A Neglected Design Style: Colonial Era Hybrid Architecture, Furniture and Interior Decoration in Aotearoa New Zealand

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Abstract
Colonial hybrid design has been a neglected style in Aotearoa New Zealand's design history. However, an overview of the corpus, its quantity and plurality, with both Māori and Pākehā makers working into the early twentieth century, indicates that a reappraisal is required. The case study of one Pākehā maker, J.H. Menzies, shows a combination of respect and ignorance of toi Māori (Māori art).[1] Despite the negative connotations of cultural appropriation, a kernel of genuine creative exchange is at the heart of this colonial phenomenon, as exemplified in his work.

There But Not There—Colonial Hybrid Design in the Literature

In my research into John Henry Menzies (1839–1919), a colonial farmer turned carver and designer, it has become apparent that the production of hybrid work was a significant current in colonial New Zealand design by Māori and Pākehā creators. The corpus of this design style represents an art history created from cultural exchange with a uniquely Aotearoa New Zealand identity. However, this work was always created outside the Pākehā realm of professional architecture and design, which historically ignored it. Consequently, it has been absent or undervalued in the literature.

Menzies' influential contemporary in Christchurch, Samuel Hurst Seager (1855–1933), an Arts and Crafts architect, teacher at the Canterbury College Art School and public intellectual, wrote in 1900: "Here in New Zealand the only historical examples of Art we have are the work of the Maoris, and these, though excellent examples of savage art, are scarcely suitable as standards on which to found our national taste."[2] Although the Arts and Crafts Movement valued vernacular architecture and decoration, Seager denied the possibility of drawing on Māori art and architecture, instead looking to the work of his mentor Benjamin Mountfort, whose Gothic Revival architecture characterised much of the public architecture of early Christchurch.[3] Forty years later, Cyril Roy Knight, head of Auckland University's architecture school similarly stated that: "Apart from some influence in detailed ornament it [Māori architecture] could have little effect on contemporary design."[4] A generation later still, John Stacpoole's 1970s history of colonial architecture recorded: "In Australasia there . . . [was] no significant native architecture to be digested, and so the first colonial buildings were derived almost entirely from European experience."[5] In 2000, this consistent denial in the literature was summarised by Anna Petersen:

> . . . scarcely any references to the decoration of domestic interiors and furniture with Maori motifs, designs and carving can be found in New Zealand's standard architectural and furniture histories. A trivialisation of the decorative arts and neglect of non-architecturally designed domestic interiors have played a part in leading art historians to underestimate the significance of early Pakeha use of Maori art in their homes.[6]

Building upon and broadening Petersen's pioneering work in this area, I have found that it is not so much that hybrid design and decoration are totally unrepresented in the (more recent) literature, rather, there is no recognition of the quantity of works, nor of similarities across works by different individuals that suggest they represent a design style. Instead, examples of

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hybrid works are treated in isolation, as an interesting side-story or prelude;[7] leaving the range of currently known examples disconnected, hidden in plain sight.

There is of course an inherent difficulty: they are not quite European and not quite indigenous, making it easy to discount them from an area of study, especially if there is little in the way of precedent for their inclusion. Indeed, what they are not helps define them: not professional and not metropolitan; neither wholly Māori nor wholly Pākehā; and as I will explain below, not part of Maoriland either. Yet, as a type of response to the colonial situation of two historically unconnected cultures meeting, interacting and creating, we have a material culture demanding further investigation.

Today, an encounter with colonial-era hybrids might instil a sense of unease or even indignation: pieces by Pākehā creators might be considered embarrassing, misappropriation or plagiarism; those by Māori might be side-lined as commercial or touristic, an unfortunate outcome of exploitation, and having an aura of inauthenticity. Unease may indeed be a useful position from which an initial approach to hybrid works could be made. However, this heritage reaches back to the 1840s, originating in a period where customarily trained Māori creators, tohunga whakairo (master carvers) steeped in te ao Māori (the Māori world and worldview), worked in Christianised communities, negotiating between tradition and the new influences. During the course of the later nineteenth century, Māori and Pākehā creators continued to produce hybrids with seemingly the same intention as their predecessors—to unify or blend two quite different traditions of art and design, regardless of the now altered dynamic of the colonial power relationship, from which today's unease arises. This article will outline a general history of this design type. Some works are only known from mentions in newspapers; however, others are documented through photographs or illustrations, and a considerable number are extant, some in public collections. The case of Menzies is a useful one to explore as he was prolific with numerous examples of his work extant, and unlike many creators details about his life and career can be uncovered to provide a more rounded perspective. While hybrid works are part of a design history we have yet to fully appreciate, I propose ways in which we might begin a reappraisal.

Parameters and Definitions

The period under discussion begins with furniture and architecture created during the 1840s. As most examples of later hybrid works in this essay are related to my research into Menzies, a *terminus ante quem* of 1919 (the year of his death) is imposed on the investigation. I have not sought to widen the frame of reference to other colonial societies, concentrating on New Zealand-centred primary and secondary sources.

There are several impediments to declaring hybrid works as a *type* of design. One is the physical and temporal separation of the range of works. Except for some of the early hybrid churches, there also do not appear to have been many connections between individual makers. The Gothic Revival, as a persistent current in nineteenth-century architecture and design in Aotearoa, was certainly a unifying factor, especially in churches. However, there was no apparent philosophy or ethos *per se* that can be pointed to as unifying the range of works. The earliest were created well before the influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement with its regard for vernacular design reached New Zealand, although it was perhaps influential in later works. The relatively coherent nature of hybrid works appears to be derived from a commonly shared conscious attempt to appropriate, blend or fuse irrespective of outside influences.

The term "hybrid" is utilised narrowly. Bypassing the considerable international literature on hybridity connected to post-colonial thought, I mean it in the sense: "Anything derived from heterogeneous sources, or composed of different or incongruous elements; in *Philology* a compound formed of elements belonging to different languages."[8] Whilst paying heed to the first part of this definition, my particular interest is in the philological sense where two historically unconnected elements are joined to create something new. I will propose that the creation of these hybrid works was a process analogous to translation. That is, hybrid works were an outcome of Māori and European cultures meeting and being combined in deliberate ways for a new context—colonial Aotearoa. I find Paul Gilroy's concept of "conviviality" useful here. Although his postcolonial term is invoked anachronistically, it does help characterise a setting where cultures previously unfamiliar with each other interact and where there was both give and take and fusions, although it does not necessarily imply "the absence of racism or the triumph of tolerance."[9] The context of creation was decidedly colonial, even if, in a moment of utopian optimism, one might detect an appearance of some sort of organically grown, naïve biculturalism (again, a term anachronistically invoked).

One way to define hybrid furniture in particular is to differentiate it from works better described as Maoriland—that late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century New Zealand brand of romanticism with nationalistic undertones.[10] Roger Blackley identified a key influence on this phenomenon as colonial ethnology.[11] As a visual (and literary) culture, Maoriland referred to ethnological texts as a source of information from which Māori were then represented in varying degrees of romantic portrayal, with "warriors in heroic attitudes and Maori maidens in seductive ones."[12] Living Māori were not commonly the direct source of information or inspiration, although Blackley has shown how Māori both contributed to and were consumers of Maoriland. Peter Gilderdale has analysed the elements that characterise Maoriland visual representations.[13] Usually, Māori subjects were represented as occupying a space in the past, almost always in customary dress with traditional Māori architecture in the background (see cupboard detail, fig. 2), although in contemporary life Māori generally wore European clothing and lived in colonial buildings. In exceptional circumstances where Māori were represented in current life, it was without Pākehā or, if Pākehā were present, Māori were in a subordinate role.[14] Even if Māori were sitting before an artist for a portrait, their portrayal was made historic by their attire.

Although many examples of hybrid and Maoriland design were produced contemporaneously and were in some respects parallel phenomena, in crucial ways the hybrid style was no Maoriland. Hybrid works do not *represent* Māori people through portrayal; rather, they incorporate and combine toi Māori with European design. Through design, carving and painting, the creator actively engaged with toi Māori to produce these works. More generally, while Maoriland creators were predominantly Pākehā, the creators of hybrid works might be Māori or Pākehā or Māori working with Pākehā. Furthermore, hybrid works as contemporary design of their day presented toi Māori as current, not as something belonging to the past. Finally, it should be noted that some important examples of hybrid work originated much earlier in the nineteenth century (from the 1840s onwards) than the earliest instances of Maoriland artefacts in the 1870s.

These differences can be illustrated by comparing the furniture of Anton Seuffert with the pātaka cabinets of J.H. Menzies. Seuffert (and his sons) undoubtedly produced some of the finest furniture ever made in colonial New Zealand.[15] However, their decoration was achieved by *depicting* kōwhaiwhai (painted patterns), whakairo rākau (carved figures and patterns), Māori people, indigenous flora and fauna, and natural landscapes through the use of exquisite

inlays, or marquetry (figs. 1–2).[16] Menzies, on the other hand, although by comparison heavy-handed in his cabinet making, combined a model of a decorated Māori architectural form above a cupboard to reinterpret a type of European furniture, the chiffonier. He then decorated it, carving designs he had learnt by studying toi whakairo and kōwhaiwhai. As William Cottrell observed, the silhouette of the Stanford Family Pātaka Cabinet remained a Gothic-influenced piece of furniture,[17] but this is visually overwhelmed by the carved decoration (fig. 3).[18] Hybrid works relocated elements of Māori culture from customary contexts to new contexts to create a new, or perhaps renewed, form.

