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The ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole of Kalani‘ōpu‘u: a journey of chiefly adornments

Sean Mallon,* Rangi Te Kanawa, Rachael Collinge, Nirmala Balram, Grace Hutton, Te Waari Carkeek, Arapata Hakiwai, Emalani Case, Kawikaka‘iulani Aipa and Kamalani Kapeliela

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ABSTRACT: Among the most significant Pacific cultural treasures in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) are the ‘ahu ‘ula (feathered cloak) and mahiole (feathered helmet) that once belonged to Kalani‘ōpu‘u, a high chief on the island of Hawai‘i in the late 1770s. He gifted these objects to English explorer James Cook in 1779, and they eventually found their way to New Zealand in 1912. More than a century later, in 2014, representatives from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Bishop Museum) approached Te Papa about reconnecting the ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole with the Hawaiian people. A long-term loan emerged as the best process to enable this historic reconnection to take place. This article presents the history of display for the ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. It outlines how their preparation for loan in 2016 created circumstances for community engagement, cultural interaction and the enacting of indigenous museological practice.

KUMUMANA‘O: ‘O kekahi o nā mea ‘oi loa o ka makamae i mālama ‘ia ma ka Hale Hō‘ike‘ike ‘o Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa), ‘o ia ka ‘ahu ‘ula a me ka mahiole a Kalani‘ōpu‘u, he ali‘i nui i noho i ka mokupuni ‘o Hawai‘i i nā 1770. Nāna nō i makana aku i ia mau mea makamae i ke kāpena Pelekānia ‘o James Cook i ka makahiki 1779. I ka hala ‘ana o ka manawa, ua hō‘ea ka ‘ahu ‘ula a me ka mahiole i New Zealand i ka makahiki 1912. Ma hope o ho‘okahi kenekulia a ‘oi, i ka makahiki 2014, ua hui nā ‘elele o ke Ke‘ena Kuleana Hawai‘i a me ka Hale Hō‘ike‘ike ‘o Bīhopa me nā ‘elele o Te Papa no ke kūkākūkā ‘ana e pili ana i ka hiki ke ho‘iho‘i ‘ia ka ‘ahu‘ula a me ka mahiole i ka lāhui Hawai‘i. Ua hāpai ‘ia ka mana‘o no ka hā‘awi ‘ia ‘ana o ia mau mea makamae ‘elua no ka manawa lō‘ihi, a ua ho‘oholo ‘ia ‘o ia ka mana‘o maika‘i no ka ho‘opili hou ‘ia ‘ana o ia mau mea makamae i nā kānaka Hawai‘i. Ma kēia ‘atikala nei, e hō‘ike ‘ia ana ka mō‘aukala o ka ‘ahu ‘ula a me ka mahiole i ka Hale Hō‘ike‘ike o New Zealand ‘o Te Papa Tongarewa. E hō‘ike ‘ia ana nā mea waiwai i kupu a‘e i ka ho‘omākaukau ‘ana i ia mau mea makamae no ka ho‘iho‘i ‘ia ‘ana i Hawai‘i i ka makahiki 2016. Ua kupu a mohala nō nā ha‘awina no ke kaiāulu, no ka mo‘omeheu, a no ka hana ‘ana me nā mea ‘ōiwi ma ka hale hō‘ike‘ike.

KEYWORDS: Hawai‘i, Kalani‘ōpu‘u, James Cook, feather cloak, Te Papa, Pacific, museums, ‘ahu ‘ula, mahiole, Bishop Museum, community engagement, feathers, decolonising museums, indigenous museology.

Introduction

On 26 January 1779, the Hawaiian high chief Kalani'ōpu'u (c. 1729–82) took the cloak he was wearing and draped it over the shoulders of the English explorer Captain James Cook (1728–79). According to Lieutenant James King in his journal, the chief 'got up & threw in a graceful manner over the Captns Shoulders the Cloak he himself wore, & put a feathered Cap upon his head, & a very handsome fly flap in his hand' (Beaglehole 1967: 512). His people brought four large pigs and other offerings of food. At the time, the 'ahu 'ula (feathered cloak) and mahiole (feathered helmet) were worn only by the highest-ranking leaders in Hawaiian society. They were complex constructions of fibre and treasured bird feathers. 'They were symbols of chiefly divinity, rank and authority ... the greatest treasures that eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century ali'i [chiefs] could bestow' (Kahanu 2015: 24). Less than three weeks after this historic gifting, Cook was killed at Kealakekua Bay, Hawai'i. The 'ahu 'ula and mahiole left the islands with the remaining members of his expedition.

The subsequent history of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole has been traced in detail by Adrienne Kaeppler (1974, 1978, 2011). On their arrival in England, Sir Ashton Lever (1729–88) acquired both items for his private museum, the Holophusicon or Leverian Museum. There, an illustrator called Sarah Stone made a painting of the 'ahu 'ula; this record has enabled Kaeppler to confirm its subsequent movements. Thomas Atkinson, a close friend of Joseph Banks, the botanist who accompanied Cook on his first voyage (1768–71), bought the cloak and helmet at the sale of the Leverian Museum in 1806. Somebody later gave them to William Bullock (c. 1773–1849), the owner of another private museum. At the sale of Bullock's museum in London in 1819, they were part of a group of items purchased by Charles Winn (c. 1795–1874) for his private collection. They stayed with the Winn family for nearly a century, before they were returned to the Pacific.

The journeys of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole from Hawai'i, and through the hands of private collections and institutions, brings into relief their long disconnection from the people who created them. Their travels are part of a devastating history of colonisation and cultural loss in the Hawaiian Islands. However, as this article suggests, these cultural treasures have been sent on a trajectory that gives them new purpose and relevance almost 250 years after they first left Hawai'i. The article documents the

most recent history of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole, which covers more than a century of storage and display in New Zealand's national museum. Although geographically and physically disconnected from the Hawaiian people, the objects have not remained isolated and static. Like many items in museum collections, they have continued 'picking up new significances, connections and meanings' (Gosden & Marshall 1999: 170). Some scholars use the metaphor of biography to describe this process, and talk of objects as having biographies or social lives, where they accumulate stories, associations and history through the many ways people (and institutions) interact with them (Kopytoff 1986; Gosden & Marshall 1999). In the spirit of this discourse, this article maps the biography of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole from 1912 to 2016. It tells the story of how these items, once a surprising gift to the nation of New Zealand, went on to become a focal point of new processes of cultural recovery and self-determination for contemporary Hawaiians.

We have developed this article from a series of three seminars titled 'The 'ahu 'ula of Kalani'ōpu'u: stories of a sacred cloak', organised at Te Papa in association with the Hawai'i Cultural Centre, Wellington.¹ It is co-authored by the seminars' presenters, with additional contributions from staff involved in working with the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole before their departure for Hawai'i. The first part of this article is a chronology that outlines what we know of the history of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole since their arrival at the Dominion Museum in Wellington in 1912. There is a particular focus on the period between the late 1990s and 2016, a time of increasing Hawaiian community interest in the Hawai'i collections at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa). The chronology demonstrates that the social significance and histories of artefacts does not always end when they become part of museum collections. If artefacts have social lives, then the museum is a new context that mediates a fresh (albeit restricted) range of possibilities for the object to be part of alternative transactions, and to circulate and be engaged with different people in new situations. Throughout their time at Te Papa and its institutional predecessors, the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole were used for a range of purposes: to bring visitors through the museum doors, to facilitate institutional partnerships, as ethnological specimens and historical artefacts, and to educate.

The second part of the article describes events of late 2015 to early 2016, and Te Papa's preparation of the 'ahu



Fig. 1 'ahu 'ula (feathered cloak), 1700s, Hawai'i, maker unknown. Gift of Lord St Oswald, 1912. Te Papa (FE000327)

'ula and mahiole for their return to Hawai'i. It documents perspectives from staff and community members to shed light on aspects of the museology relating to the treatment and movement of cultural treasures. The 'ahu 'ula and mahiole were a catalyst for the investigation and recovery of knowledge, and the enacting of cultural protocols and renewal of cultural connections. The first two accounts are from textile conservation and collection management staff who deinstalled and stabilised the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole in preparation for travel to Hawai'i. They are followed by the reflections of Te Papa's Kaumātua (Māori elder) and Kaihautū (Māori leader), who oversaw the negotiations and indigenous ceremonial protocols related to the loan and handover process.

The epilogue and final reflection is from members of the Hawai'i Cultural Centre in Wellington. As residents of Wellington, they regularly visited the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole at Te Papa. They advised staff and performed cultural protocols during the deinstallation, and shared cultural knowledge that informed the conservation treatment. These accounts and this article as a whole are a companion to another paper in this edition of *Tubinga*, authored by Noelle Kahanu (p. 24).



Fig. 2 Mahiole (feathered helmet), 1700s, Hawai'i, maker unknown. Gift of Lord St Oswald, 1912. Te Papa (FE000328/2)

A chronology of display²

*Sean Mallon*³

The biography of the ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole began well before their gifting to James Cook, and it continued to unfold across the many decades after they left Hawai‘i and eventually arrived in New Zealand. The history of artefacts collected on Cook’s voyages and now held at Te Papa are documented by Kaeppler (1974, 1978), and in part by Livingstone (1998) and Davidson (1991, 2004, 2012). These histories trace movements of the ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole from Hawai‘i, through collectors’ hands in the United Kingdom, and eventually to New Zealand. They authenticate the artefacts and their connection to James Cook, they verify the journeys they were part of, and they bring further precision to our understanding of historical people, places and events. Within the space available in the present article, we don’t attempt to recount these narratives in full; rather, we add to them by tracing for the first time the history of the ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole within Te Papa and its institutional predecessors. We emphasise the key moments where people have exhibited, talked about and visited them, and we add further stories to the history of these most sacred objects.

1912: gifted to the Dominion Museum, Wellington

In 1912, Charles Winn’s grandson, Rowland Winn, 2nd Baron St Oswald (1857–1919), gave the ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole to the Dominion of New Zealand. They were part of a collection of rare and beautiful artefacts, including such treasures as a Society Islands mourning costume and a number of Māori taonga (cultural treasures), some of which had a direct connection with Cook’s voyages. The gift came as a complete surprise to the museum’s director, Augustus Hamilton. He commented in a letter at the time, ‘Goodness knows what the reason was that prompted Lord St Oswald to send them out to New Zealand’ (Hamilton to Edge-Partington, 18 November 1912). They have been in the national collection ever since (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa n.d.).

1937: Hawaiian featherwork exhibition

In 1937, the Dominion Museum held an exhibition of Hawaiian featherwork, featuring the items from the Lord St Oswald collection. A short article in the *Evening Post* made a connection between the feather-covered cloaks of the ‘Maori and Hawaiian Islanders’, noting the ‘variety of designs of brightly-coloured feathers worked on a base of woven fibre’ (‘Feather work’ 1937).

1960: Bishop Museum, Hawai‘i

In 1960, the ‘ahu ‘ula was loaned by the Dominion Museum to the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Bishop Museum) in Honolulu, Hawai‘i. In October, *Conch Shell: News of the Bishop Museum* reported that each year the museum would attempt to bring back to Hawai‘i an example of featherwork for display during Aloha Week (now called the Aloha Festivals), an annual tourism pageant that was established in 1946. The publication noted that ‘This year the Dominion Museum of Wellington, New Zealand, has generously loaned a large Hawaiian feather cloak, which to the best of our knowledge, was presented to Captain Cook’s expedition in 1779. Aloha Week marks the first return of this cloak to Hawaii.’⁴ Loans of this kind between institutions were common. The motivations may have been collegial, in the interests of institutional prestige or for the purposes of cultural diplomacy.

1978: *Artificial Curiosities*, Hawai‘i

In 1978, the ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole travelled to the Bishop Museum, where they appeared in the landmark exhibition *Artificial Curiosities: being an exhibition and exposition of native manufactures collected on the three Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N.* from January to August of that year. This exhibition was curated by Cook voyage scholar Adrienne Kaeppler. The loan constituted part of the Cook voyage collections and confirmed the authenticity of the ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole.



Fig. 3 Pacific Hall exhibition, 1984, National Museum, Buckle Street, Wellington.

1984: National Museum redisplay, Pacific Hall

In 1984, a new display of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole was prepared for the Pacific Hall of the National Museum (formerly the Dominion Museum). The 'ahu 'ula underwent major conservation treatment, and major investment was made into an atmosphere-controlled, bullet- and disaster-proof display case with backlit label text and colour illustrations. The display case was positioned prominently in the centre of the entrance to the exhibition hall. The occasion was marked by a special event on 2 July 1984, hosted by local Māori leader Maui Pomare and opened by Kenneth Francis Kamu'okalani Brown, a member of the board of trustees at the Bishop Museum. As part of Brown's speech, he said:

Today's recognition of the cape and helmet symbolizes a new-found appreciation, even awe, for the objects themselves and for the civilization for which are holograms ... So the cape and the helmet bring forth and echo to, resonances thru time and thru thought. As they speak for Hawaii here in New Zealand, they also call across the seas. They speak of commonalities, new-found associations and aspirations. These, between and among Maori and Hawaiian, and all others, too. Visits become more frequent. Initiatives, cultural and spiritual, are going forward. So, new linkages are being formed. The ripples spread out! As we progress, let us always remain mindful of these sacred objects, vibrating with mana here in this place, but felt and drawn upon for resolve and strength, wherever we go. (Brown 1984)



Fig. 4 Apu (coconut shell cup), 2004, Hawai'i, by Delos Reyes Anthony. Gift of Ka hale mua o Maui loa, 2004. Te Papa (FE012712/1)

1998: Te Papa redisplay

In 1998, the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole were redisplayed as part of the opening exhibitions of the newly established Te Papa. During the opening ceremonies for the museum, Kamana'opono Crabbe from Hawai'i composed and performed a chant for Kalani'ōpu'u's 'ahu 'ula and mahiole. Once again, the display of the objects attracted significant resource and investment from the museum. They were exhibited as part of a selection of museum icons that didn't sit within the core narrative exhibitions, but whose historical or cultural significance warranted their display as stand-alone exhibits. The exhibit was titled *Feathers of the Gods*⁵ and was located in a physically separate space adjacent to larger exhibitions relating to Māori, Pacific cultures and the Treaty of Waitangi.⁶ The label text includes commentary from Hawaiian scholar Rubellite K. Johnson, Emeritus Professor of Hawaiian at the University of Hawai'i.

2004: Ka hale mua o Maui loa

In 2004, members of a Hawaiian men's cultural group, Ka hale mua o Maui loa (including Kamana'opono Crabbe), visited the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole, and a feathered image of the god Kū, to pay homage to them with an 'awa (kava) ceremony (Tengan 2008: 203). Ty Tengan, an anthropologist and one of the members of Ka hale mua o Maui loa, recalled the event:

we set up the 'awa in front of the display of Kalani'ōpu'u's cape and helmet; the image of Kū, typically held in the back, was brought out for us. We gave our chants, and the two men whose genealogies linked them to the chief gave the offerings of 'awa in 'apu (coconut cups) they had carved especially for the occasion and were to be left there. When we completed the ceremony, we moved to the open foyer where a host of the museum dignitaries were awaiting us. There we did an 'awa ceremony to sanctify our relationship with the museum ... Hema Temara, the marae coordinator, told us later that if we had asked for Kū, the cape, and the helmet, she would have been forced to give them to us since we had conducted all the proper protocols. Next time we'll bring an extra suitcase. (Tengan 2008: 209)

2009: *Tales from Te Papa*

In 2009, the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole were filmed for a television documentary series called *Tales from Te Papa*, in which stories related to significant objects in the museum's collections were shared in short episodes lasting a few minutes. It was a groundbreaking project in New Zealand, whereby Te Papa reached out to television and online audiences. In episode 52, 'A captain's chiefly gift', Herman Pi'ikea Clark, a Hawaiian scholar and descendant of Kalani'ōpu'u, was interviewed about the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole and asked what they represent for the Hawaiian people. Clark's involvement in providing expert commentary is part of our effort as Pacific cultures

curators to engage with the Te Papa principle of mana taonga⁷ and decentre ourselves as the primary knowledge-holders around our collections. The 'ahu 'ula and mahiole were the focus of the first of two Hawai'i-related episodes of *Tales from Te Papa*, where we experimented with sharing the creation of object narratives with members of Pacific community.⁸ It was their significance as important cultural treasures that pushed us to consider who could speak to them in such a public presentation.

2009 onwards

An increasing number of Hawaiian artists, researchers and school groups include Te Papa on their travel itineraries to New Zealand so they can engage with tangata whenua (indigenous people), visit Kalani'ōpu'u's 'ahu 'ula and mahiole, and view other cultural treasures from Hawai'i in the museum's collections. Wellington-based Hawaiian academic Emalani Case describes the 'ahu 'ula display at Te Papa as a pu'uhonua, a place of refuge, sanctuary or peace that she often shared with friends and relatives visiting her in New Zealand. However, not all visitors to the museum were at peace with the representation of Kalani'ōpu'u's adornments at Te Papa. The visit of Ka hale mua o Maui loa to see the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole in 2004, and Ty Tengan's quip 'Next time we'll bring an extra suitcase', wasn't the only time a Hawaiian had offered to take the 'ahu 'ula with them when they left New Zealand.

As Hawaiian scholars, activists and artists have visited the display case at Te Papa, some of their responses have been memorable and demonstrated to us, if we didn't already know it, the significance of these cultural treasures for Hawaiians. One prominent Hawaiian academic, while standing before the cloak, angrily criticised Te Papa's label text in the display and the interpretation of the Hawaiian scholar we had worked with, saying, 'If I had a hammer, I'd smash this case and take the cloak with me right now!' It was an emotional and intimidating response, but I understood that this person was a committed indigenous historian and activist, so what kind of response should I have expected? It was the first time I had witnessed an emotional reaction to the cloak but it was not the last. On another occasion, a leading Hawaiian artist and cultural expert looked upon the display with me, and as part of his quiet reflections he said, 'I would love to see this cloak return to Hawai'i to our people, but who will be ready to stand up and take

responsibility for its return; who will do this?' I assumed that behind this question was a concern that the 'ahu 'ula and its future would be subject to the cultural politics of an indigenous people for whom there were many competing priorities – sovereignty, self-determination, education and economic self-sufficiency. It would be the responsibility of more than one or a few people, and perhaps beyond the resources or claims of one or two institutions or museums.

Not surprisingly, the most diplomatic response was from a senior museum professional, a Hawaiian, who praised Te Papa for looking after the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole so well. She suggested that the value of the 'ahu 'ula being so far away from home was in its role as a kind of ambassador for the Hawaiian people and their culture. This was a generous and diplomatic response, perhaps intended to relieve us of a little of the burden of holding something so treasured, so far away from its people. It was also a sentiment that would help maintain the relations between us as museum professionals, especially as the commenter's own museum was the holder of cultural treasures of significance to Māori. However, her response is not unusual. There are other examples of source communities and museums describing cultural treasures from which they are estranged as 'ambassadors' (Jolly 2011: 127; Knowles 2011: 232; Hogsden & Poulter 2012: 268), but as Hawaiian scholar and curator Noelle Kahanu has said (quoting Edward Halealoha Ayau), 'even ambassadors can be called home' (pers. comm., 2016).

From 2013, interest in returning the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole to Hawai'i gained momentum. Te Papa was visited by delegations from the Bishop Museum and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Conversations began about the possibility of a long-term loan of the chiefly adornments to Hawai'i. This dialogue was partially inspired by the successful 2010 reunification of the three last great Kū images from museums in the United Kingdom and the United States (Kahanu 2014). It was further shaped by the developing professional relationships between Te Papa staff and Hawaiian museum workers, artists and academics. In 2014–15, further meetings took place and a loan of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole to Hawai'i emerged from a partnership between the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Te Papa, the Bishop Museum and Hawaiian Airlines. On 23 September 2015, Te Papa staff deinstalled the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole from their display in preparation for the journey to Hawai'i in March 2016.



Fig. 5 'The 'ahu 'ula of Kalani'ōpu'u: stories of a sacred cloak' seminar series at Te Papa in association with the Hawai'i Cultural Centre, Wellington (24 February to 2 March 2016).

As a curator of Pacific cultures, the most significant shift I have witnessed since I joined Te Papa in 1992 has been in how we talk about the 'ahu 'ula – from its value as an ethnological specimen collected on voyages of European exploration, to an artefact with the potential to strengthen the connections of contemporary Hawaiian people to their history and cultural identities; from Cook's cloak to Kalani'ōpu'u's cloak, and from feather cloak to 'ahu 'ula. The catalogue of photographs of the 'ahu 'ula highlight changes in interpretation over time: photographs taken in 1959 are catalogued as 'Hawaiian Feather Cloak – Captain Cook relic'; in 1977 as 'Captain Cook's Hawaiian feather cloak'; in 1984 as 'Captain Cook's Hawaiian cloak'; and in 2015 as "'ahu 'ula (feathered cloak); 1700s; Hawaiian'.⁹

This curatorial reworking of the catalogue is part of a decolonising of museology that is an ongoing project in various parts of the world. However, some of Te Papa's stakeholders were not convinced of the merits of the removal of the 'ahu 'ula from the museum for such a long period, highlighting competing claims on its history and associations (Mallon 2016). The chronology reminds us that the 'ahu 'ula is part of multiple coexisting narratives, part of a process of classifying and reclassifying. It is part of the history of textiles and featherwork in Hawai'i, of leadership and chieftainship in eighteenth-century Hawai'i, of James Cook and his voyages of exploration in the Pacific, of nineteenth-century private collectors in the United Kingdom, and of the reclaiming and enacting of indigenous masculinities. It is part of the relationships between institutions and individuals. And it is part of the history between indigenous peoples and developments in decolonising museology.

Rediscovery, reconnection and return

After the deinstallation of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole, a series of three seminars was organised at Te Papa in association with the Hawai'i Cultural Centre, Wellington (24 February to 2 March 2016). Titled 'The 'ahu 'ula of Kalani'ōpu'u: stories of a sacred cloak', the seminars were part of a curatorial effort to build awareness around the cultural significance of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole before they were returned to Hawai'i. The presentations were also an opportunity to develop an understanding of the formal qualities of the garments and the artistic and technical skills they represented. The 'ahu 'ula and mahiole had remained inaccessible behind glass since 1997, and some of Te Papa's current textile conservators had not had the chance to examine them closely. In the following section, and building on the seminars, I invited Te Papa staff to share aspects of their presentations and their role in the processes of rediscovering, reconnecting and returning the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole to Hawai'i.¹⁰

Conservation

*Rangi Te Kanawa,¹¹ Rachael Collinge¹²
and Nirmala Balram¹³*

This section briefly outlines the conservation approach and treatment of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole. A detailed article reporting on the treatment is in preparation (forthcoming).

The 'ahu 'ula and mahiole were on permanent display at

Te Papa from 1998, and prior to this were on permanent display in the Pacific Hall of Te Papa's predecessor, the National Museum. The 'ahu 'ula was displayed in Te Papa on a convex metal support covered in black nylon fabric, contained within a custom-built bullet-proof glass case in an environmentally controlled gallery. It was illuminated with motion-activated fibre-optic lights positioned within the case to reduce cumulative light exposure. It was not possible to examine the 'ahu 'ula while it was on display as a wall had been erected within the exhibition space, preventing access to the display case.

Te Papa takes a bicultural approach in terms of the leadership of the museum and its museological practice. In many ways, this informs much of our conservation methodology and ensures that, where possible, our work is informed by indigenous and non-indigenous approaches and knowledge. The significance of this taonga and the importance of preparing the 'ahu 'ula for its return journey was felt by all parties who were involved in this project. The conservation and object support team were responsible for ensuring the cloak would withstand the demands of the journey during transit and display, while being mindful of the Hawaiian community's requirements.

The treatment undertaken for the 'ahu 'ula and the mahiole was collaborative and involved working across the teams within Te Papa and alongside representatives of the Hawaiian cultural practitioners based in Wellington. The first step, before assessing the 'ahu 'ula and removing from it from the display case, was to commence the process with appropriate prayers and chants led by members of the local Hawaiian community.

The return of the 'ahu 'ula to Hawaii presented conservation staff with an opportunity to examine previous treatments and the impact of display methods. Fortunately, the most recent treatment (1984) of the 'ahu 'ula had been well documented. We were able to observe a number of historical stitched repairs undertaken on the underside of the cloak and a number of more recent linen patch supports. A linen patch had been stitched to the reverse of the 'ahu 'ula along the upper edge, providing some support to a tear and compensating for an area of loss in one corner. We completed some X-ray fluorescence (XRF) spectroscopy analysis to determine the presence of any pesticide residues that could potentially have health and safety implications for museum staff and community members interacting with the 'ahu 'ula.

As the 'ahu 'ula had been on long-term display at Te Papa, and the museum's ability to photograph and document the cloak had greatly improved during that time, we felt justified in removing the linen support patches to enable the garment to be examined and photographed in full. This was a valuable opportunity to record the overall construction of the base of the cloak; the netting technique, cordage and feather binding; and the method of attachment to the olonā (*Touchardia latifolia*) netting foundation. This information was not visible or accessible when the cloak was on display within its case. We were extremely fortunate that pathologist Mark Jones was able to assist with this process. He brought considerable expertise, along with his own microscope and camera, to record the details of manufacture and enhance what we could see with the naked eye. We were particularly interested in understanding the net-making technique and in being able to replicate the knot used in the netting. The 'ahu 'ula has a pieced foundation made up of many sections of very fine olonā netting cut and shaped to fit. Tiny bundles of fine feathers, each bound together, are secured with a continuous olonā thread to the foundation. The red and yellow feathers are attributed to 'iwi (*Drepanis coccinea*) and 'ō'ō (*Moho nobilis*) birds. In the 1700s Kia manu (bird catchers) practised capture and release techniques in their harvesting of specific species of birds for their feathers.¹⁴ Working with magnified images from the microscope, a piece of unfinished fishing net with net gauge still present, and ethnographic references from the Pacific Islands,¹⁵ we successfully replicated the knot and produced some small samples of net.

The study of knots and net-making became compulsive, and we made comparisons with western net-making traditions and referred to documented indigenous net-making techniques.¹⁶ We were fortunate to have Rangī Te Kanawa contribute her skills as both a Māori weaver and conservator to this project. This led to further questions and observations, including Rangī's query about whether the makers applied a binding agent to the tip of the feather bundles.

Our net samples were by no means as finely worked as the olonā netting of the 'ahu 'ula, but by undertaking this practical exercise we gained a greater appreciation of the skill and work involved in producing the cloak. We were also excited to receive emails from staff at the Bishop Museum, some of whom are weavers, who sent us photographs of their net-making samples. We hope

the observations and documentation we have made will assist other researchers and practitioners. Throughout the treatment of the 'ahu 'ula, we endeavoured to provide an open studio. On several occasions, Rangi and Anne Peranteau (Conservator Textiles) shared observations and treatment updates with community representatives, university students and Te Papa staff.

A full-size digital print of the 'ahu 'ula was also produced for its eventual handover to the Hawaiian delegation. We undertook this as an exercise to provide visitors a sense of how the cloak would have appeared when worn (the 'ahu 'ula is too fragile to be displayed on a form and needs to be fully supported, with the weight evenly distributed to prevent stress on the cloak foundation and further feather loss). This was a new venture for the conservation team, and we found that there were some limitations and technical issues to resolve. Options for fabrics on which we could print were very limited as we wanted one with some weight so we could best replicate the drape of the 'ahu 'ula. The full-size replica provided a greater sense of how the feathered geometric patterns of the 'ahu 'ula met at the centre front of the cloak and were designed to be viewed as it was worn. For the pōwhiri (ceremonial welcome) of the Hawaiian delegation, the digital copy was displayed on a form alongside the original 'ahu 'ula and returned with the garment to Hawai'i. Issues that arose with the production of the digital 'ahu 'ula need to be further debated and discussed. For example, by producing a digital copy we could give a greater visual sense of how the 'ahu 'ula may have looked as it was worn, but were we diminishing the mana (status) of the original cloak?

Following the work to document the structure and condition of the 'ahu 'ula, the next step was to stabilise the cloak to enable its display at the Bishop Museum. Our approach to the conservation treatment was to employ fully reversible techniques that wouldn't compromise the integrity of the original garment. A dyed nylon net was stitched to the entire reverse side of the 'ahu 'ula to provide it with some stability. We wanted to provide support but not conceal the netting. A cotton organdie patch was applied to provide support to an area of loss at the upper edge. We specifically designed this patch to integrate visually and provide support, not replace an area of loss.

Our use of an existing mount presented some challenges in terms of modifying it for transportation and a new display. Specifically, it needed to provide overall support

for the 'ahu 'ula, to reduce any direct handling of the garment and to transport it on its mount inside a crate. Rangi and Anne stitched the 'ahu 'ula to linen support fabric, which was then wrapped around the metal mount. This was undertaken in part to cover existing display fabric that could not be removed from the mount. Rangi and Anne worked together, passing the needle from one side of the cloak to the other, and with Anne working from under a table. The linen fabric was then removed from the stretcher and secured to the mount. Detachable handles were fitted to the mount to enable the 'ahu 'ula to be moved without any direct handling and to enable the mount to be attached in the crate tray for transit. Data loggers were attached to the crate interior to record environmental conditions during the course of the 'ahu 'ula's journey.

The mahiole had been on display with the 'ahu 'ula at Te Papa since 1997, and due to controlled display conditions it experienced very little light exposure, helping preserve it. On examination of the helmet, Nirmala Balram (Conservator Ethnographic Objects) found the frame structurally stable, and noted little fading of and staining on the feathers. A mount, similar to those used for hats, was custom designed for the internal shape of the mahiole and secured to it to prevent any lifting and dislocating during transit. External supports to hold the helmet in place would have risked crushing the feathers.

