee Collection in 1902.

## Relationships with collectors

It will never be known how many curio collectors dealt with Butterworth. However, the major New Plymouth collector, W. H. Skinner, who kept diaries from 1872 until his death in 1946, noted his dealings with Butterworth. The other significant New Plymouth collector at the time, George Lamond Sheppee, left no such record but one could surmise that he probably dealt with Butterworth, as it was Butterworth who eventually purchased Sheppee's collection. Appendix 1 is a brief summary of known Taranaki curio collectors 1880-1920.

The relationship between Butterworth and Skinner was an interesting one. At times it was a dealer-purchaser relationship while at other times it was a dealer-seller. On other occasions it was, from Skinner's perspective, one of rivalry. An example of this is recorded by Skinner: 'Rode out to Tikorangi to see some old Maori carvings that had been found stowed away in a rata tree, portions of a carved store house. Butterworth had been before me and purchased it for £5.10.0 a very high figure, so my ride [was] for nothing' (Skinner diary, 11 October 1895). A few days later Skinner visited Butterworth to examine the carvings, which subsequently appeared in all three of his catalogues as '2 pieces Carving, part of old Pataka (store house), very fine, found concealed in an old rata tree'.

Among the purchases recorded by Skinner, which he made from Butterworth, were a stone 'meri' [sic] (25 November 1890), a 'few small Maori curios for a Mrs Powley who was sending them to England for a Childs [sic] Museum' (4 June 1894), a koropepe – greenstone manaia (4 May 1901), 'a few things - Maori curios - which she [Aunt Grace] wished to take back with her for the Halifax Museum, bought £3 worth' (11 April 1902), a stone pounder with a carved head (his son Harry Skinner purchased this item) (10 May 1902), and two kākā leg rings which he took home but later returned 'as money was too much just now' (30 August 1902). He also sold Butterworth items such as an 'E'tiki for £2 and three spears for £14, I was rather soft and ought to have got 30/- more than I did' (Skinner diary, 12 October 1892). However,

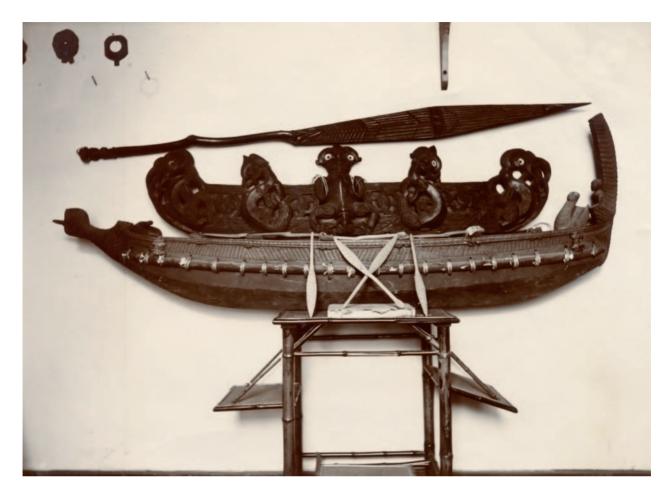


Fig. 3 Items purchased by James Butterworth in 1902 from the Sheppee Collection. The paddle was obtained by Hon. Mr Scotland in Auckland in 1858 and subsequently entered the Sheppee Collection. The paepae pātaka is from a swamp probably near Puketapu pā, Bell Block, Taranaki (photo: Archives New Zealand, Wellington; reproduced here with permission).

Skinner's preferred method of procurement was to purchase items directly from Māori, particularly at Parihaka, probably in order to get them at the best price.

In addition to his Pākehā customers, Butterworth also had Māori clientele. Skinner noted that in March 1896 a number of Māori bands gave a performance in New Plymouth and that the Waitara Drum and Fife Band was lead by Skipper who was 'flourishing a fine decorated taiaha (one I sold to Butterworth)' (Skinner diary, 16 March 1896). The same band again marched through New Plymouth a year later on their way to Parihaka and it was noted that the 'piupius worn by the bandsmen were supplied by Mr J. Butterworth' (*Taranaki Herald*, 16 March 1897).

In April 1902, Skinner was asked by a Dunedin collector, Willi Fels, to value the Sheppee Collection as Fels was interested in purchasing it. Skinner came up with a value of £202.5.0 while Sheppee had priced his collection at £200. Skinner felt that it was a 'pity to see the collection leaving N. P. it ought if possible to be secured for the local museum' (Skinner diary, 11 April 1902). Fels did not purchase the collection. 'I have not seen Shepee's [sic] collection, but Skinner and I are going some day to get photos of anything rare. It has been purchased by Butterworth, a dealer here' (S. Percy Smith to A. Hamilton, 7 June 1902, MS131, Auckland Museum). Following Butterworth's death, Percy Smith and Skinner were asked by Cabinet to value Butterworth's Māori collection for possible purchase by the Colonial Museum, Wellington. Skinner noted that he and Percy Smith spent all morning 'valuing "Sheppee Collection" of Butterworth's curios' (Skinner diary, 22 October 1903). They arrived at a value of £250 'for those articles in the Sheppee Collection we have selected' (Skinner diary, 22 October 1903).



Fig. 4 Items offered for sale by James Butterworth to the Colonial Museum in 1903, probably ex Sheppee Collection (photo: Archives New Zealand, Wellington; reproduced here with permission).

One other collector with a Taranaki connection, Arthur Hoby of Wellington, is known to have had dealings with Butterworth. Skinner recorded, 'Received letter from Arthur Hoby saying he had given £10 for a greenstone mere to Butterworth, my value of it is about 30/-. I am pleased that he has bitten his fingers over it as he was not hardly square over a Taiaha I offered him for £5' (Skinner diary, 14 June 1890).

The Wellington bibliophile and collector Alexander Turnbull also dealt with Butterworth. In October 1892, he wrote to Butterworth asking a number of questions:

Mr Griffiths spoke to me of 3 hei Tikis you had: I should be glad to know what these are like and their prices. Have you any small wooden carved kumara gods for sale? Mr Griffiths mentioned a whalebone taiaha which you had. What do you want for it? Would you care to send a selection of your best curios down here for me to see? I should only buy genuine maori things not anything modern or Pakeha. I should like to see the 'tokomaru' [?]. Mr Griffiths mentions also the 'maori' spear head used for stabbing in stomach. Have you any really genuine greenstone meres? I am also on the lookout for some good long greenstone earrings. (A. H. Turnbull Letterbook, 1 October 1892, National Library).

Unfortunately Butterworth's reply to these questions does not appear to have survived among Turnbull's papers. Turnbull certainly did do business with Butterworth as another letter records that he sent him a 'cheque for £7.10.0 in settlement of your a/c' (A. H. Turnbull Letterbook, 7 May 1894, National Library).

# The Butterworth Collection and the Colonial Museum

Towards the end of the nineteenth century concern was beginning to be expressed at the loss of taonga Māori to overseas collectors and institutions. A leading figure in this discussion was Augustus Hamilton, who at the time was Registrar of Otago University and regarded as a leading authority, as well as a collector, of Māori material culture. Not only was Hamilton active in lobbying members of Parliament for a suitable Act (The Maori Antiquities Act 1901) to halt the loss of taonga Māori but he also promoted (along with S. Percy Smith) the idea of a National Maori Museum, which they felt needed to be based in Wellington. However, despite support within government from members such as James Carroll (Native Minister) for

such a museum, nothing could be done until Sir James Hector retired from the position of Director of the Colonial Museum (a position he held for 38 years). 'The passing of the *Antiquities Act* and the interest in the formation of a national Maori museum resulted in the opportunity for Augustus Hamilton to become the Director of the Colonial Museum in December 1903 when Sir James Hector retired' (Pishief 1998: 118).

Hamilton at once began promoting his plans for the new building and what displays should be included within it (sadly, Hamilton died in 1913 before his dream was realised). Immediately on his appointment to the position of Director of the Colonial Museum, Hamilton began work on acquiring taonga Māori in order to build up a representative collection of such material. One identified source for artefacts was the James Butterworth's New Plymouth shop.

