

# Lighting the way: The establishment of the first printed works in Te Reo Māori

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## ABSTRACT

This paper explores the environment in which the first printed works were created in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. During the industrial revolution in Britain, the Empire was engaged in a global race of expansion against European counterparts. On their arrival in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the early part of the 1800s, some missionaries sought to learn the language and understand common phrases, and then to prepare educational texts and to print scripture. In order to create notices, dictionary, grammar, religious pamphlets and books it was necessary to create a new written language in Te Reo Māori. In all such cases, European contact with indigenous populations had long lasting effects, and in a few cases those effects provided the foundation for cultural survival. The events of the early formative period of the interactions between Māori and the missionaries and symbols of such events is also discussed through a series of visual narratives made with screenprints on paper by the authors.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a historical narrative that describes the context in which printing technologies were first introduced to Aotearoa/ New Zealand. The story is told from the perspective of a descendant of those who were principal participants at that time and in view of the legacy left from those and subsequent events.

In the early nineteenth century, industrial Britain's attempts to "civilize" the native population of Aotearoa/New Zealand illustrate how colonization rarely follows a direct path, for example, where the aims and desires of individuals are challenged by authority, social norms, and the political agendas of the powerful. This paper explores how, from the tumult of those times there has emerged a unique and tantalizing history, and a proud people that recognize the worth of their language and culture, but with gaps in their knowledge that have yet to be

filled. To that extent, this paper does not dwell on issues of colonization, nor does it seek to address recent decolonization efforts. The paper describes the encounters between people of different races, cultural backgrounds and the merger of spiritual beliefs.

The work is a collaboration between the two authors, one of whom is born of European ancestry. The other is descended from participants that feature in this narrative and who played a part in its unfolding. A part of the story in this



Figure 1



Figure 2

Figure 1: Lighting the way # 1. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Waka Huia — Huia, *Heteralocha acutirostris* n.d.; Waka Huia, 59.5 cm, top and side 1866; Archey 1977)

Figure 2: Lighting the way # 2. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Wood 1877; MacDougall 1899)

paper crosses into the whakapapa of Dr Alan Te Morenga Litchfield. The emergence of Dr Litchfield’s whakapapa is threaded throughout this story and provides a viewpoint that opposes the incisive intrusion of academic interrogation. The term whakapapa is the expression that contains the vital source of belonging, power, and attachment for Māori. At a gross surface level, one may consider whakapapa as a lineage map of descendancy, but that only tells part of the story. For most indigenous peoples (and here we refer to those societies whose intergenerational story extends before the destruction wrought by the passage of industrial revolutions, in which the living history was squeezed out and replaced with an identity formed around the satisfaction of an economic model), there exists a sense of attachment to those that went before such that there is a sense of their presence through the living. There exists an attachment to the place of their arising in which story, dance, and song convey the creation of cosmology, the firmament, and people of different forms. This is not a factoid-replete list of events, places, and names, but contains and carries into each new generation the beingness of the person and their tribal community. Nor in whakapapa does there exist the conception of ancestor worship, because those that have passed into the arms of Hine-Nui-Te-Pō (the young woman of the night) are not deified but exist in a netherworld of eternal nurture. And it is in this presencing and beingness that actors from out of history, whose lives exist within and through the lives of the present, are retold and re-enlivened. And yet, in history there are curious collisions of lineage that emerge, such as with Te Morenga spoken of later in this paper, that is tūpuna (ancestor) of Dr Litchfield.



Figure 3

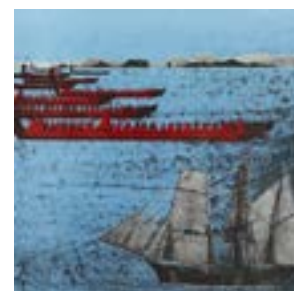


Figure 4

The name of Te Morenga may be said in the English language as The Tap Root because his appearance represented the joining of several important lineages, which accorded him the term Arikinui, or paramount chief. By way of curious collision of lineage, Dr Litchfield, who is a great-great-grandson of the Arikinui, is also the great-great-grandson of another participant in this story, Thomas Kendall. Thus, in the telling of the story, a context for the codification of an oral tradition emerges, and in that context is introduced technology that enables the spread knowledge, both pre-existing and introduced by the colonizers, in a new form.

The narrative is presented alongside a series of print works exhibited at the 2018 IMPACT 10 printmaking conference in Santander, Spain, that was themed “Encounter”. The print works in this paper are the product of a collaboration between the authors and utilize modern printing techniques to express the natures important at the time of the encounters. The images represent the transition from a nascent Polynesian culture, the Māori, through enforced cultural alteration as a consequence of the coercive integration with British missionaries and foreign traders (Lighting the Way #1–7; Figures 1 to 4, 6, 7 and 9). It is a path that is traced via a backdrop of the creation of a Māori alphabet and the introduction of printing technologies as an expression of the industrialisation of Western Europe. In this way, the images include elements that are representative of core Māori custom and

Figure 3: Lighting the way # 3. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Nicholas 1817; Māori cloak, korowai; flax, wool; 1150 mm x 1230 mm. 1886.1.1127 1886)

Figure 4: Lighting the way # 4. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Ashworth 1844; Klauber 1773)

values, tikanga (this refers to traditional methods and practices, and is translated as the way that things are done), technologies introduced by the missionaries, and new patterns of knowledge held in reserve. Visual and physical elements used include body markings, carved and woven panels, and the names given to places to mark events, both legendary and actual (Litchfield 2005), to practiced copperplate handwriting on slate and paper, and books printed in Te Reo.

Tribal leaders quickly adopted the foreign ways of these visitors because in their ways, warrior chiefs, Arikinui such as Te Morenga, saw opportunities for social, economic, and political advantage against their near neighbours. At times, the advantage was to exert authority and establish peace through new alliances, but in many it was to wage effective intertribal wars that eventually led to widespread depopulation throughout the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand. However, this chapter of the story does not focus on that but instead focuses on an earlier period, the period from the early-nineteenth century to the terrible time of the Land Wars (Keenan 2017).

## **PRINTMAKING METHODS**

This section provides a description of the printmaking methods for the series of seven images that accompany this narrative and that were exhibited at IMPACT 10. The images utilize photorealistic renderings, hand-drawn elements, and typeset languages of the period. The elements have been layered to create the impression of contextual relativity between historical actors and objects. The blue base in the images relate to the clear skies and oceans surrounding Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the introduction of the black spots are representative of dystopic futures. Thus, through the series the images transition from blue to black.

The prints were made on Academia White 300gsm smooth paper using Permaset Aqua inks (an environmentally friendly water-based ink in line with the clean ethic of this work). The blue field was screenprinted on a Gilrow vacuum table as a gradient, each pull making a differentiated mark from the previous. The black was layered over from a different set of screens to build up the impression of coarseness. The waka huia and the Huia birds in Figure 1 are screenprinted on the Gilrow vacuum table from a separate screen with Permaset Kiwoprint D158 glue. To apply silver and gold sheets of API foils, the substrate was laid between aluminium sheets and felt blankets on the bed of an Fenner & Co. Intaglio Press. Following the application of foils, the substrate was returned to the Gilrow vacuum table to apply Permaset Aqua Rich Red over the waka huia gold foil, then layered with Permaset Aqua Rich Black over the silver foil on the Huia birds. Finally, the Huia feathers were defined with Permaset Aqua Opaque White and Permaset Aqua Opaque Black of main body of the feathers. Overall, 8 passes on the Gilrow vacuum table were required for Figure 1. This process was replicated for the remaining six prints.

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## THE EARLY ARRIVALS

By the time that Europeans arrived en masse in Aotearoa/New Zealand, those earlier Pacific peoples had only been on the land for some 500 years. Compared to other places in the world, their history in this place was short but as tāngata moāna (people of the sea), Polynesians already had a long history and an established cultural heritage. The people were hardy, strong, intelligent, willful, and above all, adaptable. In that short period, many traditions and legends from across the Pacific were reimagined in their new environment. This led to unique and creative expressions that set the Māori (as they were later known) apart from their forebears that had arrived from places such as Tonga, Samoa and Rarotonga.