It was a great honour for us to be involved in the conservation of the 'ahu 'ula. Its treatment provided an opportunity for conservation intern Catherine Williams to be involved in the XRF examination. She said that the chance to learn from Te Papa staff, external specialists and community representatives as they collaborated to facilitate the research, treatment and eventual loan of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole was one of the highlights of her 12-month object conservation internship. Indeed, our experience was enriched by all those who accompanied us on this journey and shared their personal responses and knowledge. We would like to acknowledge and thank everyone involved.

The journey home

*Grace Hutton*¹⁷

In the first week of September 2015, I was informed that the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole were going to be returned to Hawai'i as a long-term loan to the Bishop Museum. As Collection Manager Pacific Cultures at Te Papa, my responsibility was to organise the deinstallation of the items from their display case as soon as possible, as I was about to depart for some time overseas.

Before we began the actual deinstallation of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole and their removal from the display case, I felt that a formal Hawaiian ritual was needed to ensure the safe journey of these significant cultural treasures to Hawai'i. Sean Mallon, Senior Curator Pacific Cultures at Te Papa, contacted local Hawaiian academic Emalani Case to arrange this. On 18 September 2015, a group of 20 Te Papa staff, consisting of conservators, installers, curators, collection managers and others, assembled at the display case, where Emalani, Kawikaka'iulani Aipa and Kamalani Kapeliela of the Hawai'i Cultural Centre performed mele (songs) and speeches were made. The display case originally butted up against a wall, but this had been moved out of the way by an exhibition organiser. After the ceremony, we gathered at the back of the display case to remove the mahiole and the 'ahu 'ula from their mounts and take them to Te Papa's Conservation Lab. Before I left to go overseas, I completed an 'Application for permission to export a protected New Zealand object from New Zealand' form,¹⁸ which I submitted to the Ministry for Culture and Heritage. Permission was subsequently granted for the export of the mahiole and 'ahu 'ula until 2026.

On my return to New Zealand, I had paperwork to complete for the United States Customs and Border Protection and New Zealand Customs Service agencies. There was no need to apply for a permit from the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) as none of the natural materials used in the manufacture of the objects was from protected species listed in the CITES appendices. The most complicated form that had to be completed for the entry of the items into a United States territory was the United States Fish and Wildlife Service for the Federal Fish and Wildlife Permit. Fortunately, institutions like Te Papa use affiliated customs agents to guide and help them with completing

the appropriate documentation. The United States Fish and Wildlife Service asked for a feather count of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole. We were able to undertake this task as we had already done a feather count when we loaned two other Hawaiian feather cloaks and a feather helmet to the de Young Museum in San Francisco for the exhibition *Royal Hawaiian Featherwork: Nā Hulu Ali'i* in 2015. For the loan to de Young, Rachael Collinge (Conservator Textiles) and I counted how many feathers were in a single bunch used in the manufacture of the garments. We counted several bunches, finding that the number of feathers ranged between 7 and 12, making an average of 10 yellow or red feathers per bunch. I measured each lineal part of the feathered design so that we could calculate the total area. I sent these measurements to my daughter Sarah Culliford, who is a quantity surveyor working in London. She did the maths and sent me back the area of each section in square centimetres (Fig 6).

Rangi and intern Kororia Netana then counted how many feather bunches were in 1 cm², and I multiplied that figure by the area of each block of feathers to get the number of bunches they contained. I calculated that there is a total of 1,079,137 yellow feathers and 3,339,525 red feathers in the whole of the 'ahu 'ula. Colin Miskelly, Curator Vertebrates at Te Papa, informed me that the 'i'iwi and 'ō'ō birds are from the order Passeriformes and each bird has between 1,500 and 3,000 feathers. So rather than the estimate of 20,000 birds used in the manufacture of the 'ahu 'ula, as was written on the display case label, my belief is that far fewer birds may have been used – possibly closer to 7,000 'i'iwi for the red feathers.

The 'ahu 'ula and the mahiole travelled in separate wooden crates on Hawaiian Airlines. The crates travelled together on a dedicated pallet in the aircraft hold, with the mahiole crate secured on top of the 'ahu 'ula crate. The large crate weighed approximately 200 kg, while the smaller crate weighed 30 kg.

To prepare for the pōwhiri for the Hawaiian delegation (held on Friday, 11 March 2016), a number of staff moved the 'ahu 'ula and the mahiole to the paepae (threshold) of Rongomaraeroa. The tray that housed the 'ahu 'ula and its mount was covered with a white Tyvek cover, attached with Velcro around the sides. There was one lighthearted moment when I pulled the cover off and it unexpectedly floated up to my lips, leaving a lipstick outline in the centre of the cover. Rangi had to machine-stitch a small patch to cover it up because there was no time to make a new one!

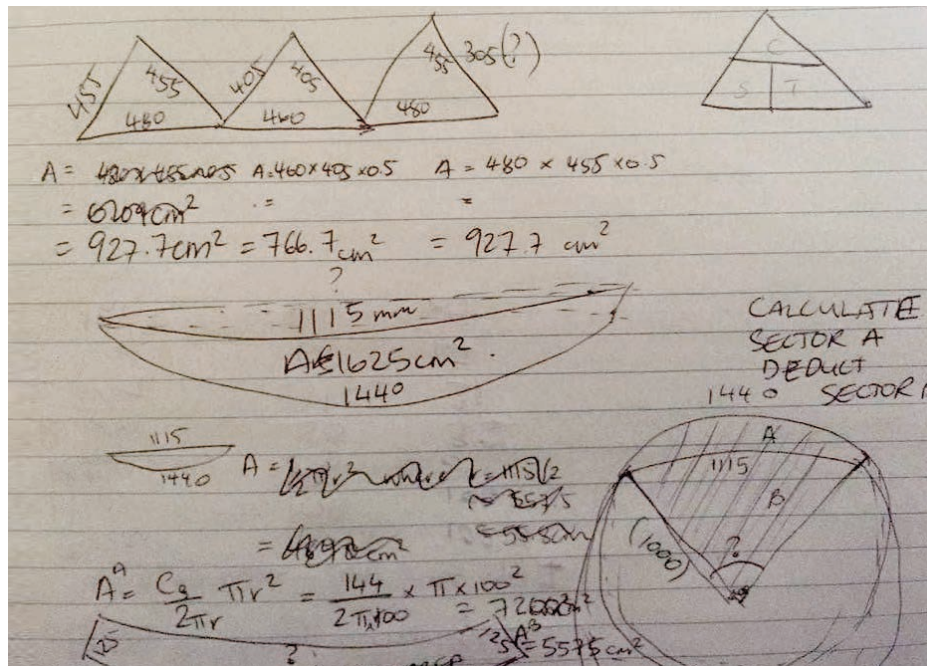


Fig. 6 Measurements of the red and yellow areas of the ‘ahu ‘ula.

In addition to my duties as Collection Manager Pacific Cultures, I was also assigned to accompany the ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole to Hawai‘i. We left Te Papa on Saturday, 12 March at 8am on a road journey by truck to Auckland, a distance of 650 km. There were a couple of coincidences that made the journey memorable. Late the night before, a John Webber painting titled *Portrait of Captain James Cook* (c. 1780) was returned to Te Papa from overseas accompanied by a courier. It had been loaned to Anchorage Museum, Alaska, for an exhibition called *Arctic Ambitions: Captain Cook and the Northwest Passage* (27 March–7 September 2015). That loan started in 2012 but the painting didn’t travel to Alaska until 2015. Once the exhibition closed in Alaska in September 2015, the loan of the painting was extended and it went to New York for another exhibition, arriving back at Te Papa on 11 March. The dates for the transportation of the ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole to Hawai‘i also changed, from early March to 11 March. Events transpired to make sure that Cook and Kalani‘ōpu‘u were still crossing paths over 200 years after they first met. Perhaps they needed to say their farewells one last time? Our customs agent said that the delivery truck coming to Te Papa and then leaving the next day with a separate consignment was a unique event.

On the journey to Auckland Airport, a group of Hawaiian kia‘i (guards) travelled in one car behind the truck. Another

of the kia‘i travelled in the truck with me and the driver. A film crew from Hawai‘i who were documenting the objects’ return followed behind. Once we arrived in Auckland at the airport cargo shed, the kia‘i assisted me with wrapping and securing the crates to the pallet. They were also allowed to accompany the crates onto the tarmac, a role usually carried out by a customs agent but in this case permitted because Hawaiian Airlines, a partner in the process, helped to ensure that culturally appropriate practices could be followed. We arrived safely in Hawai‘i on the morning of Saturday, 12 March, and again the kia‘i disembarked from the plane onto the tarmac to accompany the crates to the cargo shed. There the crates were unloaded from the pallet and transferred to a truck for the drive to the Bishop Museum.

As both a Pacific Islander and Collection Manager Pacific Cultures at Te Papa, I enjoyed being involved in ensuring the safe transportation of two significant Hawaiian cultural treasures. It was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. Over the years, I have met many Hawaiians who have travelled to Te Papa to connect with its Hawaiian collection, especially the ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole. They all articulated their desire to see these two taonga back in Hawai‘i. For the Hawaiians who live in New Zealand, the ‘ahu ‘ula and mahiole were their mauri (life force). We were told by them that Te Papa was somewhere they could visit regularly because they could connect with their ipukarea (hometown) through the ‘ahu

'ula and mahiole, which had so much mana and presence in the museum. I feel extremely fortunate to be associated with all the people who journeyed alongside us to enable the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole to make the long journey back home. I loved the whole experience, especially the welcome given to the cultural treasures by the Hawaiian community at the Bishop Museum, which was singularly moving. It was an amazing journey.

Reforged connections – a tangata whenua perspective

*Te Waari Carkeek*¹⁹

As a whole, Māori people have a great appreciation and love for Hawaiians, their culture, their dances and their language. We see reflected in them some of the best parts of ourselves. Their style, tenacity and resilience are part of our shared Pacific heritage. We are guilty of ethnic and indigenous romanticism. We copy their hypnotic tunes while creating enduring Māori kapa haka (cultural group) classics, and we emulate their speech and gestures. We imagine what it's like to be a Hawaiian; in some ways we look alike, sharing similar but differing colonial pasts. Imitation being the greatest form of flattery, evermore similarities arise. Expressing our indigeneity at home and globally has challenged both Māori and Hawaiians for decades. We both inhabit warrior pasts, beliefs we take pride in. We freely express mana tangata (human/individual rights), mana rangatira (leadership of a group) and mana whenua (authority over land, sea, rivers and mountains), but were both brutalised culturally, economically and spiritually. Empire-led armed invasions took our lands, traditions and spirituality. Tribally belittled and seriously damaged, we were compromised as races for commercial gain. We both show appalling health and incarceration statistics, with too little economic growth or progress. What is there left to be thrilled about? The core of Hawaiian culture survives, and we as Māori can help it flourish.

We as Māori, under the sheltering roof of Te Papa, our indigenous protector and cultural warrior, provide living frameworks for ngā taonga tuku iho (gifts handed down). Rongomaraeroa and tupuna whare provided a sacred space for the cloak and helmet of Kalani'ōpu'u to enter after they were removed from their long, protected tenure on

display at the back of the *Treaty of Waitangi: signs of a nation* exhibition. Sacred prayers were invoked to light Kalani'ōpu'u's journey back to the arms of his Hawaiian nation. His people would use their own cultural model. We Māori, assured of our place in Te Papa and Aotearoa New Zealand, provided the grounding net of ngā taonga tuku iho so that unique joint cultural nations blended. A new magical experience was created, an amazing potency of reformed connection. Through joint cultural understanding, the descendants of Kalani'ōpu'u shared their joy, which was streamed live in Hawai'i, mainland United States, Aotearoa New Zealand and throughout the world.

Rongomaraeroa, our courtyard, and Te Hono ki Hawaiki, the whareniui or meeting house, were an impressive backdrop and stage for this traditional exchange. Years of preparation, negotiation and interaction between Te Papa and the Bishop Museum, supported by Māori and Hawaiian leaders, culminated in the reconnection of ancestral ties. Very personal and sacred ceremonies supporting cultural revival caused unprecedented levels of media interest.

On the day we met the Hawaiian delegation face to face on Te Papa's marae, the vastness of our Pacific Island neighbourhood disappeared. Our people were excited, both as hosts and as Ngāti Toa iwi in residence at Te Papa. A member of the Hawaiian delegation surprised everyone by delivering part of his speech in Te Reo Māori, prompting one of the tangata whenua to stand and respond in the Hawaiian language. Appropriately, and when the time was right, the chairperson of the Bishop Museum, the most senior member of this delegation, spoke on behalf of her group. The line of officials from the Bishop Museum completed their presentation. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs, supported by song and dance in the beautiful Hawaiian language, and with their generosity of spirit and a wellspring of soul food overflowing and engulfing the whole marae, offered gifts carrying much kaona (meaning) to Te Papa. These were accepted in the spirit of unity.

Yes, we Māori share a similar language to the Hawaiians and can follow much of what they said. But those people present who didn't have that language facility listened with their senses, felt the emotion and were touched by the spirit of what was being expressed. It is this aspect of the ceremony that affected the hearts, minds and souls of many who were present. Tears flowed, feelings overcame us all as Kalani'ōpu'u's soul essence melded into his people, and something very special took place.



Fig. 7 Participants at the ceremony marking the return of the mahiole and 'ahu 'ula of Kalani'ōpu'u, from Te Papa to the Bishop Museum in March 2016. Te Papa, Cable Street, Wellington.

The conduit of humanity's collective ancestry opened to all, and in those moments amid the sacred space at Te Papa's marae we became one.

The proposals to return the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole, sacred artefacts of Kalani'ōpu'u, brought a sense of awe and wonder, and the greatness of the mighty Pacific's shared soul uplifted and honoured all. Māori and Hawaiian shared in the ceremony and cultural riches flowed together in a unique moment on Rongomaraeroa. In Te Papa, our iconic intermediary, we showed the world that our shared Pacific cultural identities are alive and well.

Te hokinga atu (the return): ōku whakaaro (reflections) *Arapata Hakiwai*²⁰

Tēnā koutou katoa. It gives me great pleasure to write about my personal thoughts and reflections on the recent return of the mahiole and 'ahu 'ula of Kalani'ōpu'u, an ariki nui (high chief) on the island of Hawai'i, from Te Papa to the Bishop Museum in March 2016. Experiencing the return of these taonga whakahirahira (important treasures) back

to their 'āina (homeland) and people is a personal highlight of my career, and one that I will for ever remember. At the time of the return of these priceless treasures, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs website noted the deep significance of what was happening and the contemporary importance of the kaupapa (proposal). Under the title 'Kalani'ōpu'u inspires our movement forward', the website said, 'We can take a look back and see how our ali'i [chiefs] handled the changing times to continue to assert their sovereignty and perpetuate our culture' (Crabbe 2016).

What I witnessed in Hawai'i was that the return of these ancient treasures had a profound impact on the Hawaiian people of today. Kamana'ōpono Crabbe, Ka Pouhana (chief executive officer) of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, was absolutely on point when he wrote on the website that Kalani'ōpu'u has deep significance and meaning for the generations today:

in the 21st century, building a nation isn't just about politics, but about partnerships and working together for a common good. Viewed one way, we put a lot of work into this. In another way, we are only servants and a conduit to open a pathway so all the people of Hawai'i can share in the inspiration of an ancient king who comes alive for a new generation in 2016. (Crabbe 2016)

The Bishop Museum and Dr Crabbe played an important role in the discussions and arrangements for the return of the treasures. Dr Crabbe's long association with these treasures was particularly evident: in 1998 at the opening of Te Papa, he composed and performed a chant for the 'ahu 'ula display; and in 2004 he was part of a group that travelled to Te Papa to perform important rituals that requested the return of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole. Dr Crabbe reminded everyone that Hawai'i's rich past can continue to play a powerful role in the pursuit of Hawaiian self-determination when he said, as reported in *Ka Wai Ola*, the newsletter of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, that the 'treasures can connect us to Kalani'ōpu'u, the individual and the warrior chief, but they can also connect Hawaiians and the greater Hawai'i public to the ancestral past'. He was also quoted as saying that the 'Hawaiian ali'i leader continues to inspire us in the 20th century to strive for our self-determination and reclaim our ancestral sovereignty' ('OHA makes 'ahu 'ula return a priority' 2016).

Taonga have trajectories that have often taken them out of their indigenous tribal worlds across oceans, nations, time and space, and placed them in unfamiliar environments where their values and customary knowledge and understanding have become disconnected. My colleague Paul Tapsell has written extensively in this area. He talks about the myriad array of relationships that taonga have in the patterned universe of Māori society, and how they can often appear and disappear like the flight of the tūi bird, whether stolen, gifted or repatriated (Tapsell 1997). In reference to Māori tribal taonga, Tapsell notes that they 'were cloaked in the mana, tapu [protection] and korero [stories] of their origins', and that Māori source communities seek to honour the trajectory of ancestors to whom they belong (Tapsell 2011: 96). It was my strong observation that the return of the treasures of Kalani'ōpu'u to the present generations of Hawaiian people honoured the high chief and the qualities and mana he had during his lifetime.

Thousands of Māori and Pacific taonga are housed in hundreds of museums throughout the world, confined to passive existences on shelves in backroom storage areas. Their mauri remains deactivated and in limbo, waiting for their descendants to one day visit them, caress them and greet them. The return of these treasures made me reflect deeply on museum practice and why these repatriation initiatives are not happening more often. To see the very foundations of cultural identity uplifted by the return of

these treasures to Hawai'i 237 years after they were both presented by the high chief Kalani'ōpu'u to Captain Cook was immensely emotional. The chants, speeches and the pounding beat of hula pahu (drum dances) echoed over the landscape, touching the hearts and minds of those privileged to be there and experience the event.

There are many academics who have written about the relationship between material culture and identity and well-being, but being involved in the process first hand is something that gives reality and meaning to words written in books. The power, dignity and respect of the ceremonies was apparent to everyone, and for me it reaffirmed that the return was the right thing to do – he pono, he tika. The return, or te hokinga atu, was reminiscent of the euphoria and excitement associated with the international touring Māori exhibition *Te Maori* in the 1980s.

Te Maori shook New Zealand and the world, and it mobilised Māori in ways not seen for a long time. The world saw the mana and close, enduring relationships Māori have for their taonga, and began to ask questions about the shabbiness of museum practice in Aotearoa New Zealand. In a similar Polynesian way, te hokinga atu of the mahiole and 'ahu 'ula of Kalani'ōpu'u signalled to the world that these treasures are still important in the Hawaiian nation of today. The return of the taonga to Hawai'i was a very special moment in time for our Hawaiian relations, as many thought it would never happen.

As Kaihautū of Te Papa I knew that this was a kaupapa (subject) that had been calling for many years. Regular visits by Hawaiian groups, artists and practitioners to their ariki nui's treasures at Te Papa and their hope that some day the mahiole and 'ahu 'ula would return home made this clear.

The journey of the return is as important as the return itself. It was highly appropriate that the exhibition where the mahiole and 'ahu 'ula were to be displayed at the Bishop Museum was titled *He Nae Ākea: Bound Together*, as it is my understanding that this reflects the connection of Kalani'ōpu'u to his land and people; the connection between the peoples, nations and cultures throughout the centuries who have cared for these treasures; and the connection between the three institutions involved in this return – the Bishop Museum, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and Te Papa. The collaboration and whanaungatanga (relationship) established between our organisations is something museums need to do on a more regular basis.

The journey of the return started in early 2014, when

a delegation from the Bishop Museum, including artists and cultural experts, visited Te Papa. At that time, I had just become the acting chief executive officer of Te Papa, as well as being the Kaihautū. The impassioned plea of the delegates to see the two treasures reconnected to their homeland and people was clearly evident. They recounted their experiences when the Kū figures were returned to Hawai'i from the British Museum and Peabody Essex Museum in 2010. I heard and felt their pain, anguish and deep desire to see their treasures returned home. These descendants were bearing a heavy responsibility, as they were carrying the mana of their ancestors and their ariki Kalani'ōpu'u. For me, the decision was simple and clear. After learning of the full history of the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole from Sean Mallon, Senior Curator Pacific Cultures, and following discussions with the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, the Bishop Museum and the artists and cultural practitioners, it was clear to me that I had to take this request to Te Papa's board of trustees. This I did very quickly, and our board members were in full support of this reconnection and return home.

The repatriation was realised by many people and organisations. In particular, it was inspired by the hearts and minds of the Hawaiian people, who had a vision that could help to strengthen, unite and inspire them based on the mana and foundations of their past. The welcoming ceremonies were deeply moving, and I could feel the presence of the ancestors and the connection we as Māori have with our Pacific relations. The words of the Kamehameha Schools aptly describe this significance when they wrote that the triumphant return was 'a testament to the impenetrable bond between kānaka [people] and 'āina' and that the 'strength of our identity as 'ōiwi [indigenous people] should not only be honored as part of our history but fortified as a foundation for our future' (Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum 2016).

It was only appropriate that Te Papa's Rongomaraeroa be the place to welcome our Hawaiian whānau (family) and farewell the taonga before their journey home. The rituals of encounter on Rongomaraeroa within the embrace of Te Hono ki Hawaiki, our ancestral wharenui, celebrate our strong relationships with the Pacific and were strongly felt by all those present at Te Papa. The pōwhiri was one important ceremony among many that prepared the pathway and journey home. The words of welcome from our resident tribe, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, welcomed our relations within the wairua, or spirit, of our ancestors.

The ancestors were acknowledged and called to, and their korowai, or cloak of protection, was made manifest with the many rituals conducted.

The journey home was as much a spiritual journey as it was a physical one. Māori ancestors met Hawaiian ancestors, and our gods were called upon to clear the pathway for a safe passage. The whaikōrero (oratory), karakia (chants), tauparapara (incantations) and waiata (songs), both in Aotearoa New Zealand and in Hawai'i, resonated with greetings to Kalani'ōpu'u and the ancestors. Ironically, or perhaps in a quirk of history, a portrait of Captain Cook returned to Te Papa at the same time as the mahiole and 'ahu 'ula were journeying back to Hawai'i. Did this chance meeting symbolically signal a reconnection and reconciliation of two peoples and two cultures 237 years later?

Finally, I would like to thank the board, chief executive and staff of the Bishop Museum for their partnership in this kaupapa (significant repatriation), along with the strength and commitment of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and the people of Hawai'i. As the Kaihautū of Te Papa, it was my honour to be part of the journey that enabled these taonga to return home. Honouring our ancestors is a strong feature of Polynesian peoples, because it affirms where we have come from and where we are going. Our past has always been important to us, as our ancestors stand with us, are a part of us and continue to help guide us in this ever-changing world. The stars aligned 237 years after Kalani'ōpu'u gifted Captain Cook his 'ahu 'ula and mahiole, and I know that these taonga will be anchors in the revitalisation of the Hawaiian language and identity, and in the ongoing journey for Hawaiian self-determination.

Mauri ora ki tātou katoa.

Epilogue: feathered whispers

*Emalani Case, Kawikaka'iulani Aipa
and Kamalani Kapeliela²¹*

Historian Greg Dening once wrote that we never observe the past. Rather, we observe the past as it has been interpreted, transformed and presented to us in some way: 'All we observe are the texts made of living experience – whether these texts are something written down in a letter or a journal, whether they are oral traditions transcribed in some way, whether they are material objects, like a feather cloak, enclosing its narrative in a color, a design,

a texture' (Dening 1997: 420–421). Without being able to observe lived experiences as they happen, or as they are 'lived', we must use our imaginations to find their significance. As Dening proposes, imagination empowers us to hear the stories that are perhaps no longer being told; to see the past in ways that have escaped recent memory, or recent ability; and to begin to grasp just some of the complexities of those experiences. Imagination is not about make-believe or fantasy. Instead, it's about being brave enough to engage with the past in a meaningful way, one that takes history out of its shackles – assigning it to a particular point, place or person in time – and frees it for our use, for our learning and for our continued experience of living.

While we cannot observe the past directly, we can observe the present; we can watch history unfold as each minute passes and becomes the past that future generations will come to interpret, reinterpret and make meaning from. In October 2015, we stood and watched two objects from the past – objects with millions of feathered whispers begging to be heard, millions of feathered stories waiting to be read – as they were prepared to make their way home. These were not objects with *one* story, or one single, complete history. The 'ahu 'ula and mahiole of one of our most prominent chiefs, Kalani'ōpu'u, were layered with many histories: stories knotted into their intricate nettings; stories worked into their structure by the hands of those who created them; stories soaked into them like the sweat and blood of their wearers; stories of chieftainship, of conquest, of crossings, of colonisation and of continuing. We observed the present, as Kalani'ōpu'u's chiefly regalia lay before us. Yet, that observance was not without a remembrance of the past (or at least some version of it).

As contemporary Hawaiians, we cannot pretend to know what this journey home will mean for each and every person who will come to interact with these objects, or attempt to hear, read and *feel* the narratives enclosed in their colors, textures, designs and shapes. However, what we can perhaps offer is this: the past can serve as a source of constant inspiration for us if we let it. As author and poet Albert Wendt reminds us, 'Knowledge of our past cultures is a precious source of inspiration for living out the present', or further, 'Our dead are woven into our souls ... If we let them they can help illuminate us to ourselves and to one another' (Wendt 1976: 76).

Kalani'ōpu'u is one such ancestor who has been woven, or even knotted like a million delicate feathers, into our

souls. Even when we no longer listen – or no longer know *how* to listen, or what to listen for – he is there, trying to teach us. The journey of his 'ahu 'ula and mahiole serve as a reminder of that. What exactly we have to learn from them will depend on the individual. However, what we can say for the lāhui (nation), or for the many aloha 'āina (patriots) who continue to breathe and fight for Hawaiian rights and sovereignty on every level, is that their meanings are rich and varied. We need only look at examples from their journey around the world to imagine what they must have inspired and will inspire in the years to come.

Imaginings

When Hawaiian scholars took to the newspapers in the nineteenth century to record the lives of our ancient chiefs, they described their exploits and adventures in detail, as if each small event was like a tiny feather, seemingly insignificant on its own, but in context, completely necessary. One such writer was Joseph Poepoe, who, between 1905 and 1906, recorded the story of Kamehameha I (c. 1736–1819) in *Ka Na'i Aupuni*, the Hawaiian-language newspaper named for the famous chief. While writing about Kamehameha and his celebrated uncle, Kalani'ōpu'u, Poepoe described many battles, looked at prophecy and strategy, and highlighted training and skill. In his descriptions, he also spoke of the sight of 'ahu 'ula and mahiole. When warring chiefs travelled over hillsides, they turned the land red with 'ahu 'ula, and when they boarded their war canoes, their opponents 'ike mai la i ka alapu [*sic*] aku o na moana i na ahoula [*sic*] a me na mahiole' (saw the ocean turn entirely red with feathered cloaks and helmets) (Poepoe 1906). We can only imagine what these people must have thought when they saw the land and sea turn red with soldiers and chiefs adorned in 'ahu 'ula and mahiole. While we cannot say for certain what they must have felt, we are sure that the sight must have inspired something, whether fear and dread, hatred and anger, or awe and amazement.

Two hundred and thirty-seven years ago, Kalani'ōpu'u's 'ahu 'ula and mahiole were gifted to Captain James Cook at Kealakekua Bay. Although Cook never left the island of Hawai'i, these treasured items did, making their way by ship to England, where they were viewed by thousands in a new land. What curiosity they must have inspired. Perhaps they became tokens of a far-away place and culture, a 'far-away' people. Perhaps they, too, were exoticised,

romanticised or even degraded and disrespected. Perhaps they weren't. While we are not sure what an English man or woman must have thought looking at the deep reds and bright yellows of our chiefs, or what reactions would have been stirred within them, we are sure that the objects must have stirred something.

While the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole were away, things changed, lives in Hawai'i changed. After the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom, a writer in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ke Aloha 'Aina* seemed to lament the fact that some of his people had never seen an 'ahu 'ula, a mahiole or other chiefly symbols like kähili, or feathered standards. Imagine all the feathered whispers unheard, all the feathered stories unknown. Thus, in 1901 an invitation was put out for people to go to Wakinekona Hale, the home of the deposed Queen Lili'uokalani, to see these items: 'E hoike i ko kakou aloha alii oiaio imua o na malihini o na aina e e noho pu nei iwaena o kakou, i ike mai ai lakou he mea nui ka Moiwahine ia kakou kona lahui' (Let us show our true love for our chiefs in front of all of the foreigners from other lands who now live amongst us so that they will see that our Queen still means a great deal to us, her nation) ('He ike alii nui' 1901).

For a people learning to live with the overthrow of their queen and the subsequent illegal annexation of their kingdom to the United States, we can only imagine what the sight of an 'ahu 'ula must have inspired in them: honour and gratitude, sadness and longing, or perhaps love and a deepening sense of aloha 'āina, a renewed and inspired sense of patriotism. Generations prior, 'ahu 'ula turned oceans red; they covered hillsides as warriors marched to battle. They adorned our chiefs and stood as symbols of rank and mana. In 1901, however, it seems that their appearance in public had become rare. Thus, to view a cloak and helmet then surely must have stirred some feelings.

In 1912, when Kalani'ōpu'u's 'ahu 'ula and mahiole were unexpectedly gifted to New Zealand, they became part of the national museum's collection and remained there until their departure. We write this from New Zealand, in the country these objects left in March 2016. Before they were returned to Hawai'i, we observed history as it happened. We watched the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole as they were prepared for their anticipated journey home, and as they lay in front of us, we could only imagine the moana, or the ocean, that they would once again cross. These sacred symbols of our chiefs would be making their

way home, not by wa'a, or canoe, but by plane, leaving a trail of histories along the way, turning the ocean red once again, but this time with ancestral memories. We could see them, we could feel them, and at times we could hear their feathered whispers, telling us of a time yet to come. Their journey would continue.