In September 1903, the Hon. Sir W. J. Steward (Waitaki) 'asked the Native Minister, Whether he will take steps to procure for the proposed National Maori Museum some of the many valuable specimens of Maori art and unique Maori curios collected by the late Mr. Butterworth, of New Plymouth' (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates 1903b: 563). He continued, drawing the 'Minister's attention to a great opportunity that now occurred of acquiring some of the most valuable Maori curios which existed in the colony' (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates 1903b: 564). Carroll responded by saying that he had previously visited Butterworth and viewed his collection, and that Butterworth had submitted a proposal that Carroll promised to lay before Cabinet. Since Butterworth's death 'he had received a further communication, which was at present under consideration from Cabinet' (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates 1903: 564).

Mary Butterworth wrote to Carroll in September 1903 enclosing a list of items (*see* Appendix 2), which appears to have been prepared by her late husband, that she hoped the government would purchase for £300. Also included were five photographs of the artefacts (Figs 3–7) and the accompanying note says that these 'very old curios being specile [*sic*] picked by a Gentleman here for over 18 years and only the best kept by him' (National Archives IA 1, 1904/385). This suggests that the items on the list and in the photographs were the Sheppee Collection and ties in with Percy Smith's statement that he and Skinner had 'valued' the Sheppee Collection within Butterworth's overall stock. Mary states in the letter that 'As you know my

husband as [sic] put all his money into curios for years and that is all I have got to depend on now with my small family of seven' (Butterworth to Carroll, 2 September 1903, IA 1, 1904/385, Archives New Zealand).

On 24 January 1904, Hamilton discussed the purchase of the Butterworth Collection with Carroll while they waited for the Premier's special train to the funeral of Tamahau Mahupuku at Featherston. A short time later Hamilton sought 'permission from [Sir Joseph] Ward to go to Auckland and to see the Butterworth collection en route' (O'Rourke 2001). Percy Smith and Skinner had compiled a list of items in the collection, some of which were stored in the Bank of New Zealand in New Plymouth. Hamilton did not think that 'There was much of great importance in the stuff that Smith & Skinner made a list of' (O'Rourke 2001). He also considered their prices too high – their list added up to £450 while his estimate was only £250. He described the collection:

'There are two fine spears and a good taiaha or two. Also some odds and ends, but the greenstones are poor. Everything is in a very dirty and mixed up condition. Heaps of fishhooks with their cords rotting and perishing. She has a tiki for sale for £13 that is fair and some good mats especially some pakes and common kinds. All the better kinds are tainted with wool. (O'Rourke 2001)

This description of the collection is somewhat surprising given the list of the items that were subsequently purchased for the Colonial Museum (see Appendix 2). It also demonstrates what ethnologists of the time felt was worth collecting and what was not. A week later, on his return trip from Auckland, Hamilton called on the Rev. T. G. Hammond, on the outskirts of Pātea, to assess his collection with a view to purchasing it. As with the Butterworth artefacts, Hamilton recorded his disappointment at its contents (see Appendix 1).

Following his return to Wellington, Hamilton submitted his report recommending that £225 be spent on purchasing part of Mrs Butterworth's collection, which Cabinet authorised the following day. Hamilton immediately returned to New Plymouth and the following morning 'went down to Mrs B and selected the things that I wanted from the Bank and then from the shop and gave her till two o'clock to decide [on the offer of £225]' (O'Rourke 2001). She accepted and he packed up the small items from the shop but could not collect the items in the bank as it was closed for a half holiday. Nor could he collect the larger items, so he asked Skinner to do this for him

and forward them on. Mr E. H. Smith, M.H.R., who was at Mrs Butterworth's when Hamilton returned, indicated that he 'was under the impression that the Govt were going to buy the whole of the things and distribute what they did not want to other museums'. Hamilton replied to this by saying he thought it was a 'grand idea' but this did not eventuate (O'Rourke 2001).

Before returning to Wellington, Percy Smith gave Hamilton 'one of those stone backs for hooks' while Mrs Butterworth gave him 'one or two nice ketes one fine white flax and one taniko' for his personal collection (O'Rourke 2001).

Two years later Hamilton (1906: 20) was able to report that a selection from the late Mr Butterworth's collection was one of five collections purchased under the provisions of The Maori Antiquities Act 1901, which were to form the foundation taonga Māori collection for the Colonial Museum and its successors. It is of some interest that the very first item catalogued into the M.E. (Maori Ethnology) collection was a paepae pātaka (M.E. 000001) from the Butterworth Collection and which in turn had formerly been part of the Sheppee Collection.

## Butterworth's involvement in exhibitions

Industrial exhibitions were held in a number of regions and towns during the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth. Perhaps the best known was the New Zealand International Exhibition of 1906-07. An earlier exhibition, held December 1904-January 1905, was the New Plymouth Industrial Exhibition. It was seen as an opportunity to display the very best Taranaki had to offer. It followed on from the Hawera Industrial Exhibition that was held in February 1904. The New Plymouth Exhibition had a total of 110 industrial exhibits along with 27 dairy exhibits, 133 home industry exhibits, and 53 educational and technical division exhibits.

Among the exhibitors at the New Plymouth Industrial Exhibition was 'Butterworth's Old Curiosity Shop'. Figure 8 shows the stand and the vast array of items displayed. These include piupiu, kete, tātara, korowai, kūwaha pātaka, model pātaka, a large waka huia, carved tobacco container, mere pounamu and/or patu ōnewa, hoe, a terracotta Māori female with a child on her back, plus a range of small items in a glass-topped case. The







### Left top:

Fig. 5 Three model waka (canoe) offered for sale by James Butterworth to the Colonial Museum in 1903 (photo: Archives New Zealand, Wellington; reproduced here with permission).

### Left bottom:

Fig. 6 A further selection of artefacts James Butterworth offered to sell the Colonial Museum in 1903. The hei tiki in the centre is probably the one said to have belonged to 'E Pi, widow of Koromiko, from Kairau [Waitara]'. It is suspected that the bulk of these artefacts were formerly part of the Sheppee Collection (photo: Archives New Zealand, Wellington; reproduced here with permission).

Fig. 7 Mere pounamu, patu parāoa, nephrite and bone pendants, and cloak pins offered by James Butterworth to the Colonial Museum in 1903. It is suspected that the central mere pounamu belonged to Hapurona and was named 'Nga Ruru' and which was formerly part of the Sheppee Collection (photo: Archives New Zealand, Wellington; reproduced here with permission).



Fig. 8 Butterworth's Old Curiosity Shop display at the New Plymouth Industrial Exhibition, 1904–05 (photo: James Butterworth, Waihi).

display showed the range of items Butterworth had been able to obtain and what still remained of his collection (presumably this was not all of it) after Hamilton had purchased what he required for the Colonial Museum.

A feature of the New Plymouth event was the recreation of a life-size model Māori village, complete with whare and Māori performers. One of the whare chosen to be part of this recreated village was Rua-toki te hau, which had originally been erected on the coastal Taranaki marae of Pūniho in the mid-1870s and had been carved by Parehe from Te Tairāwhiti (Day 2001: 122). Sometime before the early 1890s, the whare had been reduced in size and by the late 1890s the roof had collapsed.

At some point prior to 1901, this whare was obtained by Butterworth from the Pūniho people and appeared in his catalogue of that year as:

83. Big Maori House. All beautifully carved. Full sized figures holding up the ridge pole. Will hold about

fifty men. This is the most unique Maori curio ever offered for sale. Photos supplied for inspection to any *bona fide* purchaser.

The whare did not sell because the Chairman of the Exhibition Maori Village Committee, W. H. Skinner, 'Saw Mrs Butterworth in the evening as to chance of getting the "Puniho" whare for the Exhibition and also as to the price if we are able to buy it' (Skinner diary, 12 March 1904). Unfortunately Skinner makes no further reference to the house. Mrs Butterworth appears to have lent the structure to the committee and a contemporary photograph shows that the whare was the centrepiece for the model village (Fig. 9).