The three principal islands the Māori settled in Aotearoa/New Zealand were Te Ika a Maui (the fish of Maui), or the North Island, Te Wai Pounamu (the waters of greenstone) or the South Island, and Te Punga o Te Waka a Maui (the anchor stone of Maui's canoe) or Stewart Island. These were different to the tropical islands to the north and the living was less easy because there were greater extremes of climate. However, due to these difficulties, the islands presented more diverse opportunities, allowing for cultural change and growth. Aotearoa/New Zealand is itself an ancient land that predates the evolution of mammalia; it was full with bird life, reptiles and other ancient forms, and only one terrestrial mammal, the native bat. From the first arrival of humans, the landscape has changed and the humans that arrived subsequently were in turn changed by their landscape.

Māori were deeply immersed in their environment. Every aspect of life and culture was influenced by the natural worlds, where even survival required them to harmonize with their surroundings. There was no concept of conquering or controlling nature as we see in western philosophies. Instead, the highest knowledge and religion prescribes how it is that the manifestation of the physical world is itself the body of the life-giving force.

Figure 1 illustrates how aspects of nature are representative of qualities important to the beingness of the person. In this case, the tail feather of the Huia bird<sup>[1]</sup> represents the quality of leadership and can only be worn by ariki (a term that describes the chiefly status of a person, as a leader). This status would be granted by consensus as a culmination of mana (authority, control, influence, prestige or power, and honour) from a person's birthright and what they have done with their life. The feathers are of such worth that they are contained in special caskets, wakahuia. This word concatenates waka (canoe or vessel) and huia (the bird) and signifies the strong Māori link to the sea.

Furthermore, the wakahuia closely resembles the funerary casket, waka kōiwi, used to store the bones of a dead person, tūpāpaku. This relationship brings together connections to the goddess of life, Hine-Ahu-One, and the goddess of the night or death, Hine-Nui-Te-Pō. The former was fashioned from the red clay that is the blood of the

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masculine and feminine creators of the universe that emerged from the void, and is what was rubbed over the corpse as red ochre, *kōkō*, in remembrance of that (Higgins 2011). The latter Hine-Nui-Te-Pō awaits all that have lived with open arms, with love and welcome, to take them back to the belly of the Earth mother, Papatūānuku. Thus, life emerges into the light and passes through to the dark, but *manawhenua* (the authority that a person attains by their lineage and place of birth, or *whakapapa*) remains and is held in store for the next generation.

Many stories told by early Europeans describe the violence of the Māori and often in fearful terms. While they were spellbound by the exuberance of the warriors, they were fascinated by the generosity of Māori, their attention to detail, their acute learning, and good judgment once the fear of Māori receded. In this context, Figure 2 presents symbols of mana and supremacy. Although the symbols show weapons, they had purposes other than just in battle. They are used in dance and ceremony, usually in the formal welcome/challenge seen before meetings and the arrival of visitors. Some of the symbols may only be wielded by those with sufficient mana, whereas others could be used by those whose functions addressed the mundane. When European traders, whalers, and sealers, and then missionaries and settlers arrived, they found a sophisticated society, but were unprepared for the apparent ferocity displayed by certain tribes, albeit that attacks were typically a response to provocation or breaches of protocol. Māori warriors were very skilled at hand-to-hand and close combat. One of the main weapons was the staff or *taiaha* (the central piece in Figure 2) which establishes the warrior's prowess. Either side of the *taiaha* are *pātiti*, similar to a hatchet and carved from whalebone. Also carved from whalebone are *patu parāoa*, which were for chopping or slicing. At the bottom are wooden carved *wahaika* (which means the mouth of the fish) and often carved with a human figure by the handle. As a weapon, the *wahaika* is a sophisticated tool that can be used to dispatch an opponent through the throat, remove a limb, or even catch an opponent's weapon in the notch that is usually on the trailing edge, and so on. This weapon was reserved only for the highest rank warrior, so when used for emphasis during speeches, it would become a demonstration of the speaker's mana and spirit. Crossed over behind the *taiaha* are *tewhatewha*, a two-handed weapon for fighting and signaling during battle. On each outer edge are double-ended *koikoi* that have a spear on one end and a thrusting blade on the other.

As the story unfolds, we see that by the time the Europeans and Americans arrived, Māori were sophisticated. Figure 3 presents the case that Māori society was largely built on the attribution of honour and respect over and above one's birthright. The offer of a gift, *tūmahana*, forged a bond as a living connection between the giver and receiver. This is not just the presentation of a material good with the promise of remembrance, rather it is the sharing of spirit, or *wairua*, between two people. A gift, *koha*, provides for generosity and the hope that all will benefit. Therefore, a gift from a chief was a bond and connection from him to the recipient and it was sacred, it became *taonga* or a special or sacred item.

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We see in Figure 3 a cloak or korowai, which maintains a link to Papatūānuku who created the mantle of creation, that in turn held the potential of life. The link extends to Tane, the first born of Ranginui (the sky father) and Papatūānuku (the earth mother), and who was gifted the seed of life. It was Tane then that wove into the potentiated mantle, life made manifest, with living things of all kinds, supported by the earth and warmed by the sun. In addition, the image of the face is that of Arikinui, Hame Nepia Te Morenga, referred to earlier. This is a copy of his own rendering of his facial tattoos, his ta moko, that is the tāonga (a precious or sacred object, thing, or person) of his being. This rendering was done on the vessel, *Active*, shown in Figure 4. The ta moko presents the story of that person and their mana. It is the expression of qualities they display. Arikinui and a warrior chief, Te Morenga wore the huia feather, held the patu (war club), and wore the korowai of tribal leadership. Further, Te Morenga was one of those that provided passage for early missionaries, seeing that they had kura kōrero, a gift of speech and learning. He hoped that the navigators and explorers may provide their gift to the northern tribes. With the increase in the number of whalers and timber traders, Māori would sign on paper and identify themselves by rendering their ta moko. In the 1810s the unique ta moko patterns were used by rangatira (an elder in a community, highly ranked chief, and while hereditary, the person also needs to demonstrate leadership) as symbolic representation of their signature (Ellis 2014).

## INTERCEPTION AND ENGAGEMENT

The period during which Te Morenga lived and the period this paper focuses was one of enormous change (early-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries). Māori society had recently coalesced into what we recognize today, but Europeans were expanding rapidly across the globe in a race to colonize resource rich lands for exploitation. Europeans had learned of societies occupying remote islands across the vast Pacific ocean. Collectively known in Polynesia as the tāngata moāna, these people navigated by the stars, ocean currents, and migratory patterns of birds and fish. They did not need sextants or navigational charts, but in the absence of these items, Europeans assumed they were isolated and primitive. However, there was at the time a great deal of inter-island movement and trading. For example, during Captain Cook's first voyage around Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1769, the tohunga and star navigator, Tupaia, showed Cook the way (Salmond 2017). Along with the whalers, sealers, loggers, and slave-traders, came collectors of souls; the missionaries. The manner in which these people came sometimes did not change their practices or attitudes to the indigenous inhabitants they found.

For their part and as shown in Figure 4, the Māori may have been naïve, or they did not expect that the traders and sailors they met would act in a way that would be considered dishonourable. In seeing the large ships arriving and sensing the opportunities for trade, they would put on a large showing of welcome, with a flotilla of waka holding upwards of a hundred warriors each, paddling in perfect unison, chanting loudly, and

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blowing trumpets, some made from conch shells from the northern Pacific. Unfortunately, in some cases the Europeans' ignorance of Māori ways, tikanga and kaupapa, led to violent retribution, utu. For example, as the case from 1772 of Marion Du Fesne illustrates (Marion du Fresne arrives in Bay of Islands 2018) : the crew broke tapu and offended the mana of the local tribe, hāpū. Marion was subsequently killed along with 24 of his crew.



Figure 5

Despite evidence from the early Europeans of a sophisticated and structured society, missionaries assumed Māori were barbaric savages, not even human (Macmillian 1969, for example). Viewed from Plato's allegory of the Cave (Plato 0360), the missionary societies set out to civilize the natives that they took to be savages enslaved in the darkness of the cave, deceived by the shadow forms of their false beliefs. For example, Nicholas (1817, pp12–30) describes the missionary desire "to educate Māori who may be blessed with the light of the civilization and refinement, and to feel for the Māori mind that, wrapped in darkness of barbarism, was still too conscious of the gloom that surrounds it a sense of ferocity and lost in madness of passion violent propensity to war."



Figure 6

It was through adopting food, clothing, speech, utilitarianism, and religious practice that these natives (they were not considered people) might find salvation from the poverty of their birth, but they were not to be considered as full-fledged citizens within the colony or the British Empire. Nevertheless, amongst the missionaries were some enlightened individuals who saw Māori as people and that communication was the key to their development.

