

Overturing the Narrative: Steele and Goldie's *Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand, 1899*

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Abstract

New Zealand's best-known historical painting, Louis John Steele and Charles Frederick Goldie's *Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand* (1899), has influenced the way Māori history has been (mis)understood. Through a detailed examination of the historical, anthropological and artistic sources that informed the painting, a new understanding emerges. Rather than a generic imagined depiction of Māori arrival, a long-overlooked source for the narrative is found in the voyage of the *Arawa waka* and its encounter with the "throat of Te Parata." The analysis gives new insight into the artists' intent, enabling us to begin to address the uncomfortable place *Arrival* occupies in New Zealand art history and culture.

Arguably New Zealand's best-known historical painting, Louis John Steele (1842–1918) and Charles Frederick Goldie's (1870–1947) *Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand* (hereafter *Arrival*) (1899, fig. 1) has shaped how history has been (mis)understood.¹ It has come to signify a historical Pākehā idea of how Māori arrived in this country. Reinforced through frequent reproduction, it has visually embedded the notion that the first Polynesian voyagers arrived exhausted and emaciated on a voyage that was unplanned and accidental. *Arrival* is culturally problematic and has been since it was first painted. This has been exacerbated in literature on the painting by lack of research into the sources that informed it and by erroneous assumptions about the artists' intentions. Further, due to the academic nature of the painting it has been treated dismissively by New Zealand's modernist art historians, with little analysis of the painting itself.



Figure 1. Louis John Steele and Charles Frederick Goldie, *Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand*, 1899. Oil on canvas, 1380 x 2450 mm. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, gift of the late George and Helen Boyd, 1899.

In 1990, writer Patrick Evans declared that Alfred Domett's 1872 epic poem *Ranolf and Amohia* was the "stranded whale . . . rotting on the beach of New Zealand literature, an embarrassment that no one knows what to do with."² For many, *Arrival* is a comparable creature of the deep, festering on the shores of New Zealand art history.³ Literary scholar Hugh Roberts suggests an approach to Domett's poem that is equally useful for interrogating Steele and Goldie's painting. Roberts explains that, rather than writing about the poem as "an exercise in reclamation of an unjustly overlooked masterpiece," he "attempt[s] to think anew about the relationship of this poem to the historical circumstances in which it was produced, and to do so by taking the poem more seriously as a poem than critics have hitherto been willing to do."⁴

Substituting painting for poem, this article follows Roberts's approach. I consider how our understanding of *Arrival* has shifted dramatically over time and erroneously influenced the interpretation of early Māori history. By examining the historical, anthropological and artistic sources that Steele and Goldie drew on, we can gain more insight into what they were seeking to achieve, demonstrating that the painting was not purely an invention but also drew on research. Detailed pictorial analysis takes the painting seriously as a work of art, revealing how the artists collaborated and the work was created. This analysis also uncovers a long-overlooked source for the painting's narrative, which suggests that rather than depicting an imagined Māori arrival story, the work draws on the voyage of the Arawa waka and its encounter with the throat of Te Parata, a taniwha (water monster) that manifested as a great whirlpool. This enables us to better understand and address the uncomfortable place the painting occupies in New Zealand art history and culture.

Responses to *Arrival of the Maoris*

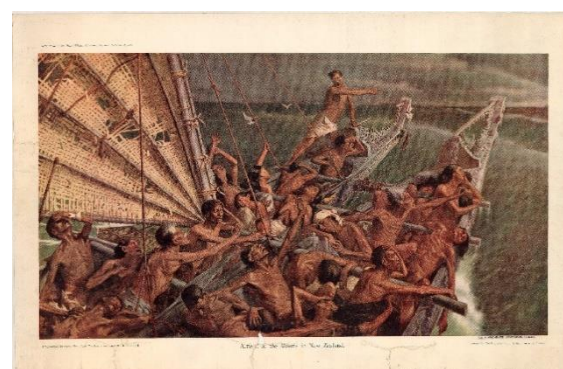
Arrival depicts the original Polynesian voyagers to Aotearoa in a parlous state: the carvings on their double hulled canoe—made of two war canoes lashed together—are eroded by the waves; its sail is riddled with holes; its stores are depleted; and its emaciated passengers are near death, seemingly without hope. Yet the figure on the bow points to a headland on the far right and others respond in disbelief that they are saved. When first exhibited in late 1899, the critical response was universally positive and superlative-laden: "an exceedingly fine picture . . . of national interest"; the "feature of the exhibition"; and it "must command attention."⁵ As to the subject itself, critics applauded the canvas for being "dramatic in the extreme . . . handled with a force and imagination."⁶ They marvelled at the approach, admiring "the attention to lavish detail and the poetical completeness of the picture," and observing, "Were it less appalling it would be less true, less a triumph for the artists."⁷ The painting was immediately acquired for Auckland Art Gallery's collection⁸ with funds from the Helen Boyd bequest.⁹

Arrival has remained popular with Pākehā audiences since it was first exhibited and has become New Zealand's most famous historical painting.¹⁰ This has come about partly through its remarkable reproductive after-life—accompanying everything from children's texts to popular histories, from travelogues to postage stamps to scholarly publications, not to forget Christmas supplements and calendars—which has shifted the meaning of the painting.¹¹

In some texts, the painting was treated as if documentary evidence (figs. 2–4). It was reproduced in James Drummond's *Nature in New Zealand* (1902), where he observes that *Arrival* "shows the condition of the Maoris when they first sighted New Zealand."¹² And in 1924, in *The Romantic Story of New Zealand: Epic Tales of Empire*, H.J. Constable narrated the painting for his young readers as if it reliably depicted the actual voyage.¹³ The *National Geographic Magazine* (1936) feature on New Zealand boasted 31 illustrations and maps: one

of these was *Arrival of the Maoris*.¹⁴ In an otherwise documentary article, it is the only painting and again is treated as if a primary source. The caption states that the painting

. . . records dramatically the legendary story of how the primitive people . . . originally reached the new country in fragile catamarans (twin-hulled war canoes). . . Guided only by the stars, these early sailors made amazing voyages through the South Seas. . . Here the artists, C.F. Goldie and L.J. Steele, depict the first sight of land by the emaciated pioneers, who suffered horribly from hunger and thirst and the discomfort caused by the cramped quarters of the little boats.¹⁵



Figures 2–4. Reproductions of *Arrival* in James Drummond, *Nature in New Zealand* (1902), frontispiece; full-page illustration in *National Geographic Magazine* (February 1936), p. 175; and as full-colour supplement to the *Otago Witness*, Christmas number, 19 October 1925. Coloured photomechanical print. City of Vancouver Archives.

By such means, for generations of New Zealanders (along with international readers), *Arrival* has become the best-known depiction of its theme in New Zealand. The authoritative nature of the painting is further emphasised by its title, which itself has subtly changed since it was first exhibited as *Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand*.¹⁶ At some point after 1940 the title gained the definite article, becoming *The Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand*, underscoring its authority.¹⁷ There is no documented reason for this change and my discussion reverts to its original title. Another small but important detail that has erroneously morphed over time is the painting's date. Since the 1970s it has been dated 1898 by Auckland Art Gallery and in publishing; prior to this, no date is recorded. No explanation for the 1898 date can be found, and it is highly improbable, as Goldie only returned to New Zealand from France on 29 August 1898.¹⁸ The painting was not exhibited (or mentioned in newspapers) until October 1899.¹⁹ Further, it is said to have been painted for the Helen Boyd Bequest competition, which was not advertised until 2 February 1899.²⁰ On the basis of this information, the painting's date has been changed to 1899.²¹

As early as 1902, a response that challenges the authoritative view of *Arrival* is found in a review of Drummond's book. The reviewer commented of *Arrival* "we always regret to look upon it," and pointed out Drummond's error in stating that the painting showed the condition of Māori upon arrival, adding: "This, of course, would lead anyone to think that the traditions about the arrival of the first canoes told that they were in a state of starvation when they made the land of New Zealand. Just the reverse is the case." The critic concluded by noting, "We are told that the Maoris who view the picture in the Art Gallery are indignant at the manner in which it is represented that the natives arrived in New Zealand."²²

Some decades later, in 1934, several letters to the editor of the *Star* provided further insight into the perspective of Māori viewers. Bryan Bowles related that a young Māori university student "proudly" took his grandfather, who was visiting from the Far North, "to see the painting. After one glance the old man ejaculated 'He tito, tena,' (That is false) and turned away."²³ Similarly, George Graham recounted, "I have often accompanied elderly Maoris to view these pictures [referring also to Kennett Watkins's *The Legend of the Voyage to New Zealand* (1912)]. Far from being appreciative they always regard them with dubious feelings and disdain. To them they are mere creations of the pakeha mind and not consistent with the traditional records of the matters represented."²⁴ Historian James Cowan, while defending the painting, acknowledged that "The condition of starvation depicted . . . has often been commented on by Maoris, who had their own ancestral canoes in mind. They have told me that they do not believe their forefathers arrived in such severe straits, they would carry sufficient food for a long voyage."²⁵

Peter Tomory, Auckland Art Gallery's second professional director, echoed these comments in an interview not long after his appointment in 1956, stating "I'm told Maoris don't like it . . . I don't wonder. It shows them coming upon New Zealand not as discoverers with kumaras and such like for establishing themselves, but as though they were shipwrecked."²⁶ Art historian Michael Dunn in 1991 observed even more emphatically that "Central to the narrative of the painting is the belief that the discovery of New Zealand was accidental and that the first Polynesian voyagers arrived emaciated, distressed and at death's door."²⁷ Clearly Dunn was not alone in this interpretation, but the accidental or drift theory that he alludes to owes much more to the scholarship of the 1950s and 1960s—when such a theory was put forward by Andrew Sharp, seriously debated, and then debunked—than the late 1890s, when the purposefully planned migration of "the Great Fleet" was the dominant explanation.²⁸ Historian M.P.K. Sorrenson notes that the theory had occasional exponents earlier and was mentioned as

playing “a minor part” by some, but it was only through Sharp’s mid-century scholarship that it gained broad currency.²⁹ While visually the painting can be read to embody the accidental theory, it is anachronistic to attribute this to the artists’ intent and narrative, as will be demonstrated here.