The 1904 New Plymouth Exhibition was not the first time Butterworth items had been exhibited. In December 1897, an Industrial, Art and Curio Exhibition had been held in New Plymouth. Among the displays in the 'Curio Room' were the collections of Thomas Hammond and



Fig. 9. The whare Rua-toki te hau (far right) in the reconstructed Māori village at the New Plymouth Industrial Exhibition, as photographed by W.A. Collis in December 1904 (photo: Puke Ariki Collection, New Plymouth; reproduced here with permission).

James Butterworth, who exhibited 'Maori clubs, spears, native kits, pois, greenstone, bracelets, whale's teeth, bird spears, carved paddle, an alligator, etc.' (Taranaki Herald, 10 December 1897). Butterworth also had on display two glass cases of Australian butterflies (one of which was later presented to the New Plymouth Museum in March 1901) and a case of kauri gum.

In 1906-07 Christchurch hosted the New Zealand International Exhibition, which also featured a reconstructed Māori village. A range of buildings were either constructed on site or transferred from elsewhere in New Zealand. The committee responsible for the village, probably at the insistence of Augustus Hamilton, purchased Rua-toki te hau from Mrs Butterworth and had it shipped down to Christchurch. However, when it 'arrived it was found unsuitable for re-erection, so the carvings were used in various places [around the village]' (Hamilton 1911: 9).

Rua-toki te hau was the largest Māori 'curio' Butterworth dealt with and ten of the carvings from the façade of this whare entered the Dominion Museum's collection (while two are known to have arrived in 1910, it is unsure when the others did) after the carvings had been used at the New Zealand Exhibition.

A number of Butterworth's other Māori curios were also sent down to the 1906-07 New Zealand International Exhibition. Skinner noted that 'Everything is now packed - excepting the greenstone articles - for forwarding to ChCh exhibition. I shall quite miss these curios, they were quite old friends to me' (Skinner diary, 6 October 1906). It is unclear what types of artefacts were actually sent down – they were probably a mixture similar to the New Plymouth Industrial Exhibition display – but they featured in a display of Māori curios under the name of 'M. Kennington' (Mary Butterworth's new married name), New Plymouth. The display won a Gold Medal (Cowan 1910: 442). Once the exhibition closed, Mary may well have sold the items in Christchurch. We know that Mrs Kennington dealt with a dealer in that city, because a receipt for the purchase of items (unspecified) from her, dated 14 June 1906, is among the papers of Christchurch auctioneer Samuel Neate (Canterbury Museum, ARC 1989-99).

## Collections holding taonga Māori sold by Butterworth

One of the objectives in preparing this paper was to attempt to relocate items that passed through Butterworth's business and take the opportunity to try and re-establish provenances, such as those recorded in his catalogues, which may have become lost.

As it has already been discussed above, a number of items were purchased as the foundation taonga Māori collection for the Colonial Museum. No doubt Thomas Cheeseman, of the Auckland Museum, knew of Butterworth and could well have purchased items from him. However, attempts to prove this have been unsuccessful owing to the Auckland Museum practice of not recording from whom purchases were made, but only the fund from which the money for the purchase was obtained.

The English collector James Edge Partington travelled to New Zealand on two occasions, October 1880, and

from February to May 1881. In early April 1881, he and three companions visited New Plymouth. In Partington's privately published journal he wrote:

At a small barber's in New Plymouth, I picked up for a small sum three rather good Maori curios, sent there for sale. A hair-headed spear (*Tiha-kura*), an axe (*Ti-woti-ma* or *Paihaka*), a paddle (*Hoi*). These were originally the property of a chief called Tito-ki-waru [*sic*], and were taken in the war at Omuturangi. They are good specimens of Maori weapons. (Partington 1883: 349)

Partington's collection, which was purchased for the Auckland Museum in 1924, has the following items as having been 'purchased in Taranaki' (items numbered 2 and 3 below are those referred to in the account above):

- 1. Footrest (teka or takahi) of spade of dark-brown wood (mānuka or maire) carved to represent a human figure tattooed (Auckland Museum number 16386).
- 2. Chief's staff (hani or taiaha) of red wood ornamented with a collar of feathers and dog's hair. 'Formerly the property of Tito-ki-waru [sic] and taken during the Maori war at Omuturangi' (Auckland Museum number 14558).
- 3. Weapon (tewhatewha), of lighter wood than usual with a bunch of split hawk's feathers attached (Auckland Museum number 14561).
- 4. Figurehead (tau-ihu) of a model war canoe (Auckland Museum number 14630).

It is highly likely that the 'barber's' shop that Partington (1883: 349) mentions was Butterworth's as the latter was certainly dealing in curios at this time and would have been a likely destination for a major collector such as Partington. Unfortunately the account of the visit in the local press does not supply any further clues and simply states that 'they have purchased here a number of native curios to take home to their friends in England, and they have succeeded in obtaining a valuable and interesting collection' (*Taranaki Herald*, 9 April 1881). Skinner makes no reference to Partington in his diary for the period he was in New Plymouth. This may be explained by the fact that Skinner was surveying out of New Plymouth at the time, and also that his interest in Māori artefacts was yet to be ignited.

In late March 1896 it was reported that 'Mr David Bowman, of Christchurch, has purchased Mr Butterworth's well known collection of Maori Curios for removal to Christchurch' (*Taranaki Herald*, 23 March 1896). A few weeks later the collection was reported as 'now on view in Christchurch' (*Taranaki Herald*, 8 April 1896).

Captain Hutton, of the Canterbury Museum, recorded in a letter to the Weekly Press (15 April 1896) that 'Mr Bowman, who recently purchased a very fine collection of implements and curios from a Taranaki expert who spent many years getting it together, is willing to sell a good representative collection'. The collection was purchased for the Canterbury Museum from the dealer Bowman on 15 April 1896 with a £100 donation from an E. W. Roper. Twenty-three items (from a total of 72) were subsequently described (Weekly Press, 30 April 1896) along with a photograph of the entire collection (Fig. 10). Hutton further commented in the same article that 'the [Canterbury Museum] Maori collection was not complete before, and the recent addition has filled up most of the gaps' (Weekly Press, 30 April 1896). It appears that more items than those purchased for the Canterbury Museum were obtained by Bowman from Butterworth. However, it would be extremely unlikely, owing to the number involved, that he purchased everything that appeared in Butterworth's sale catalogue. Bowman auctioned his own collection in May 1896, 'the result of thirty years' incessant collecting in the Pahs of both Islands and among the Maoris, under exceptionally favourable opportunities' (Bowman 1896). He also had another sale of 'curios' in July 1896 and it seems from the newspaper report (Anonymous 1896) that several items that were formerly in the Butterworth catalogue were sold at this auction, as the descriptions are exactly the same as those in the catalogue.

A further three items were purchased by the Canterbury Museum from Butterworth in April 1903. These were a bone mere (E103.8), a bone tiki (E103.9), and a bone eel ornament (E103.10). Any associated correspondence has not survived in the Canterbury Museum archive, so it is unknown if other items were offered by Butterworth and what price was paid for the three that were purchased.

In 1913, W. H. Skinner and his son, H. D. Skinner, offered their superb taonga Māori collection to the then New Plymouth Museum (later the Taranaki Museum and now Puke Ariki) on the condition that a fire-proof building be provided. In 1919, the Skinner Collection was accepted into a new extension to the Public Library. As already noted, Skinner purchased a number of artefacts from Butterworth and these would have been included in the collection gifted to the museum. However, while information on many of the items within the collection can be found in the original register, there is no reference to any having been obtained from Butterworth.