As we marvelled at their beauty and at the skill of our ancestors, we realised that each generation of people has seen and understood these objects differently, always revealing something about the times in which they lived. What a Hawaiian in 1779 must have thought at the sight of an 'ahu 'ula and mahiole – treasured items that were apparently so abundant that they could turn oceans red – would have been drastically different to what a Hawaiian in 1901 would have thought, just a few short years after the illegal annexation of Hawai'i. These reactions and inspirations are different to those that felt by us, raised in the years following the Hawaiian Renaissance, and raised to be aloha 'āina. Our interpretations of them will always be a product of the present, of who and what we are *now*, of where and when we happen to be today.

For us, right now, these objects represent hope. They represent a past that *lives* and breathes in the present, a past that can and will continue to inspire. They represent our ali'i, and their skill and resilience. They represent the work of our people, who could conceptualise and create such intricate designs – so intricate that our contemporary minds cannot fully grasp how they completed them. They represent stories and the richness of our histories. They represent journeys across oceans, unconfined by human-created boundaries. They represent connections – old and new – and they represent kuleana, or a sense of responsibility to our land, to our nation, and to our moana, our region. We can only imagine what they will come to mean in the future, what they will continue to teach us about ourselves, what they will continue to whisper and tell us when we are ready to listen, what they will continue to reveal about our pasts and our presents when we are prepared to follow. For now, we smile knowing that they are home to start a new journey, having crossed the expansive moana, reminding us of the 'ula (red) that has and shall continue to unite us.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. The seminars were organised by Sean Mallon (Senior Curator Pacific Cultures) and held in the Conservation Laboratory at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa), Wellington, in February 2016. The presenters were Rangi Te Kanawa, Mark Sykes, Grace Hutton, Anne Peranteau and Sean Mallon from Te Papa; and Emalani Case, Kawikaka'iulani Aipa and Kamalani Kapeliela from the Hawai'i Cultural Centre, Wellington.
2. A short version of this chronology was published as a Te Papa blog post on 18 February 2016 (Mallon 2016).
3. Senior Curator Pacific Cultures, Te Papa.
4. I am grateful to the blog site *Nupepa* for drawing our attention to this newspaper article. See 'Kalaniopuu's ahuula and mahiole that he placed on Cook, 1779/2016', *Nupepa* blog post, 17 February 2016, retrieved 31 August 2016 from <https://nupepa-hawaii.com/2016/02/17/kalaniopuus-ahuula-and-mahiole-he-placed-on-cook-1779-2016>.
5. The display *Feathers of the Gods* was curated by Stuart Park with assistance from Janet Davidson (Concept Leader Pacific).
6. These exhibitions were *Mana Whenua* (1997–present); *Mana Pasifika: celebrating Pacific Cultures* (1997–2006) and *Treaty of Waitangi: signs of a nation* (1997–present).
7. One of Te Papa's key organisational principles is mana taonga, which 'affirms that the spiritual and cultural connections of the people to whom taonga or treasures belong are acknowledged at Te Papa. In a practical sense, this accords rights to those with such connections, to participate in the care of their taonga or treasures, and to speak about and determine the display or other usage of their taonga or treasures by Te Papa' (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 2009: 7).
8. Clark also presented episode 51, 'The feathered face of war', in which he introduced the Hawaiian 'aumakua hulu manu (feathered god figure). Several experts from other Pacific Islands communities presented episodes later in the television series.
9. See the following photographic records in Te Papa's

collection database: Hawaiian Feather Cloak – Captain Cook relic FE000327, 07.07.1959, by Frank O'Leary, Te Papa (MA_B.009469); Captain Cook's Hawaiian feather cloak FE000327, 11.1977, by Roger Neich, Te Papa (MA_CT.001454); Captain Cook's Hawaiian cloak – under FE000327, 25.05.1984, by Warwick Wilson, Te Papa (MA_B.016115); 'ahu 'ula (feathered cloak) FE000327, Sep 2015, by Norman Heke, Te Papa (MA_I.369646).

10. The seminars were presented to Te Papa staff, Kava Club (a local Pacific and Māori arts collective) and Pacific Studies students from Victoria University of Wellington.
11. Conservator Textiles, Te Papa.
12. Conservator Textiles, Te Papa.
13. Conservator Ethnographic Objects and Sculpture, Te Papa.
14. See M.H. Marzan, and S.M. Ohukani'ohia Gon III, (2015). 'The Aesthetics, Materials, and Construction of Hawaiian Featherwork'. Pp. 26–38. In: Caldeira, L., Hellmich, C., Kaeppler, A.L., Kam, B.L. and Rose, R.G. (eds). *Royal Hawaiian featherwork: nā hulu ali'i*. San Francisco, CA: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco in collaboration with the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum and University of Hawai'i Press, 284 pp.
15. The principal reference used was Te Rangi Hiroa (P.H. Buck), *The material culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)*, New Plymouth: Thomas Avery and Sons, 1927.
16. As described in Thérèse de Dillmont, *Encyclopedia of needlework* [English edition], Alsace: Mulhouse, 1886.
17. Collection Manager Pacific Cultures, Te Papa.
18. As the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole are more than 50 years old and were in a public collection, permission was required from the Ministry of Culture and Heritage for them to travel out of New Zealand. This was achieved under Section 7 of the Protected Objects Act 1975.
19. Ngāti Toa Rangatira; Kaumātua, Te Papa.
20. Kaihautū, Te Papa.
21. All three authors are members of the Hawai'i Cultural Centre, Wellington.

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Fated feathers, unfurling futures¹

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ABSTRACT: While scholars have documented the travels of the 'ahu 'ula (feathered cloak) and mahiole (feathered helmet) of Kalani'ōpu'u over the course of more than two centuries, what is of principal importance to many Native Hawaiians is simply this – they left by an act of Pacific generosity and they returned by an act of Pacific generosity. This brief article seeks to explore the circumstances of the original gifting of these chiefly riches by ali'i nui (high chief) Kalani'ōpu'u to Captain James Cook in 1779, as well as the implications of their most recent return by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Both acts were of lasting cultural and political import, and were magnificent gestures of faith, of trust and, one might argue, of commitments intended to bind future generations. Might these acts be viewed not independently, but as an intergenerational continuum of relations? And how might Kalani'ōpu'u's own agency be understood in both a historical and a contemporary context?

KEYWORDS: Kalani'ōpu'u, James Cook, 'ahu 'ula, mahiole, mea waiwai ali'i, Hawaiian featherwork, Hawai'i, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Office of Hawaiian Affairs, indigenous agency, Pacific generosity.

Journeys

We in Hawai'i are known for doing things beautifully – a legacy of excellence that is most evident in the exquisitely adorned 'ahu 'ula (feathered cloak) and mahiole (feathered helmet) of high chief Kalani'ōpu (c. 1729–82). Yet it was also evident in the events surrounding the recent return of his mea waiwai ali'i (chiefly riches), including a privately held three-hour ceremony led by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) on 17 March 2016. Rising to the level long set by our Māori brethren, the Hawaiian community rose to this occasion and conducted the entire event exclusively in 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian language), leading OHA Cultural Specialist Kalani Akana, who helped plan the historic event, to remark that such a cultural practice had not occurred in well over a hundred years (pers. comm., 2016). Elders, heads of cultural organisations and young leaders offered oratory, oli (chants) and mele (songs) – all in Hawaiian, one after another, hour after hour. Chief Kalani'ōpu'u's persona filled the three-storey Hawaiian Hall at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Bishop Museum) as chants extolling his deeds resounded.

Two days later, a public opening – 'The Return of the

'Ahu 'Ula and Mahiole of Kalani'ōpu'u' – was held for the *He Nae Ākea: Bound Together* exhibition, to which thousands came in the span of a few hours. Having just flown in from Auckland that morning, I went straight to the Bishop Museum to join in the day's festivities. People stood for hours, waiting patiently in a line so long it wound through Hawaiian Hall, out of the doors and onto the Great Lawn beyond. And they did this so that they might finally stand before a large case within which was placed the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole of Kalani'ōpu'u. Visitors lingered for as long as possible, given the line behind them, taking photographs or offering chants, grateful for the opportunity to stand in the presence of treasured artefacts that had not jointly been home since their departure in 1779.

Indeed, perhaps no other cultural artefacts symbolise the meeting between Hawai'i and the western world more than the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole presented to English explorer James Cook (1728–79) by Kalani'ōpu'u on 26 January 1779. They are the tangible representations of this extraordinary encounter, of the significance of ceremonial gifting and individual intentionality; yet, this exchange is also fraught with cultural dissonance and



Fig. 1 A private ceremony led by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs marked the return of Kalani'ōpu'u's 'ahu 'ula and mahiole to Hawai'i, Hawaiian Hall, Bishop Museum, 17 March 2016. The Te Papa delegation can be seen on the right. Photograph by Kai Markell®, courtesy of the artist.



Fig. 2 Hundreds awaited entry into the *He Nae Ākea: Bound Together* exhibition at its public unveiling at Bishop Museum, 19 March 2016. Photograph by Travis Okimoto, courtesy of Bishop Museum.

framed by contemporary lenses more than two centuries later. While scholars have documented the travels of these *mea waiwai ali'i* (Kaeppler 1978), what is significant to many of us in Hawai'i is simply this: they left by an act of Pacific generosity, and they returned by an act of Pacific generosity. Both acts were of lasting cultural and political import and were magnificent gestures of faith, of trust and of commitments intended to bind future generations.²

A profound gift

Today, Kalani'ōpu'u is best known as the paramount chief of Hawai'i Island. Son of long-time ruler Keawe, he consolidated and maintained rulership over the largest island in the Hawaiian archipelago from 1760 to 1782. A feat in and of itself, this was not enough for Kalani'ōpu'u, and he began a lifelong campaign of conquest of the nearby island of Maui. He was mounting an invasion in late November 1778 when he encountered Captain Cook off Maui's northeast end. At their first meeting on 1 December 1779, Kalani'ōpu'u boarded HMS *Resolution* with a few small pigs as gifts.³

Two months later, the pair were reunited in Kealahou Bay on the *Resolution*, where the chief and his family remained until well into the evening. The next day, 26 January 1779, an extraordinary presentation took place, recorded by Lieutenant James King: 'At Noon, Terreeoboo [Kalani'ōpu'u], in a large Canoe attended by two others set out from the Village, & paddled towards the Ships in great state ... their appearance was very grand, the Chiefs standing up drest in their Cloaks & Caps' (Beaglehole 1967: 512). The second canoe carried the priests and their idols, while the third bore gifts. The dramatic scene was also captured by artist John Webber, in an engraving whose corresponding caption notes that the King of Hawai'i was 'bringing presents to Captain Cook' (Cook and King 1784: pl. 61). However, what many do not know is that Kalani'ōpu'u did not immediately board the *Resolution*; rather he and his entourage circled the ships and headed back, effectively summoning Cook to shore. According to King, under a nearby tent, Kalani'ōpu'u 'got up & threw in a graceful manner over the Captns Shoulders the Cloak he himself wore, & put a feathered Cap upon his head, & a very handsome fly flap in his hand' (Beaglehole 1967: 512). Five or six other cloaks were then lain at Cook's feet. Following an exchange of



Fig. 3 Members of Hālau Pua Ali'i Ilima present a hula pahu (drum dance), Hawaiian Hall, Bishop Museum, 17 March 2016. Photograph by Kai Markell®, courtesy of the artist.

names between Kalani'ōpu'u and Cook, and additional presentations, Cook responded by hosting the chief once again on the *Resolution*, where he gifted him a number of items, including a linen shirt.

What is clear in this exchange is that Kalani'ōpu'u *dictated the time, place and manner* of his ceremonial presentation. These multiple encounters, the nature of this particular event and the exchanging of names all indicate that Kalani'ōpu'u saw Cook as an equal of significant stature. Moreover, when he gifted his 'ahu 'ula and mahiole, it was with the full knowledge that Cook would carry them off upon his departure, a fact that is confirmed since Kalani'ōpu'u did not seek their return despite Cook's subsequent death. Just as Kalani'ōpu'u was attempting to expand his kingdom through the conquest of Maui, did he likewise see his 'ahu 'ula and mahiole as a means of projecting his mana (authority) out into the world? Why might he have done such a thing? By some accounts, Kalani'ōpu'u was not well at the time



Fig. 4 *Tereoboo, King of Owyhee, Bringing Presents to Captain Cook*, 1779, engraving by S.C. Sparrow after J. Webber, published in James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean in the years 1776–1780*. Atlas Folio. London: W&A Straham, 1784, Plate 61. Image courtesy of Bishop Museum.

of Cook's arrival (Beaglehole 1967: 499); indeed, his death would come only three years later. Says Hawaiian scholar Keone Nunes:

In the reality of that time, that original time, you didn't give people your article of clothes because that contains your mana. What he did was very significant. That was his way of extending the mana of himself to places that he would never visit. When the time came for him to return to his ancestors, he had an awareness of where that part of himself had gone. (Pers. comm., 2016)

Can we imagine for a moment Kalani'ōpu'u's own sense of agency and urgency? Might he have envisioned how his chiefly treasures would travel across oceans, binding people – even countries – and creating relationships that would span generations? Despite Kalani'ōpu'u's death more than two centuries ago, do we not feel that a part of him and his mana survived in his mea waiwai ali'i? And like travellers upon distant journeys, have they not grown from their encounters, gathering mana along the way?

A prolonged absence; a celebrated return

After well over a century in Europe, the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole finally returned to Oceania, gifted to New Zealand's Dominion Museum in 1912. Periodically on display in New Zealand, it was at the grand opening of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) in 1998 that the 'ahu 'ula and mahiole received special prominence. At that event, Kamana'opono Crabbe presented a chant he had composed for Kalani'ōpu'u. Six years later, he led a delegation of kāne (men), conducted an 'awa (kava) ceremony and made a kāhea (call) for the return of the mea waiwai ali'i. Crabbe's reverence can be seen as one in a long line of pilgrimages Hawaiians have made over the last several decades to visit Kalani'ōpu'u. Others, like Keone Nunes, Maile Andrade, Mehana Hind and Vicky Holt Takamine, were involved in numerous visitations, and viewed going to see Kalani'ōpu'u's chiefly treasures as a critical aspect of a sojourn to Aotearoa New Zealand. Recalls Nunes:

I saw the cloak back in 1987. I offered a ho'okupu [gift] in the form of a mele and oli ... Since that time, I felt it belonged home. This was an ali'i that was respected, as well as the time period. It was for me a time of



Fig. 5 Honoring Kalani'ōpu'u's 'ahu 'ula and mahiole at the entrance of Hawaiian Hall, Bishop Museum, 17 March 2016. Photograph by Kai Markell®, courtesy of the artist.

first contact, if you will. That it comes from that very important point in our history that forever changed Hawai'i. (Pers. comm., 2016)

Mehana Hind, now with the OHA, was also someone who had been travelling for years to Aotearoa New Zealand. Says Hind:

When we travel around the world, when we as Hawai'i go abroad, we make our journey to go and see our kupuna [ancestral treasures] that are all over the world. But when I was a young college student and went to Aotearoa the first time, I didn't know how to voice it – I didn't know if my voice mattered or even if I said anything – but the more and more I went and the more I was around people who weren't shy to say that these things should come home, not only that they should come home but that there was a reverence paid, and just going through those actions actually can result in something amazing in the end. (Pers. comm., 2016)

And throughout all these pilgrimages were those people at Te Papa, like Arapata Hakiwai and Sean Mallon, who facilitated the access; who bore witness to the aloha (love) and the joy, the pain and the anguish; who shared laughs and tears over tea, beer and kai (food); who formed deep and abiding relationships with Hawaiian practitioners, artists, scholars and curators. And they were present when

a Hawaiian delegation of practitioners (including Nunes and Hind), facilitated by the Bishop Museum, visited Te Papa in 2014, only this time Hakiwai happened to be acting chief executive officer. Both parties were keenly aware of the Bishop Museum's *E Kū Ana Ka Paia* exhibition of 2010, which brought together the last of the three great Kū temple images in the world. According to Mallon, he saw the Kū exhibition as laying the foundation for future collaborations (pers. comm., 2016). One can kāhea for a lifetime, indeed multiple lifetimes, but someone has to be there to hear your call. And hear it they did.

It is important to note how difficult and how rare this is in a museum context, that one could go from initial dialogue to a return home in less than three years. Such complex negotiations between Te Papa, the Bishop Museum and the OHA might easily have taken two or three times as long, navigating loan agreements, relevant international laws and delicate insurance matters, and securing funding. It was truly through an act of Pacific generosity that Kalani'ōpu'u's chiefly adornments returned home, yet we know that such actions were also built upon the foundation of decades of earlier pilgrimages. Each visitation, each kahea before his 'ahu 'ula and mahiole, was in effect a direct kahea to Kalani'ōpu'u himself, calling upon his memory, his mana, his presence. And he in



Fig. 6 A group pays their respects before Kalani'ōpu'u's 'ahu 'ula and mahiole at the public unveiling, 19 March 2016. Photograph by Travis Okimoto, courtesy of Bishop Museum.

kind responded, his own agency, his own desire to return helping to pave his way home.

I am reminded of Māori scholar Paul Tapsell's belief that some taonga (treasures) have a comet-like trajectory that enables their return for key events in a community's life; that at the moment of their departure, their return is inevitable, when they are needed the most (Tapsell 1997). Might Kalani'ōpu'u have envisioned his own return, having accumulated centuries of mana along his many pathways? Is it a coincidence that the paramount chief of Hawai'i Island returns just as Hawaiians gather in contemplation of nationhood?⁴ Is he here to remind us that he and his chiefly descendants sought relations on a global scale with countries centuries old? And that the United States was but a fledgling infant when Kalani'ōpu'u sought to create lasting bonds with Captain Cook and his kind? And what does it mean when three mana moana (oceanic) institutions come together to make such a return possible? That we can move forward not in isolation or opposition, but together in solidarity towards greater purposes? That we are bound together, he nae ākea, through our deep and abiding relationship and aloha, love for one another? Indeed, how

best can we comprehend the words, works and wisdom of our chiefly ancestors? These questions I posed to Keone Nunes, and his response was somewhat unexpected:

Definitely, there are connections between the issues we are facing and his return. These are not coincidences. I do think that there are significant reasons for the return of the cloak. How it manifests I'm not sure at this point ... It will be determined by how we take care of the kuleana [responsibility] that is necessary for the upkeep – not just the physical but the spiritual upkeep. That's ultimately going to determine what kind of influence he will have upon the current issues of sovereignty, of being indigenous. To me, the easy part was getting him here. The difficult part is maintaining what is needed to keep him here. (Pers. comm., 2016)

How long Kalani'ōpu'u is here in Hawai'i remains to be seen, but many believe that his 'ahu 'ula and mahiole are home for good. As with Bishop Museum's *E Kū Ana Ka Paia* exhibition, multitudes were involved, a complex interweaving of people, communities, institutions and nations. Most importantly, a supreme act of Pacific generosity was reciprocated generations later. Relationships

were built, tended, tested and renewed, and in the end Kū and Kalani'ōpu'u came home for us. We willed them back from their journeys because they responded to our kāhea, our call, our prayers, our protestations, our emerging collective consciousness, indeed, our aloha.

Notes

1. The title of this article is taken from a 'talk story' session that took place at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum on Sunday, 20 March 2017, one day after the public opening of *He Nai Ākea: Bound Together*. Organised by the author and sponsored by the University of Hawai'i Museum Studies Graduate Certificate Program, the two-hour session invited interested individuals and key participants, including those from the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, to contemplate the historical and contemporary significance of the return of Kalani'ōpu'u's chiefly adornments.
2. The concept of Pacific generosity within the context of the gifting and return of Kalani'ōpu'u's 'ahu 'ula and mahiole is also briefly considered in 'He alo ā he alo: kanohi ki te kanohi/Face-to-face: curatorial bodies, encounters and relations', a chapter written by the author, Moana Nepia and Philipp Schorch for *Curatopia: museums and the future of curatorship* (forthcoming).
3. According to Lieutenant King, Kalani'ōpu'u 'had on a very beautiful Cap of yellow & black feathers, & a featherd Cloak which he present'd to the Capt'n' (Beaglehole 1967: 499). Exploring the significance of this presentation is beyond the scope of this article, but one might easily argue that this theoretically 'spur of the moment' gifting does not equate to the more elaborate ceremony that was to take place nearly two months later. Moreover, it is ambiguous as to whether the mahiole was part of the presentation noted above; no predominantly yellow and black feathered helmet has been associated with the Cook voyages thus far (Kaeppler 1978).
4. The years and months preceding Kalani'ōpu'u's return were marked by controversy over Native Hawaiian efforts towards self-determination. These included a series of contentious public hearings by the United States Department of the Interior (DOI) in 2014, the establishment of an OHA-funded Native Hawaiian organisation whose purpose was to 'facilitate Hawaiian nation building' in March 2015, various enrolment efforts, the issuance of a draft DOI procedure for the re-establishment of a 'formal government-to-government relationship between the United States and the Native Hawaiian community' in September 2015, and a Native Hawaiian convention that in February 2016 adopted a constitution which would require subsequent ratification.

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‘Look here upon this picture’: Shakespeare in art at Te Papa

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ABSTRACT: This article examines the art holdings at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) that relate to William Shakespeare and his writings, beginning with an engraving by Jan Harmensz. Muller of Cleopatra (c. 1592), which is treated as broadly ‘Shakespearean’ in its iconography. Later works include paintings by the neoclassicist George Dawe and prolific literary illustrator John Masey Wright, early modernist prints by Eric Ravilious and George Buday, as well as more recent counterparts by Tony Fomison and Sidney Nolan. Most detailed analysis is given to Raymond Boyce’s full-sized cartoons (1989) for the embroidered wall-hangings in Shakespeare’s Globe, London. It is argued that they are Te Papa’s most significant Shakespearean artworks and have a uniquely New Zealand component.

KEYWORDS: William Shakespeare, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Jan Harmensz. Muller, George Dawe, John Masey Wright, Eric Ravilious, George Buday, Tony Fomison, Sidney Nolan, Raymond Boyce, Wellington Shakespeare Society, Shakespeare’s Globe, embroidery.

As 2016 marks the 400th anniversary of William Shakespeare’s death, this is an appropriate moment to assess the art holdings related to the playwright in the collection of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa). For the most part, these do not match either the quality or the quantity of their counterparts in the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki or the Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira. The former boasts three original works by surely the greatest Shakespearean artist, Henry Fuseli (1741–1825),¹ together with a remarkable large-scale copy by colonial secretary and poet Alfred Domett (1811–87) of Daniel Maclise’s *The Play Scene in Hamlet* (exhibited 1842; Tate Britain);² the latter owns an ‘infinite variety’ of decorative arts objects, including an Arts and Crafts marital bed, a set of decorative tiles depicting the ‘seven ages of man’ and, perhaps most memorably, a vivid cast of marionettes (1937) for *The Tempest* by New Zealand puppeteer Arnold Goodwin (1890–1978).³

No Te Papa (or earlier, National Art Gallery) art curatorial staff member prior to the late Jonathan Mane-Wheoki possessed an obviously Shakespearean sensibility. A certain credibility gap is thus apparent between

Wellington’s involvement in hosting the phenomenally successful Shakespeare Globe Centre of New Zealand University of Otago Sheilah Winn Shakespeare Festival and any comparable role played by the national museum. In 2016, *Shakespeare in His Time*, held at the Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Central Library, was the sole national exhibition of its kind.⁴ Small but cultured and exemplary, it showcased the library’s 1623 First Folio edition (the only copy in New Zealand) and related literary material. A proposal for a considerably more ambitious Te Papa exhibition, *Shakespeare: Avon to Aotearoa*, initiated by Mane-Wheoki and ‘championed’ by this author, was shelved, primarily because of the strategic priorities given to the museum renewal project. However, it is hoped that this article will both raise consciousness of Te Papa’s holdings and encourage their future display.

First, I will analyse the museum’s holdings, from Jan Harmensz. Muller to Sidney Nolan. I will then examine the jewel in the crown of the collection, Raymond Boyce’s set of cartoons for the wall-hangings at Shakespeare’s Globe in Bankside, London.

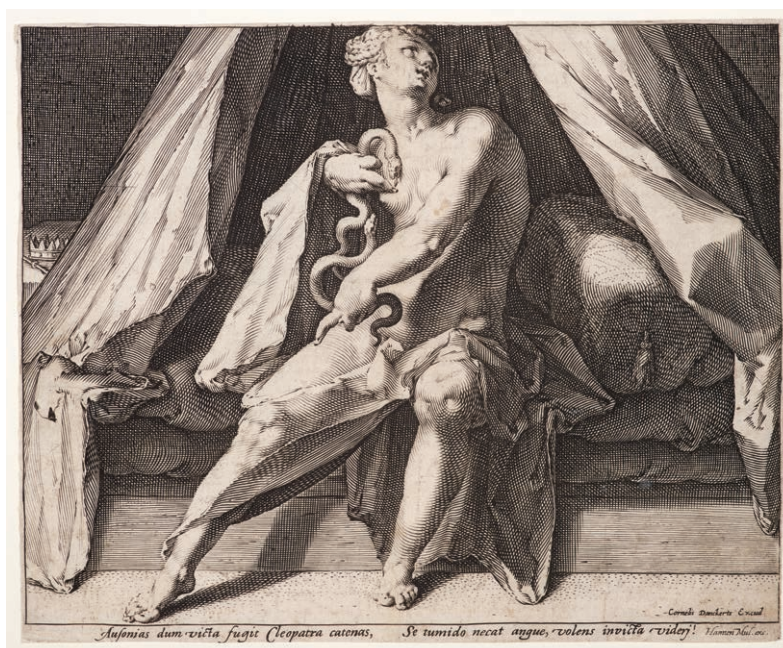


Fig. 1 *Cleopatra*, c. 1592, engraving, 186 x 231 mm. Artist Jan Harmensz. Muller (purchased 2015. Te Papa, 2015-0056-4).

Cleopatra and her angry asps

A recent Te Papa acquisition, *Cleopatra* (c. 1592), by the printmaker Jan Harmensz. Muller (1571–1628) (Fig. 1) is more ‘Shakespearean’ than the immediate historical facts would suggest. In his lifetime, Muller would not have attended or probably even heard of *Antony and Cleopatra*, owing to both his location (he worked in his native Netherlands, Prague and Italy) and the 150-year (or more) time lag before Shakespeare’s plays were widely performed in mainland Europe. Yet play and print have a shared source material, they are nearly contemporaneous in their production and, most tellingly, there is a synergy of dramatic mood and creativity on the part of artist and playwright alike.

Muller was one of the foremost Dutch engravers in an exciting age of print culture.⁵ Although he is best known for his reproductions of paintings by Flemish mannerist Bartholomeus Spranger, which were commissioned by the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, Muller produced some 20 recorded prints from his own designs. These include the Te Papa version of *Cleopatra*, which is, moreover, extremely rare. And while Muller was several years Shakespeare’s junior, the print pre-dates the latter’s play (first performed in 1607) by 10–15 years. The key text that influenced them both was Plutarch’s *Lives of the*

noble Greeks and Romans (c. second century AD), which was translated into French by Jacques Amyot in 1559 and frequently reprinted, and into English by Sir Thomas North in 1579.⁶

Visually, the print shows how Muller mastered and applied with immense virtuosity the engraving techniques of his likely teacher (and later almost certainly his rival), Hendrik Goltzius (1558–1617), based on swelling and diminishing lines. Jan Piet Filedt Kok, today’s leading Muller scholar, refers to his ‘dizzying array of sinuous hatching and broad swelling lines’ and his ‘robustly muscled nudes in fantastic postures’.⁷ Cleopatra certainly adopts the latter in a moment of supreme tension and tragedy as she presses one of the asps to her breast, while the other eagerly follows. The corollary between the moment of the image and Shakespeare’s text is near perfect, as Cleopatra cries:

Come, thou mortal wretch,
With thy sharp teeth this knot intricate
Of life at once untie; poor venomous fool,
Be angry, and dispatch.⁸

The often vain and histrionic heroine of Shakespeare’s play assumes a tragic grandeur in the moment of suicide, which is manifest in Muller’s engraving.



Fig. 2 *Imogen Found in the Cave of Belarius*, 1808, oil on canvas, 970 x 1230 mm. Artist George Dawe (gift of the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, 1936. Te Papa, 1936-0012-84).

Imogen in the cave

Just over 200 years separate *Cleopatra* from *Imogen Found in the Cave of Belarius* (1808), by British painter George Dawe (Fig. 2). This gap can be put down to the long period before Shakespeare's plays were widely illustrated even in his native country. The earliest examples of illustrations were those made for Nicholas Rowe's six-volume edition of Shakespeare (1709), while one of the earliest paintings was William Hogarth's *Falstaff Examining His Recruits* (1730; private collection).⁹ The period between the years Hogarth (1697–1764) and Dawe (1781–1829) were active has been called the 'Shakespeare phenomenon', during which the playwright triumphed over his peers as the great national writer.¹⁰ In 1765, Samuel Johnson edited the plays with a new rigour and critical intelligence, only to be surpassed in the former by Edmund Malone in 1790. In 1769, David Garrick launched the Shakespeare Jubilee at Stratford-upon-Avon, belatedly commemorating the bicentenary of the writer's birth, the precursor of summer arts festivals in the form we recognise today.¹¹ By the end of the century, one play in every six performed in London was by Shakespeare; he was translated into French and German, becoming little short of Germany's national poet and bard.¹² A more immediate visual backcloth to



Fig. 3 *Imogen Found in the Cave of Belarius*, exhibited 1809, oil on canvas, 1005 x 1270 mm. Artist George Dawe (purchased 1965. Tate Britain, London, T00718).

