‘A second Paradise’
Anne Salmond

The *Endeavour* in Tairāwhiti

On 24 October 1769, the young Quaker artist Sydney Parkinson was in heaven. After several months at sea, cooped up in his cabin and with supplies running low, the *Endeavour* had anchored in a place where at last he was allowed to go ashore. He had spent the day wandering around Uawa, a tranquil, fertile bay on the east coast of New Zealand. That night he wrote in his journal:

> The country about the bay is agreeable beyond description, and, with proper cultivation, might be rendered a kind of second Paradise. The hills are covered with beautiful flowering shrubs, intermingled with a great number of tall and stately palms, which fill the air with a most grateful fragrant perfume.[1]

The *Endeavour*, a former collier commanded by Lieutenant James Cook, had been sent on a voyage around the world commissioned by the Royal Society of London and King George III to observe the Transit of Venus in Tahiti, part of an international mission to try to calculate the distance between the earth and the sun.

The Royal Society party on board the *Endeavour* was led by Joseph Banks, a wealthy young botanist who had funded their salaries and a lavish array of scientific and artistic equipment. It included Dr Daniel Solander from the British Museum, the former favourite student of Carl Linnaeus, famed Swedish naturalist; and their assistants Hermann Spöring, draftsman and clerk, and shipboard artist Sydney Parkinson.

They were accompanied by Tupaia, a high priest navigator from Raʻiatea who had joined them in Tahiti, intent on persuading Cook to expel the Bora Bora warriors who had invaded his home island and driven him into exile. Tupaia was a brilliant man, trained as a tahuʻa or priest at Taputapuatea, a marae or ceremonial centre on Raʻiatea and the hub of an extensive voyaging network. He was a high ranking ʻarioi, a society of artists, warriors, scholars, priests and voyagers dedicated to ʻOro, the atua or god of fertility and war, who travelled to islands as far flung as Tonga in the west, the Marquesas in the east, Hawaiʻi in the north and Rarotonga in the south, where they established marae named after Taputapuatea.

A gifted linguist who had quickly picked up some English, Tupaia became the *Endeavour* crew’s interpreter and guide, and a key source for the local names of many of the plants collected by Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander. As a fellow artist, Tupaia also spent time with Sydney Parkinson in Tahiti, often sketching the same scenes and sharing his knowledge of Tahitian art, including the dyes used by ʻarioi artists. As a high priest navigator, Tupaia had previously sailed to a number of Pacific

[1] Sydney Parkinson and W. Kenrick, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour: Faithfully Transcribed from the Papers of the Late Sydney Parkinson, Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq., on His Late Expedition with Dr. Solander, Round the World* . . . (1773), 97.

Anaura Bay, Tairāwhiti, 2024

islands. During their passage from Tahiti to New Zealand, he shared some of his knowledge of voyaging with Cook, Banks and Robert Molyneux, the *Endeavour*'s master, helping them to draft an extraordinary chart of the islands with which he was familiar.

Before the *Endeavour* sailed from England, the Admiralty had given James Cook a set of 'Secret Instructions'. After observing the Transit of Venus, he was to sail south from Tahiti and search Terra Australis Incognita, the fabled 'Unknown Southern Continent' that was thought to lie in the far reaches of the Southern Ocean. At the places they visited during the expedition, Cook was ordered:

> To observe the nature of the Soil & the Products thereof, the Beasts & Fowls that inhabit or frequent it, the Fishes that are to be found in the Rivers or upon the coast, & in what plenty & in case you find any mines, minerals, or valuable Stones you are to bring home Specimens of each as also such Specimens of the seeds of the Trees, Fruits & Grains as you may be able to collect & Transmit them to our Secretary.[2]

The Earl of Morton, president of the Royal Society of London, had also given James Cook a set of 'Hints', advising that:

> If the Ship should fortunately discover any part of a well inhabited Continent, many new subjects in Natural History might be imported, and useful branches of Commerce set on foot, which in process of time might prove highly beneficial to Britain.[3]

Of 'Vegetables', Morton noted, the scientific party should record 'Their powers in Medicine, whether beneficial or noxious, — the other uses to which they are put by the Natives. — Particularly, such as give vivid or lasting colours for dyeing'. As a further thought, he added:

> If any attempt should be made in the latter part of the Voyage, to bring home live plants in Pots, it might be useful to mark upon the Stem of the Plant the Exposition of it, taken correctly by applying a small Mariners compass to the side of the Stem, and observing which part of the Plant fronts the South.
>
> The Latitudes in which seeds are collected, might be noted with the nature of the Soils in which they grew: — And if earths could be brought in Boxes, it might tend to promote natural knowledge.[4]

Above all, the Earl of Morton exhorted, Cook must:

> Exercise the utmost patience and forbearance with respect to the Natives of the several Lands where the Ship may touch. Check the petulance of the Sailors, and restrain the Wanton use of Fire Arms . . . No European Nation has a right to occupy any part of their country, or settle among them without their voluntary consent . . . Therefore should they in a hostile manner oppose a landing, and kill some men

2. James Cook, 'Copies of Correspondence etc.' (1768–1771), MS 2, National Library of Australia.

3. Earl of Morton, in *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery: Vol. I. The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768–1771,* edited by J. C. Beaglehole (Hakluyt Society, 1955), 516.

4. Ibid., 517.

in the attempt, even then this would hardly justify firing among them, 'till every gentle method had been tried.[5]

[5.] Ibid., 514.

