A Sense of Place: A Study of Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Material Culture within the Public Historic Site of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga

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Abstract

This thesis examines the material culture of a public historic space, assessing how the meanings embedded in objects may develop more nuanced narratives in the house museum. The material culture in this thesis is part of the collection of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, a house museum in Tauranga, New Zealand. The museum offers a history of Māori settlement, bi-cultural relations between Māori and Pākehā, the Land Wars and the changing socio-cultural landscape of Tauranga from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga is largely comprised of original objects of the successive residents. My research focused on three art forms: an Aeolian harp, a crazy quilt, and a carved picture frame. Art is a medium through which people express who they are; by studying the material culture of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, we recognise the larger events, social patterns, and cultural trends that impacted individual lives. Through these items, we may compare the cultural ideals with the more complex realities of residents' lives, noting the tensions, reconfigurations, and nuances as cultural practices were transported, adopted and adapted within the imperial context.

There has been a growing desire, and debate, around teaching a public history that focuses on New Zealand, acknowledging the difficult moments of New Zealand's past. This study demonstrates that within the house museum stories may be shared in which the specific histories of a local setting are also interwoven with the broader context of nation and imperialism.

Studies in New Zealand have explored the relationship between material culture and the stories we tell in historical sites. The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, as a house museum, has two elements that have contributed to this approach. Firstly, the collection is interpreted without a glass barrier: this study expands this interpretation by reflecting on the sensory characteristics of objects as a part of the museum interpretation. Secondly, The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga is a museum comprised of buildings and a garden environment entwined with the same contextual history. This work explores the connecting threads between the interior domestic space and the exterior garden site, examining the socio-cultural landscape in connection with the changing environmental landscape. As the museum is a space which has often portrayed nation and settler belonging, this history develops a more complicated narrative around settler belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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Introduction

I first saw The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga on a late summer morning. The night before, a storm had swept through Tauranga, leaving the grounds of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga littered with broken branches and leaves. And yet, the place still had a sense of immaculate upkeep, which did not diminish when going inside the main residential house and library. The interior spaces were calm and still, tidy and pristine. Walking through these rooms, I encountered the beautiful and curious; items that were once the belongings of the house's successive owners. The diverse items provided clues and many questions about the lives lived on this whenua and in these walls. I decided to focus on some of the items, to engage more deeply with these objects than just a glance, delve into their histories and think about how they could be storied in The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. By unpacking the multilayered meanings and engaging with the sensory qualities of these objects' histories revealed messy realities. This study highlights the difficulties and complicated factors underlining the transfer and adoption of cultural practices in the colonial sphere.

This thesis delves into the history of the material culture that is a part of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga's collection. This work is a historical material culture study that is applied within the sphere of public history. I examine the Aeolian harp, a crazy quilt, and a carved wooden picture frame, which as art forms are displays of identity.[1] The Aeolian harp belonged to the Browns, while Euphemia Maxwell made the crazy quilt, and Alice Maxwell crafted the carved wood picture frame. These were all individuals who once lived at the site that is now The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. I argue that a historical material culture study of the collection of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga reveals some of the ways that public historic spaces contain and may convey more nuanced stories as wider social patterns were configured in individual lives.

New Zealand scholars have examined material culture to rethink museums by considering the development of collections and how material culture can be a way to share difficult and

[1] Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, Aeolian Harp, 1935.0035; Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Crazy Quilt; Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Picture, 2003.0015.

marginalised histories.[2] This study compliments and builds upon this historiography of the study of material culture's relationship to the museum in two ways. Firstly, as a part of the social and cultural stories of material culture, this study considers the sensory characteristics, and histories, of objects found in the domestic sphere. The sensory qualities of objects, I argue, in the house museum space can convey objects' stories through a visceral experience that enhances contemporary visitors' understanding of the social and cultural meanings embedded within objects. This aspect of my work is similar to Lucy Mackintosh's article, 'Holding on to Objects in Motion: Two Māori Musical Instruments in the Peabody Essex Museum.'[3] Mackintosh highlights the value of understanding objects' sensory characteristics to inform museum interpretation. I reinforce this argument within a different context, examining objects whose histories and sensory characteristics of sound, touch and smell are emersed in the domestic story and the lives of those who historically lived within the space of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. My work also builds on the historiography of material culture in museums as I argue that through a close analysis of material culture, we encounter different, and more complicated, narratives of settler belonging and nation-making. These stories are revealed by examining the connections between the interior furnishings of the house and the exterior of the garden. Thus, central to this thesis is the significance of place, particularly as this study examines the connections between The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga environment and the objects' histories. The histories I discuss, and conclusions I draw, regarding how the stories of these objects might be exhibited are specific to The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. However, this approach still offers a wider sense of relevance to the role of historical scholarship in contributing to the development of narratives and interpretative techniques applied in museums.

The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga sits on the ancestral land of Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui on Te Papa peninsula at Tauranga. The Christian Missionary Society (CMS) purchased the site, and

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[2] Lucy Mackintosh, 'Holding on to Objects in Motion: Two Māori Musical Instruments in the Peabody Essex Museum', *Material Culture Review,* 74-75 (2012), 86-101; Lynette Townsend, 'Collecting Kids' Stuff: In Search of the History of Childhood in New Zealand Museums', *Tuhinga,* 23 (2012), 39-51; Bronwyn Labrum, 'Expanding Fashion Exhibition History and Theory: Fashion at New Zealand's National Museum since 1950', *International Journal of Fashion Studies,* 1.1 (2014), 97-117; Jessie Bray Sharpin, 'The Enduring Links between the Feminine and the Domestic: A Case Study of the Development of the Textiles Collection at Broadgreen House in Nelson, New Zealand' (unpublished master's thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2021), in *Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington Research Commons* <https://doi.org/10.26686/wgtn.19233390> [accessed 31 August 2022], pp. 7-20;

[3] Mackintosh, pp. 86-101.

from 1838 to 1887 Te Papa mission station was the residence of Archdeacon Alfred Nesbit Brown and his family.[4] When the mission station eventually ceased, Brown renamed the site The Elms.[5] From 1887 to 1949, following the deaths of Brown and his wife Christina, The Elms became the home of the Maxwell women, Euphemia and her daughters Edith and Alice. Alice willed the house to her nephew Duff Maxwell, who lived at The Elms with his family from 1949 to 1997. In 1998, The Elms became a museum under The Elms Foundation.[6] This work then traverses the broad contours of Tauranga and New Zealand's history studied through the three objects that form the focus of this analysis.

The harp, quilt and frame are forms of material culture that we may define as objects. While these objects would fit into various other categories, in this thesis, I classify these objects as art forms.[7] This study focuses on the role of art within the home and in relation to the natural environment. Art in the home, as domestic furnishings, proves to be an insightful point for analysis as it offers new and even unexpected ways in which we may understand the world.[8] Through art, we may also understand human engagement with the natural environment and the relationship between the environment and art.[9] These two aspects were important in contributing to the analysis of this thesis. Through these objects, as art forms, we may understand the domestic sphere in relation to both the interior house and the exterior space of the garden, thus revealing the complicated histories of imperial culture as it made itself at home, not only in the social and cultural sphere but also through the environmental landscape.

The focus on the histories of these objects spans from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century. These histories encompass some of the massive shifts in the socio-cultural and environmental landscape of colonial New Zealand brought on through the Land Wars of

[4] C. V. Vennell, *Brown and the Elms,* 2nd edn (Tauranga: Kale Print Limited, 2012), pp. 15, 28, 95.
[5] Vennell, p. 93.
[6] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan* (Tauranga: Prepared by Matthews & Matthews Architects Ltd for The Elms Foundation Trust Board, 2016), p. 201.
[7] Regarding object groupings, see: Jules David Prown, 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method', *Winterthur Portfolio,* 17.1 (1982), 1-19 (pp. 2-3); Ian Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture* (London: SAGE, 2007), p. 3.
[8] Julian Bell, *Mirror of the World: A New History of Art*, New History of Art (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2007) pp. 6-7; Robyn Dowling and Alison Blunt, *Home*, Key Ideas in Geography, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2022), pp. 63-65.
[9] Stephen R. Kellert, *Nature by Design: The Practice of Biophilic Design* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), pp. 1-16.

the 1860s, particularly the War in Tauranga, and the aftermath of the Land Wars.[10] Through the stories of these objects, we recognise the home and its domestic history in relation to this larger, watershed event of the nineteenth century, noting the short and long term impacts on daily domestic life and local communities.

As a research project, this study exists at a relatively small scale. The focus is on three items and the meanings associated with these objects while they were the possessions of only certain individuals who lived at the site, which is now The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Regarding material culture, Henry Glassie notes that objects "are texts, sets of parts, to which meaning is brought by locating them in contexts.''[11] While this is a narrow context, such an approach, as John Tosh writes, "fills out in small-scale and human detail some of the social and cultural features that are otherwise known only as generalizations."[12] Such a focus, therefore, does not result in an antiquarian evaluation, as a focus on persons and site-specific context can still address the significant trends in imperial history.[13] By understanding these objects in the lives of Alfred Brown, Euphemia Maxwell, and Alice Maxwell, we recognise the home as a site that embodied the intersecting themes of social, cultural and economic factors. As colonists made the house 'home', this place was woven with threads that were a part of the broader fabric of empire and nation-making.

This study highlights class status as a meaning embedded in these domestic objects. The analysis of class in this work examines the ideologies of respectability and gentility that British colonists transferred to the colonial environment of New Zealand from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century. Respectability was an ideology linked to British nineteenth century understandings of productivity, work ethic, and tied to notions of domesticity and family; while it crossed class boundaries, respectability was heavily associated with the middle

[10] Danny Keenan, *Wars without End: Ngā Pakanga Whenua O Mua = New Zealand's Land Wars: A Māori Perspective*, Rev. edn (Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin, 2021), pp. 219-220, 236-279; Judith Binney, Vincent O'Malley and Alan Ward, 'Wars and Survival 1860–1872', in *Tangata Whenua: A History*, ed. by Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), p. 251; Erik Olssen, 'Towards a New Society', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Geoffrey W. Rice, 2nd edn (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 254-284.
[11] Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), p. 44.
[12] John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 5th edn (Dorchester: Pearson Education Limited, 2010), p. 82.
[13] Phillipa Levine, 'Introduction: Why Gender and Empire', in *Gender and Empire,* ed. by Phillipa Levine (Oxford University Press: 2004), pp. 1-13.

class.[14] Gentility, likewise, was a cultural practice with a degree of class fluidity mainly between the upper and middle class, concerned with the self-control of the body and, by implication the mind and spirit. It also included ideals around good taste, manners, and constructive leisure.[15] I analyse these rhetorics in this work to acknowledge the complexity of class, particularly the middle class, demonstrating that, through their possessions, colonists engaged with, and exhibited, imperial class culture.

This study also considers gender constructions, particularly through the negotiation of private and public space. The division of private and public spheres is linked to the concept of 'the separate spheres' which is most frequently associated with Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Working Class, 1780–1850* published in 1987.[16] The ideology of separate spheres determined that private and public spaces were divided along gender lines, with women in the private sphere and men in the public.[17] Since *Family Fortunes,* numerous studies have complicated the division of the separate spheres.[18]

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[14] Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth Century England* (Stanford: Standford University Press, 1999), pp. 53–88; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, 3rd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9781315157610> [accessed 20 April 2022], pp. 76, 364-83; James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (North Shore: Penguin, 2007), p. 291.

[15] Belich, *Making Peoples,* pp. 291, 326; Lorinda Cramer, 'Making a Home in Gold-Rush Victoria: Plain Sewing and the Genteel Woman', *Australian Historical Studies,* 48.2 (2017), 213-226; Susan Lawrence, Alasdair Brooks and Jane Lennon, 'Ceramics and Status in Regional Australia', *Australasian Historical Archaeology: Journal of the Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology,* 27 (2009), 67-78; Linda Young, ''Extensive, Economical and Elegant': The Habitus of Gentility in Early Nineteenth Century Sydney', *Australian Historical Studies,* 36.124 (2004), 201-220**;** Linda Young, 'Gentility: A Historical Context for the Material Culture of the Table in the 'Long 19th Century', 1780–1915', in *Table Settings: The Material Culture and Social Context of Dining, Ad 1700-1900*, ed. by James Symonds (United States: Oxbow Books, 2010), pp. 133–43; Sarah Hayes, 'Gentility in the Dining and Tea Service Practices of Early Colonial Melbourne's 'Established Middle Class'', *Australasian Historical Archaeology: Journal of The Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology,* 29 (2011), 33-34 (p. 34).

[16] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, Women in Culture and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

[17] Davidoff and Hall, 1987.

[18] Anne Digby, 'Victorian Values and Women in Public and Private', *Proceedings of the British Academy,* 78 (1992), 195-215; Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal,* 36.2 (1993), 383-414; Deborah L. Rotman, 'Separate Spheres?: Beyond the Dichotomies of Domesticity', *Current Anthropology,* 47.4 (2006), 666-674; Kathryn Gleadle, 'Revisiting Family Fortunes: Reflections on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Publication of L. Davidoff & C. Hall (1987) Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850 (London: Hutchinson)', *Women's History Review,* 16.5 (2007), 773-782; Matthew McCormack 'A Man's Sphere? British Politics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Political Culture in Europe*, ed. by Christopher Fletcher, Sean Brady, Rachel E. Moss and Lucy Riall (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 247-264; G. Colin Pooley and Marilyn E. Pooley, 'Young Women on the Move Britain Circa 1880–1950', *Social Science History,* 45.3 (2021), 495-517.

This work acknowledges the complexities of the ideology concerning the separate spheres by highlighting masculinity in the private sphere, exploring the complex gendered displays of power in the private sphere, and recognising women within the public spheres in specific leisure activities.

These objects enable us to recognise how imperialism affected the social, cultural, and environmental landscape. The whenua is a taonga in te ao Māori which carries emotional, spiritual, economic and cultural significance.[19] Colonisation of New Zealand saw rampant change to the whenua through the acclimatisation of the environment and the violent removal of the whenua from the mana whenua to Pākehā ownership as an effect of the Land Wars of the 1860s.[20] This discussion draws on New Zealand's historiography concerning the vast and devastating governmental confiscation of the whenua following the Land Wars, and the literature of environmental historians who explore the acclimatisation of colonial environments.[21] Of European colonisation in New Zealand, Paul Starr writes that "it was as much an environmental as a cultural overlay."[22] This work adopts Starr's terminology in considering the ways that objects of the home played a role in the cultural and environmental overlay.

To understand these objects' social and cultural histories, I have considered their sensory characteristics. This work highlights the significance of the senses of sound, touch, and smell, along with sight, as they contribute to a deeper understanding of imperial culture. By paying attention to the senses, we develop a greater understanding, Mark Smith writes, of the

[19] H. M. Mead, 'The Nature of Taonga', in *Taonga Maori Conference Report* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1991), pp. 164-169. Alexander Trapeznik applies Mead's discussion in the context of public history: Alexander Trapeznik, 'Public History in New Zealand: From Treaty to Te Papa', in *What Is Public History Globally*, ed. by Paul Ashton and Alexander Trapeznik (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019pp. 107-20.
[20] Binney, O'Malley and Ward, pp. 133-49; Keenan, *Wars without End: Ngā Pakanga Whenua O Mua,* pp. 240-1.
[21] Scholarship on the devastation of the land loss, see: Binney, O'Malley and Ward, pp. 253-79; Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, *Struggle without End*, Rev. edn (Auckland: Penguin, 2004); Environmental histories on the impacts of acclimatisation, see: James Beattie, and John Stenhouse, 'Empire, Environment and Religion: God and the Natural World in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand, *Environment and History,* 13.4 (2007), 413-46; Beattie, James, 'Acclimatisation and the 'Europeanisation' of New Zealand, 1830s-1920s?', *Environment and Nature in New Zealand ENNZ,* 3.1 (2008), 1-25; James Beattie, 'Biological Invasion and Narratives of Environmental History in New Zealand', in *Invasive and Introduced Plants and Animals: Human Perceptions, Attitudes and Approaches to Management*, ed. by Ian D. Rotherham and Robert A. Lambert (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), pp. 343-52.
[22] Paul Star, 'Humans and the Environment in New Zealand, C. 1800 to 2000', in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 63.

"textures" of history.[23] This study also contemplates the senses as a means by which the museum visitor may gain a greater depth of insight of the social and cultural histories of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Sensory museology is an expanding scholarship that considers sensory interpretation as a means by which practitioners may develop the museum interpretation.[24] Through sensory interpretation, Dudley suggests, we can transmit the broader narratives surrounding the object to affect the viewer in a physical, visceral way.[25] Thus, the sensory characteristics of the items are significant in understanding these objects' meanings and how these objects' histories may then be conveyed to the contemporary museum visitor.

This study recognises these art forms as furnishings which were a part of the home. Home, both the interior and exterior spaces of the garden, carries with it connotations of safety, security, and belonging.[26] Home, particularly as a space in which people create belonging, is relative to colonists' creation of home in the larger scale of national and imperial geographies.[27] While scholarship has articulated the complicated creation of home in the imperial context, scholars recognise that these histories have not been greatly exhibited in house museums, instead the narrative of belonging and nation is framed in simplistic, even eulogising tones.[28] Through these object histories, The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga contains a past in which we may realise the dynamics of the domestic sphere as they were shaped by a significant historical event and the imperial socio-cultural shifts. Thus, we can complexify the

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[23] Mark M. Smith, 'Still Coming to "Our" Senses: An Introduction', *The Journal of American History,* 95.2 (2008), 378–80 (p. 379).

[24] Fiona Candlin, 'Don't Touch! Hands Off! Art, Blindness and the Conservation of Expertise', *Body & Society,* 10.1 (2004), 71-90 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1177/1357034X040417> [accessed 8 September 2022]; Sandra Dudley, ed., M*useum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010); Constance Classen, *The Museum of the Senses: Experiencing Art and Collections*, Sensory Studies Series (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017); David Howes, and others, 'Sensing Art and Artifacts: Explorations in Sensory Museology', *The Senses & Society,* 13.3 (2018), 317-34 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1080/17458927.2018.1516024> [accessed 7 Mach 2022].

[25] Sandra H. Dudley, 'Museum Materialities: Objects, Sense and Feeling', in *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*, ed. by Sandra H. Dudley (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 1-18.

[26] Dowling and Blunt, pp. 1, 12.

[27] Dowling and Blunt, p. 56.

[28] Blunt and Dowling, p. 214; Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 120-1, 136-7; Avril Bell, 'Dilemmas of Settler Belonging: Roots, Routes and Redemption in New Zealand National Identity Claims', *The Sociological Review (Keele),* 57.1 (2009), 145-162; Kirstine Moffat, ''What is in the Blood will Come Out': Belonging, Expulsion and the New Zealand Settler Home in Jessie Weston's Ko Méri', in *Domestic Fiction in Colonial Australia and New Zealand*, ed. by Tamara S. Wagner (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 161-76; Alexander Trapeznik, 'Dismissing the Staff: Domestic Servants and a Historic House in Dunedin, New Zealand', *Journal of New Zealand Studies,* 34.1 (2022), 36-48 (p. 37).

narratives that are often presented in house museums. This work is then relevant, and contributes to, the literature of critical public history, which addresses both the pitfalls of public historic sites and how we may offer more complicated, nuanced narratives of broader patterns of history within those spaces.[29]

Material Culture

Material culture is polysemic; one object may be embedded with, and transmit, a myriad of meanings.[30] This work focuses on the cultural and social meanings that become attributed to objects. Material culture incorporates and reflects cultural beliefs and values, which, Asa Berger notes, is why we may learn so much from material culture.[31] Material culture then is not separated from human lives; rather, our social and cultural lives are tangibly expressed through the objects surrounding us. In this work, I adopt the views of material culture scholars, such as Ian Woodward, who assert that objects carry meaning as social markers and expressions of identity.[32] These aspects also intertwine as objects have an 'expressive capacity', having the potential to convey individual and social identity.[33]

Historians have tended to conduct research that focuses upon the written word as the primary, if not only, source of evidence.[34] This approach has meant that the discipline of history has

[29] Sue Hodges, '#Fake History: The State of Heritage Interpretation', in *What Is Public History Globally?: Working with the Past in the Present*, ed. by Paul Ashton and Alexander Trapeznik (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), pp. 295-308

[30] Leora Auslander, 'Beyond Words', *The American Historical Review,* 110.4 (2005), 1015-1045, (p. 1025).

[31] Arthur Asa Berger, *What Objects Mean: An Introduction to Material Culture*, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 22, 102.

[32] Woodward, pp. 6-13; works considering material culture as social markers, see: Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 77; Mark P. Leone and Jocelyn E. Knauf, 'Introduction to Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism', in *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, ed. by Mark P. Leone and Jocelyn E. Knauf, 2nd edn (New York: Springer, 2015) <10.1007/978-3-319-12760-6> [accessed 4 July 2022], pp. 3-24; for literature exploring material culture as evidence of gender identity, see: Russell W. Belk and Melanie Wallendorf, 'Of Mice and Men: Gender Identity and Collecting', in *The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture*, ed. by Katharine Martinez and Kenneth L. Ames (Winterthur, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997) pp. 240-251; Moira Donald and Linda Hurcombe, *Gender and Material Culture in Historical Perspective*, Studies in Gender and Material Culture (Basingstoke: St. Martin's Press, 2000); Laura Peers, 'Material Culture, Identity, and Colonial Society in the Canadian Fur Trade', in *Women and Things, 1750-1950: Gendered Material Strategies*, ed. by Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 55-73.

[33] Woodward, pp. 6-12, 135.

[34] Auslander, p. 1015.

come somewhat reluctantly to the discussion of material culture studies.[35] While historians have taken to material culture studies more slowly, anthropologists, archaeologists and art historians have all contributed theories and approaches which have bolstered material culture studies with a nuanced and robust literature.[36] While the voices of historians have not been the strongest within material cultural studies there have been contributions to the field, such as Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, who utilises a qualitative approach to analyse the personal meanings embedded in objects, and John Dixon Hunt who explores how objects have metaphorical power.[37]

Writing in 2008, Adrienne D. Hood observed that materiality studies was a new trend gaining greater traction.[38] Here the focus becomes the unity between object and self, an emphasis on the agency of the object as it may 'afford' different uses.[39] Karen Harvey writes that historians "might make a distinction between the history of materiality on the one hand and the history of material culture on the other, though these positions may be considered two poles rather

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[35] This point is made by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, who sought to readdress this gap: Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, 'Introduction: Material Culture History: Methods, Practices and Disciplines', in *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021), p. 7; For another recent work which has explored material culture history, see: Ivan Gaskell and Sarah Anne Carter, 'Introduction: Why History and Material Culture?', in *The Oxford Handbook of History and Material Culture*, ed. by Ivan Gaskell and Sarah Anne Carter (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 1-16; In interdisciplinary works of material culture such as the *Handbook of Material Culture* and *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* only one historian contributed. The lack of historians' contributing to these handbooks infers the previous dearth of historians' participation in this scholarship: Christopher Tilley, and others, eds., *Handbook of Material Culture* (London: SAGE, 2005); Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Handbook, 2010).

[36] Glassie, pp. 41-86; Prown, 'Mind in Matter', pp. 1-19; Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 64–92; Christopher Tilley, ed., *Reading Material Culture: Structuralism, Hermeneutics, and Post-Structuralism*, Social Archaeology (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1990); James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1977); Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life*, Materializing Culture (Oxford: Berg, 2000).

[37] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, 'Hannah Barnard's Cupboard: Female Property and Identity in Eighteenth-Century New England', in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 238-73; John Dixon Hunt, 'The Sign of the Object', in *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture,* ed. by Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), pp. 293-98.

[38] Adrienne D. Hood, 'Material Culture: The Object', in History Beyond the Text: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources, ed. by Sarah Barber and Corinna M. Peniston-Bird (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 192.

[39] Daniel Miller, ed., *Materiality: An Introduction* (London: Duke University Press, 2005); David Sutton and Michael Hernandez, 'Voices in The Kitchen: Cooking Utensils as Inalienable Possessions', *Oral History*, 35.2 (2007), 67-76; Fernando Domínguez Rubio, *Still Life: Ecologies of the Modern Imagination at the Art Museum* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2020).

than as opposing views."[40] As I wished to explore the socio-cultural meanings of objects to understand the lives of the individuals who lived at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga when it was a domestic residence, my work more closely employed the scholarship of material culture studies.

Material culture studies have also been applied to the histories of imperialism and colonisation as scholars highlight the significance of material culture as a component of empire. [41] For example, Penelope Edmonds' discussion of nineteenth century Australia examines the use of material culture in colonial history, determining that the singular histories of each object reveal the tensions and discontinuities of Empire.[42] Laura Peers, in her study of imperial expressions of gender, class and race in Canada, writes that the "deployment and categorisation of material culture was a significant part of the negotiation of identities within colonial social systems while also making real the categories of race, class, and gender within colonial society."[43] Peers' work is significant to this thesis as I notice that objects made 'real' imperial social categories in New Zealand during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

A significant development in the study of material culture is the attention paid to the sensory elements of objects. Serena Dyer remarks, in her overview of the literature of material culture, that greater consideration of the senses is a future potential of material culture studies.[44] Karin Dannehl writes that:

> The experiences of weight, surface texture, sound and smell are part of the physicality of objects. They are an essential part of what artefacts have to offer

[40] Karen Harvey, 'Introduction: Historians, Material Culture and Materiality', in *History and Material Culture*, ed. by Karen Harvey, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 2017) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9781315165776> [28 March 2022], p. 9.
[41] Margot Finn and Kate Smith, 'Introduction', in *The East India Company at Home 1757-1857*, ed. by Margot Finn and Kate Smith (London: UCL Press, 2018), pp. 1-20; Shane Chalmers, 'Clothes Maketh the Man: Mimesis, Laughter, and the Colonial Rule of Law'*, Index,* 2 (2020), 83-104; Vanessa Nicholas, 'The Naturalisation of Settler Colonialism by a Flowered Irish Quilt in Upper Canada', *International Review of Environmental History,* 7.1 (2021), 21-36.
[42] Penelope Edmonds, 'Imperial Objects, Truths and Fictions: Reading Nineteenth-Century Australian Colonial Objects as Historical Sources', in *Rethinking Colonial History: New and Alternative Approaches, Department of History,* ed. by Penelope Edmonds and Samuel Furphy (Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, 2006), pp. 73-87.
[43] Peers, p. 55.
[44] Serena Dyer, 'State of the Field: Material Culture', *History (London),* 106.370 (2021), 282-292 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1111/1468-229X.13104> [accessed 15 April 2022].

> the historian and can be experienced with our senses – sight, touch, balance, hearing and smell.[45]

In the Aeolian harp, quilt, and picture frame chapters, I consider the senses of sound, touch, and smell alongside the sense of sight. The strongest treatment of the sensory aspects is in the chapter on the harp since, as an instrument, sound plays a significant role in its meanings and function. An analysis of the sensory qualities of these objects contributes to this work by acknowledging the multimodal experience of human lives in the past. The senses, as Mark Smith writes, "enable a more profound appreciation of the meanings, textures, and human experiences of the past." [46] I do not have a background in musicology, nor am I an expert in embroidery or woodcarving. My discussion of the sensory aspects of these objects, therefore, does not reach the depth of expert knowledge. However, my personal engagement with these senses and these objects' sensory histories contribute to an understanding of the texture of the cultural past of colonial New Zealand. To create a solid foundation by which to discuss the sensory aspects of objects, I, therefore, rely on the sensory scholarship of Smith, Constance Classen and David Howes.[47]

New Zealand's historiography engaging with material culture primarily arose in the 1990s, with scholars becoming increasingly interested in popular histories. A major work that sparked the greater consideration for material culture in New Zealand's history was Jock Phillips's 1990 study 'Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footie on Saturday Afternoon: Reflections on 100 years of New Zealand Historiography.'[48] Phillips remarked:

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[45] Karin Dannehl, 'Object Biographies: From Production to Consumption', in *History and Material Culture*, ed. by Karen Harvey, 2nd edn (London: Routledge 2017) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9781315165776> [accessed 28 March 2022], p. 178; Flora Dennis, 'Object in Focus 9: Material Culture and Sound: A Sixteenth Century Handbell', in *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021), pp. 188-92.

[46] Mark M. Smith, 'Sound—So What?', *The Public Historian,* 37.4 (2015), 132-144 (p. 133).

[47] Constance Classen, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch*, Studies in Sensory History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012); Mark M. Smith, *A Sensory History Manifesto* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021); David Howes, *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*, Sensory Formations Series, Sensory Formations Series, 1st edn (London: Routledge, 2021).

[48] Jock Phillips, 'Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footie on Saturday Afternoon: Reflections on 100 Years of New Zealand Historiography', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 24.2 (1990), 118-134; Jock Phillips, *A History of New Zealand in 100 Objects* (Auckland: Penguin Random House New Zealand, 2022).

> The gaps in the history of material culture are large. We know so little about our ways of life, our popular culture—the way we have dressed, the foods we have eaten, the houses we have inhabited, the games we have played.[49]

Since Phillips's work, more scholars have begun to examine material culture to fill in the gaps in New Zealand's cultural history, assessing objects that relate to the worlds of Pākehā and te ao Māori, as well as cross-cultural engagement.[50] These works shed light on the nuances of New Zealand's history. A prominent work is the 2015 *The Lives of Colonial Objects* edited by Annabel Cooper, Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla. [51] An interdisciplinary work, each author selected a specific object in which to capture and highlight how material culture can reconfigure and enrich themes in New Zealand's history.[52] I was greatly influenced by *The Lives of Colonial Objects,* particularly Moffat's chapter, 'The Piano at the Elms', which includes her personal encounter with The Elms piano as she highlights the power of the piano's sound as a means of connecting her to the past.[53]

Historiography of the Domestic Sphere

Scholars studying the intersection between domestic life and material culture, have considered the changing uses, meanings and technological developments of objects impacting domestic behaviour and relationships. Such works have also examined possessions as a medium by which to examine broader social and cultural currents affecting domestic

[49] Phillips, 'Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footie on Saturday Afternoon', p. 132.
[50] Annabel Cooper, Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla, eds., *The Lives of Colonial Objects* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015); Angela Middleton, *Te Puna - A New Zealand Mission Station Historical Archaeology in New Zealand*, Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology (New York: Springer, 2008); Phillips, *A History of New Zealand in 100 Objects*; Lynette Townsend, 'Tuhinga: Records of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa', *The Journal of Scholarship and Mātauranga,* 23 (2012) 39-52.
[51] Cooper, Paterson and Wanhalla.
[52] Cooper, Paterson and Wanhalla; The editors of *The Lives of Colonial Objects* were inspired by *The History of the World in 100 Objects*: Neil MacGregor, *The History of the World in 100 Objects* (London: Allen Lane, 2010); another similar work in New Zealand's literature is Jock Phillips', *A History of New Zealand in 100 Objects* also uses a similar approach: Phillips, *A History of New Zealand in 100 Objects*.
[53] Cooper, Paterson and Wanhalla, *The Lives of Colonial Objects;* Kirstine Moffat, 'The Piano at the Elms', in *The Lives of Colonial Objects*, ed. by Annabel Cooper, Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015), pp. 81-86.

life.[54] "The material culture within our home" Daniel Miller explains, "appears as both our appropriation of the larger world and often as the representation of that world within our private domain."[55]

In the literature of empire and colonialism, scholars have argued that the history of the domestic sphere expressed imperial culture and networks.[56] In these works, emerge discussions of the home as a space which embodied visions of nation and desires for belonging.[57] An example is Margret Purser who explores how specific houses in Fiji conformed to and diverged from typical bungalow styles, arguing that these structures are evidence of colonists shifting sense of identity.[58] In the context of the New Hebrides, Margaret Rodman analyses the British colonists' houses as texts that reveal the imperial racial structures and political power that informed British constructions of "houses far from home."[59] Thus, the domestic sphere bears witness to complexities of imperial power, networks and culture.

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[54] Dowling, and Blunt, p. 48; T. J. Schlereth provides an overview of American literature considering material culture within domestic sphere: T. J. Schlereth, 'Domestic Life and Material Culture', in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, ed. by Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes (New York: Elsevier, 2001), pp. 3826-830; see also: Daniel Miller, *Home Possessions: Material Culture Behind Closed Doors* (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2001); Annemarie Money, 'Material Culture and the Living Room: The Appropriation and Use of Goods in Everyday Life', *Journal of Consumer Culture,* 7.3 (2007), 355-77; S. Chevalier 'Material Cultures of Home', in *International Encyclopedia of Housing and Home*, ed. by Susan J. Smith (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2012), pp. 222-230; Clarrissa Rahmeier utilises a multisensory approach in thinking of the domestic space and furnishings: Clarissa Sanfelice Rahmeier, 'Materiality, Social Roles and the Senses: Domestic Landscape and Social Identity in the Estâncias of Rio Grande Do Sul, Brazil', *Journal of Material Culture,* 17.2 (2012), 153-171.

[55] Miller, *Home Possessions,* p. 1.

[56]Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), pp. 69–73, 100–116; Alex Barley, 'Home as Sanctuary: Stories of Secrets and Sadness in Fire on the Mountain and the Blue Bedspread', *Narrative Inquiry,* 17.1 (2007), 119-139; Homi Babha 'The World and the Home', in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives,* ed. by A. Mclintock, A. Mufi and E. Shobat (Minneapolis: University Minnesota Press 1997), pp. 445-455; Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010).

[57] Finn and Smith, pp. 1-20; Said, pp. 69-73; Barley, pp. 119-139; Margaret Purser, 'The View from the Verandah: Levuka Bungalows and the Transformation of Settler Identities in Later Colonialism', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 7.4 (2003), 293-314 <https://dx.doi.org/10.1023/B:IJHA.0000014314.34989.de> [accessed 23 March 2022]; Robbin Chatan, 'The Governor's "Vale Levu": Architecture and Hybridity at Nasova House, Levuka, Fiji Islands', International Journal of Historical Archaeology, 7.4 (2003), 267-92 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20853036> [accessed 21 July 2022].

[58] Purser, pp. 293-314.

[59] Margaret Critchlow Rodman, *Houses Far from Home: British Colonial Space in the New Hebrides* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), p. 2.

New Zealand scholars examining the domestic sphere have articulated the cultural, social, and economic factors impacting the house's architecture, layout, and domestic behaviours.[60] For instance, Charlotte Macdonald has recognised the different types of class histories within the domestic sphere as space which brought together both elite leisure and labour.[61] Others have examined the waves of aesthetic trends that impacted the décor and architectural development of the home.[62] William Toomath suggests that the influence of American architecture in New Zealand houses of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century reveals New Zealand's networks of exchange beyond the imperial centre.[63] Therefore, as Petersen recognised in *New Zealanders at Home,* the domestic sphere is a significant site of research as it is both a very personalised space and one in which we may comprehend wider social structures.[64] Thus, New Zealand's literature highlights that broader themes that were a part of the history of the house. Likewise, this work employs New Zealand's literature on class, gender, and the environment to examine the broader patterns of social history within the personalised space of the home.

In New Zealand's historiography, scholars have considered the constructions of class categories and the definitions of class boundaries.[65] Jim McAloon, in his work on class in the

[60] Petersen, pp. 61-155; Frances Porter, Charlotte Macdonald, and Tui MacDonald, *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates: The Unsettled Lives of Women in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand as Revealed to Sisters, Family and Friends* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996), pp. 146-184; Angela Middleton, 'Silent Voices, Hidden Lives: Archaeology, Class and Gender in the CMS Missions, Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 1814—1845', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology,* 11.1 (2007), 1-31 <DOI: 10.1007/s10761-006-0023-1> [accessed 26 October 2022].

[61] Charlotte Macdonald, 'Strangers at the Hearth: The Eclipse of Domestic Service in New Zealand Homes C. 1830s–1940s', in *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, ed. by Barbara Brookes (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), pp. 41-56

[62] William Toomath, 'From Villa to Bungalow to Jazz Modern: New Zealand Houses between the Two World Wars', *The Journal of New Zealand Studies,* 2.4 (1992), 13-21 <http://dx.doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.v2i4.273> [accessed 14 May 2022]; Douglas Lloyd-Jenkins, *At Home: A Century of New Zealand Design* (Auckland: Godwit, 2004); Ian Lochhead, 'At Home with the Past: The Gothic Revival House in New Zealand', in *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, ed. by Barbara Brookes (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), pp. 5-23

[63] Toomath, pp. 13-21.

[64] Petersen, pp. 9-10.

[65] David Pitt, *Social Class in New Zealand* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1977); Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago 1840-1914* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2002); Jim McAloon, 'Class in Colonial New Zealand: Towards a Historiographical Rehabilitation', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 38.1 (2004), 3-21; Belich, *Making Peoples,* pp. 287-410; James Belich*, Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), pp. 133-46, 126-33.

nineteenth century, recognised the social and economic factors underpinning class. [66] McAloon delved particularly into the economic and political factors that contributed to the class structuring of New Zealand.[67] James Belich also examined class in nineteenth century New Zealand, while Belich classified the different classes in New Zealand Pākehā society in accord with occupation he also demonstrated that class was expressed in New Zealand through social codes and behaviours.[68] Both Belich and McAloon highlighted the presence and also fluidity of Pākehā class constructions in New Zealand.[69] The literature of class in New Zealand contributes then to a more grounded exploration of the meanings of objects as social markers, contributing to individuals social identity, in this study.

Unpacking the objects' meanings opens a discussion of gender roles and the shifts of those roles. New Zealand's historiography features work that highlights the complexities, variations, and differences in people's experience of gender constructions. Jock Phillips' *A Man's Country,* and Raewyn Dalziel's study of women and the vote in the nineteenth century 'The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth Century New Zealand' are some of the most influential works in New Zealand's that historiography of gender constructions and roles.[70] Phillips' work argued there existed shifting and variant forms of masculinity that were expressed in the colonial Pākehā society, while Dalziel demonstrated that women's role as 'helpmeets' did not lead to other feminist firsts.[71] Focusing on women, Daziel argued that in the colonial context many Pākehā women identified with this role and that achieving the vote was not the first step in feminist goals but rather an extension of their moral guardianship of the nation.[72] Scholars have continued to contribute to the literature on gender, articulating

[66] McAloon heavily referred to the broader literature of class: E. P. Thompson, *Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (London: Merlin Press, 1978), p. 85; Erik Olin Wright, *Class Counts: Comparative Studies in Class Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. xxix-4 in McAloon, 'Class in Colonial New Zealand: Towards a Historiographical Rehabilitation', pp. 3-21.
[67] McAloon, 'Class in Colonial New Zealand: Towards a Historiographical Rehabilitation', pp. 3-21.
[68] Belich, *Making Peoples,* pp. 322-337, 339-401.
[69] McAloon, p. 1; Belich, *Making Peoples,* pp. 290-291.
[70] Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country?: The Image of the Pakeha Male, a History*, Rev. edn (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996); Raewyn Dalziel, 'The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History (NZJH)*, 11.2 (1977), 153-171; Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016).
[71] Dalziel, pp. 153-171.
[72] Ibid.

the nuances in gender expressions.[73] Barbara Brookes' *A History of New Zealand Women* included an analysis of not only Pākehā women but also traced the story Māori women in New Zealand's history.[74] Brookes work parallels to Phillips' book which was male centric. Katie Pickles, though, has suggested that the exploration of gender relations rather than gender identity may enable us to examine nuances rather than reinforce archetypes.[75]

Caroline Daley in *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930* took on the challenge of articulating the gender roles of both men and women within a local community.[76] Her work acknowledged the power dynamics between the genders within the house and within the community.[77] She also noted that within the Pākehā society, there was greater flexibility in masculine gender expressions than in displays of femininity.[78] Comparatively, Barbara Brookes, Erik Olssen and Emma Beer have argued that there were some bolder shifts in female gender expressions in early twentieth century leisure activities.[79] Thus, New Zealand scholars has contributed to a rich history that critically examines gender at large but also in its details and personal stories. This thesis builds upon that literature of the details and personal stories of gender within the framing of larger imperial gender constructions.

The multilayered meanings of these objects resulted in a study that takes us outside the domestic interior and into the exterior space of the garden. While Katherine Raine's 'Domesticating the Land: Colonial Women's Gardening' explores the garden as a part of the domestic sphere, throughout this thesis, I also draw on the literature exploring New Zealand's

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[73] Caroline Daley, and Deborah Montgomerie, eds., *The Gendered Kiwi* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999); Charlotte Macdonald, *A Women of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1990); Katherine Raine, 'Domesticating the Land: Colonial Women's Gardening', in *Fragments*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), pp. 76-96; Barbara L. Brookes, Annabel Cooper, and Robin Law, eds., *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003); Delwyn Blondell, 'Till Death Do Us Part: Laborers' Marriage Practices in Late Victorian New Zealand', *Journal of Family History,* 48.1 (2023), 81-102.