Dawe's painting was John Boydell's immensely ambitious, if somewhat ill-fated, project to showcase Shakespeare in the form of paintings by England's leading national artists at the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery in London, together with the publication of a massive, three-volume illustrated folio edition of the plays (1791–1803).¹³

Stylistically, Dawe was poised between the ‘noble simplicity and calm grandeur’ of neoclassicism, evident in *Imogen Found in the Cave of Belarius*, and the more overtly emotional Romanticism (both in meteorological and psychological terms) of his Coleridge-influenced *Genevieve* (1812; Te Papa).¹⁴ The scene he depicts in the 1808 painting is unfamiliar to today’s audiences, although the play in which Imogen was the heroine, *Cymbeline*, was popular at the time, and her character was later much loved by sentimental Victorian audiences. Daughter of Cymbeline, Imogen is the faithful, brave wife of Posthumus, who at this stage of the play (Act IV, Scene ii) is deceived into believing that Imogen has been seduced by Iachimo, and is intent on her murder at an arranged rendezvous at Milford Haven. Tipped off about Posthumus’s dastardly plans, Imogen is on the run in the nearby Welsh mountains, disguised as a pageboy, Fidele (‘Faithful’). She finds refuge in the gloomy cave of Dawe’s setting. Exhausted and sick, she has taken a potion, and is being lovingly cradled by her new friend and fellow cave-dweller Arviragus, whom she does not yet know is – in a remarkable coincidence – her long-lost brother. Looking on is her other unknown brother, Guiderius, and their guardian, the wrongfully exiled Belarius, who had stolen the boys as infants from Cymbeline in revenge, only to bond with them.

It is to Dawe’s credit that he produces a credible, readable and, once the dramatic moment is identified, even touching episode within a madly convoluted plot.¹⁵ Ambitiously, he has attempted to cross artistic genres from relatively lowly illustration to elevated history painting, no doubt in his bid for recognition by the Royal Academy.¹⁶ The extreme depth of Imogen’s slumber – briefly mistaken for death – is convincingly conveyed. At the same time, it is precisely this intense earnestness and faithfulness to the largely unfamiliar text that acts as a barrier between the painting and today’s audiences – who don’t know and perhaps don’t even care what it is about. Another, slightly modified version of the same painting on a near-identical scale is in Tate Britain (Fig. 3). The composition is tightened, and Guiderius looks more directly and solicitously at Imogen, as does one of the hounds. This version, which was exhibited at the British Institution in 1809, has been subjected to a full academic finish, rendered with the characteristically mellowed tonalities and glazes of painting at the time.¹⁷ In turn, Te Papa’s version remained in the artist’s family, passing down

to Dawe’s nephew, later chief justice of New Zealand, Sir James Prendergast (1826–1921), and thence to the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts.

Tomfoolery and tragedy

A close contemporary of Dawe’s but far longer lived was John Masey Wright (1777–1866), who was highly prolific in his watercolour depictions and published illustrations of literary themes, particularly from Shakespeare and Irish writer Oliver Goldsmith. Such was his passion for the former that, when his sleep broke during an illness, he recited lengthy Shakespearean passages.¹⁸ Wright’s work was initially highly derivative of his teacher, the English painter Thomas Stothard (1755–1834), but it has a gentle charm, consistent with his evidently kindly character. Stylistically, it had long fallen out of fashion by the time of his death, lacking any Pre-Raphaelite intensity; thus John Lewis Roget, historian of the Old Water-Colour Society (now the Royal Watercolour Society), where Wright had regularly exhibited, commented that his paintings ‘were little heeded by the many, and when he passed away were scarcely missed’.¹⁹

Wright’s *Twelfth Night* (n.d.) depicts the capering of the high-spirited Sir Toby Belch and the gormless Sir Andrew Aguecheek, who are good friends – at least in the play’s opening act (Fig. 4). They exit dancing a jig, Sir Andrew asking, ‘Shall we set about some revels?’, and Sir Toby rhetorically replying, ‘What shall we do else?’²⁰ Wright’s



Fig. 4 *Twelfth Night*, n.d., watercolour, 202 x 265 mm. Artist John Masey Wright (gift of Archdeacon F.H.D. Smythe, 1957. Te Papa, 1957-0009-267).



Fig. 5 *King Lear and Cordelia*, n.d., watercolour, 169 x 150 mm. Artist John Masey Wright (gift of Archdeacon F.H.D. Smythe, 1957. Te Papa, (1957-0009-26).

other watercolour in Te Papa's collection complements this tomfoolery, and depicts a famously tragic Shakespearean moment. The artist's rendition does not attempt to scale sublime heights; instead, it is essentially illustrative, confining the scene to domestic genre (Fig. 5). Hitherto merely described as a *Scene from Shakespeare* (n.d.), the image has been identified by Mark Houlihan as the point in *King Lear* when the King, after his breakdown and rescue by Cordelia, wakes up and thinks he is in heaven, only to half-realise who she is and ask her:²¹

Be your tears wet? Yes, faith. I pray, weep not.
If you have poison for me, I will drink it.
I know you do not love me; for your sisters
Have, as I do remember, done me wrong;
You have some cause, they have not.²²

To which the weeping, forgiving Cordelia replies: 'No cause, no cause.' The figure of the Earl of Kent, Lear's

loyal lieutenant, witnesses this harrowing scene.

Both of Wright's works came from the collection of Archdeacon Francis Henry Dumville Smythe, who donated some 360 British School watercolours and drawings to the National Art Gallery in Wellington in 1957.²³ From the same source comes William Heath's (1794–1840) caricature of the rotund Sir John Falstaff in fine form, recruiting a motley cast of rustic yokels for the loyalist army in *Henry IV, Part II* (Fig. 6). While doing so, he encounters his old chum Justice Shallow, who recalls dissolute old times, and asks him: 'O, Sir John, do you remember since we lay all night in the windmill in Saint George's fields?'

'No more of that, good Master Shallow, no more of that', replies Falstaff.²⁴

'Ha! it was a merry night. And is Jane Nightwork alive?' asks Shallow, alluding to a woman of ill repute, clearly a participant in that night's activities.²⁵



Fig. 6 *Falstaff*, n.d., sepia watercolour, 220 x 165 mm. Artist William Heath (gift of Archdeacon F.H.D. Smythe, 1957. Te Papa, 1957-0009-302).

The proximity of Heath's chosen moment to playful sexual innuendo would probably have been unacceptable for the primmer Wright, or indeed a later Victorian artist, but it was meat and drink to Heath. A talented caricaturist whose pseudonym was Paul Pry, Heath inherited some of the robustness of the better-known James Gillray, and mercilessly targeted military hero turned reactionary Tory politician, the Duke of Wellington.²⁶

Despite Shakespeare's status as a favourite, indeed perennial, source of subject matter to later Victorian artists – particularly to the mid-century Pre-Raphaelites as well as to later artists such as John William Waterhouse and William Frederick Yeames – there is no cognisance of this in Te Papa.²⁷ This is more of a reflection on the museum's Victorian collection itself – which is inferior to those of the Auckland Art Gallery and the Dunedin Public Art Gallery – rather than indicating any imperviousness

to Shakespearean themes. The five watercolours by Charles Cattermole (1832–1900) in Te Papa's collection, particularly the *Hunting Scene* (n.d.) and *An Old English Mansion in the Days of Hawking* (n.d.), are all typically generic historical genre pieces without any overt documented storylines.²⁸ Deftly executed, they reflect this minor yet prolific artist's world, steeped in Jacobean and Stuart nostalgia. For several decades, Cattermole and his better-known uncle, George (a friend of Charles Dickens), were mainstays of the Royal Institute where they exhibited works of this kind. Sometimes these were overtly Shakespearean, such as in Charles's scenes from *Macbeth*; Dunedin Public Art Gallery owns a watercolour by the artist, *Scene from the 'Tempest'* (n.d.).²⁹



Fig. 7 *Maria and Clown*, 1932, wood engraving, 114 x 127 mm. Artist Eric Ravilious (gift of Rex Nan Kivell, 1951. Te Papa, 1951-0010-167).

The truculent Feste

The early modernist twentieth century is represented by two minor masterpieces of wood engraving, an illustrative medium that was central to the world of high-end, limited-edition book publication. The status of Eric Ravilious (1903–42) has been transformed in recent years from a clever and witty craftsman to a star of British art, with the *Observer* critic Laura Cumming hailing his 2015 exhibition at the Dulwich Picture Gallery as ‘exhilarating, enthralling and outstandingly beautiful’.³⁰ The artist’s outstanding graphic skills resulted in an output that straddled designs for glass, ceramics, textiles and furniture, as well as book illustrations (as here) and dust jackets. *Maria and Clown* was the title page for the boutique Golden Cockerel Press edition of *Twelfth Night* (1932), and the engraving in Te Papa comes from a separate limited edition (Fig. 7).

In this scene (Act I, Scene v, lines 1–6), Olivia’s lady-in-waiting, Maria, interrogates the clown Feste: ‘Nay, either tell me where thou hast been, or I will not open my lips so wide as a bristle may enter in way of thy excuse. My lady will hang thee for thy absence.’

Feste truculently replies: ‘Let her hang me: he that is well hanged in this world needs to fear no colours’ (in other words, does not need to be afraid of anything he sees).

Ravilious’s design is bold and strong, yet finely detailed. Delicate ribbons adorning Maria’s sleeve and Feste’s falling bells are meticulously rendered. Ravilious scholar James Russell notes that several years previously, while a student at the Royal College of Art, Ravilious had acted in a Christmas play in which he had worn particoloured tights and, according to his classmate Enid Marx, he ‘looked rather like a figure in his own engraving’.³¹

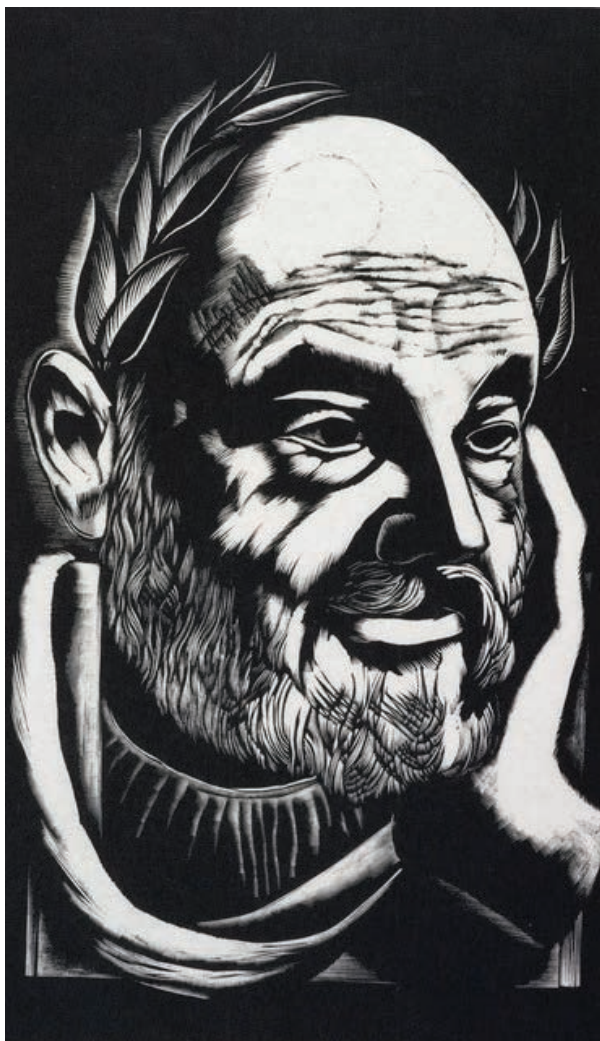


Fig. 8 *Timon of Athens*, c. 1939, wood engraving, 228 x 135 mm. Artist George Buday (gift of Rex Nan Kivell, 1953. Te Papa, 1953-0003-41).

Timon unravelling

George Buday (1907–90), a near contemporary of Ravilious, was born György Buday in Transylvania, and achieved artistic distinction in Hungary before winning a scholarship to study in Britain in 1937, where he remained for the rest of his life. His status was acknowledged in his election to the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and as a fellow of the Society of Wood Engravers, while his principal claim to fame was his authorship of *The history of the Christmas card* (1954).³² Far more soulfully expressionist than the wittily urbane Ravilious, Buday proved an inspired choice as artist for *Timon of Athens* (Fig. 8) in ‘the most ambitious plan to illustrate Shakespeare in history’, the Limited Editions Club series

(1939–40).³³ In his excellent book *Illustrating Shakespeare*, Peter Whitfield regards the scheme as being as flawed as Boydell’s counterpart of nearly 150 years earlier, and notes how highly regarded contributors such as Graham Sutherland and Edward Gordon Craig proved deeply disappointing in their offerings. Yet Whitfield has high praise for Buday, who ‘hit upon the striking idea of giving us simply faces, all of Timon himself, but progressing from ease and joy at the opening of the play through conflict and suffering to death’.³⁴ One such print, the third in the series, when Timon is well on his way to misanthropic and material disenchantment, is in Te Papa’s collection.

Fomison’s Lear and an enigmatic sonnet

Two further prints by well-known artists bring the first part of this article to its conclusion. *King Lear* (1985) by Tony Fomison (1939–90) is a lithograph dating from late in this brilliant but troubled and self-destructive New Zealander’s career (Fig. 9). The theme was clearly important to the artist, and inspired at least two paintings; almost certainly, Fomison himself identified with Lear’s precarious mental stability and the black-comic role of the Fool in the play. Fomison’s figures are usually victims or other marginalised characters, struggling to hold on to their dignity, often plunged in a latter-day symbolist miasma of paint.³⁵ In the lithograph, the infirm, toothless, dazed-looking Lear is enthroned, wearing a crown that looks disturbingly like a paper party hat. Framing the composition are carvings of a vaguely Polynesian style, echoed by totemic posts on either side of the throne. The grainy effect of drawing on the lithographic stone admirably suited Fomison’s highly personal style, with its emphasis on line and shading. Some of the artist’s prints – like this one – are drawn with a minimalist, sketch-like hand and have an unfinished feel about them, conveying the sense of disintegration, yet he was always in control of the medium.³⁶

Shakespeare Sonnet Lithograph No 1 (Fig. 10) by Sidney Nolan (1917–92) is part of a larger portfolio of ten prints in varying media by ten leading late twentieth-century Australian artists that was commissioned by the Australian Legal Group in 1988 to commemorate the bicentenary of Australia.³⁷ A blurred, roughly executed composition of two merged heads, the work remains an unstudied enigma.



Fig. 9 *King Lear*, 1985, lithograph, 330 x 470 mm. Artist Tony Fomison (purchased 2009. Te Papa, CA000934/001/0012).

It bears little overt relationship to Sonnet 1 implicit in its title, in which Shakespeare begs the unknown dedicatee of his poem to have children and thus pass down his beauty. This is unless the viewer (optimistically) regards the smudgy and possibly bearded figure, intersecting with the larger and less-than-handsome head, to represent the poet and dedicatee respectively. It has been remarked of Nolan's poetic visions – which also encompass Greek mythology as well as numerous other Shakespeare sonnets – that 'these artworks are loaded with private meanings that he holds most closely to his heart, and may be among the most enigmatic of his works'.³⁸ Maybe so; but a work such as this, commissioned four years before Nolan's death, treads the tightrope between the startling lyrical beauty of some of his *Leda and the Swan* paintings (1958–60), and the artist's prolonged, smeary decline during his later career.

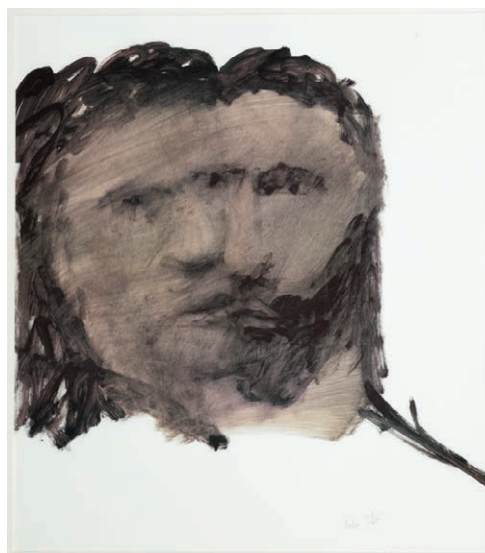


Fig. 10 *Shakespeare Sonnet Lithograph No 1, c.* 1988, lithograph, 510 x 525 mm. Artist Sidney Nolan (gift of the Australian Legal Group, 1988. Te Papa, 1988-0050-6).



Fig. 11 *Atlas & His Globe*, 1989, poster paint, 3340 x 1800 mm. Artist Raymond Boyce (purchased 1997. Te Papa, GH008082).



Fig. 12 *Hercules*, 1989, poster paint, 3495 x 1750 mm. Artist Raymond Boyce (purchased 1997. Te Papa, GH009083).

Hanging Shakespeare

The most recent Shakespearean work at Te Papa is surely the most remarkable in the collection, and it would make a perfectly viable monograph in its own right. This comprises the set of large-scale poster-paint cartoons by Raymond Boyce (b. 1928) for the embroidered hangings at Shakespeare’s Globe in Bankside, London. The latter constitute the gift of the people of New Zealand to the rebuilt theatre and were unveiled there in 1994. While their story has been told in Dawn Sanders’s wittily entitled book *Very public hangings*, the account that follows makes special use of an interview between Boyce and this author, and gives emphasis specifically to the cartoons.³⁹

The commission came about through the Wellington Shakespeare Society, and its desire to contribute something special to the Globe Theatre (later Shakespeare’s Globe) project in London that would not be a reflection of the largesse of ‘great and good’ A-list supporters, but instead would testify to New Zealand’s distinctive appreciation of the cause. It was society member Rhona Davis who first wrote in 1983: ‘May I suggest curtains ... made of New Zealand wool.’⁴⁰ Following this, Sanders decided to ‘give Raymond Boyce a call’,⁴¹ because of his reputation as New Zealand’s first – and indeed foremost – stage set designer, with nearly 40 years’ experience with New Zealand Opera, the Royal New Zealand Ballet and, more recently, at Downstage Theatre in Wellington.⁴² Boyce warned the society:

You’ve got to be careful because it’s going to be a set where the design’s on, which we haven’t even talked about, which is going to be presented to the director of a company and what happens if he doesn’t like them? He’s not commissioning them, you are, as a present ... and directors don’t like using second-hand scenery, I can assure you of that, so beware!⁴³

The Wellington Shakespeare Society nevertheless persisted, and the initially wary Boyce vowed, ‘I’d do the best I could!’ in taking on the brief.⁴⁴ The question of appropriate themes for the hangings rapidly followed. Wellington author and theatre director Phillip Mann advised that the wool trade – which connected both Elizabethan England and contemporary New Zealand – should be alluded to, as should their respective status as seafaring nations. Ideas then gelled rapidly: Sir Francis Drake’s circumnavigation of the world, the world as the Globe and, indeed, the new Globe Theatre. Boyce recalls: ‘It was pointed out

to me ... by London actually, that instead of the globe being held up showing the northern hemisphere, wouldn’t it be a good idea if it actually showed the southern hemisphere?’⁴⁵ This led rapidly to Boyce’s design for *Atlas & His Globe*, where the straining figure bears the weight of a delightfully enlarged New Zealand (Fig. 11). On performance days at the original Globe Theatre, home to the Lord Chamberlain’s Men and later the King’s Men, a flag showing Atlas might well have flown.

Another dramatic hero was Hercules, hence the design for the matching hanging that depicts the latter’s hefty figure, clad in his lion skin and swinging his club (Fig. 12). Boyce stresses that Hercules was ‘a fond god to all Elizabethans, they all wished to be Herculean’. In both instances, Boyce adhered broadly to ‘Shakespearean authenticity’; indeed, he stressed that ‘one couldn’t depart from the established way of drawing’. For all four compositions, he conducted ‘a lot of research into embroidery and tapestries, because we had to decide how they were going to be made’. A tapestry woven in the authentic early modern manner was soon eliminated as an option because of the time and costs that entailed: ‘This was no go, so it had to be embroidery.’⁴⁶

Venus and Adonis

The Atlas and Hercules figures were intended to function as the two narrower, centrally placed hangings for the *frons scenae* (stage background) and were designed for the central door of the stage. On either side of them would be placed a further pair of hangings that were twice their width. The subject matter was rapidly determined: depictions of Venus and Adonis, inspired by Shakespeare’s poem of that title (1593), which was immensely successful in his lifetime. When this author asked Boyce why that choice was made, as ‘you think of the plays, or most people do, way before they think of the poems’, Boyce replied:

That’s true, but we wanted something which was important to Elizabethans at that time ... in the week that we decided this, there was a tavern which was built in 1600 in St Albans which was then being renovated. On the first floor ... plaster was taken off the wall, and below the plaster was a mural of the story of Venus and Adonis.⁴⁷

Boyce felt handsomely vindicated by this discovery, and ‘it just had to be that’.⁴⁸



Fig. 14 *Venus*, 1989, poster paint, 2340 x 2060 mm. Artist Raymond Boyce (purchased 1997. Te Papa, GH008080).

assurance, needing to make 'very few' preparatory sketches before embarking on more refined designs. He had 'a focus from the beginning, you might say ... I knew where I was going. It's my training, quite honestly.' With no false modesty, he added: 'As soon as I picked up a paintbrush I usually was pretty right in what I was putting down', and the cartoons for the hangings were no exception.⁵³ Their fluidity, assurance, ease and, at the same time, a sense of exhilaration in their production all remain vividly evident.

500 women embroiderers

The remarkable story of how Boyce's gouache cartoons became an embroidered, appliquéd and dyed woollen reality, installed in Shakespeare's Globe, lies outside the scope of this article, and is in any case admirably chronicled in Sanders's account (Figs 15–18). What should be noted, however, is Boyce's continued admiration of how the 500 New Zealand

women embroiderers in their sometimes quite small regional 'collectives' explored and developed his designs 'in a way I had never expected. They improved them all the way through'. Indeed, he 'just couldn't believe the ingenuity ... of what they were doing, like the woman from Nelson, [who] made her sheep with real sheep wool and that's her concept. It's wonderful, isn't it?'⁵⁴ It is no exaggeration to claim that the hangings are a triumphant outcome of the women's art movement in New Zealand, reflected both in the ingenuity of execution that Boyce so admires, and at the same time the harmoniously collective spirit behind their production. Why then is there so little recognition of this? For whatever reason, the hangings are not on the New Zealand art historian's or art critic's radar. Blame could be laid at the ongoing hierarchy of art practice, and the attendant marginalisation of the 'decorative art' of embroidery, as distinct from higher-status media, such as painting, sculpture, installation and video art. Another likely factor that prevented greater recognition



Figs. 15-18 *Shakespeare's Globe hanging: Hercules*, 1990–92, embroidered and appliquéd wool. Makers 500 New Zealand women embroiderers, after Raymond Boyce (*Shakespeare's Globe*, Bankside, London).

Fig. 16 *Shakespeare's Globe hanging: Atlas*.

is the stylistic constraints and conventions that the hangings, by definition, needed to respect and embody: anything edgy or experimentally contemporary would have been out of the question. What remains unquestionable, however, is the popularity of the hangings and their success as a 'must-see', not least for the many New Zealanders who visit London. They are an understandable source of pride for the families and friends of their now elderly or deceased makers. As Boyce confirms, the hangings are a greater attraction to some visitors than the programme of Shakespeare's Globe itself.⁵⁵

A timely hanging?

While the influence of the Shakespeare's Globe wall-hangings is inevitably difficult to quantify, Boyce believes that their production helped to raise Shakespeare's profile in the education and consciousness of New Zealanders. They could be credibly regarded as part of a wider cultural movement that also brought about the foundation of the Shakespeare Globe Centre New Zealand in June 1991, just weeks after the hangings were unveiled in Wellington and, in the following year, the first regional Shakespeare Festival in schools. It would seem appropriate on Te Papa's part to recognise this phenomenon by exhibiting Raymond Boyce's cartoons, as well as giving overdue recognition to their elderly but still immensely engaged and engaging creator.

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Fig. 17 *Shakespeare's Globe hanging: Adonis.*



Fig. 18 *Shakespeare's Globe hanging: Venus.*

Notes

1. See Mary Kisler, *Angels and aristocrats: early European art in New Zealand public collections*, Auckland: Godwit, 2010, pp. 190–192.
2. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, ‘*The Play Scene in Hamlet*’, in: *Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki* [website], 2016, retrieved on 1 August 2016 from www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/134/the-play-scene-in-hamlet.
3. Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira, ‘Marionette’, in: *Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira* [website], n.d., retrieved on 1 August 2016 from www.aucklandmuseum.com/collection/object/am_humanhistory-object-89858.
4. Auckland Council, ‘The bard lives on’, in: *Our Auckland* [website], 2016, retrieved on 1 August 2016 from <http://ourauckland.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/articles/news/2016/05/the-bard-lives-on>.
5. For Muller, see especially Jan Piet Filedt Kok, ‘Jan Harmensz. Muller as printmaker – I’, *Print Quarterly* 11(3), 1994, pp. 223–264.
6. For Plutarch in Dutch, see especially Olga van Marion, ‘The reception of Plutarch in the Netherlands: Octavia and Cleopatra in the heroic epistles of J.B. Wellekens (1710)’, in: Karl Enekel, Jan de Jong and Jeanine De Landsheer (eds), *Recreating ancient history: episodes from the Greek and Roman past in the arts and literature of the early modern period*, Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2002, pp. 213–234.
7. Kok, ‘Jan Harmensz. Muller’, p. 224.
8. *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. ii. 339–342.
9. For a discussion on this painting, by Elizabeth Einberg, see Jane Martineau (ed.), *Shakespeare in art*, London and New York: Merrell, 2003, pp. 52–53.
10. See especially Jonathan Bate, ‘The Shakespeare phenomenon’, in: Martineau, *Shakespeare in art*, pp. 9–19.
11. Jonathan Bate and Dora Thornton, *Shakespeare: staging the world*, London: British Museum Press, 2012, p. 266.
12. Bate, ‘The Shakespeare phenomenon’, pp. 13–15.
13. Robyn Hamlyn, ‘The Shakespeare galleries of John Boydell and James Woodmason’, in: Martineau, *Shakespeare in art*, pp. 97–113.
14. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, ‘Genevieve. (From a Poem by S.T. Coleridge Entitled “Love”’, in: *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* [website], n.d., retrieved on 1 August 2016 from <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/43608>.
15. Samuel Johnson wrote of the play: ‘To remark the folly of the fiction, the absurdity of the conduct, the confusion of the names and manners of different times, and the impossibility of the events in any system of life, were to waste criticism upon unresisting imbecility, upon faults too evident for detection, and too gross for aggravation.’ Quoted in ‘Cymbeline’, in: *Wikipedia: the free encyclopedia* [website], 2016, retrieved on 1 August 2016 from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cymbeline>.
16. Dawe proved successful in this ambition. He was elected as an associate of the Royal Academy in 1809, and a full member in 1814. See Galina Andreeva, ‘Dawe, George (1781–1829)’, in: *Oxford dictionary of national biography* [website], 2004, retrieved on 1 August 2016 from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7328>.
17. See Tate, ‘George Dawe: *Imogen Found in the Cave of Belarius*’, in: *Tate* [website], n.d., retrieved on 1 August 2016 from www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/dawe-imogen-found-in-the-cave-of-belarius-t00718.
18. See Simon Fenwick, ‘Wright, John Masey (1777–1866)’, in: *Oxford dictionary of national biography* [website], 2004, retrieved on 1 August 2016 from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30039>.
19. Quoted in *ibid*.
20. *Twelfth Night*, I. iii. 240–241.
21. Mark Houlahan, email to the author, 29 July 2016.
22. *King Lear*, IV. vii. 70–74.
23. William McAloon (ed.), *Art at Te Papa*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2009, p. 10.
24. Falstaff’s line is inscribed on the watercolour.
25. *2 Henry IV*, III. ii. 169–172.
26. See ‘William Heath’, in: *All Things Victorian* [website], n.d., retrieved on 1 August 2016 from www.avictorian.com/Heath_William.html.
27. See Peter Whitfield, *Illustrating Shakespeare*, London: British Library, 2013, pp. 106–125.
28. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, ‘*Hunting Scene*’, in: *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* [website], n.d., retrieved on 1 August 2016 from <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/43123>; Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, ‘*An Old English Mansion in the Days of Hawking*’, in: *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* [website], n.d., retrieved on 1 August 2016 from <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/36849>.
29. Dunedin Public Art Gallery, ‘*Scene from the “Tempest”*’, in: *Dunedin Public Art Gallery* [website], n.d., retrieved on 1 August 2016 from <http://collection.dunedin.art.museum/search.do?view=detail&page=1&id=26221&db=object>.
30. Laura Cumming, ‘Ravilious review – exhilarating, enthralling and outstandingly beautiful’, *Observer*, 5 April 2015, retrieved on 1 August 2016 from www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2015/apr/05/ravilious-dulwich-picture-gallery-review-watercolours. For Ravilious, see especially Alan Powers, *Eric Ravilious: artist and designer*, London: Lund Humphries, 2013.
31. James Russell, ‘Ravilious/Shakespeare’, blog post, 6 January 2016, retrieved on 1 August 2016 from <http://jamesrussellontheblog.blogspot.co.nz/2016/01/ravilious-shakespeare.html>.