As the *Endeavour* sailed south, approaching the latitude where Abel Tasman had recorded a new land he named 'New Zeeland', leaving a scribbled line on the maps of the world, Joseph Banks was filled with anticipation. On 3 October 1769, he wrote in his journal:

> Dr. Solander setts at the Cabbin table describing, myself at my Bureau Journalizing, between us hangs a large bunch of sea weed, upon the table lays the wood and barnacles, they would see that notwithstanding our different occupations our lips move very often, and without being conjurors might guess we were talking about what we should see upon the land which there is now no doubt we shall see very soon.[6]

[6.] Joseph Banks, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768–1771, Volume 1,* edited by J. C. Beaglehole (Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales in Association with Angus and Roberston, 1962), 396.

Three days later, when the surgeon's boy, Nicholas Young, sighted the coast of New Zealand from the masthead, just south of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa or Poverty Bay, and was rewarded with a gallon of rum, Banks was delirious with excitement, convinced that they had discovered Terra Australis Incognita: 'All hands seem to agree that this is certainly the Continent we are in search of.'

On 8 October when Cook went ashore, accompanied by Banks, Solander, some of the officers and crew and a party of marines, they crossed the Tūranganui River, where they visited a small fishing camp on the west bank and collected some flowering plants. During their absence, however, four young boys who were supposed to be guarding the boat were challenged by local warriors. In the confusion that followed and against Cook's standing instructions, a rangatira or chief, Te Maro, was shot dead. That night they heard loud wailing ashore.

The next day, when Cook and his companions went ashore, they were confronted by warriors on the west side of the river, performing an impassioned haka. After Tupaia talked with them, some of these men crossed the river, leaving their weapons behind. When one of these warriors, Te Rākau, tried to seize a sword from one of the Europeans, he was also shot. Later that afternoon, when Cook tried to intercept several fishing canoes out in the bay, intending to take some of their crew on board and treat them kindly, there was another fiery clash, and more local men were killed or wounded.

After this bloody confrontation, two young fishermen were captured and taken on board, where they were given a meal of salt pork and bread in the Great Cabin. They sang a waiata, performed a haka, asked and answered many questions, and talked for a long time with Tupaia. The next day, 10 October, when Cook, Banks and Solander took them ashore, they walked alongside a swampy lagoon (Awapuni Lagoon), well populated with ducks. As Willliam Monkhouse, the ship's surgeon, wrote in his journal:

> A pretty large flat extends itself along part of the north side of this Bay and across its head the soil of which is mostly a Sand, but about

The Southern Cross (Guiding Lights), Te Pae Mahutonga, 2022

> the lagoon we visited the soil is a rich marle; this flat is covered with a coarse grass and low shrubbery, along the South side there appeared to be several fine groves of well grown trees — the back land consists of a group of hills of good height and are pretty well cloathed with wood.[7]

On 11 October, as they sailed from Poverty Bay (Gisborne), Cook and his companions were appalled by the bloodshed, and how it had played out. After the shootings, they could no longer explore the bay, nor wander about collecting plants. As Banks recorded in his journal:

> This morn We took our leave of Poverty bay with not above 40 species of Plants in our boxes, which is not to be wonderd at as we were so little ashore and always upon the same spot; the only time we wanderd about a mile from the boats was upon a swamp, where not more than 3 species of Plants were found.[8]

In Tūranganui, the plants they'd collected included two types of kōwhai (*Sophora tetraptera* and *microphylla*), one with large and the other with small leaves, with their bright yellow flowers.[9] These were in full bloom, making a bright blaze ashore.

There was also specimens of karaka (*Corynocarpus laevigatus*), a tall tree with smooth glossy leaves and berries that were not yet ripe in October, but were cooked and eaten by local people after their poisonous kernels had been removed; ngaio (*Myoporum laetum*), a bushy seaside plant; rangiora (*Brachyglottis repanda*) with its large, floppy white-backed leaves and white flowers; and kawakawa (*Piper excelsum*), a plant with many medicinal uses among Māori.

Among the smaller plants there were two types of convolvulus, a flowering clematis and many small, inconspicuous species collected near the beach or along the paths where they walked. All of these plants were sketched by Sydney Parkinson.

As soon as they were taken on board the ship, the specimens were stored in 'keeping boxes', placed between damp cloths and kept fresh until they could be described, sketched and classified. The plants collected in Tūranganui also included tūmatakuru (*Discaria toumatou*), a very sharp, prickly plant often called matagouri in New Zealand. This is perhaps the first plant collected in New Zealand whose local name was included in the Linnaean binomial description given by Solander and Banks.

As Edwin Rose has pointed out in his excellent work on the history of British botanising with its paper technologies, during their visits to Tierra del Fuego, Tahiti and the other Society Islands, Banks and Solander had perfected a system for collecting, describing, classifying, sketching and drying the plants they collected.[10]

During their field expeditions in Tahiti, Banks and Solander were assisted by Peter Briscoe and James Roberts, footmen from Revesby Abbey, Banks's Lincolnshire estate. A naturalist trained at Uppsala by Carl Linnaeus, the great Swedish natural historian, Solander was the most accomplished botanist on board the *Endeavour*. An affable, erudite man,

7. William Monkhouse, in Beaglehole, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery: Vol. I. The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768–1771.*

8. Joseph Banks, in Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768–1771, Vol. I*, 406.

9. The identification of species collected in Tairāwhiti is based on information taken from the Parkinson sketches in the *Florilegium* which was formerly on loan from the Natural History Museum, London, compiled by Anne Salmond in 2017; and the Māori names of plants from 'Banks and Solander Botanical Collections Tairāwhiti' compiled by Ewen Cameron from his own research (pers. comm.). See also E. Dan Hatch, *An Annotated Checklist/index of D. C. [Daniel Carl] Solander's "Primitiae Florae Novae Zelandiae"* (Auckland Museum Library MS-1999-85, 1981). Many thanks to Ewen Cameron and Malcolm Rutherford for checking and correcting some botanical details in this chapter.