It seems credible, however, that the accidental theory gained currency from viewers’ misinterpretations of *Arrival of the Maoris* and has continued to be visually reinforced by it. This is demonstrated by earlier readings of the painting. Historian Fanny Irvine-Smith, in a 1936 lecture, contended that by depicting “an emaciated crew being literally washed ashore by the winds of chance,” the artists gave “quite a wrong impression, the coming of the Maoris being no mere matter of chance but a well-planned, long thought-out, and thoroughly organised migration.”³⁰ Two years later, M.G. Lee, in a presentation to the Anthropology and Race section of the Auckland Institute and Museum, sought to dispel the misconception that Māori arrived in “the last stages of exhaustion and in an emaciated condition.” Generally, he stated, “These voyages were admirably organised, and planned to the last detail by men who knew exactly what they were about.” Lee added that this “wrong impression . . . probably had its origin in a famous painting by Mr C.F. Goldie [and Steele].”³¹ Such is the dominance of the painting in popular imagination, it has influenced the way Māori history has been misunderstood.

Other, less literal, interpretations of the painting do exist. Art historian Leonard Bell argues that the subject immediately captured the imagination of Pākehā viewers in part because it “dramatis[e] certain European feelings and attitudes about suffering and struggle at sea.”³² Placing the painting in the tradition of shipwreck paintings and tales, he asserts that European New Zealand viewers, all of whom were migrants or the children of migrants, were uniquely equipped to identify with the hazards of voyaging by sea to a new land.³³ E.A. Mackechnie—a lawyer, Auckland Society of Arts past-president and trustee of the Boyd Bequest that acquired the painting—certainly did. He connected with the excitement of the lookout, putting the words of the *Ancient Mariner* into the figure’s mouth: “With throats unslaked, with black lips baked, / Agape they heard me call.”³⁴ Given that Steele himself endured a perilous voyage to New Zealand when his ship narrowly avoided inundation, Bell’s reading is persuasive.³⁵ He explains further that *Arrival* “participated in the creation of a past that had a primary role in the development of a sense of national and cultural identity among European New Zealanders. The painting was the stuff of myth, mythmaking by Europeans for Europeans, mythmaking that involved a reshaping of Maori history and legend.”³⁶

While Māori were central to this mythmaking and history, they had no ownership of it, and, with talk of them as a “dying race,” they were potentially seen to have no future in it either.³⁷ Speaking in 1900, Ngāti Porou teacher and journalist Rēweti Kōhere reflected “the people of New Zealand were very much concerned with where the Maoris came from, but were not so much concerned as to where they were going to.”³⁸ In such a climate, showing Māori near death upon first arrival in Aotearoa, it is understandable that they interpreted the painting as implying that the race was doomed from the start. As art historian and Goldie expert Roger Blackley states, Māori viewers saw (and see) it as “the visual embodiment of the colonial discourse of the dying race.”³⁹

The painting continues to provoke strong feelings well over a century on.⁴⁰ In 2010, Ngahiraka Mason, then Indigenous Curator, Māori Art at Auckland Art Gallery, proposed hanging the painting upside down for the Gallery’s 2011 reopening exhibition to acknowledge the depth of these feelings and encourage debate. The idea had been put to her by Jim Nicholls from Ngāti

Maru, an elder of the Hauraki Māori Trust Board and member of a tribal leaders' network. In her discussion paper Mason articulated: "Māori elders believe the painting represents hidden prejudices and truths, and by turning the narrative/painting literally on its head, the meaning and historiography of the artwork will inspire correction and bring forward new discussions and response to the painting."⁴¹ Understanding was expressed, but there was not the directorial support necessary for such an intervention at a time when the Gallery was celebrating its reopening after four years of redevelopment.⁴² While in no way as radical an act as hanging the painting upside down, overturning the narrative, as this article seeks to, hopefully begins the process of addressing the painting's hidden prejudices and encouraging further debate.

Anthropological and Historical Sources

Historians and anthropologists have also long raised concerns about *Arrival*, cataloguing its many ethnographical inaccuracies. Ethnographer Elsdon Best was amongst the first, observing in *The Maori Canoe* (1925): "There are three dubious features noticeable—(1) The carved prows of Maori form; (2) the sail is provided with intermediate longitudinal spars; (3) the women appear to be all long-haired and the men short-haired, whereas the reverse was the Tahitian and Maori custom."⁴³ Anthropologist D.R. Simmons made the most scathing critique of the painting in a 1974 article on Goldie's Māori portraits. After comparing the "agonized figures" to "photographs of Belsen," he stated:

Ethnologically, of course, this painting is a disaster. The crew are shown as Polynesians with no tattoo, wearing a tapa cloth, but they are sailing in a mixed up double Maori canoe of the eighteenth century using a sail form which probably never existed. So we have presumably fourteenth century Maori arriving in New Zealand in a canoe with eighteenth century carving and a notional construction. We cannot blame Goldie [or Steele] for these errors, they were common to his time."⁴⁴

Simmons's point, that the ethnographical errors were common to the artists' time, highlights the need to consider what research Steele and Goldie undertook.

It is indeed worth noting that the literature at the time included very limited information on the migration waka themselves, apart from whether the vessels were single, double or outrigger canoes.⁴⁵ Writing in 1925, Best provided an overview:

Thomson, in his *Story of New Zealand*, states that the vessels "Arawa," "Tainui," "Matatua," "Takitumu," "Kurahaupo," "Tokomaru," "Matahorua," and "Aotea," that reached these isles, were all double canoes; but native tradition does not support this statement. Of "Takitumu" . . . she was certainly a single canoe furnished with an outrigger. . . . "Aotea" and "Matatua" are said to have been single canoes. It is generally asserted that the "Arawa" was a double canoe with a platform between the two hulls on which a cabin or shed was built. . . . A statement occurs in volume two of White's *Ancient History of the Maori* that the "Arawa" was a double canoe.⁴⁶

In his introduction on the double waka, Best acknowledged that "Our information concerning this type of vessel is extremely meagre."⁴⁷ Atholl Anderson, writing in 2014, affirms this view, commenting of the Arawa: "It was more probably a double canoe, but there is no definitive historical data on the point, or for any other of the voyaging canoes."⁴⁸ Steele and Goldie were therefore drawing on very limited material.

As to the sail, traditional Māori sails had long been replaced by European technology. Only one woven Māori canoe sail is still known in existence, in the collection of the British Museum.⁴⁹ Notice of it was not published in New Zealand until 1908, so it is highly improbable that Steele and Goldie were aware of it.⁵⁰ Woven sails were observed by early Europeans though, and such accounts likely informed the painting. Those seen at Tolaga Bay on James Cook's first voyage were described as "made from a kind of matting, and of a triangular figure, the hypothenuse, or broadest part, being placed at the top of the mast, and ending in a point at the bottom."⁵¹ Johann Forster, on Cook's second voyage, encountered three canoes under sail in Queen Charlotte Sound, and wrote "The sail consisted of a large triangular mat, and was fixed to a mast."⁵² Writing nearly a century later, William Colenso observed "Their canoe sails were curiously constructed of bulrush leaves (Typha), laid flat edge to edge, and laced across with flax."⁵³ While we do not know which of these texts Steele and Goldie accessed, reading the meagre detail available makes their sail seem less far-fetched. Such descriptions clearly influenced the painting, particularly the references to the sail being a type of woven matting.

Simmons, quoted earlier, states that the type of sail depicted in *Arrival* never existed.⁵⁴ Best commented "The sail of the canoe in [Steele and] Goldie's 'Coming of the Maori' painting is triangular in form, but wider at the top, in proportion to its height, than the Maori sail in the British Museum. It also has three intermediate poles between the mast and sprit; but this latter peculiarity is quite unknown to us as a Maori form, and elderly natives discredit it."⁵⁵ Steele had previously depicted a similar sail in his collaboration with Watkins, *The Advent of the Maori, Christmas, A.D. 1000* (1889, fig. 5). The source for this shape in both works appears to be depictions by earlier artists: comparable sails are found in J.S. Polack's 1838 illustration of Poverty Bay (fig. 6) and George French Angus's 1847 plate of Mt Taranaki with a waka in the foreground (fig. 7).⁵⁶ Only Angus offered a brief description of "A war-canoe, with a sail made of reeds," which he "introduced into the picture," suggesting that he did not see it in situ.⁵⁷ While neither illustration is identical to the *Arrival*'s sail, Steele and Goldie's design appears to draw on their scalloped edges and lines, which they interpreted as diagonal spars.



Figure 5. Louis John Steele and Kennett Watkins, *The Advent of the Maori, Christmas, A.D. 1000*, chromolithograph, *Auckland Weekly News*, supplement, Jubilee Christmas issue, 21 December 1889. Hocken Collections, University of Otago.

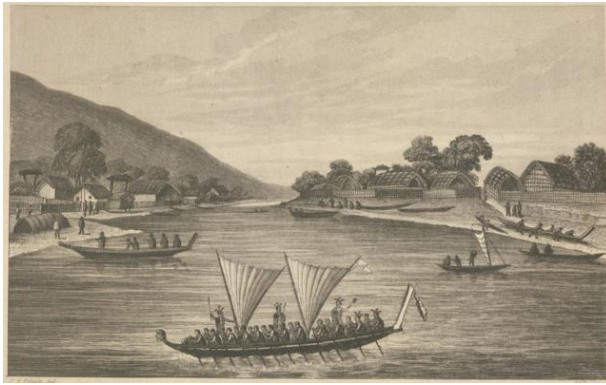


Figure 6 (left). J.S. Polack, “Fortified Village near Poverty Bay,” in *New Zealand: Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures* (1838), vol. II, facing p. 120. Image courtesy Special Collections, Te Tumu Herenga | Libraries and Learning Services, University of Auckland Waipapa Taumata Rau.