32. British Museum, 'George Buday (Biographical details)', in: *The British Museum* [website], n.d., retrieved on 1 August 2016 from www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=130711.
33. Whitfield, *Illustrating Shakespeare*, p. 146.
34. Ibid., p. 149.
35. Michael Dunn, *New Zealand painting: a concise history*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp. 139–141.
36. Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetu, 'Tony Fomison: New Zealander, b. 1939, d. 1990: *King Lear*', in: *Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetu* [website], n.d., retrieved on 1 August 2016 from <https://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/collection/85-2313-13>.
37. British Museum, '*Shakespeare Sonnet Lithograph No 11* The Australian Legal Group Contemporary Print Collection', in: *The British Museum* [website], n.d., retrieved on 1 August 2016 from http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=687311&partId=1&people=99667&peoA=99667-2-60&sortBy=fromDateDesc&page=1.
38. QUT Art Museum, 'Sidney Nolan: a poetic vision', in: *QUT Art Museum* [website], 2008, retrieved on 1 August 2016 from www.artmuseum.qut.edu.au/downloads/Teachers_notes_sidney_nolan.pdf.
39. Dawn Sanders, *Very public hangings: the story behind New Zealand's gift to the Globe Theatre London*, Wellington: Wellington Shakespeare Society, 1992. See also Mark Stocker, 'Creating something Shakespearean: Raymond Boyce and the Globe hangings', Te Papa blog, 22 May 2016, retrieved on 1 August 2016 from <http://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2016/05/22/creating-something-shakespearean-raymond-boyce-and-the-globe-hangings>. In addition to the four main compositions discussed here, there are 10 further cartoons in Te Papa's collection by Raymond Boyce of decorative border motifs for the hangings.
40. Sanders, *Very public hangings*, p. 13.
41. Raymond Boyce, interview with the author, Wellington, 13 May 2016.
42. See Bill Guest, 'Theatre design – set design', *Te ara – the encyclopedia of New Zealand* [website], 2014, retrieved on 1 August 2016 from www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/theatre-design/page-1.
43. Boyce, interview with the author.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid. See also Sanders, *Very public hangings*, p. 14.
48. Boyce, interview with the author.
49. 'When he beheld his shadow in the brook, / The fishes spread on it their golden gills, / When he was by, the birds such pleasure took / That some would sing, some other in their bills / Would bring him mulberries and

ripe cherries: / He fed them with his sight, they him with berries' (*Venus and Adonis*, 1099–1104).

50. Boyce, interview with the author.
51. *Venus and Adonis*, 1167–1170.
52. Boyce, interview with the author.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid. See also Sanders, *Very public hangings*, p. 24.
55. Boyce, interview with the author.

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An uncertain future: Jewish refugee artefacts in New Zealand and their ‘return’ to Germany

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ABSTRACT: The absence of artefacts in many Jewish museums today is due to the widescale destruction, plundering and displacement of people and their possessions during the 1941–45 Holocaust. While some European institutions actually hoarded large Judaica collections in this period, countless Jewish objects went into exile with refugee families. The main methods used by European Jewish museums to offset this deficiency (through narrative display, and by seeking object donations from these refugee families) raise critical museological questions regarding the representation and ‘repatriation’ of these exilic objects.

Not only are donated Jewish refugee objects (as opposed to artefacts appropriated illegally) largely absent from European museum collections; they also rarely inhabit cultural heritage collections in New Zealand. The material culture objects brought to New Zealand in the 1930s by Jewish refugees are today mainly held in the private homes of descendants. However, the significant lack of a dedicated, permanent collection space capable of accepting these privately held refugee materials constrains the options of the second generation regarding the future preservation of their heritage.

This paper explores the current position of New Zealand’s national heritage collecting institutions regarding the acquisition of Jewish refugee objects, their use of such artefacts, and the perspectives of refugee families and their descendants as potential donors.

KEYWORDS: Refugees, museum, New Zealand, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Germany, Holocaust, Jewish artefacts, exile, archives, heritage.

As exilic objects age and become increasingly fragile, the families of Holocaust refugee survivors are faced with a choice: to keep their objects within the family by passing them on to successive generations, or to entrust them to a public institution. The latter option presents further concerns. Should the chosen repository identify with the Jewish community or be a secular entity? Should it be a national government-funded institution or a small, community-directed organisation? And when families are presented with the opportunity to return the materials to their original homeland, is a German archive or museum an appropriate home for such transnational artefacts (Grossmann 2003)? Such questions have been interrogated at an international level (in Europe and the United States), but not within New Zealand, where the

children of Jewish refugees are developing their own views on the future home of their families’ objects, including the prospect of returning refugee artefacts and personal papers to Germany. Their varied and often emotionally charged responses to this concept, or to having been recently asked to donate items to the Jewish Museum Berlin (JMB), reveal another aspect to the complex legacy of Holocaust survival in exile, as second-generation descendants feel they must secure an appropriate destination for their survivor parents’ possessions.

This paper begins with an examination of the approaches taken by New Zealand’s national collecting institutions the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) and the Alexander Turnbull Library (Turnbull Library) to collecting and exhibiting Jewish refugee objects. Next, the

various perspectives and proactive actions of the second generation in New Zealand are explored, focusing on predominantly German-Jewish case studies. The paper concludes with the recent case study of the Stahl family archives, a collection of papers entrusted to the JMB in late 2014. The potential issues faced by New Zealand's refugee survivor community are exemplified in this case study, and the collection's return journey to Germany demonstrates the refugee artefact's unique position as part of a net of transnational displacements and entanglements caused by the Holocaust.

Institutional heritage perspectives and approach

Jewish refugee artefacts are rare and scattered across New Zealand national cultural heritage collections. The history of 'regular' migration to New Zealand is a dominant theme within the country's national collecting institutions, but refugee objects and experiences have only recently appeared in the public heritage discourse. Progression in this area aligns with international trends as heritage professionals are increasingly expected to ensure 'their collections more fully represent all in society, including those from the periphery and the margins and those with alternative or unorthodox opinions' (Flinn 2008: 110). However, while refugee objects are increasingly sought after by curators, New Zealand's heritage institutions have limited capacity to acquire large collections due to resourcing constraints. New Zealand's national documentary heritage collection, the Turnbull Library, and the national museum, Te Papa, both have collection mandates to reflect the diversity of past and present New Zealand society, and so must maximise their collections by acquiring artefacts that represent as many ethnic groups and immigrant groupings as possible.

Jewish refugee objects at Te Papa

The establishment of Te Papa in 1992 brought refugee objects into the spotlight, but also exposed some of the challenges inherent in housing and displaying such transnational artefacts. The museum currently presents two long-term exhibitions, *Passports* and *The Mixing Room*:

stories from young refugees in New Zealand, which examine migration and the refugee youth experience, respectively. The *Passports* exhibition was part of the so-called Day One exhibitions – those displayed when Te Papa first opened to the public. It tells the social history of migration to New Zealand by non-Māori from the early nineteenth century to the present day. Its main focus was 'the diverse experiences of various groups of migrants as they responded to and coped with social processes extending far beyond them' (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 1994: 5). The exhibition strategy for reflecting diverse migration experiences used criteria such as date of arrival, gender, class, country of origin, religion, age, motivation and type (e.g. chain, circular, refugee), (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 1994: 6).

The mainly textile objects belonging to Augusta Bohmer (1912–2009), a Jewish refugee from Moravia, part of the former Czechoslovakia, who arrived in New Zealand in 1939, were actively sought out and acquired by the curatorial team for the *Passports* exhibition in the mid-1990s. However, Bohmer's objects were rejected for display in favour of Jewish synagogue objects – a prayer curtain from Wellington's first synagogue on The Terrace (Fig. 1) and a Jewish presentation tray (salver), sourced by the local Jewish community (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 1994: 33, 38).

These nineteenth-century objects related to migrant culture (namely, Jewish faith) in New Zealand, rather than the decision to emigrate, or being a refugee and a migrant. Te Papa history curator Stephanie Gibson called it a 'really odd decision' but one that should be read in the context of a very 'fraught long [concept development] process with lots of debate ... so much was at stake'.¹ It is also possible that the Bohmer textiles were rejected because they were highly domestic objects, and therefore appeared ubiquitous and meaningless, in contrast to the strong symbolic statement made by explicitly religious artefacts. Usually domestic in nature, refugee objects do not tend to speak for themselves: 'If you didn't know their provenance, you probably wouldn't collect them,' Gibson explains, continuing, 'their survival is actually quite tenuous' (Gibson 2015).

The ability of refugee objects to speak to the migration experience of dislocation therefore depends greatly on how curators and archivists choose to record and use them. Such artefacts often come as part of complex acquisitions, and



Fig. 1 Ark curtain, c. 1895, velvet, thread, glass. Maker unknown. Gift of the Wellington Hebrew Congregation, 1994 (CC BY-NC-ND licence; Te Papa PC004129).

if accessioned incompletely, could be misrepresented in the institutional record. This is especially problematic when dealing with collections consisting of objects both made in New Zealand and originating from an ancestral homeland, such as the textiles collection donated by the Hager family to Te Papa in 2007 (Hager 2015).² While the majority of this acquisition represented Kurt Hager's New Zealand clothing manufacturing business, it also included a drawstring purse of knitted beads from Vienna (Fig. 2). Dated between 1860 and 1880, the purse originally belonged to Kurt's mother, and was brought out to New Zealand when the family fled Austria in 1938 and 1939 (Hager 2015). Gibson explained that the collection was accepted as representative of the Hager family 'in terms of manufacturing, but also because

they had a migrant – a refugee migrant history. But that doesn't really surface in the cataloguing very well. So I've tried to improve that' (Gibson 2015).³

Regarding its potential display, there is a risk that the Hager purse may be displayed as a 'pretty purse'. As Gibson explains, an aesthetic object in particular 'might be used for a different purpose, and its refugee storyline will get suppressed ... so there is a danger around how we use objects' (Gibson 2015). To counter this risk, Te Papa ensures their collection objects are as 'useful' as possible; that they have multiple significances and can tell many stories. For instance, the minister's gown belonging to Helmut Herbert Hermann Rex (1913–67), brought out of Germany when Rex fled as a political refugee in 1939, was



Fig. 2 Purse, c. 1860–80, glass beads, cotton. Maker unknown. Gift of the Hager family, 2007 (CC BY-NC-ND licence; Te Papa GH015606).

displayed in an exhibition on uniformity, as an example of religious dress (Fig. 3). Even though the exhibition concept did not require it, the curators decided to include Rex's refugee story as part of the exhibition label accompanying the gown, 'because the story's so great and it's respectful, we did two jobs – we used it as a religious dress and as a refugee story' (Gibson 2015). This approach is, of course, effective only if all those historical significances are noted in the object record. Issues of representation – such as exhibition concept development, acquisition cataloguing and exhibition labels – have a direct impact on the 'refugee presence' in institutional memory.

Since the Bohmer acquisition, Te Papa has been offered relatively few artefacts from refugee donors.⁴ Contemporary refugees especially often arrive with very few objects, and these are so personally significant that they do not wish to part with them; it is usually later generations who then consider museums. So when developing *The Mixing Room*, which opened in 2010, Gibson and her team decided to take an artefact-free approach. The exhibit instead uses oral testimony, so the community shared their stories 'almost as if that's an object, and their images, and their creative works, which are all digital' (Gibson 2015).

The documentary record: Jewish refugee papers at the Alexander Turnbull Library

The objects most frequently entrusted by refugee families to public heritage institutions are more traditional archival objects: personal papers. Both cellist Marie Vandewart Blaschke (1911–2006) and Soni Mulheron, daughter of composer and architect Richard Fuchs (1887–1947), have donated papers to the Turnbull Library. Prior to her death in 2006, Blaschke bequeathed her extensive collection of concert and performance programmes, including concerts she had attended and those related to her musical career in pre-Second World War Germany, post-war England, and wartime and post-war New Zealand. In August 1999, Mulheron gifted her father's music scores and parts, sound recordings, news clippings, photographs and correspondence to the Turnbull. The library's refugee materials span a wide range of records types, including oral history interviews; both Marie Blaschke and Kurt Hager's oral history interviews are held in the Turnbull Library's national Oral History and Sound collection.

The Turnbull Library's selection policy dictates that



Fig. 3 Minister's gown, Berlin, c. 1938, wool, silk, metal. Otto Weber. Gift of the Reverend Denzil J. Brown, 2006 (CC BY-NC-ND licence; Te Papa GH015487).

its collection materials 'must support research into New Zealand and New Zealanders', be of 'national documentary significance' and be accessible to the public. Refugee materials are given high collection priority by the library, whose acquisitions policy is deeply conscious of the great movement of refugees and displaced people from Europe between the late 1930s and early 1950s. According to curatorial services leader John Sullivan (2015), the library considered the Jewish refugee movement a significant part of that phenomenon and 'have always been "on the lookout" ... for material that would sort of enhance that part of

our history'. Sullivan highlights the photography collection of Irene Koppel (1914–2004) as one such example of an important record depicting key people and events in New Zealand's history. Koppel was a Jewish refugee who left Germany in the late 1930s, first for England, then travelling on to New Zealand in 1939–40. She first worked with a Wellington photographer, and then launched her own successful photographic career. 'But [the collection] also documented something of the journey, which she had brought here and ... the artistic currents in Germany at the time' (Sullivan 2015). In addition, the collection is easy to digitise, a factor Sullivan notes is important when considering alternative approaches to physically repatriating private refugee collections to Europe.

As New Zealanders documenting the history of New Zealand, we should, believes Sullivan, 'be interested in collecting such material ourselves,' but he cautions that our public heritage institutions cannot collect everything. Such refugee objects have a shared heritage now, and we therefore require 'a more flexible solution for satisfying all those needs'. While Sullivan suggests that collaborative digitisation projects could offer a way forward for international collecting institutions, it is vital that the original artefacts are preserved and remain accessible; if necessary, they can then be safely sent out on temporary loan for exhibition. Moreover, original documents have their own emotional significance for people, and to have them accepted for preservation by a national institution gives refugee families a sense of validation, indicating 'that they actually matter ... that they're actually part of our history, and aren't being written out of it in any way'. Equally, donors are 'lifeblood' for the repository, part of 'a circular relationship between researchers, the institution, and donors', each strengthening the other (Sullivan 2015). This relationship is vital, as families have to make difficult choices between the private preservation of family memory, or dispersing collections into public archives, either voluntarily or by request.

Second-generation donor perspectives and approach

For the second generation of German-Jewish refugee families seeking a public home for their parents' artefacts in New Zealand, the option of a centralised collection space capable of accepting both material and documentary

objects does not exist. New Zealand's own Holocaust education and remembrance centre, the Holocaust Centre of New Zealand (HCNZ), is not currently a collecting museum (Sedley 2015). When it opened as the Wellington Holocaust Research and Education Centre in 2007, the self-contained permanent exhibition included a few selected objects, but as a small volunteer-managed and volunteer-operated community museum with limited funding, the HCNZ is not adequately resourced to collect and preserve artefacts.⁵ During Phillip Green's term as co-chair of the HCNZ board, a first-generation friend contacted him, wondering what to do with her family's artefacts. Green (2015) recalls, 'I pointed out to her that one of the objects of the centre was to receive and preserve objects from families brought in through the Holocaust, brought to New Zealand. And I also had to say the centre was in no fit position to receive them, yet. But if she could only wait, the day would come.'

Instances of object misplacement by New Zealand museums, where donated artefacts were 'lost in transit' before they could be accessioned, has resulted in their absence from the institutional record.⁶ Such an experience can act as a disincentive to the second generation choosing to entrust their objects to local collections. Having been so discouraged, Green's friend ultimately decided the best option was to send everything back to Germany with the JMB's chief archivist, Aubrey Pomerance, in 2014. 'She knew that I felt deeply saddened, indeed, very strongly about her doing that, but she felt she had no choice,' says Green (2015). The evident lack of a centralised, permanent home for Holocaust-era exilic artefacts in New Zealand, and the current opportunity to send objects to the JMB, has created tension and internal debate among the survivor community about where the objects should belong.

Pomerance's visit to New Zealand in December 2014 prompted many discussions among families, the HCNZ community and the second-generation group. Some in the community, like first-generation member Susi Williams, advocate strongly for the return of family artefacts to Germany, particularly to the JMB archives. Williams first met Pomerance in 2007, when he spoke to a group of visiting first-generation survivors at the JMB about 'the importance of Archives and the hope that some of us would entrust materials to the Jewish Museum'.⁷ Although she recognises that some inherited material should remain in families and some should stay in New Zealand 'if we ever find the right way of doing that', Williams firmly

believes that some items should go to the JMB, 'where [they] can be looked after, used to teach, understood (particularly some of the old scripts), and be a part of the history of Germany' (Williams 2015).

Some in the survivor community feel it is important that the objects have a permanent *Jewish* home. For first-generation member Soni Mulheron, the Jewish identity of Israel's Yad Vashem was important in her decision-making, and was the reason why she chose to send some objects to the international museum. Although she cannot remember what objects were entrusted to Yad Vashem, she stresses, 'Well I know it's a Jewish archive' (Mulheron 2015). Second-generation member Paul Blaschke, son of Marie, is yet to place any further objects into the public archive, but prefers a Jewish home for the family papers and photographs if he were to do so (Blaschke 2015).⁸ Having always hoped that, if his family papers went into a New Zealand collection, they would go to the HCNZ, Blaschke has had to look further afield for options. He now believes the JMB is the obvious candidate, having been approached by the museum about entrusting his mother's Berlin papers to the museum: 'Although, of course, now having found out that there are also family documents in the Stadt Archives of Berlin ... that I guess opens it up a little bit more' (Blaschke 2015).⁹ So while he prefers a Jewish repository for the papers, Blaschke is keeping his options open, deciding to research the papers further first before making a final decision on their institutional fate.

For Mulheron's son Danny, however, the Jewish identity of the custodian organisation is not as important as what it decides to *do* with the collection. When approached by Pomerance, second-generation Mulheron family members were concerned that the objects might never be displayed in the museum, or only occasionally. Danny was happy to have objects put on display at the JMB, or elsewhere in Germany, but did not want them to be stored away, out of sight. His wife, Sara Stretton, explains:

We kind of thought, well you know, the reality is that our objects that sort of mean something to us sentimentally will probably just be in some back room, and they might just come out sort of occasionally for an exhibition, if at all. They may never come out! They might just be archived and labelled and stored away ... and they would just join the millions and millions of other objects out there from Jewish families. (Mulheron & Stretton 2015)

The family's apprehension that their objects and stories would become ubiquitous in a German context, losing the significance they had acquired in representing a distinctive cultural experience in the New Zealand refugee setting, is underpinned by the perception that there are countless other Jewish families 'telling the same story as us' (Mulheron & Stretton 2015).

Ultimately, the Mulheron family decided to keep the objects in their own homes (divided between Soni, Danny and Danny's sister), under the auspices of the Richard Fuchs Archive Trust. A selection of Richard Fuchs objects is currently on temporary loan to the Wellington Museum (formerly the Wellington Museum of City and Sea) and displayed in *The Attic*, an exhibition exploring the multifaceted character of Wellington (Figs 4–6).

These include Fuchs' music scores (Fig. 5), scarf and hatbox (Fig. 6), hat, shaving kit, wax seals, pocket fob watch, architecture office sign in German ('Dr. Ing. Richard Fuchs Architekturbüro') and his wife Dora's German passport. Further objects from the collection of the Wellington Museum include Fuchs' 1914 Iron Cross 2nd Class and Honour Cross of the World War 1914/1918 (Hindenberg Cross) medals, and First World War works he produced in 1916–18 while working as a war artist (Wellington Museum 2015).¹⁰ *The Attic* also includes two interactive audio features, allowing the visitor to listen to Fuchs' musical compositions and to an excerpt from *The Third Richard* documentary film, directed by Danny and Sara.

According to Danny, the hatbox is especially significant in representing the family's refugee story visually. Along with a satchel filled with personal papers and music scores, it was the only item besides clothing that Fuchs carried on his person when he immigrated to New Zealand in 1939. 'The satchel was basically his life,' Danny explains, but it was an attachment born out of practical necessity, not sentimentality, as Fuchs had to carry the correct documentation in order to emigrate. In fact, the satchel was so important to him that 'he would hold onto it, sleep with it, everything. And it's – that's why that's important. 'Cause that was them surviving in another country, and escaping an old one.'¹¹ On the other hand, Danny feels the hatbox is interesting because it is such a personal item; the small hat even reveals the physicality of the individual himself: 'It gives you a real perspective of even how tall he was. There's something about putting on a hat ... You realise, gosh, this person was a little, small-boned individual



Fig. 4 Richard Fuchs display in *The Attic* exhibition at Wellington Museum, 2015 (photo: Louisa Hormann, reproduced with permission of Wellington Museum, D. Mulheron and S. Stretton; collection of Wellington Museum and the Richard Fuchs Archive).

who had all this life' (Mulheron & Stretton 2015).

Danny's strong desire to have the objects curated is rooted in the belief that the family's story is illustrative of a fundamental period in New Zealand's history:

The story of them [the Fuchs family and German-Jewish refugees in general] in New Zealand, and the way they were treated in here, which was not – it's benign but also ignorant, and slightly selfish and uncaring – is a really good story to tell. And so that aspect of things is something New Zealanders should face up to, in the same way Germany has faced up to its past. (Mulheron & Stretton 2015)

In contrast, Soni Mulheron's reasoning for keeping the objects in New Zealand is based on the fact that her whole family is in New Zealand. However, she also shares the view that the objects equally belong to German history, and so believes some refugee artefacts should be entrusted to European museums, arguing 'well they ought to be, I mean they were part of it weren't they' (Mulheron 2015).



Fig. 6 Hatbox and silk scarf, c. 1939. Maker unknown. The box, along with a satchel, were the only items besides clothing that Fuchs carried on his person when he emigrated from Germany in 1939. Display at Wellington Museum, 2015 (photo: Louisa Hormann, reproduced with permission of Wellington Museum, D. Mulheron and S. Stretton; collection of the Richard Fuchs Archive).

the JMB collection strategy is resolute: 'frankly I see that as being raped and plundered all over again' (Green 2015). When asked if his perspective, shared also by his sister, is influenced by the way in which he and his sister understood their mother and family's own experience of the Holocaust, and held in honour of their explicit rejection of their German identity, Green replied:

It's deeper than that. It's because although we weren't told the detail of what happened (although I did learn directly from Oma some things in her later life), what we lived and breathed ... without recognising it at first, was the impact the Holocaust had on those people, on my grandmother, on her children, and the damage that it did to them. And also a recognition of how they treasured and cherished the memories that wrapped around the objects they'd brought out ... And so, to me it's an affront to those memories and those people that these items should go back to Germany. (Green 2015)

But aside from his personal connection, Green emphasises that the particular historical circumstances surrounding the parting of a cultural artefact from its native origins when it is brought to foreign lands need to be taken into account when considering the rightful home of the object. According to Green, there is a great difference between objects that have been stolen (such as the theft of indigenous artefacts during the colonial period by western museums and individuals), and when the owners of the objects themselves take them to another country (as in the German-Jewish refugee case). The colonial example and the Nazi plundering of Jewish properties, Green argues, are 'in sharp contrast with the situation where Jews, being forced out of their own country, took things which usually held important sentimental value to them'.¹⁵ Such considerations are essential to determining 'the appropriateness or otherwise of there being any right of return, including even a right to ask for the return of objects' (Green 2015). The case of Jewish refugees fleeing Europe and bringing their personal possessions with them to new lands in exile is thus distinctive from other examples of repatriated cultural artefacts. It is, nonetheless, crucial to recognise the undeniable 'double identity' (that of their place of origin and of their adopted land) these objects acquired over the course of their dramatic journeys to New Zealand, and in some cases, their return to Germany (Savoy 2015: 43).

The Stahl family papers and the Jewish Museum Berlin

The transfer of the Stahl family archives to the JMB in late 2014 exemplifies the practical and legal issues surrounding the export of cultural artefacts from New Zealand. However, as a point of difference from most exchanges, the donor was museum consultant Ken Gorbey, whose wife's aunt, Eleanor Stahl (née Foster), had inherited the family refugee papers when her husband died in 1987. When Eleanor moved into elderly care accommodation, Gorbey's wife Susan Foster inherited the materials. A New Zealand nurse during the Second World War, Eleanor married German-Jewish refugee Rudolph 'Rudi' Stahl in 1961. Rudi had been sent ahead of his family in 1939 and established himself in New Zealand. The rest of the family escaped Europe in 1940 by travelling through Russia, and were among

the last 8,000 Jews to leave Germany. Gorbey describes the archive as disjointed, the content beginning in 1938, when the family realised they needed to flee: 'Rudi was a young man, doing things like taking photographs of the apartment, taking photographs of [his] father's trade certificates ... and bringing them out with him' (Gorbey 2015). Upon receiving the collection, Gorbey began cataloguing the Stahl papers.

Through his work at the HCNZ, Gorbey was aware that some German-Jewish families were already shipping materials back to Berlin through Aubrey Pomerance:

They were just shipping stuff back, taking it back personally in some cases; many of them knew Aubrey, and knew him very well. And Aubrey was accepting this because this was the normal thing to do; our Antiquities Act is quite different from those that apply in Israel and the States and Canada, which puts [*sic*] personal papers to one side. Personal papers are different from other archives [in those countries]. (Gorbey 2015)

In contrast, the New Zealand Protected Objects Act 1975 (formerly known as the Antiquities Act) encompasses all personal papers, under the 'Documentary heritage objects' category in Schedule 4.¹⁴ An object is included in this category if it is not represented by at least two comparable examples permanently held in New Zealand public collections, *and* is more than 50 years old, or is a unique document (or collection of documents) more than 50 years old, or is a protected public record.¹⁵ So while in most other countries personal papers are not covered by any legislation, in New Zealand, personal papers of the kind sought by the JMB are in fact covered by the 1975 Act. Gorbey insisted on going through the full permissions process with the Ministry for Culture and Heritage owing to his professional position in the sector (Gorbey 2015). His application for permission to export the archive was made so as to assure the JMB's chief archivist that all processes had been completed and all official agreements were in place before Pomerance's arrival in New Zealand in December 2014, and with the express intention of using the Stahl application as a template for applications made by other families (Gorbey 2014).

Gorbey believes that 'the only place for these heavily German-oriented archives was an active German-speaking archive', namely the Leo Baeck Institute Archives at the JMB (Gorbey 2015). Pomerance himself used this same rationale at his public presentation to the Wellington Jewish

community during his visit to New Zealand (Pomerance 2014). In Germany, the language can be understood, interpreted and used; furthermore, the Berlin archive has the resources to digitise its collections. For countries of refuge, such as New Zealand, the language barrier to the archival use of documentary artefacts poses a problem, as both local staff and researchers often do not have the necessary expertise to work with such artefacts. This concern was also shared by most in the second-generation group.

Reflecting on the Stahl papers, Gorbey notes that an artefact's institutional fate is 'a tension that ... we are destined to discuss time and time and time again over each individual object or archive'. At a personal level, he always regards museums as 'a repository of last resort'; the ideal circumstance is that families should hold on to their objects, 'because it's got more life within a family. It resonates more with people, it causes the next generation perhaps to get interested' (Gorbey 2015). Gorbey's concern about institutional archives arises from the potential disconnect that occurs when objects start to move out of families and into the public archive, regardless of where that public collection might be.

The crucial step for both private and public parties is to ensure that the stories attached to the object or collection, including an object's own migration story, are recorded as part of the provenance of the artefact (Gorbey 2015; Sullivan 2015). As Gorbey explains, 'each time that object has made a shift ... its meaning is thickened up a bit. And the Stahl archives go back to Berlin, but what's not lost is the story', because Eleanor Stahl had recorded the written history of the exile of her husband's family (Gorbey 2015). Without the provenance of refugee artefacts, as Gibson (2015) has also argued, the full meaning and true historical significance of such objects is lost. The relationship between the object and its narrative is thus essential to conveying a comprehensive representation of refugee objects in public collections, especially if they have been returned to their country of origin.

Conclusion

The lack of dedicated, permanent collection spaces capable of accepting privately held refugee materials limits the options available to children of Jewish refugees regarding the future preservation of their families' collections. The proposition of the JMB to collect the artefacts of German-

Jewish refugee families in New Zealand has been met with a variety of responses: a wide range of viewpoints, emotions and all-encompassing uncertainty among the second generation. These shared but often conflicting perspectives are related to questions of identity for German-Jewish refugee families (Jewish, German, New Zealand), but also to the legacy of conflict – of trauma and tentative reconciliation. The connection between individual and collective memories (across time and between cultures) in relation to objects in the public archive, and especially the 'repatriation' of objects to Germany, is an intimate one. Second-generation testimony of this kind reveals a constant acknowledgement of the collective memory at stake when deciding the fate of such artefacts, which is all the more at risk when *both* refugee memory and the refugee archive itself represent a shared heritage.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. The Day One exhibitions were curated prior to Stephanie Gibson's employment at Te Papa.
2. After Nicky Hager's mother died, the family offered her clothing – mostly 1970s high fashion produced by her husband Kurt Hager's textile manufacturing business – to Te Papa's textiles collection. A selection of items was accepted.
3. Cataloguing is always a work in progress, and records can be amended to incorporate new layers of meaning as relevant information comes to light; since the completion of the Displaced People, Displaced Objects Project, Gibson has added the refugee association to the Hager purse object record. As a result, the object will now appear in collection search results for the term 'refugee'.
4. Acquisitions include the minister's gown (2006); the Hager purse (2007); Estonian objects donated by the Reissar family, who came to New Zealand as displaced post-war migrants (2008); the cheongsam garments of Mayme Chanwai, a Second World War refugee from Hong Kong (2011); and a collection of Somalian artefacts donated by Mohamed Abdulaziz Mohamed (2014). Note that the minister's gown, worn by Helmut Herbert Hermann Rex, was not donated by the family, but was instead a gift of Rex's friend, Reverend Denzil J. Brown, on behalf of the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand.
5. Some members of New Zealand's Jewish community (mainly based in Auckland) have sought alternative digital options for preserving their heritage. Established in December 2011, the Jewish Online Museum (JOM), founded by David J. Ross, is a digital archive option for recording the stories and objects of New Zealand's Jewish community in general. According to its website, it is New Zealand's first Jewish museum and the first online Jewish museum in the world, 'one that seeks to preserve memory and fragile histories, and to attribute provenance and value to the objects, experiences and culture of the Jewish people'. A virtual venue was chosen as the most practical option to provide a 'locally based, globally informed cultural and educational resource', accessible to an international public audience (Jewish Online Museum 2016).
6. I have maintained the privacy of the individuals and institutions involved, as this was the wish of the interviewee.
7. Williams went to Berlin in 2007 as part of the Berlin Senate's invitation to first-generation survivors born in the city to make a return visit. This event included a visit to the JMB. Williams made two later visits to Berlin, fostering the JMB's interest in the New Zealand connection and the papers relating to refugee families' past history in Germany. This, Williams says, helped to encourage Pomerance's subsequent visit to New Zealand and Australia.
8. Blaschke (2015) has a different view when it comes to the material objects, and is considering New Zealand museums: 'It doesn't need to be anything Jewish, connected with Jewish history, but just sort of an immigrant family and their roots going back into, into European history.'
9. Prior to the Displaced People, Displaced Objects Project, Blaschke was contacted by two postgraduate students at the Humboldt University of Berlin who were conducting research at the Berlin State Archives into the Berliner Jewish victims of the Nazi regime. They had found the death records and official police certification recording the suicide of his grandparents, Anna and Eugen Vandewart, in late 1941. The papers included a kind of suicide note, a farewell note to the children.
10. Other Richard Fuchs objects in the Wellington Museum's collection were donated by Soni Mulheron in 2006 and 2008. These include his German army pay book (1902–17), his luggage tag from Dachau concentration camp (1 November 1938), his certificate for the award

of the Iron Cross (30 January 1935), and a black and white photograph of Fuchs on horseback, with barracks in the background (date unknown).