10. Edwin D. Rose, *Reading the World: British Practices of Natural History, 1760–1820* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2025).

Kōwhai, 1769 Seed Archive garden, Waikeruru, Tairāwhiti, 2025

and a fellow of the Royal Society of London, he was assisted by Hermann Spöring, a Finnish surgeon, watchmaker and clerk who had been his secretary at the British Museum.

Joseph Banks had also studied botany, both in the field and at Oxford University, where he'd hired his own tutor. Like Solander, he was a fellow of the Royal Society, although at 26 years old he was a much less experienced naturalist. At the same time, as a wealthy young gentleman, Banks ranked higher than Dr Solander in the British social hierarchy, and much higher than James Cook, a lowly Royal Naval lieutenant and Scottish farm labourer's son, albeit a superb hydrographer and navigator.

During their field trips on shore, Solander wrote descriptions of the plants in quarto notebooks, bound in thin card wrappers and dedicated to the particular places they visited. He used these *Plantae* notebooks to record the physical characteristics of each species, where they grew, and any information gained from talking (often through Tupaia) with local people, with key words and plant names transcribed phonetically. These notebooks were often interleaved with loose slips of paper with rough notes and sketches, sometimes drawn by Parkinson in the field, intended to be included in a more polished version later on.

On board the *Endeavour*, where the Royal Society party had largely taken over the Great Cabin, normally the captain's sanctum, Banks and Solander often worked together at the large table, laying out their specimens for inspection, although Banks wrote his journal at his bureau, describing their time at sea and the places they visited. He also kept a catalogue of the species they collected, recording the quantities of specimens and their location in the books used to dry the plants.

In the Great Cabin, Parkinson sat on the opposite side of the table, sketching the specimens, while Banks and Solander 'directed his drawing, and made rapid descriptions of our natural history specimens while they were still fresh'.[11] These sketches were often rough outlines with colours indicated in the details, so he could make final watercolour drawings of each species when he had time.[12]

Meanwhile, Solander was refining and transcribing his field descriptions onto 'manuscript slips' — half-quarto sheets cut from the notebooks. Once the slips and the sketches were completed, the plants were placed to dry between sheets in what Banks referred to as 'books', stacks of waste pages from printing houses, roughly stitched together along one side.

In the one book that survives, these pages were sheets from *Notes upon the Twelve Books of Paradise Lost* by Joseph Addison, discarded after being printed by J. Whatman on high-quality paper in 1738. These books were usually kept in Banks's wooden chests to preserve them from humidity, salt air and insects.

Once the plants were safely stored, Spöring transcribed Dr Solander's descriptions into the *Primitiae Florae* manuscript for that particular locality, with references to the location of the dried specimens in the books, the waste books described by Mark Carine (pages 178–79), and relevant volumes in the ship's library, which were kept in Banks's bureau. The final descriptions were then written on interleaved sheets in the

11. Joseph Banks, quoted in Rose, *Reading the World*, 87.

12. William T. Stearn, 'A Royal Society Appointment with Venus in 1769: The Voyage of Cook and Banks in the "Endeavour" in 1768–1771 and Its Botanical Results', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 24, no. 1 (June 1969): 64–90.

shipboard copies of Linnaeus's *Species Plantarum* for future reference.

This system was at once quick and efficient, and very flexible, allowing new information and insights to be recorded as they arose, and the botanical descriptions to be refined and cross-checked over time. According to Solander's *Primitiae Florae* for New Zealand, they collected 75 species in Tūranganui.[13]

When the *Endeavour* sailed from Tūranganui on 11 October, with these new species of plants for the Royal Society party to describe and classify, Cook headed south to Hawke's Bay, where they were challenged by warriors in canoes who tried to kidnap Tupaia's young 'arioi companion. They were unable to land and botanise, or get fresh food and water, and as the winds were unfavourable, Cook tacked north again, sailing past Tūranganui to Anaura Bay.

When the local ariki or high chief Te Whakatatare-o-te-rangi came on board at Anaura, after recognising Tupaia as a high priest and kinsman from Ra'iatea, the homeland of Māori, he welcomed him and his strange companions ashore.

That evening, the boats rowed back to the *Endeavour* through the surf. The next day, 21 October, they returned ashore with Dr Monkhouse, the ship's surgeon. He was impressed by the gardens in the bay, which were large and meticulously laid out and cultivated, although only about 200 people lived at Anaura:

> The ground is compleatly cleard of all weeds — the mold broke with as much care as that of our best gardens. The Sweet potatoes are set in distinct little molehills which are ranged in some in straight lines, in others in quincunx. In one Plott I observed these hillocks, at their base, surrounded with dried grass.
>
> The Arum is planted in little circular concaves, exactly in the manner our Gard'ners plant Melons as Mr — informs me. The Yams are planted in like manner with the sweet potatoes; these Cultivated spots are enclosed with a perfectly close pailing of reeds about twenty inches high.The Natives are now at work completing these fences. We saw a snare or two set upon the ground for some small animal, probably of the Mus tribe.[14]

Joseph Banks was also delighted by this brief visit, where he and Solander 'rangd all about the bay and were well repaid by finding many plants and shooting some most beautiful birds'. The root crops in the gardens were not yet ready to harvest, and they saw the local people eating fish and fern root (aruhe or *Pteridium esculentum*), which they roasted on a fire and beat with a stick before eating, although it was very stringy.