## TRANSLITERATION OF TE REO

Early missionaries faced significant resistance in their efforts at conversion to Christianity. While for most, their attitude toward the natives were such that they did not believe they could be educated, some recognized that for Māori to accept what was in their books, they needed to be able to read them in their own language. Unfortunate attitudes were reinforced by the local colonial government based in Australia, led by the governors and the church leadership, for example, Reverend Samuel Marsden, a lay minister and Church Missionary Society (CMS) superintendent in New South Wales (Rumbles 2011). In Australia, the process of colonialization was initially centred around uneducated convicts, military warders, and low-cost settlers, so the treatment of the indigenous population was consequently barbaric. But in Aotearoa/New Zealand, efforts to preach the sacrament, instruct Christian values, and civil establishment was important for the church. Nevertheless, these efforts were were a private enterprise not sanctioned by the Crown, and native values were not a consideration (Salmond 2017). The CMS provided opportunities for mainly working-class, well-intentioned individuals and families to travel as missionaries, but did little else to help the missionaries to establish healthy communities. Marsden's attempts to bring order to northern Aotearoa/New Zealand and protect the Māori from the sealers, whalers, and spar

Figure 5: Mission stations in the northern region of New Zealand, 1822. (Elder 1932, p. 360)

Figure 6: Lighting the way # 6. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Alphabet written by Hongi Hika on board the Active, 1814 MS-0054/068 n.d.)

traders landing in the Bay of Islands, Pewhairangi (Figure 5), masked his primary desire to secure land before spreading the teachings of the church (Rumbles 2011).

In late 1814, a key figure in the building of relationships between Māori and the CMS, a school teacher in Christian lessons and appointed Justice of the Peace, Thomas Kendall, along with William Hall and John King and their families were dispatched by the CMS to live among the Māori. They accompanied Marsden because, for access to land and to open dialogue, they needed his connections with tribal leaders or rangatira like Hongi, Ruatara, and Te Morenga. Kendall was tasked with teaching the mission and Māori children. On their arrival in Rangihoua Bay, Bay of Islands (Figure 5), the missionaries found no timber for dwellings and all negotiations were closed and to be held only between Marsden and Ruatara. So, needing to have some kind of infrastructure in place, Kendall and Hall set about building dwellings and a school house, and providing education. During this time, Kendall worked closely with some of the Māori men and started to develop a rudimentary understanding of Te Reo. As Justice of the Peace, Kendall gained their trust by securing the release of young Māori forced to live aboard whalers' and sealers' ships (Moon 2015). This part of the story cannot be stressed enough. Most missionaries in the Pacific had struggled to gain any kind of headway, largely because the indigenous populations simply did not trust or respect the missionaries. Kendall was different; they saw in him the same kind of equanimity and honest dealing they would expect amongst themselves. Moreover, even though he was stationed on Hongi Hika's land at the mission at Rangihoua, Kendall did not side more with one side or the other.

Meanwhile, Marsden who was based in New South Wales, was largely ignorant of what was going on in Aotearoa/New Zealand. For example, in 1816, when he travelled from the Bay of Islands to Kaipara, the Hauraki Gulf, Waikato, Coromandel, and Tauranga with Te Morenga as his guide and interpreter, he had to be informed about teaching, trade, converts, and so on. During this trip, Te Morenga introduced Marsden to many ariki. Afterwards, as Jones and Jenkins (2017) discuss, Te Morenga travelled to Sydney with Marsden and learned about European developments he thought might be useful for his people. But while Te Morenga admired European agricultural methods, medicine, and schooling, he also observed greed and other negative European behaviours (Nicholas 1817). So on his return, in an effort to ensure that his children were prepared for change, Te Morenga insisted that his children learn to speak English, become literate, and be cognizant of European ways. Furthermore, literacy provided great power and mana.

Figure 6 illustrates the eagerness with which Māori adopted European skills and reinterpreted them by incorporating the spiritual and cultural values of Māori, Te Ao Māori. This was the cause of more than a little frustration amongst missionaries, whose supercilious attitudes often prevented them from seeing that these were intelligent and industrious people. Indeed, it was recognized some decades later that most missionary efforts had come virtually to nothing in most places

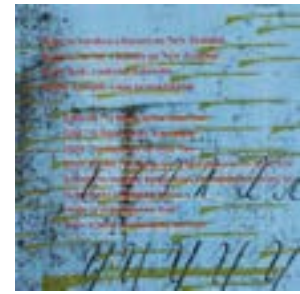


Figure 7

Figure 7: Lighting the way # 7. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Alphabet written by Hongi Hika on board the Active, 1814 MS-0054/068 n.d.; Blundell 2017)



where such efforts had been made. Even after Māori had undergone baptism, they would continue in their traditional practices (Reade 1865). Some missionaries thought that the language barrier needed to be overcome if Māori were to see the mission stations as more than merely occupants of their land. Kendall realized that to achieve his goal of establishing a mission station, it was important that he preach the gospels and sermons in Te Reo. To do that, he needed to learn their ways as well as their words, because that was the most rapid way to “civilize” Māori (Binney 2005).

Ultimately, Marsden and the CMS were motivated by the desire to encourage Māori to become a working-class labour resource for the Empire, whilst accumulating the souls of the indigenous people (Figure 7). It was a widely used deception by missionaries, as a utilitarian pretext, that they worked to spread religion and the power of the Crown. A person’s worth as a measurable economic unit was assessed when they were put to work for the CMS (Ballantyne 2014). It was Marsden’s vision that they would be autonomous, and that they would become economically self-sustaining. Tragically, later colonizing forces were intolerant of natives and found sport in killing them, for example, Marshall’s account of the destruction of Māori villages and the murder of the villagers by the sailors and troops aboard the *Alligator* (Moon 2014).

There were other factors that served to weaken the effectiveness of the missions. Missionaries had little financial support from the CMS, they had little theological or linguistic training, they were nearly all working-class trades people, and they had only what they brought with them, found, or made. The odds of success were firmly against the missionaries because they were required to build a mission station, understand the culture of the Māori, give instruction to Māori children, communicate with the adults, earn some kind of living because any other income was uncertain, raise their own family, plus much more besides. Many missionaries succumbed to the exigencies of their new lives and left or quit mission work and set up as farmers, traders, and so on. A few were more highly motivated, such as Kendall, and it was in that drive that the genesis of a Māori text was formed (Parkinson 2003). Kendall’s initial efforts in Figure 8(a) involved creating vocabulary lists in letters to Josiah Pratt and later as lessons for Māori (Kendall 1814). Figure 8(b) presents a spread from Kendall’s book (Warren 2017), an elementary primer comprising the alphabet, numbers, syllables, numbered exercises, word lists, sentence exercises, a short dictionary, and a few explorations of syntax. At the end of the publication, there are phrases translating Māori and English. The book was printed in Sydney because there were no printing presses, paper, or inking facilities in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

By 1816, Kendall was fluent in Te Reo and preparations for an improved text were well underway (Jones and Jenkins 2016). In 1819, Kendall set out for England with a number of aims; to gain support and raise funds for the mission, to gain linguistic input for the Māori grammar books, and to seek ordination from the CMS. His dual aces were Hongi



Figure 8a



Figure 8b



Figure 8c

8(a) Letter to Reverend Josiah Pratt including some of the text Kendall compiled for ‘A Korao no New Zealand or, the New Zealander’s first book’. 1814; held in the University of Otago – Marsden Online Archive [MS\_0054\_043]

8(b) Page from ‘A Korao no New Zealand; or, the New Zealander’s first book’. 1815. Printed by George Howe in Sydney Australia. Held in the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library [EMI0001]

8(c) Title page for ‘Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand,’ Thomas Kendall’s second book, a collection of Māori orthography. Note Grey’s handwritten note of Kendall’s authorship omitted by CMS. Published by Church Missionary Society London in 1820; held in the Sir George Grey Special Collection

Hika and Waikato, both Māori rangatira and warrior chiefs, although it was Waikato that engaged more fully in the refinement of the lexicon. To improve the linguistic properties of the lexicon, Kendall worked with Professor Samuel Lee at Cambridge University and the work was ready for publication by the CMS and printed in London in 1820 (Figure 8(c)). While preparation of the work was hurried, Professor Lee was sufficiently satisfied that his name was put to it (Kendall 1820). The value of the book was recognized by other missionaries and settlers, but Kendall was not finished with his work, so he repeatedly asked CMS to reprint the book in Sydney with further alterations and corrections. Unfortunately, this was not done in his lifetime because Marsden refused to allow a reprint, and after his death his manuscript was lent to Dr Lhotsky and was taken without authority offshore, as well as the deliberate plagiarism of his work by Rev. George Evans in 1839 and again by Rev. John Gare Butler in 1840 (Parkinson, 2016). It was not until 1996 that a holograph of Kendall's failed second edition that had been printed in New South Wales in 1827 was found in the Wellington Public Library, New Zealand, having been donated in 1930. It is now stored in the Alexander Turnbull Library along with Evans' plagiarized version.