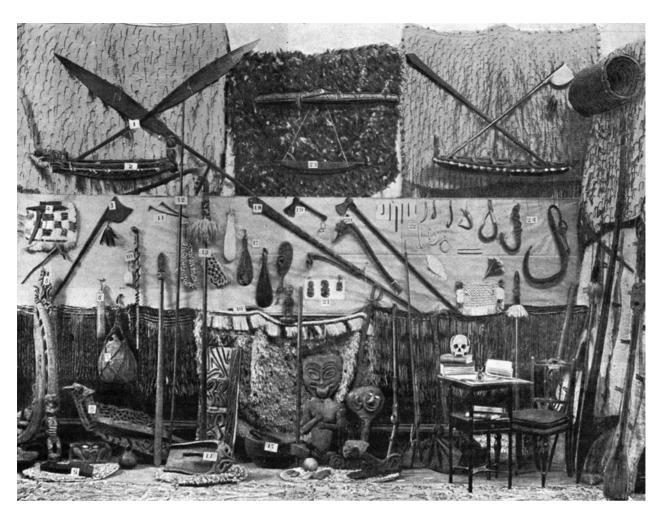


Fig. 10 'The Maori relics just presented to the Christchurch Museum'. These items (with the exception of the human skull) were purchased in 1896 from James Butterworth by the Christchurch collector and dealer David Bowman, who on-sold them to the Canterbury Museum in the same year. This photograph appeared in the Weekly Press at the time the collection entered the Canterbury Museum (photo: Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, Ref. 34/50; reproduced here with permission).

Within the Puke Ariki Collection there is a tokotoko (A73.067) with a bird's head handle. This is recorded as having been 'Bought from [by] Butterworth 1902, from Maori carver who carved whare for exhibit at the Duke and Duchess of York Exhibition 1901' (Neich 2001: 365). Neich suggests that this could be the work of either Tene Waitere or Neke Kapua, both of Ngāti Tarawhai. There is also another carved tekoteko (A82.916) in the collection that is recorded as belonging to Butterworth. While tokotoko feature in Butterworth's catalogues, none carry information that link them to the two artefacts mentioned above. Neither of these tekoteko are the same as the one Butterworth is holding in Fig. 1.

Also in Puke Ariki, and held on behalf of the people of Püniho marae, are the carvings from Rua-toki te hau,

which formerly stood on Pūniho. Ten of these carvings (see Appendix 2) entered the Dominion Museum's collection. It is known that two (ME4242 and ME4243) were collected in 1910, but when the others entered the collection is unknown. Another two (E141.785) stayed in Christchurch where they ended up in the Canterbury Museum, but these appear not to have been catalogued until 1941. In 1989, following representations from the Komene family of Pūniho, all the carvings were returned to Taranaki.

## The catalogues

As noted above three Butterworth sales catalogues were produced: in 1895, in 1901, and one posthumously in 1905. All three carry the same content with the exception

that the Pūniho whare does not feature in the 1895 catalogue. This raises the question as to why three identical catalogues should be produced over a ten-year period. As has already been discussed, a number of items were purchased as a result of the first catalogue so why continue to offer items that were clearly not available?

One possible explanation is that for many of the lots there were multiple examples (such as Lot 44, which consisted of 400 pā kahawai and 128 copper, iron, brass and wooden hooks), which presumably would not all be sold to one buyer. However, other lots had only one or two items. Conceivably, for the more common type of items, he had further examples among his stock that ensured he could supply the market. Perhaps it was to give the illusion that his stock was actually better than it really was. But despite what was purchased by the Colonial Museum in 1904, what appeared in the New Plymouth Industrial Exhibition in 1905 and in the New Zealand International Exhibition 1906–07, and what Wilson and Nolan purchased in 1907, there was still a large number of fine pieces within his stock.

It is understandable that Mary Butterworth chose to simply reprint the catalogue as she may well have not had much experience or understanding of the items to produce a new one. However, for a man who was obviously an astute businessman it is still somewhat odd that he did not update his 1901 catalogue. Appendix 3 lists the items that appeared in Butterworth's catalogues and, where possible, the current location of some of the items.

### Conclusion

James Butterworth was undoubtedly an entrepreneur whose speciality and reputation was based primarily on dealing in Māori curios. During the time he was in business, an enormous number of artefacts (some 1,533 are listed in his 1895 catalogue alone) must have passed through his shop. It is highly likely that Butterworth was the largest dealer of taonga Māori during the 1890s and early 1900s in New Zealand. While other dealers such as Craig, Spencer, and Dannefaerd seemed to have dealt in larger and more spectacular items, such as carvings, Butterworth appears to have carried more stock. Bowman listed only 317 items in his auction catalogue, which was said to be the result of 30 years of collecting, although he did state that he still had 'a large collection of Maori relics', and was 'prepared to make up representative collections for

museums or private collectors from £50 upwards' (Bowman 1896).

Butterworth was very aware of the significance of many of the items he was dealing in, hence the retention of information pertaining to previous owners or events. These gave the items identity and assisted in increasing their monetary value. He also alluded to a sense of urgency in what he was obtaining as the 'old' ways were disappearing.

Unfortunately the size and extent of Butterworth's customer base for these artefacts will probably never be known, although we know he had local, national, and international clientele for whom he was able to 'execute very large orders'. He placed enormous value on the fact that he obtained a considerable amount of his stock from Parihaka and that he was a personal friend of Te Whiti. It would be interesting to know what Te Whiti felt about what Butterworth was doing. Te Whiti obviously trusted him as it was reported that he had 'handed over to Mr Butterworth the Parihaka tribal jewellery to be gold mounted. The ornaments in question the natives would not sell for any money on account of their traditional value' (*Taranaki Herald*, 20 March 1895).

The tragedy is that of all the items that must have passed through Butterworth's hands the locations of only 192 are currently known. Seventy-two artefacts form the Bowman Collection in Canterbury Museum (Appendix 4), with a further three items purchased by the museum directly from Butterworth at a later date. Another 103 items associated with Butterworth are to be found in the collection of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa), while another six are unaccounted for. Alexander Turnbull purchased an unknown number of items from Butterworth and his collection is now housed in Te Papa. However, the original inventory for this collection does not provide any clues by which to identify items that were purchased from Butterworth (Hamilton 1913). A further 14 items are in the Puke Ariki Collection.

One can only wonder where the hundreds, if not thousands, of other artefacts that Butterworth dealt in have ended up. Given the claim that Butterworth was able to 'execute very large orders for foreign tourists coming to New Zealand' (*Taranaki Herald*, 19 September 1892), it can be assumed that he sold many artefacts to tourists/collectors and that these artefacts may now be scattered overseas in private collections and museums. Also, for most of the artefacts, once they passed from Butterworth's hands onto the hands of private collectors

or museum collections, they appear to have lost their provenance.

This study highlights the value of researching the activities of early curio dealers, such as James Butterworth, and the times in which they operated. It also demonstrates the difficulty in trying to identify the items that passed through their businesses, and ascertain where these artefacts are now. The next step is to study other dealers, such as Craig, Spencer, Dannefaerd, and Bowman, to the same level of scrutiny.

## Acknowledgements

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## Appendix 1. Taranaki 'curio' collectors 1880-1920

The following is a brief summary of Taranaki curio collectors of the period from 1880 to 1920, some of whom are known to have had dealings with James Butterworth. There may have been other collectors not known to the author.

### Thomas Godfrey Hammond

The Rev. T. G. Hammond was born on 4 October 1846 at Richmond, Nelson. He was accepted into the Wesleyan ministry in 1874 and did duty as a probationer at Rangitikei, New Plymouth, and Manawatū. He was appointed to the Māori mission at Hokianga in 1878 and nine years later was asked to resuscitate the West Coast Maori Mission, whose headquarters were at Pātea. He stayed there until he died on 13 December 1926. He wrote two books, *The History of a Mission* (1916) and *The Story of Aotea* (1924).

Hammond wrote a short paper in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (1901) in which he described a number of items in his collection. Hammond's was one of the collections from which specimens were purchased by Hamilton under The Maori Antiquities Act 1901 for the national taonga Māori collection of the Colonial Museum in 1904. Hamilton visited Hammond at Pātea and recorded the following in his diary:

I must confess that I was disappointed at the collection on the whole. I should not like to see £325 given for it. Nearly all the weapons are poor specimens. There is one Hoeroa, only fair. The best of all are 2 paddles not in the original list, regular twin paddles. They were evidently in a swamp and bear the marks of being long buried. Their shape also is quite different from any recent Maori form. The handle continues into the blade ... I gave these as the gems of his collection. The next best thing is a small brown dogskin cut into the normal strips. There is a good bone mere formerly belonging to Te Kooti. The greenstones are very poor. He has some curious, naturally shaped stones which he places great value on being

Whatu-kura, or fetish stones from sacred places. There was also a table covered with axes, one very large indeed. Also a lot of kete and waistmats and about 500 sinkers. (O'Rourke 2001)

Only a few items were eventually selected by Hamilton, among them being 100 sinkers and no 'axes', the total cost being £110.

