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Curating Empire:
International Exhibitions and the Museum-Building Work of Haast, Hector and Hutton

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

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Rosalie Elliffe

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Abstract

This thesis investigates how international exhibitions contributed to the establishment of three nineteenth-century museums in Aotearoa New Zealand: Canterbury Museum, the Colonial Museum (now the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa) and Otago Museum. Focusing on the exhibition and museum-building work of their founding curators – Sir Julius von Haast, Sir James Hector and Captain Frederick Wollaston Hutton – it argues that exhibitions were key drivers of museum formation. Through comparative analysis of their exhibition practices and collecting strategies, this study demonstrates how Haast leveraged exhibitions to elevate Canterbury Museum's scientific prestige and build its collections, Hector employed them as instruments of state science and national development at the Colonial Museum, and Hutton pursued a more selective, pedagogical approach at Otago Museum.

Situating these museums within global exhibition networks, this thesis reveals curators as active agents within imperial systems of knowledge who used exhibitions to acquire collections, secure scientific connections and educate the public. By tracing the movement of objects from exhibitions into museum collections, it demonstrates that education, classification and display operated as interconnected practices across both museums and international exhibitions.

Foregrounding curatorial agency, this thesis reframes the history of New Zealand's early museums around the interdependent relationship between exhibitions and museums, demonstrating that ephemeral exhibitions produced enduring institutional legacies. It provides the first sustained comparative account of Haast, Hector and Hutton as exhibitionary actors and establishes international exhibitions as central to understanding the formation of Aotearoa New Zealand's museums.

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Glossary of Māori Words[1]

Iwi	An extended kinship group – often refers to a group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory
Kākahu	Garment, clothes, cloak
Kōiwi tangata	Ancestral human remains
Kōrero	Speech, narrative, story
Korowai	Cloak ornamented with black twisted tags or thrums
Mahau	Porch, veranda
Maihi	Bargeboard – the facing boards on the gable of a house
Mana	Prestige, authority, control, power, influence
Marae	Courtyard, the open area in front of the wharenui
Mere	A short, flat weapon of stone, often of greenstone
Pā	Fortified village
Pākehā	Foreigner (usually denotes New Zealanders of European origin)
Pātaka	Storehouse raised upon posts, pantry, larder
Pounamu	Greenstone, jade, nephrite
Poupou	Carved wall panel
Rangatira	Chiefly person
Taonga	Treasure
Tapu	Sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden
Tauihu	Bow, prow, figurehead (of a canoe)
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world, or Māori worldview
Tohunga whakairo	Master carver
Toki	Adze
Tukutuku	Ornamental woven latticework, used particularly between carvings around the walls of meeting houses
Waharoa	Gateway, entrance to a pā
Whakairo	Carving, anything decorated
Whakapapa	Genealogy

[1] *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, accessed February 7, 2026, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/

Whānau	Family
Whare	House, residence
Wharenui	Meeting house, large house
Whare whakairo	Carved meeting house
Whāriki	Floor covering, ground cover, floor mat

Key Terms

Five key terms – *international exhibition, museum building, curator, exhibitionary culture* and *taonga* – are used in this thesis and require definition.

International exhibitions are also known as great exhibitions, universal exhibitions, exposition universelle, world's fairs, gran exposición, banpaku or Weltausstellung. In their modern form, they are often known as world expos.[2] While these terms do not account for significant differences in objectives, scale or audience numbers, they are treated as broadly interchangeable in the literature, particularly before 1928 and the establishment of the Bureau International des Expositions.[3]

In this thesis, the general term *international exhibition* is used to describe all nineteenth-century exhibitions, including those that were more national than international in participation. The term *industrial exhibition* is used only where an exhibition is formally designated as such in the title. The term typically denotes regional or national exhibitions dedicated to the display of technological and manufacturing advancements.

The term *museum building* is used here to refer both to the construction of the museum as a physical structure and to the development of the collections housed within it.

The term *curator* was not fixed in the nineteenth century and was often subject to misinterpretation and misunderstanding.[4] Curators, sometimes known as keepers, were typically generalists who undertook scientific fieldwork, classified collections, organised displays, conducted research and published across a wide range of subjects.[5] Most nineteenth-century museums operated with minimal staffing, often consisting only of a curator, a custodian and a taxidermist, with occasional administrative assistance. As a result, the curator frequently also fulfilled the role of museum director.

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[2] "What is an Expo?" *Bureau International des Expositions,* accessed December 8, 2025, https://bie-paris.org/site/en/expos/about-expos/what-is-an-expo

[3] Marina Muñoz Torreblanca, "Barcelona's Universal Exhibition of 1888: An Atypical Case of a Great Exhibition," in *Cultures of International Exhibitions, 1840–1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, ed., Marta Filipová (Ashgate, 2015), 46.

[4] Sarah Longair and John McAleer, eds., *Curating Empire: Museums and the British Imperial Experience*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester University Press, 2017), 8.

[5] Conal McCarthy and Joanna Cobley, "Museums and Museum Studies in New Zealand: A Survey of Historical Developments," *History Compass* 7, no. 2 (2009): 398.

The study also uses the concept of *exhibitionary culture*, drawing particularly on Tony Bennett's discussion of the exhibitionary complex,[6] which positions museums as spaces that organise public knowledge and social behaviour through display practices. In this thesis, exhibitionary culture refers to the display, classification and visual presentation practices through which museums and exhibitions produce knowledge and shape how audiences understand history, identity and social values.

In this thesis, I follow Paul Tapsell's definition of *taonga* as ancestral treasures imbued with mana (authority), tapu (sacredness or restrictedness) and kōrero (knowledge passed down).[7] However, in the nineteenth century, taonga were often described as ethnological "curios" or "specimens" in Pākehā literature. When quoting directly from nineteenth-century sources, I retain these historical terms. As Conal McCarthy outlines, *curio* is a word that descends from the curiosity cabinet, which was not simply a place where oddities were gathered, but a setting where visitors were encouraged to exercise their curiosity to discover new things.[8] *Specimen,* by contrast, was a term grounded in natural history, implying that – as an illustration of a species – the object stood in for all other objects of that type.[9]

[6] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, *Culture: Policies and Politics* (Routledge, 1995), 68–77.
[7] Paul Tapsell, "The Art of Taonga," *Gordon H. Brown Lecture,* no. 9 (2011): 9–11.
[8] Conal McCarthy, *From Curio to Taonga: A Genealogy of Display at New Zealand's National Museum, 1865–2001* (PhD diss., Victoria University of Wellington, 2004), 44.
[9] Ibid., 45–46.

Timeline

1822 – Julius von Haast born in Bonn, Germany.

1834 – James Hector born in Edinburgh, Scotland.

1836 – Frederick Wollaston Hutton born in Gate Burton, Lincolnshire, England.

1844 – Haast moves to Frankfurt am Main and relinquishes Prussian citizenship. Works variously in textiles, haulage and bookselling; travels extensively in Europe and is thought to have traded in mineral specimens.

1851 – Hutton begins service in the East India Mercantile Marine.

1852 – Hector matriculates at the University of Edinburgh to study medicine. Undertakes geological field trips in Scotland and northern England.

1855 – Hector graduates MD. Hutton stationed in Malta prior to serving in Crimea and then in India.

1857 – Haast is commissioned to translate Charles Hursthouse's *New Zealand, or Zealandia, the Britain of the South* into German. Hector is appointed surgeon and geologist on the Palliser Expedition to western Canada (1857–1860).

1858 – Haast accepts an offer from Willis, Gann and Company to travel to New Zealand and report on the prospects for German emigration. He arrives December 21, the day before the Austrian frigate *Novara,* carrying the geologist Ferdinand von Hochstetter.

1859 – Haast surveys the Auckland and Nelson provinces with Hochstetter; begins systematic specimen collecting.

1860 – Hutton returns to England and becomes associated with the British Geological Survey. Enters the Staff College, Sandhurst and Woolwich.

1861 – Haast is appointed Canterbury Provincial Geologist; he forms the first Canterbury Museum collections. Becomes a naturalised British subject. Hutton favourably reviews Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in *The Geologist.*

1862 – Hector is appointed Director of the Otago Geological Survey and emigrates to New Zealand, arriving in Dunedin in April; mounts an early geological display at the St Paul's Church of England Fancy Bazaar and Industrial Exhibition in December.

1863 – Haast lobbies for a permanent Canterbury Museum building.

1864 – Hector completes a reconnaissance geological survey of Otago Province.

1865 – New Zealand Exhibition, Dunedin. Hector serves as commissioner and presents a consolidated "Otago Museum" collection. Haast exhibits geological maps, tunnel sections and specimens from Canterbury.