That evening when the wind blew up and they tried to return to the ship in a canoe, eager to sort out their specimens, it overturned in the surf and they were drenched, although they managed to save the precious plants they had gathered.

At Anaura, they had a good haul of new plants, 108 species in all.[15] These included aruhe or fern root and several other ferns, such as mokimoki

13. Ewen Cameron, 2025, pers. comm.

14. William Monkhouse, in Beaglehole, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery: Vol. I. The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768–1771*, 583–84.

15. Ewen Cameron, 2025, pers. comm.

1769 Seed Archive garden, Waikeruru, Tairāwhiti, 2025

(*Phymatosorus scandens*) and pikopiko (*Polystichum richardii*), beautifully sketched by Parkinson; the trees porokaiwhiri or pigeonwood (*Hedycarya arborea*), its berries much loved by native birds, and kōtukutuku (*Fuchsia excorticata*), the native fuchsia, with its orange-brown peeling bark and deep red flowers; whau (*Entelea arborescens*), with large leaves almost like thick paper; and many new small plants and creepers.

Perhaps the most spectacular new plant they collected at Anaura was the ngutukākā or kākābeak (*Clianthus puniceus*), with its glorious scarlet flowers hanging down in bunches, and, like many of these plants, now rare in the wild in Tairāwhiti.

On 22 October, Te Whakatatare-o-te-Rangi guided them south to Uawa, where Cook anchored in a sheltered cove, protected from the wind by Pourewa Island, and they were welcomed in earnest and freely wandered about the bay.

During their time at Uawa, Tupaia spent most of his time ashore with the high priest from Te Rāwheoro, a famous whare wananga or school of learning. In a cave high on a ridge above the bay, they discussed their atua or ancestor gods and tikanga or customs. No doubt Tupaia also regaled the local people with stories about what had happened in Raʻiatea since their ancestors had left the homeland, and his adventures with the Europeans on board the *Endeavour*.

When Sydney Parkinson was finally allowed to go ashore, he was ecstatic. In this 'second Paradise', as he called it, he and his Royal Society shipmates had hit a botanical jackpot. There were tī kōuka or cabbage trees (*Cordyline australis*) flowering everywhere, and as he noted in his journal:

> The country abounds with different kinds of herbage fit for food; and among such a variety of trees as are upon this land, there are, doubtless, many that produce eatable fruit. Our botanists were agreeably employed in investigating them, as well as many other lesser plants with which the country abounds, Within land there were many scandent ferns and parasitic plants; and, on the sea shore, Salicornias, Misembrian, Mums, and a variety of Fucus's.[16]

Over the next few days, Banks and Solander were ashore almost every day, collecting plants and returning to the ship with rich hauls of new species. Hine-Matioro, a high-born young woman and Te Whakatatare's cousin, took them to Pourewa Island, where they visited a chiefly house that seemed to be abandoned, with carved ancestral panels stacked around the walls.

One of these poupou, which may have been presented to Tupaia, was taken on board the *Endeavour* and eventually made its way to London. At Pourewa, on the beach, they also collected pīngao (*Ficinia spiralis*), a yellow grass much prized for weaving baskets and decorative wall panels.

Back on shore they climbed up into the hills, collecting specimens from trees in the forest. As Cook noted:

> We found in the woods Trees of above 20 different sorts, specimens of each I took on board as all of them were unknown to any of us: the

[16] Parkinson and Kenrick, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas*, 97.

> tree which we cut for fireing was something like Maple and yielded a whitish gum [tarata or lemonwood, *Pittosporum eugenioides*]. There was another sort of a deep yallow [possibly taupata or *Coprosma repens*], which we imagined might prove useful in dying. We likewise found one Cabbage tree which we cut down for the sake of the Cabbage.

The crew cut down shrubs (almost certainly mānuka, *Leptospermum scoparium*) for brooms. Cook also had large piles of 'wild sellery' (*Apium prostratum*) and 'Scurvy grass' (*Lepidium oleraceum*) loaded onto the boats to feed to the crew for breakfast, boiled with 'portable soup' and oatmeal as a kind of porridge rich in vitamin C.

Among the approximately 180 species of plants they collected at Uawa/Tolaga Bay[17] were the forest trees pūriri (*Vitex lucens*), majestic with its glossy, crinkled leaves and red flowers in full bloom, rewarewa (*Knightia excelsa*) with its spiky red-brown flowers, puka (*Griselinia lucida*) and kohekohe (*Didymocheton spectabilis*), along with the small spreading trees patē (*Schefflera digitata*), whose stems could be hollowed and used for pop-guns, and tūrepo, the small-leafed milk tree (*Paratrophis microphylla*); tall shrubs makomako (*Aristotelia serrata*) and houpara (*Pseudopanax lessonii*); and more small plants and ferns.

Ashore at Anaura and Uawa, often with Tupaia's assistance, Solander recorded phonetic versions of the local names of many of the plants they collected. These included 'e anuhe' (aruhe or fern root), which he described as 'extremely abundant in the hills', adding that 'the root is edible after being roasted over a fire and finally bruised with a mallet, serving the natives in place of bread. We have heard the roasted root called he taura by the New Zealanders.'

There was also 'he chalacha' (karaka), described as 'abundant', poroporo, 'in scrub and beside the houses', 'he ngaio' (ngaio), 'very abundant by the seashore', and 'ta kawa, kawa kawa, he gawa gawa' (kawakawa), described as growing 'in forest throughout'. As Edwin Rose has noted, kawakawa was among the plants first collected in Tūranganui, where Solander recorded its name as 'taukawa' in his *Plantae Australiae* notebook, giving it the Linnaean binomial *Piper excelsum* from the Greek for its perfume and use in ointments. It's likely this information was acquired in Uawa rather than Tūranganui; however, given the chaotic quality of the encounters in Poverty Bay,[18] Uawa had produced a cornucopia of new species, and Banks and Solander were thrilled.