[74] Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, pp. 9-30.

[75] Katie Pickles, 'Colonisation, Empire and Gender', in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia & New Zealand, 2009), p. 221.

[76] Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999).

[77] Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys*, pp. 1-11.

[78] Barbara Brookes, Erik Olssen and Emma Beer, 'Spare Time? Leisure, Gender and Modernity', in *Sites of Gender* ed. by Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robin Law (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), pp. 151-189.

[79] Brookes, Olssen and Beer, pp. 151-189.

environmental histories.[80] In 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity' Peter Gibbons highlighted the parallels between colonists' views of environment and their sense of belonging.[81] Both Gibbons and, to a greater extent, James Beattie note that colonists' attitudes toward nature were complicated as there was no simple boundary in which indigenous species of flora and fauna were viewed negatively and introduced species positively and vice versa.[82] Scholars of New Zealand's environmental histories thus navigate the nuances of and shifts in colonists' attitudes toward the environment alongside imperial trends and Pākehā attitudes toward nation-making.[83] This work complements those discussions by considering the relationship between the environment and colonial cultural overlay through material culture.

The domestic sphere, as it connects to the wider world, has also meant that New Zealand scholars have explored the home as a part of imperial and national geographies.[84] Raine highlighted imperial attitudes influencing women's transformation of their gardens to reflect an environment which they were more comfortable with and felt at 'home' in.[85] Moffat exploring a fictional representation of the domestic sphere, writes that this space became 'home' at a micro level as the nation of the new colonial space became 'home' at a macro scale.[86] Thus, these works reveal imperial culture as it was realised within the domestic sphere, observing the shifting attitudes of Pākehā towards the new colonial space in which they embedded themselves.

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[80] Raine, pp. 76-96; Beattie, 'Acclimatisation and the 'Europeanisation' of New Zealand, 1830s-1920s?' pp. 1-25; Beattie, 'Biological Invasion and Narratives of Environmental History in New Zealand', pp. 343-352; Beattie and Stenhouse, 'Empire, Environment and Religion', pp. 413-446.

[81] Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 36.1 (2002), 5-17.

[82] Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', pp. 5-17; Beattie, 'Biological Invasion and Narratives of Environmental History in New Zealand', pp. 343-352.

[83] Beattie, 'Biological Invasion and Narratives of Environmental History in New Zealand', pp. 343-352; Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', pp. 5-17; Beattie and Stenhouse, 'Empire, Environment and Religion', pp. 413-446; Rosie Ibbotson, 'Crafting "Nature": Ecocriticism, Environmental Violence and the Transnational Arts and Crafts Movement', in *Ecocriticism and the Anthropocene in Nineteenth-Century Art and Visual Culture*, ed. by Maura Coughlin and Emily Gephart (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 32-48.

[84] Petersen, pp. 15-22, 61-96; Kristyn Harman, ''Some Dozen 'Raupo Whares', and a Few Tents': Remembering Raupo Houses in Colonial New Zealand', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 17 (2014), 39-57; Jane McCabe, *Race, Tea and Colonial Resettlement: Imperial Families, Interrupted* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2017).

[85] Raine, pp. 76-79.

[86] Moffat, ''What Is in the Blood Will Come Out'', p. 162.

Histories of encounter and exchange are also visible in works exploring New Zealand's houses and homes.[87] Deidre Brown's study of Māori architecture explained that the designs and spatial use of the Māori whare are evidence of the spiritual and cultural elements of te ao Māori.[88] Through Māori architecture, Brown traces the impacts of colonisation, arguing that Māori adaption and incorporation of western building did not mean cultural degeneration, instead this was a means of "surviving colonisation and advancing as Māori".[89] Christine McCarthy examines the social values of Māori and Pākehā that impacted the layout of a specific house in demonstrating that this domestic space was an embodiment of complex social and architectural exchange, highlighting New Zealand's cultural economies of fashion as Māori design was incorporated in Pākehā homes as souvenirs.[90] Thus, these works, particularly in the discussions of the architecture and space of the house, highlight the role of the imperialism in shaping bi-cultural exchange in the domestic sphere of Māori and Pākehā.

New Zealand scholars writing of the domestic sphere have, therefore, explored the various strands that intertwine in the formation of a home. There is still space, though, to expand upon the eco-cultural connections between the interior space of the house and exterior space of the garden, and to consider the home as a multimodal experience through the senses that textured daily domestic life.

Studying the House Museum

Public history refers to scholarly historical work conducted in, for example, government, media, historical societies, and museums.[91] As a public historic site, house museums are embedded in the discourses around heritage and history. David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* and *The Heritage Crusade and The Spoils of History* remain some of the most influential works in public history as his work contributed to a robust discussion around the

[87] Petersen; pp. 18-22,109,144; Harman, pp. 39-57; Charlotte Macdonald, 'Strangers at the Hearth: The Eclipse of Domestic Service in New Zealand Homes C. 1830s–1940s', pp. 41-56.
[88] Deidre Brown, *Māori Architecture: From Fale to Wharenui and Beyond* (North Shore: Raupo, 2009), pp. 35-156.
[89] Brown, p. 156.
[90] McCarthy, pp. 62-78.
[91] Kirstine Moffat, 'Instrument or Object?: The New Zealand Piano on Display', *New Zealand Journal of Public History,* 1.1 (2011), 5-25 (p. 1).

tensions between history and heritage.[92] The heritage aspect of public history largely speaks to ideas of a collective identity which is also tied to understandings of a 'national' heritage.[93] I do not become deeply embroiled in the debate between history and heritage. However, my work is a consideration of how historical research may impact and problematise the narratives of nation that heavily feature in public historic sites such as house museums.

The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, as a public historic site that was once a domestic space, fits into the category of house museums. As Linda Young observes of house museums, they are often more than just a house and its collection, there are outbuildings, grounds, and gardens.[94] The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga is similar, with a main house and several buildings on site, including Brown's library, which is separated from the main house. There is also an extensive garden. The term house museum feels constraining as the site is more than just a house. I prefer to describe this place by its current name The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. In 2016 The Elms Foundation sought to update its brand, and the site was renamed from The Elms to The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. The name was a conscious choice to highlight the different eras, and peoples, that lived on the site during its history until the late twentieth century.[95] The name feels fitting as this work acknowledges those different eras and discusses the site not in terms of the main house alone but in context with the natural landscape and location of Tauranga. While I use this term to discuss the museum today, I also refer, when appropriate, to its previous name The Elms. While the term house museum is somewhat limiting, The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, as a domestic site converted into a museum, may still be understood in relation to the literature of house museums.

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[92] David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and The Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 78, 122-125.

[93] Alexander Trapeznik*, Common Ground: Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000),* p. 15; Mallory Allyson Richard, 'The Colonial Past as "Usable History"', in *Beyond Pedagogy: Reconsidering the Public Purpose of Museums*, ed. by Brenda Trofanenko and Avner Segall (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2014), p. 37; Linda Young, 'Preserving Public History', in *A Companion to Public History,* ed. by David Dean (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2018) <10.1002/9781118508930.ch23> [accessed 9 June 2022], p. 332; Sheila Watson, *National Museums and the Origins of Nations: Emotional Myths and Narratives* (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2020).

[94] Linda Young, 'Is There a Museum in the House? Historic Houses as a Species of Museum', *Museum Management and Curatorship (1990),* 22.1 (2007), 59-77, (p. 63).

[95] 'Brand Story', *The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga,* <https://theelms.org.nz/media/> [accessed 15 April 2022].

House museums can be found today throughout the world, though they are particularly abundant in European and former colonial countries.[96] The prevalence of house museums in these countries is linked to the conceptualisations of home as significant to individual and national identity.[97] Scholars such as Linda Young and Mallory Allison Richard address the imperial and Eurocentric narratives of nation embedded in museums, urging for a more critical engagement with the past.[98] Museum practitioners have drawn on art history, cultural history and, or social history approaches to critique and rethink house museum narratives.[99] Social history approaches have tended to offer histories that complexify the narratives of house museums which focused on the 'great' individual by reflecting and expounding upon those from 'below' in terms of gender, class, and minority groups.[100] In my discussions of the Aeolian harp, quilt and picture frame, I examine stories that contribute to how public historic sites may add nuance to how we tell stories about gender and class and how these stories are also a part of a history surrounding imperialism as well as cultural engagement and interaction between Pākehā and Māori.

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[96] Jeanice Brooks and Wiebke Thormählen, 'Introduction', in *Sound Heritage: Making Music Matter in Historic Houses*, ed. by Matthew Stephens, Jeanice Brooks and Wiebke Thormählen (London: Routledge, 2022) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9780429281327> [accessed 9 August 2022], pp. 3-4.
[97] Brooks and Thormählen, pp. 3-4; Kim Christensen, 'Ideas Versus Things: The Balancing Act of Interpreting Historic House Museums', *International Journal of Heritage Studies: IJHS,* 17.2 (2011), 153-168 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1080/13527258.2011.541068> [accessed 22 April 2022], p. 159; for a discussion around some of the motivations and categories of a house museum, see: Young, 'House Museums Are Not All the Same! Understanding Motivation to Guide Conservation', pp. 1-9; Ponsonby, pp. 157-182.
[98] Richard, pp. 37-56; Young, 'Preserving Public History' p. 332; Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999); Ruth B. Phillips, 'Show Times: De-celebrating the Canadian Nation, De-colonising the Canadian Museum, 1967–92', in *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa,* ed. by Annie E. Coombes (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 121–139; Sarah Longair and John McAleer, eds., *Curating Empire: Museums and the British Imperial Experience*, *Studies in Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Vikki McCall and Clive Gray write that the institutional museum was rooted in the privileging of cultural tastes of particular groups, this was for the purpose of civilising the mass population by highlighting high elitist cultural forms: Vikki McCall and Clive Gray, 'Museums and the 'New Museology': Theory, Practice and Organisational Change', *Museum Management and Curatorship (1990),* 29.1 (2014), 19-35 (p. 20); Jesmael Mataga, Dawson Munjeri and Thomas Panganayi Thondhlana, referring to the critiques of Foucault who described museums as tools for imperial powers and imprinting a hierarchy of knowledge, explore how museums may go beyond a nation narrative in post-colonial countries: Michael Foucault 'Different Spaces', in *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*, ed. by James D. Faubion, trans. by Robert Hurley and others (New York: New Press, 1998), pp. 174-185 cited in Jesmael Mataga, Dawson Munjeri and Thomas Panganayi Thondhlana, 'Museum Diversity in Africa: Museums, Related Exhibitionary Institutions and Non-State Players', in *Independent Museums and Culture Centres in Colonial and Post-Colonial Zimbabwe: Non-State Players, Local Communities, and Self-Representation,* ed. by Jesmael Mataga, Dawson Munjeri and Thomas Panganayi Thondhlana (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), p. 5.
[99] Ponsonby, pp. 175-76
[100] Ibid.

House museums provide a way of accessing the past beyond paper. Gavin McLean describes the house museum experience as "street level chemistry" where the past and present bond together.[101] House museums then hold the potential to be highly emotive spaces; however, scholars have critiqued house museums as often being staid, even mausoleums.[102] In order for house museums to reach their potential and provide an engaging space, Franklin Vagnone *et al.* advocate that the narratives and interpretations of house museums should adopt a more poetic interpretation.[103] Writing of museums and human sensory experience, Sandra Dudley argues that for visitors to experience the past it must be permitted "through rich engagement in a material and properly embodied way."[104] By experiencing the interplay of the senses through material culture, the museum visitor connects to the past empathetically and imaginatively.[105] Why should such interpretations be limited to the conventional museum? I suggest that, by considering the sensory qualities as a part of the histories of the Aeolian harp, crazy quilt and picture frame, the house museum may engage visitors, creating a more visceral experience and connection to the past.

Scholarship of sensory museology has done much to consider approaches to bolster museum interpretation.[106] The focus of this literature emphasises the multisensoriality of objects as a part of the museum experience.[107] David Howes in 'Introduction to Sensory Museology' writes that, experiencing objects has "the potential to recreate the museum as an exciting place of historical, cross-cultural, and aesthetic discovery and inspiration."[108] The tension

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[101] Gavin McLean, 'Street-Level Chemistry: The Past in the Present at Historic Places', in *Fragments,* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), p. 186.

[102] Some of the critiques launched, particularly at house museums, is the staid interpretation: Kim Christensen, 'Ideas Versus Things: The Balancing Act of Interpreting Historic House Museums', *International journal of heritage studies: IJHS,* 17.2 (2011), 153-168 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1080/13527258.2011.541068> [accessed 22 April 2022]; Franklin D. Vagnone, Deborah E. Ryan and Olivia B. Cothren, *Anarchist's Guide to Historic House Museums* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2016), p. 33-46.

[103] Vagnone, Ryan, and Cothren, p. 35.

[104] Dudley, p. 10.

[105] Dudley, pp. 10-11.

[106] David Howes provides an overview of sensory museology: David Howes, 'Introduction to Sensory Museology', *The Senses & Society,* 9.3 (2014), 259-267; further work on sensory museology; Classen, *The Museum of the Senses*; Christos Giachritsis, 'The Use of Haptic Interfaces in Haptics Research', in *Touch in Museums*, ed. by Helen Chatterjee (New York: Berg Publishers, 2008), pp. 75-90; Helen Saunderson, ''Do Not Touch': A Discussion on the Problems of a Limited Sensory Experience with Objects in a Gallery or Museum Context', in *The Thing About Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation*, ed. by Amy Jane Barnes Sandra Dudley, Jennifer Binnie, Julia Petrov, Jennifer Walklate (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 159-170.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Howes, 'Introduction to Sensory Museology', p. 265.

between sensory engagement and museum preservation is an issue which sensory museology scholars have addressed and offer ways for practitioners to navigate.[109] In this work I, likewise, reflect upon this issue in my suggestions for the possible incorporation of sensory elements to the storytelling of these objects. My suggestions include the use of replicas, which raises questions about authenticity. While this thesis does not focus on authenticity in museum interpretation, scholars have raised questions around the authenticity of object experiences.[110] I acknowledge that the social conventions of our era mean that we will never experience the past as those who lived in it did.[111] Authenticity is a multifaceted concept and defined by scholars in different ways as Linda Young explains, some view authenticity from a modernist standpoint in which authenticity is understood as being a tangible certainty, while postmodernists identify authenticity is as forms of knowledge.[112] My interpretation is linked to Jan Penrose discussion in which she focuses on experiential authenticity.[113] Penrose defines experiential authenticity as a form of storytelling relayed through a combination of elements, such as place, objects or videos, which is authentic because it "intensifies engagement and deepens the significance of meanings produced."[114] Regarding this issue of authenticity around my suggestions for replicas, I also defer to Mimi S. Waitzman and Eric De Visscher's work, which though particularly focused on music, I believe may still be applied to the inclusion of the other senses.[115] Waitzman and Visscher argue that replicas empower visitors, creating an informative and thought-provoking experience.[116]

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[109] Howes, 'Introduction to Sensory Museology' pp. 259-267; Classen, *The Museum of the Senses: Experiencing Art and Collections;* Fiona Candlin, *'Don't Touch! Hands Off! Art, Blindness and the Conservation of Expertise', Body & society, 10.1 (2004), 71-90* <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1177/1357034X040417> [accessed 8 September 2022].

[110] Sandra H. Dudley, 'Museum Materialities: Objects, Sense and Feeling', in *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*, ed. by Sandra H. Dudley (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 1-18; Anna Venturini, 'Constructions of Authenticity at Scottish Historic House Museums', *Collections (Walnut Creek, Calif.),* 16.2 (2020), 139-161.

[111] Mimi S. Waitzman and Eric De Visscher, 'Engaging the Musical Imagination in Museums and Historic Houses', in *Sound Heritage: Making Music Matter in Historic Houses*, ed. by Jeanice Brooks, Matthew Stephens and Wiebke Thormählen (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9780429281327> [accessed 9 August 2022], pp. 94-95.

[112] Linda Young, 'All About House Museums', in *Sound Heritage: Making Music Matter in Historic Houses*, ed. by Jeanice Brooks, Matthew Stephens and Wiebke Thormählen (London: Routledge, 2022) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9780429281327> [accessed 9 August 2022], p. 52.

[113] Jan Penrose, 'Authenticity, Authentication and Experiential Authenticity: Telling Stories in Museums', *Social & Cultural Geography,* 21.9 (2020), 1245-1267.

[114] Penrose, 1259.

[115] Waitzman and De Visscher, pp. 94-95

[116] Waitzman and De Visscher, pp. 94-95

Alexander Trapeznik's *Common Ground: Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand* and *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History* edited by Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips, form a solid base of critical literature of New Zealand's public history.[117] These works, written in the early 2000s, problematised New Zealand's historic spaces. The authors noted that these sites often contained a simplistic reading of the story of nation and exhibited masculinist, conservative and elitist tones, particularly visible in house museums.[118] In *Common Ground*, Trapeznik also noted how these stories had been challenged in New Zealand by various factors, such as the Māori renaissance of the 1970s, which played a significant role in altering public perceptions of national heritage.[119] Both works also considered the value of house museums as spaces which offered a unique perspective as they linked local and broader histories together. However, the authors advise not to concentrate on ownership biographies and house furnishings; "Instead," Trapeznik writes, "they [house museums] should expand their interpretation to convey a broader social history."[120] Such a perspective, Trapeznik argued, would result in greater engagement of the public's historical consciousness.[121]

While work on the material culture found in museum collections has garnered scholarly interest, none of these works, published since Trapeznik's *Common Ground*, have explicitly addressed how a focus on household furnishing may also expand and complicate the house museum narratives. In this work, I focus on house furnishings as an approach by which the museum can convey an interpretation that expresses a broader social history. The local space is understood in relation to events that occurred at a national scale and the broader imperial ideologies of gender and class imposed on the cultural landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand.[122] These discussions also highlight the tangata whenua as a part of the history of The Elms | Te

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[117] Trapeznik, *Common Ground*; Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips, eds., G*oing Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press 2001); There are works published before this literature that critically contribute to the discussions of New Zealand's public history: Harry Allen, *Protecting Historic Places in New Zealand* (Auckland: The University of Auckland, 1998), pp. 5-7; Witi Ihimaera, 'Keeping It Alive: Towards A Better Understanding of Nature and Culture in Aotearoa', *New Zealand Museum Journal,* 22.1, 7-12; Jan Harris, 'The Missionary Wives: Rough Living in Our Early Homes', *Historic Places,* 64.1 (1997) 17-19.
[118] Trapeznik, *Common Ground,* p. 21; Dalley and Phillips, p. 170.
[119] Trapeznik, *Common Ground,* p. 15.
[120] Trapeznik, *Common Ground,* p. 22.
[121] Ibid.
[122] International scholarship has also contemplated the value of material culture in museum display, see: Christensen, pp. 153-168; Steven Conn, *Do Museums Still Need Objects?*, The Arts and Intellectual Life in Modern America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), pp. 1-57; Allison C. Marsh, 'Steven Conn. Do Museums Still Need Objects? Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010', *Winterthur Portfolio,* 45.4 (2011), 353-354.

Papa Tauranga, focusing on a more complicated reading of the nation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Recent discussions of New Zealand's history, exhibited in conventional museums and house museums, have continued to develop the arguments of public history. Such work includes Sebastian Clarke's 2018 article 'From Dwelling to Destination: On New Zealand's House Museums' in which he wrote:

> Our own critical national discussions about the public legacies of Pākehā settlers urge us to look locally at our historic places to understand whose stories are being told, and whose are not. Many New Zealand house museums are devoted to colonial stories, often told with uncomplicated romanticism.[123]

Kirstine Moffat's work of museum displays highlighted how practitioners in public historic sites may also think more critically about the inclusion of sensory experience as a way for visitors to engage with history.[124] Indeed, the success of a historic site Trapeznik writes, "should be measured by the extent to which they provoke thought and a re-examination of the past, the nature of history, and the historical experience."[125] This thesis demonstrates how a house museum can offer critical and complicated histories that allow visitors to experience the past afresh.

Methodology

Regarding the analysis of material culture, Dyer notes that "there is no unified material culture methodology."[126] This work takes objects as the starting point, unpacking the meanings embedded within, and transmitted by, these objects when they were, respectively, the belongings of Archdeacon Alfred Nesbit Brown, Euphemia Maxwell, and Alice Maxwell. To better comprehend material culture as a source that adds to our understanding of New Zealand's domestic history, I determined to pay attention to the physical characteristics of

[123] Sebastian Clarke, 'From Dwelling to Destination: On New Zealand's House Museums,' *The Pantograph Punch* (2018), 2–3 <https://pantograph-punch.com/posts/house-museums> [accessed 24 March 2022].
[124] Moffat, 'Instrument or Object?', pp. 5-25.
[125] Trapeznik, 'Dismissing the Staff', p. 38.
[126] Dyer, p. 283.

these items. Paying attention to the physical aspects of material culture has proved to be a challenge in scholarship. “We have been taught to retrieve information in abstract form, words and numbers,” Prown writes, “but most of us are functionally illiterate when it comes to interpreting information encoded in objects.” [127] While Prown, an art historian himself, remarks that the works of art history and archaeology have considerably contributed to the methodology of how we may read objects, his words still rang true in my situation as a researcher new to material culture studies.[128] To then develop a greater sensitivity towards the objects that formed the base of my research, I turned to Prown’s methodology as it has significantly influenced the scholarship of material culture studies.[129]

Prown divides researchers of material culture into two categories: “farmers” and “cowmen.”[130] ‘Farmers’ concern themselves with the “material” aspect of the object: its age, provenance, substance and structure.[131] ‘Cowmen’ look to engage more deeply with the cultural aspect of material culture, exploring the meanings which are embedded and transmitted by objects.[132] Though these two approaches appear as a dichotomy, Prown asserts that both kinds of knowledge are useful in the research of material culture.[133] Prown’s methodology begins with a close observation of the object, considering the substantial aspects of an item: such as its weight and material; the content of the item, for example, diagrams or engravings; and its light, colour, lines as well as surface areas.[134] Regarding the description of the object, Prown stated that researchers should also consider “sensory engagement” as an important element in the deduction of an object.[135]

Sensory engagement played a significant part in my analysis of these objects. Due to museum practice, I could only handle the items with gloves. Such limitations are addressed by Prown,

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[127] Prown, ‘Mind in Matter’ p. 7.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Prown’s work continues to influence scholars of material culture studies, see: Harvey, pp. 15-19; Auslander, p. 1025; Dyer, pp. 283, 284.
[130] Jules David Prown, 'Material/Cultural: Can the Farmer and the Cowman Still Be Friends?', in *Learning from Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies*, ed. by W. David Kingery (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), pp. 19-30; my understanding of Prown’s differentiation between ‘cowmen’ and ‘farmers’ is developed from Auslander’s interpretation: Auslander, pp. 1015-1045; for a different reading, see: Harvey, pp. 15.
[131] Prown, 'Material/Cultural', pp. 19–30.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Prown, 'Mind in Matter', p. 8.
[135] Prown, 'Mind in Matter', pp. 7-10.

who remarks that if an object is not accessible, then sensory engagement should be conducted "imaginatively and empathetically."[136] While I was able to touch and carry the Aeolian harp, I could not hear its sound; I thus relied on scholarship that discussed the sound as well as audio recordings; these recordings left the greatest impression on my understanding of Aeolian harps.[137] As to the picture frame, I also considered smell as a characteristic in the process of making the frame. Since there is no longer any smell, I considered this aspect in accord with Prown's method of an imaginative approach. Considering the sensory elements of objects lent depth to my work on the social and cultural meanings of these objects as they related to the social, and personal, identities of Alfred Brown, Euphemia Maxwell, and Alice Maxwell.

Considering how material culture is a part of the social world, Bernard Herman's approach of an object-driven analysis informed my methodology.[138] "For us to derive meaning from material culture" Herman writes, "we must reconnect objects to their historical contexts."[139] Context is an important element of historical work as E. P. Thompson remarks, history is "the discipline of context."[140] This work likewise contextualises these objects in the lives of Brown, Euphemia, and Alice Maxwell as they resided, in the various periods, at the site of Te Papa peninsula, Tauranga. Through these contexts, I examine the details that add nuance to the generalisations of the home and settler belonging.

While the focus of this work is on material culture, I also draw upon other evidence alongside this research. Additional primary research material was undertaken through The Elms Foundation, the Tauranga Library Archive, which houses many original documents and transcriptions relating to The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, and the online archive Papers Past. Evidence utilised included: recorded interviews, newspapers, letters, buildings, journal entries and photographs. The range of sources included in this discussion mirrors the approach of public historians, as Constance Schulz advocates that we may look not only to the written

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[136] Prown, 'Mind in Matter', p. 9.
[137] *Aeolian harp | Wind harp*, online video recording, Youtube, 25 November 2020 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=buZjtQv-Wng> [accessed 14 April 2022].
[138] Bernard L. Herman, *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville: University of Press of Virginia, 1992).
[139] Herman, p. 7.
[140] E. P. Thompson, 'Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Context', *Midland History*, 1,3 (1972), 41-55 (p. 45); Karen Harvey highlighted E. P. Thompson's work in her argument that historians contribute to material culture through close attention to context: Harvey, 'Introduction', p. 13.

word alone to gain an understanding of the past.[141] Rather, she writes, historical evidence also encompasses "buildings, sites, landscapes, artefacts, orally transmitted memories, visual materials, and most recently, electronic records."[142] Considering that this work is centred on the history of a public historic site and the focus is on material culture, it felt appropriate that the additional sources should not be exclusively written evidence.

Alongside archival research, I conducted two research interviews.[143] I sent my interviewees the questions I sought to ask and an overview of the research topic to give them both a sense of direction and agency in the project. I interviewed Julie Green, the granddaughter of Duff Maxwell and a volunteer guide at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga.[144] I also interviewed textile artist Vita Cochrane, who contributed to The Rooms exhibition at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga in 2018.[145] Drawing again on Schulz's work, the purpose of these interviews was to better understand The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga's history, these items' histories, and the interpretation of historic objects within the museum context.[146]

Limitations

A social history lens applied to the interpretation of house museums results in a greater focus on the 'history from below.'[147] A common narrative conveyed in the interpretation of the house museum is a focus on the 'great man'.[148] The house becomes 'the hero's house' as a narrative surrounds a figure who contemporary society deem as significant in the story of nation.[149] A social history approach, thus, offers a more complex narrative than of the house's hero as it acknowledges the 'others' who also made up the household: people such as servants,

[141] Constance B. Schulz, 'Becoming a Public Historian', *Public History: Essays from the Field*, ed. James B. Gardner and Peter S. LaPaglia (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1999), pp. 32-3.
[142] Schulz, pp. 32-3.
[143] These were University ALPSS Human Research Ethics Committee FS2022-19 approved interviews: Elisabeth Stegen, *Interview with Julie Green*, audio recording, 13 June 2022; Elisabeth Stegen, *Interview with Vita Cochrane*, audio recording, 11 July 2022.
[144] Stegen, *Interview with Julie Green.*
[145] Stegen, *Interview with Vita Cochrane.*
[146] Schulz, pp. 32-3.
[147] Ponsonby, p. 175.
[148] Young, 'House Museums Are Not All the Same!', pp. 3-4.
[149] Ibid.

women, and minority groups.[150] This work focuses on the lives of individuals who have a very prominent presence in the history of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Yet, it was not only the Browns and the Maxwells who resided there. Servants, caretakers and employees also lived on the site, some of whose names are known while other names have disappeared.[151] This work does not develop a rich conversation around the roles of these individuals and their involvement in the domestic sphere. However, I develop arguments that challenge the narrative of 'the hero's house' by delving into the meanings of these objects, which reveal stories of masculinity in the household and women's experiences.

This work considers the presence and agency of Māori, particularly regarding the local tangata whenua, the hapu of Ngāti Ranginui and the hapu of Ngāi Te Rangi.[152] However, these discussions rely upon primary evidence told through the perspective of Pākehā. I am not fluent in te reo, and as a Pākehā historian, I also do not have connections to the tangata whenua of Tauranga Moana; I am not sufficiently equipped with the tikanga to tell those stories. Yet, to better understand the histories of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, my research does draw upon the Waitangi Tribunal reports for the iwi of Tauranga Moana.[153] This study, therefore, cannot

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[150] Ponsonby, p. 175; In a discussion of conventional museums, Helen Berry argues that even 'high-design goods' histories and displays can provoke insightful discussion of history, see: Helen Berry 'Regional Identity and Material Culture', in *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, ed. by Karen Harvey, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 2017) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9781315165776> [accessed 28 March 2022], p. 201; see Edward Said's concept of 'the other': Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage book, 1979).

[151] For an overview of those who also lived at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga site from 1830 to 1997, see: *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan*, pp. 16-157; regarding employees, I refer specifically to the gardener Biggins and the dressmaker Maria Bickers who the Maxwell women employed. For discussions of servants in New Zealand, see: Porter, Macdonald and MacDonald, pp. 147-56; Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character,* pp. 121-24; There were also long-staying single female guests who lived at Te Papa mission station, such as Sophia Baker and Mary Rymill (a companion to Charlotte Brown who also worked in the mission school). These women's stories are not those of servants. However, their lived experiences also contribute to discussions of the domestic sphere of the mission station. For literature on women in CMS missions, see: Tanya Fitzgerald, 'To Unite Their Strength with Ours: Women and Missionary Work in Aotearoa/New Zealand 1827-45', *The Journal of Pacific History,* 39.2 (2004), 147-161; Robert Glen 'Those Odious Evangelicals', in *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, 1814-1882,* ed. by Robert Glen (Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand, 1992), pp. 35-36; Cathy Ross's work also notes the lives of Māori who lived at the mission and their role and relationship with CMS women, see Cathy Ross, *Women with a Mission: Rediscovering Missionary Wives in Early New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 2006), pp. 48-52.

[152] Nēpia Mahuika, 'New Zealand History Is Māori History: Tikanga as the Ethical Foundation of Historical Scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 49.1 (2015), 5-30

[153] Evelyn Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana: The Confiscation of Tauranga Lands,* 2 vols (Report prepared for Waitangi Tribunal) (Hamilton: University of Waikato, 1990), 1; Evelyn Stokes*, Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 2 vols (Report prepared for Waitangi Tribunal) (Hamilton: University of Waikato, 1993), 2; Waitangi Tribunal, *Te*

offer a story from the perspective of te ao Māori, which would add to the interpretation of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. However, this thesis acknowledges the silences of Māori in the stories of public history. This study, consequently, also tells stories about these objects that recognise the presence of Māori in the history of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga.

Chapters

The first chapter of this work provides a broad overview of the historical development of Te Papa peninsula as the home of Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui and the successive residents: The Browns, The Maxwell women and Duff Maxwell with his family. In this chapter, I also discuss the historical development of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga as a house museum. By exploring the history of the site and its historical development as a house museum, we may recognise not only the narratives conveyed but also the silences within those interpretations.

The following chapters focus on a specific object and follow the multiplicities of meanings embedded and transmitted by these objects as they were the possessions of Brown, Euphemia Maxwell, and Alice Maxwell. Each section of these chapters considers how understanding these meanings may complexify the narratives that are commonly featured in house museums. These chapters then conclude with a reflection on the ways in which the stories surrounding these objects may be interpreted in the space of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga.

The second chapter analyses the meanings embedded in the Aeolian harp as a possession of Archdeacon Alfred Nesbit Brown during the mid to late nineteenth century. This chapter demonstrates how an object is embedded with multiple meanings conveyed through its visual and sonic presence. Through the harp, we may recognise how cultural engagement between Māori and missionaries existed at a sensory level. We may also understand the male missionary's presence in the context of the domestic space. The sound of the Aeolian harp is part of a story of environmental and cultural overlay, "texturing" our understanding of the

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Raupatu O Tauranga Moana: Report on the Tauranga Confiscation Claims (Wai 215) (Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2004).

nuanced imperial visions for the new colonial environment.[154] Through these meanings generated by the visual and sonic character of the harp, the house museum may act as a space that acknowledges the silences that have existed in the storytelling of the mission station.

In the third chapter, I focus on Euphemia Maxwell's crazy quilt, which she created during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This chapter pieces together a story of the cultural, social, and economic aspects that were a part of the making of the crazy quilt. This chapter also notes the tactility of the quilt, recognising the significance of touch in the story of female craftwork. Through this history, within The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, there is an opportunity to convey details that add nuance to the broader narratives of women in the domestic sphere and gender relations. Through the meanings of the crazy quilt, the house museum may also reveal the ways in which a settler colonist's home expressed cultural baggage and exchange.[155]

The final chapter of this thesis examines Alice Maxwell's carved picture frame, which she likely made during the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. This study explores the making and display of the picture frame, analysing the role of touch and smell as this object began with great human interaction that decreased as it became a furnishing. This analysis of the picture frame, furthermore, considers the metaphorical and literal connection between the frame and the environment. This part of the frame's story is linked to the complicated histories of second-generation colonists as they created spaces of belonging in the colonial sphere. Thus, this chapter demonstrates how the history of the frame may allow us to reframe the narratives within the house museum.

Through these histories, I explore the details and nuances of the broader social history embedded in the material culture found at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Through the sensory qualities of these objects, in The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, practitioners may express stories that contribute to more complicated narratives of the home.

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[154] Regarding the concept of sense texturing our understanding of the past, see: Mark M. Smith, 'Still Coming to 'Our' Senses', p. 379.

[155] See Peter Gibbons and Kirstine Moffat on the concept of cultural baggage: Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', pp. 7-8; Kirstine Moffat, 'The Piano as Cultural Symbol in Colonial New Zealand', *History Compass,* 7.3 (2009), 719-741, (p. 722).

Chapter One: Te Papa Peninsula, a Mission Station, Family Home, and House Museum

Writing of historic houses, Thomas Schlereth states that they possess "at least two histories: its past existence as an actual residence and its past and present life as a house museum."[1] In this chapter, I explore the history of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga located on the Tauranga peninsula of Te Papa as seen in Figure One. I trace this site's history from the establishment of Otamataha Pā, to a mission station, then private residence and its' gradual transition into a house museum from the mid-twentieth century up to the present day. By tracing the domestic history of the site, this chapter notes the sweeping imperial changes experienced in Aotearoa New Zealand, from the early nineteenth century through to the early twentieth century. By considering these 'two histories' this chapter draws on New Zealand's historiography of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as well as museology studies.[2]

By examining the house's history and the history of the house as a museum, this chapter argues that, firstly, the history of the domestic space is interwoven within the broader history of New Zealand and the imperial world. Secondly, I argue that this museum has been interpreted with narratives common to house museums, such as those of the 'great man' and nation-making. Yet, we can also observe the nuances in The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga narrative, particularly through the stories about the women who lived at the site. This chapter also considers how these stories are conveyed in the house museum. While house museums have often been critiqued for their lifeless depiction of history, this chapter recognises that there

[1] Thomas J. Schlereth, *Artifacts and the American Past* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1981), p. 115.

[2] A sample of the range of New Zealand historiography that impacted this work includes: Tony Ballantyne, 'On Place, Space and Mobility in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 45.1 (2011), 50-70; Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), pp. 31-184; Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 36.1 (2002), 5-17; James Beattie, 'Biological Invasion and Narratives of Environmental History in New Zealand', in *Invasive and Introduced Plants and Animals: Human Perceptions, Attitudes and Approaches to Management*, ed. by Ian D. Rotherham and Robert A. Lambert (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), pp. 343-352; Regarding museology studies, see: Alexander Trapeznik, *Common Ground: Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000); Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips, eds., G*oing Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press 2001); Franklin D. Vagnone, Deborah E. Ryan, and Olivia B. Cothren, *Anarchist's Guide to Historic House Museums* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2016)

are aspects in the history of this house museum that diverge from those common lifeless interpretations.

This discussion of this site from a mission station to a residence draws on the histories of two different groups of colonists: the missionaries and settlers who migrated to New Zealand during the nineteenth century. Missionaries and settlers were distinctive migrant groups with differing views for the future of colonial New Zealand and with different attitudes and relationships to Māori.[3] Yet, both groups may be understood within the imperial enterprise, and regarding domesticity, both possessed a common belief in the superiority of nineteenth century British domestic ideals.[4] This discussion focuses on understanding the domestic sphere–of missionaries and settlers–within imperial and national geographies of home. Consequently, the domestic sphere is articulated as a part of the shifting social, cultural, and environmental landscapes as colonists embedded themselves within the new environment to create a sense of belonging and home.

The first section of this chapter traces the settlement of the tāngata whenua and tāngata moana of Te Papa peninsula: the hapu of Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui.[5] The second section explores Te Papa Mission Station, which eventually became The Elms; this period extends from 1834 to 1887. I consider the mission station's beginnings, how it functioned as a space of cultural encounter and exchange, and its demise following the Land Wars of the 1860s. The third section analyses the Maxwell women's residency of The Elms during the

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[3] This is a broad overview of a history in which individuals held nuanced and shifting opinions. For literature considering the attitudes of missionaries and settlers toward indigenous peoples, see: Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 152; Tony Ballantyne's discussion of missionaries also highlights some of the differing and shifting opinions of missionaries toward colonisation. Ballantyne discusses missionaries as "missionary settlers" indicating the similar characteristics between settlers and missionaries: Tony Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire: Missionaries, Māori, and the Question of the Body* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015) <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/lib/waikato/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=5651884> [accessed 28 May 2022] pp. 21, 61, 84, 96-7.

[4] Discussing missionaries as a part of empire, and the common socio-cultural rhetorics between settlers and missions: Geoffrey Troughton, 'Missionaries, Historians and the Peace Tradition in New Zealand', in *Te Rongopai 1814 'Takoto Te Pai!': Bicentenary Reflections on Christian Beginnings and Developments in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. by Stuart Lange and others (Auckland: The General Synod Office, "Tuia", of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, 2014), pp. 235-238; Erik Olssen, 'Families and the Gendering of European New Zealand in the Colonial Period, 1840-1880', in *The Gendered Kiwi*, ed. by Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), pp. 37-62.

[5] The dates concerning the arrival of the tāngata whenua to Te Papa are based on my reading of Evelyn Stokes's work: Evelyn Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana: The Confiscation of Tauranga Lands,* 2 vols (Report prepared for Waitangi Tribunal) (Hamilton: University of Waikato, 1990), 1, p. 4.

development of Tauranga as a Pākehā town from 1887 to 1919. This section studies the Maxwell women's engagement in the changing social, cultural and environmental landscape where the resettlement of colonists resulted in the unsettlement of Māori.[6] The fourth section continues the discussion of the Maxwells, specifically focusing on the role Alice Maxwell played in the shifting trajectory of The Elms from a private home to a house museum from the 1920s to 1949. The fifth section explores, Alice's nephew, Duff Maxwell's role in the continued development of The Elms into a public historic site from 1949 to 1997. Lastly, I trace the development of the contemporary museum of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga since 1997, considering the underlying narratives and the approaches used to relay the histories of this site.

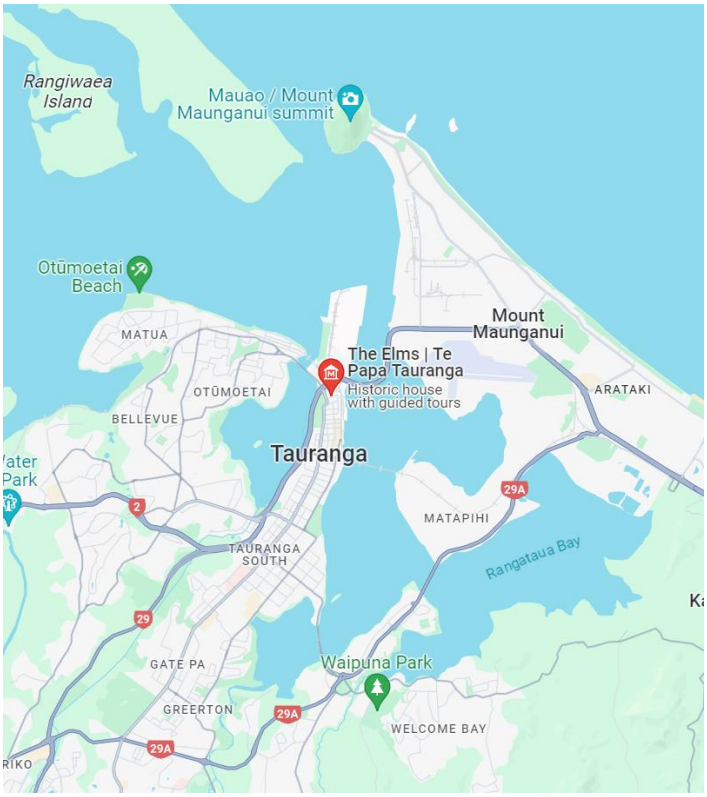

Figure 1: A Google Map image showing the location of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. 'The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga', *Google Maps* <https://www.google.com/maps/search/the+elms/@-37.6852345,176.1179093,12.3z?entry=ttu> [accessed 19 August 2023]. Reproduced in accordance with Google Terms of Service.