Figure 1. Anton Seuffert, with carved decoration by Anton Teutenberg, Writing Bureau, c. 1875. Bequest of Mrs E.H. Blair, in memory of her late husband, Archibald Anderson Watt, 1918. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

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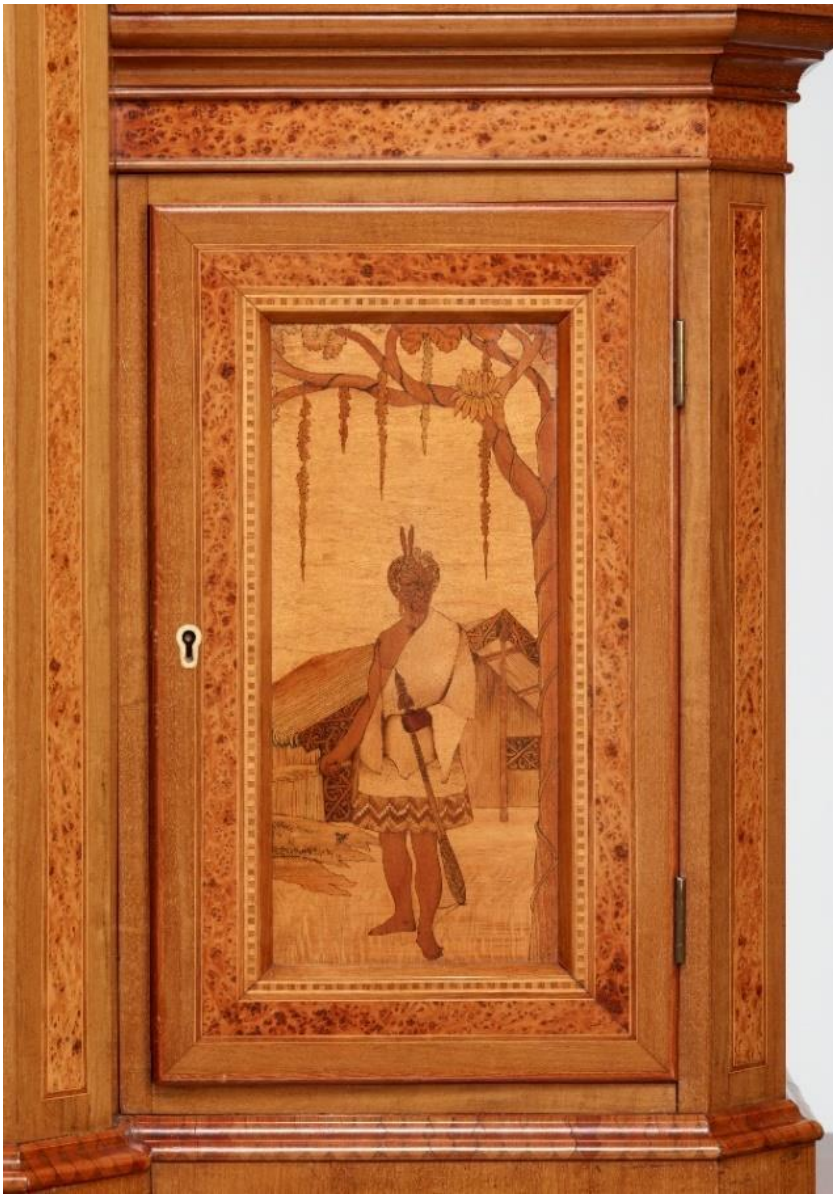

Figure 2. Anton Seuffert, Writing Bureau (detail, as fig. 1). Marquetry door depicting a Māori warrior with a whare whakairo in the background.

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Figure 3. J.H. Menzies, Stanford Family Pātaka Cabinet, c. 1897. Collections of Akaroa Museum and Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū. Photo: John Collie, 2019.

Towards a Hybrid Design Corpus—Early Examples

The earliest example of hybrid furniture I have identified is a wooden armchair carved as a personal gift for Reverend Richard Taylor[19] by people of Pūtiki Wharanui Pā (a settlement on the Whanganui River) between 1844 and 1850 (fig. 4).[20] Since chairs were not part of the array of customary Māori material culture, the combination of this European object with Māori decoration can be understood as a highly intentional hybridising act. Presented with the novel problem of decorating something outside of their customary training, one of the carver's approaches appears to have been to interpret the top rail of the chairback as a pare (lintel over a doorway or window). Otherwise, apart from the seat, the other elements were densely carved and completed with pāua shell insert eyes on the figures.

Figure 4. William James Harding, Reverend Richard Taylor's chair, with other Māori artifacts, c. 1856–89. Glass Negative. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

Nicholas Thomas's influential 1991 book, *Entangled Objects*,[21] explores the creative re-contextualisation and re-authorship that ensues following indigenous appropriation of European material culture and ideas, showing the inherent instability of their meanings. Central to his thesis is that "objects are not what they were made to be but what they have become."[22] When objects travel through different social contexts, especially inter-culturally, they constantly gain new meanings. Take away the whakairo rākau and the Taylor armchair is simply a nineteenth century chair, but through decoration, it was fundamentally changed. It became a Māori carved chair, a Māori gift; a thing to sit on, the object's original function, became secondary, almost incidental.

A blending of Māori and European design was also taking place in church architecture at this time. Deidre Brown, in her history of indigenous architecture, suggests that Christianity had the "greatest influence on Māori buildings," which, from their Polynesian origins, have been

full of change, adaptation and creativity.[23] The appropriation of Gothic Revival architecture into te ao Māori, in the form of plans brought to New Zealand by the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS), led to the creation of several hybrid churches. The quantity and spread are significant: Kaupapa (1840–42) at the Tauranga Mission station in Poverty Bay; Matamata (c. 1840–44) in the Bay of Plenty region; Otawhao (1843–44) in the Waikato; Waikanae (c. 1841–43), closely followed by Rangiātea (1848–51) at Ōtaki; with another at Manutuke, near Kaupapa (1849–63).[24] Richard Sundt shows these were Gothic shells erected with Māori construction methods and interior decoration.[25] Like the Taylor chair they had a dual identity.

The most celebrated church was Rangiātea. Although not a baptised Christian[26] Ngāti Toa rangatira Te Rauparaha oversaw its construction alongside the missionary Samuel Williams. Brown suggests the practice of church building by Anglican-aligned Māori communities was simultaneously a way to enhance mana (prestige), in much the same way as the building and carving of waka toa (war canoes) and pātaka (storehouses) were, and meeting houses would become.[27] Although primarily a place of worship, Rangiātea gained additional meaning and redefinition as Māori-Gothic Revival architecture, simultaneously displaying toi Māori and the mana of Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa.

An 1840s–50s sketch presents two sides of the building, showing a steep pitched roof, lancet windows and a small pointed belfry at the west end with a porch entrance (fig. 5).[28] To any European approaching Rangiātea, the simple wooden Gothic Revival exterior form would certainly have signified "church" and would not have been confused with Māori architecture. However, as Sarah Treadwell shows, in both contemporary and later accounts the exterior was often not remarked upon at all by Pākehā; it was the interior that captured attention.

Figure 5. Octavius Hadfield, [Rangiātea, Ōtaki], 1840s. Pencil on paper, 230 x 330 mm (mount). Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira.

Sundt describes the structural form of Rangiātea as "essentially that of a fully carved Maori house": a tāhuhu (ridge beam) was held aloft by a sequence of three centrally placed pou tokomanawa (ridge beam supports); heke (rafters) led from the tāhuhu and met poupou supports along the walls.[29] The interior decoration of Rangiātea comprised kōwhaiwhai painted in the mangōpare (hammerhead shark) pattern on the heke and tukutuku lattice wall panels between structural poupou in the purapura whetū (star seedling) pattern.[30] However, Rangiātea "did not display ancestral figurative whakairo rākau (wood carvings)" on the interior supports.[31] The pou tokomanawa and supporting poupou had only their adzed finish. The only carved object was a sanctuary surround, added a little later.[32] Although limited, even this whakairo rākau required a departure from customary carving practice. Like the Pūtaki Wharanui carver of Taylor's chair, this Ngāti Toa (or Te Arawa)[33] carver was required to decorate a European object without customary precedent.

Brown found little evidence to explain the lack of carving at Rangiātea; possibly the missionaries disapproved of ancestral representations, possibly carvers were too uncertain about what could be depicted in the space, or perhaps the building process did not allow sufficient time to tackle this problem.[34] The later Manutuke church did include whakairo rākau on "60 wall panels, and three ridge supports."[35] It also had painted panels in the Te Pitau-a-Manaia design, a type of figurative painting using the profile manaia figures found in carving. The use of manaia rather than full frontal tiki figures in carving and painting at Manutuke was probably a compromise position between Māori artists and the Protestant sensibilities of the missionary William Williams, who thought tiki were a sign of ancestor worship.[36] Compromises and accommodations included, the six churches were "an exciting fusion of Gothic exteriors and Māori interiors."[37] Across them, customary building techniques were brought to non-customary buildings, with and without customary (if modified) decoration, and customary decoration was applied to non-customary objects. These combinations resulted in European churches expressed in the Māori idiom. Although the focus here is on the local presentation and appropriation of Gothic Revival, it is worth considering that Gothic Revival in the hands of English architects like William Burges was highly and elaborately decorative. Similarly, the church built at Manutuke showed that decorative virtuosity was also possible in Māori-Gothic, although the identity of the decoration was entirely different.

Knowledge and celebration of Rangiātea by contemporary Pākehā should not be underestimated,[38] not least through the circulation of a chromolithograph of the interior from an original painting by Charles Barraud (1852, fig. 6).[39] One visitor to the church was James West Stack in 1852, who celebrated the scale of the building and its decoration[40] and, like other Pākehā, was taken by the church's interior rather than its exterior Gothic appearance.[41] Stack also identified another hybrid building at Ōtaki. He was staying opposite the church at the house of his friend Tamihana Te Rauparaha. The house, "a good sized one," had bedrooms upstairs, which indicates it was constructed in a European rather than Māori style. Inside, Stack "was pleased to find the two front rooms decorated after the best Maori style. The slabs supporting the walls were covered with scroll work, and the spaces between the slabs filled up with reeds and battens, on which were worked, with flax, the patterns usually seen on the best kind of Maori baskets."[42] In other words, the front rooms had kōwhaiwhai and tukutuku decoration. A painting of the exterior front by Charles Emilius Gold (1809–1871) shows a verandah incorporating carved figures in the supports of the overhang (fig. 7).[43] Tamihana's house, then, was a second example at Ōtaki of a hybrid of Māori and European construction and decoration. That Stack witnessed both buildings is significant in terms of the transmission of knowledge of hybrid architecture, because of his likely role as an informant to Menzies.[44]

These were perhaps precedents to Menzies' St Luke's Church at Little Akaloa and the house Rehutai discussed below.