11. The satchel remains within the private collection of the family.
12. The German collection of more than 150 graphic artworks (lithographs, etchings, woodcuts) was originally started by Paul Blaschke's grandfather Eugen Vandewart, was added to by his son-in-law Alfons Blaschke, and is now in the care of a family trust. The collection covers the period of German expressionism, beginning just before the turn of the twentieth century and extending into its first 25 years, and includes artworks by Max Liebermann, Lovis Corinth and Käthe Kollwitz. It was brought out to New Zealand after the war in 1954, having been placed in the care of a family in America. During the lifetimes of Marie and Alfons Blaschke, the works were shown only privately to family and friends, but in 2014 a selection had their first public showing at the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, in a First World War centenary exhibition called *Age of Turmoil*. This displayed German art produced in the first quarter of the twentieth century, as a social commentary on post-First World War and interwar German society. The trust has plans to make the collection available online.
13. Having represented Māori interests for many decades during his career as a lawyer, Green notes his familiarity with how some Māori feel about the plundering and repatriation of their cultural property: 'So I understand very much how hurtful that type of taking can be, and the strong desire to repatriate' (Green 2015). Green is also on the United Nations panel for conciliation and mediation over the repatriation of cultural objects taken by countries and held away from their native lands.
14. The Act regulates the export from New Zealand of 'protected New Zealand objects', and is administered by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage. Schedule 4 was added by Section 32 of the New Zealand Protected Objects Amendment Act 2006.
15. Similar clauses also apply to the 'Social history objects' and 'Art objects including fine, decorative, and popular art' categories within Schedule 4. Interestingly, the Documentary heritage objects category excludes any document owned by its living creator who was born in or is related to New Zealand.

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The enterprising John Baillie, artist, art dealer and entrepreneur

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ABSTRACT: John Baillie was a key figure in the establishment of New Zealand's national art collection in the first decades of the twentieth century. He was a unique combination of gifted artist and astute businessman. As a young artist, he travelled from New Zealand to London, where he created a respected dealer gallery. On the basis of his work experience and knowledge of British painting, Baillie was commissioned to organise two substantial art exhibitions that toured New Zealand. From these, the Wellington public purchased paintings and prints as a foundation for a national collection of art. This paper aims to provide an appreciation and acknowledgement of Baillie's talents, in particular his commitment to the promotion of art in New Zealand.

KEYWORDS: John Baillie, artist, businessman, exhibition, dealer gallery, dedication, national art collection, recognition.

Artist and art dealer John Baillie (1868–1926) (Fig. 1) was a significant presence in the Wellington art world of the 1890s and played a crucial role in the establishment of New Zealand's national art collection in the first two decades of the twentieth century. However, he is largely overlooked in the history of New Zealand art, partly because he spent the most important part of his life overseas, and partly because he died at the relatively young age of 58.

An artist himself, with a broad interest in the arts, including theatre and music, Baillie had the business skills, the courage and the confidence to enable him to turn his interests into a livelihood. He is chiefly known through the highly successful 'Baillie exhibition', shown in Wellington in May and June 1912.¹ Works purchased from this exhibition are part of the founding nucleus of New Zealand's current permanent national collection of paintings and works on paper. Baillie's years in London as a gallery owner and art dealer gave him the required experience to organise the shipment and display of two large exhibitions of English and European art to New Zealand in 1912 and 1913/14.

A certain amount is known about the early history of the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts and the Baillie

exhibitions from Robin Kay and Tony Eden's *Portrait of a century* and William McAloon's introduction to *Art at Te Papa*, but very little is known about Baillie himself, especially his attitudes, tastes and motivations, and how they informed the early development of the national collection. It is regrettable that there is no extant personal material such as letters to family and friends from which to research the life of Baillie. However, from the rich resources of the National Library of New Zealand website *Papers past*, it is possible to construct a background that gives a reliable indication of his persona, his great energy, his mature, highly developed aesthetic, and his unflagging commitment to the promotion of the arts in New Zealand through the establishment of a national collection of art.

My commitment to providing this insight into Baillie's life and work stems from my 30-year career at the National Art Gallery and its successor, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa), where I worked with the pieces of art brought to New Zealand by Baillie. Not only did I come to appreciate the significance of these works in the history of the national art collection, but I also observed a lack of wider acknowledgement for Baillie's achievements.

THE NEW ZEALAND FREE LANCE



MR. JOHN BAILLIE,

The Wellington Artist who has brought to New Zealand the Splendid Collection of Paintings by leading British Artists.

Fig. 1 John Baillie (*Free Lance*, 20 April 1912), microfilm, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Early life in Wellington

John Baillie was born in Wellington in 1868. In the same year, his father, Gordon, opened a book and stationery business on Cuba Street. Gordon was also a photographer, but that side of the business was sold after his death in 1876. It is possible that Gordon's wife, Mary Ann (née Seed), initially ran the business when her husband died until John's older brother, Herbert (who was 13 years old at the time of Gordon's death), was able to take over its management.² By 1890, John, then in his early 20s, had become a partner and Baillie's Bookshop was well established at the Cuba Street premises.

John Baillie was listed as an artist exhibitor with the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts between 1891 and 1921. He was treasurer in 1892 and 1893, and continued to be a council member until 1895. There is no documentation to indicate where Baillie learned his painting skills, but he exhibited a watercolour, *Among the cocksfoot*, at the academy's third annual exhibition in 1891.³ From then until leaving for England in 1896, he regularly exhibited four to five watercolours at most annual exhibitions. In 1892 and 1893, he was also secretary of the Wellington Art Club, which was founded by the well-known Scottish expatriate artist James Nairn (1859–1904) in 1892. Nairn painted Baillie's portrait and exhibited it at the fifth annual academy exhibition in 1893.⁴ This suggests that the two artists had a good rapport. It is frustrating that few of Baillie's paintings are accessible in New Zealand, but an assessment of one of the available watercolours, *Evening shadows*,⁵ dated in the 1890s, indicates a strong influence by Nairn (Fig. 2). The painting also has an interesting similarity in terms of subject, lighting and brushwork to that of the London Impressionist artist Paul Maitland (1863–1909),⁶ whose work Baillie would exhibit in 1901 at his first London studio in Chelsea.

By the middle of the decade, it appears that Baillie wanted to further his career as an artist, and in 1896 he sailed for London. He was clearly popular and respected in Wellington:

In view of his approaching departure to England, Mr John Baillie was entertained last night by a number of friends at the Trocadero.⁷ With song, recitation, and speech a most enjoyable evening was spent ... Mr J.M. Nairn, President [of the Wellington Art Club], in making the presentation, spoke in terms of eulogy of the recipient's many services to the club.⁸

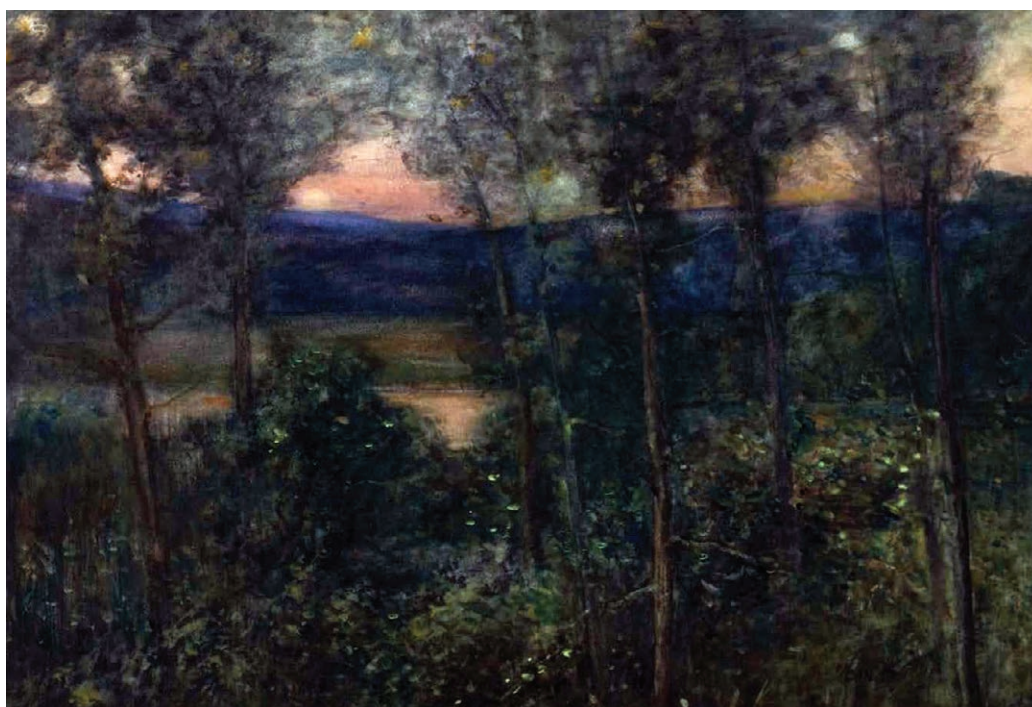


Fig. 2 *Evening shadows*, 1890–96, watercolour, 546 × 850 mm. Artist John Baillie (courtesy of Wellington City Council, City Art Collection).

In July 1896, the *Evening Post* cited: ‘A recent letter from England states that Mr John Baillie, of Wellington, who recently went Home to complete his studies as an artist ... will paint somewhere near London for the summer, going to Paris later on to improve his drawing technique.’⁹

By August, the prognosis from a London correspondent of the *Christchurch Press* was very positive: ‘Mr John Baillie called on me the other day, and I was glad to find that he seemed in excellent spirits as to his artistic prospects in England. His pictures have been most favourably criticised by some of the leading English artists, to whom he has submitted them ... with his powers a brilliant future ought to be assured.’¹⁰

After this initial foray overseas to assess his ability to survive beyond the colonial confines of New Zealand, Baillie returned to Wellington and dissolved his partnership in Baillie’s Bookshop with his brother Herbert. A formal announcement to this effect was made on 30 June 1897, and John ‘again started for the Old Country by the *Wakatipu* yesterday, with the intention of resuming his art studies in Europe ... Mr Baillie ... has obtained a good footing in art circles in England, and has now definitely decided upon painting as his career’.¹¹

That ‘good footing’ was substantiated by January 1899:

‘Mr John Baillie, late of Wellington, has permanently located himself in a fine studio at 219, King’s-road, Chelsea, close to Sloane-square, and yesterday he was “at home” there for the first time. During the afternoon he had between 50 and 60 callers, including members of some of the best art circles in London’. The report continued by saying that there were some charming works of New Zealand scenery, as well as delightful views of the Norfolk Broads on display. It ended on the positive note ‘that Mr Baillie has sold several of his pictures at capital prices’.¹²

A review in London’s *Sunday Times* dated 23 February 1902 (and reprinted in Wellington’s *Evening Post* in April) is admiring of Baillie’s work, if a little patronising: ‘The remarkable thing about Mr Baillie’s work is that the artist received his entire training in New Zealand ... His technical capacity is in advance of that of any other colonial painter with whose work we are acquainted, and his poetical vein is a pleasant one.’¹³

In 1903, the new *Sunday Times* critic, Frank Rutter,¹⁴ was more encouraging: ‘Mr Baillie is certainly getting on in English art circles, and has had several successful exhibitions of paintings done both in Wellington and London.’¹⁵

These reports suggest that Baillie was successful enough financially as an artist to maintain a lifestyle in London that brought him into contact with other artists and dealers. The move to London was fortuitous and the momentum for the next few years was building well.

The London years

There is no written evidence to indicate what prompted Baillie to start managing and selling the work of other artists in London in the opening years of the twentieth century. However, there is a clue to his change in direction from a talk he gave to the Wellington Savage Club a decade later, at the time of the 1912 Baillie exhibition: 'He told of his early struggles along the artistic way in London, which ended in his final determination to become an artists' agent.'¹⁶

The venture could well have arisen from the fact that in using his studio to exhibit and sell his own work, Baillie discussed with visiting artists the possibility of showing their work and offered to manage the sales. His business experience in the bookshop would certainly have made this a feasible proposition. Baillie would also have been aware that at that time in London there was a move to form a colonial art society. There were a good many artists from across the British Empire studying in London, and Baillie probably sensed this as a good business opportunity. He began by showing work tentatively in an informal exhibition space. Whether he actually owned or rented the studio is not clear, but this gave him the confidence to expand the business and acquire more permanent premises.¹⁷

To have risked opening a dealer gallery in London was certainly enterprising and shows a depth of confidence on Baillie's part in his own aesthetic and business skills. At the time, several well-established art dealers were operating in London, including the Grosvenor Gallery, Arthur Tooth and Son, Thomas Agnew and the Grafton Galleries, all of which had premises on or near fashionable New Bond Street in Mayfair. Notting Hill and Bayswater had not yet become prime locations for an art business venture, but as the *Free Lance* reported in August 1901, 'Mr Baillie has secured good quarters in the The Mall, off Notting Hill Gate, and on the road to Kensington Church – right in the heart of a busy thoroughfare'.¹⁸

Baillie had already displayed 26 pictures by the artist Paul Maitland in these 'good quarters', so even by 1901

the business was evidently underway. Apart from a gap in 1904–05, when he visited America and went on a tour with his brother Herbert,¹⁹ the Baillie Gallery functioned from 1903 through to 1914 with a consistent programme of exhibitions in various venues.

The premises in The Mall do not seem to have lasted more than a year and there are no extant catalogues from these first early exhibitions. From 1902, Baillie operated from 1 Princes Terrace, Hereford Road, Bayswater, in partnership with Albert E. Bonner.²⁰ He stayed here until 1905, when he moved northeast to 54 Baker Street. Baillie received good press notices for this move:

'Mr John Baillie, the owner of the charming gallery at 54 Baker-street, is a man of courage,' remarks the *Daily Mail*. 'It was a bold venture on his part to pitch his tent beyond the radius where art life is supposed to pulse; it is bolder still to back reputations that are still to be made, but Mr Baillie, who is ever on the look-out for unknown or little-known talent, is a man of subtle taste, and has the "flair" for the good things in art.'²¹

By October 1908, Baillie had moved to 13 Bruton Street, Mayfair, this time in partnership with W.D. Gardiner. He was still based in Bruton Street when he closed the business and returned permanently to New Zealand in 1914.

Though he changed the venue of his gallery three times, Baillie maintained an identity the art-buying public came to trust. In London this was essential if his business was to remain viable. He published catalogues of the exhibitions he held,²² and also marked out a certain territory for himself by showing the work of minor artists as well as more varied and exotic subject matter. The latter included work by colonial artists and outsiders, such as the homosexual Jewish Pre-Raphaelite Simeon Solomon (1840–1905),²³ together with Tibetan and Chinese art, and costume and theatre designs. An early notice sets the tone of Baillie's intended prospectus: 'The gallery in the Hereford-road is showing the first of a proposed series of "Neglected Artists", one or more of whom is to appear annually.'²⁴

From 1905, Baillie staged an annual exhibition of flower paintings by various artists, including both those who were already established and others who were little known. A press observation from an exhibition review of 1908 offers an assessment of Baillie's stable of artists and exhibitions: 'The general character of the work throughout the exhibition suggests the New English Art Club, though few of the artists are actually members.'²⁵



Fig. 3 *John Baillie*, 1904, oil on canvas, 535 × 560 mm. Artist John Duncan Fergusson (reproduced courtesy of the Fergusson Gallery, Perth & Kinross Council).

This is not strictly accurate, however, as Baillie exhibited the work of Walter Sickert (1860–1942), Lucien Pissarro (1863–1944) and John Duncan (J.D.) Fergusson (1874–1961), who were key figures in the New English Art Club and, in Fergusson's case, also the Scottish Colourists.²⁶ An earlier statement in this same review suggests that the reputation Baillie wished to establish for giving new and 'neglected' artists exhibition space had been successful: 'Frequenters of good exhibitions will welcome the migration of the Baillie Gallery from far-away Baker Street to 13 Bruton Street – excellent rooms ... Mr Baillie has long shown himself to be a man of taste and a discoverer of artistic talent.'²⁷

Frances Hodgkins (1869–1947), who arrived in England from New Zealand in 1901, was initially prepared to entrust Baillie with exhibiting and marketing her work, according to a letter she wrote to her sister, Isabel Field, in 1902.²⁸ Baillie had approached her, asking her to contribute works to a joint exhibition with Margaret

Stoddart (1865–1934). He would have known these artists from exhibiting with them at the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts in Wellington, the Palette Club and Canterbury Society of Arts Society in Christchurch, and the Otago Art Society in Dunedin. Hodgkins' letter is dated September 1902 and the exhibition took place the following month. The organisation of this exhibition gives the first indication of Baillie's business and entrepreneurial skills. In retrospect, it would seem that Baillie was using his New Zealand contacts to develop an exhibition that would help grow his business.²⁹ He did not show Hodgkins' work again, but that of Stoddart was shown in June and July 1906, just before she returned permanently to New Zealand. In this exhibition, Stoddart's work was shown in association with that of the rising star Glyn Philpot (1884–1937) and J.D. Fergusson. Another New Zealander whose work Baillie exhibited was Grace Joel (1865–1924), in both 1902 and 1903, and again in 1908, by which time she had settled in England.

There are 10 exhibitions and catalogues from the Baillie Gallery listed in the National Art Library of London's Victoria and Albert Museum for the year 1903, with quite a range of exhibitors.³⁰ Besides Baillie's own work, there were bookplates and drawings, and the work of Fergusson already mentioned. Tellingly, at this stage Fergusson's work was still in its 'Whistlerian' phase, which would have resonated with Baillie's own approach. Fergusson's work was shown again in 1906.³¹ In the four years prior to the outbreak of the First World War, Baillie also showed the work of Anne Estelle Rice (1877–1959), in 1911 and 1913, and Samuel Peploe (1871–1935), in 1914. Fergusson, Peploe and Rice together formed the kernel of the Scottish post-Impressionist movement, and had been influenced by Henri Matisse (1869–1954) while working in Paris. Though Baillie had shown the work of these artists in his gallery, none of their paintings was included in either of the big exhibitions he brought to Wellington in 1912 and Auckland in 1913.³²

The financial and critical success of the London gallery was the result of a great deal of hard work and commitment by Baillie. It was a remarkable achievement for a 'colonial boy' in Edwardian London. At the time, social structures were clearly defined and the competition from similar enterprises would have been tough. Baillie's membership of both the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts and the Wellington Art Club, and his friendship with James Nairn, probably gave him a perception of the gap that existed between the establishment and 'alternative' art in London, which he was able to capitalise on to create a viable business. Baillie appears not to have attempted to compete with the other established galleries, and this, too, helped to contribute to his success.

The 1912 'Baillie exhibition', Shed U, Wellington

At the council meeting of the Wellington-based New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts on 9 February 1911, the president, Henry Morland Gore, 'reported that the sum of £500 allocated to the Academy out of the £2000 voted Supplementary Estimates at last session (of parliament) for the purchase of pictures for the Public Art Gallery would be available in a few days'.³³ The overall sum of £2000 was to be split between the four metropolitan centres, Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin,

each receiving £500. Initially, the academy was keen to combine with the other three centres to organise a joint exhibition. However, this suggestion did not receive encouraging responses, as noted at an academy council meeting on 11 April 1911.³⁴ Auckland preferred to use the fund to encourage Australian art, Christchurch declined to cooperate and Dunedin replied that it had already committed to a course of action (not elaborated at the meeting).³⁵ As a report later suggested, 'interprovincial jealousy' was the most likely underlying reason for the lack of cooperation.³⁶ The academy had been hoping to be able to organise the exhibition for September and October of 1911, but in view of the negative responses decided to postpone it to the following year.

At the same 11 April meeting, council member and leading artist Dorothy (D.K., or Dolla) Richmond (1861–1935) proposed a similar course of action to that of 1906, when the academy had forwarded the sum of £800 to a small committee in London consisting of Frances Hodgkins, Irish artist Norman Garstin (1847–1926) and British painter F. Morley Fletcher (1866–1950).³⁷ This committee of three had used the funds to purchase pictures for a 'national' collection. The £800 was from a government subsidy of £1300 for the purchase of works from the 1906–07 New Zealand International Exhibition, held in Christchurch.³⁸ Richmond's motion lapsed as there was no seconder. Perhaps the reason for its rejection was that this time the academy wanted more direct public involvement, through donations and entry fees combined with the government funds, to procure paintings for a national collection of art. This shrewd move would encourage support and give the institution more leverage with both the government and the Wellington City Council for a building dedicated to housing the permanent collection.

In the 1890s, as the result of lobbying by the academy, the Liberal government had provided land in Whitmore Street for a gallery. But by 1910 the costs of staffing the building, along with the rates and insurance, were depleting the academy's funds, to the extent that the organisation was in debt financially. A public exhibition that would involve the citizens of Wellington would provide a crucial indication of the need for a national art gallery.³⁹

The concept of a national collection of pictures had been on the agenda of the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts for a number of years. At a meeting of the

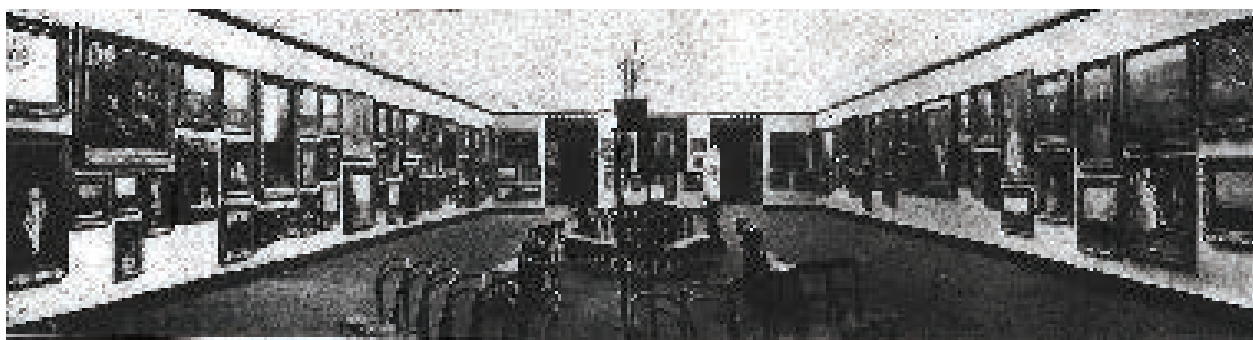


Fig. 4 The Baillie exhibition, Shed U, Wellington, April–June 1912 (*Free Lance*, 4 May 1912), microfilm, Alexander Turnbull Library.

academy council in 1911, H.H. Rayward proposed, and L.H.B. Wilson seconded, the following resolution: ‘that it is desirable that immediate steps be taken by the Academy to provide an exhibition of works of Art by Artists resident outside New Zealand for the purpose of affording an opportunity for the purchase of works for the Public Art Galleries of the Dominion’.⁴⁰ This resolution was carried.

Now that the academy was in the possession of a definite sum of money to cover the costs of developing a collection, its leaders wasted no time in formulating a plan that would enable the funding to be used as prudently and judiciously as possible.

It is at this point that Baillie enters the story. The academy secretary, E.A.S. Killick, sent a letter to Baillie after Henry Morland Gore’s draft was approved at a council meeting on 11 September 1911, asking, ‘if he would select pictures to be finally approved by Mr Clausen’. At a meeting held on 6 November 1911, it was noted that a cable had been received from Baillie saying, ‘Offer services arrange exhibition’. The following reply was sent: ‘Proceed cable probably [*sic*] date of despatch’.⁴¹ After his years of experience as a London art dealer, Baillie was uniquely positioned to curate a major exhibition of pictures in Wellington. He would have been aware of the need to attract support and not offend influential people if a permanent gallery and national collection were to be established in Wellington. Baillie knew most of the people involved in the Wellington art world, as well as the social and political attitudes that formed its fabric. This knowledge would no doubt have influenced his choices for the 1912 exhibition, but there were also severe time constraints for the curation and transportation of an exhibition of its size.

Another factor influencing Baillie’s choices was the presence of Royal Academician George Clausen (1852–

1944), who was asked to approve Baillie’s selection of pictures. The local boy clearly could not be trusted entirely to make such important choices. Clausen was a founding member of the New English Art Club, and had a style combining aspects of *plein air* Impressionism and French naturalism. He was also an adviser to the Felton Bequest at the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, so was an obvious choice for the Academy of Fine Arts. Three letters received from Clausen were read at a council meeting held on 21 August 1911. Unfortunately, these are not extant, but it was proposed that Clausen be thanked and told that the matter of the exhibition was now under consideration.

That it was deemed necessary to look outside New Zealand for works suitable for inclusion in a national collection is indicative of the prevailing attitudes to art, which reflected the social and political situation. England was regarded as ‘home’, and the academy craved the authority of its expertise to underpin its standing in the community. This was not unexpected. The Governor-General was a patron of the academy and was frequently requested to open its annual exhibitions. The connections with the British crown and culture were strong.

Baillie must have had a very hectic couple of months, because it was noted at a council meeting on 11 January 1912 that a cable had been received from him that read: ‘Magnificent collection leaving *Turakina* myself *Remuera* will arrange shows in four cities’.⁴² Following this cable, Baillie’s own departure was delayed by a bout of influenza, but both he and three separate consignments of pictures had arrived in Wellington by early April.⁴³ The cargo of pictures numbered more than 400 by 170 artists and was valued at £40,000. This represents an astonishing achievement in the short space of four months. Indeed, Baillie thought so himself and stated with no false modesty, ‘I very much doubt if there was another man in

England who could have got together such a collection.⁴⁴

Tony Eden and Robin Kay have suggested that there must have been personal correspondence between academy council members and Baillie, advising him of the possibility of an exhibition at the time it was proposed for September 1911.⁴⁵ The dating of some of the works purchased from the eventual 1912 exhibition encourage the conjecture that there were unsold pictures that had remained in artists' studios and were available for Baillie to include.⁴⁶

The academy council had resolved to await the arrival of Baillie before making any arrangements regarding the display of the exhibition. However, it was apparent from the proposed number of pictures that the Whitmore Street Gallery would not be able to accommodate them. The council then applied to the Wellington Harbour Board for the use of Shed U. This was granted on the understanding that the board would not be put to any expense associated with the exhibition.⁴⁷

Preparations for the exhibition were well underway by 23 April: 'Mr John Baillie and some zealous assistants are guaranteeing a pleasant surprise for the people who visit the art exhibition in the Harbour Board's U store. The interior of the building is taking a form to thrill any onlooker' (Fig. 4).⁴⁸

The Friday opening was 'in every way successful', with 'a large and representative gathering of citizens'.⁴⁹ From the opening onwards, there were record numbers of visitors, each happily paying the shilling entrance fee. Voting for favourite pictures was brisk, and the target of public donations to the value of £5000 for the purchase of pictures for the national collection was reached by the time the exhibition closed on 5 June. As commented by Zofia Miliszewska, 'It almost became a source of civic pride and duty to subscribe. The amount of money donated was not the issue, it was the fact that you had contributed to such a great cause was considered important.'⁵⁰ Wellington City Council had made a commitment to provide the National Collection Picture Fund with a further £1000 when the public target had been achieved. However, the works purchased with these funds need some contextualisation.

As previously noted, the Baillie exhibition was devoid of the more progressive work being shown in London at the time or indeed even at Baillie's own gallery. The selection was primarily centred on the work of artists influenced by Whistler and French Impressionism that underpinned the New English Art Club.⁵¹ There was nothing by Paul

Gauguin (1848–1903), Paul Cézanne (1839–1906) or Vincent van Gogh (1853–90), whose work had startled London in the first provocative exhibition curated by Roger Fry (1866–1934) for the Grafton Galleries in 1910. Baillie would certainly have been aware of this exhibition and the debate surrounding it, as he was acquainted with many of the artists who supported such 'avant-garde' aesthetics. In 1908, the Baillie Gallery hosted an exhibition of the Friday Club, organised by Vanessa Bell (1879–1961) and including lectures by Clive Bell (1881–1964) and Roger Fry.⁵² Against this background, Baillie's choices for the Wellington exhibition, presumably made in discussion with Clausen, seem even more astute and objective. Baillie states as much himself:

In my collection, which I hope will give pleasure, I have sought to avoid that which may raise doubts. For instance, I have brought no examples of post-impression work, though there is some wonderfully good work of that nature now being done. But it would almost fatal to bring it out here, where it might be 'guyed', or at least not understood by the general public.⁵³

Baillie's fears were well founded. A critique of the exhibition by Charles Wilson⁵⁴ that appeared in the *Christchurch Press* amply demonstrates this: 'The bizarre, too, is as rigidly excluded as the banal ... there is happily no representation in the collection of any purely ephemeral eccentricities and crazes. There is here no influence of Gauguin and Matisse, or the wilder and weirder of the Post-Impressionists, the "Cubists" are absent, and of the "Rhythmists"⁵⁵ Mr Baillie has, officially at least, no knowledge.'⁵⁶

Baillie's own views were obviously broader, as indicated by the artists whose work he exhibited at his London gallery. And there is further substantiation of these views in his previously mentioned talk to the Wellington Savage Club in 1912 during the Wellington show:

He [Baillie] had had a long experience now of pictures and buyers of pictures, and he made an appeal to those present for greater tolerance in matters of art. Some people had said there was a great deal of rubbish in his collection – people intolerant of the modern in art ... Mr Baillie drew a distinction between the real artist and the painter.⁵⁷

It is interesting that what was considered 'modern' in New Zealand at that time was already 20 years or more out of date in London, and even more so in Paris. British



Fig. 5 *Embarkation*, 1911, watercolour, 256 × 367 mm. Artist Henry Scott Tuke (Te Papa, 1912-0021-7).