[6] Giselle Brynes endorses the term resettlement as it problematises the assumed normality of the European presence and makes Māori visible in the history of colonial New Zealand; Giselle Byrnes, 'Introduction: Reframing New Zealand History', in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 16.

Tauranga Moana is the ancestral home of the hapu of Ngāi Te Rangi, who trace their descent from Rangihouhiri of the Mataatua waka.[7] It was also the home of Ngāti Ranginui, who descend from the ancestral waka Takitimu.[8] Otamataha, more specifically Mauao, was the landing place of the Takitimu.[9] Tauranga Moana was complete with diverse ecological habitats: the estuaries, mudflats, mangrove swamps and open sandy beaches provided an abundance kai moana, there was: paua, pipi, koura, to name but a few.[10] Resources could also be gathered inland, in the rivers were ika and tuna, the coastal lowlands were excellent sites for kumara while timber could be sourced from the forests that were also teeming with birdlife and berries.[11] The region, then, was constantly inhabited by hapu for over seven centuries.[12] Evelyn Stokes describes the territory of Tauranga Moana, explaining that it ranged from "Nga Kuri a Wharei in the west, inland to the mountain Te Aroha, along the crest of the ranges south to Puwhenua, east to Otanewainuku, and out to sea at Wairakei."[13] The whenua and the moana were not only a significant economic resource but also held importance through spiritual, cultural and historical associations exhibited through the places of wahi tapu, urupa, kainga and pā.[14]

Over the generations, Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui developed a strong relationship that was reinforced through marriages.[15] Those strong ties are also evidenced in the overlapping tribal occupation of the whenua, Figures Two and Three demonstrate the coexistence of these iwi in the Te Papa area. The whenua of Te Papa peninsula was a part of the rohe of Ngāi Tamarawaho, Ngāti Tapu, and Ngāi Tukairangi.[16] Ngāti Tapu, Ngāi Tukairangi were hapu of

[7] Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, p. 218; Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana: Report on the Tauranga Confiscation Claims* (Wai 215) (Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2004), pp. 2, 47.
[8] Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana*, p. 28; Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, p. 1
[9] Rachael Willan, *Otamataha* (Report for Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 580) (Tauranga: Waitangi Tribunal, 1997), p. 7; Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana*, p. 28.
[10] Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, p. 3.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, p. 4.
[13] Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, p. 1.
[14] Evelyn Stokes*, Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 2 vols (Report prepared for Waitangi Tribunal) (Hamilton: University of Waikato, 1993), 2, p. 35.
[15] Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, p. 4.
[16] These were the iwi who held interests regarding the CMS Blocks: Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana*, pp. 38, 42.

Ngāi Te Rangi.[17] A portion of Te Papa peninsula was known as Otamataha; Ngāi Tamarawaho, Ngāti Tapu, Ngāti Kuku, and Ngāi Tukairangi all held claims to this area.[18] All, excepting Ngāi Tamarawaho, were the hapu of Ngāi Te Rangi. Ngāi Tamarawaho was a hapu of Ngāti Ranginui.[19] The combination of hapu from Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui living at Otamataha indicates the strong intertribal relations. One of several pā in the Tauranga Moana area was Otamataha Pā, which was situated in the area of Otamataha.[20] At the time of its fall, the principal rangatira was Koraurau.[21] There was once about five hundred, if not more, inhabitants living Otamataha Pā.[22] In the early nineteenth century, Otamataha Pā, was a substantial site, comprising of multiple buildings with an abundance of food to feed the considerable population of around 500.[23]

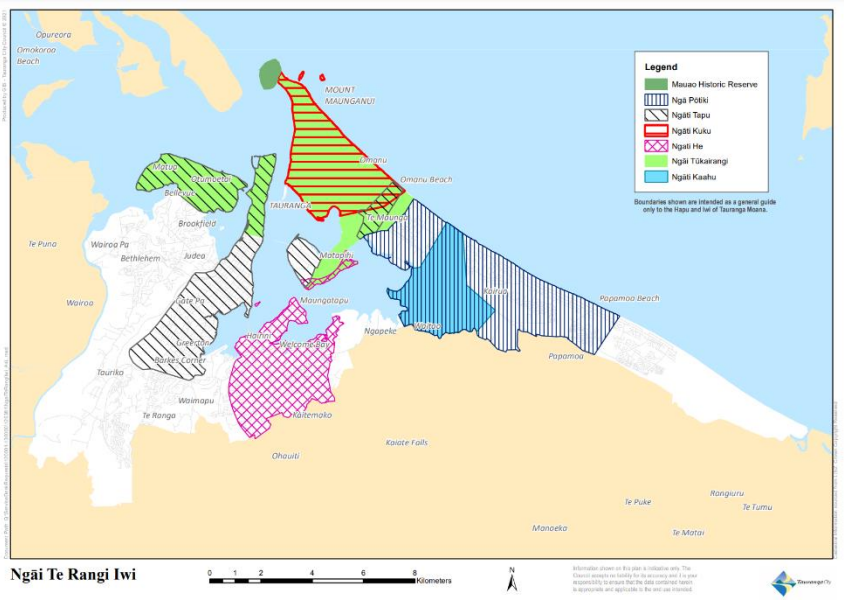

Figure 2: Map depicting the hapu of Ngāi Te Rangi who are the tangata whenua of Te Papa. 'Ngā māngai o ngā Iwi me ngā Hapū Iwi and Hapū Contacts', *Tauranga City* <https://www.tauranga.govt.nz/community/tangata-whenua/resource-management-processes/iwi-and-hap%C5%AB-contacts> [accessed 14 August 2022]. Reproduced with permission from Tauranga City Council.

[17] Ngāti Tapu also share strong links with Ngāti Ranginui, see: Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana*, p. 43
[18] Willan, p. 6.
[19] 'Our Iwi', *Ngāti Ranginui Iwi* <https://ranginui.co.nz/our-iwi/> [accessed 3 February 2023].
[20] Evelyn Stokes calls it Te Papa Pa, see: Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, p. 168.
[21] Stokes*, Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 2, pp. 21, 127.
[22] Vincent O'Malley, *Te Papa Block: A History of Church Missionary Society and Crown Dealings 1838-1867* (Tauranga: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1996), pp. 7-8.
[23] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, pp. 6-8.

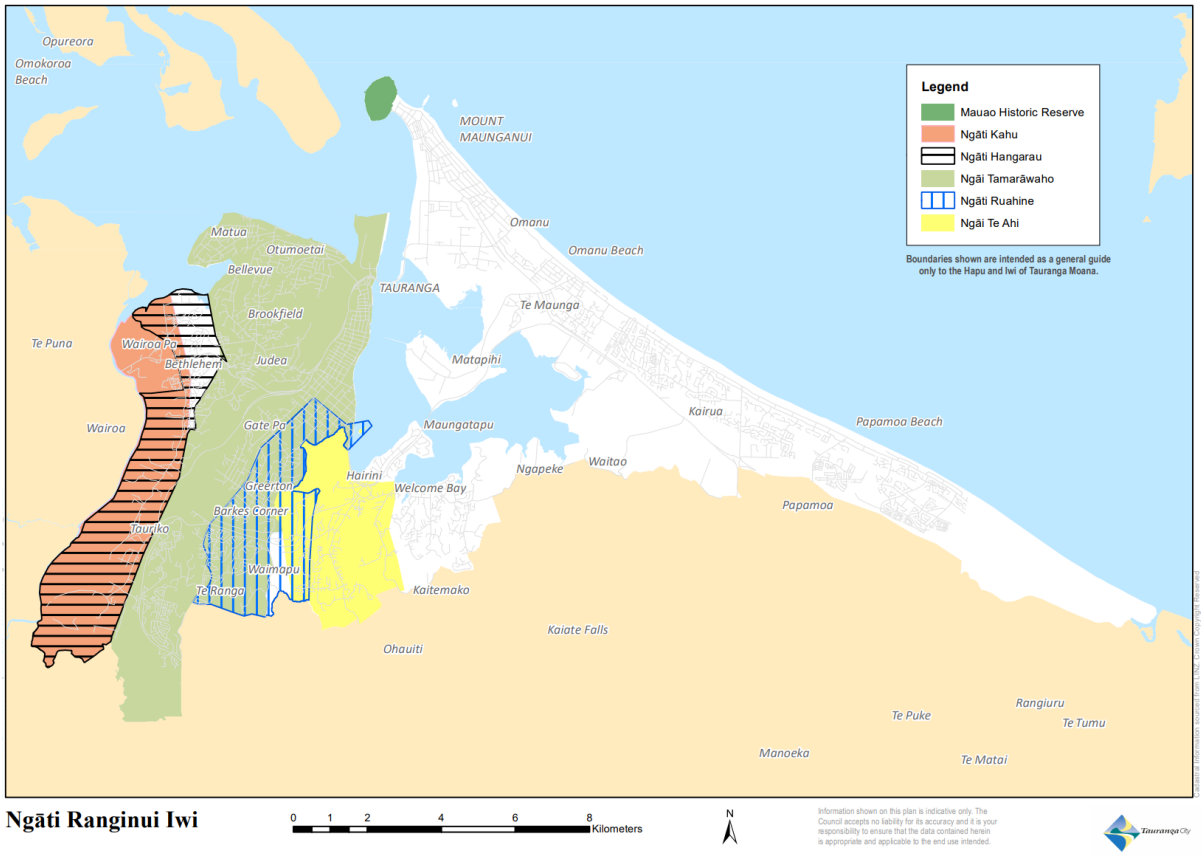

Figure 3: Map depicting the hapu of Ngāiti Ranginui iwi who are the tangata whenua of Te Papa. 'Ngā māngai o ngā Iwi me ngā Hapū Iwi and Hapū Contacts', *Tauranga City* <https://www.tauranga.govt.nz/community/tangata-whenua/resource-management-processes/iwi-and-hap%C5%AB-contacts> [accessed 14 August 2022]. Reproduced with permission from Tauranga City Council.

During the early nineteenth century, the iwi of Tauranga Moana encountered and engaged with Europeans.[24] Māori in Tauranga Moana interacted with different groups of Europeans, including traders, such as Phillip Tapsell, and missionaries.[25] In search of supplies, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) sent an expedition party, led by Henry Williams, to Tauranga Moana in 1826, where they stayed at Otamataha Pā.[26] Williams records that local Māori implored him to send missionaries to the area.[27] There were likely multiple reasons that underlined this request. Ballantyne, writing of cross-cultural engagement, remarks that while Māori, to varying degrees, were keen to engage with Christianity, the presence of missionaries also

[24] Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana*, p. 50.
[25] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, pp. 6-9.
[26] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, p. 5-6.
[27] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, p. 6.

offered more practical opportunities, such as attaining literacy. [28] Through literacy, Māori had access to the Bible and new forms of economics, social structuring, and politics.[29] Yet, when the CMS eventually did decide to establish a mission station, the social and cultural landscape of Otamataha had significantly altered.

In 1828, Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Tamaterā, led by Te Rohu, attacked Otamataha Pā.[30] Only a handful survived.[31] Henry Williams described the aftermath of the attack in his journal when he saw the site just over a week later: "we witnessed every mark of desolation. When last here we anchored abreast of the place, then were there many hundreds of men, women and children living here – now all silent – their houses and fences burnt to the ground." [32] Following the attack by Te Rohu, the place was consigned as tapu and remained empty.[33] That was until 1834, with the arrival of the missionaries who began their work building a mission station.

This discussion of Te Papa peninsula has entailed a very simple and quick overview of a history that spans generations. While Evelyn Stokes' work for the Waitangi Tribunal provides a depth of information about the history of this area, there is scope for greater study and visibility of this history from the perspective of te ao Māori in public historic works of Tauranga. This section particularly highlights the significance of the land in supporting the hapu of Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui. Ranginui Walker, as well as Carla Houkamau and Chris Sibley, and others, note the whenua plays a significant role in Māori identity, spirituality, and sense of belonging.[34] Thus, for the ngā iwi o Tauranga Moana, the land on which The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga sits still holds a deep resonance.

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[28] Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire,* p. 4.
[29] Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire,* p. 4.
[30] Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, p. 6; O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, pp. 7-8.
[31] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, pp. 7-8.
[32] Entry on the 14 April 1828. Henry Williams, *The Early Journals of Henry Williams 1826-40*, ed. by Lawrence M. Rogers (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1961), p. 123.
[33] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, pp. 7-8.
[34] Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou, Struggle without End*, Rev. edn (Auckland: Penguin, 2004); Carla A. Houkamau and Chris G. Sibley, 'The Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement', *New Zealand Journal of Psychology,* 39.1 (2010), 97-110 <DOI: 10.1037/A0031113> <DOI: 10.1037/A0031113> [accessed 3 September 2022] (p. 13).

The Brown's at Te Papa Mission Station and The Elms, 1834 to 1887

Te Papa mission station began in 1834 and continued for many years under Archdeacon Alfred Nesbit until it eventually dissipated in the 1870s, becoming The Elms. At Te Papa, we may trace the complicated cultural, social, and environmental changes as missionaries created a space of home. Te Papa mission station existed, therefore, not only as a site of religious conversion but also cultural transmission. The period of 1834 to 1887 was one in which significant changes altered Aotearoa New Zealand. A defining moment in New Zealand's history was the Land Wars of the 1860s, which irrevocably affected Māori and Pākehā relation.[35] The War in Tauranga, which was one of the conflicts in the Land Wars, played a significant role in the eventual demise of the mission station. Te Papa mission station, thus, became The Elms, while a large portion of the sold mission station land was converted into a Pākehā settlement.

In 1834, the CMS assigned Alfred Nesbit Brown and William Williams the task of locating suitable sites to build more mission stations. The CMS had been informed by Philip Tapsell, who was a trader in the area, that Māori desired a missionary presence in Tauranga, Whakatane and the River Thames as a means of keeping peace in the region.[36] However, when Brown and Williams arrived to survey Tauranga, they were greeted with a rather lukewarm response. [37] The leading rangatira suggested that the missionaries should not settle at Te Papa due to the lack of firewood and timber for building but that they instead should go to Te Tumu.[38] However, Te Papa Peninsula was chosen as an ideal location by the missionaries because of its centrality to two large settlements, Otumoetai and Maungatapu.[39] Te Papa Peninsula also made for a good seaport, which offered the way for a hasty retreat should one be necessary.[40] The iwi of Tauranga Moana must have agreed to this decision as they contributed to the missionaries' plans by building a hut which they had purposed to house

[35] My use of the term Land Wars is founded on Danny Keenan's work. Keenan argues that land should be placed at the forefront in our understanding of these wars, stating that the term Māori have most often used to describe the conflict is Ngā Pakanga Whenua O Mua, meaning "the Land Wars without end", see: Danny Keenan, *Wars without End: Ngā Pakanga Whenua O Mua = New Zealand's Land Wars: A Māori Perspective*, Rev. edn (Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin, 2021), pp. 11, 24-40.
[36] W. H. Gifford and H. Bradney Williams, *A Centennial History of Tauranga* (Dunedin: A.H. and A.W. Reed, for the Tauranga Centennial Committee, 1940), p. 26.
[37] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, pp. 8-10.
[38] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, pp. 8-10.
[39] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, p. 3.
[40] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, p. 3.

the local Māori who would look after the missionaries.[41] The mission station was, thus, after some differences, was founded with the goodwill of the iwi of Tauranga Moana.

Several missionaries lived at Te Papa from 1835, however, the initial period of the mission station did not meet with great success as missionaries fled the area in the wake of tribal warfare.[42] Alfred Nesbit Brown arrived at Te Papa with his first wife Charlotte née Arnett and their two children Marsh and Marianne Celia (called Celia) in 1838.[43] Brown began to lay down more formal arrangements concerning the use of the land as a mission station. Brown's character earned him the respect and confidence of the Tauranga Moana rangatira, who proposed the sale of land to Brown.[44] Brown purchased Te Papa Block 1 and 2, on behalf of the CMS, from the local iwi in two different stages.[45] Brown purchased the site of the CMS Te Papa mission station on 30 September 1838.[46] This purchase included the site of Otamataha Pā; this section of land became the site of the missionary cemetery. O'Malley suggests that Māori potentially sold the site because it was tapu, believing that by Pākehā using the land, the tapu would be removed.[47] O'Malley notes that the missionaries' use of Otamataha Pā as a cemetery was potentially a considered move as this was likely done to retain goodwill and not cause offence.[48] Brown purchased the rest of the Te Papa peninsula, which was about 1000 acres of land, on 30 March 1839.[49]

The various structures built on the mission site speak to the individual history of the mission station as well as the ways in which the site functioned as both a home and space of religious conversion. Brown's library was built sometime around 1838 to 1839; this building holds a unique place amongst New Zealand's mission stations as the first free-standing library; many

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[41] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, p. 10; for scholarship of missionaries' reliance upon indigenous peoples, see: David Maxwell, 'The Missionary Home as a Site for Mission: Perspectives from Belgian Congo', *Studies in Church History,* 50 (2014), 428-455 (pp. 431–2); Tony Ballantyne, 'Entangled Mobilities: Missions, Māori and the Reshaping of Te Ao Hurihuri', in *Indigenous Mobilities: Across and Beyond the Antipodes*, ed. by Rachel Standfield (Australia: Australian Nation University Press, 2018), pp. 115-144.
[42] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, p. 11.
[43] C. W. Vennell, *Brown and the Elms*, 2nd edn (Tauranga: Kale Print Limited, 2012), p. 26.
[44] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, pp. 14-15.
[45] The CMS received a crown grant for the land, see: Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* pp. 207- 210.
[46] Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, p. 6.
[47] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, pp. 8-9.
[48] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, pp. 8-9.
[49] Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, p. 6.

of Brown's books are still placed in their original location .[50] In the early years of the mission station the chapel was a raupo structure, but by 1843 it was replaced with a timber chapel.[51] Not only was the chapel made from raupo but the Brown's themselves also lived in raupo dwellings. Yet, it was not a part of the CMS intention that missionaries would always remain in such accommodation. [52] The family moved into the main residential house in 1847, which was a timber structure.[53] It was a stipulation of the CMS that each mission family would expect to have their own house with a garden and yard to support themselves alongside their quarterly rations paid by the CMS.[54] The establishment of a British style of house afforded the missionaries a lifestyle which was more in keeping with their middle-class British evangelical backgrounds. [55] Cathy Ross, in her analysis of Te Papa mission station, states that these structures allowed the Browns to "recreate English interiors."[56] Thus, the space gradually began to take on a more European atmosphere, made evident through the architecture and interiors.

For local Māori, through the construction of such timber buildings, they were exposed to tools, skills, and new ways of organising work.[57] Māori furthermore experienced, as Ballantyne remarks, "the educative model of the mission house itself."[58] In this manner, scholars such as Sarah Dingle and Ross argue that the house was an embodiment of the colonising aims of missionaries that saw evangelicalism become intertwined with ideas around transferring British understandings of civilised domesticity upon the converted Māori communities.[59] The

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[50] Vennell, p. 30; *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan* (Tauranga: Prepared by Matthews & Matthews Architects Ltd for The Elms Foundation Trust Board, 2016), p. 50; Kirstine Moffat, ''A Habit of Walking with God': The Books of Alfred Nesbit Brown', *Journal of New Zealand Studies,* 17.1 (2014), 73-92.

[51] Vennell, p. 42; Evelyn Mary Stokes, *A History of Tauranga County* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Limited, 1980), p. 49.

[52] Ballantyne writes that the mana (standing) of the mission station and missionaries was enhanced through the accumulation of food and valuable objects, see: Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire,* p. 79; Ballantyne, 'Entangled Mobilities', pp. 129-130.

[53] Vennell, pp. 45-6.

[54] Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire,* p. 79; Ballantyne, 'Entangled Mobilities', pp. 129-30.

[55] Cathy Ross, *Women with a Mission: Rediscovering Missionary Wives in Early New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 2006), p. 53.

[56] Ross, p. 53.

[57] Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire,* p. 80.

[58] Ibid.

[59] For discussions examining missionaries' conceptualisations of 'civilisation', see: Troughton, pp. 235-238; Sarah Dingle, 'Gospel Power for Civilisation: The CMS Missionary Perspective on Maori Culture 1830-1860' (PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, 2009), pp. 1-212; Ross, pp. 15-18.

move then, for the Browns, from a raupo dwelling to a wooden house, served to recreate and also transfer Eurocentric notions of domesticity.

Te Papa Station included an ornamental garden, orchard and pastoral landscape for grazing, which was likely established by 1845 or at the latest 1850.[60] While other individuals, such as CMS catechist John Flatt, played a role in the design of the mission station garden, Archdeacon Brown and his family also left a mark upon the landscape.[61] Brown was an avid gardener and continued to develop the mission station garden introducing new species of flora as well as fauna, such as peacocks and horses.[62] The garden was an educative tool that embodied the beliefs and attitudes that missionaries held towards nature.[63]Acclimatisation of introduced species into the environment of Aotearoa was founded on the ideas of establishing a vision that looked to a future "better Britain" and also to the ancient past of The Garden of Eden.[64] These attitudes are unpacked and more closely examined in the chapter concerning the Aeolian harp. The missionaries' transformation of the natural landscape, thus, reflected British imperial visions of 'better' environments.

As Europeans and Māori lived side by side, the mission station was a space of cultural encounter and cross-cultural engagement. Māori children, both boys and girls, were taught in the mission schools.[65] Māori men learnt European agricultural methods and became familiar with the array of animal and plant species, and women and girls became 'educated' in civilised, respectable domestic practices.[66] Māori often adapted and adjusted European practices, while missionaries adhered to Māori tikanga and often relied upon the goodwill of the local tangata whenua.[67] On one occasion a rangatira objected to the planting of potatoes on a

[60] John P. Adam, *The Elms Garden Conservation Plan* (Auckland: commissioned by New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1998), pp. 4-17.
[61] Adam, pp. 12-14.
[62] Adam, p. 16; Vennell pp. 27, 28.
[63] Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire,* p. 87; James Beattie and John Stenhouse, 'Empire, Environment and Religion: God and the Natural World in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *Environment and History,* 13.4 (2007), pp. 419- 420.
[64] Beattie and Stenhouse, pp. 419- 420.
[65] Ross, pp. 56-7, 135; Ian W. G. Smith, 'Schooling on the Missionary Frontier: The Hohi Mission Station, New Zealand', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology,* 18.4 (2014), pp. 612-628.
[66] Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire,* p. 87; Anna K. C. Petersen, *New Zealanders at Home: A Cultural History of Domestic Interiors 1814-1914* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2001), pp. 17-18.
[67] Missionaries reconfigured their economic situation to gain independence from Māori communities; Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire,* pp. 99-137; Ballantyne, 'Entangled Mobilities', pp. 129-130.

certain portion of the land by Māori.[68] Brown, though he was not entirely happy with the situation, adhered to the request of the rangatira and planted the potatoes himself.[69] Within the domestic interior Māori also negotiated their perceived roles, reconfiguring European cultural practices. Eliza Stack née Jones, when she visited Te Papa in 1858, observed that one of the Māori women who was serving in the house as a parlour maid did not stand but instead sat on the floor.[70] Māori then held influence and agency both outside and within the domestic space of Te Papa mission station.

At Te Papa mission station, missionaries also participated in cultural exchange as they engaged with Māori. Cultural exchange took shape in many forms of daily life, evidenced in behaviours, language and material culture.[71] At the mission station, material culture confirms cultural exchange as the Brown's kept amongst their possessions a wakahuia, which was likely given to Brown as a gift.[72] Te reo Māori also had a significant presence at the mission station, both as the written word and orally contributing to the auditory landscape. Brown wrote to his wife Christina, in 1859, when she was his fiancé, that "you cannot make any prepart, for the duties lying before in mastering the Native Language."[73] Thus, Brown deemed that Christina should master te reo Māori as part of her missionary responsibilities. At Te Papa Mission station Māori culture maintained a visible, tangible, and auditory presence.

Mission station life irrevocably changed for Brown and the local Māori as Te Papa mission station became embroiled in the conflicts of the 1860s Land Wars. In 1863 colonial forces invaded the Waikato. [74] The consequences of this invasion had almost immediate

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[68] Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, The Elms Foundation Archives, Rough Copy Journal, 1843-1844, 11 September 1843, 2006.0907.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, Photocopied material relating to the history of Tauranga, compiled by Alister Matheson, 1826-1971, Extract from 'Jottings from my New Zealand Journal' by Eliza Jones (Mrs J.W. Stack), MS 15U.
[71] Scholarship concerning cross-cultural trade in New Zealand during the nineteenth century, see: Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire,* p. 3-4, 18, 11-112; Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, pp. 126-184; Angela Middleton and Ian Smith, 'Daily Life at Hohi Mission Station', in *Te Rongopai 1814 'Takoto Te Pai!': Bicentenary Reflections on Christian Beginnings and Developments in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. by Allan K. Davidson and others (Auckland: The General Synod Office, "Tuia", of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, 2014), p. 109.
[72] Williams, H. Bradney, *Memories of a Mission House: Being Reminiscences of the Early Days of Tauranga by Miss Alice Maxwell* (Tauranga: The Bay of Plenty Times, 1943), p. 9.
[73] Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, A.N. Brown to Mrs Christina Brown, 1859-1866, Transcript, 1972.0220, 77.5.
[74] Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), pp. 140-44.

repercussions for those living at Te Papa.[75] Following a letter of warning from Wiremu Tamihana, on 29 July 1863, Brown and most of the European population, which numbered 34, left Tauranga on a schooner for Auckland.[76] In Auckland, despite feeling unwell, Brown met twice with the governor, Sir George Grey.[77] Before the year had ended Brown returned to Te Papa in the aim of preserving the property of the mission station.[78] The invasion of the Waikato proved to be a difficult time for clergy who began to take sides.[79] While at Te Papa, Brown continued to communicate with Grey.[80] In his letters, Brown implored for peace– exemplifying the intermediary role missionaries had often played in conflicts before the Land Wars.[81] However, Brown also included a layout of the plan of the pā of Tamihana, revealing his true allegiance, which was also evident as Brown hosted British military personnel on the eve of the battle of Gate Pā.[82] Following the fighting the mission station was flooded with the wounded and Archdeacon Brown had the difficult task of conducting burial services for the fallen on both sides.[83] Missionary alliances with the colonial government forces irrevocably damaged their standing amongst Māori communities and the CMS suffered a heavy decline in following.[84] For Brown, his actions saw decades of Māori support dissipate.[85]

The War in Tauranga resulted in the confiscation of whenua from the local iwi of the district; the legality of those seizures were more than doubtful as confiscations were manufactured by the colonists who were in power.[86] The legacy of those confiscations left a profound cultural, social, political and economic wound for Māori as Judith Binney, Vincent O'Malley and Alan

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[75] Vennell, p. 77.
[76] Vennell, p. 78.
[77] Ibid.
[78] W. H. Gifford and H. Bradney Williams, *A Centennial History of Tauranga* (Dunedin: A.H. and A.W. Reed, for the Tauranga Centennial Committee, 1940), p. 218.
[79] M. P. K. Sorrenson, 'Māori and Pākehā', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Geoffrey W. Rice, 2nd edn (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 157.
[80] Vennell, p. 79; Gifford and Williams, p. 223.
[81] Vennell, p. 79.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Vennell, p. 82-84.
[84] Hirini Kaa explores the Land War's effect on the Māori–Pākehā Church relations: Hirini Kaa, *Te Hāhi Mihinare* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2020), pp. 43, 48-49; Bryan Gilling argument lists the Land Wars as one of the factors that led to the rapid decline of the CMS: Bryan Gilling, 'Caught Between The Mere and The Musket', *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, 1814-1882* ed. Robert Glen (Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand, 1992), pp. 191-92.
[85] Kaa, p. 43.
[86] Judith Binney, Vincent O'Malley and Alan Ward, 'Wars and Survival 1860–1872', in *Tangata Whenua: A History*, ed. by Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), p. 251; Keenan, *Wars without End: Ngā Pakanga Whenua O Mua,* pp. 238-42.

Ward identify, "the confiscation . . . prevented the swift healing of the wounds of battle."[87] The Te Papa block designated as a town settlement for the district, was obtained by the colonial government from the CMS through purchase rather than confiscation.[88] Brown protested the permanent settlement of a large of body of Waikato Military Settlers at Te Papa, a view which was reciprocated by the Parent Committee of the CMS, who assured Brown that they were against the alienation of Tauranga property.[89] However, due to mounting pressure by the Colonial Government, in 1866, Brown, Bishop Williams, Reverand Robert Burrows, and two members of the Land Board agreed that Te Papa estate would be sold to the government on certain conditions.[90] One of these conditions was that the CMS would retain a smaller portion of land including the archdeaconry with its buildings and ten acres of land; this land was increased to 17 acres.[91] Brown wrote to his wife Christina that "I must wait to tell you all about our negotiations for Te Papa but one thing you will be glad to hear that I am to remain in undisturbed possession of our sweet Home."[92]

The sale of land by the CMS to the colonial government brought great moral debate and conflict for the CMS. In his conscience, Brown always believed that the purchase of the land had been with the intention that it should be administrated for the benefit of Māori.[93] The CMS parent committee upheld this view, affirming that the land had been acquired in a 'sacred' and 'solemn' trust for the benefit of Tauranga Māori.[94] Buckling to the Colonial Government's pressure, the sale of Te Papa by the CMS parent committee to the Colonial Government was thus a violation of the original purchase.[95] The war in Tauranga and sale of land contributed to the transformation of the mission station into a private residence and launched the peninsula of Te Papa into a different trajectory as it lead to the establishment of a European

[87] Binney, O'Malley and Ward, p. 251; Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, p. 187.
[88] Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, p. 53.
[89] Vennell, pp. 88-89.
[90] Vennell, p. 89.
[91] Vennell p. 93; though the role of the mission station dissipated, Brown continued to minister to Māori converts, see: Vennell p. 95.
[92] Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, A.N. Brown to Mrs Christina Brown, 1859-1866, Transcript, 1972.0220, 77.24.
[93] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, p. 101.
[94] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, pp. 3-4.
[95] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, pp. 93-102.

township.[96] Considering the sale of the Te Papa Block, O'Malley writes that, "the real losers in all of this, though, were the former owners of Te Papa."[97] O'Malley statement is valid, yet it is wrong to believe that Māori disappeared from the socio-cultural landscape of Te Papa when it became the township of Tauranga, as Māori continued to maintain a physical presence within Pākehā towns and cities.[98]

The period of 1838 to 1887 brought changes to the social, cultural, and environmental landscape of Te Papa. The mission station functioned as a family home, a site of religious conversion and cultural transmission and exchange. Through these years, we trace the development and collapse of the mission station as missionaries aligned with, and yielded to, colonial governmental powers whose visions for Te Papa altered the original purchase of Te Papa peninsula. The chapter on the Aeolian harp builds upon this discussion, considering how the context of Te Papa mission station allows for a greater understanding of the meanings embedded in an object and how, through an object, we may gain an understanding of the textures of past lived experiences within the house museum.[99]

When Reverend Alfred Nesbit Brown died on 7 September 1884, he left The Elms to his widow, Christina, who died some years later, on 26 June 1887.[100] In her will Christina bequeathed the property to her niece Alice Maxwell with a life interest to Euphemia Maxwell provided they lived at The Elms.[101] Later that year, Euphemia and her daughters left Wadestown, Wellington and began their residency at The Elms.[102] Thus, began the Maxwell women's tenancy.

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[96] O'Malley adds that it is unclear whether the money gained from those purchases was ever used for the benefit of Māori. He also writes, suggesting that the CMS felt a prick of conscience, that in 1876 the CMS issued orders that the sale of land in Tauranga was to stop, see: O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, p. 93.
[97] O'Malley, *Te Papa Block*, p. 106.
[98] Ben Schrader, *The Big Smoke New Zealand Cities, 1840-1920* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), pp. 164-165
[99] Regarding the value of material culture as evidence to the past, see: Mark M. Smith, 'Sound—So What?', *The Public Historian,* 37.4 (2015), 132-144 (p. 133).
[100] Vennell, pp. 95, 99.
[101] For further information about Christina Brown's will, see: Vennell, p. 99; Alice Maxwell's first visit occurred shortly after the Battle of Gate Pā in 1864. On her last visit to The Elms Alice stayed for 14 months. During that stay, she spent much of her time absorbing the stories of her uncle's life and the mission station see: Vennell p. 102.
[102] Vennell, p. 99.

The Maxwell Women at The Elms, 1887 to circa 1920

The Maxwell women arrived at The Elms in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. After the death of her husband in 1865, some six months later, Euphemia with her children moved to New Zealand. She resided in Wadestown, Wellington, for many years until the will of Christina in 1887 obligated Euphemia and her daughters to make their home at The Elms.[103] Euphemia and her daughters, Alice and Edith, arrived in Tauranga after The Land Wars. The War in Tauranga had caused a dramatic social shift as Tauranga developed from a military settlement to a township.[104] This section examines the lives of the Maxwell women at The Elms in the context of that changing social and cultural landscape. One of the changes was the unsettlement of Māori. Barbara Brookes, writing of the period between the 1840s to 1870s, has argued that the processes of settling Pākehā families involved the unsettling of Māori whānau. [105] When examining the lives of the Maxwell women in Tauranga in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there is a similar pattern as the Pākehā settlement resulted in the unsettlement of Māori.

Euphemia Maxwell was the widow of a Presbyterian minister. Euphemia Ballingall Maxwell, née Johnston, was born in Aberdeen Scotland, on 27 August 1829.[106] Euphemia married Andrew Maxwell in 1852, and the couple departed from Scotland to Australia.[107] They lived at Armidale in New South Wales and then Kilmore, Victoria.[108] Alice Maxwell was born at Kilmore on 4 October 1860.[109] Five years later Andrew died and Euphemia became a widow at the age of 45 with four children under her care—Ebenezer, Andrew, Edith and Alice.[110] With encouragement from her brother, Judge Alexander J. Johnston, Euphemia made the decision

[103] Vennell, p. 99-101.
[104] Gifford and Williams, pp. 239, 263; by the 1890s the Europeans population outnumbered Māori 14 to one, this imbalance resulted in Pākehā dominating race relations: Sorrenson, 'Māori and Pākehā', p. 141
[105] Brookes, pp. 56-81.
[106] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan*, p. 28.
[107] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan,* p. 18.
[108] Vennell, p. 100.
[109] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan,* p. 29.
[110] Vennell, p. 100.

to move her family to New Zealand.[111] In Wadestown, Wellington, Euphemia purchased the property Fernhill and lived there with her family for 22 years, before moving to Tauranga.[112]

When the Maxwell women arrived at The Elms, much of the Te Papa Block was functioning as the township of Tauranga. Ben Schrader notes that British colonialism played a particularly visible role in the makeup of Pākehā towns and cities.[113] Settlers marginalised Māori from growing towns at a physical, geographical, cultural and social level.[114] Despite such marginalisation, Māori continued to exert a presence that countered racial prejudices.[115] In the Tauranga township on the Strand there was set a Native Reserve, on which there was built a "Maori Hostelry".[116] Hostelries were created in towns because Pākehā establishments racistly refused to accept Māori guests.[117] Bi-cultural relations, that had been so visible in the mission station, were increasingly contained and limited as Tauranga became an increasingly Pākehā space. The use of Te Papa Block had also been thoroughly altered from Brown's original intention—that the land was used for the benefit of Māori.

It took some convincing for Euphemia to move from Wadestown to Tauranga. While Tauranga was declared a borough in 1882, it still did not have the luxuries and comforts of the Wellington lifestyle that Euphemia Maxwell had grown accustomed to.[118] Tauranga, furthermore, offered Euphemia less opportunity to mingle with the social elite.[119] While there was a looseness around social distinctions in New Zealand, distinctions did exist within Pākehā New Zealand society, as there were still people who strove to maintain, or achieve, a higher

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[111] Vennell, p. 100.
[112] For six months, Euphemia and her children lived with her brother, Judge Alexander James Johnston, at his home in Tinakori road before she moved her family to Fernhill: Vennell, pp. 100-101.
[113] Schrader, pp. 166, 180.
[114] Erin Keenan, 'Māori Urban Migrations and Identities: Ko Ngā Iwi Nuku Whenua: A Study of Urbanisation in the Wellington Region during the Twentieth Century' (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2014) <https://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/3576> [accessed 3 July 2022], p. 77.
[115] Schrader, pp. 164-65.
[116] For a list of lots selected as native reserves see: Stokes, *Te Raupatu O Tauranga Moana,* 1, pp. 208, 251.
[117] Schrader, p. 190.
[118] Gifford and Williams, p. 344; Vennell, p. 105.
[119] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan*, p. 28.

status.[120] Gentility was a cultural practice that afforded individuals a sense of status.[121] Euphemia certainly positioned herself as genteel; Mrs E. M. Stewart remarked of Euphemia:

> We called their (Edith and Alice) mother 'Lady' Maxwell, but I do not think she really was titled. She was just like Queen Victoria. She wore beautiful silk dresses . . . She always held over her head a lovely little frilled parasol, and would sit straight on her seat in the carriage.[122]

Euphemia's public lifestyle demonstrated a desire to exhibit and assert a sense of identity that was in keeping with the status of the cultural elites. In the chapter on Euphemia's crazy quilt, I argue that this domestic furnishing is evidence of her display of status within the private sphere.

The Maxwell women's lives demonstrate women's participation not only in the domestic sphere but also in the public sphere. The suffrage movement of the late nineteenth century resulted in women attaining the vote.[123] Alice Maxwell was involved in the movement as a signatory in the Women's Suffrage Petition that was presented to Parliament in 1893.[124] However, Raewyn Dalziel has argued that advocates of women's suffrage in New Zealand were not seeking to take women out of the home, but rather they wished for political rights recognising the worth of women as a moral force within the family unit.[125] Thus, Alice's involvement in the public sphere may be understood as, not so much as an attempt to resist societal gender norms but rather a participation in suitable pursuits for her gender and status.

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[120] Jim McAloon, 'Class in Colonial New Zealand: Towards a Historiographical Rehabilitation', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 38.1 (2004), 3-21; Frances Porter, Charlotte Macdonald and Tui MacDonald, *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates: The Unsettled Lives of Women in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand as Revealed to Sisters, Family and Friends* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996), p. 151; Erik Olssen, 'Towards a New Society', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Geoffrey W. Rice, 2nd edn (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 272-273; James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), p. 126.

[121] Sarah Hayes, 'Gentility in the Dining and Tea Service Practices of Early Colonial Melbourne's 'Established Middle Class'', *Australasian Historical Archaeology: Journal of The Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology,* 29 (2011), 33-34; Linda Young, ''Extensive, Economical and Elegant': The Habitus of Gentility in Early Nineteenth Century Sydney', *Australian Historical Studies,* 36.124 (2004), 201-220; Linda Young, 'Gentility A Historical Context for the Material Culture of the Table in the 'Long 19th Century', 1780–1915', in *Table Settings: The Material Culture and Social Context of Dining, Ad 1700-1900*, ed. by James Symonds (United States: Oxbow Books, 2010), pp. 133–43.

[122] E. M. Stewart, 'Memories of 'The Camp'', *Journal of the Tauranga Historical Society,* 16.1 (1963), 15-20 (p. 17).

[123] Brookes, pp. 131-133.

[124] 'Women and The Vote Page 6 – Women's Suffrage Petition', *New Zealand History Nga Korero a Ipurangi o Aotearoa* (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2018) <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/womens-suffrage/petition?field_original_sheet_no_value=&field_surname_0_value=maxwell&field_consistent_town_suburb_value=&field_consistent_city_region_value=> [accessed 17 July 2022]

[125] Dalziel, p. 120.

In the chapter on Alice's woodcarving, I consider the social implications underlying Alice's woodwork and her display of her craftwork in a public leisure pursuit. This analysis points to the more cautious shifts in societal attitudes concerning women outside the home, echoing Dalziel's findings.