Hector is formally appointed Director of the Geological Survey of New Zealand and relocates to Wellington in August; the Colonial Museum opens in December.

1866 – Hutton emigrates to New Zealand, arriving in Auckland mid-year.

1867 – Exposition Universelle, Paris. Haast exhibits models and geological specimens. Canterbury Museum opens to the public in temporary provincial government premises. Hector establishes the New Zealand Institute. Hutton is appointed honorary curator of Auckland Museum; co-founds Auckland Philosophical Institute. Undertakes contract geological survey work for Hector.

1868 – Haast's role as Canterbury Provincial Geologist ends; he is appointed honorary director, Canterbury Museum. The initial Otago Museum opens to the public.

1869 – Construction begins on the permanent Canterbury Museum building. Hutton moves to the Waikato and purchases and manages a flax mill.

1870 – Canterbury Museum officially opens to the public under Haast's curatorship.

1871 – Hutton is appointed Assistant Geologist to the New Zealand Geological Survey and moves to Wellington. Publishes major catalogues of New Zealand fauna (1871–1873).

1872 – New Zealand Interprovincial Exhibition, Christchurch. Haast and Hector jointly select and organise exhibits.

1873 – Vienna World's Fair (Weltausstellung 1873 Wien). Haast and Hector participate and send detailed exhibits from their respective museums. Hutton resigns from the Geological Survey and is appointed Provincial Geologist of Otago and curator of the Otago Museum in November; he relocates to Dunedin.

1874 – Foundation stone laid for the new Otago Museum building.

1875 – Hector granted a year's leave to travel to Britain and Europe.

1876 – Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition. Hector serves as Resident Commissioner.

1877 – New Otago Museum building opens; Hutton is appointed Professor of Natural Science at Otago University and official curator of Otago Museum.

1879 – Sydney International Exhibition. Haast and Hector attend in person; Hector acts as Executive Commissioner. Hutton serves on the Otago exhibition committee.

1880 – Melbourne International Exhibition. Haast is awarded a first order of merit for his ethnological collection; Hector continues as Executive Commissioner. Hutton is appointed Professor of Biology at Canterbury College; he moves to Christchurch.

1882 – **New Zealand International Exhibition, Christchurch.** Haast is appointed Vice-President.

1885 – Wellington Industrial Exhibition. Hector plays a central organisational role.

1886 – Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London. Haast serves as Executive Commissioner and tours European museums to acquire collections for Canterbury Museum, knighted KCMG. Hector prepares geological exhibits and relief models.

1887 – Haast dies in Christchurch shortly after returning from Europe, aged sixty-five. Hutton becomes Acting Curator of the Canterbury Museum. Hector is knighted KCMG.

1889–1890 – New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, Dunedin. Hector oversees the Mineral Court.

1892 – Geological Survey removed from Hector's control; Colonial Museum enters period of decline.

1893 – Hutton resigns his professorship to become permanent Curator of the Canterbury Museum, although he continues to lecture in geology until 1902.

1903 – Hector retires. He visits Canada, returning to New Zealand in 1904.

1905 – Hutton takes leave to visit England and dies on the return journey, aged sixty-eight.

1907 – Hector dies at his family home in Lower Hutt, aged seventy-three.

Introduction

Historian James Cowan once stated that New Zealand had "a weakness for Exhibitions from the first."[10] Modelled on the great London exhibitions of the era, New Zealand's first international exhibition – the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition in Dunedin – brought together the colony's raw natural resources and industrial products, displaying them under one roof in a deliberate act of self-presentation and "unbounded faith in the future."[11] Although conceived as a local celebration, it quickly acquired an international dimension, attracting 800 exhibitors from Canada, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Britain, Fiji and the Australian colonies.[12] The exhibition was a declaration that New Zealand, although distant and 'young,' was part of the global stage of progress, science and empire. The exhibition's success in attracting contributors indicates the extent to which the colony was already tied into international networks.[13] James Hector and Julius von Haast were proudly in attendance with their geological collections, which would later form the nucleus of the Otago, Colonial and Canterbury Museums.

It is from this intersection of museums and exhibitions that my research begins. My interest was sparked upon learning that Tūhura Otago Museum (hereafter Otago Museum) began as a display of geological rocks in the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition.[14] This discovery prompted broader questions: how closely were the museum movement and the international exhibition movement entwined in nineteenth-century New Zealand? How did curators use international exhibitions to establish, build and shape their museum collections? How did nineteenth-century exhibitionary culture influence museum-building efforts?

Pursuing these questions led me from Otago Museum to the early histories of the Colonial Museum in Wellington (now the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa), the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch, and their first three curators: Captain Frederick

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[10] James Cowan, 1910, in James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealander from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Penguin Books New Zealand, 2002), 83.
[11] Alfred Eccles, *The First New Zealand Exhibition* (The Crown Print, Limited, Moray Place, 1925), Foreword.
[12] Jock Phillips, "Exhibitions and World's Fairs," Encyclopedia, *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, October 22, 2014, https://teara.govt.nz/mi/exhibitions-and-worlds-fairs/print.
[13] Amiria J. M. Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 168.
[14] "History," *Tūhura Otago Museum,* accessed November 2, 2025, https://otagomuseum.nz/about/history/

Wollaston Hutton, Sir James Hector and Sir Julius von Haast. Using a historical research methodology combining archival research, historical analysis and secondary source review, I trace the exhibition and museum-building work of these men. Trained (both formally and informally) in geology, zoology and biology, they would establish three of the earliest museum collections in the country. This thesis therefore addresses the key question: to what extent were Haast, Hector and Hutton involved with international exhibitions, and how did this exhibition work influence their museum-building efforts in nineteenth-century New Zealand?

Argument and Significance

This thesis argues that international exhibitions were central to the museum-building work of nineteenth-century curators in New Zealand, as demonstrated through the careers of Haast, Hector and Hutton. By examining their involvement in international exhibitions alongside the early development of the Canterbury, Colonial and Otago Museums, it shows that these institutions emerged not as isolated colonial repositories but as active nodes within the imperial-scientific networks that shaped nineteenth-century collecting, classification and display. In addition to analysing Haast, Hector and Hutton's involvement with international exhibitions, the study considers the curators' participation in national and industrial exhibitions, which operated within the broader nineteenth-century exhibitionary culture. By highlighting the interrelationship between international exhibitions and museums, this thesis demonstrates how each informed the practices, ambitions and public roles of the other. More broadly, this research contributes to the global historiography of colonial museums and international exhibitions by analysing how curators operated at the intersection of both movements.

Scope

It is important to define the limits and parameters of the study. The aim of this thesis is not to provide an exhaustive biography of Haast, Hector or Hutton, nor a comprehensive institutional history of the Canterbury, Colonial or Otago Museums. Although the material here inevitably touches on scientific history, it also does not presume to be an explicit contribution to the history of science.

Haast, Hector and Hutton were each the founding curator of their respective museum (the Canterbury, Colonial and Otago Museums, respectively), a focus that enables an exploration of the relationship between international exhibitions and museum formation in nineteenth-century New Zealand at a key institutional moment. By examining the work of these three curators, the earliest history of their respective museums is unveiled, particularly as the founders' identities, ambitions and networks were intertwined with the institutions they established. Concentrating on Haast, Hector and Hutton also allows the study to trace how international exhibition participation shaped collecting practices, institutional priorities and claims to scientific authority across the perspective of provincial museums (Canterbury, Otago) and the national museum (the Colonial Museum in Wellington).

As Bruno Latour reminds us, when writing about scientists, we tend to admire the "great genius and virtue of one man" and too rarely recognise the "forces that made him great."[15] This study has therefore sought to situate each curator within the networks of people and political structures that enabled their work. Although Haast, Hector and Hutton are often celebrated individually, they built their museums with the support of extensive personal, scientific and political networks. The thousands of surviving letters of correspondence attest to the collective and collaborative nature of their achievements. This emphasis on networks, circulation and mediation resonates with approaches associated with Actor-Network Theory (ANT), particularly its attention to the co-production of knowledge through human and material actors.[16] While this thesis does not formally adopt an ANT framework, its focus on correspondence, objects, exhibitions and museum-building reflects a shared concern with how scientific authority is assembled rather than assumed.