Figure 9



Figure 10

Figure 9 presents the case that, despite efforts to Christianize or “civilize” Māori, the majority were not open to the religious precepts. Politically, the tide turned against missionary societies and Britain was beginning to ask about the value of sending people off to distant lands with little to show in return. While much of the cost was borne by benefactors, they were increasingly difficult to find, and the difference had to be made up by the missionaries themselves. Bringing Hongi Hika and Waikato as converts to Christianity was a stroke of genius on Kendall's part. Even some 50 years after, his visit was remembered as causing great excitement in religious circles (Reade 1865). The rangatira met with King George III, were paraded around various events, and they even had their likeness painted. The result was to generate funds and support for the continuation of the mission stations, and the rangatira were awarded gifts and cash. However, their aim was not to become wealthy, but to obtain advantage, and this they did by selling the gifts in Sydney on their return journey and using the cash to buy muskets, gun powder, and bullets (Figure 7). With these, they waged asymmetric warfare, in company with Te Morenga and his forces, against their southern neighbours that had previously murdered some of their family members and other offences. The effect was tremendous change to the social fabric of Māori society.

Furthermore, the CMS accused Kendall of having ‘the absence of self-restraint, arising from his long residence among a barbarous people, which renders it difficult to control him’ (Parkinson 2003, p. 91). CMS claimed authorship of Kendall's book, only acknowledging the work of Lee and Rev. John Pratt. CMS went to press in England and (probably deliberately) removed Kendall's name from the 230-page volume. Governor Sir George Grey noted this omission and felt moved enough to assert the author by making a handwritten note in his personal copy that it was the work of Kendall (Figure 8(c)).

Figure 9: Lighting the way # 5. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Alphabet written by Hongi Hika on board the Active, 1814 MS-0054/068 n.d.; Osborne 2007; Kendall 1815, pp30-31)

Figure 10: Page from Māori catechism III printed by Yate in 1830 – held in the Sir George Grey Special Collection, Auckland City Central Public Library [GNZM7]

In 1830, following the success of the Māori Grammar and Vocabulary, CMS equipped William Yate with a small hand press and dispatched him to Aotearoa/New Zealand. He set up in the stone store at Kerikeri, but he was not a trained printer and found the task difficult and time-consuming. During his time, Yate prepared hymn sheets and a six-page catechism, of which one copy survives in the Auckland Public Library (Figure 10). He was not successful in his work, and the press was sold for newspaper printing, then removed from Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1844. During the next three years, the CMS sought and secured in England an expert printer to ship out to the mission in the Bay of Islands. William Colenso, a printer and missionary, was selected, whereupon he submitted requirements he considered suitable for a remote mission. Unfortunately, the CMS ordered a large Stanhope press, heavy boxes of type, bookbinding materials, a guillotine, and associated tools (McKay 1940). When they arrived in 1835 at Paihia, Colenso found vital components missing, such as wooden and metal furniture, quoins, galley-cases, leading, brass rules, compositing-sticks, inking table, potash, brushes, mallets, roller irons, and vital paper stocks. The last item was especially troublesome because without anything to print on, the whole enterprise was a waste. When requests for stocks were rebuffed, the missionary families resorted to using their own paper they had been allocated by the CMS.



Figure 11



Figure 12

Meanwhile, Colenso set up a large and well-lit press room at Paihia, on a route often used by Māori. He noted too, that Māori needed fewer characters than English and designed a new type case (Figure 11). Colenso started work on 17 February, 1835, printing the Christian New Testament in Māori; *Ko te Rongo Pai i tuhituhia e Ruka* (The Gospel written by Luke) (Figure 12) and *Ko ngā Pukapuka O Paora te Apotoro ki te Hunga o Epeha, O Piripai* (The Books of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians, The Epistle). By 21 February, 1835, 25 correct copies were printed and stitched, cut and ready for use by the missionary families. As knowledge of this spread, orders increased rapidly, and the press was fully engaged, printing 5,000 copies to late 1837. From its first printing in Māori in 1837, by 1845 60,000 copies of the New Testament were printed in Te Reo and distributed (Lineham 2018).

## CONCLUSION

The article presents the context in which book printing developed in Aotearoa/New Zealand. As was the case in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the main driver for expansion was to spread religious doctrine and potential exploitation of resources. The expansion was led by private operators (whalers, sealers, spar traders, and so on) and scientific exploration such as Cook's voyages. Further expansion was instigated by religiously and socially inclined private organisations and societies, of which CMS was one, with the aims of soul collecting, settlement, and the "civilisation" of indigenous populations. The first two were not focused on long term habitation and the building of social infrastructures. These came later and is why the introduction of printing technologies to Aotearoa/New Zealand was

Figure 11: Colenso's Māori language letterpress case (McKay 1940)

Figure 12: Title page from *Ko te Rongo Pai i tuhituhia e Ruka*, held in the Sir George Grey Special Collection, Auckland City Central Public Library [GNZM17]

comparatively late.

However, it was the efforts of Kendall and his supporters that provided the background for a proud nation with its own language and written form. It is unfortunate how he was treated then and now. Even though Colenso says that Kendall's dictionary is a more accurate expression of Māori pronunciation, it was tainted by the misdeeds of the likes of Marsden, Lhotsky, Evans, and Butler. Colenso was successful as a printer, and it is known that he engaged Māori apprentices (Bagnall and Petersen 1948). After 1840, Māori were preparing their own press rooms (Curnow, Hopa, McRae 2006) so that after 1842, newspapers were in both Māori and English. Language is a defining attribute of most cultures, as it is with Māori, and the growth and evolution of Te Reo continues today (Reilly, 2011).

[1] *Heteralocha acutirostris*, now extinct, presents a unique bird species. This was a large songbird, feathered mainly in black and with long white tipped tail feathers. The bird had the most extreme gender bill dimorphism known, that is the male and female had significantly different shape and size bills.

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Ms Wilczynska is senior graphic designer, creative, doer, dreamer, printmaker, bookbinder, illustrator, photographer and partner in the consulting firm AlphaByte. Ms Wilczynska engages in her own research that includes the history of print in New Zealand, satirical poster art reinterpreting comments found in the public domain from prominent speakers within New Zealand and around the world. Additionally, practice research into sustainable inks for letterpress and relief printing using materials found in the natural environment of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The visual material discussed in the article includes new ways to apply existing substrates with multiple hybridized methods of printing utilizing old and new technologies.

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IMAGE GALLERY



Figure 1: Lighting the way # 1. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Waka Huia — Huia, *Heteralocha acutirostris* n.d.; Waka Huia, 59.5 cm, top and side 1866; Archey 1977)





Figure 2: Lighting the way # 2. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Wood 1877; MacDougall 1899)





Figure 3: Lighting the way # 3. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Nicholas 1817; Māori cloak, korowai; flax, wool; 1150 mm x 1230 mm. 1886.1.1127 1886)



Figure 4: Lighting the way # 4. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Ashworth 1844; Klauber 1773)