As Tauranga's cultural and social landscape altered, so too did the natural environment of The Elms. In his report, *The Elms Garden Conservation Plan,* John P. Adam marks several different phases of distinct changes.[126] The 'Reform Garden' was a phase which occurred during the Maxwell women's residency.[127] It was in the planting and landscaping of the 'Reform Garden' that there was an emphasis on indigenous flora.[128] Particularly during the late nineteenth century, Pākehā society developed a more noticeable attitude toward ecological awareness for the preservation and conservation of indigenous species.[129] The appreciation of indigenous flora also merged with settlers' conceptualisation of 'belonging.'[130] Kynan Gentry writes that Pākehā identification with the indigenous New Zealand environment was a result of the declining view of the indigenous natural landscape as alien, and because Pākehā felt that both the landscape and Māori were acquiescent to Pākehā authority.[131] The chapter of Alice's woodcarvings continues to delve into the historical discussions and debates of ecological awareness and notions of 'settler belonging' during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This chapter recognises that such craftwork points to the complicated makings of home as second-generation settler colonists found an attachment to the environment as the social landscape altered.

The Maxwell women's lives highlight the presence of Pākehā understandings of class and gender roles as Tauranga's social landscape shifted through the development of a colonial town. The changes to The Elms' natural landscape were also tied to the history of New Zealand's social and cultural shifts with the development of Pākehā centric spaces. The

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[126] Adam, p. 42.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Adam. p. 43.
[129] Paul Star, 'Humans and the Environment in New Zealand, C.1800 to 2000', in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 47-70.
[130] Star, pp. 56; Peter Gibbons, 'The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 37.1 (2003), pp. 7-8.
[131] Kynan Gentry, *History, Heritage, and Colonialism: Historical Consciousness, Britishness, and Cultural Identity in New Zealand, 1870–1940*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 59-61.

chapter on Euphemia's quilt reflects on a settler's handiwork as an embodiment of British imperial cultural and social norms. This chapter also addresses the way in which land appropriated by colonists supported the practices of imperial ideologies and trends during the nineteenth century. The chapter on Alice's wood carved picture frame explores how such craftwork reveals the more conservative involvement of women in communal public leisure. Through the wooden picture frame, we can also understand the links between an item within the house and the changes in the natural environment, which developed as Pākehā colonial culture 'settled' within the landscape.

Alice Maxwell opens The Elms to Visitors, circa 1920s to 1949

Alice Maxwell began the journey that led to The Elms becoming The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Some years following the death of her mother, in 1919, Alice began to open The Elms to public visitors.[132] The house then took on a new shape where it existed both as a private domestic home and as a public historic site. I do not explore this period of Alice's life in the discussion of Alice's picture frame; however, it is an important aspect in understanding the gradual transformation of The Elms from a residential house to a public historic space. Alice opened her home to single or group visitors; through accounts of those experiences, we get a sense that these occasions were relaxed rather than heavily organised. By considering the stories that Alice told, we can see underlying narratives around nation-making and "the hero's house." The narrative of "the hero" or "the great man" Linda Young attests, is commonly found in house museums as practitioners focus on the story of a male figure who played a significant role in national culture.[133] Yet, there are also elements in her storytelling that illustrate the nuances in her interpretation.

In the recorded visits by guests to The Elms, we see a narrative emerge that emphasises the work of missionaries and Brown in particular. The focus on Brown, and the desire to preserve

[132] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan*, p. 25-6

[133] Linda Young, 'House Museums Are Not All the Same! Understanding Motivation to Guide Conservation', in *The Artifact, Its Context and Their Narrative: Multidisciplinary Conservation in Historic House Museums*, ed. by International Council of Museums-Committee for Conservation (ICOM-CC) and the Committee for Historic House Museums (DEMHIST) (Los Angeles: ICOM-CC and DEMHIST, 2012), pp. 3-4.

The Elms as a part of his legacy, is a framing of history typically depicted in house museums.[134] In 1942, H. Bradney Williams published a transcript of six interviews between himself and Alice Maxwell. Williams conducted the interviews on behalf of the National Broadcasting Service.[135] When discussing the events around Gate Pā with Williams, Alice remarked:

> I feel that it is my duty to place these on record whilst opportunity still serves, so that as full a memorial as possible may remain of those brave pioneers from whom descend so many of the gallant men who today are striving strenuously on widely scattered battlefields to uphold the standard of liberty and freedom of thought.[136]

The language used, with the term "brave pioneers", harks to the eulogising nation-making tone of house museums.[137] Indeed, many houses that became museums could be linked to nation-making narratives.[138] Of house museums, Linda Young writes that they act as a "deliberate channelling of the culture of private life into the grand narratives of nation."[139] Thus, the history of The Elms history was framed within a narrative of nation-making by Pākehā colonists.

The focus on Brown is also somewhat reflective of the usual male-centric interpretation of house museums. Kim Christensen notes the irony of house museums, as while the focus was often centred on the male head of the house, the house was typically a space attributed to women.[140] "Thus, the image of the past presented at house museums," Christensen writes "centred on the domestic surroundings of a significant family, while the interpretive significance was . . . of the 'great man.'"[141] However, despite a focus on the "great man" that

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[134] Jeanice Brooks and Wiebke Thormählen, 'Introduction', in *Sound Heritage: Making Music Matter in Historic Houses*, ed. by Matthew Stephens, Jeanice Brooks and Wiebke Thormählen (London: Routledge, 2022) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9780429281327> [accessed 9 August], p. 9.
[135] Williams, *Memories of a Mission House,* p. 1.
[136] Williams, *Memories of a Mission House,* p. 5.
[137] Alexander Trapeznik, 'Dismissing the Staff: Domestic Servants and a Historic House in Dunedin, New Zealand', *Journal of New Zealand Studies,* 34.1 (2022), 36-48 (p. 38).
[138] Margaret Ponsonby, *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850* (London: Ashgate, 2007), p. 165; Mallory Allyson Richard, 'The Colonial Past as "Usable History"', in *Beyond Pedagogy: Reconsidering the Public Purpose of Museums*, ed. by Brenda Trofanenko and Avner Segall (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2014), p. 37; Linda Young, 'Preserving Public History', in *A Companion to Public History,* ed. by David Dean (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2018) <10.1002/9781118508930.ch23> [accessed 9 June 2022], p. 332.
[139] Young, 'House Museums Are Not All the Same!', p. 1.
[140] Kim Christensen, 'Ideas Versus Things: The Balancing Act of Interpreting Historic House Museums', *International Journal of Heritage Studies: IJHS,* 17.2 (2011), 153-168 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1080/13527258.2011.541068> [accessed 22 April 2022] (p. 159).
[141] Christensen, p. 159.

did not mean that visitors only gleaned a knowledge about Brown alone. Through the vast array of material culture at The Elms, Alice also shared stories about her mother, Euphemia. Such discussions were arguably somewhat ahead of their time, suggestive of an interpretation of the house that drew on the themes of social history, which saw women become a more significant part of the museum narrative.[142] Thus, Alice's stories also diverged from the common narrative, as she drew visitors' attention to the life of a woman at the site.

The accounts of guests retelling their visits to The Elms convey the evocative power of the museum experience. Kathleen Hawkin's piece 'Some Memories of Alice Maxwell' provides a synopsis of several comprised visits to The Elms:

> All around her were the things she treasured as the visible links with a past for which she had such a dignified pride . . . It was impossible to talk with her for long without realising which two amongst her personal treasures were most precious to her, as representing the two most dominant influences in her life, Archdeacon Brown, and her mother.[143]

Another visitor recorded their experience in 1943:

> We take as our link with those bygone days, a little inlaid box. The night outside is wild . . . the lamps [inside] are softly shaded, and shadowy forms seem to fill the room as each memory is recalled.[144]

These accounts highlight the memorial and emotive power that the museum can evoke. Memory, and the connection between memory and material culture, are subjects beyond the scope of this thesis. However, what emerges through the visitors' recounts of their experience is that they experienced the past intellectually and affectively.[145]

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[142] Linda Young, 'A Woman's Place Is in the House . . . Museum: Interpreting Women's Histories in House Museums', *Open Museum Journal,* 5.1 (2002), 1-24 (p. 3).
[143] Kathleen Hawkins, 'Some Memories of Miss Alice Maxwell', *Journal of the Tauranga Historical Society,* 6.1 (1956), 17-20 (pp. 17-18).
[144] The interviewer is anonymous, what is known is that they were a member of the Tauranga Historical Society, and their authenticity was vouched for by the president of the Society: 'Reminiscence: Miss Alice Maxwell', *Journal of the Tauranga Historical Society,* 23.1 (1965), 33-35, (p. 33).
[145] For discussions of museum experience as more than intellectual engagement, see: Sue Hodges, '#Fake History: The State of Heritage Interpretation', in *What Is Public History Globally?: Working with the Past in the Present*, ed. by Paul Ashton and Alexander Trapeznik (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), p. 306; Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.195-236.

The tradition of The Elms as a museum began with narratives of the "great man" and eulogising tones of nation-making. Yet, there were also distinctive elements of Alice's interpretation as she acknowledged the female presence within the house and created a dynamic experience for visitors. This work considers how sensory characteristics of objects can have an impact on contemporary visitors of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga's engagement with the past. This approach is, arguably, reminiscent of Alice Maxwell's interpretation where history was relayed beyond the intellectual.

Duff Maxwell's life at The Elms and the start of The Elms Trust, 1949 to 1997

Alice Maxwell died on 24 July 1949, leaving The Elms to her nephew Duff Maxwell.[146] Following Alice's death, Duff, his wife Gertrude, along with their children, moved into The Elms.[147] Duff Maxwell lived at The Elms from 1949 to 1991, during the period between 1991-1997 The Elms Trust became responsible for the property.[148] Duff Maxwell significantly contributed to the development of The Elms as a historic site, particularly as through his work The Elms Trust came into being.

Duff Maxwell was the son of Ebenezer Maxwell, Euphemia's son, and Alice and Edith's brother.[149] Duff was born in 1903 at Rahotu in Taranaki; his first visit to The Elms was for his christening.[150] As Duff visited The Elms throughout his childhood, he developed a strong connection with the place; it was a great disappointment then when he learnt that his aunt, Alice, first willed the house to his brother. Fortunately, Duff's brother Grant, on hearing about the will, convinced Alice to change it, as he informed her that she should not depend on him to keep the property.[151] Duff held great regard for The Elms. During his tenancy, he continued

[146] Vennell, p. 119.
[147] Vennell, pp. 114, 119.
[148] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan*, p. 38.
[149] Vennell, p. 112.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Vennell, pp. 11-112.

to develop Alice's legacy by working towards establishing a legally recognised historic site and trust.

Between 1951 and 1952, Duff Maxwell began to formulate the idea of establishing a trust.[152] Though members of The Historic Places Trust, and Duff's lawyers, were rather aloof about the idea, Duff eventually managed to have The Elms Historic Family Home Preservation Trust Inc. (The Elms Trust for short) registered on the 10 of August 1962.[153] The following year the Mission House (the main residential house) and Library were classified with an A status under Section 35 (1) (a) of the Historic Places Act 1980 while the outbuildings received a D status.[154] In 1993, The New Zealand Historic Places Trust (NZHPT) reduced the number of classifications; The Mission House and Library were listed in Category 1 and the outbuilding were respectively placed within Category 2.[155] In the same year, alongside these protections, the property was also listed as a Historic Area on the Historic Places Trust Register.[156]

Throughout Duff's occupancy, buildings were renovated and added to The Elms. Duff intended that these buildings would add to the historical character of the site. One example was the replica of Völkner's cottage which Duff began to build in 1969.[157] In 1972 Fencible Cottage was gifted by L. J. Dickson, who was the first representative of NZHPT on The Elms Trust committee.[158] While Völkner's cottage was intended by Duff to be used as a dwelling, Duff determined that the Fencible Cottage should be decorated in period style and used for social

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[152] Vennell, p. 119.
[153] Vennell, p. 119-120.
[154] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan*, p. 36.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.
[157] The building was never completed, and while The Elms Foundation did renovate it, the building was eventually sold: *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan,* p. 78; Elisabeth Stegen, *Interview with Julie Green*, audio recording, 13 June 2022; the idea of a lived-in cottage is similar to the conceptualisations of lived-in museums which are beyond the scope of this discussion. For a reading of these museums see: Sandra M. Shafernich, 'On-Site Museums, Open-Air Museums, Museum Villages and Living History Museums: Reconstructions and Period Rooms in the United States and the United Kingdom', *Museum Management and Curatorship (1990),* 12.1 (1993), 43-61.
[158] Vennell p. 130; *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan*, p. 159.

purposes and as a waiting, or reading, room for visitors.[159] The accumulation of buildings was inspired by the popular idea, during the 1960s-1970s, of creating a museum village.[160] Such spaces helped to develop a historical awareness of the value of vernacular buildings and common places.[161] However, museum villages were also characterised by national foundation myths, celebrating particularly rural communities comprising of white "pioneering" settlers.[162] This work does not afford an in-depth discussion of Duff's vision of a historical village in comparison to the broader themes and narratives circulating historical villages. However, it suggests that narratives of nation-making underpinned the site's development.

Taking on Alice's legacy, Duff would often give tours and talks to visitors. Duff Maxwell's granddaughter Julie Green, who also lived at The Elms during the 1960s and 1970s, remarked on the rather unusual museum experience:

> It actually became quite awkward, if we were sitting there having a meal, or knitting, or playing games because there was often a lot of children in the house, my granny had lots of children, given that they had 15 grandchildren. So, we just kind of learnt to carry on with what we were doing, and Grandad would just talk and point things out and the visitors would try not to intrude.[163]

This description captures the unconventional museum experience particular to The Elms. Visitors, thus, encountered a historic space that was very different from the dry and emotionless state which often characterises house museums.[164] Those visitors, therefore,

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[159] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan*, p. 159; Duff inclination to exhibit the empty Fencible Cottage in a period style arguably suggests a wish to maintain in some degree an aura of authenticity of the era. Regarding authenticity and historic preservation see: Jillian M. Rickly-Boyd, ''It's Supposed to Be 1863, But It's Really Not': Inside the Representation and Communication of Heritage at a Pioneer Village', *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 21.9 (2015), 889-904; Anna Venturini, 'Constructions of Authenticity at Scottish Historic House Museums', *Collections (Walnut Creek, Calif.),* 16.2 (2020), 139-161; Randolph Starn, 'Authenticity and Historic Preservation: Towards an Authentic History', *History of The Human Sciences,* 15.1 (2002), 1-16.

[160] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan*, p. 58; Linda Young, That Never Were: The Museum Village as a Heritage Genre', *International Journal of Heritage Studies: IJHS,* 12.4 (2006), 321-38 (p. 321).

[161] Young, 'Villages That Never Were', p. 335.

[162] Young, 'Villages That Never Were', p. 321; Kate Darian-Smith and David Nichols ''How Our Forebears Lived': The Modern Nation, Its Folklore and 'Living' Heritage in Twentieth-Century Australia', *Australian Geographer,* 49.1 (2018), 199-217.

[163] Stegen, *Interview with Julie Green*, 07:08.

[164] Franklin D. Vagnone, Deborah E. Ryan and Olivia B. Cothren, *Anarchist's Guide to Historic House Museums* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2016), p. 35.

experienced the past alongside the living present which perhaps created an authentic glimpse of the realness of domestic life on the site.

A recorded interview by Graham Burkett allows us to hear some of Duff's stories.[165] Duff spoke of Reverend Alfred Nesbit Brown, his missionary work, and the mission station. Duff also reflected on the life of the Maxwell women and their financial hardships.[166] While his conversation with Beckett highlighted "the great man", we also see a development of social historical themes with Duff's acknowledgement of the lives, and particularly the work, of the female occupants. Yet, these accounts did not necessarily address the broader social context, which, Trapeznik argues, is an aspect needed in house museums as this extends the public's historical consciousness.[167]

Duff Maxwell continued Alice's legacy. Duff expanded on the social historical narratives, which Alice began, by incorporating the stories about women and highlighting the histories of labour and economic struggle. The architectural development, and establishment of The Elms Trust, again points to the transition of the site from a private residence to a public historic space. Yet, as the house still functioned as a domestic sphere, this afforded visitors a unique experience of the past.

The Elms Foundation and the Transition of The Elms to The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, 1998 to 2023

When Duff Maxwell died in 1997, ownership of The Elms was transferred to The Elms Foundation.[168] Fully transformed into a house museum, exhibition designer Chris Currie, in 2003, was engaged in creating signage for the main residential building, library and across the garden, which highlighted different histories of the site.[169] Currie, was also commissioned with the design of the rooms, choosing the material culture and layout for each room.[170] In 2016

[165] Graham Burkett, *Interview with A. Duff Maxwell*, online audio recording, Tauranga City Libraries Pae Korokī, 8 February 1989 <https://paekoroki.tauranga.govt.nz/nodes/view/20924> [accessed 9/08/2023]
[166] Burkett.
[167] Ibid.
[168] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan*, p. 201.
[169] Email Correspondence with The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga manager, April 13 2022.
[170] Ibid.

the brand logo underwent a change becoming The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga instead of The Elms. The intention for the name was to recognise "the Church Missionary Society period, but also acknowledge Tangata Whenua and the post-Mission period as well." [171] The Elms Foundation has advanced the interpretations at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, exhibiting the unique stories that are the part of the site's history.

The current interpretation of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga highlights the various shifts of ownership across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Rather than a sole focus on the Browns, particularly Archdeacon Brown, signage throughout the site highlights the Maxwell women, Duff Maxwell and his wife, Gertrude. The inclusion of the generations of people who lived at the site as a part of the narrative is a characteristic notable of this museum's history, beginning with Alice Maxwell and then Duff Maxwell. While house museums have two histories, this can be separated into three: that of the historically significant period, the period of survival, and the house museum itself.[172] Focusing on all three periods occasionally can disrupt preconceptions of what history is thought to be of the greatest importance.[173] By The Elms Foundation interpreting the site across all the different stages of residential ownership has allowed for a greater range of voices to be heard, particularly through a social history approach.

As a lens by which to explore the history of the house museum, social history has particularly resulted in a shift of gaze to consider those from below.[174] House museums have often been critiqued for the dismissal of 'others', for example, the stories of people of colour, women, and minority populations that are also a part of the house's history.[175] However, practitioners have made progress towards greater revision of such narratives.[176] Linda Young writes that a social history framing has led to "inroads into the hero-worshipping style of heroes' house

[171] 'Brand Story', *The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga,* <https://theelms.org.nz/media/> [accessed 15 April 2022].
[172] Gavin Mclean, ''It's History Jim but Not as We Know It': Historians and the New Zealand Heritage Industry', in *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips (Auckland: Auckland University Press 2001), p. 165.
[173] Mclean, ''It's History Jim but Not as We Know It'', p. 165.
[174] Ponsonby, pp. 175, 185; Neil Galway, 'Heritage as a Vessel of Transformative Values in Post-Conflict States?', *Heritage for Future,* 1.3 (2016), 81-92.
[175] Franklin D. Vagnone, Deborah E. Ryan and Olivia B. Cothren, *Anarchist's Guide to Historic House Museums* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2016), p. 140.
[176] Vagnone, Ryan and Cothren, p. 140; Ponsonby, p. 176; Patricia West, 'Interpreting Women's History at Male-Focused House Museums', *CRM [Cultural Resource Management, US National Park Service],* 20.3 (1997), 8-9; Trapeznik, 'Dismissing the Staff', pp. 36-48.

museums."[177] Indeed, Franklin Vagnone, Deborah Ryan and Olivia Cothren, writing of house museums, advocate for practitioners to "expand the cast of characters in the narrative."[178] Through such an approach, the house museum, Vagnone, Ryan and Cothren argue, may achieve greater cultural diversification and relevancy.[179]

As noted, at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, the cast of characters has expanded with rooms focused on the different figures who have lived at the site. Yet, the story of Brown is still very much presented in light of his public achievements. As to the Maxwell women, while guides talk about their economic struggles, this story feels disconnected to the aesthetic 'tasteful' belongings on display.[180] These individuals were also part of the more elite classes of New Zealand's Pākehā society. Thus, the interpretation of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga may be developed to look further below. For example, labourers and servants do not receive the same emphasis. Māori are visible in the story of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, particularly in the library. Here, photographs and material culture, as well as signage, largely speak to the presence of Māori in relation to the history of The Land Wars. However, there is no great focus on the stories of Māori who lived on the site. Thus, there is space to tell more complicated histories of the Other and those from below.[181] While this study examines the histories of individuals who are particularly visible in The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, I take the opportunity to complicate these stories by considering the private lives of these individuals in the context of New Zealand's imperial history.

[177] Linda Young, 'All About House Museums', in *Sound Heritage: Making Music Matter in Historic Houses*, ed. by Jeanice Brooks, Matthew Stephens and Wiebke Thormählen (London: Routledge, 2022) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9780429281327> [accessed 9 August 2022], p. 48.
[178] Vagnone, Ryan and Cothren, p. 140.
[179] Vagnone, Ryan and Cothren, p. 141.
[180] Regarding social critique of taste see: Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).
[181] See Edward Said's concept of the 'other': Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage book, 1979).

Post-colonial analysis and scholars of imperial studies have also done much to reshape and rethink the narratives presented in public history.[182] In 2018, the Anglican Church made an apology to Ngā Iwi o Tauranga Moana, whanui tonu, the collective of local tāngata whenua and, in particular, ngā hapū of Ngāi Tamarawaho and Ngāti Tapu regarding the sale of the land by the CMS to the colonial government.[183] The Elms Foundation has made increased efforts to establish a more bi-cultural focus and acknowledgement of the history of Ngā Iwi o Tauranga Moana through the exhibit of the TECT Heritage Garden and rebranding.[184]

The Elms Foundation has sought to relay the presence of Māori in the history of the site is through The Elms TECT Heritage Garden, comprising a garden and pavilion, which opened on 15 February 2020.[185] The garden design is an adaption of landscape designer John Claudius Loudon's work, as they are books included in Brown's library.[186] As a bicultural design, the garden also includes both indigenous and introduced flora.[187] Master carver, Whare Thompson and architect Justin Matthews worked on the design of the pavilion, they intended that the carvings and overall architectural structure relay the historical presence of Māori and the missionaries at the mission station.[188] The TECT Heritage Garden functions as the starting

[182] Vagnone, Ryan and Cothren, pp. 138-141; Young, 'Villages That Never Were' pp. 321-38; John Giblin, Imma Ramos and Nikki Grout, 'Dismantling the Master's House: Thoughts on Representing Empire and Decolonising Museums and Public Spaces in Practice an Introduction', *Third Text,* 33.4-5 (2019), 471-486; Mallory Allyson, 'The Colonial Past as 'Usable History'', in *Beyond Pedagogy: Reconsidering the Public Purpose of Museums*, ed. by Brenda Trofanenko and Avner Segall (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2014), pp. 37-56; Tony Ballantyne, 'Toppling the Past?: Statues, Public Memory and the Afterlife of Empire in Contemporary New Zealand', *Public History Review,* 28 (2021), 1-8; Jesmael Mataga, Dawson Munjeri and Thomas Panganayi Thondhlana, 'Museum Diversity in Africa: Museums, Related Exhibitionary Institutions and Non-State Players', in *Independent Museums and Culture Centres in Colonial and Post-Colonial Zimbabwe: Non-State Players, Local Communities, and Self-Representation,* ed. by Jesmael Mataga, Dawson Munjeri and Thomas Panganayi Thondhlana (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), pp. 1-36.

[183] [Anonymous] 'Apology to Tauranga Moana Iwi', *Waiapu News* 80 (2018), pp. 1-20.

[184] Conversation with manager; [Anonymous] 'Re-Brand of the Elms | Te Papa Tauranga', *The Elms Te Papa* (2017), 1-8 (pp. 4-5); [Anonymous] 'Apology to Tauranga Moana Iwi', pp. 5-9; In late 2016, The Elms Foundation decided to update the brand logo so that it would acknowledge the mission period, post-mission period, and tangata whenua see: 'Brand Story', *The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga,* <https://theelms.org.nz/media/> [accessed 15 April 2022] (para. 1 of 6).

[185] Fiona Kean, 'The Elms Tect Heritage Garden', *Tauranga Historical Society* (2020) <http://taurangahistorical.blogspot.com/2020/03/the-elms-tect-heritage-garden.html> [accessed 1 May 2022] (para. 1 of 4)

[186] Kean.

[187] Kean.

[188] Kean; Rosalie Liddle, 'Celtic Knots, Wharaki and a Dragon', *SunLive - The Bay's News First* (14/06/2020) <https://sunlive.co.nz/news/245088-celtic-knots-wharaki-and-dragon.html> [accessed 25 July 2022].

point of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga's tour.[189] In this manner, Māori culture maintains a presence within the contemporary museum interpretation.

Scholars of sensory museology have also challenged museological practices by claiming that the senses may contribute to the museum experience. [190] House museums–unlike conventional museums–tend not to display items within the confines of a glass case.[191] The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga follows a similar tradition; however, access within the rooms tends to be more restricted with a cord at the entrance of the room resulting in the reinforcement of look, don't touch. While the visual element remains a prominent part of the museum interpretation, sound has also played a role. A radio plays a piano piece when visitors stand by the drawing room, allowing them to imagine Euphemia playing.[192] Previously, there was also a pair of phones which, when a visitor picked up the receiver, they would hear Duff Maxwell speaking in a recorded interview. Thus, The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga has tentatively included the senses as a means by which to contribute to a more engaging experience. Through the discussion of the harp's sound, the role of the sense of touch in the making of Euphemia's quilt, and the touch and smell of Alice's wood frame, this thesis continues to explore the power of the senses in creating a museum experience where the past is accessed beyond just sight.

The Elms Foundation has demonstrated that new trajectories into the past can inject life into the house museum. In 2018, The Elms Foundation hosted The Rooms exhibition, which sought to "breathe new life into the city's heritage masterpiece."[193] Various New Zealand artists were asked to contribute to the exhibition; artists were each allocated a room in which they could create an exhibit that featured their artistic work inspired by the site's history. These installations conveyed various, often less visible stories, such as John Roy's installation in which he sought to transform the drawing room into a "cast of characters who each represent the many people whose stories did not make it into the history books." [194] Of particular

[189] 'The Elms', *TECT* <https://www.tect.org.nz/blog/post/48771/The-Elms/> [accessed 12 May 2022].
[190] Rachel Baker and Patricia Smithen, 'Conversation in the Twenty-First Century', in *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction*, ed. by Janet Marstine (Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 102; David Howes, 'Introduction to Sensory Museology', *The Senses & Society,* 9.3 (2014), 259-267.
[191] Kate Hill, 'Collecting Authenticity', *Museum History Journal,* 4.2 (2011), 203-222 (p. 214).
[192] Stegen, *Interview with Julie Green.*
[193] [Anonymous] *The Rooms* (Tauranga: The Elms Foundation, 2018), p. 3.
[194] [Anonymous] *The Rooms,* p. 14.

relevance to this thesis is the work by textile artist Vita Cochrane, who was allocated the main bedroom and based her display around Euphemia's crazy quilt.[195] Cochrane created textile labels that conveyed the story of Euphemia's life. The use of embroidered fabric panels was important for Cochrane as she remarked that "the medium gave the story a little bit of softness and warmth, it's her medium . . . so it felt appropriate that I was using the medium of embroidering fabric to tell her story."[196] Cochrane's exhibition also enabled greater access and freedom for visitors to move about the main room. Thus, The Rooms exhibition indicates The Elms Foundation's openness to reimagining the interpretive approaches and narratives within the site.

The Elms Foundation recognises that there is room for more stories, and new ways for stories to be conveyed, at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Through an architectural installation surrounded by flora, the story of cultural exchange is literally interwoven. While through The Room's exhibition, visitors engaged with history through artistic interpretations. The artists did not seek to recreate an authentic, in regard to historically accurate, domestic spaces. Instead, informed by the site's history, the artists created atmospheres through the material culture and space that enabled a rethinking of both the stories of the site and the way in which we engage with history in the house museum. This work expands on The Elms Foundation's efforts by similarly examining how the histories of Brown's Aeolian harp, Euphemia's quilt and Alice's picture frame may contribute to the development of more complicated storytelling.

Conclusion

This chapter began with Schlereth's quote that house museums possess at least two histories, that of its existence as a residence and its history as a house museum.[197] This chapter has charted the journey of those two histories as the history of the house and the history of the house museum intertwined, with the former giving way to the latter. Tracing the history of the house and the house museum throughout the decades allows us to understand the

[195] Elisabeth Stegen, *Interview with Vita Cochrane*, audio recording, 11 July 2022.
[196] Stegen, *Interview Vita Cochrane.*
[197] Schlereth, p. 115.

development of the museum. By examining the different eras of the site, we can recognise some of the silences and opportunities to rethink the museum's interpretation and narratives. Jeanice Brooks and Wiebke Thormählen write that "unlike the museum as a purpose-built space, the house museum does not suffer from the contextual void."[198] This chapter has argued that at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, there is a rich and deep history which provides the context of this museum. There is an opportunity to understand the domestic space, where the lives of private individuals are framed by intertwining threads of social, cultural, and even environmental histories. While the stories are not limited particularly to Archdeacon Brown; there are still histories that have not received the same attention, such as those of servants. The Elms Foundation may also consider greater inclusion of the perspective of te ao Māori in which a history can be conveyed that begins before the mission station and continues after its demise. While there are silences, the stories that are already a part of the museum can also be more critically analysed. The following chapters highlight the complicated narratives that can be a part of the museum's stories through an analysis of the possessions of Brown, Euphemia and Alice. These items embodied and transmitted imperial practices, cultural trends, social rhetoric around class and gender, and the changing use of, and attitudes towards, the environment. Thus, in these chapters, the personal lives of these individuals are realised in the context of the imperial colonisation of New Zealand during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

[198] Brooks and Thormählen, p. 35.

Chapter Two: Sound and Silence: Brown's Aeolian harp, 1855-1884

Imagine a piercing noise, with no rhythm or melody, which becomes softer, louder, but always sharp, slicing soundwaves. The noise of the Aeolian harp startled me as I had not envisioned that this type of instrumental sound contributed to the auditory landscape of the nineteenth century. Its form also surprised me as it was in the shape of a box zither rather than the typical arched form of European harps. Aeolian harps were usually kept inside and placed by a windowsill where the breeze would pass through, creating sound. I did not encounter Brown's Aeolian harp at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, as it was not on display but tucked away in the archives.[1] After a series of emails, I secured myself an appointment to see the Aeolian harp. As seen in Figure Four Brown's Aeolian harp is a double Aeolian harp; therefore, instead of a lid that sits over the sound box, two sound boxes are placed and latched together. This Aeolian harp is relatively simple in decoration. A yellowing paper label is visible on the top side of both sound boxes. The picture of the Aeolian harp in the archival record did not prepare me for its size, as it was longer than I had initially thought. Due to its size, I miscalculated the weight of the harp when I went to take it out of the archival box, lifting it jerkily upward rather than in a smooth transition as I presumed it was heavier. My experience was impacted by the reality of seeing, lifting, holding, and listening to its sound.

Aeolian harps are unique instruments as sound is created by the motion of the wind passing by the strings.[2] Because of the focus on preservation, I was unable to listen to the sound of this Aeolian harp. However, a modern recording allowed me to access a close rendering of what that sound would have been like for listeners in the nineteenth century.[3] The harmonic frequencies created by the wind flowing through the harp were, for me, completely unusual. This caused me to ponder what it may mean to reintroduce the sound of the Aeolian harp to the museum space. My own experience of the harp disrupted my assumptions and expectations, which led me to consider how the unexpected prompts us to question and rethink the historical narratives within the house museum.

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[1] *Aeolian Harp,* The Elms Foundation, Tauranga, New Zealand, 1935.0035.
[2] Carmel Raz, 'The Expressive Organ within Us: Ether, Ethereality, and Early Romantic Ideas About Music and the Nerves', *19th-Century Music,* 38.2 (2014), 115-144 (p. 116).
[3] *Aeolian harp | Wind harp*, online video recording, Youtube, 25 November 2020 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=buZjtQv-Wng> [accessed 14 April 2022].

When the Aeolian harp came to be a possession amongst the various other items at the mission station is unknown. The label of the Aeolian harp provides an indication of when the harp was made; it lists the manufacturers as Keith, Prowse and Company, residing at 48 Cheapside, London, England. During the 1820s, the firm was known as Keith & Prowse and was located at the address 131 Cheapside.[4] From 1855, the firm was listed as Keith, Prowse and Company, residing at 48 Cheapside.[5] Thus, it is likely that the Aeolian harp was acquired after 1855. When it came to the mission station, it was most likely stored in Brown's library.[6] Consequently, this chapter explores the Aeolian harp as Brown's possession.

By considering the Aeolian harp, and its sound, we may draw out some of the currently silent stories in the museum interpretation. These discussions each contribute to conceptualising the complicated histories that may be conveyed at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. I argue that by exploring the meanings embedded in the Aeolian harp, in the context of Te Papa mission station, we can contemplate the stories about the lives of 'others' who also lived at the mission station.[7] Through the Aeolian harp's meanings we may also rethink the story of 'the great man' and recognise the cultural and environmental imperial overlay in the history of settler belonging.[8]

The first section of the chapter considers the transition of the auditory landscape as missionaries established a domestic space in Te Papa peninsula. This section particularly highlights the agency of the local Māori living at the mission station in response to the introduction of Eurocentric instruments. The second section examines the Aeolian harp as an instrument that contributed to the ideals of respectability that evangelical missionaries

[4] Martha Novak Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano: 1820-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 209.
[5] Clinkscale, p. 209.
[6] In her interview with H. Bradney Williams, Alice Maxwell implied that the Aeolian harp was kept in Brown's library: H. Bradney Williams, *Memories of a Mission House: Being Reminiscences of the Early Days of Tauranga by Miss Alice Maxwell* (Tauranga: The Bay of Plenty Times, 1943), p. 16.
[7] see Edward Said's concept of 'the other': Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage book, 1979); arguing for narratives which expand on the figures that are highlighted in the museum narrative see: Franklin D. Vagnone, Deborah E. Ryan and Olivia B. Cothren, *Anarchist's Guide to Historic House Museums* (Walnut: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2016), pp. 138-41.
[8] Linda Young identifies that in house museum's there is often a narrative of 'the great man': Linda Young, 'House Museums Are Not All the Same! Understanding Motivation to Guide Conservation', in *The Artifact, Its Context and Their Narrative: Multidisciplinary Conservation in Historic House Museums*, ed. by International Council of Museums-Committee for Conservation (ICOM-CC) and the Committee for Historic House Museums (DEMHIST) (Los Angeles: ICOM-CC and DEMHIST, 2012), p. 3; Regarding the concept of environmental and cultural overlay see: Paul Star, 'Humans and the Environment in New Zealand, C. 1800 to 2000', in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 63.

sought to embody in the domestic sphere. Thirdly, I unpack the meaning of aeolian harp as a domestic object in a space where the divisions of private and public blurred as the Aeolian harp contributes to our understanding of Brown's image of respectable masculinity in the domestic sphere. The last section considers the Aeolian harp alongside the environmental changes of Te Papa mission station. Examining the meanings of the Aeolian harp embedded in its physical and sensory characteristics I argue that there is a complicated history around those who experienced a lack of belonging and those who created a sense of belonging at Te Papa mission station.

Figure 4: Alfred Nesbit Brown's Aeolian Harp. Photographed by E. Stegen with the kind permission of The Elms Foundation and Tauranga City Libraries.

Shifting Auditory Landscapes

Following the attack on Otamataha Pā in 1828, visiting CMS missionary Henry Williams recorded the devastation, not only the destruction that he saw but also what he heard: silence. With the arrival of the missionaries intending to settle in Tauranga, in 1834, new sounds were introduced into the landscape. The Aeolian harp was a part of the introduced European auditory landscape of Te Papa mission station. Sound was often a colonising force, yet in Te Papa mission station we may also observe the ways in which Māori engaged with European sounds. Exploring the sound of the harp contributes to an understanding of this item's meaning as a part of the shifting social landscape of Te Papa mission station. This contextualisation of the Aeolian harp may enable practitioners, at The Elms| Te Papa Tauranga, to continue developing an interpretation of the site's history that considers the different experiences of 'others' who also lived at the mission station.

The function of the mission station, as a public space, used by missionaries to communicate ideals of civilised domesticity, meant that it was not only a site in which the missionary family lived but also members of the local iwi, Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāi Te Rangi. Their experience of colonisation occurred through multiple forms, including behaviours, architecture, and possessions. Arguably, their encounter with colonialisation would have also been experienced at a sensory level. Sound played an important role in the colonial enterprise, as Kirstine Moffat writes that colonisers perceived music as "a 'civilising' imperialistic tool."[9] Of mission stations, Tanya Fitzgerald notes that the perpetuation of British values meant that for local Māori living on the site, it was often a space of alienation, fear, and dislocation.[10] The perpetuation of British sounds may also have fed into those feelings, as Sarah Keys argues that sound, out of place, has a disturbing and disruptive quality that is associative with violence.[11] Sound possesses a transgressive nature because, as Michael Schafer writes, "the sense of hearing cannot be closed off at will. There are no earlids."[12] Thus, the introduced sounds at the mission station contributed to an increasingly changing social and cultural landscape.

While the mission station was a space in which missionaries stressed civilised, evangelical domestic ideals, there was a degree of cross-cultural engagement.[13] At Te Papa mission station, Māori exhibited agency over the auditory landscape through their engagement with European sonic devices. A poignant example is found in Eliza Stack, née Jones, writings of her visit to Te Papa mission station in 1858.[14] "On approaching the church," Eliza wrote, "I was amused to

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[9] Kirstine Moffat, 'The Piano as Cultural Symbol in Colonial New Zealand', *History Compass,* 7.3 (2009), 719-741 (p. 725); Māori music altered through the influence of the missionaries and while missionaries were also opposed to a variety of Māori music forms, they did appreciate the singing of hymns according to traditional Māori airs: Mervyn McLean, *Maori Music* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013), pp. 554-560.

[10] Tanya Fitzgerald, 'Archives of Memory and Memories of Archive: CMS Women's Letters and Diaries 1823-35', *History of Education (Tavistock),* 34.6 (2005), pp. 664-665.

[11] Sarah Keyes, '"Like a Roaring Lion": The Overland Trail as a Sonic Conquest', *The Journal of American History (Bloomington, Ind.),* 96.1 (2009), 19-43 (p. 23).

[12] R. Murray Schafer writes people can ignore background sounds through an "elaborate psychological mechanism" that stops insouciant and distracting sounds and instead focus on those that matter. In this chapter, I focus on how people engage with sound; however, it is not unplausible that agency towards the sonic environment also included the ability to block out sounds. R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester: Destiny Books, 1994), p. 11.

[13] Ballantyne, 'Entangled Mobilities', pp. 115-144; Hirini Kaa, *Te Hāhi Mihinare* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2020), p. 11; Ian Smith, *Pākehā Settlements in a Māori World New Zealand Archaeology, 1769–1860* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2020), p. 123.

[14] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan* (Tauranga: Prepared by Matthews & Matthews Architects Ltd for The Elms Foundation Trust Board, 2016), p. 177.

see a little Maori girl perched on the branches of a high tree tolling the bell."[15] This detail demonstrates Māori engagement with the European devices that contributed to the sounds of the mission station. Regarding cultural engagement, Hirini Kaa notes that while colonisation functioned as a destructive force, to only consider the Māori experience as one of cultural loss is too simple a reading.[16] Rather, he and other scholars observe that Māori social systems were dynamic as Māori adapted and renegotiated their lifestyles and identities.[17] At Te Papa mission station, Eliza Jones' observation points to Māori adaption and engagement with the introduced sounds of the changing social environment.