Figure 7 (right). John West Giles after Angas, *Taranaki or Mount Egmont*, lithograph in *The New Zealanders Illustrated* (1847), Plate II, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Art Historical Sources

Turning from anthropological detail to art historical sources, *Arrival* has a debt to *The Raft of the Medusa* (1818–19) by Théodore Géricault (1791–1824) (fig. 8).⁵⁸ Art historian Gerda Eichbaum, writing in 1942, was the first writer to recognise this.⁵⁹ Remarkably, no earlier references to Géricault have been uncovered by this research, nor is the fact this association was made only in 1942 mentioned in subsequent literature.



Figure 8. Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa*, 1818–19. Oil on canvas, 4910 x 7160 mm. Louvre, Paris.

John Barr, Director of Auckland Art Gallery, responding to Eichbaum's request to reproduce the painting in her article comparing the paintings, advised: "I doubt if it would be wise in that letter [to Goldie's representative asking for copyright permission] to mention the picture by Géricault."⁶⁰ It was clearly not an association that Goldie wanted in the last years of his life. We know, however, that Steele regularly sought comparison with the French academic master Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891), even becoming known as the "Meissonier of Maoriland."⁶¹ So the rejection of an association with a famed work by an artist of Géricault's reputation is curious, suggesting that Goldie, at least, did not wish their borrowing to be recognised. Perhaps he held to Meissonier's dictum "that while one is alive, one's duty is to show the finished work and not the way it was made."⁶² Alternatively, he may have feared that it would take away from their achievement or negate their creative act, as was indeed the response of New Zealand's modernist art historians.⁶³ Goldie certainly knew Géricault's painting; he made a copy in 1897 inscribed "L'Après [sic] Géricault," and Steele too was undoubtedly familiar with it from his years studying in Paris, which included many hours in the Louvre.⁶⁴

Eichbaum's scholarly article illustrated both paintings, cataloguing their similarities and differences. Amongst the affinities she noted were the connection in subject matter with *The Raft*, which depicted the victims of shipwreck sighting their rescuers. Compositionally, she noted, *Arrival* borrowed from the earlier work in the placement of the canoe and its sail on the canvas, and many of its figures also find equivalents.⁶⁵ Eichbaum nonetheless underlined that "it would be a mistake to over-emphasize the similarities . . . and not own that there are perceptible differences."⁶⁶ She particularly noted the differences in style: Géricault's "classicism" in contrast to Steele and Goldie's "realism."⁶⁷ She also recorded that Steele and Goldie's canvas is "much smaller in scale," Géricault's measuring a massive 4910 x 7160 mm compared to Steele and Goldie's more modest 1380 x 2450 mm.⁶⁸ While *Arrival* was certainly small to Eichbaum's recently-arrived European eyes, in 1899 it was thought to be "the largest picture which has been shown in the society's exhibition."⁶⁹ Its relatively diminutive scale has subsequently been used to dismiss it.⁷⁰ In its historical context, however, *Arrival* was ambitiously monumental: paintings of Géricault's scale simply did not exist in the colony.

In their histories of New Zealand art published in 1971 and 1991 respectively, Gil Docking and Michael Dunn also emphasised the painting's connection to Géricault's *The Raft*. Their responses are thickly laced with colonial cultural cringe. For Docking, "an enormous interpretive gap separates these two works. The powerful chiaroscuro and stormy flow of bodies in Géricault's monumental, yet fully controlled painting is replaced in the Goldie-Steele work by a melodramatic tangle of head-clutching hands and arms."⁷¹ Dunn is even more direct: noting the smaller scale of *Arrival*, he states that it is "lacking in grandeur. The figures . . . do not have the variety, structure and sense of scale found in Géricault. Neither the dark colours, the stormy sea, nor the rhetorical gestures of the figures can disguise the weakness of the work."⁷² He adds, however, that it was well received at the time and that the painting can be seen as "one of the more ambitious attempts at producing a largish figure composition."⁷³ Hamish Keith, co-author (with Gordon H. Brown) of the first substantial history of New Zealand painting in 1969, as well as the most recent written survey of New Zealand art, published in 2007, is equally dismissive. He explains that Géricault was credited with having undertaken two years of careful research, talking to survivors and reconstructing the raft with the help of its carpenter. By contrast, Goldie and Steele "simply made it up."⁷⁴

As these examples show, Eichbaum's warning not to overstate the similarities between the works has gone unheeded, and the cursory way that the two paintings are often mentioned in the same breath gives the impression that *Arrival* is effectively a Māori-themed copy of *The*

Raft of the Medusa.⁷⁵ While acknowledging the strong points of connection identified by Eichbaum, if one compares them closely the paintings have more differences than many critiques allow. The sea is more dominant in *Arrival*, with the horizon-line placed about one-fifth from the top of the canvas, emphasising the vastness of the Pacific. The composition of *Arrival* is much more tightly cropped on the vessel, showing only part of the waka, as compared to *The Raft*, which is seen almost in its entirety. This, combined with the scale of the sea, the upward angle of the canoe and the white water of the bow-wave gives the waka a sense of forward propulsion. The sea in *The Raft* is more of a background set; despite the wind-filled sail and the wave threatening the craft, *The Raft* appears stilled as if on a stage. The lighting also differs substantially. *Arrival* has a dark and foreboding sky with light originating from behind the headland on the right, dramatically linking it to the crew's salvation. By comparison, *The Raft* is streaked with dusky colours, with the bodies strongly lit from the left, creating powerful chiaroscuro.

The closely cropped composition of *Arrival* adds to the dramatic intensity. Rather than viewers just looking at the scene, it is almost as if they occupy a plank in the waka. Within the history of maritime paintings, works that place the viewer on a vessel are the exception. In J.M.W. Turner's *The Battle of Trafalgar, as Seen from the Mizen Starboard Shrouds of the Victory* (1806–8), we witness Horatio Nelson's death as if standing on board ship, but Turner's figures are seen from a distance and it is the atmosphere and chaos of the battle that is primarily conveyed.⁷⁶ In contrast, the close proximity of the figures in *Arrival* allows scrutiny of the emotion-filled faces and ravaged bodies, their despair and spark of hope. In this, it is innovative, and I would argue that rather than attempting to make a poor pastiche of Géricault's masterpiece, as has been argued elsewhere, Steele and Goldie have completely reimagined it.⁷⁷ It finds a direct parallel in the centuries-old practice of borrowing from earlier artists and reworking their ideas, which continues to this day, as seen in Bill Viola's video installation *The Raft* (2004).⁷⁸ Indeed, the history of art is built on such chains of influence, and *Arrival* itself has provided inspiration for works of art, dance and theatre.⁷⁹

There has long been speculation about what roles Steele and Goldie respectively played in the collaboration.⁸⁰ Goldie, as the subsequently much more famous painter, is often assumed to be the genius behind the painting, and Steele is frequently not even credited as co-creator.⁸¹ Bell, recognising their master-pupil relationship, suggests alternatively that in line with atelier custom Steele "would have done the figures, and Goldie the seascape and, possibly the canoe."⁸² This was the division of labour between Steele and Watkins.⁸³ Blackley found evidence to the contrary, however, reporting "Olive Goldie later thought that her husband had done most of the work," supporting this assertion with the 1956 testimony of Charles Henry Gunn, a former pupil, who stated: "Steele, a tall, thin man, also posed for most of the figures."⁸⁴ Blackley, however, omits the first clause of Gunn's sentence, which opens: "Both Steele and Goldie shared in painting the picture mentioned, but Steele, a tall thin man . . ."; the opening clause gives different weight to his statement.⁸⁵ Blackley does repeat Gunn's comment that "no Maoris were used as models, though Maoris often attended the studio for other paintings," although he notes that Cowan contradicted this, identifying the main female figure as the woman that inspired Jessie Watson's novel *Ko Meri*.⁸⁶

It is debatable how much significance Gunn's words should be given. Possibly Steele acted out the poses he wanted models to hold, but it is highly improbable he would have actually modelled for the figures himself. This would have taken many hours, and as the much more senior artist, with Goldie his former pupil yet to make his name, he would surely have seen such an act as well beneath him as studio master. Further, the figures have a distinctive sinewy

quality to the limbs and musculature found in other paintings by Steele, such as *Defiance* (c. 1909) and *Moko, or Maori Tattooing* (1909, fig. 9).⁸⁷ The overblown gestures and expressions also find echoes in these and others works, such as *Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*.⁸⁸ By contrast, Goldie has few canvases with full figures that invite comparison: the fully clothed figures of *The Child Christ in the Temple* (1898–1911, fig. 10) share no similarity, and his student copies featuring figures closely replicate the manner of the artist he was copying—for example, *La femme au bain* (*Woman in the Bath*) (1898), after René-Xavier Prinet.⁸⁹



Figure 9. Louis John Steele, *Moko, or Maori Tattooing*, 1909. Oil on board, 165 x 240 mm. Private Collection, Auckland. Photo: John McIver.