17. Ewen Cameron, 2025, pers. comm.

18. Rose, *Reading the World,* 113–14.

The 1769 Seed Archive at Waikereru, Tairāwhiti

My own entanglement with James Cook, Joseph Banks, Tupaia and the *Endeavour* voyage began while I was young, and growing up in Gisborne. My father's father, who had been born and raised in Whitby, Cook's birthplace, often spoke about him, and mentioned a family link with Cook as a young man. Captain Cook and the Royal Society party were everywhere in Gisborne, in place names, street names and the names of local institutions. There were even two models of the *Endeavour* standing on poles in the main street.

On the other side of those encounters, in my teens I became fascinated with te ao Māori, the Māori world, and began to study te reo in Gisborne and at the University of Auckland. In part, this also had ancestral antecedents. During the early twentieth century, my mother's grandfather James McDonald, artist, film-maker and acting director of the Dominion Museum, worked closely with two visionary Māori leaders, Sir Apirana Ngata from Tairāwhiti and Te Rangihīroa (Sir Peter Buck), on expeditions to record ancestral tikanga or customs that they feared might be vanishing.[19] As a child visiting my grandparents in Wellington, I often heard about his adventures, and rummaged through his notebooks, sketches and photographs of Māori life.

After a decade of teaching anthropology at the University of Auckland, studying hui or ceremonial gatherings and exploring te ao Māori with Eruera and Amiria Stirling, eminent Tairāwhiti elders, and others, I began to wonder about how the relationship between Māori and Europeans began. After being awarded a James Cook Fellowship by the Royal Society of New Zealand in 1987, I began to work on *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642–1772* (1991), a book examining the first encounters between local people and European explorers in New Zealand, including the *Endeavour* voyage.

As Patu Hohepa has said, in te ao Māori 'Time swirls like koru patterns, three-dimensional spirals'.[20] While living in the present, it is always possible to spiral back in time, and reconnect with people and events in the past. Ancestors are only a breath away, and in earlier times, a rangatira or chief might refer to their forebears in the first person while talking about their feats:

> I [ahau, 'my ancestors'] came in our canoe from Hawaiki, and brought a cargo in her. The name of the locality in which we cultivated our kumara is Hekeheke-i-papa.[21]

Equally, the link between a rangatira and their ancestral land was so intimate that they might refer to it as their own body:

> I myself have the say for my land, and it is right to say that my land is my own. It is not as if you can divide up my stomach, that is, the middle of the land.[22]

While I was researching *Two Worlds*, this sense of the immediacy of the past and the intimacy of links with the land was tangible. After drafting a chapter on the 1769 exchanges in Uawa, for instance, in 1990 I was invited to present it to tangata whenua or local people in their meeting house at Hauiti Marae, where ancestors who had met James Cook and Tupaia stood carved on panels around the walls.

In 1995, the presence of the past was even more vivid when the *Endeavour* replica visited New Zealand for the first time. As the ship sailed into Anaura Bay, where the original encounters had been peaceful, it was as though it was happening again. Tangata whenua lined the beach, not far

19. Wayne Ngata, Arapata Hakiwai, Anne Salmond, Conal McCarthy, Amiria Salmond, Monty Soutar, James Schuster, Billie Lythberg, John Niko Maihi, Sandra Kahu Nepia, Te Wheturere Poope Gray, Te Aroha McDonnell and Natalie Robertson, *Hei Taonga mā ngā Uri Whakatipu: The Dominion Museum Expeditions 1919–1923* (Te Papa Press, 2021).

20. Patu Hohepa, 2025, pers. comm.

21. Hoani Nahe of Hauraki, quoted in John White, *The Ancient History of the Maori* (Tainui), Vol. IV (George Didsbury, Government Printer, 1888), 13 (English text), 10 (Māori text).

22. Letter from Te Haeana, Rakorako, Ngamiro, Tikiku, Pakihautai and Arama Karaka to Sir Donald McLean, 6 November 1850, MS-Papers-0032-0674F-03, Alexander Turnbull Library.

from where Banks and Solander first collected ngutukākā with its glorious scarlet flowers and welcomed the crew as they came ashore. I was asked to speak on the beach, and described what had happened in 1769 and the *Endeavour* accounts of large, meticulously kept gardens on the sunny hillsides behind the bay.

When the ship arrived in Tūranganui or Gisborne, where local people had been shot, however, the atmosphere was very different. At Poho-o-Rawiri Marae, the wero or ritual challenges performed by local warriors were incandescent, as though the bodies of their ancestors were still lying on the beaches. That night when tribal historians Kiki Smiler and Peter Gordon and I stood to speak in the meeting house about what had happened in Tūranganui in 1769, it seemed that the carved ancestors around the walls were listening to everything we said.

In 1998, the *New Zealand Herald* published a story about a poupou that had been discovered in a museum in Tübingen, Germany. When a reporter contacted me I recognised the carving as one that had been sketched in London after being collected by the *Endeavour* party from the meeting house they visited on Pourewa Island in Uawa. The Hauiti people were in Auckland for a Māori Land Court hearing, and asked if I could meet them at the Auckland Training College marae. I was planning to attend a conference in Europe in the coming months, and they asked me to visit the carving and find out more about it.