Methodology

Using a historical approach based on the examination of archival evidence, I draw on the correspondence and manuscript collections of Haast, Hector and Hutton held at the Hocken Collections, the Alexander Turnbull Library, Te Papa Tongarewa Archives and Archives New Zealand. All three men were prolific correspondents, and letter writing was central to their professional lives. Considering the volume of surviving archival material, this examination is

[15] Bruno Latour, *The Pasteurization of France* (English translation, Harvard University Press, 1988), 14–15.
[16] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*, Clarendon Lectures in Management Studies (Oxford University Press, 2005).

necessarily selective, with particular attention paid to correspondence and official documentation relating to international exhibitions. The transcription and publication of selected letters by Geoscience New Zealand made significant portions of this archival material more accessible.[17]

In addition to correspondence, reports published in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* provide insight into the organisation and administration of international exhibitions. Contemporary newspapers, accessed through the National Library's digital archive *Papers Past*,[18] offer additional context regarding public discourse, exhibition reporting and annual museum reports. International exhibition catalogues, often sourced from the National Library of New Zealand, were also consulted and examined.

Synopsis

This thesis has been structured into five chapters. The Introduction outlines the context, scope, argument and methodological approach that guides the study. Chapter One, *Ephemeral Wonders and Lasting Legacies,* reviews the literature surrounding international exhibitions and museum development in both global and colonial contexts. It also surveys existing scholarship on Haast, Hector and Hutton. The review is organised into three strands. First, I outline the broad history of nineteenth-century international exhibitions, drawing on theoretical approaches which link exhibitions, empire and the production of knowledge. Second, I examine histories of museums and museum collecting – from international developments to the establishment of colonial institutions in New Zealand – alongside scholarship on nineteenth-century colonial science. Third, I survey the existing scholarship on Haast, Hector and Hutton.

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[17] Sascha Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector, 1862–1887* (Geoscience Society of New Zealand, 2012); Esme Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton to James Hector and Julius Haast*, 2nd ed. (Geoscience Society of New Zealand, 2013); Esme Mildenhall and Simon Nathan, eds., *Letters from James Farmer to James Hector, 1876–1891* (Geoscience Society of New Zealand, 2013); Sascha Nolden, ed., *The Letters of Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast* (Geoscience Society of New Zealand, 2013); Sascha Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker, 1861–1886* (Geoscience Society of New Zealand, 2013); Judith Nathan and Simon Nathan, eds., *My Dearest Georgie: Transcriptions of 24 Letters from James Hector to His Wife Georgiana*, 2nd ed. (Geoscience Society of New Zealand, 2015); Sascha Nolden, ed., "The Correspondence of Sir Julius von Haast," *Canterbury Museum Bulletin* 11 (2022): 165–85.

[18] National Library of New Zealand, "Papers Past," accessed December 15, 2025, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/

Chapter Two, *Sir Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum and International Exhibitions*, is a case study of Haast's international exhibition work. The chapter first analyses Haast's museum-building activities and collecting strategies at Canterbury Museum. Second, it provides an examination of his involvement in international exhibitions from 1865 to 1886.

Chapter Three, *Sir James Hector, the Colonial Museum and International Exhibitions*, examines Hector's contributions to international exhibitions through a largely chronological structure. The chapter explores the international and national exhibitions he contributed to between 1862 and 1895, and weaves in details regarding the establishment of the Colonial Museum.

Chapter Four, *Captain Frederick Wollaston Hutton and the Formation of Otago Museum*, considers Hutton's contributions to museum development at Otago Museum. It also explores whether he had any involvement with international exhibitions.

Chapter Five synthesises the findings across the three case study chapters; lastly, the Conclusion summarises the findings of the thesis.

Chapter One: Ephemeral Wonders and Lasting Legacies

This literature review is organised around three primary, relevant themes: international exhibitions, the development of museums, and the historiography on Julius von Haast, James Hector and Frederick Wollaston Hutton. Although these themes are interrelated, they have often been treated separately in New Zealand historiography, and the curators who worked across them remain unevenly explored. In response, this thesis adopts an integrated approach that situates curatorial practice at the intersection of exhibitions, museum-building and colonial scientific networks in nineteenth-century New Zealand.

Figure 1: New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, Dunedin, 1889–90. Photograph by William Frost Row. Hocken Collections, Dunedin, Box-137-004.

1.1 Ephemeral Wonders: International Exhibitions

The Origins of International Exhibitions

International exhibitions have taken diverse forms throughout history: international, national, thematic, multilateral and colonial.[19] This section of the review focuses on universal or international exhibitions: events open to all nations and products, conceived as public stages for progress and civilisation.[20] Understanding the origins of international

[19] Erik Mattie, *World's Fairs* (Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 8.
[20] Ibid.

exhibitions provides a conceptual framework for analysing how Haast, Hector and Hutton utilised international exhibitions to support their museum work.

Robert W. Rydell, a leading historian of international exhibitions in the United States, has noted that literature on international exhibitions is of mixed quality, with much of it "tentative, eclectic, and far from complete."[21] This unevenness is compounded by the inherent complexity of exhibitions themselves, which function simultaneously as cultural, political, economic and educational events.[22] Early studies by historians such as John Allwood, Jeffrey Auerbach, Burton Benedict, Erik Mattie and Rydell established the historiographical foundations of international exhibition scholarship, primarily through analyses of major exhibitions and host nations in Europe and the United States.[23] While these works remain essential as broad historical overviews, their expansive scope also constitutes their principal limitation.

The antecedents of international exhibitions can be traced to Europe's medieval market fairs – Frankfurt, Venice, Lyons, Leipzig and Nizhny Novgorod among them – which served as major nodes of international trade.[24] As curators Robert Wilson, Amanda Dunsmore and Matthew Martin outline in their study of nineteenth-century international exhibitions, the roots of exhibitions are in the ancient world.[25] They pinpoint Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo's 1268 Venice market as setting the scene for exhibitions to come, where citizens were treated to a grand display, a water festival and a procession of trades.[26] However, as historians Miriam E. Smith and Gavin McLean argue, medieval fairs were primarily sites of commerce and

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[21] Ewan Johnston, *Representing the Pacific at International Exhibitions 1851–1940* (PhD diss., University of Auckland, 1999), 6, quoting Rydell, "The Literature of Expositions," 10.
[22] Lee Davidson and Leticia Pérez Castellanos, *Cosmopolitan Ambassadors*, *Curating and Interpreting Culture* (Vernon Press, 2019), 175.
[23] John Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions: 150 Years*, Revised ed. (Exhibition Consultants, 2001); Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (Yale University Press, 1990); Burton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs* (Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 1983); Mattie, *World's Fairs*; Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (University of Chicago Press, 1984); Robert W. Rydell et al., *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000).
[24] Miriam E. Smith, *The History of New Zealand Exhibitions with Particular Reference to the New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition, Dunedin, 1925–6* (Master's thesis, University of Auckland, 1974), 2.
[25] Robert Wilson et al., *Great Exhibitions: The World Fairs 1851–1937* (Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, 2007), 10.
[26] Ibid.

entertainment, not precursors to the modern exhibition.[27] The modern exhibition had distinct intellectual roots in the Enlightenment's concern with improvement, education and the public display of useful knowledge.[28] It is the Enlightenment's educational emphasis – rather than medieval spectacle – that most directly shaped the intellectual foundations of nineteenth-century museums and exhibitions, including those in which Haast, Hector and Hutton were involved.

In Britain, the London Society of Arts was instrumental in establishing key elements that later informed international exhibitions. The Society promoted the "polite arts, commerce, manufactures and mechanics" and offered prizes for industrial innovation, craftsmanship and design.[29] In 1761, the Society produced a show of its annual prize winners and exhibited them for seven weeks.[30] The show included technological innovations such as miniature windmills, spinning wheels and models of ships, with the Royal Society placing its prize winners on permanent display, much like a museum.[31] Despite its mixed success, it introduced a crucial feature of the modern exhibition: the fusion of education, competition and spectacle.[32] The Society's approach prefigures strategies employed by Haast, Hector and Hutton, who similarly sought to combine public education with displays of scientific knowledge.