Figure 10. Charles Frederick Goldie, *The Child Christ in the Temple*, 1898–1911. Oil on canvas, 1298 x 1735 mm. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

A piece of evidence that sheds light on the nature of their collaboration is an oil sketch for *Arrival* (c. 1899) in Te Papa’s collection (fig. 11).⁹⁰ It offers insights into both the collaboration and the painting’s creation, and its significance is not accounted for in the literature. The oil

sketch was purchased in 1973 from T.T. Bond, Goldie’s nephew and his London agent in the 1930s. Acquisition records note that it was received “wrapped in paper and inscribed by C.F. Goldie.”⁹¹ This packaging survives (fig. 12), labelled in Goldie’s distinctive script: “Original Sketch for picture Arrival of Maoris . . . belonging to C.F. Goldie.”⁹² The sketch itself is signed by Steele alone, however, and was still in his possession when his studio was photographed in 1901.⁹³ Based on the remnant packaging, it clearly entered Goldie’s collection at some point after this—it is possibly lot no. 474, “Oil painting, Arrival of Maoris,” sold at Steele’s 1917 studio sale—before passing to Goldie’s nephew.⁹⁴ The fact that Goldie owned the sketch, yet it is only signed by Steele, is significant. Goldie, as the owner of the sketch, had every opportunity over many years to add his signature and did not.⁹⁵ The sketch with its single signature and provenance provides persuasive evidence that Steele was the originator of the composition at least.



Figure 11. Louis John Steele, oil sketch or esquisse for *Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand*, c. 1899. Oil on paperboard, on wooden panel, 180 x 313 mm. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

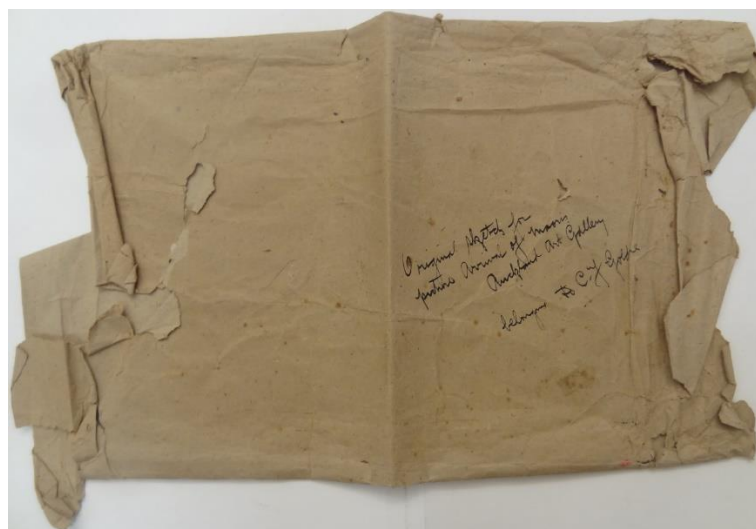


Figure 12. Wrapping from the oil sketch for *Arrival*, with Charles Frederick Goldie’s inscription: “Original Sketch for picture Arrival of Maoris / Auckland Art Gallery / belonging to C.F. Goldie.” Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Archive.

The sketch also reveals Steele’s French academic training, resembling an “esquisse.” This term, which translates in English as sketch, meant something far more specific in the context of training at the *École des Beaux-Arts* and within academic practice in nineteenth-century France more generally. The Larousse encyclopedia in 1870 defined an *esquisse* as “a spontaneous work of the imagination, handled with energy, verve, passion and warmth and rapidly done.”⁹⁶ Art historian Albert Boime elaborates that “the sketch was a separate work, usually in a smaller format, serving as a guide for the composition and colour of the final painting.”⁹⁷ While not identical to the final painting, the genesis for *Arrival*’s composition, colouration and lighting is evident in Steele’s oil sketch, but it shares the freedom of handling common to an *esquisse*.⁹⁸ Art historian Bruno Foucart warns that modernist critics have seized on these sketches “because at last . . . the artist is freer than he will ever be.” But in doing so, “its actual nature, its elementary purpose, which is to prepare the composition, is forgotten.”⁹⁹

As we have seen, the highly rhetorical gestures and drama of the final work are something for which *Arrival* has been criticised. Docking’s description, quoted earlier, of the “melodramatic tangle of head-clutching hands and arms,”¹⁰⁰ demonstrates the modernist anti-academic bias of such criticisms.¹⁰¹ There is indeed a close family resemblance between *Arrival* and nineteenth-century French academic painting. This is seen, for example, in Meissonier’s unrealised sketch for *Samson abattant les Philistins* (Samson Fighting the Philistines) (c. 1845, fig. 13), which offers a compelling comparison with the twisted mass of bodies, range of meaning-filled gestures and figures carefully placed for compositional effect in *Arrival*.¹⁰² Steele and Goldie’s methods clearly link the painting to their Parisian academic masters, but the subject matter places them firmly in late nineteenth-century colonial New Zealand.¹⁰³ It is only by stripping away the modernist bias inherent in earlier criticism, and by taking *Arrival* seriously as a painting on its own terms, that we can properly consider Steele and Goldie’s approach and understand its place within global art history.



Figure 13. Ernest Meissonier, *Samson abattant les Philistins* (*Samson Fighting the Philistines*), c. 1845, esquisse. Oil on paper mounted on canvas, 298 x 397 mm. Bequest of Elisabeth Meissonier, 1898, Musée d’Orsay, Paris.

Out of the Throat of Te Parata—The Painting’s Narrative

No sources for the painting’s narrative have been identified previously.¹⁰⁴ Steele owned books on New Zealand history, including A.S. Thomson’s *The Story of New Zealand* (1859) and John White’s *The Ancient History of the Maori* (1887–90).¹⁰⁵ Thomson included a chapter on the Māori migration from Hawaiki. Described by him as well provisioned, the migrants set out in a fleet of about 15 double canoes, but “when night came, a storm arose, the fleet was scattered, and each canoe proceeded on its own course.”¹⁰⁶ This is as dramatic as Thomson’s account gets. White’s telling, drawing on translated Māori sources and six volumes long, is both more voluminous and event-filled, but still does not come close to explaining *Arrival*.¹⁰⁷ Bell notes further that only popular histories such as J.A. Wilson’s *Sketches of Ancient Maori Life and History* (1894) seek to “inject excitement or adventure into the narrative.”¹⁰⁸ He concludes that “Steele and Goldie’s treatment of the subject does not appear to have its origins in either Maori accounts or the historical or ethnological literature of the period.”¹⁰⁹

Yet the painting was executed at a time when there was great interest and research into the origins of Māori. It was a central concern of the Polynesian Society, established in 1892 to encourage scholarly research into the peoples of the Pacific.¹¹⁰ S. Percy Smith, a founder of the Society, travelled throughout Polynesia in 1897 seeking data, which he published as “Hawaiki: The Whence of the Maori” in 1898 and 1899.¹¹¹ Clippings relating Smith’s findings are preserved in Goldie’s newspaper scrapbooks, so the artists were familiar with his scholarship.¹¹² Smith’s research built on a notion of “the Great Fleet” of six or seven canoes arriving in New Zealand at the same time. Most significantly, he gave a detailed chronology estimating AD 1350 as the date of the fleet’s arrival.¹¹³ For many years this became the accepted explanation of Māori migration, but again his publications offer no narrative that was the direct inspiration for *Arrival*.¹¹⁴

There is one significant publication that has been overlooked, which suggests that Steele and Goldie did draw on a traditional Māori source, albeit through colonial translation: Sir George Grey’s *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of The New Zealand Race*. First published in te reo Māori in 1854, it was issued in English translation with some changes in 1855. *Polynesian Mythology* collected the “traditional poems and legends . . . mythology, and . . . proverbs” shared with Grey in te reo Māori during his first term as Governor of New Zealand, from 1845 to 1853.¹¹⁵ A second edition was published in 1885, the year before Steele emigrated from England to New Zealand.¹¹⁶ *Polynesian Mythology* included the migration stories of several waka, which contained elements that could well have inspired *Arrival*, with the Arawa canoe’s journey of particular relevance.¹¹⁷

Grey recounted that as the Arawa waka set out on its voyage, the chief in command of the vessel, “Tama-te-Kapua,” tricked the high-ranking tohunga “Ngatoro” and his wife Kearoa to come on board.¹¹⁸ Ngatoro had planned to travel with his family on the Tainui waka, but Tama-te-Kapua wanted him as a navigator, so set sail before the tohunga could disembark. During the night Ngatoro went to check the craft’s progress, only for Tama-te-Kapua to lay “hold of his wife.”¹¹⁹ Discovering this treachery, Ngatoro “called aloud to the heavens . . . and he raised the winds that they should blow upon the prow of the canoe and drive it astern, and the crew of the canoe were at their wits’ end, and quite forgot their skill as seamen, and the canoe drew straight into the whirlpool, called ‘The throat of Te Parata,’ and dashed right into that whirlpool.”¹²⁰ The waka became engulfed, its prow disappearing, its provisions lost, and the distraught crew barely clinging on to the vessel. Hearing their pleas, Ngatoro finally relented and through his incantations stilled the storm, releasing their waka from the whirlpool, although few of their supplies were salvageable.¹²¹

Such a journey could explain the physical and emotional condition of Steele and Goldie’s voyagers, their depleted stores and the state of their waka. The damaged tauiho (bow carvings) are a very specific detail in the painting (fig. 14). Not only are the carvings broken, but the hull itself is splitting and waterworn, and festooned with seaweed. A journey deep into the throat of Te Parata, a ferocious whirlpool, could explain this damage.



Figure 14. Detail of *Arrival* showing the broken tauiho (prow carvings) and water-damaged hulls.