Figure 6. Charles Decimus Barraud, *Interior of Otake Church, New Zealand*. Lithograph by R.K. Thomas, Day & Son, 1852. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

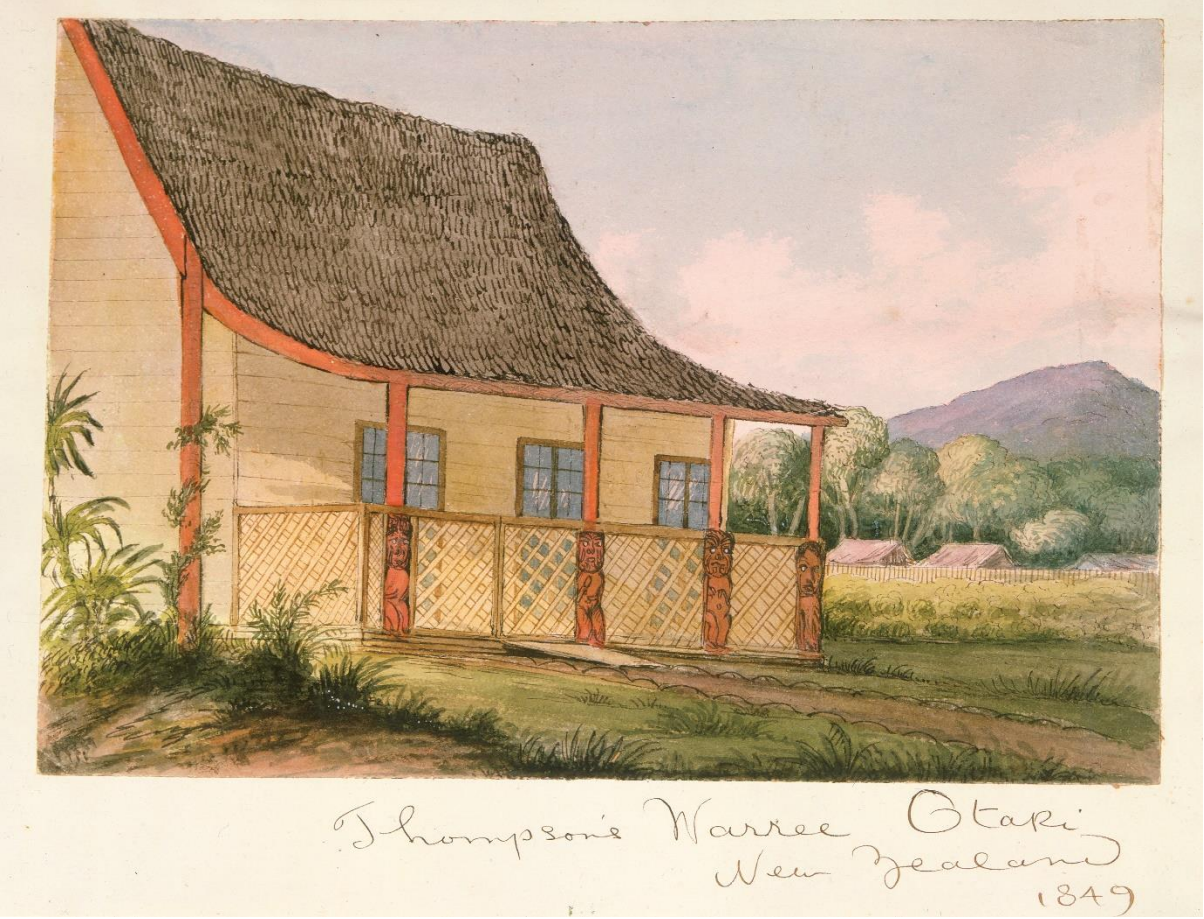

Figure 7. Charles Emilius Gold, *Thompson's Warree Otaki, New Zealand, 1849*, 1849. Watercolour, 175 x 250 mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

The 1860s and 1870s are lacking in documented hybrid-creating activity. It may be that there were two phases of activity across the period 1840s–1919, or else Māori lost interest in creating hybrid works during the conflicts of the New Zealand Wars. Perhaps hybrid works simply did not survive or have not entered public knowledge. However, in the realm of textiles, undated kiwi feather muffs, flags and muka tea cosies present another range of hybrid work, which with further research would expand the corpus.[45]

Towards a Hybrid Design Corpus—The Later Nineteenth- To Early Twentieth-Centuries

Later in the nineteenth century, Pākehā became active as creators or commissioners of works of hybrid design. At Dr Thomas Morland Hocken's Dunedin home (and surgery) Atahapara, the newel post, banister and door frames were reported as decorated with whakairo rākau (carver unknown), while the "gable end of a Maori house" served as a fireplace mantel.[46] Completed in 1871, Atahapara was demolished in 1920, and unfortunately the carvings were not apparently salvaged and were not well documented. However, Hocken was a collector and Atahapara was intended not merely to house but to showcase his varied collections, including taonga. With its integral Māori decoration, his passion for collecting and the house merged as self-expression in a very literal way.

Petersen's inventory of the use of Māori art in New Zealand homes includes the Wairarapa home of politician and Chief Justice Robert Stout and wife Anna, who commissioned the Te Ati Awa carver Jacob Heberley "to carve a lintel over a doorway."[47] Petersen also found an

unknown Māori carver applied whakairo rākau to an otherwise standard mantlepiece and fire surround in the private home of Walter Cameron, a farmer near Masterton.[48] Furthermore, two Māori politicians, Āpirana Ngata and Maui Pomare, both lived in bungalows that had rooms decorated with Māori design in the early twentieth century.[49] Petersen also found an unexpected combination of knowledge sharing. A self-taught Pākehā carver of Māori patterns and figures, Henry Lloyd, taught rangatira Whare Rei to carve, the latter producing a carved garden summerhouse to which tukutuku decoration was also added.[50]

One explanation for the upsurge in hybrid works from the later nineteenth century is the increase in publications on Māori art enabled by the development of half tone printing of photographs. Before the 1890s there were virtually no illustrated books on toi Māori, the exception being Owen Jones's famous *Grammar of Ornament* (first published in 1856), which presented only a few lithographs.[51] This changed dramatically from the 1890s, when photographs of Māori and Māori carving were increasingly found in printed media like the *New Zealand Graphic* and the *Weekly News*. Augustus Hamilton's five instalments on Māori art were published from 1896 to 1900 by the New Zealand Institute, and then as a single volume in 1901 as *Maori Art: The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand*.[52] It constituted the first extensive reference work on toi Māori and was filled with photographic reproductions. Ann Calhoun also noted that the British periodical *The Studio* published "well-illustrated articles on Maori design by C. J. Praetorius, including 'Maori Wood Carving' in October 1900, and 'Maori Houses' in February 1901."[53] In 1910 Menzies' lithographic album *Maori Patterns Painted and Carved* added another sourcebook to the supply. Thus, reproductions of Māori art were increasingly accessible in Pākehā homes and home workshops to inform creative work. However, despite the Arts and Crafts influence in the art schools in the main centres, and the increased access to printed sources (not to mention direct reference to collections in metropolitan museums), few hybrid works appear to have been produced by art students.[54]

The possibility of hybrid interiors was also suggested in print. In 1891, a painting of the interior of the "modernised" whare[55] of Alfred Patchett (Patiti) Warbrick at Ōhinemutu was published in the *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies Journal*.[56] Although apparently not carved, the interior was decorated with kōwhaiwhai and tukutuku, and appears spacious and furnished. Another decorated whare interior appeared as a photograph in 1899.[57] This one was packed with furniture including an upright piano and was associated with the Pākehā artist Thomas (aka Darby) Ryan. There were also two furnished and decorated whare at Whakarewarewa. Tuhoromatakaka was the house of guide Maggie or Mākereti Papakura[58] photographed in 1910 by Charles Parkerson (fig. 8).[59] The interior is carved and painted with kōwhaiwhai, and as Petersen notes, has a korowai, wakahuia, photographs or paintings of whanau or ancestors mixed with European furniture and furnishings.[60] Guide Rangi's house Hinemihi at Whakarewarewa was built and decorated by her grandfather, the tohunga whakairo Tene Waitere.[61] It had both a carved and painted interior with furniture, such as the table and bed decorated with Māori carving. Like Maggie Papkura's whare, there is also (non-hybrid) European furniture creating an eclectic mix.[62]

Figure 8. Charles Parkerson, *Tuhoromatakaka—Maggie Papakura's New and Picturesque Whare at Whakarewarewa*, 1910. In *The New Zealand Graphic and Ladies Journal*, 25 May 1910. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections. Above: Detail of left side of original image (showing Maggie Papakura). Below: Detail of right side of original image.