By considering the physicality of this Aeolian harp and its use, we may contemplate how the sound may have been negotiated. For instance, the role of weight may have affected how easily people could have interacted with the harp. Weight is a quantity that people may experience through the sense of touch. By lifting, moving, or holding objects we can build a reliable perception of the material world that surrounds.[18] Thus, while the size of the Aeolian harp tends to create the impression of a heavy object, on holding the harp it is light. Perhaps, due to its light frame, which made it easy to transport, the Aeolian harp's sound could be easily negotiated by Māori. However, arguably, as the Aeolian harp was an instrument stored within the domestic interior rather than in the outside space, like the bell, this may have meant that there was less room to alter the sound's volume. Perhaps, though, it was a sound that Māori appreciated; however, further research to appropriately discuss Māori reaction to

[15] Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, Photocopied material relating to the history of Tauranga, compiled by Alister Matheson, 1826-1971, Extract from 'Jottings from my New Zealand Journal' by Eliza Jones (Mrs J.W. Stack), MS 15U.
[16] Kaa, p. 11.
[17] Hirini Kaa refers to the work of Michael Stevens, Ngarino Ellis, Melissa Matutina Williams, and Angela Ballara, who discuss Māori agency and contend the 'false dichotomous choice' that cultural change equated cultural loss, see: Angela Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from C.1769 to C.1945* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998), p. 21; Michael J. Stevens, 'Kāi Tahu Writing and Cross-Cultural Communication', *Journal of New Zealand Literature,* 28.2 (2010), 130-157 (p. 131); Ngarino Ellis, 'A Whakapapa of Tradition: Iwirakau Carving 1830–1930', 2 vols (PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2011), 1, p. 28 cited in Kaa, p. 11; see also: John Stenhouse, 'Introduction', in *Christianity, Modernity and Culture*, ed. by John Stenhouse and G. A. Wood (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2005), p. 11.
[18] Christos Giachritsis, 'The Use of Haptic Interfaces in Haptics Research', in *Touch in Museums*, ed. by Helen Chatterjee (New York: Berg Publishers, 2008), p. 76; Alan Wing, Christos Giachritsis and Roberta Roberts, 'Weighing up the Value of Touch', in *The Power of Touch: Handling Objects in Museum and Heritage Context,* ed. by Elizabeth Pye (New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 38.

the sound of the Aeolian harp is necessary.[19] We may never find a definite answer concerning the interaction of Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui with the Aeolian harp. However, considering the harps physicality allows us to consider how the ability of Māori to navigate and control the sounds of the mission station may have varied.

Mission station life at Te Papa irrevocably altered in the aftermath of the 1860s Land Wars. In this shifting social landscape, we may consider the meaning, and implications, of the Aeolian harp's sound. In the immediate aftermath of the battle of Gate Pā in 1864, as the hospital was inadequate to deal with the numbers of wounded, the injured were also sent to the mission station.[20] Four days after the battle, Brown performed the duty of conducting services at the mission cemetery for those fallen in battle.[21] The trauma of the war continued for Māori as the confiscation of 'rebel' land resulted in deep scars for iwi across New Zealand.[22] For Brown, and his second wife Christina, their mission station lifestyle came to an end as Te Papa mission station was reconfigured into The Elms, their private residence.[23] The potential inclusion of the Aeolian harp after the war in Tauranga contributes to a picture of the continued proliferation of Eurocentric sounds to the auditory landscape of colonial New Zealand.[24] The Aeolian harp was an instrument which, for British hearers, communicated a sense of peacefulness and of oneness with the environment.[25] Thus, arguably, it can be understood as

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[19] 'Mysterious Music', *Star,* 15 January 1935, p. 5 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS19350115.2.72?items_per_page=10&query=%22aeolian+harp%22+%22maori%22&snippet=true> [accessed 14 November 2022]; This source suggests a similarity between the noise of an Aeolian harp and the sounds, and music, that Māori appreciated. However, this is written from a European viewpoint and, therefore, may obscure the perspective of Māori. Unfortunately, there is no written evidence in the archives on Te Papa mission station that may shed some light on Māori engagement with the Aeolian harp. For work on Māori music and its connection to the environment, see: Brian Flintoff, Hirini Melbourne and Richard Nunns, *Taonga Pūoro = Singing Treasures: The Musical Instruments of the Māori* (Nelson: Craig Potton Publishing, 2004), pp. 12-19; Jennifer Cattermole, 'Reflections on Taonga Pūoro (Traditional Māori Musical Instruments) Teaching and Learning at the University of Otago', *Performance of The Real,* 1.1 (2017), n. p. <https://doi.org/10.21428/b54437e2.350e0b75> [accessed 4 October 2022]; Sebastian J. Lowe and Alistair Fraser, 'Connecting with Innerlandscapes: Taonga Pūoro, Musical Improvisation and Exploring Acoustic Aotearoa/New Zealand', *Journal of New Zealand & Pacific Studies,* 6.1 (2018), 5-20.

[20] C. W. Vennell, *Brown and the Elms*, 2nd edn (Tauranga: Kale Print Limited, 2012), pp. 83-84.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Judith Binney, Vincent O'Malley and Alan Ward, 'Wars and Survival 1860–1872', in *Tangata Whenua: A History*, ed. by Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), p. 251.

[23] Vennell, pp. 88-94.

[24] Kirstine Moffat, 'The Piano as Cultural Symbol in Colonial New Zealand', p. 723.

[25] Benedict Taylor, *The Melody of Time: Music and Temporality in the Romantic Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 265.

a sound which obscured the violence of the Land Wars and its far reaching consequences.[26] While the war in Tauranga created a deep trauma for the communities of Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui, who experienced the full force of colonial violence, Pākehā colonists continued to create a cultural overlay that included European sounds.

The Elms| Te Papa Tauranga seeks a more bi-cultural focus that incorporates the voices of Māori. Though a European instrument, by examining the Aeolian harp in the context of the changing social landscape of Te Papa, the experiences of Māori can still be heard. The mission station's auditory landscape was complex as many sounds, musical, linguistic and natural, contributed to the sonic landscape. The noise of the Aeolian harp at Te Papa contributed to missionaries' impressions of Eurocentric ideals within that space. Yet, within the mission station, Māori also actively negotiated the auditory landscape. In conveying the story of the Aeolian harp at The Elms| Te Papa Tauranga, there is room to contemplate the role of sound as a colonising force, but also to recognise Māori agency over, and engagement with the introduced sounds.

A Respectable Sound

House museums offer unique repositories of strange and diverse objects that often go unnoticed in grander and conventional institutions.[27] The Aeolian harp is most certainly a strange object in our modern world. Indeed, this double Aeolian harp has slipped into obscurity even in The Elms| Te Papa Tauranga's own collection. Yet, considering the Aeolian harp in the context of the mission station may provide new ways of realising the social and cultural ideals of 'civilised' domesticity that missionaries sought to reflect.[28] Speaking of material culture in imperial contexts, Laura Peers notes that the classifications of material

[26] Judith Binney, Vincent O'Malley and Alan Ward explain the traumatic legacy of the Land Wars: Binney, O'Malley and Ward, p. 251.
[27] Ruth Graham, 'The Great Historic House Museum Debate', *The Boston Globe* (2014), 1-11 (p. 8).
[28] For discussions of civilised domesticity, see: Cathy Ross, *Women with a Mission: Rediscovering Missionary Wives in Early New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 2006), pp. 9-64, 169-180; Angela Middleton, *Te Puna - a New Zealand Mission Station Historical Archaeology in New Zealand*, Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology (New York: Springer, 2008), pp. 153-220; Emily J. Manktelow, *Missionary Families: Race, Gender and Generation on the Spiritual Frontier*, Studies in Imperialism, MSI edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016) pp. 1-16.

culture played a role in the negotiations of identity and made "real" social categories such as class.[29] The Aeolian harp was a possession of significance in British culture. At Te Papa mission station, this instrument made Brown's social status "real" as a member of the respectable evangelical middle class. Yet, while this object reflected British ideals, the Browns' colonial circumstances meant that these ideals were not truly realised.

The Aeolian harp was a possession that contributed to a space in which missionaries desired to embody and transfer an understanding of idealised civilised domesticity. As discussed in the first chapter, the development of European architecture in the colonies afforded missionaries the possibility of recreating interiors that mirrored those of Britain.[30] What missionaries intended those interiors to reflect was very much in keeping with the ideology of respectability.[31] This was a significant ideology established in Britain that continued to govern the lives of many colonists.[32] This was a code of ethics, concerned with appropriate behaviour that determined work and domestic culture.[33] Respectability was also realised not only through behaviour but material culture.[34] While the ideology of respectability extended beyond a single class, it was, however, particularly emphasised by the middle class and evangelicals, who themselves were often members of the middle class.[35] Missionaries, in creating Christian civilised domestic spaces, thus, sought to emulate British concepts which were associative with social status.

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[29] Laura Peers, 'Material Culture, Identity, and Colonial Society in the Canadian Fur Trade', in *Women and Things, 1750-1950: Gendered Material Strategies*, ed. by Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin (New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 55.
[30] Ross, p. 53.
[31] Ibid
[32] Manktelow, p. 12; James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (North Shore: Penguin, 2007), pp. 309, 381, 385.
[33] Manktelow, pp. 12-14.
[34] Angela Middleton, 'Silent Voices, Hidden Lives: Archaeology, Class and Gender in the CMS Missions, Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 1814—1845', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology,* 11.1 (2007), 1-31 <DOI: 10.1007/s10761-006-0023-1> [accessed 26 October 2022]pp. 8, 10.
[35] Manktelow, pp. 12-14; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 161, 401; Literature exploring respectability and working class see: Susie Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 2nd edn (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2016), pp. 131-2*;* Martin Hewitt notes that Anglican churchgoers paid great attention to respectability: Martin Hewitt, *The Victorian World*, The Routledge Worlds (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9780203718056> [accessed 22 October 2022], p. 437; For analysis that links respectability, evangelical thought, and class together see: Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, 3rd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9781315157610> [accessed 20 April 2022], pp. xxxii, 76-88, 104-105.

Writing of the early mission stations between 1814 and 1845, Angela Middleton notes that the ideology of respectability was a part of the mission community's attempts to "replicate and maintain the class structure [of Britain]."[36] Indeed, as Tony Ballantyne writes, missionaries continued to adhere to the social constructions of class within the colonial environment, perceiving themselves as distinct from the sealers, traders, and whalers.[37] Material culture was one of the means by which the ideology of respectability, with its association to class structures, became a reality.[38] Brown's views regarding material consumption indicate that he was concerned that material possessions should align with his status. In 1859, to his fiancé Christiana Johnston, Brown wrote:

> Now dear C let me express and wish (a wish I hope will be identical with your own) that everything connected with your dress should be as quiet as possible suitable in short to your position as the Wife of a Clergyman. A silk dress may be of the best texture and faultless color and yet be in its make and general appearance the perfection of neatness.[39]

That appropriate dress was emphasised by Brown is hardly surprising as Bourdieu remarks that "the body is the most indisputable materialization of class taste."[40] Brown's view of dress linked ideas of status, taste, as well as hinting at the moral ideas unpinning his decisions around material consumption.

The Aeolian harp sonically, and physically, evoked the consumers' status. The sound of the Aeolian harp was lauded in religious and non-religious literature as well as academic works of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century.[41] Literature lent a moral dimension to the harp's sound. [42] For instance, in some Romantic poetry, it was referenced in relation to the psalms, a

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[36] Middleton, 'Silent Voices, Hidden Lives', p. 10.
[37] There was also a degree in which the middle class distanced themselves from aristocratic classes: Debra N. Mancoff and D. J. Trela, *Victorian Urban Settings: Essays on the Nineteenth-Century City and Its Contexts*, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities; Literature and Society in Victorian Britain (New York: Garland Pub, 1996) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9780203054512> [accessed 13 May 2022], p. 161.
[38] Middleton, 'Silent Voices, Hidden Lives', p. 10.
[39] Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, A.N. Brown to Mrs Christina Brown, 1859-1866, Transcript, 1972.0220, 77.6.
[40] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 190.
[41] Raz, pp. 115-44.
[42] Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Catalogue of Books Periodicals Papers Etc in the Late Venerable Archdeacon Brown's Library at 'The Elms', 1937, pp. 15, 20; Kirstine Moffat analysis Brown's library as evidence by which we may understand Brown: Kirstine Moffat, ''A Habit of Walking with God': The Books of Alfred Nesbit Brown', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 17.1 (2014), pp. 73-92.

form of literature that features in Brown's own book collection.[43] As a physical possession, the harp was identifiable with certain class consumerism. As Stephen Bonner notes, Aeolian harps were a non-essential luxury associated with the more upper classes of society.[44] However, Brown's Aeolian harp's design is certainly not ostentatious, as some tended to be, indicating a more modest inclusion of non-essential goods at Te Papa mission station.[45] Yet, while this Aeolian harp was physically perhaps more modest, it was still an instrument that afforded Brown, what Pierre Bourdieu defines as, "symbolic capital."[46] In this manner, both the appearance and cultural significance of the Aeolian harp's sound contributed to Brown's status.

This Aeolian harp's design also suggests how material culture transmitted respectable consumerism. The label of this Aeolian harp is an important element of the harp's design as, whichever way the harp was placed, the label was always visible. This feature arguably implies that the label was always meant to be read, which suggests, that its words were also, at some level, important to the consumer. Marked on the label is the wording "Keith Prowse & Company - Manufacturers to their Majesties." The use of 'Their Majesties' on the label assigns a degree of status, not only to the manufacturers but also to the instrument itself. Such a label most likely echoed the values of middle class taste. During the nineteenth century, the royal couple, Queen Victoria and Prince Consort Alfred, presented themselves as a model of the middle class lifestyle.[47] The British public perceived the royal family, Petersen remarks, as the standard of the virtues of stability, duty, industry, model family life and a high standard of decorum and manners.[48] These attributes of moral virtue carried weight in nineteenth century British society as they formed the notion of respectability.[49] The language used on the label, thus, indicates the ways in which this object signalled a sense of class status that was underlined with moral weight.

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[43] Catalogue of Books Periodicals Papers Etc in the Late Venerable Archdeacon Brown's Library at 'The Elms', 1937, pp. 15, 20.
[44] Stephen Bonner, *The History and Organology of the Aeolian Harp* (Cambridge: Bois de Boulogne 1970), p. 20.
[45] Bonner, Plate 2, Plate 5, n.p.
[46] Pierre Bourdieu and Randal Johnson, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), pp. 171-183; Moffat explores the piano as a form of cultural capital in New Zealand: Moffat, 'The Piano as Cultural Symbol in Colonial New Zealand', pp. 719-41.
[47] Steinbach, p. 215; Elizabeth Langland, *Nobody's Angels: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 66.
[48] Petersen, p. 124.
[49] Hewitt, p. 18.

The Aeolian harp was a physical form of cultural baggage that embodied British evangelical domestic ideals that missionaries sought to transfer into the mission station. Yet, the transference of such goods, from the imperial centre to the outreaches of the empire, did not result in a perfect replication of the ideal British interior. Eliza Stack's comments in 1858 regarding the lack of milk in her tea hints at the practical challenges that the Browns faced in replicating the ideal, respectable domesticity.[50] An analysis of the Aeolian harp's use similarly highlights the practical issues in transplanting British culture within the new colonial spaces. The Aeolian harp was designed to be placed on the windowsills; in most British homes, the harp would be placed on the sash windowsill, and the air would then flow through the harp, vibrating the strings, which would produce the alternating chords.[51] The Aeolian harp was likely one of Brown's belongings kept in the library, and it should have sat on one of the library's Georgian sash windows.[52] However, on measurement, the Aeolian harp is slightly too wide and too long for the windows of Brown's library.[53] Consequently, the harp would either have had to be placed further inside the room, or placed outside, in the garden, altering the sound and its reach throughout the site. Thus, on closer inspection, the Aeolian harp suggests how practically transferring British ideals through physical material culture was not always a simple and neat replication.

When analysing the Aeolian harp, we come across the ideals of respectable, civilised domesticity often addressed in the literature of mission stations and noted in the first chapter of this thesis.[54] Arguably, the sound of the Aeolian harp may provide contemporary visitors with a new way to understand how those ideals were realised. Writing of sound in exhibitions, Karin Bijsterveld described the ways in which a new sound can be profoundly impactful,

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[50] Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, Photocopied material relating to the history of Tauranga, compiled by Alister Matheson, 1826-1971, Extract from 'Jottings from my New Zealand Journal' by Eliza Jones (Mrs J.W. Stack), MS 15U.

[51] Bonner, p. 25; Thomas L. Hankins and Robert J. Silverman, *Instruments and the Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 103.

[52] Williams, *Memories of a Mission House*, p. 16; Aeolian harps were intended to be placed on Georgian windows: Bonner, p. 25.

[53] The measurements of the library window and Aeolian harp were done by me.

[54] Manktelow, pp. 12-13; Angela Middleton, 'Silent Voices, Hidden Lives', pp. 1-31; Angela Middleton, 'Missionization and the Cult of Domesticity, 1769–1850: Local Investigation of a Global Process', in *Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on Gender Transformations*, ed. by Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology (New York: Springer, 2012) <10.1007/978-1-4614-4863-1_8> [accessed 25 October 2022], pp. 149-170.

enabling a deeper, richer understanding of a historical moment.[55] She drew on musicologist Richard Taruskin, who wrote that sound can be poignant when it achieves "the startling shock of newness."[56] The Aeolian harp is now largely an obscure instrument; its sound in The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga may then offer that "startling shock of newness" for the contemporary museum visitor.[57] Thus, perhaps, enabling the contemporary visitor to rethink what material culture, and sounds, embodied a respectable domestic sphere.

By understanding the Aeolian harp in the context of this site, visitors may not only encounter those nineteenth century domestic ideals in a new way but also realise the realities involved in the transference of physical cultural baggage. As Gavin Mclean suggests, "colonial residences offer considerable potential to interpret the physical realities of domestic life."[58] Thus, the Aeolian harp offers a story that highlights the difficulties of transferring British evangelical ideals of domesticity to the 'new' colonial environment.

The Aeolian Harp and The Library

Kim Christensen has scathingly remarked that house museums have tended to focus on "the great man" and his accomplishments in the public sphere.[59] The Aeolian harp is an instrument that may offer an alternative reading in the context of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Music, Jeanice Brooks suggests, may offer an aspect of masculinity that is often not considered in the house museum, as exploring "music in personal spaces could help to restore a missing aspect of interiority and intimacy." [60] Through the Aeolian harp we may encounter the male missionary within the home. Yet, the domestic space was also one in which the boundary of

[55] Karin Bijsterveld, 'Ears-on Exhibitions', *The Public Historian,* 37.4 (2015), 83-84.
[56] Bijsterveld, pp. 83-4; Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Cary: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1995), p. 79.
[57] Bijsterveld, pp. 83-84.
[58] Gavin Mclean, ''It's History Jim but Not as We Know It': Historians and the New Zealand Heritage Industry', in *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips (Auckland: Auckland University Press 2001), p. 170.
[59] Kim Christensen, 'Ideas Versus Things: The Balancing Act of Interpreting Historic House Museums', *International Journal of Heritage Studies: IJHS,* 17.2 (2011), 153-168 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1080/13527258.2011.541068> [accessed 22 April 2022] (p. 159).
[60] Jeanice Brooks, 'Music and Stories of Space in the Historic House Museum', in *Sound Heritage: Making Music Matter in Historic Houses*, ed. by Jeanice Brooks, Matthew Stephens and Wiebke Thormählen (New York: Routledge, 2022) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9780429281327> [accessed 9 August 2022], p. 228.

private and public spheres blurred.[61] In repositioning "the great man" of museum narrative within the domestic story, this section acknowledges the muddled boundaries between private and public spheres.

The dichotomy of private and public spaces can be understood in relation to the ideology of separate spheres where private and public spheres were divided along the lines of gender. The domestic space, as the private sphere, largely came to be associated with women, while men played a role in the public sphere.[62] The rhetoric of "separate spheres" was connected to the ideology of respectability, playing a significant role in the interpersonal lives of people in the nineteenth century imperial world.[63] This rhetoric was espoused particularly by the middle class of Victorian society and was heavily influenced by evangelical thought.[64] Consequently the ideology of separate spheres played a role in the constructions of mission stations.[65] However, the very functioning of the mission space meant that the boundary of private and public space blurred. As Fitzgerald highlights, "the nineteenth-century mission home in New Zealand was a family dwelling, domestic space, school and community meeting place."[66] In the case of Te Papa mission station, private spaces were adapted for more public purposes, in which we also see the ways in which women, within the mission station, took on a more public role. For instance, Brown's first wife, Charlotte would, on occasion, instruct her class of girls in the hall of the main residential house.[67] Te Papa, then, like many mission stations, saw private and public spheres become reconfigured as private spaces muddled with public work.

Unpacking the domestic use of the Aeolian harp enables us to recognise the library as a space in which the boundaries of private and public space blurred. The Aeolian harp was kept in Brown's library.[68] The library, as noted in the first chapter, was a space separated from the

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[61] Fitzgerald, 'Archives of Memory and Memories of Archive', pp. 657-74; Donna Birdwell-Pheasant and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, 'Introduction: Houses and Families in Europe', in *House Life: Space, Place, and Family in Europe*, ed. by Donna and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga Birdwell-Pheasant (Great Britain: Berg, 1999), p 4.
[62] Fitzgerald, 'Archives of Memory and Memories of Archive', pp. 663.
[63] Steinbach, p. 133.
[64] Steinbach, p. 133; Deborah L. Rotman, 'Separate Spheres?: Beyond the Dichotomies of Domesticity', *Current Anthropology,* 47.4 (2006), 666-674 (p. 666).
[65] Ross, p. 16.
[66] Fitzgerald, 'Archives of Memory and Memories of Archive', p. 664.
[67] W. H. Gifford and H. Bradney Williams, *A Centennial History of Tauranga* (Dunedin: A.H. and A.W. Reed for the Tauranga Centennial Committee, 1940), p. 78.
[68] Williams, *Memories of a Mission House,* p. 16.

main residential house. It was reconfigured for various purposes during the years of the mission station from 1839 to 1872. While the main residential house was being built, the library served as a domestic family space. Once the main house was built in 1847, the library became more so associated with Brown personally. The library was a space in which Brown would receive visitors and give teaching instruction.[69] Ross writing, of Brown's library, concludes that the physical separation of this building from the main residential house is illustrative of its role in maintaining the "gendered divisions of space and work."[70] Thus, Ross, defines the library as a male workspace divided from private domestic life. The presence of the Aeolian harp, though, indicates that the library was not a space completely separated from the domestic sphere. The Aeolian harp was an instrument typically purchased by consumers as a household possession.[71] It was meant to be heard within the private setting of the domestic sphere. The Aeolian harp, in the space of the library, alludes to a more muddled use of space, in which we may perceive the library not only as a space of work but also as a space that evoked a sense of domesticity.

There is, however, the potential that the Aeolian harp was obtained when Te Papa mission station had become a private domestic space in the 1870s. The inclusion of the Aeolian harp as a primarily domestic object would have perhaps played a role in altering the function of Brown's library. The possible inclusion of the Aeolian harp at this time, from circa 1870 to 1884, likely signified the shift in purpose of the space. Rather than blurring the boundary of the private domestic space and public work, the harp, thus, would have been an object that invoked a shifting of the library into more of a private domestic site following the change from mission station to family residence.

Conceptualising private and public spheres through gendered divisions, Christopher Breward articulates, has meant that scholarship has often overestimated the nineteenth century domestic interior as purely feminine.[72] Yet, as John Tosh writes, while during the mid-nineteenth century domesticity was a shorthand for the women's sphere, across the empire

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[69] Gifford and Williams, p. 78.
[70] Ross, pp. 170-171.
[71] Hankins and Silverman, pp. 87-8.
[72] Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914*, Studies in Design and Material Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 7-8.

men still participated in the domestic space.[73] Indeed Bradley Deane argues that the home was a haven for men; it did not take away from a sense of 'manliness' but was a place that bolstered his moral influence.[74] However, in the late nineteenth century, this idea of masculinity began to shift; there was a restlessness against the domestic sphere which Tosh defines as a "flight from domesticity."[75] Despite this shift, Tosh and Deane also advise that in understanding this shift, we should also recognise that not all men "flew from domesticity".[76] In New Zealand's literature, Phillips writes that particularly from the 1840s onward, their existed "middle-class warriors of respectability" comprising of churchman, gentlemen and members of the imperial elite.[77] It was this group that urged New Zealand's male Pākehā society into one that reflected a "more gentlemanly middle-class style of manhood."[78] While the image of the rugged male survives in New Zealand's public perception of the past and mythos of masculinity, both Macdonald and Phillips state that as the nineteenth century progressed there was a greater rise of the gentlemanly man.[79]

The Aeolian harp is an item which reveals the ways in which respectable masculinity was tangibly expressed in the domestic sphere. Brown's display of masculinity was likely predicated on his position as an evangelical missionary. Brown would most certainly have fitted into the category Phillips' defines as the "middle-class warriors of respectability."[80] The Aeolian harp was a respectable good that also aligned with another of Brown's respectable leisure pursuits, gardening. Brown was a keen gardener, and his letters reflect his interest in the garden.[81] Gardening was an activity which was appropriate for both men and women in

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[73] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 50.
[74] Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 5.
[75] Josh, pp. 170-94.
[76] Deane, pp. 6-7; Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 172.
[77] Phillips, Jock, *A Man's Country?: The Image of the Pakeha Male, a History*, Rev. edn (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996), p. 42.
[78] Phillips, *A Man's Country?,* pp. 42, 47-55, 80, 223-24.
[79] Charlotte Macdonald, 'Too Many Men and Too Few Women: Gender's 'Fatal Impact' in Nineteenth-Century Colonies', in *The Gendered Kiwi*, ed. by Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), p. 20; Philips, *A Man's Country?,* p. 80.
[80] Phillips, *A Man's Country?,* p. 42.
[81] Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, A.N. Brown to Mrs Christina Brown, 1859 to 1866, 1972.0220; Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, Photocopied papers relating to Alfred Nesbit Brown, 1835-1850, MS 11G; Alfred Nesbit Brown, *The Journals of A.N. Brown: C.M.S. Missionary Tauranga, Covering the Years 1840 to 1842* (Tauranga: The Elms Trust, 1990), pp. 35, 36, 38.

the nineteenth century.[82] The Aeolian harp carried an association with the garden as it was an instrument that, through poetry, had symbolically become associated with the natural world.[83] The harp became a metaphor for nature due to the way in which the wind current produced the harp produced sound. Thus, the connection between the Aeolian harp and the garden arguably meant that the sound of the harp perhaps paid ode to Brown's love of gardening. Writing of private and informal spaces, in which she also includes the gentlemen's library, Jeanice Brooks states that music "often [reflected] . . . associated patterns of cultural value and social relations."[84] Through the Aeolian harp we may recognise the role of music in expressing respectable masculinity within the domestic sphere, as Moffat has argued of piano playing in colonial New Zealand, writing that "men were also at home at the keyboard."[85]

Thus, the Aeolian harp reveals the male missionary's role in transmitting expressions of respectable domesticity. We can understand how a musical possession reflected Brown's respectable taste, expressed in a domestic space. As noted in the first chapter, the irony of house museums is that many began as a memorial for a "great man", yet the domestic space is most often associated with women.[86] While we may add stories of women to the house museum narrative, there is the potential not to just remove the 'great man' completely from the narrative but rather reposition the 'great man.' At The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, the music of the Aeolian harp provides an opportunity to acknowledge the male missionary's role in the domestic interior and muddled boundaries of work and private space at the mission station.

The Aeolian Harp and the Environment

The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga is a site of public history which includes both architectural structures and a garden environment. Gardens were important spaces in which settler

[82] James Beattie, 'The Empire of the Rhododendron', in *Making a New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, ed. by Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Otago University Press: Dunedin 2013), pp. 246.
[83] Michael Ferber, *A Dictionary of Literary Symbols* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 7-9.
[84] Brooks, p. 227.
[85] Moffat, 'The Piano as Cultural Symbol in Colonial New Zealand', p. 728.
[86] Christensen, p. 159.

colonists created for themselves, in new colonial environments, a sense of belonging.[87] These environments were embedded with colonists' visions and attitudes towards the environment. Though a manufactured object, the unique way the Aeolian harp functioned meant that it was a sound that connected people to the natural environment at a sensory level. For The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, as a contemporary historic site, considering the Aeolian harp alongside the environmental changes of Te Papa mission station garden offers a critical narrative of creations of home, and notions of belonging, as missionaries embedded themselves in the 'new' environment.

The Aeolian harp's unique characteristic of sound production led to British writers of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries adopting it as a popular metaphor for nature itself. Samuel Taylor Coleridge's work titled 'The Eaolian Harp' is the most in-depth poetic work on the Aeolian harp; Benedict Taylor writes that, for Coleridge, the Aeolian harp served as the quintessential symbol of the oneness of nature, through "its permeation by a common animating spirit made audible through music."[88] In the poem 'The Eaolian Harp', Coleridge depicts nature as if it acted in the same manner as an Aeolian harp writing, "And what if all of animated nature / Be but organic Harps diversely fram'd."[89] Other poets, particularly the Romantics, which included author William Cowper, similarly drew a parallel between the harp's function and nature.[90] Thus, when the wind 'played' the harp, it created a sound that represented to British hearers the functioning of nature. Accordingly, it provided listeners with an auditory connection to the natural world as they listened to the sound from inside their homes or out in the garden.

Brown's library suggests that he was most likely aware of the symbolic association between the Aeolian harp and the natural world. Brown's library includes several poetic works,

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[87] Katherine Raine, 'Domesticating the Land: Colonial Women's Gardening', in *Fragments*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), p. 92.
[88] Taylor, p. 265.
[89] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'The Eaolian Harp', in *The Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,* ed. by Ernest Hartley Coleridge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912) (Urbana: Project Gutenberg, 2009) <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/29090/pg29090-images.html> [accessed 15 March 2023], p. 100-102.
[90] William Cowper, 'Expostulation', *The Works of William Cowper,* ed. by T. S. Grimshawe (London: William Tegg and Co., 1848) (Urbana: Project Gutenberg, 2014) <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/47790/47790-h/47790-h.htm> [accessed 25 March 2022] pp. 516-22; Scholarship examining other literary figures who also referenced the Aeolian harp, see: Hankins and Silverman, pp. 86-112; Ferber, pp. 7-9.

indicating his appreciation of poetry.[91] Coleridge's poetic works are not a part of Brown's collection; however, Brown did possess four works by Coleridge: *Aids to Reflection 7th ed., Charis or Reflections, The Christian Review Volume One,* and *The Christian Review Volume Two.*[92] While Brown also did not have Cowper's poem 'Expostulation', which alludes to the Aeolian harp through the phrasing of 'hang this harp upon yon aged beech', Brown's library included Cowper's work *Poems Volume Two*.[93] With an awareness of Coleridge's and Cowper's writing, and regard for poetry, we may infer that Brown understood the Aeolian harp's sound as one which connected listeners to the natural environment. As the poets deemed the harp an instrument that connected listeners to nature, we may then explore the specific natural environment in which this Aeolian harp produced its sound. We thus can further contextualise this harp's symbolic association with nature in the context of the specific environment of Te Papa.

Peter Gibbon posited that the first-generation colonists found New Zealand unnerving and sought to "transform the new world they [were] entering into a simulacrum of the old world." [94] However, Gibbon also noted that such attitudes did not mean that colonists completely discredited indigenous vistas and species.[95] Similarly, James Beattie writes that colonists in the nineteenth century held complicated aesthetic ideals for the environment as both introduced and indigenous species could be perceived in a positive light.[96] Brown, a first-generation colonist, seemed to appreciate the indigenous flora that he encountered at Tauranga. In a letter to Christina, he lamented that his neighbours' cows had "eaten up the beautiful Ngutukaka with its resplendent blossom."[97] The inclusion, rather than eradication, of indigenous plants points to his appreciation of indigenous flora. The indigenous plants of

[91] Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Catalogue of Books Periodicals Papers Etc in the Late Venerable Archdeacon Brown's Library at 'The Elms', 1937, pp. 16, 18, 22.
[92] Catalogue of Books Periodicals Papers Etc in the Late Venerable Archdeacon Brown's Library at 'The Elms', 1937, p. 11.
[93] Catalogue of Books Periodicals Papers Etc in the Late Venerable Archdeacon Brown's Library at 'The Elms', 1937, p. 16; Michael Ferber, p. 7; Cowper, pp. 516-22.
[94] Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 36.1 (2002), 5-17, (p. 8).
[95] Ibid.
[96] James Beattie, 'Biological Invasion and Narratives of Environmental History in New Zealand', in *Invasive and Introduced Plants and Animals: Human Perceptions, Attitudes and Approaches to Management*, ed. by Ian D. Rotherham and Robert A. Lambert (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), p. 349.
[97] Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, A.N. Brown to Mrs Christina Brown, 1859-1866, Transcript, 1972.0220, 77.18.

Te Papa peninsula landscape, thus, continued to be incorporated into the mission station's landscape.

An appreciation of indigenous species, however, did not mean that Brown thought the environment should remain unaltered. At Te Papa mission station, an orchard and garden, filled with a variety of introduced plant species, was likely established in 1840 or, at the latest 1850.[98] While the initial development of these areas largely occurred before the arrival of the Brown family, the Brown's also played a role in the continued introduction of new fauna and flora. This sort of acclimatisation was commonplace during the nineteenth century and led to a great ecological change.[99] Beattie and John Stenhouse comment that for colonists, including those who regarded the environment through a more spiritually sensitive lens, the introduction of new species was not perceived negatively as acclimatisation "promised to make a good land better."[100] Better because it would not only produce more but it would display the aesthetic, social and religious attitudes that colonists, both missionaries and settlers, transplanted into the new environment.[101]

The sound of the Aeolian harp, created through wind current, created a connection to the immediate environment. The sound was dependent upon the local weather pattern as the noise grew louder and softer, higher and lower, as the wind current altered. It was a sound that arguably instilled listeners with a heightened sense of awareness of the immediate environment in which they were in. This Aeolian harp was an introduced noise which was paired with the indigenous local environment. Yet, it was still a Eurocentric sound, with the natural, local atmosphere accessed through the mediator of a European instrument. However, it was not only indigenous species which filled the environment; Te Papa mission station, like many mission stations, was a site that experienced great environmental change through the

[98] John P. Adam, *The Elms Garden Conservation Plan* (Auckland: commissioned by New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1998), p. 15.
[99] Rosie Ibbotson, 'Crafting "Nature": Ecocriticism, Environmental Violence and the Transnational Arts and Crafts Movement', in *Ecocriticism and the Anthropocene in Nineteenth-Century Art and Visual Culture*, ed. by Maura Coughlin and Emily Gephart (New York: Routledge, 2019), p. 39.
[100] James Beattie and John Stenhouse, 'Empire, Environment and Religion: God and the Natural World in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *Environment and History,* 13.4 (2007), 413-446, (p. 423).
[101] Beattie and Stenhouse, pp. 423- 24.

introduction of acclimatised flora and fauna.[102] We may, therefore, understand the Aeolian harp as a sound which connected its listeners to an environment that was heavily altered.

The acclimatisation of Te Papa invoked an atmosphere that shared similarities with the old world. Regarding colonists' attitudes towards the environment, Ibbotson suggests that the ecological transformation of New Zealand was founded on the desire to create a "Better Britain" in the South Pacific.[103] Nostalgia, Ibbotson remarks, thus largely informed the ecological transformation of environments that were under European colonists' control.[104] At Te Papa mission station introduced plants, from Britain, and Europe, included lilies, roses, peppermint and apples.[105] The sense of Britishness was not only characterised through the introduction of plants from Britain but also through the planting methods and the layout of the garden which were centred on British gardening concepts. The garden style was likely inspired by John Claudius Loudon's book *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*.[106] The practice of planting at Te Papa was founded upon then-current British standards rather than an adoption of indigenous planting or landscaping. Thus, the garden of Te Papa arguably created a sense of familiarity for its British residents.

While the garden created a sense of Britishness, Brown likely intended for Te Papa to also be a kind of Garden of Eden. Writing of acclimatisation in colonial New Zealand, Beattie and Stenhouse claim that the more pious acclimatisers were inspired by "a vision of recreating the harmony and abundance of the Garden of Eden."[107] Te Papa was an abundant garden, a necessary feature for a place that was meant to sustain those living at the mission station.[108]

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[102] Beattie and Stenhouse write on the acclimatisation of mission station gardens: Beattie and Stenhouse, pp. 419-22

[103] Ibbotson, 'Crafting "Nature"', p. 40; James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), pp. 27-118.

[104] Ibbotson, 'Crafting "Nature"', p. 40

[105] Catalogue of Books Periodicals Papers Etc in the Late Venerable Archdeacon Brown's Library at 'The Elms', 1937, p. 16; Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, A. N Brown Papers, Notebook, 1972.0247

[106] Catalogue of Books Periodicals Papers Etc in the Late Venerable Archdeacon Brown's Library at 'The Elms', 1937, p. 4.

[107] Beattie and Stenhouse, p. 423.

[108] It was Samuel Marsden's vision that missionaries should create mission stations on a secure financial footing to enhance their standing with local iwi and hapu: Tony Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire: Missionaries, Māori, and the Question of the Body* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015) <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/lib/waikato/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=5651884> [accessed 28 May 2022], pp. 94, 97; Tony Ballantyne, 'Entangled Mobilities: Missions, Māori and the Reshaping of Te Ao Hurihuri', in *Indigenous Mobilities: Across and Beyond the Antipodes*, ed. by Rachel Standfield (Australia: Australian Nation University Press, 2018), pp. 129-130.

An Edenic vision for the garden perhaps also suggests the possible reasoning behind the inclusion of the abundant variety of species at the mission station. Te Papa mission station was a garden filled, with introduced species from Europe, and more precisely, Britain, but also with species from across the imperial world. Celia Brow's letter to her father Brown, in 1848, highlights the variety of plants, as she remarked on receiving "Passion flower . . . scarlet Acacia, China Pink . . . and Prince's feather."[109] Brown's library also suggests a more spiritual appreciation of the environment. Amongst his collection is *A Tour Round My Garden* by J. G. Wood and *Husbandry Spiritualised* by John Flavel, works that articulated the garden as spiritually symbolical.[110] Thus, Brown likely imagined the garden of Te Papa mission station through a spiritual lens, it was an environment intended to reflect the beauty of Eden conceptualised by the missionaries.

The Aeolian harp's presence indicates the different components contributing to the changed natural environment that was intended to reflect Eden and be a 'Better Britain'. Mark Smith argues that by paying attention to the sensory past, we may appreciate the 'textures' of the past.[111] The environment of Te Papa was a space which included sounds of nature which were not only indigenous but also conveyed the changed environment through acclimatised species. The Aeolian harp points to another 'texture' of that environment as it included a sound that was created by the wind derived from a manufactured instrument. In thinking about imperial culture as it took shape in New Zealand, Paul Star describes imperial New Zealand as much as a cultural as an environmental overlay.[112] The Aeolian harp's link between the environment and material culture suggests how we can understand how the environmental and cultural overlay mingled together as colonists made 'home' by reshaping the cultural and natural environment. The Aeolian harp, therefore, allows us not only to see, but also hear, the bridging and intertwining of the imperial environmental and cultural overlay.

Though the Aeolian harp was an instrument that contributed to the creation of a harmonious environment at Te Papa, this was a space that had experienced the unrest and trouble of the

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[109] Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Celia Brown to A. N. Brown, 11 November 1848, transcript, folder 5.4.
[110] Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Catalogue of Books Periodicals Papers Etc in the Late Venerable Archdeacon Brown's Library at 'The Elms', 1937, pp. 8, 23; J. G. Wood, *A Tour Round My Garden* (London: Frederick Warne and Co, 1855); John Flavel, *Husbandry Spiritualised* (London: W Baynes, 1810).
[111] Mark M. Smith, 'Sound—So What?', *The Public Historian,* 37.4 (2015), 132-144 (p. 133).
[112] Star, p. 63.

Land Wars. The Land Wars of the 1860s ruptured the strained Māori and Pākehā relations.[113] The actions of missionaries during the Wars caused similar irrevocable damage to the relationships and the reputation they had built with Māori.[114] The harps sound contributed to an ecocultural space that overlay, even silenced, the devastation and trauma following that iwi experienced in the aftermath of the Land Wars.

However, despite the Aeolian harp's symbolism of closeness to nature, the harp struggled to respond harmoniously with the natural environment. Bonner indicates that many owners struggled with the upkeep of their Aeolian harps as the weather would often damage the wooden frame and strings.[115] The double Aeolian harp at the mission station was frequently affected by the local environment, as the salty sea air of Tauranga would often damage the strings, requiring the harp to be tuned.[116] The harp's struggle to function as intended within the natural environment of Tauranga meant that it frequently became silent. The Aeolian harp is not just a story of the introduction of European sounds, but the struggle to maintain those sounds that embodied imperial visions for the altered landscape.

Te Papa mission station garden created a sense of 'home' and belonging as it was remade to fit with colonists' environmental ideals and visions. The Aeolian harp was an instrument that 'textured' that environment, with its sound invoking an intimate connection to the natural landscape that colonist missionaries were altering, while its silence spoke to the difficulties in the transplantation of imperial culture. In this instance, sound, and silence, may offer a way for contemporary visitors at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga to consider and reflect on the complicated imperial cultural and environmental ideas that influenced the making of home in the colonial space.