Fig. 6 *The Clerkenwell flower makers*, 1896, oil on canvas, 1073 × 158 mm. Artist Samuel Melton Fisher (Te Papa, 1912-0002-1).

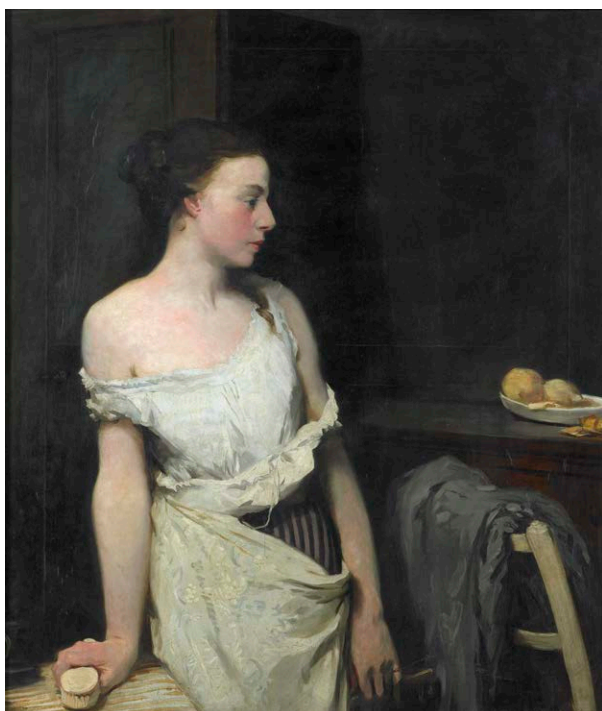


Fig. 7 *Girl at her toilet*, c. 1910, oil on canvas, 1000 × 850 mm. Artist Glyn Philpot (Te Papa, 1912-0021-2).

artistic heritage was predominant in New Zealand public collections, especially the work of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–92), Thomas Gainsborough (1727–88) and John Constable (1776–1837), overlaid by the work of James Whistler and John Singer Sargent (1856–1925), and with a whisper of the brushwork, compositions and coloration of the long-dead Édouard Manet (1832–83) and his Impressionist admirers. Certainly the pictures that were eventually purchased for the nascent ‘national’ collection tended towards the more academically acceptable. But to the New Zealand audiences of the time they were regarded as ‘modernist’. As the commentator Charles Wilson writes, ‘Modernity and distinction are the dominant keynotes of the exhibition of British pictures’.⁵⁸

Soon after Baillie arrived in Wellington with the cargo of paintings, a feature in *The Dominion* described them as ‘probably the finest collection of oil and watercolours by modern British artists ever brought to New Zealand’.⁵⁹

From the perspective of a hundred years, this assertion is now open to debate. That said, all the works purchased can be viewed as worthy examples of their type, be it portrait, landscape or genre. But they are in the safe, academic vein in terms of handling of paint and content, and not as ‘modern’ as the press notices of the time

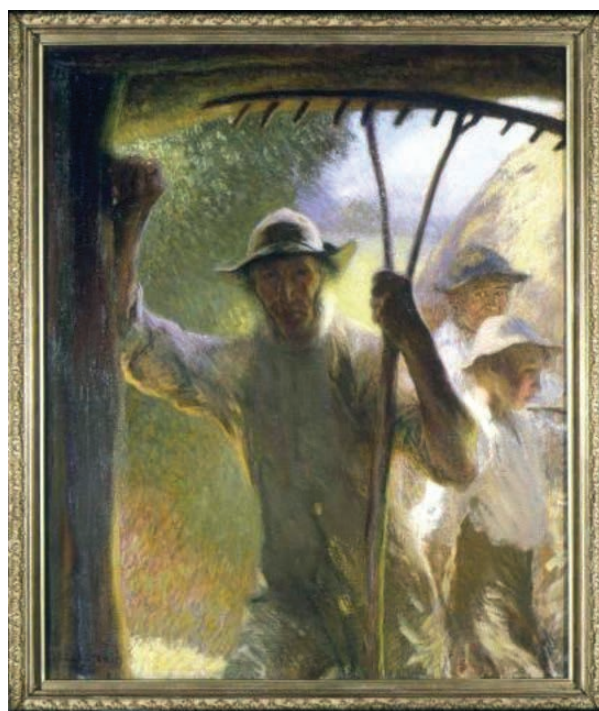


Fig. 8 *The haymakers*, 1903, oil on canvas, 751 × 624 mm. Artist George Clausen (Te Papa, 1912-0021-15).

encouraged the public to believe. Sound draughtsmanship and late-Victorian subject matter – bucolic landscapes, romanticised, anecdotal genre scenes and mythological fantasies – were the order of day. Prime examples are *Bacchante and fauns* (1902–12), by Isabel Gloag (1865–1917); *Embarkation* (1911) (Fig. 5), by Henry Scott Tuke (1858–1929); *His only pair* (c. 1912), by Frederick Bauhof (1863–?); *The sleeping mermaid* (1911), by John Weguelin (1849–1927); *The Clerkenwell flower makers* (1896) (Fig. 6), by Samuel Melton Fisher (1860–1939); *The brook* (1911), by Bertram Priestman (1868–1951); and *Highland pastures* (c. 1878), by Henry Moore (1831–95). But they do reflect the prevailing taste of the day, and certainly the taste of those with the purchasing power and the authority to implement it.

Probably the most critically interesting pictures acquired were *Girl at her toilet* (c. 1910) (Fig. 7), by Glyn Philpot (1884–1937); *The death of the year* (1910–12), by Charles Sims (1873–1928) (Fig. 9); *Goblin market* (1911) (Fig. 10), by Frank Craig (1874–1918), one of the most popular paintings in the exhibition, receiving 1074 votes;⁶⁰ *Harvesters, portraits of Ivan and Jeanne* (1900–12), by Thomas Austen Brown (1859–1924); and Clausen’s own work, *The haymakers* (1903) (Fig. 8). These works

were more challenging, being informed by ideas such as symbolism (*The death of the year*), Pre-Raphaelitism (*Goblin market*), modern approaches to the depiction of sexuality in the works of Walter Sickert (1860–1942) and Manet (*Girl at her toilet*), and French Realism and Impressionism (*Harvesters, portraits of Ivan and Jeanne* and *The haymakers*). Because of their richer subject matter, these works have survived the vicissitudes of taste and have been given more exhibition exposure up to the present than other items purchased from the 1912 exhibition.⁶¹

The exhibition Baillie curated for Auckland in 1913⁶² and subsequently brought to Wellington in June 1914 featured many of the same artists whose works were purchased for the national collection from the 1912 exhibition – including William Lee Hankey (1869–1952), Mouat Loudan (1868–1925), George Clausen, Frank Brangwyn (1867–1956), Bertram Priestman and Charles Sims – so the effect was similar to that of the 1912 exhibition. Ellen Terry (1847–1928), the famous English Shakespearian actress, who was in Wellington in June 1914,⁶³ visited the second exhibition and ‘confessed that she had to rub her eyes to remove the idea that she

was in a Royal Academy “show” at any rate in London or Paris, instead of 13,000 miles away and “all blue water between them”.⁶⁴ She nevertheless ‘spoke to all she saw of Mr Baillie’s collection of pictures in U shed, urging everyone to go and see them’.⁶⁵

The blinkered regard for the authority of the Royal Academy was not confined to New Zealand. In 1910, Roger Fry was appointed as the London representative for the Felton Bequest for the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV). As Gerard Vaughan speculates:

[this] might have signalled a transformation of Melbourne’s buying policy, but it was not to be. Melbourne was too conservative and both the NGV Council of Trustees and the Felton Bequest’s committee, as well as the director, whose tastes and experience were by then almost a generation out of touch with the modern mainstream in London, resisted any openness to the avant-garde.⁶⁶

Fry’s tenure as a Felton adviser was short-lived. Interestingly, the trustees of the Felton Bequest sent a representative to Wellington, who purchased three paintings from the Baillie exhibition.⁶⁷ The director of the Art Gallery of

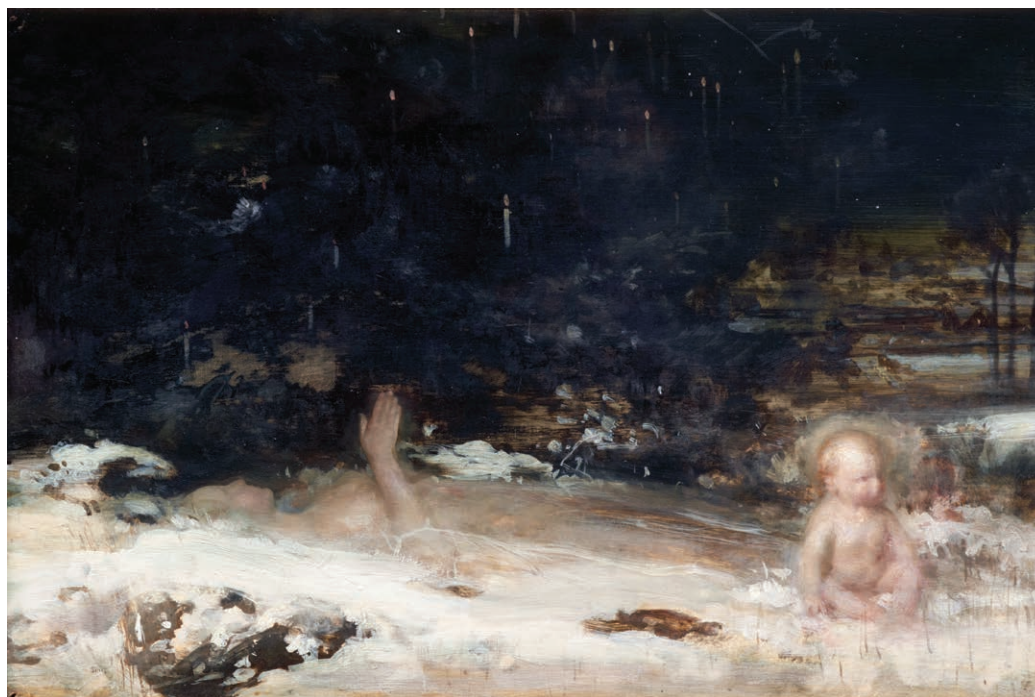


Fig. 9 *The death of the year*, 1910–12, oil on canvas, 390 × 590 mm. Artist Charles Sims (Te Papa, 1912-0021-17).



Fig. 10 *Goblin market*, 1911, oil on canvas, 1060 × 1060 mm. Artist Frank Craig (Te Papa, 1912-0021-11).

New South Wales at the time, Gother Victor Fyers Mann (1863–1948), also visited the exhibition in Wellington and made purchases for that gallery’s collection.⁶⁸

New Zealand was perhaps even less open than Australia to the ‘avant-garde’, and while the exhibitions Baillie curated in 1912 and 1913 contained works that were very competent and painterly examples of their kind, they were predominantly of a mid- to late-Victorian style in terms of subject and sentiment. Baillie was obviously aware of this from his reported comments concerning the exhibition: “There were people,” said Mr Baillie, “who appeared to think that artists of to-day should paint as they painted forty or fifty years ago, but as art was a living thing, and underwent changes and developments as all other things did.”⁶⁹

He was also acutely aware that a knowledgeable critical forum for art was lacking: “I don’t suppose it would be possible for anyone to bring out pictures,” said Mr Baillie, “without encountering some little criticism from those who have small capacity and little authority to air opinions on art, and I have been no exception. It is awfully funny to read some of the stuff in some papers alleged to be artistically critical.”⁷⁰

Realising this, Baillie worked within the taste parameters he had discerned, and focused on the greater future good of supporting the need for a national art gallery. He is to be commended for this astute assessment of the prevailing tastes of the New Zealand public. Given the success of the exhibition and the number of works purchased for the Wellington, Auckland and Dunedin metropolitan collections, he was absolutely correct.⁷¹ At the opening ceremony of the 1912 exhibition, Baillie ‘thanked the previous speakers for their appreciative references to himself, and said it had been a great pleasure to him to have had this opportunity to do something which he felt would ultimately prove to be of real value to his native country’.⁷²

Gother Mann, the director of the Art Gallery of New South Wales, certainly supported Baillie’s ambitions for the ‘national collection’. Speaking in relation to fostering a New Zealand school of painting, Mann said: ‘That’s why I think so much of the Baillie pictures. They will greatly help the students. The New Zealand National Gallery will do much, I am sure, to this end, and that is why it seems to me (just my own personal opinion only) that as many

of the Baillie pictures as are suitable should be obtained for the New Zealand National Gallery. They will help to form public taste, so that, without exactly knowing why at first, it will prefer good work to bad. The influence of such a gallery will be far-reaching.⁷³

Baillie's 1913/14 exhibition was not as financially successful as that of 1912, although it was regarded by one commentator as of better quality: 'A visit to the present collection at once strikes you that it is of a higher average merit than its predecessor, and that it doesn't depend on a few "star" paintings.'⁷⁴ Curated for the Auckland Industrial, Agricultural and Mining Exhibition, the 1913/14 show was not well attended. Nor did it have the same publicity or impact when displayed in Wellington in June 1914, following so soon after the 1912 exhibition. Baillie again had the use of Shed U, where he showed a selection of the works that had been exhibited in Auckland.

By October 1914, Baillie had returned to London with the unsold pictures. The First World War had been declared, but at age 48 he was ineligible for service in the armed forces. In tandem with his age, his health was failing.⁷⁵ He closed his gallery and returned to New Zealand.

The final New Zealand years

Baillie experienced a time of uncertainty on his return, as reported in *The Dominion* newspaper:

Mr Baillie cannot see any promise in the immediate future for art dealers owing to the drain on the public's purse through the war, and as his health has been extremely bad he has decided to turn his attention to horticulture and plant-culture in the Hutt Valley ... Since he was last in Wellington, Mr Baillie has undergone three operations in New Plymouth for an internal complaint.⁷⁶

After the excitement and vibrancy of the art world in London, either Auckland or Wellington would no doubt have seemed tame and unimaginative to Baillie. Besides his horticultural work, he took up photography. In March 1916, an exhibition of his photographs was shown at McGregor Wright's Gallery, to favourable comment. There were photographs of well-known people and their children, which were 'strikingly natural' because they were taken against a garden or beach background. There were studies of the Hutt Valley and Rotorua, and Venice,

Pompeii and English gardens – obviously places Baillie had visited while overseas – were also included in the exhibition.⁷⁷

It is further reported that Baillie worked at the 'electric lighting department' until April 1919, when he was appointed as librarian to the Municipal Free Public Library in New Plymouth.⁷⁸ It was not long before he was taking an active part in the cultural life of the town, having kindly consented to produce several small plays in aid of the St Mary's Peace Memorial.⁷⁹ Later that same year, in a report to New Plymouth Council as town librarian, Baillie outlined his plans for a series of entertainments for the library and museum fund: 'I am particularly keen on having an up-to-date reading room and reference library and if people contribute they will no doubt take a keener interest in it.'⁸⁰

Here, Baillie was applying the same tactics of public involvement that had been used to fund and choose the nucleus of a national collection of paintings in 1912. By May 1920, he was able to report that the reading room had been established, although the tables had not yet arrived.⁸¹

Through this period, Baillie's interest in photography did not abate. He donated 11 of his own photographs of Māori to the New Plymouth Museum, and acted as judge for the photographic section of the A&P exhibition in Palmerston North in November 1919.⁸²

In 1920, it was reported that 'Mr John Baillie entertained a number of his friends at a Jazz party at this studio on Tuesday'.⁸³ Mention of a studio indicates that he continued to paint, and ran 'art unions' for his paintings.⁸⁴ The studio was located in Currie Street. In another fundraising venture for the St Mary's memorial, Baillie entered the flower arranging competition. Upon resigning from the position of librarian in November 1920, he advertised his services as an 'artist gardener' in Hawera in May 1922.⁸⁵ From that time until his death approximately four years later, nothing is recorded of his activities. From leading such a full and active life in many cultural spheres, it is likely that his health issues worsened and prevented him from holding a full-time job or continuing his musical, artistic and theatrical interests. He died in Wellington in March 1926 at the age of 58.⁸⁶

It is obvious from the evidence of his various activities that John Baillie was a highly gifted and energetic individual who was passionately committed to the arts. His establishment of a successful gallery in London and organisation of large exhibitions of English and European

artworks in New Zealand were great achievements for the era. The exhibitions did much to promote the appreciation of art in New Zealand and the cause of the establishment of a national institution of art. So it is unfortunate that, as a result of his relatively premature death 10 years before the National Art Gallery building in Buckle Street was opened, Baillie has received little recognition for his great efforts and important role in its creation. Following his death, his contribution was well summarised by the secretary for the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, Henry Morland Gore, who stated in a resolution at a meeting of the academy council in May 1926: 'It was recognised with grateful remembrance that the success of its efforts to secure a worthy collection of works of art for the projected national gallery was very largely due to his [Baillie's] courageous undertaking, and his loyal co-operation and assistance.'⁸⁷

Notes

1. An excellent research essay on the Baillie exhibition, 'A taste of home: the Baillie exhibition of 1912', was prepared by Zofia Miliszewska in partial fulfilment of a B.A. (Hons.) in art history at the Victoria University of Wellington in 2004. A copy of this unpublished essay is available in the Te Aka Matua Library, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington. It is not the intention of this essay to cover the same research ground, but instead to give an overview of the life of John Baillie as an artist and art dealer.
2. In H. Wise & Co.'s *Wise's New Zealand Post Office directory* (1878–79), a Mrs Baillie is listed on p. 640 as a 'stationer' in Cuba Street in 1878.
3. New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, *New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts annual exhibition, September 1891, cat. 90*, Wellington: Lyon and Blair, 1891, p. 3.
4. New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, *New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts annual exhibition, September 1893, cat. 159*, Wellington: Lyon and Blair, 1893, [unpaginated].
5. Wellington City Council collection.
6. Paul Fordyce Maitland was a London-born artist whose work was influenced by American artist James Whistler (1834–1903) through his tutor Theodore Roussel (1847–1926), and was a member of New English Art Club. Baillie also curated a posthumous exhibition of Maitland's work in 1910.
7. The Trocadero in Willis Street advertised itself as a 'fashionable rendezvous for luncheons, teas, and suppers. Fish and oyster suppers a speciality'. 'The Trocadero' [advertisement], *Evening Post*, 20 July 1894, p. 4.
8. *Evening Post*, 21 February 1896, p. 2.
9. 'Local and general', *Evening Post*, 25 July 1896, p. 4.
10. 'Anglo-colonial notes', *The Press*, 7 August 1896, p. 5.
11. 'Local and general', *Evening Post*, 1 July 1897, p. 5.
12. 'Anglo-colonial notes', *Evening Post*, 23 January 1899, p. 2.
13. 'Mr J. Baillie's pictures', *Evening Post*, 21 April 1902, p. 2.
14. By 1903, the critic for the *Sunday Times* was Frank Rutter (1876–1937). Rutter was a strong supporter of Impressionism and would have been sympathetic to Baillie's style, hence the more positive tone of the 1903 review.
15. *Free Lance*, 13 June 1903, p. 3.
16. 'Tolerance in art. An appeal by Mr Baillie', *Evening Post*, 29 April 1912, p. 8.
17. Interestingly, this approach echoes that of art dealer Peter McLeavey some 60 years later, who began his business in the front room of his flat on The Terrace, Wellington.
18. *Free Lance*, 10 August 1901, p. 4.
19. Herbert Baillie sold the bookshop in 1902 and was appointed chief librarian of the Wellington City Library in 1904. He delivered a paper at the American Congress of Arts and Sciences held in St Louis in 1904, and later toured America looking at libraries. The congress coincided with the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (informally known as the St Louis World's Fair), which probably prompted John to join his brother in America. *Free Lance*, 16 November 1907, p. 4.
20. Alfred E. Bonner was an artist in metal and leather work, and an exhibitor at one of the first exhibitions at the Princes Terrace studio in 1902. Information from the Baillie exhibition catalogues, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, accessible at catalogue.nal.vam.ac.uk.
21. 'A New Zealander's enterprise. The Baillie Gallery in London', *Evening Post*, 28 November 1906, p. 7.
22. A full list of the Baillie Gallery catalogues is available on the website of the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London: catalogue.nal.vam.ac.uk.
23. The first posthumous exhibition of Solomon's work, including 122 examples, was held at the Baillie Gallery from 9 December 1905 to 13 January 1906. This was a coup for Baillie and an endorsement of his support for neglected and sidelined artists.
24. 'Mr John Baillie's gallery', *The Times*, 25 September 1903, p. 11.
25. 'Art exhibitions', *The Times*, 12 October 1908, p. 4.
26. The New English Art Club was an artists' society founded in London in 1886 as a reaction against the conservative attitudes of the Royal Academy of Arts. It is still functioning as an exhibiting society today. Ian Chilvers (ed.), *Dictionary of 20th century art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 430.

27. 'Art exhibitions', *The Times*.
28. Frances Hodgkins to Isabel Field, letter, 30 September 1902, quoted in Linda Gill (ed.), *Letters of Frances Hodgkins*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993, p. 138.
29. The 1902 exhibition also included the works by Dorothy (D.K., or Dolla) Richmond, Annie Taylor Blacke, Ella Adams, Muriel Burnett and Grace Joel. 'Personal notes from London', *The Press*, 5 November 1902, p. 8.
30. Constance Halford, James J. Guthrie, Laurence Housman, Clemence Housman, Louise M. Glazier, and group exhibitions of drawings and bookplates.
31. J.D. Fergusson painted a portrait of John Baillie, dated 1904 and now in the collection of the Fergusson Gallery, Perth & Kinross Council (Fig. 3). It is an intriguing parallel to the portrait James Nairn painted of Baillie in 1893, perhaps indicating Fergusson's appreciation and admiration for Baillie's association with, and promotion of, avant-garde art and artists.
32. The most probable reasons for this were that the avant-garde nature of their work was deemed unsuitable for New Zealand audiences, and also their availability. In October 1912, Fergusson, Peplow and Rice had an exhibition at the Stafford Gallery on Duke Street in St James's, London. Stella Tillyard, *The impact of modernism, 1900–1920*, London and New York: Routledge, 1988, p. 182.
33. New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, minute books, 1882–1924, MS 570, microfilm, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington.
34. Ibid.
35. Subsequently, both the Christchurch and Dunedin galleries did purchase paintings from the selection of works Baillie took to the South Island when the 1912 exhibition closed in Wellington. 'The Baillie collection. Dunedin's art purchases', *The Dominion*, 9 August 1912, p. 4.
36. 'The fine arts. An appeal for funds. Baillie collection', *The Dominion*, 22 March 1912, p. 6.
37. New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, minute books, 1882–1924.
38. It was the success of the New Zealand International Exhibition held in Christchurch in 1906–07 that prompted the members of the academy to propose an art exhibition for Wellington.
39. Robin Kay and Tony Eden, *Portrait of a century: the history of the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts*, Wellington: Millwood Press, 1983, p. 54.
40. New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, minute books, 1882–1924.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. A fourth and final consignment did not arrive in Wellington until early May on the *Ruabine*. 'National gallery fund. Governor visits exhibition', *The Dominion*, 10 May 1912, p. 4.
44. 'Feast of pictures. Mr Baillie here', *The Dominion*, 6 April 1912, p. 6.
45. Kay and Eden, *Portrait of a century*, p. 55.
46. *The Clerkenwell flower makers* by Samuel Melton Fisher (1860–1939) is dated 1896, *Highland pastures* by Henry Moore (1831–95) is dated c. 1878, *The haymakers* by George Clausen is dated 1903, and several other works are dated in the early to middle years of the first decade of the twentieth century.
47. Shed U was on the boundary between Waterloo and Customhouse quays, south of Shed 21 (now apartments). It was demolished in 1973.
48. 'A wealth of pictures', *Evening Post*, 23 April 1912, p. 8.
49. 'National gallery. Exhibition of British pictures', *The Dominion*, 27 April 1912, p. 5.
50. Miliszewska, 'A taste of home', p. 12.
51. *Catalogue of British paintings selected for the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts by Mr John Baillie (the Baillie Gallery, London)*, Wellington: Ferguson and Hicks, 1912. A copy of the catalogue is available at the Te Aka Matua Library, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.
52. Frances Spalding, 'Friday Club', *Oxford art online (Grove art online)* [online reference guide], Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007–2015, quoted in Miliszewska, 'A taste of home', p. 27.
53. 'Feast of pictures', *The Dominion*.
54. Charles Wilson was Parliamentary Librarian in 1901–26, treasurer for the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts in 1906–12 and a vice-president of the academy in 1915–24.
55. This is most likely a reference to *Rhythm*, the literary journal edited by John Middleton Murray (1889–1957) from 1911 to 1913, for which Anne Estelle Rice and J.D. Fergusson contributed illustrations. Chilvers, *Dictionary of 20th century art*, p. 515. But it could also be reference to the Futurist movement. Futurism was an Italian avant-garde art movement found in 1909 by the poet Filippo Tommaso Emilio Marinetti (1876–1944). It celebrated modern technology, dynamism and power, and its artists – including Giacomo Balla (1871–1958), Umberto Boccioni (1882–1916) and Gino Severini (1883–1966) – were concerned with the rendering of movement. Though influential, Futurism's core initiative did not last much beyond 1916. Ian Chilvers (ed.), *The concise Oxford dictionary of art and artists*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 170.
56. Charles Wilson, 'Our literary corner. British art. The exhibition at Wellington', *The Press*, 27 April 1912, p. 9.
57. 'Tolerance in art. An appeal by Mr Baillie', *Evening Post*.
58. Wilson, 'Our literary corner'.
59. 'Feast of pictures', *The Dominion*.

60. Interestingly, the most consistently popular painting, *The green gown* (1900–12) by John Young-Hunter (1874–1955), which received 1992 votes, was not purchased. The catalogue price of £300 might have been a factor, although *Goblin market* was purchased for £420. In the final choices made, the selection committee might have had to make difficult decisions managing conflicting tastes and the subscription budget.
61. In the case of some paintings, such as *Highland pastures* by Henry Moore and *The Tower Bridge, London* (c. 1910) by James S. Hill (1854–1921), their availability for exhibition has become a matter of treatment rather than aesthetics. A conservation unit was not established at the National Art Gallery until 1981. By then, the collection had increased to approximately 1100 paintings, all requiring in some measure either minor or major treatments. After almost 70 years, many of the ‘Baillie’ works required major treatments, often as result of inherent issues in their creation. Their ‘restoration’ has now to be programmed within the constraints of budget, availability of staff and competing exhibition requirements.
62. The Auckland Industrial, Agricultural and Mining Exhibition was held in the Auckland Domain, opening on 1 December 1913 and continuing until 18 April 1914. Exhibition buildings included a concert hall, art gallery, machinery court, palace of industries and exhibition tower. ‘Auckland Exhibition’, in: *Wikipedia* [website], 2016, retrieved on 2 November 2016 from en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Auckland_Exhibition. Baillie had been commissioned to obtain a collection of pictures in England for the exhibition’s art gallery. ‘Personal matters’, *Evening Post*, 19 November 1913, p. 7.
63. Ellen Terry was on a Shakespearian lecture tour of Australia and New Zealand at the time. She appeared at the Grand Opera House, Wellington, on 18 and 19 June 1914. ‘Entertainments. Miss Ellen Terry’, *Evening Post*, 10 June 1914, p. 3.
64. ‘The Baillie pictures. A magnificent collection’, *Evening Post*, 22 June 1914, p. 8.
65. Christabel [pseud.], ‘Social gossip’, *Free Lance*, 27 June 1914, p. 17.
66. Gerard Vaughan, *Modern Britain 1900–1960: masterworks from Australian and New Zealand collections*, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2007, p. 16.
67. These are now in the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne: *Vegetable market, Holland* (pre-1900), by James Campbell Noble (1845–1913); *Card players* (1910), by Frank Brangwyn; and *The Ford* (1883–1912), by Edward Arthur Walton (1860–1922). ‘National gallery. Progress of the voting’, *The Dominion*, 11 May 1912, p. 4.
68. ‘Personal matters’, *Evening Post*, 15 May 1912, p. 7.
69. ‘Social and personal. The Arts Club’, *The Dominion*, 30 April 1912, p. 9.
70. ‘The Baillie collection. Dunedin’s art purchases’, *The Dominion*, 9 August 1912, p. 4.
71. With the benefit of hindsight, it may now be seen as a matter of regret that the ‘generation out of date’ pattern was set to continue until after the Second World War. Sale exhibitions of British and European paintings brought to New Zealand by Edwin and Mary Murray Fuller in the 1920s and 1930s had a similar pro-academic and safe character to those of the Baillie exhibitions. Edwin admired Baillie and wanted to ‘emulate’ him (‘An Appreciation’, *The Dominion*, 28 February 1933, p. 6). For broader discussions of the acquisitions for the ‘national’ collections from both the Baillie and Murray Fuller exhibitions, see Ann Calhoun, ‘Two Wellington entrepreneurs of the ‘thirties,’ *Art New Zealand* 23: 20–23; and William McAloon (ed.), *Art at Te Papa*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2009, pp. 1–7. From an historical perspective, criticism of previous acquisitions has to absorb the facts of the prevailing national tastes and attitudes to art at that particular time, availability and cost of good works by ‘modern’ artists and, most importantly in the case of international works, New Zealand’s distance from their sources.
72. ‘National gallery. Exhibition of British pictures. Opening ceremony’, *The Dominion*, 27 April 1912, p. 5.
73. ‘Colonial artists. Why they emigrate’, *Evening Post*, 18 May 1912, p. 9.
74. Christabel [pseud.], ‘Social gossip’, *Free Lance*, 4 July 1914, p. 17.
75. It was reported that ‘he was at present sojourning in the north of Auckland. His health is still far from satisfactory’. ‘Personal items’, *The Dominion*, 18 September 1914, p. 4. This is one of the first public acknowledgements of the kidney problems that were eventually to end Baillie’s life.
76. ‘Personal items’, *The Dominion*, 10 April 1915, p. 7.
77. ‘Baillie portraits’, *Evening Post*, 21 March 1916, p. 8.
78. ‘Personal items’, *The Dominion*, 19 April 1919, p. 6.
79. *Taranaki Daily News*, 23 July 1919, p. 5.
80. ‘New Plymouth Public Library. Report of curator and librarian’, *Taranaki Daily News*, 20 October 1919, p. 6.
81. ‘Library improvements. Curator’s report’, *Taranaki Daily News*, 26 May 1920, p. 3.
82. ‘A big show’, *Evening Post*, 6 November 1919, p. 7.
83. ‘Woman’s world’, *Taranaki Daily News*, 17 January 1920, p. 6.
84. ‘Public notices’, *Taranaki Daily News*, 5 April 1920, p. 1.
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E.H. Gibson, taxidermist, and the assembly of Phar Lap's skeleton

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ABSTRACT: In October 1938, Edwin Herbert Gibson, taxidermist at the Otago Museum, travelled from Dunedin to Wellington to oversee the preparation of the skeleton of the famous racehorse Phar Lap for exhibition at the Dominion Museum. Gibson spent three weeks working in Wellington with the assistance of Charles Lindsay, the then-Dominion Museum taxidermist. Phar Lap's skeleton went on display soon after. It remained a popular exhibit for more than 70 years in that form, but was rearticulated in 2011 to correct errors of stance and anatomy, and to redress the impact of metal fatigue. This paper looks at Gibson's career, and how it prepared him for the invitation to participate in this significant enterprise.