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The carving of all manner of furniture and fittings, such as fireplaces, became more commonplace from the late 1890s (fig. 9). Roger Neich catalogued three carved picture frames and three carved fireplace surrounds with mirror overmantels by Tene Waitere.[63] The latter were treated by Waitere like a window and lintel on a whare whakairo. Waitere was also responsible for other hybrid work: a carved and painted observation rotunda at Whakarewarewa (1903); with Te Ngaru Ranapia, a flagpole (pouhaka) gifted to Edward, Prince of Wales, on his royal visit in 1920; the pulpit in St Mary's Church, Tikitiki (c. 1926); and (by attribution) a carved house front including tekoteko, koruru, maihi and amo, attached to the end of a suburban private house in Dunedin (1916).[64] An intriguing hybridised assemblage (fig. 10) was created at Ōhinemutu comprising a wooden bust of Queen Victoria (1874) carved by an unknown Italian artist and subsequently presented on a pedestal carved by Patu Whitiki of Horohoro. These were protected from the elements by a canopy with four sets of carved maihi (bargeboards) and koruru (carved faces) by Waitere, supported by posts painted with kōwhaiwhai. The combination has been described by Mark Stocker as "a singular, Indigenous appropriation and redefinition" of an imperial cultural form.[65]

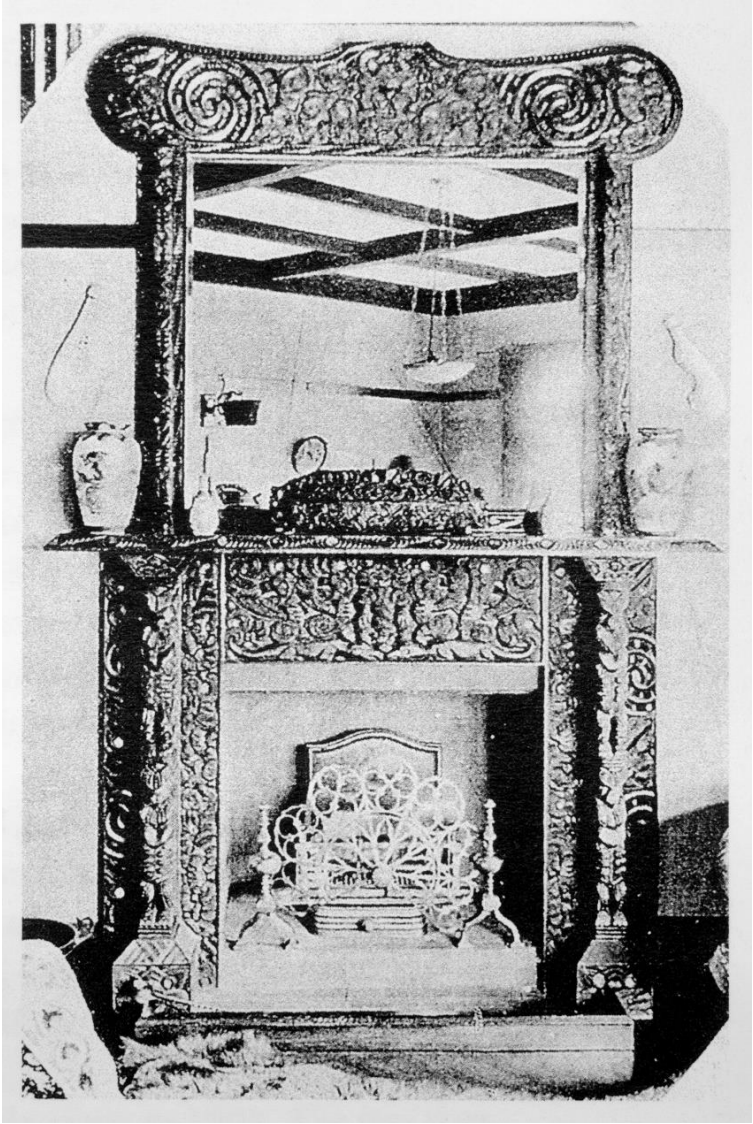

Figure 9. "The Chimney-piece in the library of the home of Mr and Mrs David Nathan, 'The Hill', Manurewa," *Ladies Mirror*, 1 August 1922, 15.

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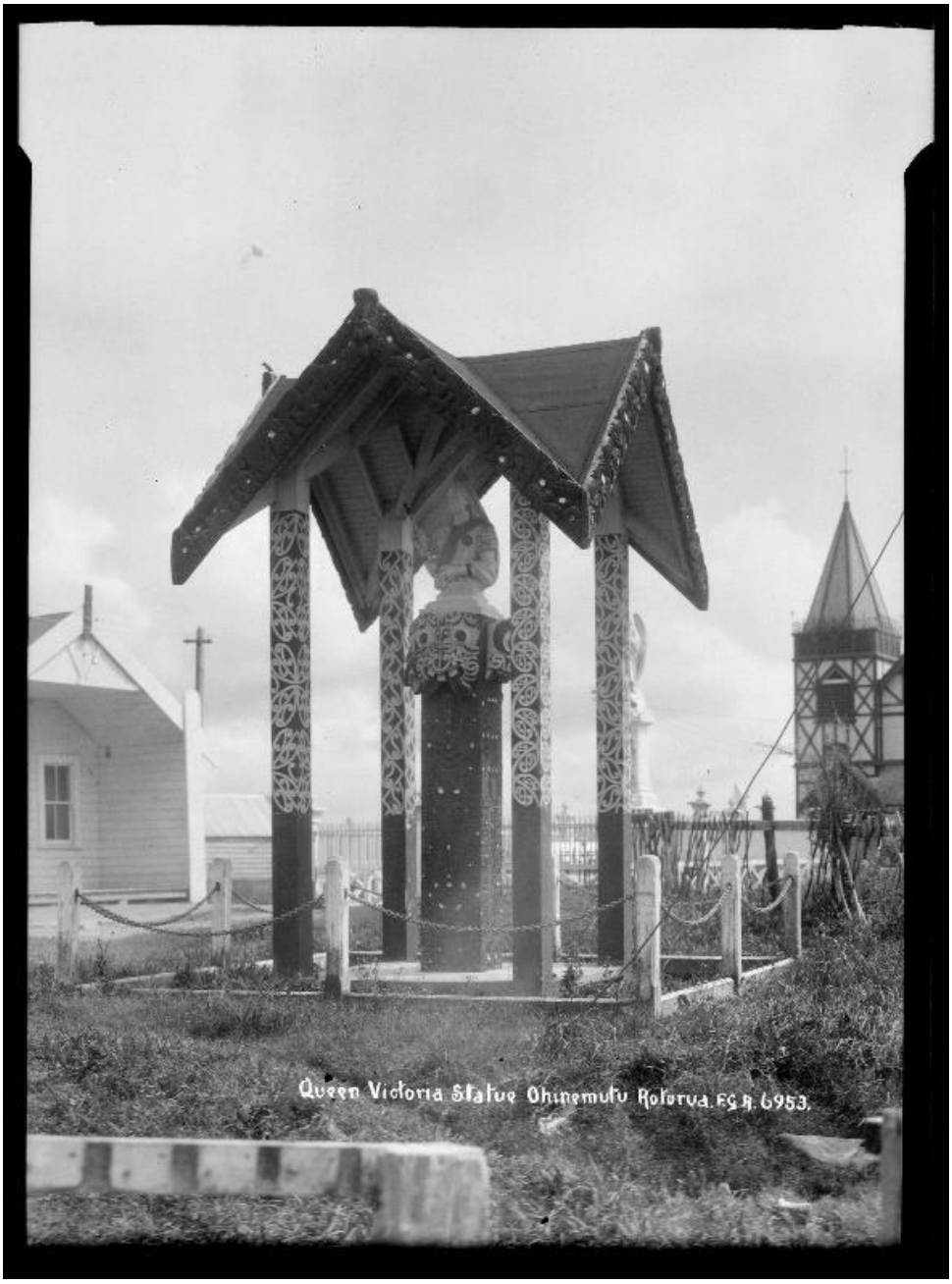

Figure 10. Frederick George Radcliffe (photographer), *Queen Victoria Statue, Ohinemutu, Rotorua*, 1900–19. Digitally inverted negative. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections.

Blackley gives an example of a picture frame carved in the Whanganui style for the portrait *Wikitoria Taitoko Keepa* by Gottfried Lindauer (1897). The painting in its signed, gilded slip, fits so snugly in this frame that Blackley concluded the unknown carver and painter "were working in concert." He stated that the Keepa whanau were "significant patrons of art, commissioning work from a range of Māori and Pākehā artists."[66] Hori Pukehika (Te Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi) carved a mantelpiece that he displayed "at the Wanganui and West Coast Jubilee Exhibition in 1887."[67]

Several hybrid chairs are well-known. Petersen wrote of Edith Fenton (1862–1936) and Margaret Buchanan (1862–1949) who together carved a chair. The "design of the front stretcher [was] inspired by the paepae (threshold) of the pataka Te Oha, which Fenton's father

had acquired in 1885."[68] Thomas Aubrey Chappé Hall (1873–1958), also known as Tamati Hape Hore, received training in carving from the aforementioned Hori Pukehika from the Whanganui district, and his oeuvre includes a chair (1904), which is now part of the collection at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.[69] A Scottish Baronial-style chair decorated with toi whakairo is attributed to Alexander Bathgate of Dunedin.[70] The painter Katherine McLean Holmes (1848–1925) is known to have carved the window seat and mantelpiece of her Wellington drawing room "in the Maori style."[71] It is abundantly clear from Blackley, Petersen and Neich that there were Māori and Pākehā creators and consumers of hybrid furniture and interiors into the twentieth century. Further research into contexts of creation of a wider variety of specific works and the consumption of hybrid works by Māori would provide greater depth and nuance to this design history.