Conclusion

The Aeolian harp's meanings were linked to its physical and sensory characteristics. Those meanings highlight the complicated narratives that may be conveyed in the space of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Exhibiting the Aeolian harp in the contextual narrative of the shifting

[113] Binney, O'Malley and Ward, p. 245; M. P. K. Sorrenson, 'Māori and Pākehā', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Geoffrey W. Rice, 2nd edn (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 157.
[114] Kaa, p. 43.
[115] Bonner, p. 25.
[116] Williams, *Memories of a Mission House,* p. 16.

auditory landscape of Te Papa, we may encounter the agency of Māori, contemplating their adaption and negotiation of introduced European sounds. The Aeolian harp, as a literal form of cultural baggage from Britain, conveyed the cultural baggage of ideas and attitudes that colonists imposed on the social landscape of Aotearoa. Its sound offers another way to analyse the evangelical ideals of respectable domesticity. We may also recognise not only the achievements, activities, or work of the male missionary, but his role in transmitting masculine domestic ideals. The Aeolian harp is also meaningful as an instrument that entwined the remaking of the environment and its cultural implications as colonists embedded themselves within the landscape, creating a sense of 'home.'

What may it be then be like to take the Aeolian harp from the archival collection and add it as a part of public historic site of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga? A simple addition of the Aeolian harp amongst the other items on display would fail to effectively communicate the multiple meanings embedded in the harp, particularly as its value lies very much with its sonic character. To have this Aeolian harp create sound would be impossible when considering the object's preservation. Consequently, to appreciate the meanings associated with the Aeolian harp, a possible interpretation could include a replica of the harp alongside the original. A replica would enable visitors to have the freedom to navigate their own experience with the sound, with the ability to lift and move the Aeolian harp and even experience the possible effects of the weather damaging the instrument's strings.[117] The use of replicas, Mimi S. Waitzman and Eric De Visscher acknowledge, has raised questions around authenticity, as contemporary audiences cannot understand sound in the same way as those in the past.[118] However, as this chapter has demonstrated, the social and cultural meanings of the harp are heavily associated with the sound; therefore, to frame the harp's sound in relation to these meanings may mitigate that issue of authenticity. This approach aligns with Bijsterveld's work on the introduction of sound in museums, in which she emphasises that sound should be understood in relation to its historical meanings.[119] Sound, though, plays a significant role in relaying those meanings as Waitzman and De Visscher assert that replicated objects which

[117] Mimi S. Waitzman and Eric De Visscher, 'Engaging the Musical Imagination in Museums and Historic Houses', in Sound Heritage: Making Music Matter in Historic Houses, ed. by Jeanice Brooks, Matthew Stephens and Wiebke Thormählen (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9780429281327> [accessed 9 August 2022], pp. 93-4.
[118] Waitzman and De Visscher, pp. 93-4.
[119] Bijsterveld, pp. 83-84.

produce sound can empower "audiences' intellect . . . harnessing their imagination . . . transport[ing] them into what may be not only enjoyable, but also thought-provoking and informative."[120] Thus, in the space of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga through sound, and silence, the contemporary visitor may contemplate the difficult history in the making of the imperial 'home'.

[120] Waitzman and De Visscher, p. 94.

Chapter Three: Pieces of a Story: Euphemia Maxwell's Crazy Quilt, 1887 to 1918

The crazy quilt is a vibrant, chaotic display of odd-shaped bursts of reds, blues, yellows, purples, and greens. The fabrics are silk, velvet, and satin; some are plain, and others are plaid, striped, or checked fabric.[1] Standing in the main bedroom where the quilt is now displayed, I marvelled at how nearly every individual piece has some embroidered subject: with faces; objects like a candle and shoe; and animals, including an elephant and a rat.[2] Many pieces have beading, sequins and even couched gold metallic thread.[3] The quilt is framed in a border of dark olive green, while the interlining of the quilt is made from cotton twill and is backed with cherry red satin.[4] As seen in Figure Five, the quilt is laid out on Euphemia's Australian cedar four-poster canopy bed, which takes up a fair amount of space in the main bedroom of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Euphemia designed the quilt to measure 180x233 cm, ensuring that it would be a perfect fit for the four-poster canopy bed.[5] As a researcher, I am given privileged access to cross over the rope boundary line, but even from behind the rope, the visitor can see the little white paper sign on top of the quilt with the words 'please no touching' in red print.

With the rise of the Aesthetic Movement, crazy quilts gained an incredible surge of popularity during the late nineteenth century.[6] The crazy quilt was also a form of fancy work. Fancy work, as a tangible expression of genteel femininity, was embedded in British rhetoric regarding understandings around appropriate gendered leisure pursuits and signals of class status. In this way, the practice of fancy work was a form of cultural capital.[7] Fancy work was comprised

[1] Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Crazy Quilt; Pamela Fitz Gerald, *Warm Heritage: Old Patchwork Quilts & Coverlets in New Zealand and the Women Who Made Them* (Auckland: David Bateman Ltd., 2003), p. 118.
[2] Fitz Gerald, p. 118.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Fitz Gerald, p. 119.
[5] Fitz Gerald, p. 118.
[6] Carole A. Spencer, 'Victorian Crazy Quilt', *The Palimpsest,* 71.1 (1990), 16-32 (p. 21); Patricia Cox Crews, 'Fueled by Silk: Victorian Crazy Quilt Mania', *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings.,* 15.1 (2010), 1-10 (p. 4).
[7] Linda Young, 'A Woman's Place Is in the House . . . Museum: Interpreting Women's Histories in House Museums', *Open Museum Journal,* 5.1 (2002), 1-24, (p. 16); The term cultural capital was coined by Pierre Bourdieu: Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 116-20.

of a variety of crafts and art forms such as decorative embroidery, applique, crochet, knitting, berlin wool work, and lace making.[8] It was used in the creation of personal and household accessories as well as sewing or writing accessories.[9] What was a significant component of fancy work was its tactility; in this chapter my own personal experience with the textures of this quilt is supported by the scholarship recognising the significance of touch as a form of knowledge.[10]

Euphemia was one of the many British colonists who arrived in New Zealand during the nineteenth century.[11] Her journey led her from Scotland, to Australia, to New Zealand. When she came to New Zealand, she first lived with her brother Judge Alexander Johnston and his family in Wellington, before moving to Wadestown, and then finally residing at The Elms.[12] Pamela Fitz Gerald postulates that it was when Euphemia lived at The Elms, between 1887 and 1918, that she created her crazy quilt.[13] This chapter employs the works of scholars, such as Lorinda Cramer and Dianne Lawrence, who examine genteel femininity.[14] Though their works are based in the Australian context, these still prove useful to our understanding of Euphemia's quilt, not just because of the cultural similarities between Australia and New Zealand, but because Euphemia herself spent around 12 years living in Australia. Alongside this literature, this chapter also applies New Zealand's scholarship of class, cultural exchange,

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[8] Lorinda Cramer, *Needlework and Women's Identity in Colonial Australia* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), p. 73; Fancy work also comprised other crafts beside needlework, such as sculptural and pictorial crafts, see: Thad Logan, *The Victorian Parlour: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 166-67.

[9] Cramer, *Needlework and Women's Identity in Colonial Australia*, p. 73; Beverly Gordon, 'Victorian Fancywork in the American Home: Fantasy and Accommodation', in *Making the American Home: Middle-Class Women & Domestic Material Culture, 1840-1940*, ed. by Marilyn Ferris Motz and Pat Browne (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), pp. 49-50.

[10] Constance Classen, 'Feminine Tactics: Crafting an Alternative Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in *The Book of Touch*, ed. by Constance Classen (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 228-239; Constance Classen, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch*, Studies in Sensory History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012); Elizabeth Pye, 'Introduction: The Power of Touch', in *The Power of Touch: Handling Objects in Museum and Heritage Context*, ed. by Elizabeth Pye (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 13-30

[11] Jeanine Graham, 'Settler Society', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand* ed. by Geoffrey W. Rice, 2nd edn (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 116.

[12] C. W. Vennell, *Brown and the Elms*, 2nd edn (Tauranga: Kale Print Limited, 2012), pp. 100-101.

[13] Fitz Gerald, p. 119.

[14] Cramer, *Needlework and Women's Identity in Colonial Australia,* pp. 71-94; Lorinda Cramer, 'Keeping up Appearances: Genteel Women, Dress and Refurbishing in Gold-Rush Victoria, Australia, 1851–1870', *Textile: The Journal of Cloth and Culture,* 15.1 (2017), 48-67 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14759756.2016.1209876> [accessed 14 September 2022]; Dianne Lawrence, *Genteel Women: Empire and Domestic Material Culture 1840-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

middle class domesticity, and the legacy of the Land Wars to develop a rounded analysis of this quilt.[15]

The first section of this chapter considers the crazy quilt's design, exploring the ways in which a decorative textile reflected New Zealand colonist's engagement with wider trans-oceanic networks. In the second section, I unravel the attributes of its design that signalled the genteel status of the maker and the role of touch in attributing this piece as 'women's work'. Thirdly, I consider how a family story about the crazy quilt, and the quilt itself, provides insight into gender relations and gendered power dynamics within the domestic interior space. Creating fancy work within the colonial setting was not an easy task for many women; their location and economic circumstances often placed a strain on their ability to convey a genteel existence.[16] The last section of this chapter thus explores the labour and financial means supporting Euphemia's performance of gentility, highlighting a more difficult reality beneath the surface of genteel life.

This chapter of Euphemia's crazy quilt pieces together the different cultural, social, and economic aspects that impacted the making of the quilt. The quilt's significance in Euphemia's life provides a detail in the wider social, cultural, and economic story of women's colonial experiences. Thus, the crazy quilt is embedded with meanings that may give depth to the stories about women and their lives in the domestic sphere as they are conveyed within the museum.

[15] Graham, 'Settler Society', pp. 134-135; James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (North Shore: Penguin, 2007), pp. 290-291, 389; Erik Olssen, 'Social Class in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', in *Social Class in New Zealand*, ed. by David Pitt (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1977), pp. 22-41; Jim McAloon, 'Class in Colonial New Zealand: Towards a Historiographical Rehabilitation', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 38.1 (2004), 3-21; Anna K. C. Petersen, *New Zealanders at Home: A Cultural History of Domestic Interiors 1814-1914* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2001), pp. 9-11, 97-156; Rowan Ropata Macgregor Thom, 'Land Loss, Confiscation, Arability and Colonisation: The Experience of Iwi in Aotearoa New Zealand', *AlterNative: an International Journal of Indigenous Peoples,* 18.4 (2022), pp. 556-65.

[16] Emma Floyd, 'Without Artificial Constraint: Gentility and British Gentlewomen in Rural Australia', in *Imperial Objects: Essays on Victorian Women's Emigration and the Unauthorized Imperial Experience,* ed. by Rita S. Krandis (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), =pp. 85-107; Cramer, *Needlework and Women's Identity in Colonial Australia*, pp. 90-93.

Figure 5: Euphemia Ballingall Maxwell's Crazy Quilt at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Photographed by E. Stegen with the kind permission of The Elms Foundation.

A Design from Across the Sea

The house museum, as a domestic site in which colonists once created 'home' and a sense of belonging, has been immersed in romanticised nation-making narratives.[17] Yet, through the crazy quilt we may instead highlight a colonist's connections beyond New Zealand and their lack of connection to New Zealand. The design of the crazy quilt originated in the United States of America (United States) during the late nineteenth century.[18] Euphemia's crazy quilt then signifies a settler woman's engagement with the trans-oceanic traffic of artistic trends. The

[17] Linda Young, 'House Museums Are Not All the Same! Understanding Motivation to Guide Conservation', in *The Artifact, Its Context and Their Narrative: Multidisciplinary Conservation in Historic House Museums*, ed. by International Council of Museums-Committee for Conservation (ICOM-CC) and the Committee for Historic House Museums (DEMHIST) (Los Angeles: ICOM-CC and DEMHIST, 2012), p. 1.
[18] Virginia Gunn, 'Crazy Quilts and Outline Quilts: Popular Responses to the Decorative Art/ Art Needlework Movement, 1876-1893', *Uncoverings,* 5.1 (1984), 131-152.

quilt is a domestic item that is evidence of New Zealand's networks of exchange and the potential communications, and connections, that colonists kept with family abroad.

Created in the late nineteenth century by women in the United States, the crazy quilt design was inspired by multiple converging stylistic influences. The design emerged as a result of the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia; the American women who created the quilt's design were likely influenced by the display of England's School of Art Needlework as well as the textiles and decorative art exhibited in the Japanese pavilion. [19] With the flourishing of open trade with Japan, Japanese art gained great popularity and influence in the West, a craze termed Japonism.[20] Another source of inspiration was the Aesthetic Movement (also heavily influenced by Japonism), as crazy quilts were usually made of kaleidoscopic colours and rich fabrics.[21] Therefore, the quilt design was a creation that symbolised the coming together of cultural artistic styles through global networks of the late nineteenth century.

Closely 'reading' Euphemia's crazy quilt reveals that various aspects of the design embody some of the characteristics seen in American counterparts. For instance, the quilt is comprised of kaleidoscopic colours and rich fabrics. There is also a heavy application of embroidery throughout the entire piece. Arguably, by looking at the quilt, we may imagine that Euphemia was potentially aware of some of the different elements that influenced the look of crazy quilts. In turn, then, we may speculate that Euphemia's crazy quilt is evidence of her engagement with broader aesthetic trends that were circulating during the late nineteenth century.

Euphemia's crazy quilt can be understood as a particular example in the greater 'web' of interactions between imperial links and global forces.[22] Ballantyne's work has advanced our historical understandings of the ways in which colonial development in New Zealand was shaped by a complex 'web' of flows, engagement and exchanges.[23] He discusses this in terms of New Zealand's vertical relationship with Britain, as well as its interdependent horizontal links fostered between New Zealand, other British colonies, and beyond, to its relationship

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[19] Crews, p. 3.
[20] Crews, pp. 8,9.
[21] Beverly Gordon, 'Crazy Quilts as an Expression of 'Fairyland'', *Uncoverings,* 27.1 (2006), 29-58 (pp. 29-30).
[22] Regarding the concept of global links as a 'web' see: Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), p. 15.
[23] Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*, pp. 15-16.

with China, South America and the United States.[24] Euphemia's quilt illustrates a particular instance that reveals the domestic sphere as a space that embodied cultural exchange between New Zealand and the United States. In this case study, we may also think about these networks at a more personal level, considering Euphemia's family ties as she maintained relationships with family members who had immigrated to the United States.

Euphemia's family had a long history of migration between Scotland and the United States, with family members still living in the United States.[25] During the nineteenth century, family ties between the New Zealand Maxwells and the United States relations continued to form a strong bond. For instance, a family member from the United States visited the Maxwell women at The Elms and letters were exchanged.[26] These letters can be best understood as part of the "webs of correspondence."[27] Ballantyne describes these 'webs' as being founded upon both the newer communications infrastructure as well as older letter writing that established and maintained not only the local social systems but also broader links within and beyond the colony.[28] While we may never know the specifics of how Euphemia came across the crazy quilt style, possibly it may have been that her personal connection to the United States was an influencing factor in her choice of design.

While the quilt points to wider networks, Artist Vita Cochrane interprets the range of images, objects, fauna, and flora depicted on the quilt as a sign of "no ready acknowledgement of place."[29] None of the motifs, or symbols, speak of an association with New Zealand, and thus, indicate that Euphemia felt no great sense of connection or attachment to the environment in which she lived. This lack of resonance to New Zealand arguably relates to what Peter Gibbons has discussed as a sense of uncomfortableness that colonists felt towards the new environment.[30] The quilt, therefore, is an object that embodies a woman's participation in, and adoption of, artist trends which were being exchanged, while also revealing a lack of

[24] Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*, p. 16.
[25] Elisabeth Stegen, *Interview with Julie Green*, audio recording, 13 June 2022; Julie Green, *Family Connections: Fernhill, Crofton and the Elms* (Tauranga: Kale Print, 2019), p. 16.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire,* p. 259.
[28] Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire,* p. 259.
[29] Elisabeth Stegen, *Interview with Vita Cochrane***,** audio recording, 11 July 2022**,** 11:21.96.
[30] Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 36.1 (2002), 5-17, (p. 7).

attachment to the colonial environment and sense of place. Rather than suggesting an affinity to New Zealand, Euphemia's quilt implies an embracement of global and familial links.

Euphemia's crazy quilt is a specific example of the way in which the domestic sphere was connected to cultural exchange even beyond of the imperial centre. This thesis examines settler belonging, particularly as it was evidenced by colonists' attitudes toward the environment. Yet examining the depictions of flora and fauna on the quilt, though, suggests a detail in the history of colonists who did not feel a sense of connection to New Zealand. Indeed, through the quilt we may rather recognise an example of colonists' sense of attachment to their familial ties outside of New Zealand. The crazy quilt offers an example of what it might mean to go beyond a narrative of nation in the house museum, as the quilt indicates Euphemia's sense of identity through familial bonds and interaction with global cultural trends.

Ladies' Work

Linda Young notes that museum practitioners' acknowledgement of the socio-cultural factors embedded in women's crafts contributes to a better understanding of women in the household, as those historical framings "rescue . . . women's lives from trivialisation."[31] Fancy work, like Euphemia's crazy quilt, was both a material and a performance.[32] As a performance, fancy work, particularly during the mid to late nineteenth century, was a strategy in which women signalled genteel femininity, thus, asserting their status. Kathryn Ledbetter writes that "fancy work was an activity for those who had leisure time and some pocket money to purchase materials"[33] In other words, a home heavily decorated with fancy work suggested both the financial prosperity and social status of family.[34] Through the tactility of this textile we may also understand the significance of touch in the socio-cultural history of the quilt. This

[31] Young, 'A Woman's Place Is in the House . . . Museum', p. 17.
[32] This essay discusses fancy work as a strategic performance; however, I use the term in accord with Emma Floyd's description in which she asserts that gentility was not a shallow, simple display but a cultural force. This work, particularly later in the chapter, highlights the power of gentility as a cultural force as while the Maxwell family economically struggled, Euphemia still constructed her social life according to the dictates of gentility, which was a practice that put strain on their resources: Floyd, p. 86-87.
[33] Kathryn Ledbetter, *Victorian Needlework* (California: ABC-CLIO, 2012), p. 4.
[34] Ledbetter, p. 2.

section, thus, suggests the value of exhibiting the complicated boundary of women's work and nineteenth century biases toward women's art within The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga.

Euphemia's craft was a lavish project with an extraordinary use of materials and haberdashery. While quilts were often created for a practical function, crazy quilts, as a form of fancy work, were usually designed as decorative additions to the house.[35] Euphemia's quilt though it adorned her bed, performing a practical function, was very much a decorative piece.[36] The types of stitches and fabrics used over such a large canvas suggests a lavish application of materials, emphasising the overall expensive quality of the quilt. As a form of conspicuous material consumption, the crazy quilt expressed the status of the Maxwell family.[37] Visually, the crazy quilt expressed that the Maxwell family had a level of financial wealth that was enough to afford such a decorative project. However, as discussed further in this chapter, such a display was rather a façade as the Maxwell women were in a rather impecunious situation. Yet, 'pocket money' was not the only ingredient required to make such crafts; having the time to spend in leisure also played a role in the ability to perform genteel femininity as expressed through fancy work.

As a form of feminine leisure, fancy work enabled women to negotiate the complicated imperial attitudes around leisure and work. While British society across the imperial world determined that middle class women should remain in the private sphere, it was inconceivable that she should be sitting at home idle.[38] Through the production of fancy work, women mediated the tension between idleness and productivity. [39] In Britain, fancy work was described by some contemporaries as a frivolous pursuit. [40] However, for many British women, fancy work, because it involved some activity, staunched critiques of laziness.[41] Having the leisure time to devote to fancy work also enabled the middle class woman to demonstrate a

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[35] Linda Causee, *Encyclopedia of Crazy Quilt Stitches and Motifs* (San Marcos: American School of Needlework, 1997), p. 4

[36] Gerald, p. 118.

[37] Cramer, p. 16; Young, pp. 3-4, 75-77; Thorstein Veblen coined the phrase conspicuous consumption: Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution Institutions* (New York: Routledge, 2017) <https://doi-org/10.4324/9781315135373 > [accessed 3 May 2022], pp. 60-80.

[38] Logan, pp. 176, 177.

[39] Cramer, *Needlework and Women's Identity in Colonial Australia*, p. 75; Logan, p. 177.

[40] Cramer, *Needlework and Women's Identity in Colonial Australia*, p. 75.

[41] Cramer mentions that fancy work particularly for bazaars and charities did much to staunch critiques: Cramer, *Needlework and Women's Identity in Colonial Australia*, p. 75.

degree of higher status than those of the working classes.[42] Concerning women's leisure in New Zealand, Caroline Daley writes that "the crafts and good works they devoted their time to were a way to confer status on themselves and their families."[43] Fancy work, therefore, was a strategy that women employed to ease the tension around leisure and work, which James Belich determines as the pressures between 'the cult of gentility' (with its notions of leisure) and respectability (with a focus on a work ethic).[44] Euphemia's crazy quilt, as a form of fancy work, was a part of a complex pursuit, mitigating social tensions of nineteenth century British life transferred to the context of colonial New Zealand.

As a quilt, Euphemia's creation was always designed to be experienced through the sense of touch. Fancy work was incredibly tactile. Indeed, these works, such as cushions, slippers, and in this case, a quilt, were all items which were not only to be seen but were also experienced through the sense of touch.[45] Touch then played a significant role in women's handicrafts in both the making and finished work.[46] Examining the senses, in nineteenth century western culture, Constance Classen reasons that there existed a sensory distinction.[47] This was a gendered division of the so-called lower senses of touch, taste and smell associated with women, while sight and sound, which were part of the male world, were credited as the higher senses.[48] This distinction meant that the tactile work of women was regarded, no matter how refined, within the category of 'ladies work' rather than recognised as art.[49] Therefore, to recognise the tactility of the quilt contributes to a deeper understanding then of the social history in which the quilt was embedded. The tactile quality of the quilt underwrote its social positioning, framed not within the category of high art but with the label of a domestic craft, locating it within the boundaries of genteel feminine leisure.

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[42] Ibid.
[43] Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), pp. 113-14.
[44] Belich, *Making Peoples,* p. 326; Lorinda Cramer, 'Keeping up Appearances', pp. 55.
[45] For a list of items classified as fancy work see: Cramer, *Needlework and Women's Identity in Colonial Australia*, p. 73.
[46] Classen, 'Feminine Tactics', pp. 228-39.
[47] Classen, 'Feminine Tactics', p. 228; see also: David Howes and Constance Classen, *Ways of Sensing: Understanding the Senses in Society* (New York: Routledge, 2014) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9781315856032> [accessed 2 July 2022], p. 5.
[48] Classen, 'Feminine Tactics', p. 228; Howes and Classen, p. 5.
[49] Classen, 'Feminine Tactics', p. 228; Freya Gowrley and Katie Faulkner, 'Making Masculinity: Craft and Material Production in the Long Nineteenth Century', *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies,* 14.2 (2018), 47-56 (p. 49).

Euphemia's crazy quilt, thus, embodied a sense of a genteel status founded on Pākehā economic and socio-cultural values that were part of the colonial cultural baggage. The crazy quilt is part of a broader story in which women's crafts were embedded with nineteenth century British ideals of domesticity. Tactility and touch also play a role in this story; "Ladies work was like the sense of touch," Classen writes "which apprehends objects bit by bit rather than as a seamless whole."[50] This sentiment resonates particularly with Euphemia's quilt as it was created bit by bit, each piece of fabric stitched together until the whole was formed. Thus, the significance of touch to ladies' craftwork provides an incentive for the inclusion of touch within the museum's interpretation of the socio-cultural history of the crazy quilt.

Classen remarks that it is an often-asked question of why there is not greater recognition of women artists; yet, instead, Classen states that we should reconsider where we look to find the art made by women.[51] The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, as a house museum, exhibits domesticity but is also a space that shares similarities with art gallery. The Rooms Exhibition, in which The Elms Foundation partnered with artists to display their works, illustrates how this space shares similarities with art galleries. Thus, The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga as a house museum provides an interesting context, where gallery and domesticity meet, to then explore the complicated history of female craftwork. Part of this experience for the contemporary visitor may include touch, as the tactility of the quilt is a significant part of its story. With the rise of sensory museology, museum practitioners have recognised the value of touch in enabling visitors to gain a deeper understanding of objects.[52] Such museums, which have adopted haptic experiences, include large institutions such as The British Museum and the Tate Museum.[53] The inclusion of sensory elements to the exhibition is carefully decided upon as practitioners' balance sensory engagement with the preservation of objects and textiles.[54] Further, in the conclusion of this chapter, I thus contemplate how haptic engagement may

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[50] Classen, 'Feminine Tactics', p. 236.
[51] Classen, 'Feminine Tactics', p. 237; For a discussion of the significance of art in the home, see: Robyn Dowling and Alison Blunt, *Home*, Key Ideas in Geography, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2022), p. 72.
[52] Pye, pp. 13-30; Fiona Candlin, 'Don't Touch! Hands Off! Art, Blindness and the Conservation of Expertise', *Body & Society,* 10.1 (2004), 71-90 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1177/1357034X040417> [accessed 8 September 2022]; Helen Chatterjee, ed., *Touch in Museums* (New York: Berg Publishers, 2008); Constance Classen, *The Museum of the Senses: Experiencing Art and Collections*, Sensory Studies Series (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).
[53] Candlin, p. 71.
[54] Candlin, pp. 71-90.

allow the contemporary visitor a connective experience to the quilt's history while still ensuring the preservation of the quilt.

Genteel Femininity and Guests

Scholars, exploring the difficult histories that are a part of house museums, have long advocated for the stories of women to be brought into the forefront of the museum narrative.[55] The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga has not shied away from these stories as the women of the Maxwell family are very much visible. Writing of the private and public spheres in relation to gender, Katie Pickles notes that by paying attention to gender relations there is the potential to tell stories which allow us to rethink archetypes of gender.[56] This section considers gender relations through a passed down family story from the Maxwells about the making of the quilt, that highlights a nuance in the generalisations of gender. Examining the quilt's fabrics alongside this story illustrates the slippage in the boundaries and embodiments of gender expressed through masculine attire and feminine craftwork.

Although women created fancy work within the private sphere of the home, there was still an element of public performance. As a signal of status, the performance of fancy work was a visible element of genteel women's lives within the domestic sphere. Domestic activities within Britain, and subsequently across the empire, were established along divisions of private and public work set in the "backstage" of the house and its "frontstage".[57] In nineteenth century British culture, plain sewing referred to dressmaking, the mending and hemming of clothes, the making and embellishment of towels, sheets, as well as linen.[58] Servants did plain

[55] Alexander Trapeznik, *Common Ground: Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000), p. 21; Jennifer Pustz, *Voices from the Back Stairs: Interpreting Servants' Lives at Historic House Museums* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010); Kim Christensen, 'Ideas Versus Things: The Balancing Act of Interpreting Historic House Museums', *International journal of heritage studies: IJHS,* 17.2 (2011), 153-168 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1080/13527258.2011.541068> [accessed 22 April 2022] (p. 159);

[56] Katie Pickles, 'Colonisation, Empire and Gender', in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia & New Zealand, 2009), pp. 221.

[57] Scholarship on the divisions of private and public labour in the household, see: Floyd, pp. 90-103; Donna Birdwell-Pheasant and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, 'Introduction: Houses and Families in Europe', in *House Life: Space, Place, and Family in Europe*, ed. by Donna and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga Birdwell-Pheasant (Great Britain: Berg, 1999), p 4; Dianne Lawrence, *Genteel Women: Empire and Domestic Material Culture 1840-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 165-166.

[58] Ledbetter, p. 3.

sewing, though in Britain, as well as imperial societies where it was often necessary, plain sewing could still be an appropriate task for a woman of genteel sensibilities.[59] While plain sewing could occasionally be done by the genteel, fancy work firmly associated with those who were genteel and was a public activity, within the domestic setting.

Time and space contributed to the construction of fancy work as a public activity. The hours in which women would devote to their fancy work creations coincided with the same hours of the day in which it was socially acceptable for visitors to call.[60] Women also usually laboured over their fancy work creations in the space of the drawing room, as this was where the lady of the house most often received visitors.[61] Fancy work retained its markings as a public performance within settler colonial homes.[62] Indeed, as Cramer notes, fancy work was "a strategy intended to maintain standards and standing."[63] Fancy work then, as a form of cultural baggage, maintained its association as a form of cultural capital.

No evidence suggests where or which times of the day Euphemia would devote to her crazy quilt creation or if any visitors were ever present. However, one account has survived regarding the creation of the crazy quilt that indicates that the quilt was a public activity. The account has been passed down through generations of Maxwell family members, is frequently told in written accounts and by guides giving tours in the museum today.[64] The story goes that Euphemia Maxwell would inquire of the gentlemen visiting The Elms if she could cut some piece of their necktie or cravat for her crazy quilt. Of course, she promised that she would cut it in such a manner that it would be completely unnoticeable, and the gentlemen would willingly oblige Mrs Maxwell–if they knew their manners.[65] This account reveals that this crazy quilt then embodied the characteristic of genteel feminine performance as it was not hidden from the public view but was rather integrated into the public aspects of domestic life. Euphemia's request for material for her fancy work, which was a craft work that was suitable to be publicly shared, arguably afforded her some degree of social acceptability. Yet, that this

[59] Ledbetter, p. 3; Emma Floyd's specifies that certain types of garments did not fit into the ideas of plain sewing appropriate for genteel women: Floyd, p. 102.
[60] Ledbetter, p. 3.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Floyd, p. 102; Cramer, *Needlework and Women's Identity in Colonial Australia,* pp. 78-80.
[63] Cramer, *Needlework and Women's Identity in Colonial Australia,* p. 90.
[64] Stegen, *Interview with Julie Green*; Green, p. 18.
[65] The terms cravat and necktie are used interchangeably depending on the telling of the story, consequently, I have used both terms: Gerald, p. 19; [Anonymous] 'Euphemia's Quilt', *The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga*, n.p.

story was remembered suggests that such a request was rather out of the ordinary. Indeed, that the story was told, and retold, may signify the unusualness, even shockingness, of Euphemia's request. This account, therefore, is a detail in the history of feminine domesticity that highlights a moment in which feminine gentility afforded the maker a degree of boldness.[66]

This story, regarding Euphemia asking for pieces of fabric, also allows us to notice a detail within the historiographical debates concerning women's position within the domestic sphere. Within the scholarship examining private and public space, scholars have debated whether the house was a sphere in which women exercised control or were further confined.[67] Petersen's work frames women as having a degree of control within the domestic sphere of the late nineteenth century Pākehā household.[68] In contrast, she writes that men, struggling to sip tea from fine bone china, felt as though within the home, they were "not quite as much men as in other places."[69] However, as discussed in the chapter on the Aeolian harp, through the discussions of 'separate spheres ideology' there has been a tendency in historiography to view the domestic space as wholly feminine, which Judy Attfield asserts is an exaggeration.[70] While John Tosh writes that's not all men were comfortable in the home, as women controlled rituals and routine, he does maintain that there were middle class men comfortable with domestic life.[71] Caroline Daley writes about men not only exhibiting a sense of 'male domesticity' in the late nineteenth but furthermore that within Pākehā society, men held control of the domestic space as they were the head of the household.[72] Thus, Daley identifies the household as space in which women were still controlled. Yet, in nineteenth century Pākehā society, as Daley herself identifies, "power [was] dispersed and differentiated, in one

[66] I wish to note that other factors such as Euphemia's age giving her a position of seniority, and own character, may have also contributed to this boldness; however, as noted, the acceptability of feminine genteel crafts arguably was a factor that did lend her confidence in her request.
[67] Logan, pp. 226-227; Anthea Callen, 'Sexual Division of Labor in the Arts and Crafts Movement', *Woman's Art Journal,* 5.2 (1984), pp. 1-5; Laura Fasick, 'God's House, Women's Place', in *Keeping the Victorian House: A Collection of Essays*, ed. by Vanessa D. Dickerson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), p. 78.
[68] Petersen, p. 103.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life*, Materializing Culture (Oxford: Berg, 2000), p. 156.
[71] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 179-180.
[72] Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys,* pp. 6, 28-30; Cooper, Brookes and Law, pp. 12, 28-30, 73.

situation a woman might use femininity as a form of power over a man."[73] Euphemia was arguably asserting a degree of power within the domestic space as the story conveys the underlying expectation of men to submit to Euphemia's request. The quilt's fabrics are, therefore, evidence of those encounters.

Understanding the quilt's fabrics as once being the textiles that formed masculine attire enables us to consider what material culture may contribute to our understanding of this account. Examining the quilt alongside this family memory adds to a nuanced view of masculinity within the imperial world of the late nineteenth century. Christopher Breward writes that "the discourse of separate sphere enforced a model of masculinity in which overt interest in clothing and appearances automatically implied a tendency toward unmanliness."[74] Indeed, there were shifting and varying expressions of masculinity in the late nineteenth century.[75] Writing of masculine dress, Brent Shannon states that we should understand "the full variety of middle-class men's engagement with fashion—the fabric, style and color options available to them—[which] cannot be accurately characterised by the reductive image of the grim faced Victorian patriarch clad in [a] dark frock coat."[76] The bright, bold colours of this crazy quilt enable us to appreciate Shannon's description of masculinity as it took form in the context of colonial New Zealand during the late nineteenth century. In the crazy quilt, the gendered pieces of masculine attire, these prints, patterns and fabrics were easily reworked into a piece that signified genteel femininity. Thus, the quilt exemplifies how items theoretically coded as expressions of masculinity and femininity embodied some of the slippage in those boundaries.

The crazy quilt's story is, thus, linked to an important shared oral and written memory of the Maxwell family. Understanding the quilt alongside this account highlights the broader history around gender relations within the private and public space. For the museum visitor then, the

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[73] Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys,* p. 4.
[74] Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914*, Studies in Design and Material Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 10.
[75] Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp. 172; Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 6-7; Charlotte Macdonald, 'Too Many Men and Too Few Women: Gender's 'Fatal Impact' in Nineteenth-Century Colonies ', in Nineteenth-Century Colonies', in *The Gendered Kiwi*, ed. by Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), p. 20.
[76] Brent Shannon, *The Cut of His Coat: Men, Dress, and Consumer Culture in Britain, 1860–1914* (Athens: Ohio University, 2006) <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/lib/waikato/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=1773388> [accessed 6 October 2023], p. 20.

crazy quilt, as a part of this story, is arguably what Janis Wilton, in her discussion of the relationship between material culture and oral history, would describe as a "touchstone."[77] As a touchstone, the object is like a tangible portal that connects the contemporary observer to, as Wilton elaborates, "the value of an object as the reflection of the actions that people have performed."[78] Therefore, there is a symbiotic relationship between the oral memory and the quilt. Euphemia's request for fabrics from her visitors, rather than obtaining them through a store, may also hint at the relatively unstable economic position of the Maxwells, an aspect explored in the following section.

Hard Work

Writing of house museums, Jennifer Pustz observes that they often present the ideal instead of the real.[79] Arguably the idealised, and even elitist, interpretation inadvertently emerges through the beautiful, high culture furnishings that decorate the space of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Endeavouring to rethink museum interpretation, scholars have argued for histories that place greater emphasis on the difficult stories of the past, including the histories of domestic labour.[80] This chapter on the quilt has noted how time and labour were important factors that enabled women to create fancy work. This section analyses domestic work as labour, which afforded Euphemia the leisure time for fancy work, and the finances and labour for economic means that underpinned Euphemia's display of gentility. Young describes expressions of feminine gentility, such as fancy work, as the cultural capital to the men's economic capital.[81] In the case of the Maxwell women, we may tell a somewhat different story

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[77] Janis Wilton discusses objects as touchstones that connect people to the past; she writes of objects as having emotive and memorial qualities: Janis Wilton, 'Telling Objects: Material Culture and Memory in Oral History Interviews', *The Oral History Association of Australia Journal,* 30.1 (2008), 41-49 (p. 41); for further works exploring material culture and memory see: Sue Georgevits, 'Places of the Heart: Personal Narratives of the Past through the Objects People Keep', *The Oral History Association of Australia Journal,* 22 (2000), 72-78; Tanya Evans, 'The Use of Memory and Material Culture in the History of the Family in Colonial Australia', *Journal of Australian Studies,* 36.2 (2012), 207-228 (p. 207); Serena Dyer, 'State of the Field: Material Culture', *History (London),* 106.370 (2021), 282-292 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1111/1468-229X.13104> [accessed 15 April 2022], (p. 288).

[78] Wilton, p. 41.

[79] Pustz, p. 12.

[80] Pustz, p.46; Young, 'A Woman's Place Is in the House . . . Museum', pp. 1-24; Trapeznik, 'Dismissing the Staff', pp. 37-38.

[81] Young, 'A Woman's Place Is in the House . . . Museum', 16.

as the economic capital was mainly from the women. Examining the labour and economic means that afforded Euphemia the ability to create her crazy quilt highlights the colonial renegotiations of gendered divisions of labour and the use of the land as a means by which colonists were able to express imperial culture.

I acknowledge the absence of the lives of servants and labourers in this thesis; an aspect of research that would add depth to the narrative of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. While this section explores domestic labour and recognises the domestic aid that the Maxwell women had at The Elms, the Maxwell women are still at the centre of this discussion. This is because there was a limited employment of servants at The Elms, resulting in the Maxwell women being largely responsible for the domestic work.

In the performance of gentility, servants played an important role as their domestic labour afforded the ladies of the house time for leisure pursuits.[82] Though Euphemia was a fine needlewoman, the family still employed a dressmaker, Maria Bickers.[83] Maria was the daughter of Henry Bickers, a member of the 1st Waikato Regiment, who was among the military settlers in Tauranga following the War in Tauranga.[84] Dressmaking, as a form of plain sewing was largely associated with 'backstage' labour, however, it could also be an appropriate task for genteel women.[85] The employment of Maria Bickers arguably put an unnecessary strain on the Maxwell's finances as dressmaking was a task they also could accomplish that was in keeping with a genteel position. Yet, Maria's employment would have at least afforded Euphemia a little extra time to indulge in her fancy work rather than clothes making. Another servant employed by the Maxwell women was a gardener who doubled as a coachman.[86] The employment of a single person for two different positions suggests that the Maxwells were not in a financial position to employ a greater number of servants. The lack of servants at The

[82] Cramer, p. 75.
[83] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan* (Tauranga: Prepared by Matthews & Matthews Architects Ltd for The Elms Foundation Trust Board, 2016), p. 158.
[84] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan*, pp. 157-58.
[85] Ledbetter, p. 59.
[86] E. M. Stewart, 'Memories of 'The Camp'', *Journal of the Tauranga Historical Society,* 16.1 (1963), 15-20 (p. 17).

Elms may also be indicative of New Zealand's "servant problem." [87] Charlotte MacDonald notes that many women struggled to obtain domestic labour due to a short supply and the espoused values of egalitarianism.[88] Arguably, then, multiple factors may have played a role in the shortage of servants at The Elms.

Though there was some domestic support for the Maxwells, the burden of the housework would have fallen mainly on Euphemia's daughters, Edith and Alice Maxwell.[89] Housework, more so than plain sewing, was a form of 'backstage' labour, to be seen by as few as possible.[90] Yet, housework was not necessarily an utterly demeaning activity. Indeed, for some colonial women, there was even a sense of pride associated with these activities.[91] This pride stemmed from women's perception that such labour was fulfilling and useful.[92] There is little evidence concerning the Maxwell women's housework; what we can gather comes from Kathleen Hawkins interview with Alice.[93] Regarding housework, Alice commented by saying, "'I use method, my dear'", which, for Kathleen, held "a touch of old world severity."[94] While this does not necessarily provide us with a very thorough understanding of Alice's view of housework, it does hint that she regarded her labour in the household as a normality.