While Britain initiated the exhibition of art and invention, it was post-revolutionary France that institutionalised the national exhibition. In 1797, the Marquis d'Aveze held an exhibition in Paris to display his tapestry, carpet and porcelain products.[33] The success of d'Aveze's exhibition was so clear that in 1798 the French government inaugurated the first national exposition at the Champ de Mars, beginning an almost-annual tradition of national exhibitions.[34] Prominent British historian and museologist Paul Greenhalgh traces the French exhibition tradition to the state's desire to use public display as a tool for economic recovery

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[27] Smith, *The History of New Zealand Exhibitions*, 2; Gavin McLean, "The Colony Commodified: Trade, Progress and the Real Business of Exhibitions," in *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906–07*, 1st ed., ed., John Mansfield Thomson (Dunmore Press, 1998), 28.
[28] Smith, *The History of New Zealand Exhibitions,* 2.
[29] "The New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, 1889–90," *Mount Ida Chronicle,* November 30, 1889, 2.
[30] John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851–1988* (Greenwood Press, 1990), xv.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Smith, *The History of New Zealand Exhibitions*, 2–3.
[33] Findling and Pelle, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851–1988*, xvi.
[34] McLean, "The Colony Commodified," 28.

and moral regeneration after the upheavals of the Revolution.[35] French exhibitions, Greenhalgh argues, evolved from commercial showcases into instruments of national instruction.[36] The format, which included juried competitions, medals and systematic classification, would profoundly influence the development of exhibition culture across Europe and later provided a framework for colonial and industrial exhibitions in Australasia.

Greenhalgh's work also offers a comprehensive framework for understanding international exhibitions as "creatures of modernity," with four phenomena dictating their shape: mass production, prefabrication, communication and urbanisation.[37] Between 1798 and 1849, the recurring national exhibitions held in Paris grew in scale and sophistication – from 110 exhibitors at the first to 4,494 by 1849.[38] Both McLean and Benedict concur with Greenhalgh that commerce and industrial capitalism were the driving force behind these exhibitions, and all to come.[39] While Greenhalgh's framework is influential, its emphasis on industrial modernity is particularly useful for analysing colonial exhibitions, where industry, science and nation-building converged. Greenhalgh also identifies French geologist Jacques Boucher de Perthes as the figure who articulated the idea of transforming these national exhibitions into international ones, advocating for cross-border competition as a driver of industrial progress.[40]

London's 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations realised this international ambition. Housed in Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace – a vast glass and iron structure covering nineteen acres in London's Hyde Park – the exhibition established "the first event identifiable as a World's Fair," with historians Peter H. Hoffenberg, Auerbach and Greenhalgh identifying this as the key moment when the idea of a 'nation on display' crystallised.[41] Under the patronage of Prince Albert and the organisational skill of Henry

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[35] Paul Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions from London to Shanghai, 1851–2010* (Papadakis, 2011).
[36] Greenhalgh, *Fair World*, 28.
[37] Ibid., 193.
[38] N.B. Palethorpe, *Official History of the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition, Wellington, 1939–1940* (Centennial Exhibition Company, 1940), 22.
[39] Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs*, 2; McLean, "The Colony Commodified," 28.
[40] Greenhalgh, *Fair World*, 23.
[41] Ibid., 15; Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (University of California Press, 2001); Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*; Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester University Press, 2000), 12–15.

Cole, the 1851 exhibition transformed what was conceived as a national celebration of British industry into a global event with over 15,000 exhibitors from thirty-four nations and empires, attracting more than six million visitors to Hyde Park.[42] Its four major categories – Manufactures, Machinery, Raw Materials and Fine Arts – established the typological framework that shaped the format of later exhibitions,[43] including New Zealand's first international exhibition in Dunedin 1865. Hoffenberg points out that the memory or "quasi-sacredness" of the Great Exhibition tends to diminish the significance of those international exhibitions that followed.[44] Many of the latter were equally, if not more, popular and influential.[45]

One such influential exhibition was France's 1855 Exposition Universelle, which asserted Paris's cultural primacy through its emphasis on fine arts.[46] In the decades following, international exhibitions became a recurring global phenomenon. As technological novelty waned in the late 1860s, organisers introduced amusement parks, ethnological villages, fairgrounds and monumental architecture to attract and entertain mass audiences.[47] The French pioneered this shift with the 1867 Exposition Universelle, transforming the single-building concept into sprawling sites of national pavilions and architectural competition.[48] Later fairs such as the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, the 1889 Paris Exposition, and the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition integrated entertainment fully into the conceptual fabric of the site.[49] Exhibitions moved beyond being showcases of industrial progress to include special themes, entertainments and spectacle.[50] Greenhalgh argues that exhibitions in the latter half of the nineteenth century transformed into "fantasy" spaces that suspended the harshness of reality.[51]

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[42] John Mansfield Thomson, ed., *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906–07*, 1st ed. (Dunmore Press, 1998), 11.
[43] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 12–15.
[44] Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display,* 8.
[45] Refer to Appendix A for a timeline of major international exhibitions and comparative total visitor numbers.
[46] Rebecca Rice*, The State Collections of Colonial New Zealand Art: Intertwined Histories of Collecting and Display* (PhD diss., Victoria University of Wellington, 2010), 140.
[47] Greenhalgh, *Fair World*, 73.
[48] Ibid.; Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas,* 12–15.
[49] Greenhalgh, *Fair World*, 73–83.
[50] Findling and Pelle, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851–1988*, xvii.
[51] Greenhalgh, *Fair World*, 83.

As New Zealand historian Jock Phillips notes, between 1855 and 1915 an international exhibition involving more than twenty nations was held, on average, every two years.[52] Greenhalgh states that between 1876 and 1915 there was almost one a year.[53] This frequency underscores the extent to which international exhibitions formed a dominant cultural and educational framework in the late nineteenth century, shaping how nations – and colonies – imagined progress, science and identity.

To assist with appreciating the sheer scale and frequency of international exhibitions in the nineteenth century, a timeline of major international exhibitions is provided in Appendix A, with a comparative Australasian timeline provided in Appendix B. It was within this Australasian exhibitionary culture that Haast, Hector and Hutton developed their curatorial and museum-building practices, drawing on international models while adapting them to the New Zealand colonial context.

Exhibition Motives and Imperial Visions

Throughout the nineteenth century, the official rhetoric surrounding international exhibitions remained remarkably consistent. Greenhalgh outlines these core motives as peace among nations, education of the masses, trade and progress.[54] He contends that "trade was at the theoretical core of exhibitions" because it lay at the heart of Western power itself.[55] He notes that "imperial achievement" was a key element, and any study underplaying this aspect runs the risk of misrepresenting the exhibitions' overall character.[56] Empire itself became a commodity, more significant than, although not altogether different from, shawls, ironwork, flax or sculpture. This was underscored by the way colonies were displayed as quantifiable units.[57] Museologists Lee Davidson and Leticia Pérez Castellanos concur, arguing international exhibitions can be understood as national image-building exercises, events where "national branding is taken to its maximum expression."[58] The positivist dialectic present in exhibitions dictated a certainty of advancing national progress,

[52] Phillips, "Exhibitions and World's Fairs."
[53] Greenhalgh, *Fair World*, 28.
[54] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 27.
[55] Ibid., 22.
[56] Ibid., 52.
[57] Ibid., 54.
[58] Davidson and Pérez Castellanos, *Cosmopolitan Ambassadors*, 175.

with visions of a stable "future of plenty" on the horizon.[59] For colonial museum-builders such as Haast, Hector and Hutton, these exhibition motives – particularly education, trade and progress – provided both justification and strategic opportunity for developing museums as instruments of scientific authority.

Hoffenberg's *An Empire on Display* identifies nineteenth-century exhibitions as key instruments of imperial culture. Through a comparative study of exhibitions in Britain, India and Australia, he demonstrates that exhibitions were not passive mirrors of empire but active agents in its construction – sites where economic, political and cultural hierarchies were publicly performed "within borders but also across them."[60] Hoffenberg emphasises the participatory nature of these events: citizens, workers and colonial subjects were "real actors" in the imperial spectacle, collectively creating a new kind of public, what he terms the "Victorian public," who experienced the empire as a lived and visible community.[61] The exhibitions' material legacies, including museums, catalogues and collections, ensured that this exhibitionary order persisted as a mode of imperial knowledge and social control.[62] This persistence is relevant to the New Zealand colonial context, where museums often absorbed exhibition practices and classificatory logics developed in metropolitan settings.

Rydell highlights the ways in which international exhibitions linked the organisation of knowledge with the governance of populations. The 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, for instance, was staged to restore national confidence after the American Civil War and subsequent economic depression.[63] Its classification system, devised by geologist William Phipps Blake, arranged exhibits in a hierarchy from raw material to intellectual achievement.[64] Non-Western nations and Indigenous peoples were relegated to the margins of this schema, reinforcing racial hierarchies.[65]

The exhibitions' capacity to render the world visible came at a profound human cost. At almost every exhibition before 1914, primarily African and Asian peoples were "displayed as

[59] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 23.
[60] Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display,* xiv.
[61] Ibid., 3.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 11.
[64] Ibid., 20–21.
[65] Ibid., 27.

animals" in ethnological villages.[66] These displays mobilised a range of pseudo-scientific techniques, including phrenology, to "prove" white superiority.[67] Historian of Middle Eastern Studies Timothy Mitchell documents how such displays reinforced hierarchies of race and civilisation: the gaze of European spectators, the degradation of those exhibited, and the architecture of spectacle all worked together to naturalise imperial domination and the "particularly European concern with rendering things up to be viewed."[68] He examines the experience of Middle Eastern visitors to the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, who found themselves stared at by Europeans as they visited a model Cairo street.[69] The Egyptians, like the fake buildings, seemed to be offered up as objects in a picture.[70] These hierarchical exhibitionary practices informed museum ethnographic displays well into the twentieth century, shaping how Indigenous peoples and their taonga were classified, contextualised and visualised within institutions such as the Canterbury, Colonial and Otago Museums.