As already quoted, Simmons observes of *Arrival* that the carvings and resemblance of the canoe’s double-hulls to eighteenth-century single-hulled waka taua (war canoe) lashed together are anachronistic and fanciful.¹²² Steele and Goldie’s idea for the representation of the canoe in this manner may also have a direct connection to Grey. Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke (Ngāti Rangiwewehi, Te Arawa), one of Grey’s key informants, described the Arawa as a “waka taua,” continuing “he toiere, waka whakarei, he pitau.”¹²³ These terms add to the description of the canoe as a “war canoe with carved stem and stern” (toiere), a “carved canoe—a superior canoe with elaborately carved figurehead, bust and arms” (waka whakarei), and having a “figurehead of a canoe ornamented with perforated spiral carving” (pītau).¹²⁴ In the accompanying picture Te Rangikāheke drew the Arawa as a single-hulled waka with a tall sternpost and carved prow (fig. 15). Neither the spiral patterns of the pītau, nor the elaborate figurehead he referred to in the text, are depicted, but anthropologist Atholl Anderson nonetheless follows Te Rangikāheke’s description in interpreting this drawing as a waka taua.¹²⁵

If Grey shared with Steele and Goldie Te Rangikāheke’s knowledge of the Arawa waka, this would have been a compelling and highly authoritative source for them to follow, especially as we have seen there was so little evidence about the form of the migration canoes. Yet, by painting two such canoes lashed together, the artists adapted this information to reflect the prevailing opinion that the Arawa was double-hulled.

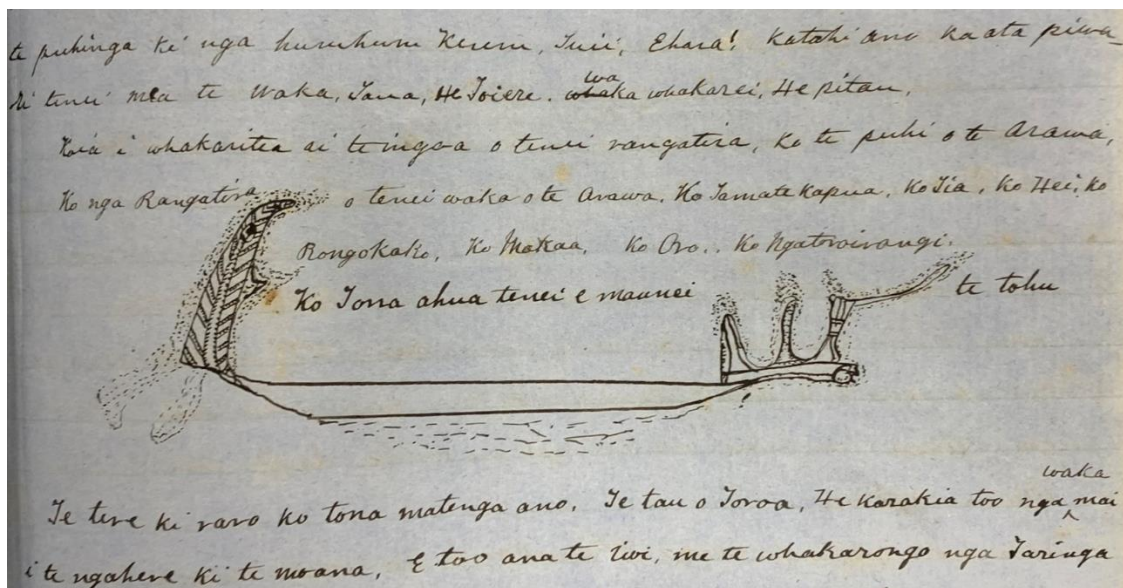


Figure 15. Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke, the Arawa migration waka, c.1849, detail of p. 95, from “A Commentary on Sir George Grey’s ‘Ko Nga Moteatea, Me Nga Hakirara O Nga Maori’,” Auckland Libraries Heritage Collection.

Note the description on the second line, “te waka taua, he toiere, waka whakarei, he pitau.”

Grey did not include this aspect of Te Rangikāheke’s knowledge in his publication. Further, while most of his New Zealand manuscripts were deposited in the library at Cape Town, where he next served as Governor and where the manuscripts remained until 1922, there is no record of this manuscript in that collection. This leaves open the possibility that Grey brought the manuscript back to New Zealand when he returned in 1861 and it might have been known to Steele and Goldie.¹²⁶ Regardless of whether he had the manuscript in his possession, it is possible that Grey shared his knowledge of the Arawa waka gained from Te Rangikāheke with Steele or perhaps Goldie before he returned to England in 1894, and it inspired their representation.

The artists were both certainly acquainted with Grey. By then an elder statesman in the colony, Grey still played an active part in the cultural life of Auckland.¹²⁷ We know that Grey attended the Auckland Academy of Art exhibitions hosted in Steele’s studio and admired Steele’s 1891 portrait of *Mohi* (who had worked for Grey on Kawau Island), as well as giving his name in support of Steele’s projected painting of the *Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*.¹²⁸ Grey was also familiar with Goldie, encouraging the young artist’s father to allow him to study in Paris.¹²⁹ Moreover, Grey had long called upon New Zealand artists to take inspiration from Māori culture and their traditions, so in Steele and his protégé he found like-minded enthusiasts.¹³⁰ No written documentation survives to support my proposition that he told them of the Arawa waka’s voyage or Te Rangikāheke’s description of the canoe, but *Arrival* is itself persuasive evidence of their potential connection and sharing of ideas. At the very least, I would argue that *Arrival* drew on the voyage of the Arawa canoe, thus providing the long-overlooked narrative for the painting.

Ngāti Tūwharetoa may have been another source from whom Steele learned of the Arawa waka’s eventful journey.¹³¹ The tohunga named by Grey as “Ngatoro” is more correctly referred to as Ngātoroirangi. He was the founding Ngāti Tūwharetoa ancestor to arrive in Aotearoa, so is central to the iwi’s history and whakapapa. Steele had close interactions with Ngāti Tūwharetoa in the late 1880s and early 1890s. He visited Waihi and Tokaanu, ancestral

home of paramount chief Tūreiti Te Heuheu Tūkino V on the southern shore of Lake Taupō in January 1889, where his sketchbook reveals that he was given remarkable access.¹³² At least five oil portraits of Ngāti Tūwharetoa subjects resulted from Steele’s interaction with the tribe, including one of Tūreiti Te Heuheu himself.¹³³ From this visit, he also likely learnt of and depicted the story of Hurihia, sister of Mananui Te Heuheu Tūkino II.¹³⁴

Given Ngātoroirangi was “abducted” and separated from his whānau on the Tainui waka, with his wife subsequently “seduced,” he held great animosity towards Tamatekapua and those on the Arawa waka when he landed in Aotearoa.¹³⁵ The language John Te H. Grace used in his account of the events in his 1959 history of Ngāti Tūwharetoa conveys the ill feeling that continued to be held for the treatment of Ngātoroirangi and Kearoa.¹³⁶ Through Steele’s interactions with Ngāti Tūwharetoa, it seems highly plausible that he heard of the Arawa’s voyage and may have picked up a more negative slant of the narrative.

There may have been other sources from which Steele and Goldie also learned of the Arawa canoe’s eventful journey. For example, Takaanui Tarakawa, with Smith as translator, also related the history in the *Journal of Polynesian Studies* in 1893.¹³⁷ But the direct connections that the artists had with Sir George Grey and Ngāti Tūwharetoa are compelling.

Mackechnie, mentioned earlier as a trustee of the Boyd bequest, assumed that the painting represented the Arawa waka as it was “the only double canoe in the fleet.”¹³⁸ Another contemporary critic also read the painting as “an accurate representation of the famous Arawa canoe.”¹³⁹ Steele subsequently depicted the Arawa waka on the 1906 halfpenny stamp produced for the New Zealand International Exhibition in Christchurch—again as a double-hulled waka taua—which is surely not a coincidence (Fig. 16).¹⁴⁰ In much later life Goldie also returned to the subject in *The Story of the Arawa Canoe* (c. 1938) depicting a kuia sharing the story with her mokopuna as a model waka floats before them.¹⁴¹



Figure 16. “Te Arawa” waka, Halfpenny commemorative stamp, one of four designed by Louis John Steele for the New Zealand International Exhibition, 1906. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

Blackley has argued against identifying *Arrival* as a specific waka. Noting the occasional mistitling of the painting as the Tainui or “Turi’s canoe” (a reference to the Aotea), he stated categorically that “Goldie and Steele always advised the correct title as *The Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand*.”¹⁴² But he did not give a source for this statement, nor have any such references been uncovered to substantiate this view.¹⁴³

Overturning the narrative

Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand is certainly culturally problematic and has been since it was first painted. This has, however, been exacerbated by the lack of understanding and detailed research into the painting by art historians. Despite much having been written on it, with the exception of Bell's detailed analysis and to a lesser extent Blackley's, neither the painting nor the context in which it was painted has been thoroughly examined.

Analysis of the depiction of the broken bow carvings, damaged sail, lost provisions and starving voyagers establishes a clear connection to Grey's retelling of the perilous journey of the Arawa canoe. It is highly likely that Steele and Goldie took inspiration from this narrative. They undertook research, then used their imaginations and training to create a compelling image. Bell is correct when he states that the subject was "reconstruct[ed] imaginatively," but the artists did not simply make it up as Keith puts it.¹⁴⁴

The painting is recognised today to be riddled with ethnographical inaccuracies, but, as has been shown, the artists drew on the little that was then known about the physical form of migratory waka. Further, because of the precision with which they depicted these details, for many years it gave the painting the façade of authority.¹⁴⁵ While seeking historical accuracy, Steele and Goldie also wanted to create a sensation, a work that would capture the public's attention.¹⁴⁶ The immediate contemporary responses to the painting demonstrate they achieved their goal and have continued to do so for well over a century.

The painting has come to mean so much more than the artists ever intended. Reinforced through frequent reproduction, it has come to signify a historical Pākehā idea of how Māori arrived in New Zealand. It has pictorially implanted within our historical subconscious the notion that Māori discovery of Aotearoa was accidental and that the first voyagers arrived emaciated and near death—even if this was not the artists' intention. Until now, Dunn's and Keith's critiques have not been accurately challenged and countered. Further, the painting has been interpreted as signifying the dying race myth. Such an interpretation is understandable, but the specific references to the Arawa canoe's encounter with the "throat of Te Parata" discussed here provides a more compelling and immediate narrative—and one that has hitherto been entirely overlooked. Nonetheless, the artists took a particular story—the voyage of the Arawa waka—and generalised it by calling their painting *Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand*, which has led to much misunderstanding.