#### Arthur Hoby

Hoby was born in New Plymouth on 24 November 1852. His father had taken up land at Bell Block, to the north of New Plymouth. The family was forced to abandon the farm at the time of the First Taranaki War in 1860 and they were evacuated to Nelson where they stayed for five years, before returning to Taranaki. In 1879 Arthur travelled to London where he qualified as a dentist. Returning to New Zealand in 1881, he set up practice in New Plymouth and 14 months later shifted to Wellington.

When Hoby began collecting is unknown, but Skinner records catching up with him, in 1888, on the site of Puketapu pā (adjacent to the Hoby farm) where he found him 'hunting for Maori relics'. Puketapu pā has had a long history of being fossicked (Day 1996). At the same time as this encounter, Hoby asked Skinner to purchase 'Maori Curios for him' (Skinner diary, 28 October 1888). In January 1889 Kawaturi brought to Skinner a collection of items from Parihaka, among them 'one good spear said to belong to Wiremu Kingi of Umuroa, the rest poor things. I would not have taken them over had I not advanced the money, will send some of them to Wellington to Hoby'

(Skinner diary, 17 January 1889). Hoby obviously liked the two 'spears' Skinner sent him as he wrote back saying he would keep them.

Hoby is known to have purchased at least one item from Butterworth, a greenstone mere, and no doubt purchased other items on his trips back to Taranaki. A number of items from the Hoby Collection were presented to the Taranaki Museum in 1925, 1942, and Puke Ariki in 2005. Other items were presented by one of his descendants to the Auckland Museum in 1965. A further collection of items remains with another descendant.

#### William Henry Skinner

Skinner was born on 26 February 1857 in New Plymouth. As a trained surveyor he was in frequent contact with Māori and while on surveying expeditions he began collecting information on the traditional Māori history of the areas in which he was working. He also began collecting artefacts and his diaries contain a number of references to items he purchased, more often than not from Māori. Skinner was a foundation member of the Polynesian Society and while holding a number of offices within the society wrote several articles for its journal. He also wrote a number of books on the early European history of Taranaki and contributed substantially to S. Percy Smith's History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast (1910). In 1919 Skinner, together with his son, Henry D. Skinner (a professional anthropologist and director of the Otago Museum), donated their extensive collection of artefacts to the New Plymouth Museum (now Puke Ariki) and in doing so laid the foundation for that institution's important taonga Māori collection. W. H. Skinner died in New Plymouth on 24 October 1946.

### George Lamond Sheppee

Sheppee was born at Whitton-le-Wear, County Durham, England, in January 1845. In 1862 he immigrated to Canada, working first as an agricultural labourer in Petersburg and later in the timber industry in Lakefield, both being in Ontario. He arrived in New Plymouth in January 1885 and joined his brother, J. W. Sheppee, manufacturing aerated water. A bachelor, he boarded for many years in the Terminus Hotel in New Plymouth. He died on 15 September 1930 (Anonymous 1930). On the day of Sheppee's funeral Skinner wrote, 'I had known him for many years. He was a onetime collector of Maori curios and had an excellent collection, amongst the items a very

beautiful carved paddle bought from the Hon H. Scotland's sale, who had bought it in Auckland in 1855 [1858]' (Skinner diary, 16 September 1930).

It is difficult to determine what items Sheppee had in his collection. Skinner does provide some clues when he recorded:

This evening I called in on Sheppy [sic] – Courtenay St – and had a view of his Maori Curios. He has some gems in the collection notably a beautiful greenstone mere called Nga Ruru - 'the earthquake' - belonging originally to Haporoni [Hapurona], Wi Kingi's fighting chief. He has another small greenstone mere of a great age this belonged to old Stephen - Tipene Unuku - and is said to have been in his family for 12 generations, 2 or 3 fine spears, 2 Tewhatewha, some fine carvings and a number of smaller articles, all genuine old Maori relics. (Skinner diary, 24 October 1888)

Skinner called in on Sheppee in February 1889 to see if he had made any additions to his collection, noting that he had only added 'a few small articles' and again commented on Hapurona's mere, 'without exception the best I have seen.' Augustus Hamilton photographed a number of pieces in Sheppee's collection in 1897 (W. H. Skinner to Augustus Hamilton, 26 July 1897, MS131, Auckland Museum), presumably for possible inclusion in his monumental book, Maori Art. However, only one item that can be traced as being in the Sheppee Collection can be identified in the book (although Hamilton does not acknowledge it) – a paepae pātaka (Hamilton 1972: 103). Five photographs sent down to the Colonial Museum in 1903 appear to feature items from the Sheppee Collection (Figs 3–7).

### Major Arthur Tuke

Major Tuke was an ex Inspector of the Armed Constabulary who lived in New Plymouth. Little is known about what was in the Tuke Collection. Skinner was asked by Tuke's widow to value the collection in 1905. 'She wishes to sell but the prices she fancies the Curios are worth are absurd £30 for long handled axe - iron head - carved handle, £5 for piupiu - waist mat - etc. I told her the pieces were altogether too high unless she struck a millionaire globe trotter' (Skinner diary, 21 October 1905). A couple of months later Mrs Tuke drowned herself in the Te Henui River, New Plymouth. The following March, Skinner approached the Tuke children with a view to purchasing the collection but they declined to sell it. What happened to the collection is unknown.

## Appendix 2. Items selected for the Colonial Museum.

Mary Butterworth's list <sup>1</sup> (re-written by S. Percy Smith)	Percy Smith & Skinner valuation at October 1903	Colonial Museum purchase price at February 1904	Te Papa Catalogue number
An old Maori carved Pare, or Korupe (lintel) very fine indeed; only 2 other specimens have been found on this coast. Discovered in a swamp [Hua, Bell Block], a portion broken, but can easily be glued on.	£22.10.0	£22.10.0	ME000001
1 Canoe Paddle, Te Arawa. Hon Mr Scotland first obtained in 1858	£10.0.0	£10.0.0	ME000013
3 Greenstone Meres. 1 at £17.10.0, belonged to Hapurona, W. Kingi's fighting chief in the war of 1860 named 'Nga-ruru'. Another named 'Tonga' obtained from Komene of Oakura £6.0.0. Another belonged to Tipene Uenuku of Kopia, Puketotara £6.0.0.	£29.10.0	£17.0.0 (only one purchased)	ME?
2 Grey stone Patus. 1 at £5, 1 at £4	£9.0.0	£9.0.0	ME000093-94
3 Whalebone Patus. 1 (a Kotiate) from Kaiapoi named 'Pakia', taken at Kaitake 1862? £5. 2 at £3.	£11.0.0		
4 Wooden Patus at £2.10.0	£10.0.0		
1 Taiaha, 6 foot, taken at Pukerangiora 1830	£6.0.0	£6.0.0	ME?
1 Taiaha, 5 foot, from Parihaka	£5.10.0		
1 Taiaha, 5 foot, carving not finished, from Waihi [north Taranaki?]	£3.0.0		
2 Taiaha, 5 foot, plain, 1 taken at Waitara, one from Puketotara	£4.0.0		
1 Pouwhenua, from Parihaka	£1.10.0		
3 Tewhatewha. 1 broken (but can be mended) in a fight at Pukerangiora 1830, 1 named 'Nga-turu', from N[gati] Raukawa, 1 other	£10.0.0	£10.0.0	ME000014-16
1 Huata, from Wanganui	£3.10.0	£3.0.0	ME000022
1 Timata	£1.10.0	£1.10.0	ME000023
2 Paddles	£2.10.0	£2.10.0	ME000011-12
1 Kumete, carved	£3.0.0		
8 Stone Hinau pounders	£4.0.0		
3 Unique ceremonial combs, exceeding rare, 1 from Kaupokonui £3.10.0, 2 from Parihaka each £2.10.0	£8.10.0	£8.10.0	ME000036-38
1 Small comb – plain	£1.0.0	£1.0.0	ME000035
10 Greenstone eardrops	£7.10.0		
1 Hei tiki, greenstone, from Kairau, belonged to E Pi, widow of Koromiko	£12.10.0	£10.0.0	ME000034

<sup>&#</sup>x27;This list is a lot of very old curious [curios] being specile [sic] picked by a Gentleman [G. L. Sheppee?] here for over 18 years & only the best keep [sic] by him. This lot is offered you for £300.0.0. I am also sending you the photo[s] of them.' Written by James Butterworth (?) n.d. (National Archives, IA 1, 1904/385).