J.H. Menzies

Even compared with Waitere, Menzies was the most prolific creator of hybrid objects. Born and brought up in North West England,[72] he arrived in Te Waipounamu, the South Island of New Zealand, in 1860 with the intention of buying land and farming, which he did with some financial success. In his autobiographical writing he referred to instances of interactions with southern Māori,[73] but there is no surviving evidence of any interaction with Māori creators. Indeed, there were no known practising carvers residing in Te Waipounamu at the time for him to learn from,[74] although there were occasional visiting carvers. During the 1880s Menzies began carving prolifically, decorating furniture with Māori patterns and figures, and designing furniture and interiors inspired by Māori art and architectural forms. Text in Gothic lettering and botanical and Celtic themes are also found in his work, but it was Māori patterns that formed the major component of his repertoire. Menzies was self-taught. No diaries, correspondence, design plans or the like survived a house fire in 1907,[75] which means his creative development otherwise remains somewhat a mystery. Extant records do, however, provide a picture of his creative period with some published statements about Māori art, and of his participation in exhibitions during the 1890s in Christchurch.[76] In addition, an honours board for Christchurch Boys' High School (1898) and St Luke's Anglican Church at Little Akaloa (1906) had coverage in newspaper reports.[77] Therefore, his work was in the public eye and within the personal gaze of Seager, whose presence was also recorded at the unveiling of the honours board at Boys' High.

While there is no way to pinpoint the beginning of his deep interest in toi Māori, in the first half of 1887 Menzies made drawings of Te Aroha, Ōhinemutu and Rotorua, during a family holiday,[78] the only evidence from his lifetime where an encounter with Māori architecture, carving and kōwhaiwahi painting within a Māori community context can be reliably deduced. This must surely have been significant to his creative development. A brief note of schoolboy carving aside,[79] the earliest dated record of Menzies' carving and design work in New Zealand is a passing mention in the diary of Josephine Baker on 4 September 1888.[80] The first published record was in the *Akaroa Mail* in October 1890:

> Mr Menzies was at work wood carving. He has a great fondness for such work, and a great deal of his time is spent in ornamenting his residence. The room I was in is very handsome for this reason. The panelling has all been beautifully carved, and the mantle [*sic*] shelf is very fine, the woodwork being very beautifully worked, the carving representing vines clustering over it. One very handsome piece of furniture is a cheffonier [sic] representing a Maori whâre [sic]. This at first sight one would certainly put down as a relic of the native race.[81]

This description of the chiffonier is the first record of one of Menzies' pātaka cabinets, suggesting it was one of his earlier pieces of original furniture design and decoration. He made several of these, but I will use the aforementioned Stanford Family Pātaka Cabinet as the main example of his hybrid furniture (fig. 3).

As already noted, the piece combines a model of a type of decorated Māori architecture with a type of European furniture (fig. 11). The main decorative features of the pātaka are all present, with wall linings indicated by incised detail. The central door slides open and has a keyhole and lock. The roof was worked with a reeding plane to indicate customary materials. Despite the care taken with the architectural form and decorative detail, this upper cabinet was not necessarily modelled on a specific pātaka. The combination of patterns and figures would have been decided by Menzies. The lower cabinet is a two-door cupboard acting as a pedestal for the pātaka model. The front is densely carved. There is a key lock, but no escutcheon was added, presumably to avoid interfering with the intended Māori identity of the decoration. Construction was from tōtara with American walnut as the show wood, fashionable in high quality furniture at the time. It stands 230cm high and is 135 cm wide. With its stature, design and decoration, the cabinet is an impressive piece of furniture. In a historic photograph (fig. 12) the cabinet appears at the centre of a display of his decorated work, in the sitting room of his daughter Charlotte Stanford's home. Included are a carved dining table, stool, serving tray, bowl and the cover of the album *Maori Patterns*. Anecdotally, the upper cabinet was actually used for storage and display, meaning the role of the pātaka as an indigenous storage building remained central to its usage.

Figure 11. J.H. Menzies, Stanford Family Pātaka Cabinet (detail), c. 1897. Collections of Akaroa Museum and Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū.
Photo: John Collie, 2019.

Journal of New Zealand Studies NS38 (2024), 31-65 https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.iNS38.9580

Figure 12. Unknown photographer, Sitting room at Puke-puke [Stanford family farmhouse], after 1910. Private collection, copy in Akaroa Museum collection.

Putting Menzies' Māori carving to one side, and instead concentrating upon the overall silhouette, the cabinet becomes recognisable for its Gothic Revival form, and comparable to the outline form of gabled cabinets by British designers such as Burges, Charles Locke Eastlake (fig. 13) and Bruce Talbert (fig. 14).[82] As well as their "rooflines" and the common approach of scaling down architecture to furniture, these also share a tendency to be profusely decorated, albeit usually painted rather than carved. Even if Menzies had paid little attention to the work of Gothic Revival architects in Britain during his youth, this was a prevalent architectural style in late nineteenth-century Christchurch churches, schools, the museum, Canterbury College and various public buildings, and Eastlake and Talbert both published texts on furniture design which could have been present in his library. There are several indicators of a sense of Gothic in Menzies' works: the silhouette to his pātaka cabinets, the lettering of his painted and carved text, the enlarged decorated hall open to the roof space in Rehutai, and the cruciform St Luke's Church itself with its lancet windows. Gothic characteristics along with the form of his furniture were the European side of what was being hybridised.

Figure 13. Charles Locke Eastlake (attributed), Bookcase, c. 1867. Pine, oak, metal and oil paint, 2362 x 1080 x 464 mm. The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens. Purchased with funds from the Art Collectors' Council, Frances Crandall Dyke Bequest, Boyd and Jean Higgins Art Collections Endowment, Kelvin Davis, and Barry and Marie Herlihy.

Journal of New Zealand Studies NS38 (2024), 31-65 https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.iNS38.9580

Figure 14. Bruce Talbert (attributed), Painted Corner Cupboard, c. 1870. Pine and paint, 1240 x 860 x 510 mm. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington. Purchased 2015 with Charles Disney Art Trust funds.

As well as furniture, Menzies created some significant interiors; chief among these was for the house Rehutai at Menzies Bay (1894).[83] Referencing Māori architecture was again the central concept in his design. He created an enlarged central hallway to evoke the interior of a meeting house or whare whakairo (fig. 15).[84] This included painting a tāhuhu (ridge beam) and heke (exposed rafters) with kōwhaiwhai patterns, incorporating carved tiki below pilasters along the walls representing pou (although otherwise largely undecorated), and incorporating reeded wall panelling between the pou to reference traditional wall linings. Tāhuhu, heke and pou are often decorated features in Māori meeting houses but also key structural elements within the architecture. At one end of the hallway was a coal box with a pole reaching to the ridge beam, a reference to a central roof-supporting pillar, a pou tokomanawa, although here non-functional. A cornice running the perimeter of the hall was painted in Gothic lettering with whakataukī (proverbs or sayings) in te reo Māori. The hallway and other decorated rooms were completely unheralded by the exterior—a simple weatherboard house of its period with a corrugated iron roof.

Journal of New Zealand Studies NS38 (2024), 31-65 https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.iNS38.9580

Figure 15. J.H. Menzies, Rehutai hallway, 1894. Akaroa Museum research file. Photo: Daniel Smith.

Journal of New Zealand Studies NS38 (2024), 31-65 https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.iNS38.9580

Figure 16. J.H. Menzies, Rehutai hallway, 1894. Akaroa Museum research file. Photo: Daniel Smith.

Journal of New Zealand Studies NS38 (2024), 31-65 https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.iNS38.9580

In a photograph of c. 1900 (fig. 17), the adjacent drawing room has a fireplace of carved limestone, with a carved wooden mantel and surround, all decorated with Māori motifs. A wainscotting of reeded panelling runs the perimeter of the room with a high skirting board, carved where it terminated at the fireplace. In the centre is a drop-front desk in a form frequently used by Menzies and probably sourced from one of the Christchurch furniture firms, carved principally in botanical motifs. Leaning against it, to the left, is a fire bellows carved with a Māori motif. Above it is Menzies' oil painting, *The Grass Seeders*.[85] To the right of the desk is an example of another pātaka cabinet. The design of this cabinet differs from the Stanford Family Pātaka, with the much larger model sitting directly on the cupboard pedestal. This pātaka model has two doors, departing from any customary architectural form. To the right of this cabinet is a carved folding occasional table (similar in appearance to one now in Te Papa) and in front of it is a carved three-legged table with a carved box on top. Additional furniture associated with Rehutai includes an extending dining table with additional leaves, an armorial chest (fig. 18) and a side table (fig. 19), all with Māori carving. A long-case clock with an architectural model housing the clock face and movement may also be related to this house (fig. 20).

Figure 17. Unknown photographer, Rehutai drawing room, c. 1900.
Private Collection, copy in Akaroa Museum.

Journal of New Zealand Studies NS38 (2024), 31-65 https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.iNS38.9580

Figure 18. J.H. Menzies, Armorial chest, 1890s. Private Collection. Photo: Daniel Smith.

Figure 19. J.H. Menzies, Side table, 1890s. Private Collection. Photo: Daniel Smith.

Journal of New Zealand Studies NS38 (2024), 31-65 https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.iNS38.9580

Figure 20. J.H. Menzies, Long case clock, 1890s. Collection of the Harris Family. Photo: Daniel Smith.

Compared with the hallway, which referenced the interior of a Māori architectural space, the effect of the drawing room was achieved by the arrangement of Menzies' decorated furniture and fittings within the room. Given that Menzies also prepared a collection of furniture for each of his children, a similar outcome was possible in their homes (fig. 12).