Historian Ewan Johnston's research extends this analysis into the Pacific, documenting how Pacific Island peoples were displayed in twenty-eight separate international exhibitions, second only to sub-Saharan African representations in frequency.[71] Greenhalgh claims that such Indigenous peoples had no voice "of any kind" in their display.[72] New Zealand museologist Conal McCarthy's work, however, reveals that Māori engagement with international exhibitions was neither passive nor uniform; rather, Māori actively used exhibitions to assert themselves as "Brown Britons in a Better Britain," pursuing their own cultural and political ambitions.[73] If, as John M. MacKenzie posits in his seminal *Museums and Empire*, museums and exhibitions were tools of empire, then McCarthy argues that they were also "a means of resisting, collaborating with, and using that empire."[74]

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[66] Greenhalgh, *Fair World*, 139.
[67] Ibid., 138.
[68] Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (1989): 218.
[69] Ibid., 222–23.
[70] Ibid., 224.
[71] Johnston, *Representing the Pacific,* 6.
[72] Greenhalgh, *Fair World*, 144.
[73] Conal McCarthy, "Carving out a Place in the Better Britain of the South Pacific: Māori in New Zealand Museums and Exhibitions," in *Curating Empire: Museums and the British Imperial Experience*, MSI edition, eds., Sarah Longair and John McAleer, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester University Press, 2017), 56.
[74] John M. MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester University Press, 2010), 7; McCarthy, "Carving out a Place," 56.

This scholarship demonstrates that international exhibitions were not neutral celebrations of progress but highly structured environments in which education, trade, imperial ambition and racialised classification were tightly interwoven. For Haast, Hector and Hutton, exhibitions provided both a model and a mandate: a model for organising collections, display and public education, and a mandate for positioning their respective museums within global networks of science, empire and progress. Imperial logics did not dissipate at the colony periphery; rather, they were reproduced and adapted within New Zealand's own exhibition culture.

New Zealand and the International Exhibition Circuit

Between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, New Zealand actively participated in international exhibitions and cultivated a vibrant tradition of domestic industrial and cultural fairs that reflected its evolving identity within the British Empire.[75] Major exhibitions, including the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition in Dunedin, the 1889–90 New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, and the 1906–07 New Zealand International Exhibition in Christchurch, attracted hundreds of thousands of visitors, showcased manufacturing, art, and taonga, and served as visible markers of social and economic progress. [76] As historian N. B. Palethorpe observes, for an isolated community, the "enthusiasm" for measuring commercial and industrial advancement was an imperative – not only to assess its own development but also to learn "what was being done in the great world centres."[77]

Scholarship on international exhibitions in New Zealand remains limited. Most existing studies focus on individual events, including the 1940 New Zealand Centennial Exhibition and the 1906–07 New Zealand International Exhibition, or on the interconnections between

[75] Phillips, "Exhibitions and World's Fairs."
[76] Smith, "The History of New Zealand Exhibitions," 14.
[77] Palethorpe, *Official History of the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition,* 22.

fine arts and international exhibitions.[78] Major national histories, such as those by historians James Belich and Margaret McClure,[79] mention exhibitions only very briefly.

John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle's encyclopaedic *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions* adopts a global perspective and includes factual overviews of select Australasian exhibitions.[80] It omits the foundational 1865 New Zealand Exhibition, however, and does not engage in sustained analysis of the New Zealand international exhibitions that it does mention. Art historian Marta Filipová's edited volume is among the few publications to address marginalised international exhibitions held in provincial cities and towns, with curator Rebecca Rice contributing a chapter on the inclusion of fine art in Dunedin's 1865 and 1889–1890 exhibitions.[81]

McCarthy's scholarship is the most comprehensive analysis of how exhibitions influenced museum practice in New Zealand. His article "Displaying Natural History," along with his contributions to Findling and Pelle's *Encyclopaedia of World's Fairs and Expositions,*[82] highlight how exhibitions shaped museological practice in New Zealand, particularly through the efforts of Hector at the Colonial Museum. McCarthy argues that international exhibitions provided opportunities for curators like Hector to secure funding, visibility and the adoption of new display technologies.[83] While McCarthy has demonstrated how the work of

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[78] See Palethorpe, *Official History of the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition;* Thomson, *Farewell Colonialism*; Inge Van Rij, "Race, Gender, and the Colonial Orchestral Body at the New Zealand International Exhibition, 1906," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 76, no. 2 (2023): 353–406; Rice, *The State Collections of Colonial New Zealand Art*; Rebecca Rice, "A Red-Letter Day: Evaluating Progress in New Zealand's Art at Dunedin's International Exhibitions, 1865 and 1889," in *Cultures of International Exhibitions, 1840–1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, ed., Marta Filipová (Ashgate, 2015); Rebecca Rice, "Conversazione in the Colonial Museum," *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 47, no. 1 (2017): 41–47; Rebecca Rice, "'My Dear Hooker': The Botanical Landscape in Colonial New Zealand," *Museum History Journal* 13, no. 1 (2020): 20–41.
[79] James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian* (Penguin New Zealand, 2008); James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealander from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Penguin Books New Zealand, 2002), 83; Margaret McClure, *The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism* (Auckland University Press, 2004).
[80] Findling and Pelle, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs.*
[81] Marta Filipová, ed., *Cultures of International Exhibitions, 1840–1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins* (Ashgate, 2015); Rice, "A Red-Letter Day."
[82] Conal McCarthy, "Displaying Natural History," in *The Amazing World of James Hector*, 1st ed., eds., Simon Nathan and Mary Varnham (Awa Science, Awa Press, 2008); Conal McCarthy, "Dunedin 1865," "Dunedin 1889–90," "Christchurch 1906–07," and "Wellington 1939–40," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, eds., John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (McFarland and Co., 2008).
[83] Ibid., 57.

exhibitions and museums was often entwined in the Colonial Museum context, this thesis broadens the examination to consider regional as well as the national context.

Smith and Johnston contribute broader surveys of New Zealand exhibition culture: Smith situates exhibitions as milestones of progress in an isolated colony, while Johnston – following Rydell – interprets them as imperial theatres of modernity in which representations of Māori and Pasifika peoples reinforced hierarchical visions of race and civilisation.[84] Johnston charts New Zealand's exhibition evolution from uncoordinated displays of raw products in the 1850s to more professionalised and scientifically organised presentations by the late nineteenth century,[85] a progression exemplified by Hector's exhibition work discussed in Chapter Three. Neither Smith nor Johnston, however, directly address how exhibitions influenced the formation of New Zealand's museums.

Scholar James Michael Gore's comparative research helps to illuminate the distinctiveness of New Zealand's exhibition landscape. In examining the development of Australian and New Zealand national museums, he argues that the intensely competitive intercolonial exhibitions spurred the establishment of applied-science and technology museums in Australia, including Melbourne's Industrial and Technological Museum and Sydney's Technological, Industrial and Sanitary Museum.[86] New Zealand's museums, he contends, followed a different trajectory, with the first museums shaped by educational aspirations rather than by industrial utilitarianism.[87] This thesis revisits Gore's claim by exploring how international exhibitions had a profound effect on the first museums in New Zealand.

Urban historian F. J. Monclús highlights the ephemeral nature of international exhibitions. They were not engines of lasting transformation but rather "momentary crystallisations of spectacle," with most of the buildings destroyed soon after the closure of the exhibition. Monclús argues that each exhibition must be understood as part of the "micro-history" of its host city – its ambitions, anxieties and urban evolution.[88] This observation can be directly related to the New Zealand context: Dunedin's 1865 New Zealand Exhibition, for instance,

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[84] Smith, *The History of New Zealand Exhibitions*, 14; Johnston, *Representing the Pacific,* 2, 257–66.
[85] Ibid., 209–33.
[86] James Michael Gore, *Representations of History and Nation in Museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand: The National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* (PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2002), 78–79.
[87] Ibid., 80.
[88] F. J. Monclús, *International Exhibitions and Urbanism: The Zaragoza Expo 2008 Project* (Routledge, 2017), 6.

was an ambitious attempt by residents to assert themselves on the international stage, reflecting both pride and anxiety regarding advancing New Zealand's and Dunedin's reputations.