1 Hei tiki, greenstone, unfinished. Belonged to Tamihana.	£5.0.0	£5.0.0	ME000039
1 Hei, greenstone, plain	£5.0.0	£1.10.0	ME000041(?)
2 Divination stones, carved	£10.0.0	£5.0.0 (only one purchased)	ME?
2 Carved Tiheru, or bailers, 1 from Wanganui £6.10.0, 1 other £3.10.0	£10.0.0		
1 Carved Tiheru	£3.10.0		
3 Stone sinkers from Whatiwhatihoe	£0.3.0		
1 Stone sinker shaped like an anchor (punga)	£1.5.0		
4 Small greenstone articles of ornament	£2.0.0		
43 Stone axes [adzes] at 2/6	£5.7.6		
2 Stone axes with carved handles £5 & £2	£7.0.0		
2 Calabashes	£2.0.0		
1 Calabash, very long	£1.0.0		
9 Paua shell fish hooks (pa)	£2.5.0	£2.5.0	ME000043-50 ME000077 [ME004032]
1 Iron patiti, long handle, from Ihaka, Waitotara	£3.10.0	£3.10.0	ME000017
8 Aurei, bone mat pins	£4.0.0	£4.0.0	ME000056 ME000066-69 ME?
1 Unfinished Toki-pou-tangata, greenstone	£4.0.0	£3.0.0	ME000040
1 Stone, said to have been brought over in Aotea canoe, very peculiar, stone not known to me in N.Z. Probably a divination stone.	£4.0.0		
1 Korowai mat, old work, but with some wool in it	£4.0.0		
1 Small gourd used as a whistle	£0.10.0		
1 Fine carved axe handle	£3.0.0		
3 Tete, or spines for spear heads	£0.6.0		
1 Handle of patiti	£1.10.0		ME000018 or ME003984
4 Bone needles (Boars tusk), from Hone Ropiha of Rae-o-miti [pa, New Plymouth]	£2.0.0	£2.0.0	ME000057-58
1 Stone, cover of lamp?	£0.5.0		
TOTAL	£247.11.6		

Percy Smith & Skinner's selection (December 1903)			
1 Greenstone tewhatewha, 2'6" peculiar	£4.0.0	£4.0.0	ME000059
1 Patiti, whalebone handle	£2.10.0	£2.10.0	ME000032
1 Bone tewhatewha 2'3"	£4.0.0	£4.0.0	ME000029
2 Large black toki	£3.0.0		
1 Stone Kotiate very rare	£1.0.0		
1 Whalebone mere, good	£2.10.0	£2.10.0	ME000033
1 Very old oko for kokowai	£0.15.0	£0.15.0	ME000005
1 Patu, trachyte, short	£1.10.0		
2 Patu, trachyte, rough	£3.0.0		
1 Black stone patu, good illustration of bore(?)	£0.15.0	£0.15.0	ME000062
1 Tatoo pigment box	£0.10.0	£0.10.0	ME000031
1 Large toki with handle	£2.10.0		
1 Long bird here & bird trough	£4.0.0		
2 Totara bark huahua baskets	£2.0.0		
6 Calabashes	£3.0.0	£3.0.0	ME?
2 Waka huia, very good carving, but modern	£10.0.0		
1 Beam, kurupae or perhaps tahuhu, carved with tuataras, very rare, but has been painted over	£4.0.0	£4.0.0	ME008601 or ME000002
1 Hoeroa, whale bone	£2.10.0	£2.0.0	ME?
1 Pouwhenua, carved, Mokau	£3.0.0	£3.0.0	ME000021
1 Taiaha, kaka feathers & dog's hair	£7.0.0	£7.0.0	ME?
2 Here points, bone, old No.23	£1.0.0		
4 Aurei, bone, good 21	£2.0.0	£2.0.0	ME000052-55
1 Kaka ring, old	£1.0.0	£1.0.0	ME000072
1 Bone hei tiki, old	£0.15.0		
1 Greenstone toki, shows marks of working	£3.10.0	£0.15.0	
1 Long greenstone ear pendant 8" long	£2.0.0		
1 Clouded greenstone ear pendant 3" long	£1.0.0		
1 Piece of greenstone showing cutting channel 3"	£0.15.0		ME000071
1 Greenstone ear pendant 1.5" long – mere shaped	£0.15.0		
1 Greenstone mere 14" long, old	£11.0.0		

1 Greenstone hei tiki, old, but sealing wax eyes	£8.0.0		
2 Greenstone koropepe, very rare	£8.0.0		ME000064 ME000065
5 Bone hei tikis, old	£10.0.0		ME000073-76 ME014519
1 Greenstone ear pendant 3" thin	£2.0.0		
1 Very fine kaitaka border (the best I ever saw)	£10.0.0		
2 Bone fasteners for hei tiki	£0.15.0		
1 Kiwi mat, with taniko border, narrow, good	£10.0.0		
1 Korowai mat, bordered, but with wool in it	£9.0.0		
1 Kaitaka mat, 6" taniko border, good, old, but with wool in it	£10.0.0	£10.0.0	ME000314
1 Hamanu, or cartridge box, with ball cartridges in it. English made, but illustrating modern fighting gear	£1.0.0	£1.0.0	ME000010
TOTAL	£154.0.0		

Items selected by Hamilton (February 1904)		
1 Ta or maul	£1.0.0	ME000009
2 Plain kumete	£1.5.0	ME000003/1 ME000003/2
1 Stone lamp	£0.15.0	ME000008
1 Stone punga made into a lamp	£1.0.0	ME000007
1 Stone sinker	£0.5.0	ME000070
1 Pumice box, no lid	£0.10.0	ME000006
1 Tata or bailer	£0.3.10	ME000025
2 Stone axes [adzes]	£1.5.0	ME000063
Collection of iron [and copper] hooks and cordage	£4.15.0	ME000078-92
2 Kumera hoes	£1.10.0	ME000027-28
1 Small toki with handle	£1.0.0	ME000060
1 Small toki with handle	£1.10.0	ME000030(?) or ME004186
1 Old spear	£4.10.0	ME000024(?)
3 Pake	£5.0.0, £2.10.0, £2.0.0	ME000095-97

Items accessioned in 1904, but not on Hamilton's list			
1 Strip of taniko work			ME000098
1 Pake			ME000315
1 Tokotoko			ME000099
1 Pekapeka or spreader			ME000026
1 Kumete			ME000004
1 Greenstone mere			ME000061

Items on Hamilton's list but currently not accounted for		
1 Large hook with special line (?)	£1.0.0	ME?
1 Bunch of hooks	£1.10.0	ME?