The poupou was being restored in Dresden, and when my husband Jeremy and I visited it there, it was very moving. In ancestral ways of thinking, a poupou is the ancestor themselves, and it certainly felt that way on that occasion. Afterwards, the Tübingen Museum invited Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti to come to Germany to reconnect with their ancestor, a relationship that has been unfolding ever since.

At Uawa and Anaura, the local people were also fascinated by the *Endeavour*'s botanical collecting. In 2008 when Steve Cafferty, from the botany department at the Natural History Museum in London, contacted me about a project involving the *Endeavour* voyage, I thought of the Hauiti people. He was hoping to organise a major touring exhibition featuring the *Endeavour* voyage and its botanical collecting in time for the Transit of Venus in 2012, and to work with Indigenous communities associated with those encounters. In the event, Steve visited Uawa, and the idea of bringing back seeds from species at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew in London collected by Banks and Solander during their visits to Tairāwhiti for a restoration project around the Uawa River sprang to life.

Around about that time, Sir Paul Callaghan, an eminent scientist associated with the Royal Society of New Zealand, also came up with an idea of organising events at Uawa and a forum in Gisborne in time for the 2012 Transit of Venus. Sir Paul wanted to commemorate the scientific work carried out on board the *Endeavour*, and to discuss with local communities how science could contribute to contemporary life in New Zealand. In association with these events, in 2011 staff from the Allan Wilson Centre for Molecular Ecology and Evolution began to work with Hauiti people to support their Uawanui project to restore

Ruakapanga, the whare whakairo, at Hauiti Marae, Tairāwhiti, 2025 © Hauiti Marae Trust

indigenous forests to the Uawa catchment, including plants grown from the seeds from Kew.[23]

In the event, the 2012 celebrations of the Transit of Venus were a huge success. The New Zealand Royal Navy sent a ship to Uawa, indigenous plants including those from Kew were planted along the banks of the Uawa River, and the clouds cleared so that when Venus crossed the face of the sun, it could be seen from Tolaga Bay wharf. In Gisborne, the local community urged the scientists to work out how to restore local rivers, which were laden with sediment and frequently flooding. As a result, with a team of river scientists and ecologists from across the country, we set up Te Awaroa, a project aiming to work out how to return rivers across New Zealand to a state of ora — health, prosperity and wellbeing. Over time, this became the 'Let the River Speak' project, funded by the Royal Society of New Zealand, which focused on the Waimatā River, which runs into the ocean where the *Endeavour* crew first set foot ashore.

All of these strands were woven into the planning for Tuia 250 in 2019, the 250th commemoration of the first meetings between tangata whenua and Europeans, which helped to inspire parts of this book. In 2013 a meeting was held in Gisborne, led by local elders, and Te Hā Trust was set up to plan the local events, with Wayne Ngata from Uawa gifting the trust's motto, 'Dual Heritage, Shared Future'. The trust's chairman, Richard Brooking, Jane Harré Hindmarsh and I represented Te Hā on the Tuia 250 national committee, and fought for an even-handed approach to the commemorations, with a fleet of waka hourua or double-hulled canoes leading the *Endeavour* replica into each landing site, acknowledging the feats of the voyaging ancestors who first settled the country, and that James Cook did not 'discover' New Zealand.[24]

In Gisborne, Ngāti Oneone decided to restore native forest to Titirangi, the hill beside where the *Endeavour* party had landed, in time for the commemorative events with their Whaia Titirangi project,[25] and at Uawa the Hauiti people continued work on the Uawanui project to regenerate their ancestral whenua or lands.[26]

In 2018, however, Uawa was hit by a violent storm. Rafts of logs from industrial pine plantations in the headwaters were swept down the Uawa River, destroying everything in their wake, including most of the 2012 Transit of Venus plantings. A photographer who witnessed the devastation said that the land looked 'like Papatūānuku has had her skin torn off'.[27] Mark's photograph of pine slash in a Wardian case in a flood-hit maize field in Uawa evokes that heartbreaking event (see pages 140–41). The storm-tossed pieces of pine in the case look like iwi or bones, washed out of the whenua. The Wardian case stands as a reliquary, testifying to the rape and pillage of the land.

At Waikereru — a restoration project on the banks of the Waimatā River in Gisborne that my husband Jeremy and I initiated in 2000 — we began work on the 1769 Seed Archive, hoping to provide a safe haven for the plants collected by Banks and Solander in Tairāwhiti, many of which are now rare or endangered in the wild. As a basis for the plantings, I worked with Ewen Cameron, botanist at the Auckland War Memorial Museum Tamāki Paenga

23. Allan Wilson Centre, Te Aitanga-A-Hauiti, Uawa Tolaga Bay Community, *The Uawanui Project: Building a Shared Vision for Uawa/Tolaga Bay* (2014).

24. Manatu Taonga Ministry for Culture and Heritage, *Tuia 250 Encounters: Tuia 250 Report and Purongo A Tuia 250* (2020).

25. www.gizzylocal.com/post/whaia-titirangi-restoration-project

26. www.coastalrestorationtrust.org.nz/site/assets/files/1205/alison_uawanui_power.pdf

27. www.nzgeo.com/photography/when-the-rain-came-for-tolaga-bay

Puarangi, native hibiscus, 1769 Seed Archive garden, Waikeruru, Tairāwhiti, 2025

Hira, on a list I'd compiled from the Sydney Parkinson *Florilegium* sketches of the plants collected in Tairāwhiti, and he added many more from his inquiries into the herbaria and other documents from the *Endeavour* voyage.