When Menzies began creating in the 1880s, the primary influence on domestic interior design in New Zealand was the Aesthetic Movement.[86] This promoted the presentation of household interiors as inherently subjective statements of good taste.[87] The Aesthetic Movement drew eclectically on historical periods and internationally on different cultures, blending the simple

and plain with the richly coloured and elaborately decorated.[88] What was desirable at home was the tasteful display of artefacts and textiles as seen in the rooms of metropolitan artists, or imitation of the "richly ornamented collector's ambience," for "the collector and the antiquary shared with the artist a common taste for the artefacts of the past as well as its art."[89] This is the most likely European cultural influence on Menzies' interiors of the 1880s and 1890s. Hocken's house, Atahapara, was another example of an Aesthetic Movement interior. Petersen identified other Pākehā collectors' rooms with draped and displayed taonga and other cultural objects in Sir George Grey's Kawau Island residence and the Reverend John Kinder's study in Auckland.[90] However, by the time Menzies came to produce his next important building, he had made a distinct shift towards Arts and Crafts.[91]

St Luke's Church (completed 1906) combined carved Māori patterns in wood and stone, kōwhaiwhai painted rafters, biblical quotes in Gothic text (fig. 21), botanical carving, Celtic patterns, stained glass windows referencing tukutuku lattice work and a repeating koru form inlaid on the concrete floor. For this building, Menzies did not revisit the Rehutai hallway design, which would have brought the building closer to the early hybrid churches like Rangiātea, but instead adopted a Gothic cruciform design and floor plan. It is the combination of botanical reliefs, usually indigenous species, with Māori and Celtic motifs on church furniture, such as the pulpit and baptismal font (fig. 22), which is the best marker of a change in Menzies' design style to reflect the Arts and Crafts aesthetic. Previously he had not mixed Māori designs with other decorative motifs. In another significant change, the kōwhaiwhai rafter painting took on a much more regular and geometric appearance (fig. 23), like Herbert Williams's contributions in Augustus Hamilton's *Maori Art*. As with Williams and Hamilton, Menzies' presentation of kōwhaiwhai here and elsewhere focused on individual patterns, which implies that he did not consider that, in their original Māori contexts, groups of such patterns "might possess cumulative or contextual effect."[92]

Figure 21. J.H. Menzies, St Luke's Church, Little Akaloa (corner detail), 1906. Akaroa Museum research file. Photo: Daniel Smith.

Journal of New Zealand Studies NS38 (2024), 31-65 https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.iNS38.9580

Figure 22. J.H. Menzies, St Luke's, Baptismal font, 1906. Akaroa Museum research file. Photo: Daniel Smith.

Journal of New Zealand Studies NS38 (2024), 31-65 https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.iNS38.9580

Figure 23. J.H. Menzies, St Luke's, roof detail, 1906. Akaroa Museum research file. Photo: Daniel Smith.

In 2019 I curated an exhibition of Menzies' furniture and invited two Māori artists to provide their perspectives on his work, which offer useful critiques. Neil Pardington (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoe, Ngāti Waewae, Pākehā) had made his Rehutai series of photographs in 2005 and wrote of his experience encountering that space:

> Entering through the back door I was amazed. In front of me was an elaborately painted and carved hallway framing a single ornate pendant light—a strange cultural clash of Māori and Victorian style inserted into an otherwise unremarkable farmhouse. The effect was quite theatrical. I say style, because Menzies' work has the sense of a sampler of carving and kōwhaiwhai styles, and in other rooms carved fireplace mantels reproduced a range of European carving traditions.[93]

The jeweller Areta Wilkinson (Ngāti Irakehu, Te Hapū o Ngāti Wheke), who is also very familiar with Menzies, wrote:

> As a Ngāi Tahu artist I am asking the Menzies carvings to talk to me but they do not. I cannot press noses with the Menzies carvings as an ancestor to share the hau (sacred breath) because they are not alive in this way. The lavishly carved objects present a visual narrative that is a decorative amalgam . . . The code is not of Māori but of Menzies. Sadly, a creative narrative not handed down and remembered . . .[94]

As Pardington and Wilkinson suggest, for all his earnest and remarkable endeavour to reproduce Māori patterns accurately, it appears that Menzies had no understanding of the syntax of indigenous carving and painting. He seems to have mixed and matched without recognition of regional or tribal origins, and without consideration that patterns and figures had representational roles and meaning in their original contexts. Menzies' deployment of toi Māori was according to his own aesthetic. For this reason alone, a contemporary sense of unease about his work is entirely understandable. Despite this, the appropriations of toi Māori came from a

deep personal fascination, and his works were never produced for financial gain, only ever for his own use or as gifts. We should acknowledge his formidable achievement.

Menzies' pursuit of toi Māori was underwritten by his search to accumulate, isolate and then reproduce the variety of patterns he assembled by studying photographs or carvings directly.[95] Tied to the farm and without access to a Māori teacher, he may have believed that through fidelity to an indigenous original his carving achieved authenticity. By 1899 he reported having isolated "at least sixty" patterns, "most of which I have carved," and was urging for a government supported project to make a photographic inventory of Māori carving to popularise the artform, promote its use, form a sourcebook and act as a form of preservation.[96] As to his own motivation, he repeatedly described the patterns in Māori carving as "beautiful."[97] At the consecration of St Luke's Church, a reporter noted Menzies saying:

> . . . the work had been a labour of love. . . . Above all things he wished to prevent the beautiful Maori carving from being neglected. There was so much of it that was in exquisite taste and could not offend the most exacting eye that he could not understand it not being more used. He hoped that this carving would come into more use, even in churches.[98]

Menzies' belief was in direct contradiction to that of his contemporary, Seager.

Colonial Hybrid Design: A Reset

Gothic Revival, the Aesthetic Movement and Arts and Crafts were nineteenth-century metropolitan styles in architecture and design replicated in the colonies. Whatever the motivations and reasons, colonial hybridity was an innovative departure from the imported formulae, and a characteristic worth recording in the art and design history of Aotearoa New Zealand. The aim here is not to disabuse or explain away contemporary unease by presenting a large number of historic hybrid designs, but rather to identify a significant area of creative activity where recognition has been lacking. Certainly, settler culture appropriated toi Māori extensively from the late nineteenth century onwards. Francis Pound and Thomas note the use of stylised kōwhaiwhai, for example, in book designs, ceramics, banknotes and stamps.[99] It is well established that the fashioning of a Pākehā settler identity involved appropriating indigenous emblems and references.[100] However, from the mid-nineteenth century a considerable amount of energy was devoted by Māori to making hybrid creations that were appropriations of European design. It is yet to be established if later creators (Māori and Pākehā) were responding to the work of these earlier Māori works or were more influenced by international movements such as the Aesthetic Movement and Arts and Crafts.

A much later phase of hybridising activity gained considerable critical attention in the late twentieth century. An example is Pound's defence of Gordon Walters' mid-to-late-twentieth-century koru paintings that culminated in a discussion of translation.[101] Pound was chiefly referring to Jacques Derrida's reading of Walter Benjamin's essay "The task of the translator" (1921). The translation of this essay from the original German has in turn sparked controversy and critical literature.[102] More generally, the concept of translation is part of a wider twentieth-century post-colonial literature which cannot be addressed here. However, echoing Pound, an insight that I wish to highlight is Benjamin's proposition that through translation a work becomes accessible to a new audience and the original is honoured. If "language" is substituted for "form," then the activity of reproducing Māori art and architecture in a new form, such as European furniture, resembles a translation, because that new object now sits within a new context, such as a drawing room, and has a new audience, a Pākehā family. Alternatively, the translation could be of a Gothic church, which despite its outward appearance is really a piece

of Māori construction and interior decoration (re)created for a Māori Christian community. For Pound, translation theory supported his defence of Walters' paintings as homage rather than appropriation. However, as discussed here, hybrid design was not an outcome of either/or, but of *both* homage *and* appropriation with regard to the architecture, decoration and furniture of both cultures.

According to Benjamin, another aspect of translation is that it is creative and transformative: to succeed in a new language, the translation must alter the original. At the risk of oversimplifying, it is the meaning, not necessarily the words themselves, that must travel across to the new language. For our purposes, for a pātaka form to be used in a chiffonier, its scale must be reduced, as must all architectural decoration. Only through alteration can it travel across to a new context as furniture to become a cupboard. Although its scale had changed, the core function of the pātaka remained storage.[103] A tohunga whakairo, such as Tene Waitere, customarily trained and with a deep knowledge of his art, was, as a native "speaker," more able to recognise that a decorated window frame and pare (lintel) from a meeting house could translate readily as the frame for an overmantel mirror (fig. 9). As noted above, Menzies' lack of understanding of meaning in relation to carved and painted patterns in toi Māori meant his combinations might be likened to something of a "word salad" for a native "reader." However, in his native design "tongue," the European tradition, Menzies was capable of translating in ways that Waitere may not have contemplated. For example, he saw the design potential of adding a model pātaka above a cupboard-pedestal base. Model pātaka, like model waka toa (war canoes) were already novel additions or adaptions to the array of Māori material culture made by the likes of Waitere and Heberley. For Menzies though, the model was a form that could be applied to create something new (or re-newed) as interior storage, whereas for a native "speaker" the model had been an end point; reduced and now an object for an interior space, storage was no longer part of the function of their models.

If some Māori creators were inspired by new possibilities presented by European culture, there was also something deeply felt by Europeans like Menzies when they encountered Māori art. In a footnote, Pound points to a passage by Stephen Greenblatt where he recounts Albrecht Dürer's reaction to Mexican objects received at the court of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor.[104] For Dürer, it was not the array of gold objects and the wealth they implied, rather, although unfamiliar to his culture, it was their beauty as artworks that moved him. As an artist, he both respected and marvelled at their artistry and the intelligence and skill of the artists that made them. Greenblatt writes: "It would be misleading to strip away the relations of power and wealth that are encoded in the artist's [Dürer's] response, but it would be still more misleading, I think, to reinterpret that response as an unmediated expression of those relations."[105] Had Pound developed this theme in his main text, a more pertinent example would have been Augustus Earle's 1820s encounter with "Aranghie" an exponent of toi moko, the art of Māori tattoo. Paul Moon notes that Earle was deeply impressed with Aranghie's skill. In his own writing, Earle described Aranghie as a "very ingenious artist," "a true genius," who worked with "boldness and precision . . . and what beautiful ornaments he produced." Earle reports that for his part Aranghie was "delighted" by Earle's drawings and portrait of him. In an instance of pre-colonial exchange, in return for being allowed to observe and paint Aranghie at work, Earle provided Aranghie with some lessons in painting. The latter picked up the new medium quickly, further revealing his artistic abilities.[106] Like Greenblatt, what I wish to emphasise is an unmediated core of inspiration and creativity that existed in response to the culture of the other, which led to the hybrid creations I have reviewed here. However one reacts to them today, they were innovative in own their time and this is reason enough to study them.