Arrival remains uncomfortable viewing. However, by closely examining the painting, its genesis and the historical materials that informed its creation, we can reconsider what the artists were attempting to achieve and how the painting's meaning has changed over time. This article is in no way as dramatic as hanging the painting upside down, but by challenging our (mis)understanding, we can at last begin to reassess the place *Arrival of the Maoris* occupies in New Zealand art history and culture.

This article draws on Chapter 6 of my PhD thesis, "The Master of 'Maoriland': Louis John Steele, 1842–1918," University of Auckland, 2023. I would like to acknowledge the support of my PhD supervisors Associate Professor Leonard Bell, Associate Professor Erin Griffey and Professor Emeritus Elizabeth Rankin. The insights of Gerard Te Heuheu of Ngāti Tūwāhretōa and Rob Eruera, Pou Whakarae—Taonga Tuku Iho Māori, Auckland Libraries on several key points was invaluable. Feedback was also gratefully received from Ngahiraka Mason, now an independent curator, and

colleagues at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki: Nathan Pohio, Senior Curator Māori; Joe Pihema, Head of Kaupapa Māori; and Sarah Farrar, Head of Curatorial and Learning.

Abbreviations:

AAG—Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki

AM—Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira

AS—*Auckland Star*

ASA—Auckland Society of Arts

JPS—*Journal of the Polynesian Society*

NZG—*The New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal*

NZH—*The New Zealand Herald*

Te Papa—Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

¹ The painting had been dated 1898 since the 1970s. The date was revised to 1899 as a result of this research in 2022. For discussion, see text and notes 18 to 21.

² Patrick Evans, quoted in Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872–1918*, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), 25.

³ Gil Docking, *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting* (Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1971), 86; Michael Dunn, *A Concise History of New Zealand Painting* (Auckland: David Bateman, 1991), 34; Hamish Keith, *The Big Picture: A History of New Zealand Art from 1642* (Auckland: Godwit, 2007), 112; and Ngahiraka Mason, “Perspective 2: Challenging the Narrative at Every Intersection We Meet,” *CIMAM 2019 Annual Conference Proceedings*, 15–17 November 2019, Sydney, accessed 4 April 2022, cimam.org/documents/100/CIMAM_2019_Conference_Proceedings_Sydney_Reduced.pdf.

⁴ Hugh Roberts, “Chance, Providence and Imperial Ennui in Alfred Domett’s *Ranolf and Amohia: A South-Sea Day-Dream*,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 43 (2015): 317.

⁵ “Exhibition of Pictures,” *AS*, 27 October 1899; “French Academy of Art Exhibition,” *NZH*, 28 October 1899; and “French Academy of Art Exhibition,” *NZG*, 4 November 1899.

⁶ “A Great Picture,” *New Zealand Times*, 4 November 1899.

⁷ “Society of Arts Exhibition: The Conversazione,” *AS*, 9 November 1899; “French Academy of Art Exhibition,” *NZG*, 4 November.

⁸ The institution today known as Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, has used various names over the years since it opened to the public in 1888. For ease and consistency it is referred to throughout the text as Auckland Art Gallery, abbreviated in notes to AAG.

⁹ “Notice: To All Artists Resident in the Colony of New Zealand,” *NZH*, 2 February 1899. The Boyd Bequest was run as a competition, with a purse of £200. Steele and Goldie ambitiously sought to claim the entire prize for themselves, listing their painting at £200. *Arrival* was acquired along with two other works, each priced at £25 (ASA 1899, no. 57 and 69): Frank Wright, *The Mill Valley, Karekare Bay*, 1899/2/3; and Thomas Drummond’s *Early Morning, Whangarei*, 1899/2/1, AAG. It is consequently not clear that Steele and Goldie achieved their advertised price, although £200 is frequently reported as the price they received. According to one report, the trustees initially offered Steele and Goldie £100 but were refused (“Town and Country,” *Timaru Herald*, 7 December 1899). The relevant Auckland Council records do not include the price paid (Various Committee Minutes 1884–1908, Auckland Council Archive).

¹⁰ Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840–1914* (Auckland: AUP, 1992), 166; Roger Blackley, *Goldie* (Auckland: AAG and David Bateman, 1997), 12; Keith, *The Big Picture*, 112.

¹¹ Blackley, *Goldie*, 13. Other historic instances of the painting’s reproduction, aside from those mentioned elsewhere in the text, include: Frances Brewer Lysnar, *New Zealand The Dear Old Maori Land* (Auckland: Brett, 1915), 2; Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Wanderings of a Spiritualist* (New York: George H. Doran, 1921), facing 192; and Hector Bolitho, *Thistledown and Thunder: A Higgledy-Piggledy Diary of New Zealand, The South Seas, Australia, Port Said, Italy, Paris, England, Madeira, Africa, Canada, and New York* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1928), facing 12. Correspondence relating to many other requests to reproduce the work are in the accession file, 1899/2/2, AAG.

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- ¹² James Drummond, *Nature in New Zealand, Public School Series* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1902), 124.
- ¹³ H.J. Constable, *The Romantic Story of New Zealand: Epic Tales of Empire, no. 2, The Empire History Handbook Series* (London: John Marlowe, Savage & Co., 1924), 9–10.
- ¹⁴ W. Robert Moore, “New Zealand ‘Down Under,’” *National Geographic Magazine* 69, no. 2 (February 1936): 165–218.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 175.
- ¹⁶ ASA exhibition catalogue, 1899, no. 8; John Barr, *Catalogue of the Auckland Municipal Art Gallery, also of the Mackelvie Collection* (Auckland: Brett Printing and Publishing Co., 1921), no. 77, 33.
- ¹⁷ The change in title postdates both Gerda Eichbaum’s 1942 article and a *NZH* photograph which probably dates after World War II, in which the name plate affixed to the frame still refers to *Arrival* without the preceding definitive article. Gerda Eichbaum, “Gericault’s *Raft of the Medusa* and Goldie-Steele’s *Arrival of the Maoris*: A Comparison,” *Art in New Zealand*, no. 55 (March 1942): 130–34; *NZH* photographer, “Arrival of the Maoris,” black-and-white acetate negative, 1370-U097-17, Heritage Images, Auckland Libraries. Reproductions and references from 1971 onwards refer to *The Arrival*. See Docking, *Two Hundred Years*, 84, 86.
- ¹⁸ Laura Elizabeth Campbell, “‘True Direction’: Aspects of Aestheticism in New Zealand (1880–1913)” (MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2016), 87.
- ¹⁹ *NZH*, 25 October 1899, 4.
- ²⁰ “Notice: To All Artists Resident in the Colony of New Zealand.”
- ²¹ AAG has nothing on file to support the 1898 date and changed it to 1899 on my recommendation (Julie Koke, Senior Registrar, emails, 24 March and 9 May 2022; Ron Brownson, Senior Curator, conversation, 9 May 2022).
- ²² “Nature in New Zealand,” *NZH*, 28 June 1902.
- ²³ Bryan Bowles, “Maori Manners: Letter to the Editor,” *AS*, 26 July 1934.
- ²⁴ George Graham, “Maori Customs: Faults in Historical Pictures,” *AS*, 3 August 1934.
- ²⁵ J.[ames] C.[owan], “Coming of the Maori: Letter to the Editor,” *AS*, 13 August 1934.
- ²⁶ Peter Tomory, quoted in Mac Vincent, “The Aucklander’s Diary,” unidentified source, c. 1956, loose newspaper clippings, C.F. Goldie archive, CA000255, Te Papa archive.
- ²⁷ Dunn, *Concise History*, 34.
- ²⁸ Andrew Sharp, *Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific* (1956; reis., Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1957); Andrew Sharp, *Ancient Voyagers in Polynesia* (Auckland and Hamilton: Paul’s Book Arcade, 1963); Jack Golson, ed., *Polynesian Navigation: A Symposium on Andrew Sharp’s Accidental Voyages* (1962; reis., Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1972); M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Maori Origins and Migrations: The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends* (Auckland and Oxford: AUP and OUP, 1979), 36, 55–56.
- ²⁹ Sorrenson, *Maori Origins*, 36, 50, 55–56.
- ³⁰ Fanny Irvine-Smith, quoted in “Picture Criticised: ‘Wrong Impression,’” *Evening Post*, 5 August 1936.
- ³¹ M.G. Lee, quoted in “Well Planned, Hawaiki Voyage. Maoris Not Emaciated. Misconception Dispelled,” *AS*, 18 August 1938.
- ³² Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 168.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 168–72.
- ³⁴ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, part III, 1798, quoted in E.A. Mackechnie, “New Zealand Art,” *NZH*, 6 January 1900.
- ³⁵ Jane Davidson-Ladd, “The Master of Maoriland: Louis John Steele, 1842–1918” (PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2023), 85.
- ³⁶ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 172–73.
- ³⁷ The early origins of the “dying race” narrative were summarised by Te Rangi Hiroa, “The Passing of the Maori,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 55 (1924): 362–75. For further discussion in relation to Steele and Goldie, see Davidson-Ladd, “Master of Maoriland,” 124–27.
- ³⁸ “Maori Carnival,” *Poverty Bay Herald*, 31 May 1900, 2. Kōhere was referring to a statement made in the *Daily Telegraph*, Sydney, at the time S. Percy Smith delivered a lecture on his findings.

³⁹ Roger Blackley, *Galleries of Maoriland: Artists, Collectors and the Māori World, 1880–1910* (Auckland: AUP, 2018), 73.