The literature reviewed here establishes international exhibitions as critical sites of imperial display, scientific ordering and nation-building in which New Zealand was an active participant. As exemplified in Appendix C, New Zealand maintained a robust nineteenth-century culture of hosting national, international and industrial exhibitions. However, existing scholarship tends to treat exhibitions as discrete events rather than as elements of a society shaped by empire, global trade and, importantly for this thesis, museum building. This thesis joins scholarship on the interwoven worlds of international exhibitions and museums by examining how figures such as Haast, Hector and Hutton transformed ephemeral exhibition practices into enduring museum structures. The following section, therefore, turns to the historiography of museums.

1.2 Lasting Legacies: The Making of New Zealand Museums

Evolution of the Museum

The word *museum* originates from the ancient Greek *mouseion,* the temple of the Muses, understood as a place of study and the arts.[89] Collections of natural curiosities likewise have deep roots in the ancient world, yet the museum in its modern form emerged only in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe.[90] Growing interest in ordering and classifying the natural world encouraged the creation of collections intended to document its diversity.[91] As with exhibitions, the Enlightenment played a decisive role in this shift: its emphasis on empirical inquiry and rational explanation transformed cabinets of curiosities, or the variously named wunderkammern, studioli, cabinets des curiosités or kunstkammern, into early knowledge systems.[92] Early cabinets served multiple purposes – as sociologist Susan Leigh Star and philosopher James R. Griesemer outline, they were symbols of wealth,

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[89] Paula Findlen, "The Museum: Its Classical Etymology and Renaissance Genealogy," *Journal of the History of Collections*, no. 1 (1989): 59–60.
[90] Susan Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums During the Late Nineteenth Century* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 3–4.
[91] Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (Routledge, 1999), 109.
[92] Ibid., 109; Conal McCarthy, *From Histories of Museums to Museum History: Approaches to Historicising Colonial Museums in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Victoria University of Wellington, 2022, 96.

tools for polite learning and microcosmic representations of the universe for study by physicians and apothecaries.[93] By the 1700s, Swedish biologist Carl Linnaeus was championing the use of specimens to reveal nature's underlying systems and processes,[94] laying the intellectual groundwork for later curatorial practice by Haast, Hector and Hutton in nineteenth-century New Zealand.

Private art and object collections fulfilled a variety of functions – demonstrations of royal power, symbols of aristocratic or mercantile status, instruments of learning – but all remained socially enclosed.[95] Even the British Museum, nominally open to the public since 1759, restricted entry via ticket applications requiring two guarantors, a common practice among private collectors.[96] Around 1800, new conceptions of public life emerged, promoting viewing and learning as collective experiences.[97] In 1793, the French Republic opened the Louvre to ordinary citizens, exhibiting former royal and ecclesiastical collections, and the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle was founded.[98] These shifts reflected emerging ideals that museums should serve public education and moral improvement.

By the nineteenth century, a distinct museum movement had taken shape across Europe and the United States, fuelled by international exhibitions. The 1851 Great Exhibition provided the model for a new kind of museum, one which emphasised industrial achievement, scientific progress and imperial authority.[99] Displays of commodities like cotton and rubber helped establish new scientific fields like economic botany while reinforcing Britain's global authority.[100] Due to the vast number of visitors, the 1851 exhibition stratified its public through separate days for different social classes, used new materials such as cast iron and sheet glass to enclose and illuminate vast spaces, and provided elevated galleries from

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[93] Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer, "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907–39," *Social Studies of Science* 19, no. 3 (1989), 391.
[94] *Gifts and Legacies: Celebrating a Proud History of Patronage and Generosity at the Otago Museum* (Otago Museum Trust Board, 2014), 35.
[95] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 93.
[96] Samuel J. M. M. Alberti, "Placing Nature: Natural History Collections and Their Owners in Nineteenth-Century Provincial England," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 35, no. 3 (2002), 297.
[97] Alberti, "Placing Nature," 297.
[98] Brian Gill, *The Owl That Fell from the Sky: Stories of a Museum Curator*, 1st ed. (Awa Press, 2012), 6.
[99] Andrew McKay, *The Man and the Museum: Thomas Frederick Cheeseman and the Auckland Institute and Museum, 1874–1923* (PhD diss., The University of Auckland, 2023), 38–39.
[100] Ibid., 39.

which visitors could observe not only exhibits but one another.[101] Low admission prices and late opening hours – both innovations of the exhibition – were later adopted by museums.[102] Exhibitions and museums deployed pedagogic techniques and display strategies which brought working- and middle-class publics into proximity, exposing the former to the "improving influence" of the latter.[103]

From their inception, modern museums were intertwined with empire. As MacKenzie notes, "Museums were an expression of the western conviction in the onward march of the rational."[104] They materialised the dispossession of land and culture through the rapid acquisition of specimens and artefacts, enabled by imperial infrastructures: wherever railways, telegraphs, roads and extractive industries advanced, surveyors, engineers and miners collected geology, palaeontology and archaeology.[105] As landscapes were reshaped for economic and communicative purposes, the environment yielded "its hitherto hidden treasures" which were then absorbed into both private and public museum collections.[106] Expanding exploration made nature increasingly subject to taxonomic ordering, reflecting the coloniser's confidence that the natural world could be rendered fully knowable[107] – a process evident in the collecting and classification work of Haast, Hector and Hutton as they sought to document, organise and present New Zealand's flora and fauna to a global audience.

Museological Theory

Museological theory developed alongside the modern museum. From the mid-nineteenth century, British museum professionals began codifying practice, emphasising the systematic arrangement of collections for educational purposes.[108] Early works such as naturalist Edward Forbes's *On the Educational Uses of Museums* (1853) and zoologist John Edward Gray's *Museums, Their Use and Improvement* (1864) advocated dividing collections by type and function to enhance clarity, a view that clashed with Richard Owen's preference for

[101] Ibid., 72, 101.
[102] Ibid., 73.
[103] Ibid., 73–74.
[104] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 1.
[105] Ibid., 3–4.
[106] Ibid., 3.
[107] Ibid., 1.
[108] McKay, *The Man and the Museum,* 34

unified natural history displays at the British Museum, articulated in *On the Extent and Aims of a National Museum of Natural History* (1862).[109] Haast, Hutton and especially Hector, who had studied under Forbes,[110] entered this evolving discourse in which scientific collection and museum display theory were increasingly intertwined.

In the United States, George Brown Goode became the central theorist of professional museum practice. His *Principles of Museum Administration* (1895) established standards for classification, documentation and display, arguing that museums should preserve objects which best illustrated the natural world and the world of man, then promote learning through carefully organised displays.[111] Goode insisted that museums must be educational institutions rather than "storehouses," promoting interpretive labels, public programmes and systematic displays,[112] ideas now taken for granted in the museum world. His approach democratised museums by making them more accessible and engaging for everyday visitors. His maxim that "the degree of civilization to which any nation, city or province has attained is best shown by the character of its public museums," encapsulated his philosophy.[113]

These ideas found organisational expression in the opening of London's British Museum (Natural History) in 1881, now known as the Natural History Museum. Under William Henry Flower's directorship from 1884, the museum adopted the "new museum idea:" uncluttered galleries, taxonomic sequences and a strict division between public displays and behind-the-scenes research collections.[114] By 1900, most major museums across Europe, North America and the settler colonies had adopted the principle that "less was more."[115] In the case of Hector and Haast, however, this principle was often inverted – more was more – whereas Hutton largely adopted Flower's maxim in his own ordered curatorial practice.

By the mid-twentieth century, museology matured into a critical field, culminating in the "new museology" of the 1980s–90s. Scholars such as Susan M. Pearce, Eilean Hooper-

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[109] Edward Forbes, *On the Educational Uses of Museums* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1853); John Edward Gray, *Museums, Their Use and Improvement* (Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1864); Richard Owen, *On the Extent and Aims of a National Museum of Natural* History (Saunders, Otley and Co., 1862).
[110] Peggy Burton, *New Zealand Geological Survey, 1865–1965*, Information Series 52 (New Zealand Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, 1965), 11.
[111] Goode, *The Principles of Museum Administration*, 3–4.
[112] Ibid., 9–10.
[113] Brown, *The Principles of Museum Administration*, 73.
[114] McCarthy, "Displaying Natural History," 53.
[115] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science,* 6.