In his design for the 1769 Seed Archive, Philip Smith arranged a group of stone mounds in a quincunx pattern, inspired by the kūmara gardens described by Willliam Monkhouse in Anaura Bay, to grow some of the smaller plants collected by the Royal Society party in Tairāwhiti. This pattern is echoed in Mark Smith's photograph of the kūmara garden in Te Parapara at Hamilton Gardens (see page 45). A line of kōwhai trees planted across the front of the 1769 Seed Archive recalls the blaze of yellow flowers when the *Endeavour* sailed into the bay — although the flocks of kererū, native pigeons, at Waikereru largely strip these trees each spring.

Graeme Atkins, tohunga taiao or ecological expert from Ngāti Porou, and Malcolm Rutherford — part-time curator of the archive and Tairāwhiti representative of the QEII National Trust, who trained at the Oxford Botanic Garden where Felicity and Mark photographed kōwhai in a Wardian case on a punt (see pages 212–13) — are constantly at work, gathering plants in the wild to keep them safe. Seeds and cuttings from the archive are shared with other restoration projects across Tairāwhiti, and knowledge about them imparted to 1000 local children a year through Wild Lab/Tiaki Taiao, a wilderness education programme based in the archive and its Welcome Shelter, which features costumed characters — kererū, piriwai (mayfly), kōura (freshwater crayfish), oi (grey-faced petrel) and others — who enchant the children with mātauranga and science-based stories about their triumphs, tribulations and trials.[28]

[28.] www.waikereru.org/wildlab

The spiral of time

All was going well until January 2023, when Cyclone Gabrielle hit Tairāwhiti, devastating the region. Almost every river in the region shared the same fate as the Uawa in 2018, including the Waimatā River. Huge piles of logs, fallen trees and slash from industrial pine plantations upriver were driven down steep, erodible slopes like bulldozers, scouring the hillsides, creating surges of sediment and turning the waterways into mud. Rafts of logs swept down streams and rivers, piling up at sharp bends and across paddocks, wiping out bridges, roads, water pipes, fences, crops and farm buildings. At Waikereru a huge pile of logs upstream blocked the road, trapping our neighbours, wiping out our riverside plantings and destroying more of the road downstream when the log pile burst. In Gisborne city, houses were flooded. On Waikanae Beach, where Banks, Solander and Tupaia had walked, a young boy was killed when a pine log rolled at the edge of the surf and struck him on the head.

In the wake of the disaster, local people based in Uawa formed a group called Mana Taiao Tairāwhiti and drafted a petition calling for stricter controls on industrial forestry in the region. This was quickly signed by 10,000 people. A ministerial inquiry was set up, and when Mana Taiao Tairāwhiti put out an online call asking researchers to help them summarise more than 300 research papers for their submission, more than 100 researchers from across New Zealand and around the

world responded. In the event, almost all of the group's recommendations were adopted by the inquiry.[29]

Ever since, Mana Taiao Tairāwhiti has been fighting to have native forests restored to the most erodible landscapes in the region, to sequester carbon, hold the land together, cleanse the rivers and restore indigenous species of plants and animals. They have participated in court cases against the forestry companies that caused the worst damage during the cyclone, written articles,[30] talked with reporters, and helped to inspire 'Recloaking Papatūānuku', an ambitious project with Pure Advantage and Tāne's Tree Trust to restore indigenous forest across 2.1 million hectares of marginal land throughout New Zealand.[31]

Most recently, at the Coastal Restoration Trust conference at Uawa in May 2025, I met with Wayne Ngata and Hera Ngata-Gibson, leaders of the Mana Taiao Tairāwhiti petition, and Graeme Atkins, kaitiaki of the 1769 Seed Archive, whose Ngutukākā Project is working to restore its scarlet blaze of hanging flowers in the wild across Tairāwhiti. At Hauiti Marae, Wayne, Hera and Graeme gave inspiring presentations about their regenerative work, Alison Waru gave an illustrated update on the Uawanui project, while I talked about 'Let the River Speak', our transcultural, transdisciplinary project to restore the Waimatā River in Gisborne.[32]

On the second day, there was a field trip to Anaura Bay; Alison Waru asked Graeme and me to talk about the collaboration with Kew that had led to the return of seeds from London. Before I spoke, Alison handed me a typed transcript of the notes of the speech I'd given at Anaura Bay when the *Endeavour* replica arrived in 1995, with my handwritten annotations, and asked me to read from it. I must have left those notes behind at the marae, 20 years earlier. Afterwards, we weeded the scarlet flowering plants that Graeme had planted beside the marae, part of his Ngutukākā Project. Once more, the spiral of time was spinning; it felt as though the *Endeavour* was about to sail around the point again.

Reflections

While the Royal Society scientists and artists on board the *Endeavour* recorded many indigenous species of plants and animals during their visit to New Zealand, they were also assessing their uses for imperial purposes, and the potential of the places they visited for European settlement.

In his journal during the *Endeavour*'s circumnavigation of New Zealand, Joseph Banks invoked 'The Great Chain of Being', an ancient cosmic hierarchy. Here, God sat at the top followed by archangels and angels, a divine King, the ranks of the aristocracy and commoners, with men over women and children, followed by 'barbarians' and 'savages', sentient and non-sentient animals, insects, plants and the rocks. The 'lower orders' were expected to offer up deference and tribute to those higher up, justifying the class system in Britain, racism, sexism and extractive uses of the land. In this way of thinking, Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, lay at the bottom of the Great Chain.

In the 'Age of Discovery', Linnaean taxonomy, with its hierarchical classifications and binomial descriptions, also worked as an imperial

[29] https://environment.govt.nz/assets/Outrage-to-optimism-superseded.pdf

[30] See, for example, Anne Salmond and Manu Caddie, 'The Root of the Matter: Forests and Colonial Histories in Aotearoa New Zealand', in *People, Place and Nature in Indigenous-Settler Relations*, edited by Erin O'Donnell and Melissa Kennedy (Springer Nature, in press).