Domestic work, which provided the time for women, such as Euphemia, to create fancy work, was not limited to the domestic interior but extended into the garden. Out in the garden, the workload appears to have been divided between the gardener and the Maxwell women. Euphemia's letter to Alice in May 1900, concerning changes made to The Elms garden, hints that the work may not have been carried out by Euphemia entirely, as she wrote that "all below the Magnolia tree is cleared and dug by Biggins down to the summer house."[95] Biggins, however, does not seem to have been permanently employed at the Elms as in June 1900,

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[87] Charlotte Macdonald, 'Why Was There No Answer to the 'Servant Problem'? Paid Domestic Work and the Making of a White New Zealand, 1840s–1950s', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 51.1 (2017), 7-35; Charlotte Macdonald, 'Strangers at the Hearth: The Eclipse of Domestic Service in New Zealand Homes C. 1830s–1940s', in *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, ed. by Barbara Brookes (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), pp. 41-56.
[88] Macdonald, 'Why Was There No Answer to the 'Servant Problem'', pp. 7-35.
[89] Duff Maxwell, 'An Old Piano', *Journal of the Tauranga Historical Society,* 65.1 (1981), 21-22.
[90] Floyd, pp. 90-103; Lawrence, pp. 165-66; Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga, p 4.
[91] Belich, p. 389; Floyd, pp. 98-102.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Kathleen Hawkins, 'Some Memories of Miss Alice Maxwell', *Journal of the Tauranga Historical Society,* 6.1 (1956), 17-20 (p. 17).
[94] Hawkins, p. 17.
[95] Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Letters from Euphemia to Alice Maxwell, 9 May 1900, 8EBJ.

Euphemia wrote, “Biggins was here (his last days work at present).”[96] The rather unstable employment of Biggins suggests that the gardening also rested on the shoulders of the Maxwell women.

Gardening for many colonial women had become woven into the societal genteel standards. Katherine Raine writes that “the fashion for gardening reflected . . .the growth of imperialism and the rise of the middle class.”[97] However, there were societal differences between the kitchen garden and the flower garden, indicating the division between recreational gardening and gardening as a form of labour. While the kitchen garden could be displayed, under certain closely monitored circumstances, it was usually kept away from the public eye, as it implied work rather than genteel leisure.[98] Of the gardening, Lawrence write:

> Unlike the flower garden, where a mature site gives some opportunity for a reduction of physical work, the growing of fruit and vegetables involves a constant cycle of ground preparation, sowing and planting, husbandry and harvest.[99]

At The Elms the sisters maintained the flower garden and also grew vegetables as well as harvested fruit from the orchard.[100] Alice and Edith, therefore, were not above playing an active role in the more difficult forms of gardening. Thus, Euphemia’s display of genteel leisure, her ability to have the time to work on her fancy work, was largely due to the labour of her daughters.

Fancy work also required money. In the case of the crazy quilt, money was needed for thread, fabrics (excluding the neckties and cravats) and beading. Such expenditure on fancy work, Cramer writes, required a reliable source of income, which was most usually sourced in the nineteenth century from a male salary.[101] Yet, there was no male breadwinner for the Maxwell women as Euphemia was a widow, and neither Alice nor Edith had married. One source of income that the family obtained was the widow’s pension Euphemia received from

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[96] Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Letters from Euphemia to Alice Maxwell, 9 June 1900, 9EBJ.
[97] Katherine Raine, 'Domesticating the Land: Colonial Women's Gardening', in *Fragments*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), p. 78.
[98] Lawrence, pp. 165-66.
[99] While the kitchen garden was an area of labour, in colonial contexts, it was also a space that could be intended for display, see: Lawrence, pp. 165-166. Such gardening also hints at connotations of respectable labour, which many migrant women from Britain to New Zealand looked forward to see: Belich, *Making Peoples,* pp. 327, 390-395; Porter, Macdonald and MacDonald, p. 5.
[100] Vennell, p. 103.
[101] Cramer, *Needlework and Women’s Identity in Colonial Australia*, p. 75.

the Presbyterian church.[102] Another source of finance that the Maxwell women lived upon during their years at The Elms came through the sale of Euphemia's property and furnishings, in Wadestown, Wellington. From 1887 to 1898, Euphemia's sale of property was handled by J. H. Bethune the land estate agent based in Wellington. Unfortunately, sales did not always result in a significant profit. Writing to Ebenezer, J. H. Bethune reported the following in November 1887:

> Enclosed we have the pleasure to hand you Amount Sales of a quantity of furniture sold at auction on 22 October . . . This said finances amounting to £23.3.7 . . . We regret . . . such poor prices at the sale.[103]

Bethune's letter then captures the difficulties of Euphemia's financial situation. Another glimpse of hardships that the Maxwell women faced is articulated by Duff Maxwell, who later spoke of the miserable state in which Euphemia and her daughters lived, as the house was gradually becoming dilapidated.[104] Ebenezer Maxwell, around 1912 and 1913, persuaded his family to sell subdivided sections to raise funds to renovate the property.[105] There appears to have been enough money raised for modifications, including a kitchenette and small bathroom, which would have provided some practical relief.[106] Without a male breadwinner the Maxwell's economic means were largely constrained.

With no formal income, Alice and Edith's labour also provided financial support. Duff Maxwell recollected that his aunt milked two cows, and from that milk, Alice would then make butter.[107] Alice and Edith also supported themselves as amateur beekeepers.[108] Another source of financial income was through the eggs that Alice would sell; when there were many

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[102] Graham Burkett, *Interview with A. Duff Maxwell*, online audio recording, Tauranga City Libraries Pae Korokī, 8 February 1989 <https://paekoroki.tauranga.govt.nz/nodes/view/20924> [accessed 9/08/2023]; Though we cannot be sure about the amount Euphemia received as a pension, it may have been comparable with what her sister Christina received in 1885 a sum of £36.15.0. Potentially Euphemia received a similar amount, though Christina was the wife of an Anglican minister and amount perhaps varied between churches: Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, Statements of Accounts to C.M.S., Memorandum to Mrs Brown, 1885, 2008.0086.
[103] Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Wellington Accounts etc from Bethune to Euphemia B Maxwell, 1887-1898, Bethune memo to Euphemia Maxwell, 1887, 1WEL.
[104] Burkett, *Interview with A. Duff Maxwell*.
[105] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan*, pp. 21-22; Vennell, p. 107; Burkett *Interview with A. Duff Maxwell*.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Burkett.
[108] Stegen, *Interview with Julie Green.*

eggs, she would get 8 pence for a dozen.[109] While this labour took them outside the domestic threshold, Edith and Alice's work, though strenuous, should not be viewed as a solid contrast to the femininity expressed in the labour of fancy work. Indeed, there was still a degree of respectability associated with such works. Caroline Daley notes that nineteenth century milking and poultry were viewed as an extension of women's domestic sphere, as such labour was "not unsexing, non-feminine tasks."[110] Indeed, for many women in colonial New Zealand, there was a sense of pride attached to gardening.[111] Lawrence discusses this outlook in relation to changing attitudes around the female body, noting Margaret McClure who writes that "a healthy body and capacity for strenuous physical work were central to the official descriptions of immigrants required by the New Zealand government in the expansive decade of the 1870s."[112] While Euphemia was illustrating genteel femininity through needlework, her daughters performed tasks such as industrial outdoor work that were in keeping with colonial adaptations of class-associated feminine ideals.

What becomes apparent in a discussion of the labour and money involved in creating and performing gentility, as evidenced in the crazy quilt, is the reliance upon the whenua. As discussed in the first chapter, the Land Wars resulted in the confiscation of the lands around Te Papa mission station and governmental pressure on the Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries to sell the land of the Te Papa mission block. The block had been bought to be retained as a sacred trust for the local tangata whenua–a position Brown always advocated for.[113] However, as governmental pressure mounted, the CMS retracted from their stance and sold a large amount of the Te Papa Mission Block.[114] The result was the establishment of The Elms as a private residence and the development of a Pākehā town settlement. As Rowan Ropata Macgregor Thom states, land alienation "reduced the opportunities available to iwi to establish a foundation from which to develop economic, social and cultural wealth from within

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[109] Burkett.
[110] Caroline Daley, 'Taradale Meets the Ideal Society and Its Enemies', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 25.2 (1991), p. 54.
[111] Lawrence*,* pp. 167-168.
[112] Margaret McClure, 'Body and Soul: Work in 19th Century New Zealand', in *Fragments*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), p. 98.
[113] O'Malley, Vincent, *Te Papa Block: A History of Church Missionary Society and Crown Dealings 1838-1867* (Tauranga: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1996), pp. 93-102.
[114] Ibid.

their rohe."[115] The crazy quilt, as a creation that was part of the performance in gentility, was a tangible part of the broader imperial overlay. Analysing the labour and finances that supported the Maxwell's image of gentility reveals a specific instance in which Pākehā cultural constructions were supported using the land taken from Māori.

The crazy quilt is an item that's story is connected to not only needles and thread but also to labour and land. The quilt is a craft that is, therefore, linked to the history of women's domestic labour, which formed the backbone of Euphemia's display of gentility. Understanding this aspect of the quilt's history may create depth to the narrative of the Maxwell women at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. The current narrative acknowledges the struggles that the Maxwell women faced during the time they lived at The Elms. Yet, through the beautiful possessions exhibited, an interpretation emerges that leans toward an elitist ideal of the domestic space. By contextualising the quilt to the work and financial means that afforded Euphemia the time and money to create her fancy work, we draw on a history that reveals the ways in which ideal possessions were interwoven with the harsher realities of domesticity.

Conclusion

This chapter pieces together the social, cultural, and economic conditions of New Zealand in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that were embedded in the making of this crazy quilt. Euphemia's crazy quilt illustrates a settler's engagement with the broader networks of exchange and is, therefore, a textile that demonstrates the cultural transmission of trends and ideas. As a form of fancy work, the quilt was also embedded in British understandings of genteel femininity. The crazy quilt is then a tangible reminder of the cultural baggage of British ideals within the colonial space of New Zealand. The quilt's tactility indicates the limitations placed upon female craftwork through nineteenth century Western categorisations of the senses. Examining the quilt alongside a family memory, we encounter genteel femininity as a tool in which Euphemia exerted power as well as the slippage in coded gender expressions. Understanding the Maxwell women's domestic labour and financial

[115] Rowan Ropata Macgregor Thom, 'Land Loss, Confiscation, Arability and Colonisation: The Experience of Iwi in Aotearoa New Zealand', *AlterNative: an International Journal of Indigenous Peoples,* 18.4 (2022), p. 558.

means is a part of the crazy quilt's story, highlighting the struggles of sustaining an image of gentility and the legacy of the Land Wars as the land sustained Pākehā socio-cultural practices.

Exhibited at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, the crazy quilt is carefully laid out on Euphemia's bed in the main bedroom with a sign that states 'please no touching'. Yet, the historical story of the quilt is linked to the sense of touch. The tactility of the quilt is an important aspect in communicating the social positioning and restriction of women's crafts as domestic pursuits rather than art. Touch then could play an important role in the contemporary visitor's access to that history. In this manner, sight would be paired with the sense of touch. Such an interaction echoes Sandra Dudley's remarks that the tactile should not replace the visual but that museums should explore "the complexity of the senses in aesthetic experience."[116] Due to the fragility of the quilt, such interactions would be problematic for its preservation. A faithful replica would be too ambitious a task. Yet, because the making of the quilt plays a significant role in this story, one could allow the visitor to experience the quilt in a deconstructed state, whereby visitors engage in stitching and embroidering pieces of fabric together. In thinking about the making of the quilt, the visual, oral, and tactile may also be combined. Potentially replicated models of neckties and cravats with similar patterns could be produced as guides recount the story of the making of the quilt, enabling visitors to experience the previous lives of the fabrics that made up the quilt. Euphemia most likely did not create her quilt in the main bedroom. This study of the making of the quilt also suggests how we may understand it through different spaces, such as the drawing room and its indirect connections to the exterior space of the dairy and garden. Conveying the stories of the quilt in these different spaces creates networks between this historic site's exterior and interior spaces. This may enable the contemporary visitor to better understand the history of hardship and struggle underlying the beautiful interior possessions. The 'home' would then be realised as a multimodal sensory experience and an entire network in which cultural exchange, cultural baggage and the imperial cultural overlay impacted a settler colonist's creation of 'home.'

[116] Sandra H. Dudley, 'Museum Materialities: Objects, Sense and Feeling', in *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*, ed. by Sandra H. Dudley (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 11.

Chapter Four: Reframing: Alice Maxwell's Wood Carved Picture Frame, 1890-1919

Alice's wood carved picture frame hangs in the drawing room of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga.[1] Within the frame is an image of Alice's father, Reverend Andrew Maxwell. What struck me about Alice's woodcarving was its scale. With a height of approximately 120cm and a width of 92 cm, the frame takes up a sizeable portion of the wall's height. The frame is joined together with a butt-joint, which was perhaps a decision made in consideration of the frame's size, as it is stronger than a mitre joint. As illustrated in Figure Six the large scale of the frame provides a generous space in which Alice carved her design. The light-coloured finish on the wood allows for great visibility of Alice's complex and lavish design, inspired by the styles of the Arts and Crafts Movement and Art Nouveau. Alice potentially made her frame between 1890 and 1910.[2] This period overlaps with the time in which Euphemia Maxwell was crafting her crazy quilt. While the two items were made at roughly the same time, Alice's woodcarving indicates changes in societal understandings of femininity and gentility across the imperial world.

This chapter continues the discussion of women's place within colonial settler society, as highlighted in the previous chapter, expanding that study by noting women's involvement beyond the domestic sphere. I draw on the literature examining imperial constructions of gender in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the role of 'taste', with its connotations of class status, in the adoption of aesthetic trends.[3] This study of Alice's picture frame also continues the discussion of environmental change and colonists' attitudes toward

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[1] Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Picture, 2003.0015.

[2] My dates are based on the popularity of such crafts and evidence of Alice making such craftwork through her participation in competitions that included woodcarving. For the popularity of such woodwork see: Ann Calhoun, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand,1870-1940: Women Make Their Mark* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), pp. 86-91; for Alice's participation in competitions of woodwork see for example: 'Chrysanthemum Show', *Bay of Plenty Times,* 28 April 1905, p. 2 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19050428.2.6> [accessed 23 June 2023].

[3] Scholarship considering gender constructions in the late nineteenth century see: Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999); Barbara Brookes, Erik Olssen and Emma Beer, 'Spare Time? Leisure, Gender and Modernity', in *Sites of Gender* ed. by Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robin Law (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), pp. 151-189; Dianne Lawrence explores the role of taste in the concept of gentility, Dianne Lawrence *Genteel Women: Empire and Domestic Material Culture 1840-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 165-166, 120.

the environment expressed in the chapter on the Aeolian harp.[4] This chapter also, further examines the role of senses in material culture, drawing on sensory literature to discuss touch and smell.[5]

The geometric chip carving of the design and the utilisation of wood denotes the influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement, which favoured the use of natural materials.[6] The fluidity of the plant motifs in Alice's woodcarving, particularly the large leaf design, suggests the organic forms typically depicted in the style of Art Nouveau. While Art Nouveau and the Arts and Crafts Movement were distinct, the styles did overlap, with the newer style of Art Nouveau drawing upon the older foundations of the Arts and Crafts Movement.[7] Alice was an artist who appears to have employed both styles; consequently, this chapter connects some of the broader themes surrounding both styles and applying them within the colonial context of New Zealand in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

This chapter examines the making and display of the frame and the sensory story included in that history. This analysis reveals the cautious societal shifts in the imperial world towards women's craftwork in late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand. By examining Alice's frame, we may link the interior and exterior domestic space together. Alice's frame illustrates the imperial environmental and cultural overlay embedded in Pākehā understandings of home at a national scale. In this analysis of the frame, I explore the nuances in the generalisations of women's lives within and outside the domestic sphere. These histories carved in the frame, I argue, contribute to a narrative that reframes this item from a mere wall decoration to a craftwork which provides a detailed picture of the nuances in the broader social history of Aotearoa New Zealand. Through this reframing, the house museum

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[4] William Beinart and Karen Middleton, 'Plant Transfers in Historical Perspective: A Review Article', *Environment and History,* 10.1 (2004), 3-29; James Beattie, 'Biological Invasion and Narratives of Environmental History in New Zealand', in *Invasive and Introduced Plants and Animals: Human Perceptions, Attitudes and Approaches to Management*, ed. by Ian D. Rotherham and Robert A. Lambert (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), pp. 343-352; Paul Star, 'Humans and the Environment in New Zealand, C. 1800 to 2000', in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 47-70.

[5] Elizabeth Pye, 'Introduction: The Power of Touch', in *The Power of Touch: Handling Objects in Museum and Heritage Context*, ed. by Elizabeth Pye (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 13-30; Sandra H. Dudley, 'Museum Materialities: Objects, Sense and Feeling', in *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*, ed. by Sandra H. Dudley (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 1-18; Constance Classen, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch*, Studies in Sensory History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), p. xiv.

[6] Ann Calhoun explores the popular use of wood in the Arts and Crafts Movement: Calhoun, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand, 1870-1940,* pp. 86-91.

[7] Calhoun, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand, 1870-1940,* p. 60.

of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga can convey the home as a space linked to a broader socio-cultural history as it impacted the local community.

Figure 6: Alice Heron Maxwell Carved Picture Frame at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Photographed by E. Stegen with the kind permission of The Elms Foundation.

Making A Picture Frame

As the picture frame hangs on the drawing room wall of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, it creates a natural sense of distance between the visitor of the house museum and the object. Frames and their pictures on walls are not often engaged with; they are looked at, perhaps admired, but beyond that, there is no other sort of interaction.[8] Figuratively, however, we may take

[8] Literature examining the privileging of the visual in museums and the stronger movement towards haptic experience, see: Constance Classen, *The Museum of the Senses Experiencing Art and Collections,* Sensory Studies Series (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017) pp. 25-46; Sandra H. Dudley, 'Museum Materialities: Objects, Sense and Feeling', pp. 1-18; Fiona Candlin, 'Don't Touch! Hands Off! Art, Blindness and the Conservation of Expertise', *Body & Society,* 10.1 (2004), 71-90 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1177/1357034X040417> [accessed 8 September 2022].

Alice's carving down from the wall of the drawing room, considering the socio-cultural and sensory aspects that were a part of the history of the making of the frame.

Handicrafts, as indicators of genteel femininity, belonged within the realm of the house and were a form and symbol of leisure.[9] In contrast, woodcarving, as a specialised skill, had generally been associated with the furniture trade, a male province.[10] Woodcarving as a women's craft resulted in the skill being positionally shifted away from the sphere of male labour in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[11] Woodcarving, by women, was placed in the category of genteel femininity and conducted mainly within a domestic setting.[12] Thus, it shifted out of the sphere of skilled trade and positioned within the amateur sphere.[13] In this manner, the gendered constructions of gentility continued to play an influential role in the societal practices around woodcarving since, as a female endeavour it was considered as a more privatised occupation.[14] Therefore, as a private endeavour, and situated within the realm of domestic handicrafts, imperial society largely viewed women's woodcarving as leisure and recreation rather than a form of work.[15] Alice was not participating in massive gender shifts by taking up the craft. Rather, Alice perpetuated the gender coded practices that were appropriate to New Zealand's Pākehā middle class society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Woodcarving was an art form that demonstrated how understandings of feminine gentility were shifting across the imperial world towards the end of the late nineteenth century. As Talia Schaffer notes, domestic handicrafts, as signs of genteel femininity, were often objects of great fragility.[16] Typical of nineteenth century genteel feminine craft were items constructed of fragile materials such as cardboard or straw rather than wood.[17] Woodwork

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[9] Talia Schaffer, *Novel Craft: Victorian Domestic Handicraft and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 3-60; Thad Logan, *The Victorian Parlour: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 178.
[10] Harriet Edquist, 'Ellen Nora Payne, Women Art Woodcarvers and the Early Arts and Crafts Movement in Melbourne', *RMIT Design Archives Journal,* 12.1 (2021), 8-25 (p. 13).
[11] While for some women, woodcarving afforded them the opportunity to step outside the domestic sphere, woodcarving as a female endeavour was mostly determined as an amateur feminine domestic leisure pursuit, see: Edquist, pp. 12,16.
[12] Edquist, pp. 12, 16; Lawrence, p. 120.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Some women though who did make a profession out of woodwork, see: Edquist p. 13.
[16] Schaffer, p. 47.
[17] Ibid.

was not included among these handicrafts. Woodcarving was excluded from amongst genteel pursuits not only because of the material but because the tools were believed to be too heavy.[18] While the needlework that Euphemia Maxwell engaged in held a long-standing tradition of being associated with women's work and genteel femininity, woodcarving only became a feminine pursuit for women across the imperial world in the late 1880s and through to the twentieth century.[19] That woodcarving became popular for women may be due to the rise of the Arts and Crafts Movement during the late nineteenth century, as woodcarving was a popular craft in Movement.[20] Perhaps then through its association to this Movement, woodcarving began to be perceived as an appropriate form of genteel leisure.

Location was a characteristic of woodwork that signified the changing ideas of feminine leisure. The act of creating genteel feminine handiwork such as berlin work or embroidery, as previously noted, in the case of Euphemia, was often carried out in the space of the drawing room.[21] Thinking about woodwork in its production stage conjures an image of the process involved in making the frame: it is a messy atmosphere, which is understandably why then the production of woodcarving took place away from the more refined domestic interior.[22] The nature of woodcarving regarding the materials and tools utilised also contributed to the shift in location to outside the domestic interior.[23] However, this did not necessarily mean that women went very far from the household, often remaining within the borders of their property.[24] Alice, likewise, did not necessarily leave The Elms as she could have potentially used one of the other buildings on the property.[25]

Where women created their woodwork is relative to the broader context of women traversing the private and public spheres. Though the gendered divisions of private and public spheres played a significant role in the social structuring of the nineteenth century, as scholars have

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[18] Ibid.
[19] For literature exploring the popularity of woodcarving by women from the late nineteenth century, see: Edquist, pp. 8-25; Lawrence, p. 120.
[20] Calhoun, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand, 1870-1940,* p. 86-91.
[21] Lawrence, pp. 118-24; Cramer, pp. 71-94.
[22] Edquist, p. 21; regarding the division of household spaces for domestic housework and space of performance and display, see: Floyd, pp. 90-93.
[23] Edquist, p. 21.
[24] Edquist, p. 21; Anthea Callen, 'Sexual Division of Labor in the Arts and Crafts Movement', *Woman's Art Journal,* 5.2 (1984), 1-6.
[25] *The Elms Mission, Tauranga – Conservation Plan* (Tauranga: Prepared by Matthews & Matthews Architects Ltd for The Elms Foundation Trust Board, 2016), p. 148.

noted, such binaries were often blurred.[26] Writing of women's participation in the Arts and Crafts Movement, Anthea Callen remarks that while the Movement was in many ways an artistically and socially radical force, it nevertheless reinforced a patriarchal ideology.[27] She argues that this became apparent in the production of crafts as women remained in the domestic sphere.[28] However, Zoë Thomas notes that due to the philosophies of the Arts and Crafts Movement, "there could be no clear delineation, in practice, between home and studio – something art workers encouraged as a display of authenticity."[29] The tools and materials of woodcarving saw women move into other spaces beyond the domestic interior with greater confidence due to the social acceptability of such actions. Yet, the ideals of the Arts and Crafts Movement meant that such shifts did not result in women completely stepping out of the private sphere.

While the rise of woodcarving as a genteel pursuit developed alongside the popularity of the Arts and Crafts movement, its acceptance was also likely connected to the changing ideas of the female body in imperial culture. From the 1890s, Pākehā society, and the imperial world at large, began to place greater focus on creating healthy bodies; women in New Zealand experienced a change in leisure pursuits that saw them take up new sporting activities.[30] These were the 'new woman.' [31] While Daley notes that women were participating in different leisure activities from the 1890s, she maintains that women's leisure in New Zealand continued to retain a focus on the domestic sphere and domestic art forms.[32] Diane Lawrence captures how woodcarving, as a form of leisure, integrated the new and old ideals, writing that it was a "changing use of the body which was still compatible with gentility."[33] While then woodwork was genteel there were aspects of it that fitted with the changing use of the female

[26] Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal,* 36.2 (1993), 383-414; Kathryn Gleadle, 'Revisiting Family Fortunes: Reflections on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Publication of L. Davidoff & C. Hall (1987) Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850 (London: Hutchinson)', *Women's History Review,* 16.5 (2007), 773-782.
[27] Callen, pp. 1-6.
[28] Callen, pp. 1-6.
[29] Zoë Thomas and Lynn Abrams, *Women Art Workers and the Arts and Crafts Movement*, Gender in History, 1 edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p. 107.
[30] While women before 1890 had been able to engage in physical activities, they had been largely constrained by rules around competition and not making spectacle: Brookes, Olssen and Beer, pp. 165-167.
[31] Brookes, Olssen and Beer, pp. 165-167.
[32] Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys,* p. 114.
[33] Lawrence, p. 120.

body as genteel women took up tools, materials and entered different spaces which had previously been thought unsuitable for them.

Writing of the connection between the body and senses, Constance Classen notes that "we experience our bodies . . . through our senses."[34] The sense of touch would have played a significant role in the experience of woodcarving. As discussed in the third chapter, the tactility of women's handiwork was a key element of their crafts. Tactility, and the choice of materials, as Schaffer explains, were meant to represent the delicate hand of women.[35] Woodcarving, likewise, was an art form that, typical of women's crafts, was a tactile piece. Yet, this craft form did not denote a delicate hand. Indeed, for one thing, the tools were different, and their use was different, as woodcarving was more physically demanding. Alice carved her frames with a penknife; she potentially also utilised other tools, such as a hammer and stamp, to create the background texture of the piece.[36] Thus, the craft of woodcarving was a bodily experience, felt through the sense of touch, which indicated the changing use of the female body.

We can also consider the role of smell in the making of the picture frame. The finished wood frame no longer retains a smell, yet unfinished wood has a smell. Alice likely made her frame from kauri which does not have a particular odour, yet the natural state most certainly conveyed an aroma of untreated wood as Alice carved her design.[37] Smell was arguably a factor that contributed to the messy atmosphere of woodcarving, reinforcing it as a craft form located outside of the household. Porteous discusses the connection between smell and place,

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[34] Constance Classen, 'Foundations for an Anthropology of the Senses', *International Social Science Journal,* 49.3 (1997), 401-412 (p. 402).

[35] Schaffer, p. 47.

[36] Elisabeth Stegen, *Interview with Julie Green*, audio recording, 13 June 2022; Richard Bütz, *How to Carve Wood: A Book of Projects and Techniques* (Newtown: Taunton, 1984), p. 18.

[37] In another of Alice's carvings, a flowerpot stand which is of a similar colour and grain, her brother, Ebenezer Maxwell, who accessioned the household items, listed the material used as kauri: Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Ebenezer Maxwell, An Inventory of The Contents of The Elms Mission House and Library, 1935, reprint 1997; While nothing was mentioned about the wood of the frame, Alice likely used the same material. The grain of wood and colouring indicate that it was possibly made from kauri, as kauri can be a light biscuit-like colour. Kauri would have been available as it grows naturally from Kawhia to Tauranga. Kauri was a wood that was a highly popular material used by Pākehā settlers in the nineteenth century as it had the advantage of being easy to work with, an element which would have been useful when carving this piece. More accurate tests should be done to ascertain the type of wood used. The result would perhaps alter and modify the argument made in this chapter, though, arguably, the picture frame could still be discussed in relation to the ideas and themes discussed in this thesis: Norman C. Clifton, *New Zealand Timbers: Exotic and Indigenous* (Wellington: GP Publications, 1990), p. 54; Stanley Northcote-Bade, *Colonial Furniture in New Zealand* (Wellington: Reed, 1971), p. 76.

which he further focuses by examining the links between place, smell and time.[38] Exploring the smells in the shifting seasons and the smells of specific activities, Porteous highlights the power of smell in delineating the changes of location and time.[39] The smell of kauri is not distinctive and, thus, does not provide a connection to a particular environment. However, the smell of the wood is a characteristic of this piece that is intrinsically connected to the days, weeks, and perhaps months when the frame was being made. The natural timber would have also only been smelt in a particular location where the frame was being made. As Mark Smith identifies, the senses are "textures" to our understanding of the past.[40] Thus, through smell, we may identify the bodily experiences associated with the process of the wood becoming a picture frame. Smell, therefore, is a component that connects us to the moment and location in Alice's experience of making the frame.

The visitor of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, looking at the frame from the entrance to the drawing room, can appreciate the skill and scale of Alice's craftsmanship. Yet, the frame was not always gazed at; there was once a time when hands held the knife that chipped out the design, and the smell of unfinished wood lingered in the air. "Experiencing what the world smelled like in the past," Cecilia Bembibre and Matija Strlič write, "enriches our knowledge of it, and . . . allows us to engage with our history in a more emotional way."[41] Through the senses of touch and smell the visitor may engage in a more visceral way to the social constructions that informed the making of the frame. Woodcarving was, thus, a 'tasteful' endeavour for the middle-class woman as it became a feminine genteel craft.[42] As an introduced form of fancy work, woodcarving suggested a shift, though a cautious one, in imperial attitudes around genteel craft and behaviour.

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[38] J. Douglas Porteous, 'Smellscape', in *The Smell Culture Reader*, ed. by Jim Drobnick (New York: Berg, 2006), p. 99.
[39] Porteous, pp. 98-101.
[40] Mark M. Smith, 'Still Coming to "Our" Senses: An Introduction', *The Journal of American History,* 95.2 (2008), 378–380 (p. 379).
[41] Cecilia Bembibre and Matija Strlič, 'Smell of Heritage: a Framework for the Identification, Analysis and Archival of Historic Odours', *Herit Sci*, 5.2 (2017), 1-11 <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40494-016-0114-1> [accessed 23 July 2023] (p. 2); see also: Classen, *The Museum of the Senses Experiencing Art and Collections*, pp. 134-135.
[42] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); Lawrence, p. 120.

A Public Display

The next stage in the frame's life was its display. Potentially, Alice displayed this woodcarving within the public space of the Chrysanthemum Show, which was a type of agricultural and pastoral show held in Tauranga. Kim Christensen, as this thesis has noted, writes that because women have a history that shares links to the domestic sphere, greater attention should be placed upon their stories within the house museum.[43] This section, though, explores reframing the narrative of women in the house museum by considering Alice's engagement in public pursuits outside the domestic sphere.[44] Through Alice Maxwell's woodcarving we may consider the negotiations of a relatively new craft form for women as it was positioned within the more public spheres of Pākehā society.

The Chrysanthemum Show was a public event for the Tauranga community organised by the horticultural committee of Tauranga's Agricultural and Pastoral Association. Alice exhibited woodcarvings at the Chrysanthemum Show of 1905 and 1909.[45] We cannot be completely certain that Alice entered this frame in either show. However, on examining the frame it does not have the same polished finish as some of her other woodcarvings. This could indicate that, perhaps, Alice was adhering to a time pressure, which may have been a competition date. This evidence is not strong, yet as we know that Alice most certainly registered in the competitions

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[43] Kim Christensen, 'Ideas Versus Things: The Balancing Act of Interpreting Historic House Museums', *International Journal of Heritage Studies: IJHS*, 17.2 (2011), 153-168 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1080/13527258.2011.541068> [accessed 22 April 2022] (p.159).

[44] House museums in New Zealand, such as Te Whare Waiutuutu Kate Sheppard House and Katherine Mansfield House and Garden, exhibit the domestic and personal relationships and these women's roles and pursuits in the public sphere: 'Introduction to Kate Sheppard House', *Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga***,** <https://visitheritage.co.nz/visit/upper-south-island/kate-sheppard-house/an-introduction-to-te-whare-waiutuutu-kate-sheppard-house/> [accessed 15 November 2023]; 'About', *Katherine Mansfield House and Garden*, <https://www.katherinemansfield.com/about> [accessed 15 November 2023]; Michelle Furlano in her work considers how a house museum which was established as a 'suffragete shrine', in the United States, have since developed a narrative of woman's experiences and relationship with others, see: Michelle Furlano, 'From Suffragist Shrine to Reformer's Home: The Evolving Interpretation of the National Susan B. Anthony Museum & House', *Collections (Walnut Creek, Calif.),* 16.1 (2020), 70-84.

[45] 'Chrysanthemum Show', *Bay of Plenty Times,* 28 April 1905, p. 2 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19050428.2.6> [accessed 23 June 2023]; 'Chrysanthemum Show', *Bay of Plenty Times*, 23 April 1909, p. 2 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19090423.2.10?end_date=31-12-1979&items_per_page=10&page=3&query=%22a.+h.+maxwell%22+&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA.rev&start_date=01-01-1880&title=BPB%2cBOPT%2cHLC%2cOPNEWS%2cTPT> [accessed 13 July 2023].

of woodcarvings, we can still consider this frame's story in relation to Alice's public display of her woodwork.

By participating in the Chrysanthemum Show, Alice was actively entering the public and communal spaces of Tauranga society. Caroline Daley writes that communal festivals, like the Agricultural and Pastoral Shows, were an important socialising activity for New Zealand's Pākehā communities.[46] Such events were a way to establish community bonding as through social cohesion a spirit of unity was created at these events.[47] Agricultural and Pastoral Shows, such as the Chrysanthemum Show, were, thus, an important feature of public communal leisure. The Chrysanthemum Show saw entries from men and women, young and old, Pākehā and Māori.[48] While such shows saw a coming together of Pākehā and Māori, imperial racial constructions still framed these events.[49] There is a need in New Zealand's scholarship for more in-depth analysis of these events and to better understand the societal bi-cultural relations as they took shape within that context. This section particularly focuses on the gendered divisions in this form of communal leisure.

While these communal shows incorporated both men and women, such events still engaged with, and maintained, gender divisions. The Chrysanthemum Show included both men and women in the Show's organisation and participation.[50] Yet, gendered boundaries still played a role in the structuring of communal leisure.[51] Writing of the Agricultural and Pastoral Shows, Caroline Daley notes that "although the Show allowed both men and women to enter exhibits, they were not competing against one another."[52] However, the Chrysanthemum Show, which was under the Agricultural and Pastoral Association, suggests a more fluid interaction.

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[46] There appears a need for more critical work considering agricultural and pastoral shows; for discussions of such shows: Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys,* p. 103; Daley, 'Taradale Meets the Ideal Society and Its Enemies', pp. 131-133; Joanne Scott and Ross Laurie, 'Colonialism on Display: Indigenous People and Artefacts at an Australian Agricultural Show', *Aboriginal History,* 31 (2011), 45-62.
[47] Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys,* p. 103: Scott and Laurie, p. 45.
[48] Example of participation of Māori children, see: 'Chrysanthemum Show', *Bay of Plenty Times,* 28 April 1905, p. 2; 'Chrysanthemum Show', *Bay of Plenty Times,* 29 April 1910, p. 2 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19100429.2.11> [accessed 23 June 2023].
[49] Joanne Scott and Ross Laurie discuss agricultural and pastoral shows as key sites that embodied imperial visions of progress, which saw indigenous peoples placed within a narrative of transition from 'barbarism' to 'civilised': Scott and Laurie, pp. 45-62.
[50] For example: 'Chrysanthemum Show', *Bay of Plenty Times*, 1909, p. 2.
[51] Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys,* p. 92
[52] Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys,* p. 104.

In the 1905 Show the *Bay of Plenty Times* reported that Miss Alice Maxwell had won second prize for "Woodcarving" and first prize for "Collection of Woodcarvings."[53] Mr C. G. Robinson conversely won first prize in "Woodcarving" and second prize for "Collection of Woodcarvings."[54] Based upon the winners listed in the *Bay of Plenty Times*, woodcarving appears to be the only subcategory within the 'Industrial' category to include both women and men as the competitors; the 'Fruit' and 'Vegetables' being the other categories in the Show that included both men and women amongst the participants.[55] The rest of the subcategories in the Chrysanthemum Show, though, appear to be divided along stricter gender lines.[56] That the gardening categories of the Chrysanthemum Show should include both male and female participants is not odd; this thesis, in its discussion of Archdeacon Alfred Nesbit Brown and Alice's participation in the garden, has acknowledged gardening as an acceptable pursuit for both men and women in colonial New Zealand.[57] This analysis of woodcarving offers an extension of that discussion, recognising another form of leisure which blurred the boundaries of gender divisions.

The placement, and change of placement, of 'Woodcarving' as a subcategory within the Show from 1901 to 1909 hints that woodcarving was negotiated and reconfigured.[58] The 1901 Show's categories were solely devoted to the exhibitions of fruits and flora, the 1902 Show similarly followed the same lines though there was less reported about the event in the *Bay*

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[53] 'Chrysanthemum Show', *Bay of Plenty Times,* 28 April 1905, p. 2.
[54] 'Chrysanthemum Show', *Bay of Plenty Times,* 28 April 1905, p. 2.
[55] The category of fruit and vegetables had both male and female winners, see: 'Chrysanthemum Show', *Bay of Plenty Times,* 1905, p. 2.
[56] 'Chrysanthemum Show', *Bay of Plenty Times,* 1905, p. 2; 'Chrysanthemum Show', *Bay of Plenty Times*, 1909, p. 2.
[57] Katherine Raine, 'Domesticating the Land: Colonial Women's Gardening', in *Fragments*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), pp. 76-96; James Beattie, 'The Empire of the Rhododendron', in *Making a New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, ed. by Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Otago University Press: Dunedin 2013), p. 247; Annette Bainbridge, 'Pākehā Middle-Class Women, Gardens and the Colonizing Project in Colonial Canterbury, 1850–1914', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 55.1 (2021), 4-28.
[58] The Chrysanthemum Show also ran in 1910, there is no mention of woodcarving in this event; indeed, there is very little information on the Show. This thesis only focuses on the years leading up to the inclusion of woodcarving and the years in which woodcarving was included: 'Chrysanthemum Show', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 1910, p. 2; The Show was cancelled in 1911: 'Chrysanthemum Show', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 7 August 1911, p. 8,
<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19110807.2.78?end_date=31-12-1911&items_per_page=10&query=Chrysanthemum+Show&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA.rev&start_date=01-01-1911&title=BPB%2cBOPT%2cHLC%2cOPNEWS%2cTPT> [accessed 14 June 2023].

of Plenty Times owing to "pressure on our space."[59] In 1903, the focus was similarly plants and fruits, and again, in 1904, the Show also featured exhibitions of flowers and fruit.[60] In the 1905 Chrysanthemum Show, the category of "Industrial" was established, which included subcategories of baked goods, needlework and woodcarving.[61] The 1906 Show similarly included the category Industrial which much the same subcategories.[62] The subcategory of woodcarving in both the 1905 and 1906 Shows listed male and female winners.[63] In 1907 and 1908 the Chrysanthemum Show was cancelled owing to some financial issues and a lack of produce.[64] The organisers of 1909 Show included the category of Industrial and the category "Needlework."[65] Woodcarving was placed within the category of Needlework, with "Specimen of Wood Carving, chip" listed amongst the other subcategories including "Specimen Point Lace" and "Collection Knitting."[66] The Industrial category featured baked goods and preserves.[67] The newspaper article of the 1909 Show only lists the first prize winner, Alice Maxwell, in the subcategory of "Specimen of Wood Carving, chip", making it impossible to establish whether

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[59] 'Chrysanthemum Show', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 19 April 1901, p. 2 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/bay-of-plenty-times/1901/04/19/2> [accessed 12 June 2023]; 'The Bay of Plenty Times and Thames Valley Warden', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 18 April 1902, p. 2 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19020418.2.3?end_date=31-12-1902&items_per_page=10&query=Chrysanthemum+Show&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA.rev&start_date=01-01-1902&title=BPB%2cBOPT%2cHLC%2cOPNEWS%2cTPT> [accessed 14 June 2023].

[60] 'Chrysanthemum Show', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 24 April 1903, p. 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19030424.2.5> [accessed 14 June 2023]; 'Chrysanthemum Show', *The Bay of Plenty Times*, 25 April 1904, p. 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19040425.2.5> [accessed 14 June 2023].

[61] 'Chrysanthemum Show', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 28 April 1905, p. 2.

[62] 'Chrysanthemum Show', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 27 April 1906, p. 2 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19060427.2.16?end_date=31-12-1906&items_per_page=10&query=chrysanthemum+show&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA.rev&start_date=01-01-1906&title=BOPT> [accessed 14 June 2023].

[63] 'Chrysanthemum Show', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 1905, p. 2; 'Chrysanthemum Show', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 1906, p. 2.