KEYWORDS: Edwin Herbert Gibson, taxidermist, Phar Lap, Dominion Museum, Otago Museum, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

The famous racehorse Phar Lap was a winner, a record-breaker and a much-loved lift to the spirit for hundreds of thousands of New Zealanders in the tough years of the early 1930s (Fig. 1). His death in California in 1932 brought nationwide grief. Born and bred in New Zealand but trained in Australia, Phar Lap's links on both sides of the Tasman Sea were recognised after his death by the gift of his skeleton to the New Zealand government by his owners, and of his heart and hide to Australian institutions.

When sufficient funding and appropriate display conditions became available half a decade after Phar Lap's skeleton arrived at the Dominion Museum in Wellington, work on its articulation began. The fragile condition of the bones necessitated searching for expertise outside the museum's own staff. Edwin Herbert Gibson, taxidermist at the Otago Museum, Dunedin, was contracted for the work, being described as certainly 'the most expert bone artificer in New Zealand' by William J. Phillipps, Acting Director of the Dominion Museum.¹ At that time, Gibson had been employed at the Otago Museum for more than a quarter of a century on a broad range of tasks. For most of those years, he had worked in relative anonymity, but his association with a national icon changed that.

E.H. Gibson, naturalist and taxidermist

Edwin Herbert Gibson was born in Northamptonshire, England, in the early 1870s. He married Rennie Jarvis² in 1898 at the Islington Congregational Church, London.³ Their daughter, Olive Herberta, was born in Kettering, Northamptonshire, in 1899.⁴ The family emigrated to New Zealand early in the new century.

In 1911, Gibson was the successful candidate for the position of taxidermist 'acquainted with Museum methods' at the Otago Museum, Dunedin, advertised at an annual salary of £156.⁵ Gibson succeeded Edwin Jennings, who had been the museum's taxidermist since 1874, when he was appointed by its first curator, Captain Frederick Hutton, prior to the opening of the present building on Great King Street. Jennings died of a heart attack in October 1910, after running from his home in Ravensbourne to catch the 8.16 a.m. Port Chalmers train to Dunedin.⁶

In December 1910, William Blaxland Benham, Curator of the Otago Museum, told the Otago University Council that when he was in Australia the following month he



Fig. 1 Phar Lap and rider, 1926–28, Upper Hutt. Photo: Dr Martin Tweed. Gift of Philippa Corkill, 1999 (Te Papa O.041341).

would make enquiries for a 'suitable man' for the then vacant position. He also suggested a reduction of the salary to £150, explaining that he 'did not need a first-class man, but one capable of being taught the various methods of mounting and displaying specimens'.⁷ Members of the council, however, were strongly in favour of appointing a New Zealand candidate if possible. Benham's enquiries in Sydney were, in any case, unsuccessful. Gibson began work in May 1911.

Gibson may have lacked museum experience, but he had worked as a taxidermist in England, where he developed a business mounting sporting trophies.⁸ Benham soon acknowledged this and Gibson's other skills: 'He has had considerable experience in taxidermy, and, knowing something of cabinetmaking work, he is able to do work which formerly had to be sent out – such things as the repair of old and the making of new cases; while he is also acquainted with all the devices for improving the appearance of the woodwork.'⁹

Benham was both Curator of the Otago Museum and Professor of Biology at the University of Otago, and the

taxidermist was involved in the work associated with both institutions. Indeed, at later dates Gibson also listed work for the School of Dentistry, School of Medicine and School of Home Science as calls on his time.

In various reports in the decade following Gibson's appointment, Benham repeatedly mentioned routine tasks that had fallen to the taxidermist, such as repairing skeletons, dusting case contents, mounting specimens, refilling jars from which spirit had evaporated, and placing naphthalene in display cases and entomological storage cabinets. He also noted, for example, that Gibson had

made casts in plaster or gelatine of a large scaleless tunny, a small ribbonfish, an old stuffed specimen of *Macruronus*, which was falling to pieces, but owing to its rarity was worth preserving, and other smaller animals. He also made casts in plaster of a large number of stone Maori implements ... [was] excavating the skull of a fossil whale from the solid block of Milburn limestone in which it was embedded: a tedious job ... made a commencement of painting the dried crustacea, so as to give them a more life-like appearance ... and all the necessary though unsuspected work connected with a museum.¹⁰

In succeeding years, Benham further mentioned that Gibson had prepared rabbit skeletons for the University of Otago's biological department and mounted plants to illustrate lectures in botany,¹¹ and occasionally attended visitors to the Hocken Library when the librarian was absent.¹² In 1916, the taxidermist helped with the preservation of the faunal specimens brought back by the crew of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (ITAE) ship SY *Aurora*,¹³ and he painted the background for a display case showing life in the Antarctic, in which some of the specimens were displayed. He also made dissection boards for biology students and was present during the drawing class – in part to help the instructor to keep order,¹⁴ ground and mounted sections of teeth for dental students, prepared skulls for medical students and helped in the laboratory with university examinations.¹⁵ Presumably, it was for university biology classes that the advertisement for '100 hedgehogs (alive). Apply E.H. Gibson, Museum' was placed in the *Evening Star* in 1920,¹⁶ and the summer advertisements that appeared through much of that decade, each seeking 1000 live adult frogs.¹⁷ In 1920, the University Council recommended a salary increase for Gibson of £10.¹⁸

Nor was Gibson's work restricted to the natural sciences. In 1917, for example, he and Benham spent six weeks working on a display of South Island Māori rock art, mounting drawings on calico and photographs on card, embedding the removed rock art fragments in concrete and framing them in wood, and making a map on which the sites were located.¹⁹ In 1921, Benham reported that Gibson 'had to repair a number of Maori carvings' and had made a list of the firearms in the Otago Museum.²⁰ In later years, it was noted that Gibson had fitted new barbs to spears, replaced decorative shell elements in bowls, supervised photography for the museum postcards,²¹ and 'pieced together' a number of Greek and Etruscan vases.²² At one time, Benham described the taxidermist as 'at the beck and call of the professor of Biology, the Curator, the Keeper of Ethnography, and the Lecturer in Botany'.²³ He consistently praised Gibson's helpfulness, conscientiousness and sense of responsibility.

Gibson was allowed to maintain a private taxidermy business alongside his museum duties. In early 1912 the local press reported, 'What is said to be the finest stag's head ever brought to Dunedin has been preserved and mounted by a local taxidermist (Mr E. H. Gibson) ... The monarch they once adorned was shot in the Otago deer-

forest by Mr A. Cowie, jun., of Dunedin.'²⁴ That winter, Gibson wrote to Augustus Hamilton (then Director of the Dominion Museum) regarding the gelatine model of a fish for which Hamilton had asked Benham,²⁵ saying, 'it is a faithful reproduction of the live fish. It is a gay spark is it not ... I can assure you that it is very strong and that the gelatine will keep its fishy clammy feel for years without deterioration.' Gibson concluded, 'At any time I shall be pleased to undertake any thing for you as I have a right to do any private work'.²⁶ Hamilton took this seriously, and when he replied to a September 1912 note from Gibson asking for an address for his son, Harold, he finished off by saying, 'If you have a pair of Fantails that are in good condition and stuffed, I shall be glad to purchase them from you next time you have an opportunity of sending anything up'.²⁷

Gibson advertised as a naturalist and taxidermist in the *Otago Daily Times* in 1918, offering to preserve and mount animals, birds and fish from his home address in Normanby, Dunedin.²⁸ In 1925, he mounted a trout weighing over 7 kg that had been caught in the Mataura River by the president of the Wyndham Anglers' Association. The trophy was planned for display at the New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition, held in Dunedin over the summer of 1925/26.²⁹

In general, Gibson's display work for the Otago Museum was thought to show a more modern aesthetic than had Jennings'; one that made greater reference to the natural environs of the specimens when they were alive. His work on a swan was described as 'a happy relief from the stiffly-mounted birds on stands':

In most museums to-day birds and other animals are mounted so as to recall their natural surroundings and mode of life, but the Otago University Museum, being primarily a teaching museum, has hitherto not attempted anything of the kind. A new departure has, however, now been made. A short time ago one of the white swans at the Gardens died, and its body was presented ... to the Museum. It has been set up ... in a manner which attempts to represent it as floating on a sheet of water with a background of bull-rushes and reeds.³⁰

The Otago Museum registers include a small number of donations from Gibson, including a collection of Māori bone artefacts from Long Beach (Wairauwera) and a steersman's glove that was given to him by members of the ITAE.³¹ He is also noted as the acquisition source for a number of New Zealand birds, including several



Fig. 2 South Island kōkako (*Callaeas cinereus*). Purchased by E.H. Gibson (Otago Museum, AV742).

from Stewart Island/Rakiura (Fig. 2). Some of these are noted as purchases.

Gibson was elected a Fellow of the Zoological Society of London in 1935.³²

Phar Lap's skeleton

In April 1932, the champion Timaru-born racehorse Phar Lap died in America. Born in 1926, he had been bought in the yearling sales at Trentham in early 1928 and then sent to Australia for training,³³ so had strong associations with both countries. After his shocking and unexplained death, his owners gave his heart and hide to separate Australian institutions,³⁴ and his skeleton was donated as a gift to the government of New Zealand.

Phar Lap's skeleton was accepted by Prime Minister George Forbes and placed in the Dominion Museum. The Auckland, Canterbury and Dominion museums had all expressed interest in it.³⁵ The Dominion Museum argued that the skeleton should be exhibited by the national institution because Phar Lap had been bred in New Zealand, because it could show the structural characteristics of a racehorse and because it had no specimens of ungulate skeletons.³⁶ The museum's director, Walter (W.R.B.) Oliver, also pointed out that the Canterbury Museum already held the skeleton of the

racehorse Traducer, and that Auckland War Memorial Museum had 'the stuffed head of "Carbine"'.³⁷ Before Phar Lap's skeleton left America, however, it was reported to have been mounted at Yonkers³⁸ and photographed, and was then (in mid-September) due to be shown at Belmont Park, another well-known New York raceway, before being sent to Australia.³⁹

The *Free Lance* published a photograph of the bones in Phar Lap's skeleton being viewed by Oliver, William Phillipps and Charles Lindsay on their arrival in Wellington. It was titled 'The last lap'.⁴⁰ At that point, however, assembly was delayed while the museum moved from its Sydney Street site to the new National War Memorial Building.

Phar Lap's skeleton had originally been planned for display near the south wall of the mammal gallery in the new building. However, a reduction in the original planned width of the gallery by *c.* 1.5 m and the corresponding reduction in the size of the display cases meant that Phar Lap's skeleton no longer fitted one of the gallery cases.⁴¹ A purpose-built display case was therefore needed, which in 1937 Oliver estimated could cost £130. He anticipated that by the time a metal frame, painting, assistance from a taxidermist and labelling were added, the figure would rise to £175, which was more than he felt he could ask the board to spend from that year's income. It was suggested that the *New Zealand Sporting Life and Referee* newspaper, which had shown an interest in the situation, might be enlisted to encourage public subscription to cover the sum.⁴² The New Zealand Racing Conference also sent a circular to clubs requesting donations.⁴³

In August 1938, when funds were in hand and the museum was finally in a position to undertake the articulation, William Phillipps, Acting Director of the Dominion Museum, wrote to the Department of Internal Affairs with his assessment of the situation, documenting the condition of the individual elements.⁴⁴ Further, he informed them that cleaning by the Dominion Museum's taxidermist, Charles Lindsay, was underway, and recommended an approach to the Director of the Otago Museum to ask that Gibson's services be made available for three weeks. Gibson's talents were required because of extensive damage to the skull of the racehorse, the result of work by the American veterinary surgeon who had extracted Phar Lap's brain, apparently before the decision was made to retain his skeleton for articulation: 'Saw cuts had been made in different directions, the back of the

skull had been broken off, and the section containing the forehead and crown not replaced.⁴⁵

In arguing his case, Phillipps described Gibson as 'the most expert bone artificer in New Zealand', citing his 28 years of employment under Professor Benham,⁴⁶ the varied nature of which must have been well known. Phillipps estimated that if the work was achieved in a fortnight it would cost the Museum £22 18s 4d, including £15 15s to cover a daily allowance of 15s for Gibson's expenses. A fortnight later, with the support of the Committee of Management of the Dominion Museum, Phillipps wrote to Henry Devenish (H.D.) Skinner, Director of the Otago Museum, to make the request. He noted that the skull was 'in a very bad state indeed and will require quite a lot of remodelling to get it in a condition suitable for use for exhibition'.⁴⁷ The following month, September 1938, Phillipps further clarified his request: 'Actually, the work Mr. Gibson would be called upon to do would be to take charge of the whole concern; and we would instruct our taxidermist to co-operate with him and work under him. Our taxidermist, Mr. Lindsay, has not had anything like the experience in bone work that Mr. Gibson has had'.⁴⁸ How Lindsay felt about the situation is not clear.

Gibson suggested the skull be sent to Dunedin so that he could begin working on it there, but Phillipps was, understandably, reluctant to take the risks involved in transporting it. Instead, arrangements were formalised, and rail and steamer tickets were sent to Gibson for his travel to Wellington.⁴⁹ He started work on the skeleton on 14 October 1938 and corroborated Phillipps' assessment of the skull's condition. An initial two weeks was extended to three due to unanticipated repairs required by the delicate condition of all the bones. Gibson wrote to Skinner, saying that they 'had evidently been boiled in water containing some corrosive acid ... but nobody of course, knows anything about them ... The skull, & clavicles, and also the knuckles of most of the Big Bones, were practically decalcified ... Things were in a worse condition than I expected.' His cheerful confidence that nevertheless, 'everything will be alright and looking bony' when he was finished evidenced the years of experience that made his participation in the project so desirable.⁵⁰

The Wellington newspapers followed the progress of Gibson's and Lindsay's work. One described Gibson in his first week: 'before him on wide tables, were set out haphazard the bones of the famous racehorse looking like

a gigantic Chinese puzzle in some 162 pieces – but no puzzle at all to a man who in 30 years has set up hundreds of skeletons, ranging in size from elephants to shrews'.⁵¹

A negative note was sounded in what seems to have been an otherwise happy project when Gibson's participation looked to have been pointedly ignored in the later coverage by the *Sports Post*. When David Teviotdale, then Honorary Archaeologist at the Otago Museum, brought the matter to Skinner's attention, Skinner wrote privately to Phillipps expressing his disappointment.⁵² In consequence, Phillipps wrote to the editor of the *Sports Post*,⁵³ to Gibson, noting 'The picture and the article savoured very much of the type of journalism that papers like to give to the public';⁵⁴ and, separately, provided the following testimonial:

This is to certify that Mr. E. H. Gibson was selected by the Dominion Museum Management Committee to take charge of the articulation of the skeleton of the racehorse "Phar Lap" for exhibition in the Dominion Museum. Mr Gibson was regarded as the most expert osteologist of his kind in New Zealand; and it was realized that as the skeleton was in a bad condition only expert and thorough reconditioning would enable it to be mounted in a satisfactory manner. Mr. Gibson carried out this work to our great satisfaction. His knowledge of bone work has left us in no doubt that we chose the right man for the work. I have pleasure also in testifying to the conscientious manner in which Mr. Gibson worked through the whole of the period he was at the Dominion Museum, taking the minimum of time for meals and devoting every available moment to the work in hand.⁵⁵

Gibson seems to have enjoyed the assignment and retained positive memories of his stay in Wellington. He told Skinner, 'They have given me a Royal time up here'.⁵⁶ He wrote to John Salmon at the Dominion Museum, asking for extra copies of one of the photographs taken, and said, 'Did those newspaper chaps do anything with the Pictures they taken [*sic*] on the Friday afternoon of Phar Lap, he is looking rather pale about the Head, but when Charles has tinted it, that will improve it' (Fig. 3).⁵⁷ At New Year he telegraphed Salmon, wishing him happiness and prosperity.

Back in Dunedin, Gibson's work was celebrated by a pun in the *Evening Star* when he was described as 'the man who "mounted" Phar Lap, in a strictly taxidermal sense'.⁵⁸

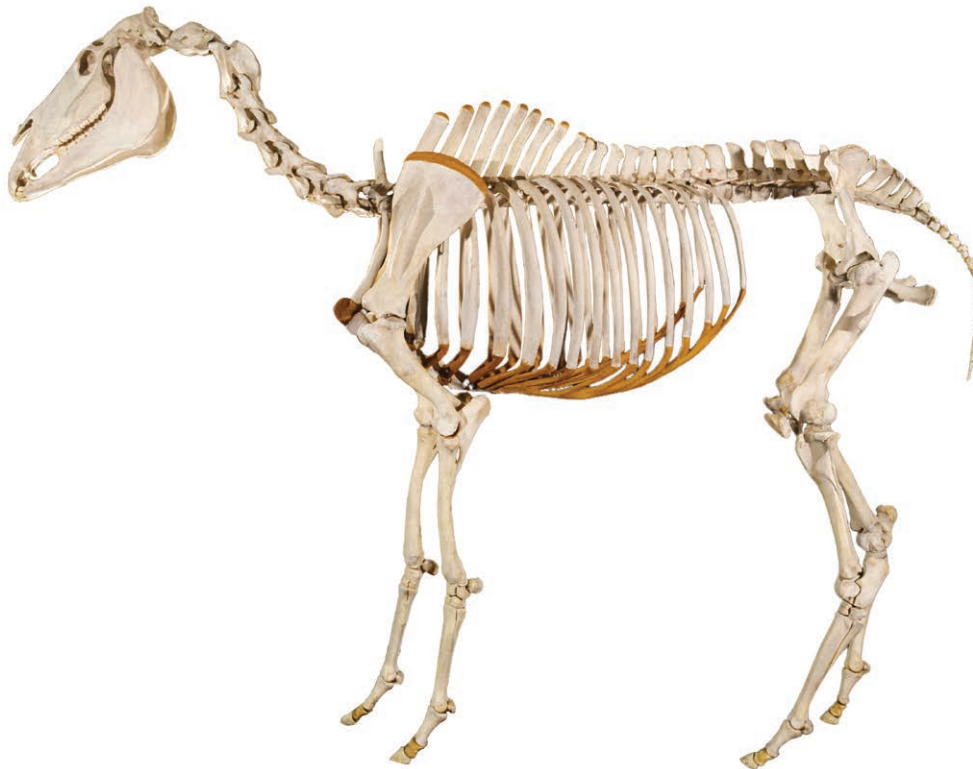


Fig. 3 Phar Lap's articulated skeleton. Horse, *Equus caballus*, collected 5 April 1932, Menlo Park, California, United States of America. Gift of D.J. Davis and H.R. Telford, 1932 (CC BY-NC-ND licence; Te Papa LM000760).

Epilogue

Gibson retired from the Otago Museum in May 1939, the year following the articulation of Phar Lap's skeleton. On leaving, he was presented with a walking stick, a reading lamp and an illuminated address. The *Otago Daily Times* reporter who 'inspected his intensely interesting laboratory' just before his departure described a stuffed collie dog prepared for display at the Dunedin Winter Show in an exhibit showing the dangers of hydatid disease. Gibson's first planned retirement project was to be the 'setting up a series of South Island trout for the Fisheries Department' for display at the Centennial Exhibition held in Wellington in 1939–40.⁵⁹ Newspaper articles marking his retirement⁶⁰ and his obituary⁶¹ noted the work on Phar Lap's skeleton as the highlight of his career and proof of his reputation.

Edwin Gibson died in Dunedin in 1949. He and his wife Rennie, who predeceased him, are both buried in the city's Northern Cemetery.

In 2011, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa), the current successor of the Dominion Museum, decided to act on contemporary critiques of the 1938 work on Phar Lap's skeleton. The most notable of the critics was Alex Davies, retired associate professor of veterinary anatomy at Massey University, who pointed out 'a series of minor errors that collectively meant the skeleton [did] not ... match the proud physique of Phar Lap in his prime. This was exacerbated by metal fatigue of the rod holding up the neck and skull.'⁶²

Rearticulation was subsequently undertaken so that the skeleton would more closely match the stance of Phar Lap's mounted hide at the Melbourne Museum, beside which it had been displayed the previous year as part of the celebrations for the 150th Melbourne Cup (Fig. 4).⁶³ This improved accuracy seems completely in accord with one of the tenets of Oliver's original argument for Phar Lap's skeleton to be displayed in the Dominion Museum: that it could show the structural characteristics of a racehorse. At a time when taxidermy is enjoying an



Fig. 4 Phar Lap's skeleton on display at Te Papa, Wellington. Horse, *Equus caballus*, collected 5 April 1932, Menlo Park, California, United States of America. Gift of D.J. Davis and H.R. Telford, 1932 (CC BY-NC-ND licence; Te Papa LM000760).

artistic renaissance,⁶⁴ even morphing into 'craftydermy' for those for whom some physical aspects of the process is off-putting, it seems appropriate to bring to mind what was involved nearly 80 years ago when Phar Lap's skeleton was originally articulated, and a little over a century ago, when Edwin Herbert Gibson was appointed to the position of taxidermist at the Otago Museum.

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Past website, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz>. Microfilm or paper copies of the others were accessed at the Hocken Collections, Dunedin.

Notes

1. Memorandum from W.J. Phillipps to Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 11 August 1938, MU000002 – 050-0006, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
2. Rennie Jarvis was born in England, but had moved to Auckland in the 1870s as a young girl with her parents, Annie and William.
3. 'Silver wedding', *Otago Daily Times*, 20 October 1923, p. 8.
4. 'Births', *Auckland Star*, 20 January 1900, p. 8.
5. 'Situations vacant', *Otago Daily Times*, 23 February 1911, p. 1.
6. 'Obituary', *Evening Star*, 31 October 1910, p. 4.
7. 'University Council', *Otago Daily Times*, 7 December 1910, p. 10.
8. In London, by his own account ('Expert osteologist', *The Dominion*, 19 October 1938, p. 10).

9. Otago University Museum, *Report of the Curator*, Dunedin: Otago University Museum, 1911, pp. 1–2.
10. Otago University Museum, *Curator's report for fourteen months ending December 1912*, Dunedin: Otago University Museum, 1913, pp. 6–7.
11. 'University of Otago', *Otago Daily Times*, 18 June 1914, p. 4.
12. 'University Museum', *Otago Daily Times*, 28 April 1915, p. 12.
13. White, 2017.
14. Otago University Museum, *Annual report of the curator for the year ending December 31st, 1916*, Dunedin: Otago University Museum, 1917, p. 7.
15. Otago University Museum, *Annual report for the year 1918*, Dunedin: Otago University Museum, 1919, p. 6.
16. 'Late advertisements', *Evening Star*, 25 May 1920, p. 5.
17. For example, 'Miscellaneous wants', *Otago Daily Times*, 24 December 1927, p. 14.
18. 'University Council', *Otago Daily Times*, 23 April 1920, p. 8.
19. Otago University Museum, *Annual report for the year 1917*, Dunedin: Otago University Museum, 1918, p. 2.
20. Otago University Museum, *Annual report for the year 1921*, Dunedin: Otago University Museum, 1922, p. 14.
21. Otago University Museum and Hocken Library, *Annual reports for the year 1924*, Dunedin: Otago University Museum and Hocken Library, 1925, p. 12.
22. Otago University Museum and Hocken Library, *Annual reports for the year 1928*, Dunedin: Otago University Museum and Hocken Library, 1929, p. 6.
23. Otago University Museum and Hocken Library, *Annual reports for the year 1929*, Dunedin: Otago University Museum and Hocken Library, 1930, p. 10.
24. 'The Evening Star', *Evening Star*, 5 January 1912, p. 4.
25. 'The Evening Star', *Evening Star*, 12 June 1912, p. 6.
26. Letter from E.H. Gibson to A. Hamilton, 4 June 1912, MU000152 – 010-0084, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
27. Letter from A. Hamilton to E.H. Gibson, 20 September 1912, MU000152 – 010-0084, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
28. For example, 'Advertisements', *Otago Daily Times*, 4 April 1918, p. 1.
29. 'The Otago Daily Times', *Otago Daily Times*, 14 March 1925, p. 9.
30. 'Local & general', *Otago Witness*, 14 May 1913, p. 31.
31. 'Otago University Museum', *Evening Star*, 12 May 1920, p. 7.
32. Michael Palmer, pers. comm., 17 May 2015.
33. 'Phar Lap (1926–1932)', *Tai awatea/Knowledge net*, online database, retrieved on 19 June 2016 at <http://tpo.tepapa.govt.nz/ViewTopicExhibitDetail.asp?ExhibitID=0x000a3af4&ExhibitionID=0x000a39ba&Language=English&dumbyparam=search>.
34. They are in the National Museum of Australia, Canberra, and the Melbourne Museum, respectively.
35. Letter from Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, to W.R.B. Oliver, 22 April 1932, MU000002 – 050-0006, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
36. Letter from W.R.B. Oliver to Secretary, Board of Trustees, 4 June 1937, MU000002 – 050-0006, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
37. Letter from W.R.B. Oliver to Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 26 April 1932, MU000002 – 050-0006, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
38. Presumably at Yonkers Raceway, a harness racing track.
39. 'Phar Lap's skeleton, mounted for display', *Northern Advocate*, 15 September 1932, p. 9.
40. 'The last lap', photograph and caption, *Free Lance*, 18 January 1933, p. 50.
41. Nor did those of the whale skeletons, also planned for the same gallery.
42. Oliver to Secretary, Board of Trustees, 4 June 1937.
43. 'Phar Lap's skeleton', *Evening Post*, 8 September 1937, p. 15.
44. Phillipps to Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 11 August 1938.
45. Oliver to Secretary, Board of Trustees, 4 June 1937.
46. Phillipps to Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 11 August 1938.
47. Letter from W.J. Phillipps to H.D. Skinner, 26 August 1938, MU000152 – 010-0084, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
48. Letter from W.J. Phillipps to H.D. Skinner, 9 September 1938, MU000152 – 010-0084, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
49. Letter from W.J. Phillipps to E.H. Gibson, 26 September 1938, MU000152 – 010-0084, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
50. Letter from E.H. Gibson to H.D. Skinner, 29 October 1938, 288, Otago Museum Archives, Dunedin.
51. 'Expert osteologist', *The Dominion*, 19 October 1938, p. 10.
52. Skinner's response, on 17 November, is referred to by Phillipps in the reply he wrote to Skinner on 23 November 1938, MU000152 – 010-0084, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
53. Letter from W.J. Phillipps to the editor, *Sports Post*, 16 November 1938, MU000002 – 050-0006, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
54. Letter from W.J. Phillipps to E.H. Gibson, 16 November 1938, MU000002 – 050-0006, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
55. Letter from W.J. Phillipps to Whom It May Concern, 16 November 1938, MU000152 – 010-0084, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.
56. Gibson to Skinner, 29 October 1938.
57. Letter from E.H. Gibson to J. Salmon, 16 November 1938, MU000152 – 010-0084, Te Papa Archives, Wellington.

58. 'Plucked moa', *Evening Star*, 19 February 1941, p. 4.
59. 'Unusual life-work', *Otago Daily Times*, 2 June 1939, p. 10.
60. 'Museum preparator', *Evening Star*, 12 May 1939, p. 5.
61. 'Mr E.H. Gibson was a noted taxidermist', *Evening Star*, 19 February 1949, p. 8.
62. Colin Miskelly, 'Re-articulation of Phar Lap's skeleton – bold decisions and expert advice', Te Papa blog post, 19 October 2011, retrieved on 19 June 2017 from <http://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2011/10/19/re-articulation-of-phar-laps-skeleton-part-1-bold-decisions-and-expert-advice>.
63. Ibid.
64. For example, Laura Secorum Palet, 'Taxidermy: the new hipster hobby', *OZY* [website], 9 August 2014, retrieved on 19 June 2017 from www.ozy.com/fast-forward/taxidermy-the-new-hipster-hobby/32756.

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