[31] https://pureadvantage.org/recloaking-papatuanuku

[32] Anne Salmond, Gary Brierley, Dan Hikuroa and Billie Lythberg, 'Tai Timu, Tai Pari, the Ebb and Flow of the Tides: Working with the Waimatā from the Mountains to the Sea', *New Zealand Journal of Marine and Freshwater Research* 56, no. 3 (July 2022): 430–46.

Ngutukākā, Pokai Marae, Tairāwhiti, 2024

Welcome Shelter, 1769 Seed Archive garden, Waikeruru, Tairāwhiti, 2025

instrument, a highly efficient device for mastering the extraordinary variety of new life forms that Europeans were encountering in their journeys around the world. After the *Endeavour* voyage, Joseph Banks became the long-serving president of the Royal Society of London and a global scientific impresario, who helped to organise the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew and the transport of plants around the world. Linnaean taxonomy, with its echoes of the Great Chain, was closely associated with ideas of 'progress' and 'improvement', and as plants were transported around the Empire in Wardian cases, European plants were often regarded as superior to indigenous species.

In Tairāwhiti, for instance, willows and poplars are still thought to be better for holding the land together than indigenous species, despite their 80 million years of co-evolution with local landscapes, and the fact that these imported species lose their leaves in winter when they're most needed and can't transpire water from the soil or shelter the land from heavy rainfall. Pine trees are also preferred for erosion control and carbon sequestration, although temperate rain forests like those in Tairāwhiti are regarded as some of the best in the world for sequestering carbon, and after Cyclone Gabrielle in Tairāwhiti, the probability of landsliding was three times higher in harvested pine plantations, and 50 per cent higher in standing plantations than under indigenous forest.[33]

In many ways, since the *Endeavour* voyage and the Enlightenment not much has changed in modernist attitudes to other life forms, so often described as resources to be managed (as in the Resource Management Act in New Zealand) or 'ecosystem services', as though the world was created to serve human beings, and especially those higher up the Great Chain — the 1 per cent over the 99 per cent, perhaps.

Today, with climate change, extinctions and collapsing ecosystems, a warming, rising ocean and melting glaciers and icebergs, this extractive approach to human relations with the planet is reaching its existential limits. This is evident in Tairāwhiti, where some of the most erodible landscapes in the world have been denuded by pastoral farming and industrial forestry, ripping the skin from Papatūānuku and scarring land and people alike with floods and devastation.

As Mana Taiao Tairāwhiti keeps on arguing, it does not have to be this way. And as Felicity Jones writes in this book: 'It feels especially important in our present time to promote the worldview of "Ko au Te Taiao, ko Te Taiao ko au" ("I am Nature, and Nature is me"), rather than European/colonial ideas like 'The Great Chain of Being".'

Ancestral ideas of tūrangawaewae — literally, 'standing place for feet' — and tangata whenua (literally, 'land people') that bind people with the land they live on, recognise that our fates are tied together. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Wayne Ngata's motto of 'Dual Heritage, Shared Future' points to ways of weaving the insights of science and tikanga — right ways of living — together.

Instead of trying to force Papatūānuku to do our bidding, we might learn to live with her as tangata whenua, and use scientific inquiry to heal humanity, and our relations with the land.

[33] https://environment.govt.nz/assets/rapid-assessment-of-land-damage-cyclone-gabrielle-manaaki-whenua-landcare-research-report.pdf

1769 Seed Archive garden, Waikereru, Tairāwhiti, 2025

We first heard about the 1769 Seed Archive garden while we were researching Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander's 1769 botanical encounters in Aotearoa New Zealand. We've made three visits here, the second just as the kōwhai were blooming, although we had to be quick: hungry kererū tend to descend and strip the branches of their flowers.

This living archive was established in 2015 by the distinguished anthropologist, historian and conservationist Dame Anne Salmond and her architect husband Jeremy Salmond on their Tairāwhiti property, Waikereru. Designed by Philip Smith, it features plants that were collected from the district by Banks and Solander, carried back to England and Kew on Cook's *Endeavour* and cited in Banks's *Florilegium*. Here the plants that sit in the herbarium at Kew burst into vivid life, and also serve a conservation function.

The lower garden is based on a pattern of intersecting groves, first kōwhai, then *Pittosporum obcordatum*. On the upland path, this runs into a kahikatea (*Dacrycarpus dacrydioides*) grove, intersecting the existing kānuka (*Kunzea robusta*) forest.

The kahikatea trees in the forest grove were planted as individual trees and mimic the 'fine groves' of large trees noted by Banks on the flats at Tūranganui, which were almost certainly kahikatea.

The garden's stone rows and mounds are set out in the quincunx pattern noted by Banks at Anaura Bay. The rows and mounds shelter, among other rare and threatened species, tarakupenga (*Coprosma acerosa*), tūkōrehu (*Plantago raoulii*), raurōroa shore pūhā (*Sonchus kirkii*), te kōpata (*Pelargonium inodorum*) and te auaunga (*Geranium retrorsum*).

Our first work here imagines the kōwhai blooms that made such an impression on the European explorers being pressed on site. We also wanted to represent the ongoing mahi around seed preservation: the image of Anne's hands holding precious local ngutukākā (*Clianthus maximus*) seeds feels like the perfect way to honour her kaitiakitanga. *FJ*


A garden is a long time
TWO WORLDS
ANNE SALMOND
BETWEEN WORLDS