⁴⁰ A recent Facebook post on the “Aotearoa New Zealand History” public group exemplifies this. A picture of the painting alongside Géricault’s *The Raft*, with descriptive texts taken from Te Ara, AAG and the Louvre, elicited 210 “responses” and 312 comments (mostly negative and many passionate) a month after being posted. Kene Campbell, Facebook post, 20 May 2023, accessed 21 June 2023, www.facebook.com/groups/399298005225901/permalink/760343949121303.

⁴¹ Ngahiraka Mason, “Arrival of the Maoris discussion paper 2010,” December 2010, digital accession file, Vernon, 1899/2/2, AAG.

⁴² I draw on my knowledge here as Associate Curator at AAG in 2010 when this proposal was considered.

⁴³ Elsdon Best, *The Maori Canoe: An Account of Various Types of Vessels Used by the Maori of New Zealand in Former Times, With Some Description of those of the Isles of the Pacific, And a Brief Account of the Peopling of New Zealand*, Dominion Museum Bulletin, no. 7 (1925; reis., Wellington: A.R. Shearer, Government Printer, 1976), 396.

⁴⁴ David Simmons, “Charles Frederick Goldie—Maori Portraits,” *AGMANZ News* 5, no. 2 (May 1974): 38.

⁴⁵ Augustus Hamilton, *Maori Art, Part I: On the Canoes of the Maoris* (Wellington: New Zealand Institute, 1896) offered a detailed examination, including photographs, of waka in museum collections. It listed the many waka and their crew that came to Aotearoa, but did not describe the crafts themselves.

⁴⁶ Best, *Maori Canoe*, 32.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴⁸ Atholl Anderson, “Speaking of Migration, AD1150–1450,” in Atholl Anderson, Aroha Harris and Judith Binney, eds., *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014), 506, note 70.

⁴⁹ Sail (ra); canoe, BM collection, Oc,NZ.147, accessed 10 April 2022, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc-NZ-147.

⁵⁰ It was first published in New Zealand in Augustus Hamilton, “Fishing and sea-food of ancient Maori,” [*Dominion*] *Museum Bulletin*, no. 2 (1908), illustrated on cover. See also William Skinner, 1908, quoted in Best, *Maori Canoe*, 263. Te Rā was included as an illustration in James Edge-Partington, *Ethnographical Album of the Pacific Islands*, vol. 3 (Manchester: J.C. Norbury, 1898), but given the publication date and location it is highly unlikely that Steele and Goldie were aware of this volume when the work was painted in 1899.

⁵¹ Anonymous author, 1771, quoted in Best, *Maori Canoe*, 253.

⁵² Georg Forster, 1777, quoted in Best, *Maori Canoe*, 254.

⁵³ William Colenso, 1868, quoted in Best, *Maori Canoe*, 251.

⁵⁴ Simmons, “Charles Frederick Goldie,” 38.

⁵⁵ Best, *Maori Canoe*, 257.

⁵⁶ Joel Samuel Polack, “Fortified Village near Poverty Bay,” *New Zealand: Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures During a Residence in that Country between the Years 1831 and 1837*, vol. II (London: Richard Bentley, 1838), following p. 120. George French Angas, “Taranaki or Mount Egmont,” *New Zealanders Illustrated* (London: Thomas McLean, 1847), Plate II.

⁵⁷ Angas, *New Zealanders Illustrated*, letterpress plate II. A line drawing after Angas was included in Augustus Hamilton’s 1896 volume dedicated to canoes, giving it some authority. Hamilton, *Maori Art*, following p. 40.

⁵⁸ Théodore Géricault, *Le radeau de la Méduse* (The Raft of the Medusa), 1818–19, oil on canvas, 4910 x 7160 mm, INV 4884, C 51, Louvre, Paris, <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010059199>.

⁵⁹ Eichbaum, “Gericault’s *Raft*,” 130–34.

⁶⁰ John Barr to Gerda Eichbaum, letter, 28 July 1941, *Arrival* accession file, 1899/2/2, AAG.

⁶¹ Davidson-Ladd, “Master of Maoriland,” 192–94.

⁶² Ernest Meissonier, quoted in Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Phaidon, 1971), 93. Original translation.

⁶³ Docking, *Two Hundred Years*, 86; Dunn, *Concise History*, 34; Keith, *The Big Picture*, 112.

- ⁶⁴ F. Kelly wrote in response to Eichbaum’s article, alerting readers to the existence of Goldie’s copy, which he owned (F. Kelly, “Letter to the Editor: Arrival of the Maoris,” *Art in New Zealand* 15, no. 3 (March 1943): 19; Blackley, *Goldie*, 73). Steele lived and studied in Paris from 1864 to 1870, including time at the École des Beaux-Arts, where studying and drawing the paintings in the Louvre was an important part of the curriculum. Student drawings by Steele preserved in a scrapbook belonging to his wife include a number made at the Louvre. Louise Steele’s scrapbook, c. 1866–70, Private Collection, Auckland.
- ⁶⁵ Eichbaum, “Gericault’s *Raft*,” 130, 133.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 133.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 134. Painting measurements from Blackley, *Goldie*, 80; and Louvre. AAG’s measurements online and in its database for *Arrival* to March 2023 have recorded its framed dimensions: 1758 x 2825 mm.
- ⁶⁹ “Auckland Society of Arts Exhibition. The *Conversazione*,” *NZH*, 9 November 1899. See also “French Academy of Art Exhibition,” *NZG*, 4 November 1899.
- ⁷⁰ Dunn, *Concise History*, 34.
- ⁷¹ Docking, *Two Hundred Years*, 86.
- ⁷² Dunn, *Concise History*, 34.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ Keith, *The Big Picture*, 112.
- ⁷⁵ This is particularly noticeable in AAG’s interpretation of the painting. In a collection handbook it is described as “based directly” on *The Raft* and this sentiment is repeated in exhibition labels. Morgan, “*The Arrival of the Maoris*,” in Alexa Johnston, ed., *Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki: The Guide* (London: Scala, 2001), 66.
- ⁷⁶ J.M.W. Turner, *The Battle of Trafalgar, as Seen from the Mizen Starboard Shrouds of the Victory*, 1806–8, oil on canvas, 1708 × 2388 mm, N00480, Tate, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/turner-the-battle-of-traffic-as-seen-from-the-mizen-starboard-shrouds-of-the-victory-n00480>.
- ⁷⁷ Docking, *Two Hundred Years*, 86; Dunn, *Concise History*, 34; Keith, *The Big Picture*, 112.
- ⁷⁸ Bill Viola, *The Raft*, 2004, video installation.
- ⁷⁹ Greg Semu’s *The Raft of the Tagata Pasifika (People of the Pacific)*, 2014–16, c-type photographs, recasts both the *Arrival* and *The Raft*. Black Grace Dance company explored the painting in *Vaka*, 2012, and it is central to Peter Hawes’s play *Goldie: A Good Joke*, 1987.
- ⁸⁰ An early instance is found in *Brett’s Christmas Annual*, 1922, which illustrated *Arrival*, noting that “what proportion the artists contributed . . . is not necessary to inquire” (Clipping, pagination not recorded, Goldie Scrapbooks, vol. 12, 80, MUS-1996-6-5, AM).
- ⁸¹ For example, Peter Tomory speculated that, while the division of labour was unknown, “it may be that Goldie finished it off” (Tomory quoted in Vincent, “The Auckland’s Diary”).
- ⁸² Leonard Bell, *The Maori in European Art: A Survey of the Representation of the Maori by European Artists from the Time of Captain Cook to the Present Day* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1980), 92.
- ⁸³ Davidson-Ladd, “Master of Maoriland,” 187.
- ⁸⁴ Blackley; Gunn, 1956, quoted in Blackley, *Goldie*, 13.
- ⁸⁵ *AS*, 22 May 1956 (AAG newspaper scrapbook, E.H. McCormick Research Library, AAG).
- ⁸⁶ Blackley, *Goldie*, 13–14.
- ⁸⁷ *Defiance*, c. 1909, oil on board, 254 x 200 mm, Oc2006,Ptg.30, British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-30; *Moko, or Maori Tattooing*, 1909, oil on board, 165 x 240 mm, private collection, Auckland.
- ⁸⁸ For Steele’s painting *Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, see note 128 and Davidson-Ladd, “Master of Maoriland,” 219–37.
- ⁸⁹ Goldie, *The Child Christ in the Temple*, 1898–1911, oil on canvas, 1298 x 1735 mm, 1912/10, AAG, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/246/the-child-christ-in-the-temple>; and Goldie, after René-Xavier Prinet, *La femme au bain*, 1898, oil on canvas, 745 x 840 mm, 1954/28, AAG, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/2319/la-femme-au-bain-woman-in-the-bath>. Prinet’s 1888 original is today in the Musée d’Orsay.