Conclusion

While Seager, Knight and Stacpoole might variously have denied the possibility for Māori art to influence the future or history of design, there is nevertheless a rich and persistent heritage of hybrid creativity in Aotearoa. In the 1840s and 1850s experiments in church architecture saw the combination of Gothic Revival church exteriors supported by Māori architectural structures and interior decoration. These were a new type of architecture: Rangiātea functioned for Christian worship and simultaneously as a display of mana within te ao Māori. Also at this time, a carved chair and decorated house were created by Māori which set something of a precedent for later hybrid design. By the 1870s Pākehā were commissioning Māori to decorate interior spaces and furniture, or were doing this work themselves. The Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts Movements may have had some influence here. However, the case study of J.H. Menzies suggests that his motivation stemmed from a more personal response to toi Māori that inspired him creatively. He was also likely aware of earlier hybrid works by Māori creators. Although Menzies copied patterns and figures from original sources with care, he never gained a deeper insight or understanding of their meaning and appropriate uses; his work lacked indigenous syntax. However, this was not the case for Māori creators such as the tohunga whakairo Tene Waitere, who, as a "native speaker," could draw on his knowledge to reinterpret and relocate indigenous design and decoration to domestic contexts. Looking at the sum of this hybrid work, the analogy of translation as described by Benjamin is a useful way to conceptualise its creation. Albeit altered and adapted, toi Māori was shifted to new locations, contexts and audiences, as contemporary furniture, interiors and architecture. While not without its problems from today's perspectives, toi Māori was honoured by the creators and patrons as current and appropriate for their time. This is a significant consideration to add to our appreciation of the broader art and design history of colonial Aotearoa New Zealand.

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[1] I use this term generically to include all forms of art customarily practised by Māori, including (but not limited to) hoahoanga (architecture), toi whakairo (the art of carving) and kōwhaiwahi (painted patterns).

[2] Samuel Hurst Seager, "Architectural Art in New Zealand," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (29 September 1900), quoted in Ian Lochhead, "The Dilemma of Place: Arts and Crafts Architecture in the Antipodes," in *William Morris Centenary Essays: Papers from the Morris Centenary Conference Organised by the William Morris Society at Exeter College, Oxford, 30 June–3 July 1996*, ed. Peter Faulkner and Peter Preston (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 174.

[3] Lochhead, "The dilemma of place," 174. However, as an anonymous reviewer of this article reminded me, Samuel Hurst Seager was architect of the Kaiapoi Pā monument, which might be described as a hybrid. His colleague from the Canterbury College School of Art, Charles Kidson, provided its carvings based on whakairo rākau. See Mark Stocker, "'A greatness departed and glory dimmed': The Kaiapoi Pa Monument," *The Journal of New Zealand Art History* 25 (2004): 45–56. The monument was completed in 1898, before the publication of Seager's RIBA journal article.

[4] Cyril Roy Knight, "Architecture," in *1840 and After: Essays Written on the Occasion of the New Zealand Centenary*, ed. Arthur Sewell (Auckland: Auckland University College, 1939), 180–81, quoted by Mike Austen, "Kōrero tuatahi: Foreword," in Deidre Brown, *Māori Architecture: From Fale to Wharenui and Beyond* (Auckland: Raupo Books, 2009), 15.

[5] John Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* (Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1976), 7.

[6] Anna K. C. Petersen, "The European Use of Maori Art in New Zealand Homes, c. 1890–1914," in *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, ed. Barbara Brookes (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2000), 63.

[7] See Douglas Lloyd Jenkins, *At Home: A Century of New Zealand Design* (Auckland: Godwit, 2005); Michael Smythe, *New Zealand by Design: A History of New Zealand Product Design* (Auckland: Godwit, 2011).

[8] "Hybrid, noun and adjective," [sense 2a] Oxford English Dictionary, accessed 22 September 2023, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/89809?redirectedForm=hybrid&print.
[9] Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2004), xi.
[10] Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Maoriland: New Zealand literature 1872–1914* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), 10; Roger Blackley, *Galleries of Maoriland: Artists, Collectors and the Māori World, 1880–1910* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2018).
[11] See, for example, Blackley, "Māori Prehistory," *Galleries of Maoriland*, 45–75.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Peter Gilderdale, "'Messages of Love from Maoriland': A. D. Willis's New Zealand Christmas Cards and Booklets 1883–1893," *Back Story: Journal of New Zealand Art, Media & Design History* 7 (December, 2019): 25–71.
[14] Gilderdale, "'Messages of Love from Maoriland.'"
[15] William Cotterill, *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era: An Illustrated History, 1830–1900* (Auckland: Reed, 2006), 379.
[16] Brian Peet, *The Seuffert Legacy. New Zealand Colonial Master Craftsmen: The Craft of Anton Seuffert and his Sons William, Albert & Carl* (Auckland: Icarus, 2008); Cottrell, *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, 379–83.
[17] Lynn Freeman, William Cotterill and Daniel Smith, "Hunting down an historical cabinet," recorded for Standing Room Only, RNZ, 8 December 2019, audio, 18' 15", https://www.rnz.co.nz/audio/player?audio_id=2018725931.
[18] Daniel C.P. Smith and Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū, "John Henry Menzies: The Stanford Family Pātaka Cabinet," video, 2020, 16:48, accessed 24 April 2024, https://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/multimedia/collection/john-henry-menzies-the-stanford-pataka-cabinet.
[19] Rangihiroa Panoho described Taylor as "someone appreciative, not dismissive, of aesthetics, beauty and *te toi whakairo*, 'Māori woodcarving.' He also accepted gifts of Māori carving and carefully built himself a small, tasteful collection." Rangihiroa Panoho, *Māori Art: History, Architecture, Landscape and Theory* (Auckland: David Bateman, 2015), 179.
[20] Unknown maker(s) / Pūtiki Wharanui Pā, Whanganui, *Carved chair*, c. 1844–50, Richard Taylor Collection, Whanganui Regional Museum, 1959.42.1, http://collection.wrm.org.nz/search.do?view=detail&page=1&id=1211&db=object.
[21] Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).
[22] Ibid., 4.
[23] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, 43.
[24] Ibid., 44–8; Richard A. Sundt, "On the Erection of Maori Churches in the Mid-19th Century: Eyewitness Testimonies from Kaupapa to Otaki," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 108, no. 1 (March 1999): 9–10, 12.
[25] Sundt, "Maori churches," *passim*.
[26] Ross Calman (transl. and ed.), *He Pukapuka Tātaku i Ngā Mahi a Te Rauparaha Nui nā Tamihana Te Rauparaha: A record of the Life of the Great Te Rauparaha by Tamihana Te Rauparaha* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2020), 281.
[27] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, 44.
[28] See figure 3 in Sarah Treadwell, "Rangiātea: Architecture Between the Colonial and Indigenous," *Fabrications: Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* 2, no. 3 (1991): 23.
[29] Sundt, "Maori churches," 10.
[30] Matiu Baker, *Rangiātea: Ko Ahau te Huarahi te Pono me te Ora* (Wellington: National Library of New Zealand in partnership with Te Rōpū Whakahaere o Rangiātea, 1997), 33.
[31] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, 47.
[32] Treadwell, "Rangiātea," 27.
[33] "Te Rauparaha called upon expert carvers and builders from among his Te Arawa tribal in-laws to assist his Ngati Toa tribespeople." Brown, *Māori Architecture*, 46.

[34] Ibid., 47.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Roger Neich, *Painted Histories: Early Maori Figurative Painting* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994), 81–86.
[37] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, 48.
[38] Treadwell, "Rangiātea," 25–6.
[39] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, 45; Charles Decimus Barraud, *Interior of Otaké Church, New Zealand*, hand-coloured lithograph, 1852, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: B-080-021, https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22839006.
[40] A.H. Reed (ed.), *More Maoriland Adventures of J.W. Stack* (Dunedin: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1936), 129–30.
[41] Treadwell, "Rangiātea," 25–7.
[42] Reed (ed.), *More Maoriland Adventures*, 127–28. The Reverend Richard Taylor was also a visitor to the house in December 1848 and recorded a similar description. Baker, *Rangiātea*, 26.
[43] Charles Emilius Gold (1809–-1871), *Thompson's Warree Otaki, New Zealand, 1849*, 1849, Ref: B-103-028, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22751250.
[44] Daniel C.P. Smith, "J.H. Menzies: A Reappraisal," *Records of the Canterbury Museum* 31 (2017): 88–9.
[45] Kane Te Manakura, "From the Margins of Te Whare Pora: Embracing Traditions of Innovation in Māori Textile Legacies," in J.S. Te Rito (ed.), *Proceedings of the Mātauranga Taketake: Traditional Knowledge Conference. Indigenous Indicators of Well-being: Perspectives, Practices, Solutions* (Auckland: Ngā Pae o te Māamatanga, 2007), 133–42; Francis Pound, *The Space Between: Pakeha use of Maori motifs in Modernist New Zealand art* (Auckland: Workshop Press, 1994), 143–46. Flags, figurative painting within whare whakairo and carved musket stocks illustrate Judith Binney's *Redemption Songs: A life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Auckland: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books, 1995).
[46] Donald Jackson Kerr, *Hocken Prince of Collectors* (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2015), 68–9.
[47] Petersen, "European Use of Maori Art," 62; Roger Neich, "Jacob William Heberley of Wellington: A Māori Carver in a Changed World," in *Tradition and Change in Māori and Pacific Art: Essays by Roger Neich*, ed. Chanel Clarke, Fuli Pereira and Nigel Prickett (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013), 216–17.
[48] Petersen "European Use of Maori Art," 62; Anna K.C. Petersen, *New Zealanders at Home: A Cultural History of Domestic Interiors 1814–1914* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2001), 154–55.
[49] Petersen, "European Use of Maori Art," 71.
[50] Ibid., 70.
[51] Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Bernard Quaritich, 1868), accessed 9 December 2016, http://www.benecrippa.com/the-box/grammar_of_ornament_low.pdf.
[52] Petersen, "European Use of Maori Art," 66–7.
[53] Ann Calhoun, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in New Zealand 1870–1940: Women Make Their Mark* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), 74.
[54] In Calhoun's *The Arts and Crafts Movement in New Zealand*, a book containing 147 illustrations and around 200 pages of text, only two examples are evident, both works on paper from 1924, designs by Chrystabel Aitken (73, 75), a student at the Canterbury College School of Art. The only other hybrid work in the volume is the carved chair, c. 1910, by Martha Buchanan and Edith Fenton (112), now in the Auckland Museum collection.
[55] Petersen, *New Zealanders at Home*, 109.
[56] "Ko Rautao Tepiere—Interior of Mr Alfred Warbrick's Whare at Ohinemutu," *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies Journal*, 4 July 1891, 125, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/new-zealand-graphic/1891/07/04/5. The painting was by Thomas (aka Darby) Ryan, c. 1891. The original is now part of the Auckland Art Gallery collection.
[57] "A Maori Whare Converted into an Artist's Residence at Rotorua," *Auckland Weekly News*, 21 July 1899, https://kura.aucklandlibraries.govt.nz/digital/collection/photos/id/169902/rec/45.