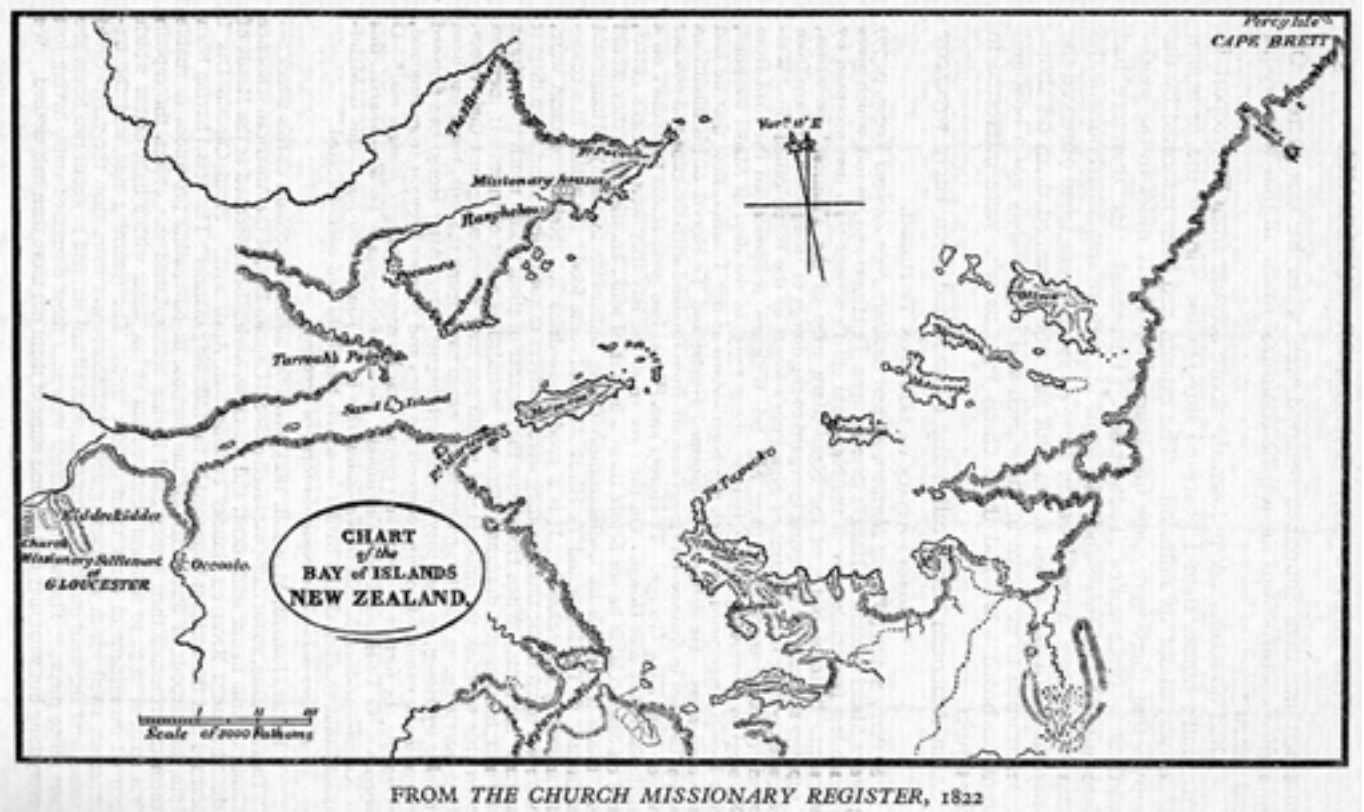


Figure 5: Mission stations in the northern region of New Zealand, 1822. (Elder 1932, p. 360)

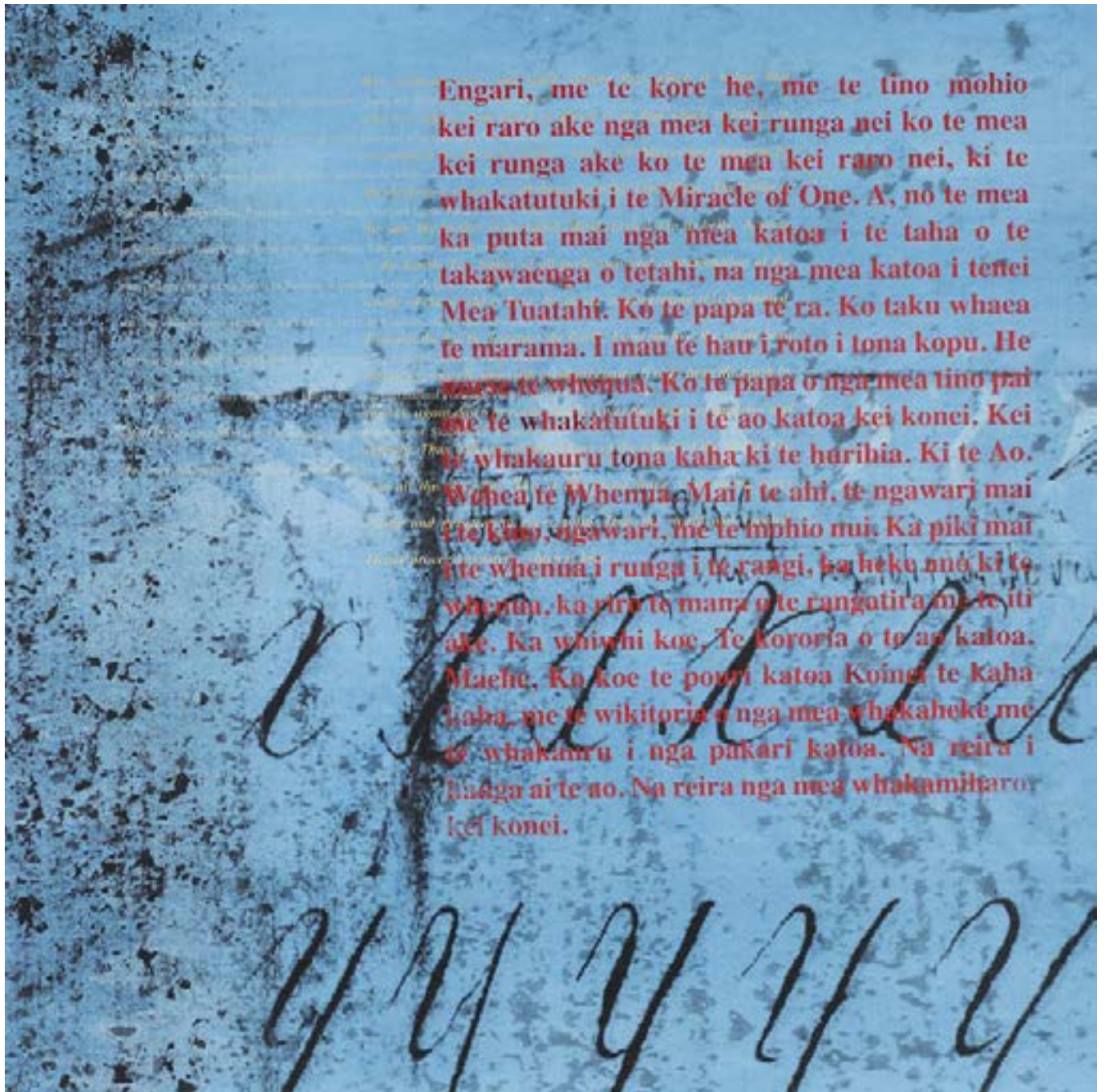


Figure 6: Lighting the way # 6. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Alphabet written by Hongi Hika on board the Active, 1814 MS-0054/068 n.d.)