Greenhill, and Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine reconceptualise museums as sites where knowledge, power and representation are negotiated; frameworks that allow us to read nineteenth-century New Zealand museums not simply as repositories, but as active instruments in the production of scientific, cultural and imperial authority.[116] Pearce argues that "organised material is knowledge, and knowledge is organised material," noting that the rise of state museums occurred at the same time as "mature capitalism."[117] Hooper-Greenhill similarly frames museums as producers of knowledge, emphasising that "knowledge is … the commodity that museums offer," and that curators actively shape what the public sees and understands.[118] Her Foucauldian history of the museum, from princely private collections to the wonder cabinet to nineteenth-century museums, illuminates how practices of classification and display function as technologies of power. Significant studies of cultural difference and display in ethnographical and anthropological museums have been well argued by scholars such as Annie E. Coombes and Amiria J. M. Henare.[119] These museological frameworks allow us to understand Haast, Hector and Hutton not simply as collectors, but as curators shaping New Zealand's museums as instruments of education, scientific authority and imperial engagement.

International Exhibitions and Museums

Relatively little scholarship has examined the relationship between international exhibitions and the emergence of museums. One of the earliest is historian of technology Eugene S. Ferguson's essay "Technical Museums and International Exhibitions," which argues that many major technical museums owe their existence to the exhibition culture of the nineteenth century.[120] He points to institutions such as the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Smithsonian Institution and the Deutsches Museum as direct outgrowths of nineteenth-century international exhibitions. Despite recognising this lineage, Ferguson criticises technical museums for reproducing "both in philosophy and practice," the international

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[116] Pearce, *On Collecting*; Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).
[117] Pearce, *On Collecting*, 139.
[118] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 2, 7.
[119] Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (Yale University Press, 1994); Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*.
[120] Eugene S. Ferguson, "Technical Museums and International Exhibitions," *Technology and Culture* 6, no. 1 (1965): 30.

exhibitions that "gave them birth," particularly their tendency toward the "superficial and spectacular."[121] Ferguson's critique of spectacle is particularly relevant to Haast, Hector and Hutton's curatorial practice, whose museums and exhibitions similarly navigated the tension between education and popular display.

While Ferguson highlights origins, later scholars have argued that the relationship between museums and exhibitions was more reciprocal. Rydell's 2006 seminal chapter "World Fairs and Museums" positions international exhibitions and museums as a symbiotic "hand-in-glove relationship," where exhibitions not only furnished museums with objects but also exported exhibitionary logic, such as spatial organisation, didactic labelling and classificatory taxonomies, into permanent institutional settings.[122] As exhibitions closed, many countries offered their collections to museums to save shipping costs on the return,[123] including, as evidenced in Chapter Three, Hector with the New Zealand contributions to the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition.

The Smithsonian Institution provides a striking example: surplus displays from international exhibitions were routinely shipped to Washington, strengthening curators' case for federal support.[124] As a result of its exhibition involvement, the Smithsonian expanded rapidly in staff, collections and infrastructure, constructing two major museum buildings modelled on exposition architecture.[125] For Rydell, such developments were neither neutral nor accidental; both exhibitions and museums were ideologically driven enterprises that relied on racialised evolutionary frameworks.[126] This symbiotic relationship provides a useful framework for understanding how curators such as Haast, Hector and Hutton used exhibitions strategically to acquire collections, legitimise their museums and secure state support.

Museologist and historian of cultural theory Tony Bennett pushes the argument further by situating both museums and exhibitions within his idea of the "exhibitionary complex,"[127]

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[121] Ibid., 46.
[122] Robert W. Rydell, "World Fairs and Museums," in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed., Sharon Macdonald (Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 135.
[123] Ibid., 136.
[124] Ibid., 138.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid., 142.
[127] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 68.

noting both played a pivotal role in the formation of the modern state.[128] Both forms of display, he argues, emerged from the same impulse to render knowledge visible and to transform the public into an object and agent of its own governance.[129] Bennett describes the interrelationship:

> "[T]he founding collections of many of today's major metropolitan museums were bequeathed by international exhibitions; techniques of crowd control developed in exhibitions influenced the design and layout of amusement parks; and nineteenth-century natural history museums throughout Europe and North America owed many of their specimens to the network of animal collection agencies."[130]

Whereas the international exhibition presented the progress of nations through spectacles of industry, empire and science, the museum translated these ephemeral displays into permanent institutions of order and pedagogy.

Such arguments stand in productive tension with nineteenth-century efforts to draw clear boundaries between museums and exhibitions. This tension is central to the present study, which examines how Haast, Hector and Hutton navigated – and often blurred – these boundaries in their own curatorial work. Goode advocated a clear conceptual distinction: exhibitions promoted industry and commerce, whereas museums advanced knowledge.[131] Yet he also acknowledged the value of "museum methods" within exhibitions as a means of providing instruction to audiences who might never otherwise enter a museum.[132] "Those Expositions which have been most successful from an educational standpoint," he argued, "have been the ones which have most fully availed themselves of Museum methods."[133] Goode himself prepared extensive exhibits showing mammal and fish resources for display in the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, which were ultimately transferred to the Smithsonian Institution,[134] thereby blurring the very boundaries he sought to define.

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[128] Ibid., 66.
[129] Ibid., 72–76.
[130] Ibid., 5.
[131] Brown, *The Principles of Museum Administration*, 4.
[132] Ibid., 5.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ferguson, "Technical Museums and International Exhibitions," 40.

Subsequent scholarship shows how exhibitions profoundly shaped museum formation across imperial and national contexts. MacKenzie argues that exhibitions operated as "visual encyclopaedias" of imperial knowledge and were "in effect museums of global explanation," reinforcing narratives of progress and civilisation while simultaneously shaping the foundation of local museums.[135] Hoffenberg similarly characterises public museums as "results and summaries" of the great exhibitions.[136] McCarthy's work further emphasises that many nineteenth-century colonial museums emerged as "by-products" of international exhibitions,[137] including the Colonial Museum in Wellington. Ethnologist Bjarne Stoklund notes that even the emergence of folk and open-air museums in late nineteenth-century Europe can be understood as the "permanent-making" of exhibitions, transforming displays of architecture, costume and domestic interiors into enduring institutions.[138] This scholarship highlights that the museum-building work of Haast, Hector, and Hutton was shaped within an exhibition culture so pervasive that their museums cannot be understood independently of it. Similarly, their curatorial work cannot be separated from the colonial science networks in which they operated – a point this chapter now addresses.

Collecting Nature and Colonial Science

In nineteenth-century New Zealand, as throughout the British Empire, scientific practice was inseparable from the project of colonisation. Early New Zealand museums were shaped by the disciplinary backgrounds of their founders – among them Haast, Hector and Hutton – whose geological training informed their early emphasis on minerals, fossils and classification. In this context, museums were not only sites of study but also instruments of colonisation, exemplifying what McCarthy describes as a "campaign to collect nature and put it under glass, and on the end of a pin."[139] Yet, as historian of science Francis Lucien Reid warns, colonial science was far from uniform, and applying modern standards retroactively can distort nineteenth-century practice.[140]

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[135] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 2.
[136] Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display,* 13.
[137] McCarthy, "Displaying Natural History," 49.
[138] Bjarne Stoklund, "The Role of the International Exhibitions in the Construction of National Cultures in the 19th Century," *Ethnologia Europaea* 22, no. 1 (1994): 42.
[139] Conal McCarthy, *Te Papa: Reinventing New Zealand's National Museum, 1998–2018* (Te Papa Press, 2018), 30.
[140] Francis Lucian Reid, *The Province of Science: James Hector and the New Zealand Institute, 1867–1903* (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2007), 1.

While museums in New Zealand were founded with educational and social aims, they quickly acquired a colonial dimension, serving as tools to assert control over land, resources and people.[141] Henare demonstrates that scientific ideas from imperial centres were adapted in colonies to legitimise authority,[142] a process reflected in the curatorial practices of Haast, Hector and Hutton, who used their collections to order and display New Zealand's natural and cultural taonga.

Colonial natural history drew on broader Victorian engagements with natural history, which combined moral instruction, recreation and the pursuit of useful knowledge.[143] The natural history discipline initially embraced zoology, botany and geology before the growth of professional specialisation and the emergence of biology.[144] Lynn Barber's distinction between field and closet naturalists clarifies the working practices of colonial scientists, where field naturalists "studied living organisms in their natural environments" and closet naturalists "studied and dissected dead organisms."[145] Haast, Hector and Hutton operated primarily as field naturalists in their early New Zealand careers, collecting plants, animals and bird specimens in situ, but in processing and cataloguing them they also engaged in closet naturalist practices, blurring the line between field observation and museum curation.