An unpublished photograph from 1907 in the Alexander Turnbull Library collection shows Ryan also had a whare studio in Taupo. See Interior of Thomas Ryan's whare, Taupo. Samuel Heath Head, 1868–1948, Negatives. Ref: 1/1-007139-G, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.
[58] i.e. Margaret Pattison Staples-Browne née Thom (1873–1930). June Northcroft-Grant, "Papakura, Mākereti," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 1996, Te Ara—The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 25 April 2024, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3p5/papakura-makereti.
[59] Charles Parkerson, "Tuhoromatakaka—Maggie Papakura's New and Picturesque Whare at Whakarewarewa," *The New Zealand Graphic and Ladies Journal*, 25 May 1910, NZG-19100525-0029-03, Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, https://kura.aucklandlibraries.govt.nz/digital/collection/photos/id/151599.
[60] Petersen, *New Zealanders at Home*, 144–5; see also Jenkins, *At Home*, 12–14.
[61] Cushla Parekowhai, "Dennan, Rangitīaria," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 1998, Te Ara—The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 25 April 2024, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4d12/dennan-rangitiaria.
[62] William Hall Raine, *Hinemihi (Guide Rangi's House)*, c. 1930–1950, digitally inverted gelatin dry plate negative, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, B.012801, https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/72412; see also Jenkins, *At Home*, 12–14.
[63] Roger Neich, *Carved Histories: Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001), 353–4.
[64] Ibid., 372–3.
[65] Mark Stocker, "An Imperial Icon Indigenised: The Queen Victoria Memorial at Ohinemutu," in *New Zealand's Empire*, ed. Katie Pickles and Catherine Coleborne (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 28–50; see also Neich, *Carved Histories*, 373.
[66] Roger Blackley, "Taku Ahua I te Rākau Koura: Gottfried Lindauer's Māori Portrait Commissions," in *Colonial Gothic to Māori Renaissance: Essays in Memory of Jonathan Mane-Wheoki*, ed. Conal McCarthy and Mark Stocker (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2017), 98.
[67] Petersen, "European Use of Maori Art," 70.
[68] Ibid., 62. Auckland Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira, 1969.59.1
[69] "Tūru Whakairo (Edwardian Carved Chair)," Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, ME023251, accessed 25 April 2024, collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/616325; Moira White, "'Oxford Man Learned Maori Craft': The Work of Thomas Aubrey Chappé Hall," *Records of the Auckland Museum* 45 (2008): 43–71.
[70] Accessed 31 July 2022, collections.toituosm.com/objects/6968; see also Petersen "The European Use of Maori Art in New Zealand Homes," 60–1.
[71] "Miss Holmes Tea," *New Zealand Graphic*, 7 October 1908.
[72] Smith, "J.H. Menzies: A Reappraisal," 85.
[73] J.H. Menzies, *Family History to 1877* (Wellington: Menzies Family History Group, 2003 [facsimile edition]), 108–112, 133.
[74] Smith, "J.H. Menzies: A Reappraisal," 91.
[75] "Fire at Menzies' Bay," *Akaroa Mail*, 20 August 1907; "Obituary," *The Press*, 13 February 1919.
[76] "Society of Arts," *Lyttelton Times*, 19 April 1892; *Canterbury Society of Arts Twelfth Annual Exhibition*, 1892, 14; "The Industrial Exhibition," *Star*, 9 September 1895; "The Industrial Exhibition," *Star*, 25 September 1895. Menzies is listed as an ordinary member of the Canterbury Society of Arts from 1892–1897.
[77] "Boys' High School," *The Press*, 10 October 1898; "The New Anglican Church at Little Akaloa," *Weekly Press*, 28 November 1906.
[78] The recorded date was "30/04/87." Facsimiles of the sketchbook are in the Akaroa Museum collection (INV:689) and Alexander Turnbull Library collection.
[79] Menzies, *Family History to 1877*, 63.
[80] "Mrs Menzies Very Nice. The Carving Very Good." Josephine Baker, Journal (unpublished), January–November 1888, MS-Papers-0167-69, Alexander Turnbull library, Wellington.
[81] "Round the Boarders," *Akaroa Mail*, 10 October 1890.
[82] Ghenete Zelleke, "Telling Stories in the Gothic Vein: William Burgess and the Art of Painted Furniture," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 31, no. 1 (2005): 21–91,

www.jstor.org/stable/4104470; Mary Jean Smith Madigan, "The influence of Charles Locke Eastlake on American Furniture Manufacture, 1870–90," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 10 (1975): 1–22, www.jstor.org/stable/1180557; Sally MacDonald, "Gothic Forms Applied to Furniture: The Early Work of Bruce James Talbert," *Furniture History* 23 (1987): 39–66, www.jstor.org/stable/23406698.
[83] This building was deconstructed in 2020 and only the hallway now survives.
[84] The dimensions were 9.5 metres in length, 3 metres wide and, from floor to ridge beam, 4 metres high. Rehutai file 12013-646, Heritage New Zealand.
[85] Now in the collection of Akaroa Museum, AK:1967.471.1
[86] Petersen, "Signs of Higher Life: A Cultural History of Domestic Interiors in New Zealand, c. 1814–1914" (PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1998), 96–121, http://hdl.handle.net/10523/9317.
[87] David Raizman, *History of Modern Design: Graphics and Products Since the Industrial Revolution* (London: Laurence King, 2003), 69.
[88] Charlotte Gere, *Nineteenth-Century Decoration: The Art of the Interior* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989), 40.
[89] Ibid., 18.
[90] Petersen, *New Zealanders at home*, 77–80.
[91] Jessica Halliday, "John Henry Menzies: context and evaluation" (BA hons research paper, University of Canterbury, 1996), 12–19; J. Halliday, "St. Luke's Anglican Church, Little Akaloa, 1905–6," in *Arts and Crafts Churches of Canterbury, School of Fine Arts Gallery, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 12 to 30 August 1996*, ed. Ian Lochhead (Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press, 1996). 6.
[92] Nicholas Thomas, "Kiss the Baby Goodbye: 'Kowhaiwhai' and Aesthetics in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Critical Inquiry* 2, no. 1 (Autumn, 1995): 106.
[93] "J.H. Menzies: Design and Decoration," exhibition file, 2019, Akaroa Museum.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Smith, "J.H. Menzies: A Reappraisal," 102.
[96] J.H. Menzies [name printed as J.W. Menzies] "Maori Art," *The Press*, 15 April 1899.
[97] Menzies, "Maori Art," 7; J.H. Menzies, *Maori Patterns Painted and Carved* (Christchurch: Smith and Anthony, 1910), i.
[98] "New Church at Little Akaloa," *Akaroa Mail*, 7 December 1906.
[99] Thomas, "Kiss the Baby Goodbye", 92–3, 106–8; Pound, *The Space Between*, 33–36, 66–74.
[100] Thomas, "Kiss the Baby Goodbye", 111–12.
[101] Pound, *The Space Between*, 164–89. He mostly quotes from two texts: Jacques Derrida, *The Ear of the Other*, English edition, ed. Christie V. MacDonald, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Shocken Books, 1989); Jacques Derrida, "Des Tours de Babel," trans. Joseph F. Graham, in Joseph F. Graham (ed.), *Difference in Translation* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1975): 165–207.
[102] "The Task of the Translator" is commonly read in English through the translation by Harry Zohn. See Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings, *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 1, 1913–1926* (1996; reis., Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 2002), 253–263. Zohn's translation has been the subject of considerable controversy. See Paul De Man, "'Conclusions' on Walter Benjamin's 'The Task of the Translator,' Messenger Lecture, Cornell University, March 4, 1983," *Yale French Studies* 69 (1985): 25–46; Caroline Disler, "Benjamin's 'Afterlife': A productive (?) Mistranslation in Memoriam Daniel Simeoni," *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Redaction* 24, no. 1 (2011): 181–221
[103] The first time I saw the Stanford Family Pātaka Cabinet (August 2018) in the home of one of Menzies' descendants, it contained, among other items, historic photographs of Rehutai, St. Luke's, and of Charlotte Stanford née Menzies.
[104] Pound, *The Space Between*, 211.
[105] Stephen Greenblatt, "Resonance and wonder," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Stephen D. Lavine (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 53.
[106] Paul Moon, "Augustus Earle in New Zealand: An Early Colonial Artistic Perspective," *Te Kaharoa* 3, no. 1 (2015): 31–33.