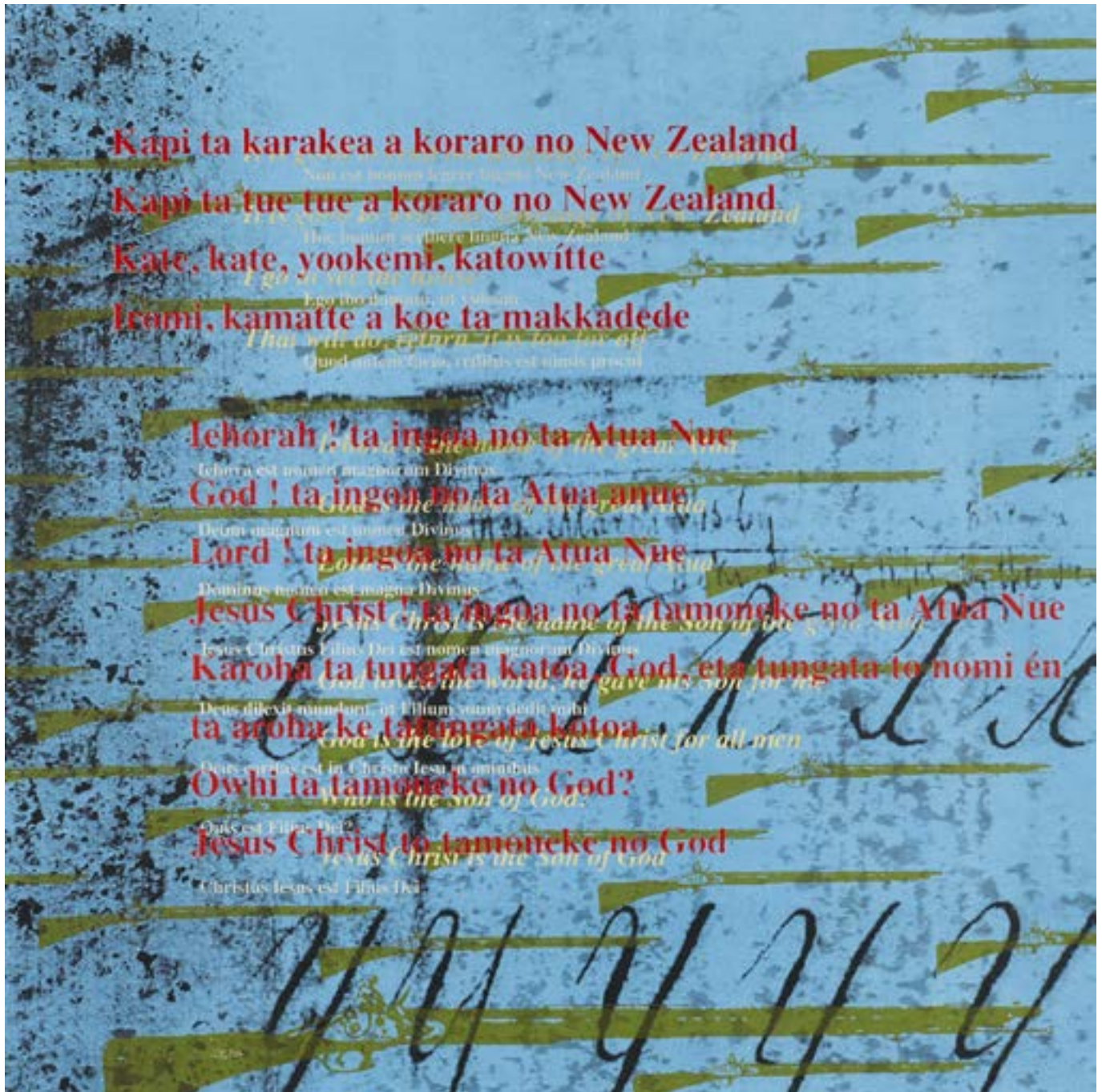


Figure 7: Lighting the way # 7. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Alphabet written by Hongi Hika on board the Active, 1814 MS-0054/068 n.d.; Blundell 2017)



	43		38
Poto	House	Thooji	good
Pohohohoo	Pipe	Thoothoo	bad wind
Pohohoo	College	Tahgata	Man
Pohohoo	Blah	Tahmoncehoo	Boy
Pohohoo	hachoo	Choochoo	Girl
Pohohoo	o'alloo	Tahcuuma	Mother
Pohohoo	o'alloo	Tahohyhu	Sister
Pohohoo	Wahohoo	Tahsingha	Law
Pohohoo	Bell	Tahotuba	Blow
Pohohoo	gunnahoo	Tahoo	Man
Pohohoo	Club	Tahoo	Bread
Pohohoo	hoochoo	Tahgohoo	Brass
Pohohoo	Parrot	Tahoo	Iron
Pohohoo	Duck	Tahdoochoo	Goose
Pohohoo	Southhoo	Tahoo	Dung
Pohohoo	Mountain	Tahoticho	Stick
Pohohoo	gunnahoo	Tahoo	Eye
Pohohoo	Dirt	Tahohoo	Man
Pohohoo	Night	Tahohoo	Leaf
Pohohoo	Wind	Tahoo	Blood
Pohohoo	Sea	Tahohoo	Dirt
Pohohoo	Chief	Tahohoo	Turnip
Pohohoo	Wood	Tahohoo	Turnip
Pohohoo	Mark	Tahohoo	Heart
Pohohoo	Ship	Tahohoo	Whale
Pohohoo	Billy	Tahohoo	Man
Pohohoo	Handkerchief	Tahohoo	Bladder
Pohohoo	Snow	Tahohoo	Man
Pohohoo	Wind	Tahohoo	Man

Figure 8 (a). Letter to Reverend Josiah Pratt including some of the text Kendall compiled for 'A Korao no New Zealand or, the New Zealander's first book'. 1814; held in the University of Otago - Marsden Online Archive [MS\_0054\_043]

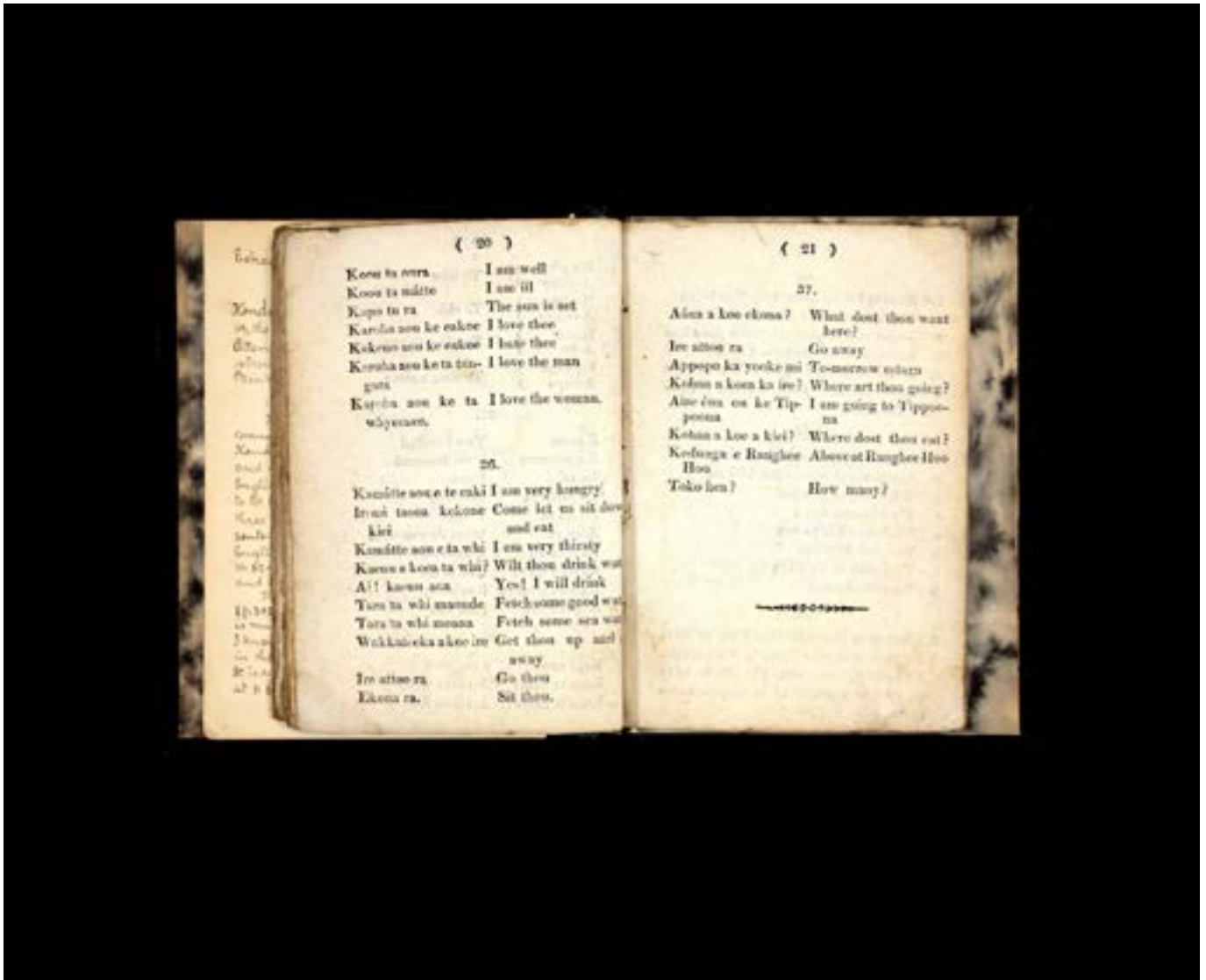
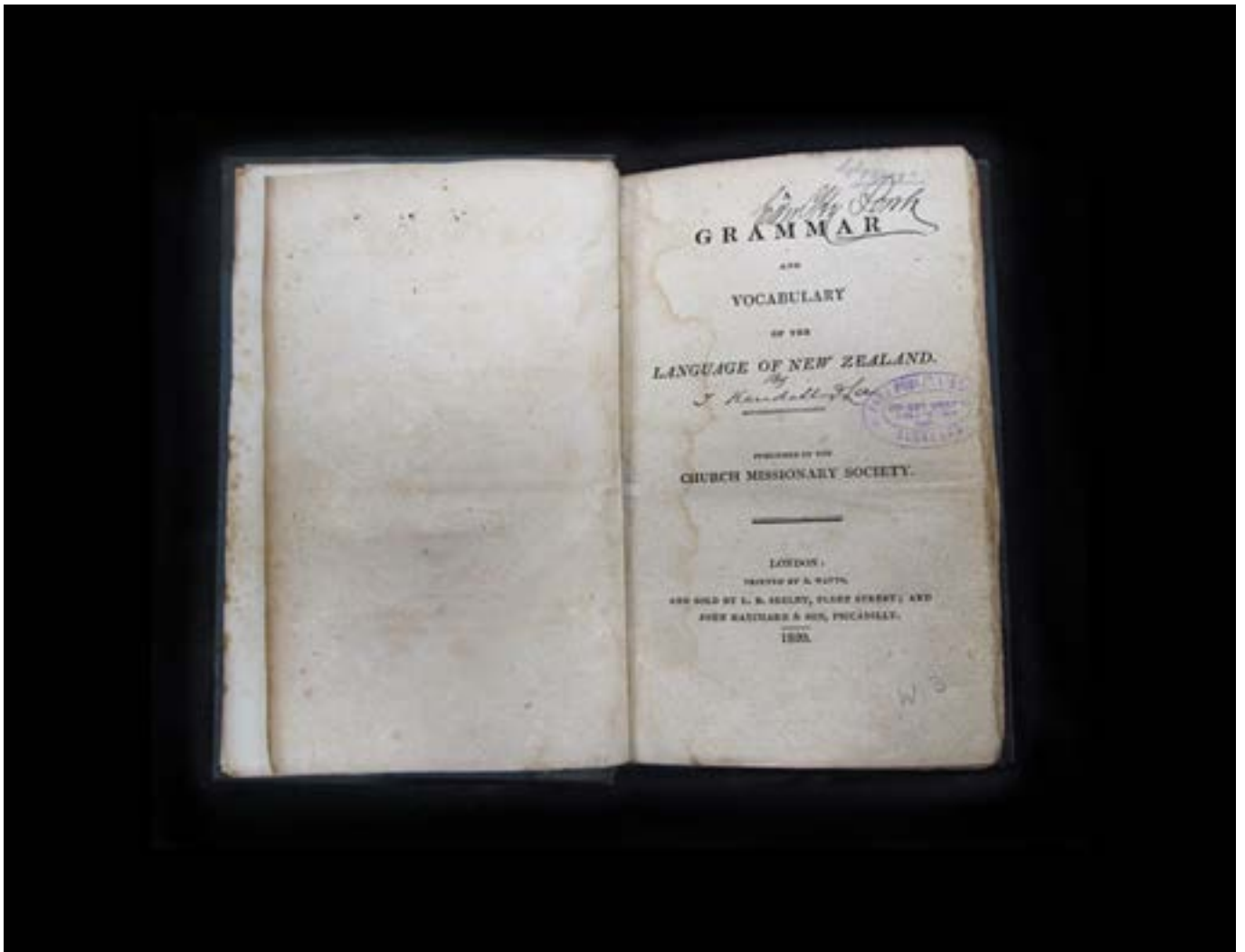