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- ⁹⁰ This work is currently dated 1901, which derives from its acquisition in 1973, but there is no inscription to support this date and, as an oil sketch for the *Arrival*, it must surely predate it (*Arrival* sketch registration file, 1973-0007-3, Te Papa).
- ⁹¹ Melvin Day, Director, National Art Gallery to Secretary of Internal Affairs, letter, 13 March 1973. *Arrival* sketch registration file, 1973-0007-3, Te Papa.
- ⁹² Goldie archive, CA000255/001/001, Te Papa archive.
- ⁹³ Steele's studio was one of five artist studios featured in "Some Auckland Studios," *NZG*, 26 October 1901.
- ⁹⁴ Richard Arthur and Son, *Catalogue of Sale: The Whole of the Valuable Collection Pictures Works of Art Maori & Island Curios etc. The Property of L.J. Steele, Esq. Artist* (Auckland: Richard Arthur & Co., 1917), no. 474, 16.
- ⁹⁵ Goldie was infamous in the last years of his life for compulsively writing his signature on books in his library. See Blackley, *Goldie*, 36; Francis Pound, "Some Late Signatures of Charles Fredrick Goldie," *Art New Zealand* 5 (1977): 16.
- ⁹⁶ Pierre Larousse quoted in Bruno Foucart, "The Sketch as an Exercise," in Philippe Grunhech, *Les Concours d'Esquisses Peintes 1816–1863*, English supplement, translated by Barbara Shuey (Paris: École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Art, 1986), 4.
- ⁹⁷ Boime, *Academy*, 81.
- ⁹⁸ For history paintings, the standard esquisse canvas measured 320 x 400 mm. Philippe Grunhech, "The Sketches at the École des Beaux-Arts," in Grunhech, *Les Concours d'Esquisses*, 17.
- ⁹⁹ Foucart, "The Sketch as an Exercise," 5.
- ¹⁰⁰ Docking, *Two Hundred Years*, 86.
- ¹⁰¹ Davidson-Ladd, "Master of Maoriland," 26–31.
- ¹⁰² Meissonier, *Samson abattant les Philistins*, oil on paper on canvas, RF 12525, Musée d'Orsay, <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/artworks/samson-abattant-les-philistins-253>.
- ¹⁰³ Steele was a pupil of Alexandre Cabanel at the École des Beaux-Arts from early-mid 1864, matriculating into the École in 1867. William Adolphe Bouguereau was one of Goldie's masters at the Académie Julian in the 1890s. For representative examples by Cabanel, see *Thamar*, oil on canvas, RF143, Musée d'Orsay, <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/artworks/thamar-69683>; and by Bouguereau, *The First Mourning*, oil on canvas, inventory no. 2770, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Argentina, <https://www.bellasartes.gob.ar/en/collection/work/2770/>.
- ¹⁰⁴ Leonard Bell, "Life and Death at Sea: L.J. Steele and C.F. Goldie's 'The Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand', 1898," *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History* 3 (1975): 4; and Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 167–68.
- ¹⁰⁵ Richard Arthur and Son, *Catalogue of Sale*, no. 255 and 256, 9. For a discussion of the books in Steele's library, see Davidson-Ladd, "Master of Maoriland," 181.
- ¹⁰⁶ A.S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand Past and Present, Savage and Civilized*, Vol. I (London: John Murray, 1859), 60.
- ¹⁰⁷ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 167.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 168.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 167–68.
- ¹¹⁰ Edward Tregear and Percy Smith, "Polynesian Society," *JPS* 1, no. 1 (1892): 3; Maurice Sorrenson, *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society Over 100 Years* (Auckland: Polynesian Society, 1992), 24.
- ¹¹¹ Percy Smith, "Hawaiki: The Whence of the Maori: Being an Introduction to Rarotonga History. Part I," *JPS*, 7, no. 3 (September 1898): 137–77; Part II, *JPS* 7, no. 4 (December 1898): 185–223; Part III, *JPS* 8, no. 1 (March 1899): 1–48. Percy Smith, *Hawaiki: The Whence of the Maori; With a Sketch of Polynesian History; Being an Introduction to the Native History of Raratonga* [sic] (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1898).
- ¹¹² "The Ancient History of the Maori Race," inscribed "NZ Herald, 1898"; and "The Early Home of the Maoris: An Interview with Mr S. Percy Smith," inscribed "Weekly News, 9.X.97"; in Goldie Scrapbooks, vol. 1, 1, and 22, MUS-1996-6-5, AM.
- ¹¹³ Sorrenson, *Maori Origins*, 46.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 28; and Smith, *Hawaiki: The Whence of the Maori*.

¹¹⁵ It was first published as *Ko Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna Maori*, then in English with some changes the following year. Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of The New Zealand Race* (Auckland: H. Brett, 1st ed. 1855, 2nd edition 1885), preface to 1st ed., viii.

¹¹⁶ *NZH*, 8 May 1886, 4.

¹¹⁷ Grey recorded that the Aotea canoe captained by Turi also had an eventful voyage: the waka became riddled with “holes in many places, and the water streamed into it” and they nearly ran out of kumara. Only through Turi’s incantations was disaster averted (Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 133–35).

¹¹⁸ I draw here on Grey’s retelling of the Arawa voyage and follow his spelling of names. Today these founding ancestors are more commonly referred to as Tamatekapua and Ngātoroirangi.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 88.

¹²² Simmons, “Charles Frederick Goldie,” 38.

¹²³ Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke, “A Commentary on Sir George Grey’s ‘Ko Nga Moteatea, Me Nga Hakirara O Nga Maori,’” c. 1849, GNZ MMSS 118 (1), 95, Auckland Libraries Heritage Collection.

¹²⁴ John C. Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, <https://maoridictionary.co.nz>, 2003–2022. I am grateful to Rob Eruera for pointing out the significance of these words in the manuscript and initially translating them for me.

¹²⁵ Anderson, “Speaking of Migration, AD 1150–1450,” 64.

¹²⁶ This possibility was suggested to me by Rob Eruera, who noted that the manuscript was not included in the definitive catalogue of Grey’s manuscripts: Sir George Grey and W.H.I. Bleek. *The Library of His Excellency Sir George Grey, K.C.B., vol II—Part IV, New Zealand* (London: Turner and Co., 1858). The Cape Town manuscripts largely returned to New Zealand in 1922 (Jennifer Curnow, “Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke, c.1815–1896,” *Kōtare* 7, no. 2 (2008): 27). The first published reference to Te Rangikāheke’s manuscript appears to be in 1925: Best, *Maori Canoe*, 325 (illustrated) and 398.

¹²⁷ Keith Sinclair, “Grey, George,” *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990), Te Ara—The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 25 April 2024, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george>.

¹²⁸ “Auckland Academy of Art. Drawing the Art Union,” *AS*, 6 May 1890; “Auckland Academy of Arts,” *NZH*, 12 December 1891; “Auckland Academy of Arts: Fourth Notice,” *NZH*, 14 December 1891; untitled article, *NZH*, 26 January 1893, 4; untitled article, *NZH*, 31 March 1893, 4; “Local and General,” *Wanganui Chronicle*, 14 October 1893. Steele’s painting of the *Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* never eventuated. A large-scale pastel “cartoon” for the painting was made, however, and copied by Ivy Copeland in 1933. Steele’s original is lost, but is known through the copy: Ivy Copeland, after Steele, *Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, 1933 [original 1893], pastel on paper, 620 x 1170 mm, gift of the Sacred Heart College Old Boys, 1933, 1993.3.1, WNT, Waitangi. See Davidson-Ladd, “Master of Maoriland,” 219–237.

¹²⁹ Roger Blackley, “Goldie, Charles Frederick,” *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1996), Te Ara—The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 25 April 2024, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3g14/goldie-charles-frederick>.

¹³⁰ Sir George Grey, *Address of Sir George Grey, K.C.B. to Members of the New Zealand Society. 26 Sep 1851* (Wellington: R. Stokes “Spectator Office,” 1851): 11–12.

¹³¹ I am grateful to Gerard Te Heuheu for this suggestion, conversation, 26 July 2023.

¹³² Sketchbook, 1889, watercolour and pencil, 2005/8, AAG.

¹³³ *Māori chief* [Tureiti Te Heuheu Tūkino V; Ngāti Tūwharetoa] c. 1889, oil on canvas, 343 x 241 mm, PD-2003-75-1, AM. For a detailed discussion of Steele’s interaction with Ngāti Tūwharetoa and the other portraits, see Davidson-Ladd, “Master of Maoriland,” 142–55; 194–97.

¹³⁴ *Hurihia, Wife of Te Tauri, Chief of Motutere*, c. 1889, pencil, watercolour and gouache, 187 x 136 mm, 1955/6/3, AAG. Hurihia’s story was not widely known and Steele’s Ngāti Tūwharetoa hosts were his likely source in 1889. No version of the story published in English has been found before 1917. Rev. Hoeta Te Hata, “The Ngati-Tuharetoa [sic] Occupation of Taupo-Nia-A-Tia [Part V],” translated by Rev. H. J. Fletcher, *JPS* 26, no. 4 (1917): 184–86.

¹³⁵ John Te H. Grace, *Tuwharetoa: A History of the Maori People of the Taupo District* (1959; reis., Auckland: Reed Books, 1996), 40–41, 50.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 37–52, 55, 64.

¹³⁷ Takanui Tarakawa, “The Coming of Te Arawa and Tainui canoes from Hawaiki to New Zealand,” translated by Percy Smith, *JPS* 2, no. 4 (Dec 1893): 233. Simmons also lists other published instances of the tradition, including in Edward Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, 1854. David Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of Maori* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1976), 158–64.

¹³⁸ Mackechnie, “New Zealand Art,” *NZH*, 6 Jan 1900.

¹³⁹ “Exhibition of Pictures,” *AS*, 27 Oct 1899.

¹⁴⁰ “Te Arawa” waka (halfpenny stamp), commemorative stamp, one of four designed by Steele for the New Zealand International Exhibition, 1906, PH000297, Te Papa.

¹⁴¹ *The Story of the Arawa Canoe*, c. 1938, oil on panel, 115 x 197 mm, 1994/21, AAG.

¹⁴² Blackley, *Goldie*, 13.

¹⁴³ Further, no evidence has been found within Blackley’s papers to support the statement. Roger Blackley Research Papers, RC2020/1/2/6, and RC2020/1/4/6 and 7, E.H. McCormick Research Library, AAG.

¹⁴⁴ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 168; Keith, *The Big Picture*, 112.

¹⁴⁵ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 167.

¹⁴⁶ This is seen in how they first exhibited the painting. By privately showing their picture a week before the Auckland Society of Arts exhibition and pricing it at £200—the full sum of the Boyd bequest—Steele and Goldie were thumbing their noses at the art establishment, as well as other artists competing for the Boyd bequest, and courting controversy.