[64] 'Tauranga Agricultural and Pastoral Association', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 24 April 1907 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19070424.2.43.1?end_date=31-12-1907&items_per_page=10&query=Chrysanthemum+Show&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA.rev&start_date=01-01-1907&title=BPB%2cBOPT%2cHLC%2cOPNEWS%2cTPT> [accessed 14 June 2023], p. 3; 'Tauranga A. & P. Association, Annual Meeting', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 22 June 1908, p. 3 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19080622.2.30?end_date=31-12-1908&items_per_page=10&query=Chrysanthemum+Show&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA.rev&start_date=01-01-1908&title=BPB%2cBOPT%2cHLC%2cOPNEWS%2cTPT> [13 June 2023].

[65] 'Needlework', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 23 April 1909, p. 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19090423.2.10?end_date=31-12-1979&items_per_page=10&page=3&query=%22a.+h.+maxwell%22+&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA.rev&start_date=01-01-1880&title=BPB%2cBOPT%2cHLC%2cOPNEWS%2cTPT> [accessed 12 June 2023].

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

men continued to participate.[68] Thus, woodcarving, as an amateur leisure pursuit was included and reconfigured.

The placement of woodcarving within the category of Needlework, in 1909, indicates that woodcarving, as an amateur leisure pursuit, became more strongly associated by Tauranga's Pākehā society as a female endeavour. Houliang Chen writes that though "it took centuries to genderize the activity of sewing, the early decades of the nineteenth century witnessed its final feminization."[69] Thus, by the late nineteenth century, needlework was very much the domain of women. For woodwork to be placed within the category of Needlework meant that the judges were positioning it alongside typically feminine-coded crafts. Thus, while the Industrial category may have arguably allowed for some of the blurring around gender divisions, the social implications of woodwork within the category of Needlework indicate a firmer positioning of woodwork as a female craft form. The inclusion of women as participants in the competition of the subcategory Woodcarving, particularly as it became classified in the category of Needlework, points to a community's public acknowledgement of the social acceptability of woodcarving as an amateur leisure pursuit for women.

Considering the frame as a part of the story around woodwork, created by women, and displayed in public spaces, highlights a specific detail of Tauranga's social history that demonstrates a local community's integration of changing social ideas around gendered craft forms. For a moment, woodcarving was a craft that blurred boundaries devised along the lines of gender before becoming reconfigured within craftwork strongly associated with the leisure pursuits of women. Woodcarving, by women, as a subcategory in Chrysanthemum Show, illustrates a particular moment in which we can see colonial settler society negotiating and reconfiguring introduced ideas around gendered leisure. The frame for The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga is then to borrow Janis Wilton's term a "touchstone" to these histories.[70] For the

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Houliang Chen, '"An Index of Gentility": Representations of Needlework in Dombey and Son', *Textile: The Journal of Cloth and Culture,* 21.1 (2023), 352-362, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1080/14759756.2022.2109367> [accessed 24 May 2023] (p. 354); Lorinda Cramer argues that in certain colonial circumstances sewing was an essential skill for men: Lorinda Cramer ''Busy, without Thimbles, at the Needlework': Men's Sewing and Masculinity on the Victorian Goldfields, 1851–1861', *Journal of Victorian Culture: JVC,* 25.2 (2020), 153-170 <https://doi.org/10.1093/jvcult/vcz063> [accessed October 2022].

[70] Janis Wilton, 'Telling Objects: Material Culture and Memory in Oral History Interviews', *The Oral History Association of Australia Journal,* 30.1 (2008), 41-49 (p. 41).

visitors of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, this craft is a link to Alice's participation, beyond the domestic sphere, in community competitions through which we may trace Pākehā society's adoption and changing views of women's crafts.

A Public Display Within the Private Space

Ultimately, Alice's woodcarvings became a part of the interior décor of The Elms. The significance of woodcarving in New Zealand's society meant that the frame was a part of the furnishings which signalled Alice's social identity as it marked her status. The frame's display also interweaves Alice's social identity with her familial and personal identity as the figure displayed in the frame was Alice's father, Reverend Andrew Maxwell. Daniel Miller notes that "even when an object such as a picture frame . . . is highly ornate . . . it is usually intended to pall before the glory of that which it encloses."[71] This chapter, in response to Miller's comments, has largely focused upon the frame. Yet, there is a relationship between the photograph and the frame which encompasses it.[72] In considering the application of such an analysis to The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, there is the opportunity to consider how objects are utilised as a means of communicating status as well as signifying the subjective identity of an individual.

Ebenezer Maxwell listed the frame as being placed in the dining room, which as Petersen notes was a "front stage" room.[73] As noted in previous discussions, houses were often spatially divided with areas that were private, while other spaces were public and,

[71] Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford: Wiley, 1987), p. 101.
[72] Daniel Miller, considering E. H. Gombrich's argument in *The Sense of Order,* writes that it is the aesthetics of the frame that establishes how the picture inside should be viewed or appreciated, see: E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*, Wrightsman Lectures (Oxford: Phaidon, 1979), p. 15 cited in Daniel Miller, 'Introduction', in *Materiality: An Introduction*, ed. by Daniel Miller (London: Duke University Press, 2005), p. 5; see also; Georg Simmel, 'The Picture Frame: An Aesthetic Study', *Theory, Culture & Society,* 11 (1994), 11-17 (p. 12).
[73] Tauranga, The Elms Foundation, Ebenezer Maxwell, An Inventory of The Contents of The Elms Mission House and Library, 1935, reprint 1997; Anna K. C. Petersen, *New Zealanders at Home: A Cultural History of Domestic Interiors 1814-1914* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2001), p. 100.

consequently, more formal.[74] "These formal spaces," Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga and Donna Birdwell-Pheasant remark, "were used to present a self-consciously constructed image of the family."[75] Richard Grassby, writing of material culture, similarly comments that "goods have social utility and mediate[s] human relationships; people want to symbolize and advance their status through display."[76] Of decorative craftwork like the frame, Isabelle Anscombe writes that "the Arts and Crafts Movement provided a new middle-class fashion for the interior decoration."[77] Woodwork was particularly held in high regard in the colonial setting as Ann Calhoun writes that Pākehā New Zealand developed a "singular attachment to woodcarving."[78] Woodcarving, across the Imperial and Transatlantic world, was a particularly dominant craft in the Arts and Crafts Movement from 1890 to 1910.[79] The attachment that New Zealand Pākehā society felt towards woodcarving was in part associated with the desire to fill their house with objects of greater refinement.[80] Alice's craft then played a role in maintaining the public image of the Maxwell family as occupants whose furnishings reflected good taste.

The frame contained the portrait of Reverend Andrew Maxwell, Alice's father, who had died in Australia when Alice was a small child.[81] Pictures of family members were a visual marker of familial ties that colonists maintained. That Andrew Maxwell's picture was placed within a frame which Alice had personally made, suggests that this was an expression of familial bonds. Annette Bainbridge, Angela McCarthy, and Lyndon Fraser are New Zealand scholars that have examined the communicatory links that women utilised to maintain familial networks, which included letters, gifts as well as the sharing of garden seeds and plants.[82] Bainbridge writes

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[74] Donna Birdwell-Pheasant and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, 'Introduction: Houses and Families in Europe', in *House Life: Space, Place, and Family in Europe*, ed. by Donna and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga Birdwell-Pheasant (Great Britain: Berg, 1999), p. 4; Emma Floyd, 'Without Artificial Constraint: Gentility and British Gentlewomen in Rural Australia', in *Imperial Objects: Essays on Victorian Women's Emigration and the Unauthorized Imperial Experience,* ed. by Rita S. Krandis (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), pp. 90-103.
[75] Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga, p. 4.
[76] Richard Grassby, 'Material Culture and Cultural History', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 35.4 (2005), 591-603 (p. 595).
[77] Isabelle Anscombe, *Arts & Crafts Style* (London: Phaidon, 1991), p. 125.
[78] Calhoun, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand,1870-194*0, p. 87.
[79] Calhoun, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand,1870-1940,* p. 86.
[80] Calhoun, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand,1870-1940,* p. 87.
[81] C. W. Vennell, *Brown and the Elms*, 2nd edn (Tauranga: Kale Print Limited, 2012), p. 100.
[82] Bainbridge, p. 11; Angela McCarthy, *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937: The Desired Haven*, Irish Historical Monographs (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, Incorporated, 2005), pp. 2-4; Lyndon Fraser, *Castles of Gold: A History of New Zealand's West Coast Irish* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2007), pp. 42-51.

that for women, there existed a prevailing sense of attachment to family and kinship ties.[83] The display of a photograph of a family member, within a handcrafted frame, situated in the public space of the home, was a visible and pronounced expression of the familial bonds that colonial women maintained.

These familial bonds tie the frame to an emotional story. Photographs evoke emotions for the viewer.[84] Indeed, as Gillian Rose writes, photographs are not only embedded with meaning and, or, symbolic significance, but also feelings.[85] Visual and historical anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards asks us to consider the poignant question of "what do photographs feel like?"[86] The emotional feeling that photographs can produce, Rose argues, is often conveyed through physical feeling such as holding photographs.[87] The display of the frame on the wall arguably meant some physical distance, perhaps adding a sense of formality. Yet the frame was once something which Alice had crafted by hand and carried a memory of physical contact. As photographs evoke emotions, arguably, we may consider how the picture frame, which contained the image, emphasised those sentiments. Objects can carry emotional meanings, particularly as those meanings relate to memory and love.[88] Material culture, Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway and Sarah Randles observe, "may be seen as a way of making emotions tangible."[89] Arguably, it is in the connection between the personalised craft and the photograph of a family member that suggests the frame carried those emotional connections.

For The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, there is an opportunity to recognise how the display of the frame is embedded with the social, personal and familial identity of Alice Maxwell. Alice's display of the frame in the home is indicative of woodcarving as a suitable, tasteful pursuit for women. The frame also highlights a public display of familial bonds that carried emotive value.

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[83] Bainbridge, p. 11.
[84] Jessie Robinson Bisbee, 'Photography – Then and Now', *The American Annual of Photography, 1918,* 32.1 (1917), 128–30 quoted in Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, 2nd edn (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021), p. 5.
[85] Gillian Rose, *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, the Public, and the Politics of Sentiment*, Re-Materialising Cultural Geography (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 19.
[86] Elizabeth Edwards, 'Photographs and History: Emotion and Materiality', in *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*, ed. by Sandra H. Dudley (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 21-38 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9780203523018> [3 May 2023], p. 21.
[87] Rose, p. 19.
[88] Serena Dyer, 'State of the Field: Material Culture', *History (London),* 106.370 (2021), 282-292 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1111/1468-229X.13104> [accessed 15 April 2022], (p. 288).
[89] Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway and Sarah Randles, 'A Feeling for Things, Past and Present', in *Feeling Things: Objects and Emotions through History,* ed. by Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway and Sarah Randles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 14.

Through these stories, the possessions within the house museum gain another layer of meaning, not only of the social constructions but also of the personal and emotional stories. As highlighted in this thesis, in response to the criticism of house museums' lifelessness, scholars have encouraged approaches that inject a more visceral experience to invoke a greater response from the museum visitor.[90] For the visitor access to these emotional stories of familial bonds encapsulated through the relationship between the image and the handcrafted frame may not necessarily be conveyed through sight alone. In the history of family photography, as Elizabeth Edwards submits that touch plays a significant role in how people access emotional memories.[91] At The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, to touch the frame may be a way for visitors to connect to the bonds of familial love and respect, as Alice also connected herself to this frame through touch.

The Picture Frame and The Garden

Drawing on museological scholarship, this work has recognised that romanticised and uncomplicated narratives of nation-making and settler belonging often feature in the interpretation of the house museum.[92] Analysing the depiction of the various flora and the material used in the making of the frame, links the domestic sphere to the environment. Alice's woodcarving emphasises flora, which is in keeping with the styles of both the Arts and Craft Movement and Art Nouveau. This work follows the approach of scholars, such as Rosie Ibbotson, who have identified and examined the plant life depicted in artworks to understand

[90] Vagnone, Ryan and Cothren, pp. 33-46; Lisa Junkin Lopez, 'Introduction, "Open House: Reimagining the Historic House Museum"', *The Public Historian,* 37.2 (2015), 10-13 <https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2015.37.2.10> [accessed 2 March 2022]; David Howes and others, 'Sensing Art and Artifacts: Explorations in Sensory Museology', *The Senses & Society,* 13.3 (2018), 317-334 <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1080/17458927.2018.1516024> [accessed 7 Mach 2022].

[91] Edwards, p. 23.

[92] Margaret Ponsonby, *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850* (London: Ashgate, 2007), p. 165; Mallory Allyson Richard, 'The Colonial Past as "Usable History"', in *Beyond Pedagogy: Reconsidering the Public Purpose of Museums*, ed. by Brenda Trofanenko and Avner Segall (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2014), p. 37; Linda Young, 'Preserving Public History', in *A Companion to Public History,* ed. by David Dean (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2018) <10.1002/9781118508930.ch23> [accessed 9 June 2022], p. 332; Alexander Trapeznik, 'Dismissing the Staff: Domestic Servants and a Historic House in Dunedin, New Zealand', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 34.1 (2022), 36-48 (p. 38).

these crafts alongside the broader effects of imperialism on indigenous environments.[93] As Karen Harvey asserts, "aesthetic features can serve as illuminating evidence . . . in particular articulating the . . . beliefs and assumptions of a society."[94]

The Arts and Crafts Movement intertwined the world of the outdoors and the indoors together. Arts and Crafts creations were largely intended for the domestic space; these included designs for chairs, cupboards, tables, and picture frames.[95] Indeed, William Morris, a leading figure of the Movement, thought that designs inspired by nature contributed to making the home beautiful.[96] Nature was a primary source of inspiration for The Arts and Crafts Movement practitioners, who more specifically, sought to depict local motifs within their work. [97] The use of local materials and motifs was also largely driven by the Movement's intention of resisting the industrial capitalist structures that had defined the nineteenth century.[98] Indeed, the Arts and Crafts Movement's principles heavily embodied British fears over the environment, as leading figures defining the Movement's values perceived nature as being tainted through industrialisation. [99] The Movement's practitioners viewed local motifs and materials as significant to the process of creating objects that were sensitive to their environments.[100] However, such visions were complicated in the colonial sphere.[101]

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[93] Rosie Ibbotson, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement at the End of the World', *Bulletin,* 207 (2022), 36-43; Ann Calhoun, *Arts & Crafts Design* (Wellington: Ann Calhoun, 2015), pp. 19-22, 154-56.

[94] Karen Harvey, 'Introduction: Historians, Material Culture and Materiality', in *History and Material Culture*, ed. by Karen Harvey, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2017) <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.4324/9781315165776> [28 March 2022], p. 6; for other work considering the social and ideological dimensions of decoration, see: Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society 1750–1980* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986); E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (London: Phaidon Press, 1979); Debra Schafter, *The Order of Ornament, The Structure of Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 7-10.

[95] Julian Holder, 'Arts and Crafts Movement', in *Encyclopaedia of Interior Design*, ed. by Joanna Banham (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997), p. 61.

[96] Rosie Ibbotson, 'Crafting "Nature": Ecocriticism, Environmental Violence and the Transnational Arts and Crafts Movement', in *Ecocriticism and the Anthropocene in Nineteenth-Century Art and Visual Culture*, ed. by Maura Coughlin and Emily Gephart (New York: Routledge, 2019), p. 33; Calhoun, *Arts & Crafts Design*, p. 104.

[97] Ibbotson, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement at the End of the World', p. 40; Ibbotson, 'Crafting "Nature"', p. 34.

[98] Ibbotson, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement at the End of the World', p. 40; Holder, p. 63; Fred S. Kleiner, Christin J. Mamiya and Helen Gardner, *Gardner's Art through the Ages*, Art through the Ages, 12th edn (South Melbourne: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2005), p. 893; Oscar Lovell Triggs, *Arts & Crafts Movement*, Collection Art of Century (New York: Parkstone International, 2012), p. 15.

[99] Calhoun, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand,1870-1940,* p. 16; Holder, p. 61.

[100] Ibbotson, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement at the End of the World', p. 40.

[101] Rosie Ibbotson also writes that the idea of local was complicated in Britain through the introduction of flora through imperial networks and hybridised plants: Ibbotson, 'Crafting "Nature"', pp. 32-35.

As analysed in the second chapter, colonists introduced a copious number of animals and plants into New Zealand during the nineteenth century. Colonial ecological violence in New Zealand was largely predicated on the importance of non-indigenous species.[102] The effects of acclimatisation in New Zealand complicated the adoption of the Arts and Crafts Movement's concept regarding the use of materials, and motifs, which were "locally appropriate."[103] Many designs of the Arts and Crafts Movement made by Pākehā included illustrations that demonstrated the vast importation and exchange of fauna and flora which occurred during the nineteenth century.[104] The imagery depicted on such designs was tied to imperial understandings of the natural environment.[105] Thus, we can discuss Alice's frame alongside the broader socio-cultural and environmental ideas of the late nineteenth century.

Alice's wood carved frame potentially depicted indigenous flora and utilised an indigenous natural material. Writing of the Arts and Crafts designs by Pākehā artists, Ibbotson notes that "in perhaps a more faithful interpretation of the Arts and Crafts principle of 'fitness to locality,' indigenous plant species also featured."[106] In several different areas in the frame are motifs which resemble the shape of koru. On the top left corner of the frame, there also appears a set of flowers that resemble kowhai. The material Alice used for the making of her frame was potentially kauri.[107] Calhoun remarks that the inclusion of indigenous flora depicted in the Arts and Crafts Movement was an aspect of the 'self-discovery' of New Zealand's Pākehā society.[108] By the 1890s, Calhoun writes, New Zealand Pākehā society was beginning to develop "its own persona and defining itself in ways that said more about local nationalism than ties with "Mother England."[109] Peter Gibbons writes that many second generation colonists found greater attachment to the indigenous flora that had surrounded them since

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[102] 'Greek Refuges', *The Bay of Plenty Times,* 12 June 1914, p. 5 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19140612.2.18.1?end_date=31-12-1940&items_per_page=10&query=%22h.+Maxwell%22&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA&start_date=01-01-1910&title=BOPT> [accessed 12 July 2023].
[103] Ibbotson, 'Crafting "Nature"', p. 35.
[104] Ibbotson, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement at the End of the World', p. 40.
[105] Calhoun, *Arts & Crafts Design*, pp. 154-56.
[106] Ibbotson, 'Crafting "Nature"', p. 36.
[107] Clifton, pp. 54-55.
[108] Calhoun, *Arts & Crafts Design*, p. 209.
[109] Calhoun, *Arts & Crafts Design*, p. 209; Calhoun also writes that Art Nouveau Movement also merged with settler colonists' assertions of a national identity: Calhoun, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand, 1870-1940,* pp. 60-61.

childhood.[110] Alice was a second generation settler; though she had been born in Australia rather than New Zealand, she had for a large part of her childhood been raised in Wadestown, New Zealand.[111] The inclusion of indigenous New Zealand flora and materials suggests that Alice was one of the second generation settlers who found greater affinity to the nature of New Zealand. Yet, as later discussed in this section, the depictions in Alice's art also illustrates settlers' complex aesthetic ideals as her work also included introduced species.

Colonists' greater affinity to New Zealand's environment correlated with increased environmental concerns. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Pākehā interest in the environment significantly shifted to a more conservational position of the indigenous fauna and flora. The conservation of New Zealand's indigenous flora is relevant to the frame, particularly as Alice's choice of material for her frame was wood. Alice's frame was potentially made from kauri; such a timber had been a popular choice for domestic furnishings throughout the nineteenth century.[112] The deforestation of New Zealand was an issue that the British government had feared as early as 1840.[113] By the late nineteenth century, within the colony itself there was a growing anxiety of the effects that would follow the exploitation of the forests.[114] Particularly onwards from the 1890s, Pākehā attitudes towards the conservation and preservation of the indigenous environment strengthened.[115] While environmental concerns were due in part to economic reasons, Paul Star and Lynne Lochhead assert that "the rising interest in conservation of New Zealand's indigenous fauna and flora" largely contributed to "an important shift in the terms in which New Zealander's treated the

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[110] Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 36.1 (2002), 5-17, (p. 8).
[111] Vennell, pp. 100-101.
[112] Stanley Northcote-Bade does write that while a good deal of indigenous forest was used for furnishings, much more was destroyed through the fire clearances: Northcote-Bade, pp. 76-78.
[113] Northcote-Bade, p. 76-78; Wynn Graeme, 'Destruction under the Guise of Improvement? The Forest, 1840-1920', in *Making a New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, ed. by Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013) <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/lib/waikato/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=4306803> pp. 133-134.
[114] Graeme, pp. 133-134.
[115] James Beattie, 'Biological Invasion and Narratives of Environmental History in New Zealand', in *Invasive and Introduced Plants and Animals: Human Perceptions, Attitudes and Approaches to Management*, ed. by Ian D. Rotherham and Robert A. Lambert (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), p. 346; Paul Star and Lynne Lochead, 'Children of the Burnt Bush: New Zealanders and the Indigenous Remnant, 1880-1930', in *Making a New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, ed. by Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013) <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/lib/waikato/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=4306803> [accessed 18 May 2023], p. 144.

bush."[116] The frame as a household furnishing holds a symbolic relationship to the forestry industry of Aotearoa New Zealand's indigenous timber. As a domestic good made of indigenous timber, it embodies the history of deforestation in New Zealand. Yet, Alice created the frame during a period in which there was a growing movement towards the conservation of indigenous species. The frame, as a hand-crafted piece made in the Arts and Crafts style, was interwoven in a Movement that advocated for more conscientious production methods. As an artwork of that Movement, the frame was underpinned by a valorisation of local materials. Thus, the material of the frame embodies a complicated history. This craftwork represents the history of both deforestation and the leanings towards the use of natural materials in an environmentally sensitive approach.

Alice's environmental views are arguably made visible in changes to The Elms' garden, the Maxwell's involvement with conservation groups and Alice's comment about a railway. From the 1900s to 1930s, John P. Adams notes that the horticulture trend of the garden at The Elms appears to have favoured the planting of indigenous flora.[117] The first recorded planting of indigenous trees and plants was in 1919 when Alice and her sister Edith brought rimu, totara, miro and tawa back to The Elms from their holiday at Motu on the East Coast.[118] The Maxwells were also associated with the New Zealand Forestry League.[119] The League's motto was "Preservation and Conservation."[120] Preservation was a response to the scarcity of indigenous fauna and flora; it was a protection that was not centred on the utilisation of the environment.[121] Alice also seems to have preferred the natural environment over industrial progress. Mrs E. M. Stewart, née Moroney, commented that "Miss Alice was very perturbed when the railway bridge was built across the river right below their home."[122] Thus, Alice Maxwell arguably adopted the environmental concerns of the time.

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[116] Star and Lochead, pp. 135-136.
[117] John P. Adam, *The Elms Garden Conservation Plan* (Auckland: commissioned by New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1998), pp. 43-44.
[118] Vennell, p. 105.
[119] Adam, p. 24.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Paul Star, 'Humans and the Environment in New Zealand, C.1800 to 2000', in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 62.
[122] E. M. Stewart, 'Memories of 'The Camp'', *Journal of the Tauranga Historical Society,* 16.1 (1963), 15-20 (p. 17).

The use of indigenous plants within the frame may be tied to Pākehā's increasingly comfortable attitude towards the indigenous environment as the social and natural landscape began to embody imperial culture. Kynan Gentry writes that the positive response to the indigenous environment by second generation colonists was likely not only due to their experiences having grown up in New Zealand but also the shifting power dynamics.[123] The affinity to the indigenous environment Gentry writes, "reflected the Pakeha sense that both the landscape and Maori were ostensibly submissive to settler authority."[124] Alice's life seems to have been surrounded almost entirely by Pākehā society. Alice spent most of her childhood and adolescence in Wadestown, from 1866, until she and her mother and sister moved to The Elms in 1887.[125] The Elms, in 1887, was a private family home, situated alongside the growing town of Tauranga, which was a developing borough.[126] While Māori certainly had a presence in urban settings, as discussed in the first chapter, the social makeup of colonial towns were Pākehā orientated. Ian Smith writes that "Over time, towns became places where Pākehā were increasingly insulated from the Māori world, thus contributing to a Pākehā-centric world-view."[127] Arguably, the lack of Māori designs within Alice's frame points to her experience within a more Pākehā centric community. In this sense, the social structuring of Tauranga further illustrates the aspects which complicated the ideals of 'local' in the colonial context of the early twentieth century as the Arts and Crafts Movement's aims of creating 'local' in the colonial context were founded on problematic relationships between Pākehā and Māori.

However, the move to a more ecological approach did not mean that colonists turned their backs on introduced flora. Pākehā colonists continued to introduce not only British flora but

[123] Kynan Gentry, *History, Heritage, and Colonialism: Historical Consciousness, Britishness, and Cultural Identity in New Zealand, 1870–1940*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p. 60.
[124] Gentry, p. 60.
[125] Kirstine Moffat, 'The Piano at the Elms', in *The Lives of Colonial Objects*, ed. by Annabel Cooper, Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015), p. 82.
[126] W. H. Gifford and H. Bradney Williams, *A Centennial History of Tauranga* (Dunedin: A.H. and A.W. Reed, for the Tauranga Centennial Committee, 1940), p. 11.
[127] Ian Smith, *Pākehā Settlements in a Māori World New Zealand Archaeology, 1769-1860* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2020), p. 266; Ben Schrader, *The Big Smoke New Zealand Cities, 1840-1920* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), pp. 164-180.

were also the consumers of a variety of plants endemic to Asia.[128] The inclusion of plants and landscape design from Asia, Beattie argues, complicates the narrative that:

> Nationalism marks a break with the profligate environmental damage of the colonial period and leads inexorably to the eventual triumph of indigenous species conservation.[129]

At the Elms we may observe the continued inclusion of acclimatised species. In 1919, D Hay nurseries sent a receipt for two scarlet oaks, liquid amber, jacaranda, an empress of India and several other plants.[130] This variety indicates the continued imperial networks impacting the introduction of plant species.[131] The Elms' garden saw the inclusion of indigenous and non-indigenous flora within the same space.

Alice's frame also indicates the inclusion of acclimatised species. One of the species of flora depicted in the frame is potentially an aspidistra, a plant that is indigenous to eastern and south-eastern Asia.[132] The anatomy of the aspidistra appears to be strongly echoed in the shape and lines of Alice's large leaf design. Alice also owned as aspidistra; a 1914 newspaper article lists Alice as taking first prize for the plant at the Tauranga Winter Show.[133] Despite the ideals of using local environments for inspiration, practitioners of the Arts and Crafts Movements would often depict plants from either the imperial world or from Britain. [134] While the inclusion of imperial plants was an indication of the extensive importation of plants in the

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[128] Beattie, 'Acclimatisation and the 'Europeanisation' of New Zealand, 1830s-1920s?', *Environment and Nature in New Zealand ENNZ,* 3.1 (2008), p. 6; James Beattie, J. Heinzen and J. P. Adam, 'Japanese Gardens in New Zealand, 1850–1950: Transculturation and Transmission', *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, 28.2 (2008), 219–23.

[129] Beattie, 'Biological Invasion and Narratives of Environmental History in New Zealand', p. 348; Beattie, 'Acclimatisation and the 'Europeanisation' of New Zealand, 1830s-1920s?', p. 3.

[130] Tauranga, Tauranga City Libraries, Maxwell Correspondence, 1851-1947, D Hay Nurseries Receipt, 26 June 1919, Box 1.

[131] For literature considering imperial eco-cultural networks, see: James Beattie, 'Recent Themes in the Environmental History', *History Compass,* 10.2 (2012), pp. 129-139; James Beattie, Edward Melillo and Emily O'Gorman, 'Rethinking the British Empire through Eco-Cultural Networks: Materialist-Cultural Environmental History, Relational Connections and Agency', *Environment and History,* 20.4 (2014), pp. 561-575; James Beattie, Edward Melillo, and Emily O'Gorman, 'Introduction: Eco-Cultural Networks and the British Empire, 1837-1945', in *Eco-Cultural Networks and the British Empire: New Views on Environmental History*, ed. by James Beattie, Edward Melillo and Emily O'Gorman (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 3-20.

[132] While there are potentially other plants depicted on the frame that are non-indigenous species, due to the stylisation, it is somewhat difficult to determine the identity of these plants with great certainty.

[133] 'Greek Refugees', p. 5.

[134] Ibbotson, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement at the End of the World', p. 40.

nineteenth century, the inclusion of British plants by Pākehā artists in their Arts and Crafts designs, Ibbotson argues, was due to "cognitive dissonance" as Britain still was "home".[135]

The aspidistra is an example of non-indigenous flora that merges the two types of non-indigenous plants depicted in such designs. While the plant was originally from Asia, during the nineteenth century the aspidistra became a popular house plant in British homes.[136] That Alice also possessed an aspidistra indicates that its popularity had extended to colonial homes. The depiction in the woodcarving of an aspidistra, as a plant that originated from Asia, is an example of the widespread circulation of plant species through imperial networks. Yet, it was also a plant that had become embedded in British understandings of 'tasteful' domesticity. Thus, its inclusion reflects the complicated aesthetic tastes that artists embedded into their work. In this instance, the incorporation of a plant which was not from Britain did not necessarily demonstrate that Alice felt a sense of distance from the imperial centre. Rather the depiction of the aspidistra in the frame may be understood as a representation of ties to Britain as this plant had become appropriated in British homes. The aspidistra was a plant of Asian origin which, circulating through the imperial networks, had taken on multilayered meanings as a plant that dignified the British home. The depiction of the aspidistra in Alice's woodcarving, thus, illustrates the simultaneous, and contradictory interplay of meanings as this plant, through imperial networks, had become a part of British culture.

Pākehā artists, inspired by the aesthetic trends of the imperial centre, depicted indigenous species alongside introduced flora. The craft work created in the colonial context reflected the dissemination of cultural flows of information, which became melded with assertions of local belonging. The inclusion of such works within the household, Ibbotson argues, "normalized the environmental transformations."[137] These works promoted the "new nature"; nature which was both of indigenous and introduced species.[138] The naturalising of the 'new nature' in such artwork simultaneously concealed the devastation of the ecological environment.[139] Alice's carvings inadvertently displayed the effects of colonisation upon the natural

[135] Ibbotson, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement at the End of the World', p. 40.
[136] Ross W. F. Cameron, 'Interior Landscapes', in *Horticulture: Plants for People and Places*, ed. by Geoffrey R. Dixon and David E. Aldous, 3 vols (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2014), 2, pp. 766-67.
[137] Ibbotson, 'Crafting "Nature"', p. 38.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.

environment, connecting the colonial domestic space visibly to the changes wrought to the outside world by imperialistic visions for the environment.

The picture frame is embedded with social and cultural values that highlight the elisions of global aesthetic trends and the complicated history of national identity and settler belonging. In the museum, the narrative of nation is a story that often takes pride of place. However, through a reading of the frame's motifs and materials, there is a story that offers an alternative reframing of the past that complexifies settler colonists' understandings of nation and belonging in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. While settler belonging was expressed through an increased appreciation for indigenous flora, the social landscape of Pākehā settlement marginalised Māori. Though belonging was expressed through attachment to indigenous flora, the garden also continued to illustrate imperial 'webs' of exchange through introduced species. The blend of indigenous and introduced flora in the garden overlayed the ecological damage of the nineteenth century as Pākehā colonists embedded themselves in the landscape. The frame, created from potentially indigenous timber and which depicts indigenous and introduced flora, is, thus, a visualisation of that complicated past.

Conclusion

By examining Alice's frame, we delve into the history of the cautious societal shifts as local Pākehā communities adopted the artistic trends of the imperial centre. It is a story where the senses of sight, touch and smell are components that add to our understanding of the historical meanings associated with the making of the frame. The picture frame offers a more complicated discussion around nation and colonists' sense of belonging. Christina J. Hodge and Christa M. Beranek write that house museums function as spaces purposed to convey "a sense of place."[140] Engaging with Alice's frame enables us to complexify settlers' sense of place within the colonial environment of the early twentieth century, and subsequently perhaps

[140] Christina J. Hodge, and Christa M. Beranek, 'Dwelling: Transforming Narratives at Historic House Museums', *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 17.2 (2011), 97-101 (p. 99).

enabling contemporary Pākehā New Zealanders to ask of themselves how they define themselves in the modern twenty-first century.

Hanging on the wall, in the corner of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga's drawing room, the frame lies some distance from the viewer, never fully viewed. The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga may consider a presentation that offers the visitor a deeper object experience, which may include the ability to not only see but also touch and smell the object. The senses of touch and smell play a role in creating for the visitor an affective experience and a connection to the past.[141] The smell of the wood would require an introduced smell that was either atmospheric or one that was conveyed through the actual crafting of timber. Writing of their results in a study of olfactory museology, Caro Verbeek, Inger Leemans and Bernardo Fleming note that the scents which were historically informed had the greatest impact on visitors.[142] Their study, thus, demonstrates the value of not just the introduction of smells in the museum but having such senses framed by a historical context.[143] Touch may prove somewhat simpler than in the other two case studies. Arguably, The Elms Foundation could explore if the frame could withstand physical touch. As Fiona Candlin writes, we should not presume that "such haptic experience [will] automatically threaten conservation."[144] If this cannot be done, Candlin advocates for an analysis that still includes a haptic framework.[145] Should The Elms Foundation opt for a more preservationist approach, then some experience that included holding the tools and engaging with woodwork would alternatively offer the opportunity to create a connection to the past through sensory experience. The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga may also consider enabling visitors to understand the frame not only in the context of the domestic interior but also in other spaces, including the garden. Thus, through this interpretation the meanings embedded in the making of the frame, and its connection to social and cultural factors impacting the

[141] Constance Classen and David Howes, 'The Museum as Sensescape: Western Sensibilities and Indigenous Artifacts', in *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*, ed. by Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden and Ruth Phillips (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 202; Caro Verbeek, Inger Leemans and Bernardo Fleming, 'How Can Scents Enhance the Impact of Guided Museum Tours? Towards an Impact Approach for Olfactory Museology', *The Senses & Society,* 17.3 (2022), 315-342 <https://doi-org/10.1080/17458927.2022.2142012> [accessed 3 April 2022].
[142] Verbeek, Leemans and Fleming, p. 335.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Candlin, p. 85.
[145] Candlin, p. 85.

changing environmental landscape, could be realised. Such interpretations may provide a reframing of the narratives conveyed in the house museum through the display of objects.

Conclusion

The Aeolian harp, crazy quilt and picture frame are domestic art forms that tell stories about the owners and makers of these items. 'Reading' these objects adds detail and nuance to our broader understandings of colonial domesticity during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[1] The meanings embedded in these objects highlight the complicated realities of gender constructions, class ideologies, and colonists' understandings of belonging, evidenced through their engagement with the environment, that informed the make-up of Pākehā homes in a foundational period of settler colonisation of Aotearoa. These histories enable us to rethink aspects of the museum narrative and interpretation. Through these objects' meanings, the interpretation of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga may convey more complicated stories about the men and women whose lives make up part of the history of this site. These stories are also entwined and reframe the broader narratives around nation and settler belonging that can be a part of histories conveyed in the house museum.

Engaging with objects in daily life is more than simply looking at them: the Aeolian harp was an instrument that required people to lift and move it so that it could be heard; the crazy quilt was handcrafted, hours upon hours of human contact with needle, threads and fabrics; the picture frame was also handcrafted, drawn lines were eventually carved and chipped away at to create the rhythmic patterns and flowing natural shapes. The historical stories of these objects are then strongly related to the sensory world as the Aeolian harp, quilt, and frame's meanings are connected to the senses of sight, sound, touch, and smell. The power of the senses pertains not only to how we understand these objects, and their meanings, but also to the role of the senses in invoking a more engaging and visceral understanding of history within the public space of the house museum.

As objects that are a part of the collection of a house museum, I have considered how these stories may enhance the narratives and interpretation of The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. This thesis has then contemplated the ways in which these objects may offer an engaging re-

[1] Jules David Prown, 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method', *Winterthur Portfolio,* 17.1 (1982), 1-19 (p. 7).

examination of the past that provokes thought about the complicated histories of home as a space that interweaves the larger histories around nation and empire.

These items embodied and conveyed the cultural transmission of aesthetic trends, structures of gender, socio-cultural class rhetorics of respectability and gentility, and environmental views. As these items reflected and embodied practices which were a part of imperial and transatlantic geographies within the domestic sphere, we may understand them as particular, tangible evidence of, as Peter Gibbons writes, "the world's place in New Zealand." [2] In considering how the world fitted within a Pākehā New Zealand household during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century, this study has particularly demonstrated the British socio-cultural ideologies and practices embedded in and transmitted by these objects.

In the history of these objects, we can observe how introduced imperial ideas of gender and class impacted colonial New Zealand in the domestic sphere. The Aeolian harp is embedded with meanings through which we may observe masculine domesticity as it was tied to understandings of class status, observing some of the realities in the difficulty of displaying such a status within the environment of Tauranga. The crazy quilt is linked to a history of genteel feminine practices which reveal nuances in gender-coded textiles and the unstable economic grounds that underlay such practices. Through the picture frame, we glimpse the shifting views of feminine leisure that surrounded a status symbol within the colonial sphere.

By tracing the stories of these items, this thesis has also explored the changing relationship between Pākehā and tangata whenua during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The discussion of the Aeolian harp, as a sonic layer of cultural imperialism, acknowledges Māori engagement and agency over the auditory landscape of Te Papa mission station. The crazy quilt highlights the complicated possession of the whenua as it became an economic base for Pākehā cultural constructions. In the chapter on Alice Maxwell's woodcarving, I note the effects of colonisation in New Zealand as artwork designed to reflect 'local' was moulded upon Pākehā sense of connection to the environment while social and cultural spaces embodied a Pākehā centric worldview. Through the history of Te Papa mission station and The Elms, this work traces the impacts of cultural colonisation and the effects of land alienation, recognising,

[2] Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History,* 36.1 (2002), 5-17, (p. 47).

though, the continued presence of Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāi Te Rangi in these stories as well as their resistance and negotiation of colonial impositions.

Further research–of these items, the plethora of material culture at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, and from the perspective of te ao Māori–would certainly reveal deeper and richer discussions of cross-cultural engagement and, perhaps, even histories before 1600. Such works, particularly charting the period before 1600, would enrich a less explored history of the tangata whenua and tangata moana of Tauranga Moana at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. Research may also continue to develop the social history approach by considering the role of domestic labourers and servants in the story of The Elms as both a mission station and private residence, contributing to a more rounded understanding of New Zealand's colonial past in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

When critically reading the histories of the harp, quilt and picture frame, this analysis demonstrates how objects offer the opportunity to tell histories that complicate stories of nation and settler belonging. These objects speak of cultural transmission, networks of exchange, and the overlay of settler colonist culture upon the socio-cultural and environmental landscapes of Aotearoa New Zealand. Such stories enable us to rethink the underlying narratives of settler belonging that often feature in house museums.

Public history in New Zealand has undergone much expansion and development. Such examples include the historical redress for Māori through the tribunals, which have been ongoing since the 1980s, the official inclusion of New Zealand's history in the school curriculum as of 2019–introduced in 2023—and the recent debates concerning monuments of the 'nation's heroes.'[3] Public history then retains a presence in New Zealand's culture and society. Histories that enable discussions around the difficult stories of Aotearoa New Zealand's past remain necessary. In telling stories, about those who historically lived at The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga, this work adds nuance and complexity to the histories that are told within a public historic space.

[3] [Anonymous] 'Controversy Over NZ Colonial Statues Long-standing', *RNZ,* 13 June 2020 <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/418937/controversy-over-nz-colonial-statues-long-standing> [accessed 2 August 2023]; Fiona McKergow, 'Public History in Aotearoa New Zealand', *Australia and Aotearoa NZ Public History Network*, (2021) <https://phn.edu.au/public_history/NZPH_Fiona/> [accessed 2 August 2023]; Tony Ballantyne, 'Toppling the Past?: Statues, Public Memory and the Afterlife of Empire in Contemporary New Zealand', *Public History Review,* 28 (2021), 1-8

House museums are a threatened sector in public history; indeed, the question has been raised if there are not too many house museums?[4] While other spaces and forms of public history are needed to further tell the diverse stories of Aotearoa New Zealand's past, this study demonstrates that house museums may still offer access to Aotearoa New Zealand's rich history. This is a space in which contemporary visitors, through sensory immersive experiences, can understand individual lives in relation to the local context, nation, and the imperial world, as well as the intertwining histories between people, the house, and land.

[4] Lisa Junkin Lopez, 'Introduction, "Open House: Reimagining the Historic House Museum"', *The Public Historian,* 37.2 (2015), 10-13 <https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2015.37.2.10> [accessed 2 March 2022] (pp. 10-11).

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