Figure 8 (b). Page from 'A Korao no New Zealand; or, the New Zealander's first book'. 1815. Printed by George Howe in Sydney Australia. Held in the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library [EMI0001]



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Figure 8 (c). Title page for 'Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand,' Thomas Kendall's second book, a collection of Māori orthography. Note Grey's handwritten note of Kendall's authorship omitted by CMS. Published by Church Missionary Society London in 1820; held in the Sir George Grey Special Collection



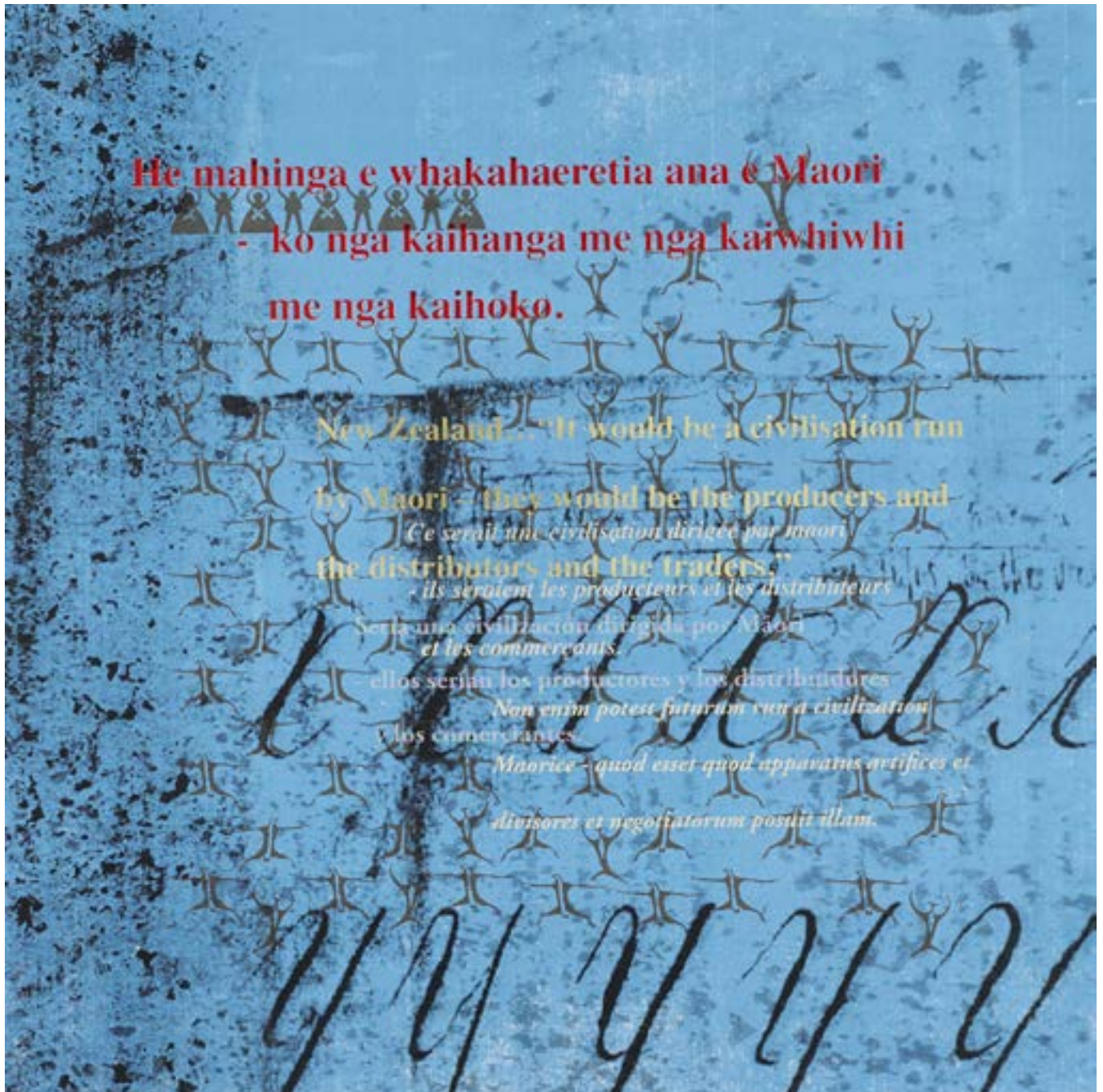


Figure 9: Lighting the way # 5. Academia 300gsm, screen printed, hand-drawn, environmentally friendly inks and metallic foil. 500mm x 500mm mounted on 0.8mm aluminium plate. (Alphabet written by Hongi Hika on board the Active, 1814 MS-0054/068 n.d.; Osborne 2007; Kendall 1815, pp30-31)