Items received after 1904	
Tekoteko (Puniho house)	ME001770
Paepae (Puniho house)	ME004234
Paepae (Puniho house)	ME004242
Paepae (Puniho house)	ME004243
Waewae (Puniho house)	ME008578
Waewae (Puniho house)	ME008600
Pare (Puniho house)	ME008201
Tekoteko (Puniho house)	ME008643
Poutokomanawa (Puniho house)	ME008632
Poutokomanawa (Puniho house)	ME010957

## Appendix 3. Artefacts listed in Butterworth's (1895, 1901, 1905) catalogues

Item	Notes on present location
Lot 1. Four canoe models, with carved paddles	A model waka (E96.28?) was included in the Bowman Collection now in Canterbury Museum.  A canoe model was also sold by Bowman at the sale of his collection 26 July 1896 for £4.
Lot 2. 29 Taiaha	
<ol> <li>A very finely polished weapon, ornamented with feathers and dog's hair, made from Akerau tangi wood and splendidly carved.</li> <li>A Whalebone Taiaha, four feet seven inches long, formerly owned by Rangipuahoaha, of Urenui, and much prized by the Ngatiawa tribe.</li> <li>Weapon taken at Te Ngutu-o-te-manu, at the death of Major Von Tempsky, and since recognized by Ngatiruanui tribe, who have offered a big price for it. Richly carved and ornamented.</li> <li>A very old Taiaha obtained from the late W. Halse, Esq.</li> <li>A Wooden Taiaha, very large, formerly owned by Hone Wetere Te Rerenga, who is said to have killed the Rev. J. Whiteley, at Pukearuhe.</li> <li>Carved Manuka, Taiaha.</li> <li>Carved Taiaha, ornamented with feathers and dog's hair, six feet long.</li> <li>Carved Taiaha, four feet six inches long.</li> <li>Carved Taiaha, very ancient.</li> </ol>	A 'wooden taiaha formerly owned by Hone Wetere Te Rerenga' was sold by Bowman on 26 July 1896 for £5.10.0.
The remaining 20 Taiaha are both carved and plain, and made from Manuka and Akerau tangi woods.	
Lot 3. 38 Mere Mere or Mere  1. Mere Paraoa (bone Mere)  2. Mere Paraoa, old and curious, from Parihaka.  3. Mere Paraoa, plain.  4. Mere Paraoa, from Parihaka.  5. Mere Paraoa.  6. Mere Paraoa.  7. Mere Paraoa.  8. Mere Paraoa.  9. 4 Mere Paraoa, small.  10. 4 Mere Paraoa, old.  11. Carved Wood Mere.  12. 2 Carved Wood Mere.  13. Carved Wood Mere, very old.  14. Carved Wood Mere, indented both sides.  15. Sword Handle.  16. Carved Mere.  17. Carved Mere, fine figure of a man.  18. Carved Mere.	From this lot, three bone clubs (E96.3.1, E96.3.2, E96.3.3) and three wooden clubs (E96.4, E96.5, E96.6) appear to be been part of the Bowman Collection which is now in Canterbury Museum.

<ol> <li>4 Carved Mere, peculiar shape.</li> <li>Mere Pounamu (greenstone), from Mahoetahi.</li> <li>Mere Pounamu, with sword handle, from Parihaka.</li> <li>Mere Pounamu, from Wellington.</li> <li>Mere Pounamu, very old.</li> <li>Mere Pounamu, very large.</li> <li>Mere Pounamu, large</li> <li>Mere, Marble, very large, modern.</li> <li>Mere, Iron, made from wreck.</li> </ol>	A 'meremere pounamu from Parihaka' was sold by Bowman on 26 July 1896 for £15.10.0.
Lot 4. 22 Heitiki  1. Heitiki, from Mokau.  2. Heitiki, small, from Te Whetu, Parihaka.  3. Heitiki, from Waihi.  4. Heitiki, very ancient.  5. Heitiki, very old and large.  6. Heitiki, splendid image.  7. Heitiki, formerly property of Skipper, whaler.  8. Heitiki, Inanga, pale colour.  9. Heitiki, plain.  10. 10 Heitiki, old and rough.  11. 3 Heitiki, wood, painted.	A 'tiki from Mokau' was sold by Bowman on 26 July 1896 for £7.5.0.  A 'tiki from Waihi' was sold by Bowman on 26 July 1896 for £12.
Lot 5. 158 Aurei  1. 2 Aurei, plain but good, from Mahuki, of Waikato.  2. 56 Aurei, mixed, good and rough.  3. 18 Aurei, plain, bone.  4. 2 Aurei, carved.  5. Aurei, plain, but highly polished.  6. 15 Aurei, inlaid with pawa [sic] shell.  7. 2 Aurei, bone, very large and old.  8. 9 Aurei, human bone.  9. 3 Aurei, very good quality.  10. 38 Aurei, common bone  11. Aurei, whalebone.  12. 11 Aurei, large.	This is labelled Lot 6 on page 3 of the 1901 catalogue and then becomes Lot 5 on page 4.
<ol> <li>Lot 6. Pou Whenua</li> <li>Pou Whenua, carved and inlaid with pawa [sic].</li> <li>Pou Whenua, splendidly carved, inlaid with pawa [sic].</li> <li>Pou Whenua, splendidly carved, inlaid with pawa [sic].</li> <li>Pou Whenua, splendidly carved, inlaid with pawa [sic].</li> <li>Pou Whenua, plain but good.</li> </ol>	A pouwhenua (E96.22) was included in the Bowman Collection now in Canterbury Museum.  A 'pouwhenua – carved inlaid sword-like weapon' was sold by Bowman on 26 July 1896 for £3.2.6.
Lot 7. Wahaika 1. Manuka Wahaika, carved. 2. 2 Manuka Wahaika, common. 3. Manuka Wahaika, common. 4. Ake rautangi, carved and very old.	

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Lot 8. Patiti	A pātitī (E96.53) was included in the Bowman Collection now in Canterbury Museum.
1. Patiti, given by Natives to the late Captain Messenger.	Concetion now in Camerbury Museum.
2. 2 Patiti, from old whalers.	
3. Patiti	
4. Patiti, short bone handle, willed to Mr. C. Rowe, by Paki, of Urenui. The weapon used in killing a man, his wife and	
two children.	
I O T	A (FO(22) : 1 1 1 : 1 P
Lot 9. Tao	A tao (E96.23) was included in the Bowman Collection now in Canterbury Museum.
1. Tao, willed by Paki, of Urenui, to Mr. C. Rowe.	Concetion now in Canterbury Museum.
Lot 10. Tara Kaniwha	In the 1901, 1905 catalogues No. 2 is changed from
1. 3 Tara Kaniwha, bone.	iron to wood.
2. 3 Tara Kaniwha, iron.	
Lot 11. Patu or Kuru	
1. Patu or Kuru, whalebone.	
2. 2 Patu or Kuru, wood.	
3. 15 Patu or Kuru.	
4. 3 Patu or Kuru, stone, carved faces on handle, valuable.	
Lot 12. Kakau Toki	A Stone adm and handle' IJ b P
	A 'stone adze and handle' was sold by Bowman on 26 July 1896 for £1.15.0.
2. 1 Kakau Toki, carved, valuable.	
3. 6 Kakau Toki, with axes (toki) fitted in.	
Lot 13. Toki	
1. Greenstone Axe and Handle.	
2. Greenstone Axe and Handle, finely carved.	
3. Stone Axe and Handle.	
4. Greenstone Axe, large, with history.	
5. 2 Greenstone chisels.	
6. 2 Iron Axes and Handles.	
7. Stone Mortice Axe.	
8. 5 Stone Axes, good finish.	
9. 5 Stone Axes, rare kind.	
10. 7 Stone Axes, Koro rariki, old.	
11. 8 Stone Axes, small and old.	
12. 18 Stone Axes.	
13. Stone Axe, Koro rariki, eighteen and a half inches in length,	
supposed to have been brought by the Aotea migration from Hawaiki.	
14. 9 Greenstone Axes.	
Lot 14. Pounamu 1. 32 Pieces Rough Greenstone, various sizes.	
<ol> <li>Piece Rough Greenstone, fine quality, 10 lbs. weight.</li> <li>Boulder Greenstone, half hundredweight.</li> </ol>	
4. Slab Greenstone, showing Maori manner of cutting.	
Greatly prized by Maoris.	
5. 5 Pieces Greenstone, slightly fashioned.	

### Lot 15. Box containing

- 1. Fourteen-inch Polished Greenstone Adze.
- 2. Greenstone Adze, seven inches.
- 3. Greenstone Adze, made of top capping of greenstone.
- 4. Long Greenstone Chisel, six and a half inches.
- 5. Black Stone chisel, six inches.
- 6. Black Stone, use unknown, six inches. When rubbed on rag will prove magnetic.
- 7. Piece of Rough Greenstone, burnt on side.
- 8. Light Colour Stone Axe, fine edge.
- 9. Light Greenstone Chisel.
- 10. Piece of Greenstone, polished for ear ring.
- 11. Rough Greenstone Adze, four and a half inches.
- 12. Black Stone Sinker, shaped like a fish, with a hole through it.
- 13. Small Greenstone Chisel, polished.
- 14. Very Thin Greenstone, for ear ring.
- 15. Small Adze, light greenstone, poor.
- 16. Very Small Tattooing Stone, curious shape.
- 17. Small Greenstone Chisel, two inches.
- 18. Canoe-shaped Stone.
- 19. Greenstone Ear Ring, poor quality.
- 20. Rough Piece Greenstone, splendid quality.
- 21. Small Greenstone Chisel.
- 22. Rough Stone Chisel.
- 23. 2 Pieces Rough Greenstone.
- 24. Black Flint.
- 25. Flint for cutting greenstone, from Rakaia Gorge.
- 26. Piece of Cemented Gravel, from Timaru.
- 27. Piece of White Quartz.
- 28. Piece of Black Flint, for stone cutting.
- 29. Piece of Gin Bottle, out of Lyttelton fire.
- 30. Spear Point, used in war. Supposed to enter stomach, be twisted, pulled back, bringing out entrails.
- 31. Malvern Diamond.
- 32. Otago Garnets
- 33. Mount Herbert Quartz.

[The contents of the above box were all from Canterbury, and purchased as a lot by Mr Butterworth]

### Lot 16. Kuru. Tautau

- 1. A very fine Collection. About 70 specimens of neck and ear Greenstone Ornaments, some highly polished and of fine quality stone. There are specimens of the Inanga Kahu rangi and Kawa Kawa greenstone.
- 2. Pendant, small bone mere.

### Lot 17.

Pair Greenstone Martingale Rings, made in Dunedin Prison.

	1
Lot 18.	
1. Gentleman's Greenstone Ring	
2. Greenstone Paper Knife	
3. Greenstone Needle	
Lot 19. Toko Toko	
1. 20 Toko Toko, carved	
2. 2 Toko Toko, carved and twisted.	
3. 7 Toko Toko, carved, very superior.	
4. Toko Toko, carved by Waikato Maoris from a piece of wood from Old London Bridge, procured for them by Sir George Grey.	
5. Whalebone Walking Stick, small	
Lot 20. Rough Eel Spear.	An eel spear (E96.24) was included in the Bowman Collection now in Canterbury Museum.
Lot 21.	
2 Puau. Pieces of hollow bone, made from the bone of the Albatross, and used on a necklace.	
Lot 22.	
Uhi. Greenstone instrument used in the art of (moko) or tattooing.	
Lot 23.	
Bone Instrument used for killing eels, highly polished, the property formerly of Mahuki, of Waikato.	
Lot 24.	
Papahuahua. Vessel made of Totara Bark, for preserving kukupa (pigeons).	
Lot 25. 2 Timotimo. An implement for preparing the ground for kumara planting, nicely carved and very old.	A timotimo (E96.26) was included in the Bowman Collection now in Canterbury Museum.
Lot 26. 2 Wooden Shovels, very rare and well carved.	
Lot 27. Tiheru.	
1. 2 Tiheru.	
2. Tiheru, carved, good specimen.	
	These (E06 49) were in the Demonstration
Lot 28.	These (E96.48) were in the Bowman Collection now in Canterbury Museum.
Kumete and Kuru. Resembling pestal and mortar, very elegantly carved, and uncommon.	,
Lot 29.  Panahou plain but very old with lid A wooden box for keeping	
Papahou, plain, but very old, with lid. A wooden box for keeping the feathers of the huia.	
Lot 30. Whakapakoko.	One whakapakoko (E96.27) was included in the
1. 3 Whakapakoko, very well carved.	Bowman Collection now in Canterbury Museum.
2. Whakapakoko, from the South Seas, very fine.	

1 - /	
Lot 43. Aho  Two aho (E96.32) were included in the Bowm	an
1. 3 Lines for Shark, with hooks. Collection now in Canterbury Museum.	
2. Line for Rock Cod.	
3. 19 Lines, in good condition.	
4. Cross Bar, for deep sea fishing.	
Lot 44. Matau	
1. 400 Matau. A very fine assortment, some very ancient, some of bone, some barbed with human bone, all set with pawa [sic] shell, used for Kahawai and Tamure fishing.	
2. 128 Matau, Mango (shark), copper, iron, brass, and wood.	
3. 3 Matau, for Hapuku fishing, well mounted and carved, very large.	
4. 30 Matau, large, wood and iron, some splendidly carved.	
5. 15 Matau, Hapuku, wood, large.	
Lot 45. Bone Needles.	
1. 52 Bone Needles, some very finely polished and old, some from	
Boar's tusks.	
2. 4 Pawa [sic] Needles.	
Lot 46.	
Some Pawa [sic] Bracelets.	
Lot 47.	
11 Pairs of Boar's Tusks, 1 Pair Silver Mounted.	
Lot 48.	
Head Dress of 22 Whale's Teeth, from Chatham Island.	
Lot 49. Māori spelt 'Maore' in the 1901 and 1905 cata	logues
2 Maori Taura (tether lines)	logues.
2 Maori Taura (tetner lines)	
Lot 50.  2 Poi Balls, made in old style for the 'Poi Game', not now to be seen of such quality.  Two poi (E96.40) were included in the Bowms Collection now in Canterbury Museum.	an
Lot 51.	
9 Rolls of Maori Tobacco, one five feet long.	
Lot 52.	
1. 3 Woven Belts, varied colours.	
2. Plaited Belt, plain.	
Lot 53.	
1. Specimen of Maori Plaiting.	
2. 2 Nikau Hats.	
Lot 54.	
12 Table Mats, coloured, Maori make.	

Lot 68.	
5 Potae. Hats, made from the keikei leaf.	
Lot 69. Piupiu.  1. Rough Piupiu.  2. 20 Assorted Piupiu.  3. 21 Superior Piupiu.  4. 16 Assorted Piupiu.  5. Old and very fine.	
Lot 70. Kahu or Pakikau.  1. 2 Kahu, muka, covered with small curled strings, large.  2. 2 Kahu, muka, fancy borders.  3. Kahu, dark colour.  4. Kahu, muka and feathers.  5. Kahu, muka and wool, very large and beautiful.  6. Kahu, muka and wool, feather border.  7. 2 Kahu, child's, curled.  8. Kahu, muka and peacock's feathers.  9. 4 Kahu, rough.  10. Kahu, muka, ornamented with black cords.  11. Kahu, muka, old and plain.  12. 6 Kahu, muka, large.  13. 4 Kahu, small.	
Lot 71.  Blunderbuss, with flint lock, taken by Mr Colson from the Maoris forty years ago.	
Lot 72. Old Flint Gun.	
Lot 73. 10 Old Maori Guns.  Lot 74. 1. Horse Pistol.	
<ul><li>2. 4 Old Fashioned Pistols.</li><li>Lot 75.</li><li>Sword, taken by the Maoris at the Harriet Beach, near Parihaka.</li></ul>	
Lot 76. Fijian Wooden Bowl.	
Lot 77.  2 Cases Butterflies, Moths, and Beetles, very beautifully arranged.	The butterflies were exhibited at the New Plymouth Art and Curio Exhibition in 1897. One case of butterflies was given to the New Plymouth Museum in 1901.
Lot 78. Stuffed Alligator.	

Lot 79. Snake Skin, twelve feet long.	
Lot 80. Turtle Shell.	
Lot 81. Carved Sugar Basin Stand, from Parihaka.	
Lot 82. Small Carved Model Whare. Beautifully figured all round side and back.	This is possibly the same small house that features prominently in the 1904–05 New Plymouth Industrial Exhibition display.
Lot 83.  Big Maori House. All beautifully carved. Full sized figures holding up the ridge pole. Will hold about fifty men. This is the most unique Maori curio offered for sale. Photos supplied for inspection to any <i>bona fide</i> purchaser.	This is Rua-toki te hau, which stood on Pūniho marae. Most of the carvings are now in Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.