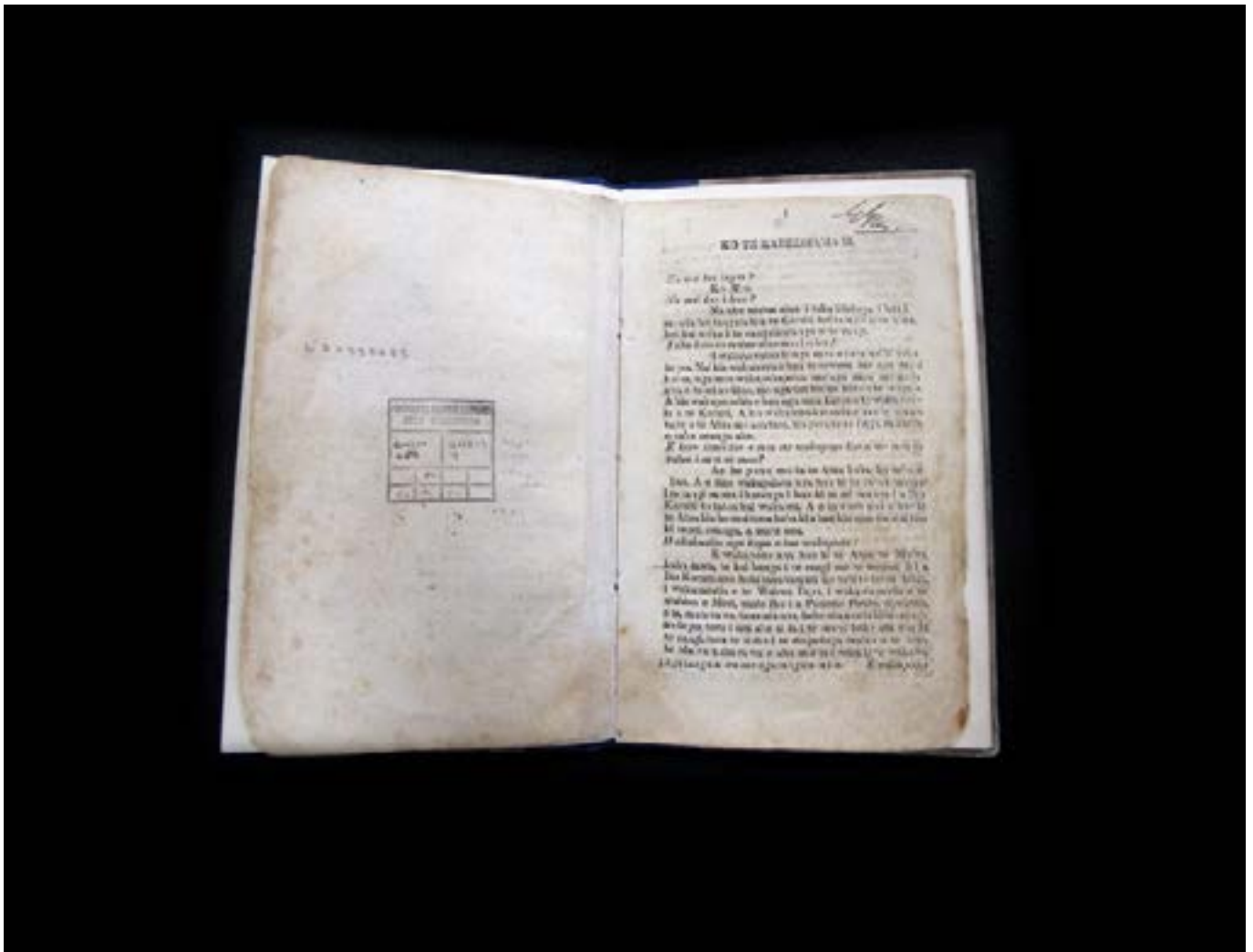


Figure 10: Page from Māori catechism III printed by Yate in 1830 – held in the Sir George Grey Special Collection, Auckland City Central Public Library [GNZM7]

A	E	I	O	U	H	K	M	N	P	R	T
W	G	.	'				?	!	(	:	;
A	E	I	O	U	H	A	E	I	O	U	H
K	M	N	P	R	T	K	M	N	P	R	T
W	G	?	!	(	-	W	G			[	,
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	o	:	—

<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>w</i>	
<i>n</i>	w	g	n	e	i	p	.	;
<i>u</i>							,	Hair Space
<i>o</i>	m	k	h	o	r	a	En Quad	Em Quad
<i>i</i>								
<i>e</i>	u	t	Thick Space	Thin Space	a	Quadrats		
<i>a</i>							Middle Space	

Figure 11: Colenso's Māori language letterpress case (McKay 1940)

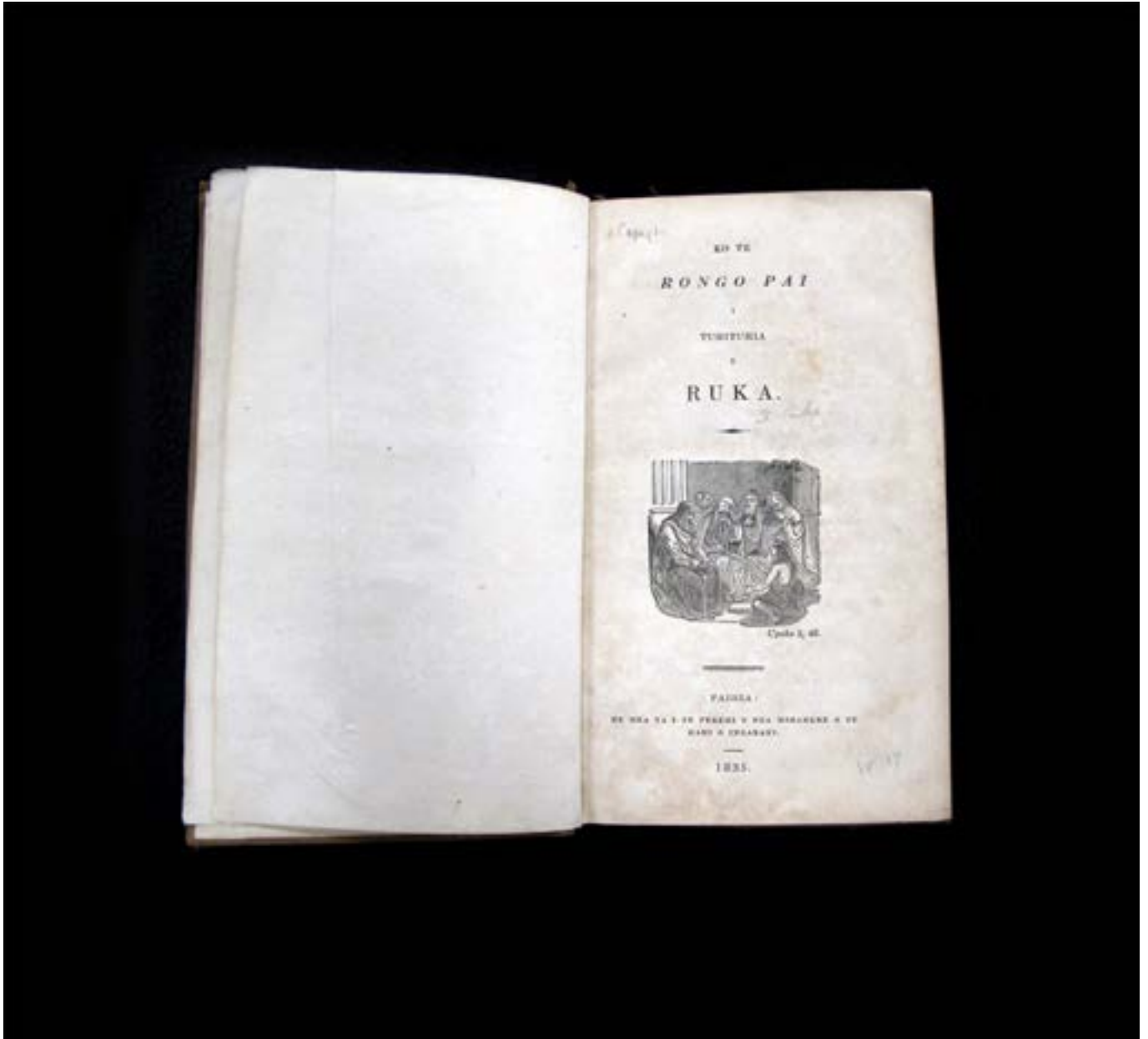


Figure 12: Title page from Ko te Rongo Pai i tuhituhia e Ruka, held in the Sir George Grey Special Collection, Auckland City Central Public Library [GNZM17]