Colonial natural history was embedded in global networks of exchange. Star and Griesemer's concept of "boundary objects," objects flexible enough to serve different social worlds while retaining recognisable forms, helps explain how specimens moved between local collectors, trading agents, officials and museums, acquiring new meanings in each setting.[146] James A. Secord's concept of "knowledge in transit" further highlights how scientific objects and ideas acquire new meanings as they move across contexts.[147] New Zealand's botanical exchanges were particularly shaped by London's Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew Gardens, which became a key authority for the collection and classification of colonial plant life from 1841 and functioned, in Tim Barringer's terms, as a "three-dimensional archive" through which imperial authority materialised in the acquisition, ordering and display of plant

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[141] Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*, 143.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Lynn Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History 1820–1870* (Cape, 1980), 1.
[144] Ibid., 2.
[145] Ibid., 40.
[146] Star and Griesemer, "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects," 392–93.
[147] James A. Secord, "Knowledge in Transit," *Isis* 95, no. 4 (2004): 654–72.

collections.[148] Haast, Hector and Hutton, all regular correspondents of Joseph Dalton Hooker at Kew Gardens,[149] acted as intermediaries within these networks.

Recent scholarship emphasises the transnational rather than purely British character of these networks. For example, Kathleen Davidson highlights the contributions of German and Austrian naturalists, while demonstrating how photographic and image reproductions enabled institutions like Canterbury Museum to participate in the global knowledge exchange.[150] Science historian Susan Sheets-Pyenson similarly links the growth of museums in the colonial hinterland to the rise of colonial science, arguing that many museum directors saw themselves as transmitters of scientific culture in challenging environments.[151] The challenges of limited funding, isolation, and minimal staffing meant that specimen exchange and personal networks were crucial to building collections,[152] particularly evident in the museum experiences of Haast, Hector and Hutton. All three spent their careers advocating for the financial support their museums required.

In *Cathedrals of Science*, Sheets-Pyenson demonstrates that colonial museums formed part of a broader museum movement through which colonies sought both to emulate and to differentiate themselves from metropolitan models.[153] Examining museums in Montreal, Melbourne, Buenos Aires, La Plata and Christchurch, she argues that while British and American museums could readily adopt new methods, colonial museums struggled to reconcile scientific ambition with constrained funding and limited space. Exchange networks allowed curators to build representative collections, although distance and mistrust often complicated these arrangements.[154] Haast, for example, built Canterbury Museum's

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[148] McKay, *The Man and the Museum,* 25; Tim Barringer, "The South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project," in *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, eds., Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (Routledge, 1998), 11–27, 11.

[149] K. A. Simpson, "Hooker, Joseph Dalton," *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* accessed January 29, 2026, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h33/hooker-joseph-dalton. A British botanist, Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817–1911) was closely associated with the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, serving first as Assistant Director and later as Director from 1865 to 1885, succeeding his father, William Jackson Hooker (1785–1865). Under his leadership, Kew became a global centre of botanical science, coordinating plant collection, exchange and research, including extensive work on New Zealand flora.

[150] Kathleen Davidson, *Photography, Natural History and Nineteenth-Century Museum: Exchanging Views of Empire*, (Routledge, 2017), 201.

[151] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science,* 12.

[152] Ibid., 11.

[153] Ibid.

[154] Ibid., 95.

collections "chiefly by exchange."[155] As MacKenzie agrees, despite aspirations toward Ruskinian ideals of perfect order, the reality of colonial museums was often shaped by "the eternally messy experience of museums."[156]

Museums developed in tandem with the emergence of new scientific disciplines. Bennett's analysis of the "exhibitionary complex" underscores how new disciplines – geology, biology, archaeology, anthropology and art history – all used objects to construct evolutionary narratives.[157] In New Zealand, Hutton's *The Collections of the Canterbury Museum* (1895) reflects this classificatory impulse, identifying geology, biology and ethnology as the museum's scientific pillars, subdivided into physical geology, mineralogy, palaeontology, zoology, botany, anthropology, ethnography and archaeology.[158] MacKenzie notes that the significant shift from natural history to ethnography in colonial museums has been understudied, with earlier works such as Sheets-Pyenson's focussed on the former, while notable studies by Coombes and Henare are concerned with the latter.[159] MacKenzie argues it is important to bring the studies of both natural history and ethnography together,[160] an approach especially relevant here, as Haast and Hector's curatorial practice interwove the collecting of both natural history and ethnographical collections.

The historiography of imperial science offers competing models for interpreting colonial science. George Basalla's three-stage model positions colonial science as the second stage, where scientists in peripheral regions depend heavily on metropolitan training and institutional support.[161] Australian-based historian Roy MacLeod offers a five-phase taxonomy that further refines this, identifying the 1830s–80s as the era in which colonial science was dominated from the metropole yet increasingly localised in practice, all of which was marked by systematic fact-gathering, deference to Britain and the establishment of museums.[162] From the metropolitan perspective, colonial science was derivative work

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[155] Ibid., 80.
[156] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 265.
[157] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 96.
[158] Frederick Wollaston Hutton, *The Collections of the Canterbury Museum* (Canterbury Museum, 1895), 3.
[159] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 14; Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*; Coombes, *Reinventing Africa*; Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*.
[160] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 14.
[161] George Basalla, "The Spread of Western Science," *Science* 156, no. 3775 (1967): 613.
[162] Roy MacLeod, "On Visiting the 'Moving Metropolis': Reflections on the Architecture of Imperial Science," *Historical Records of Australian Science* 5, no. 3 (1982): 8–10.

undertaken by lesser minds, its role being the accumulation of data for theorisation elsewhere, whereas within the colonies, colonial science could mean simply science as practised locally.[163] These tensions shaped the scientific cultures of settler societies, with scholars such as MacLeod and MacKenzie challenging the centre-periphery model of imperial science to reveal a complex web of exchanges in which colonial museums were active sites of both local identity and global knowledge circulation.[164]

The First New Zealand Museums

Museums in New Zealand emerged alongside the first organised colonial settlements in the mid-nineteenth century. As MacKenzie observes, these settlements "seemed to spring into sudden life, instant communities requiring the immediate formation of the characteristics of rational, 'liberal' civilisation."[165] Museums were conceived not merely as repositories but as intellectual instruments essential to the colonial project. They were tools as necessary as agricultural, geological or military technologies for "taming" the perceived wilderness.[166] Within the decentralised political structure created by the 1852 Constitution Act, New Zealand's provincial governments exercised considerable autonomy until their abolition in 1876,[167] and several provincial museums were established during this period. Although constitutionally separate from the Australian colonies, New Zealand's cultural and economic ties, especially with New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania, were strong, and early museum activity reflected this wider Australasian exchange of scientific and intellectual practices.[168]

Broader surveys of New Zealand's museum history have been comparatively limited. Early overviews by Francis Arthur Bather in 1894, S. F. Markham and W. R. B. Oliver in 1933, and Keith Thomson in 1981 offer descriptive overviews of national museum development but

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[163] Ibid., 2.
[164] Ibid.; Roy MacLeod, "Reading the Discourse of Colonial Science," in *Les Sciences Coloniales Figures Et Institutions (Colonial Sciences: Researchers and Institution)*, vol. 2, ed., Patrick Petitjean (L'institut Français De Recherche Scientifique Pour Le Développement En Cooperation, 1996); MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*.
[165] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 184.
[166] Ibid., 184.
[167] Reid, *The Province of Science*, 8.
Initially, the 1852 Constitution Act divided the colony into six provinces: Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago. Each province had its own Superintendent and Provincial Council. Hawke's Bay was separated from Wellington in 1858, Marlborough from Nelson in 1859 and Westland from Canterbury in 1873, making a total of nine provinces. These nine Provincial Governments were abolished in 1876–77 and the provinces then divided into 63 counties.
[168] Ibid., 8.

pay less attention to ideological contexts.[169] Markham and Oliver nevertheless noted the significant influence of early curators – including Haast, Hector and Hutton – whose strong personalities and scientific ambitions shaped institutional trajectories for decades to come.[170]

Historiography of New Zealand's museums has shifted from celebratory institutional accounts toward critical analyses of curatorial agency, collection formation and colonial knowledge production. While early works documented institutional development, they foregrounded progress rather than critical analysis of the cultural, political and intellectual conditions shaping museum practice, for example, see R. K. Dell, Thomas Heyes or Sean Brosnahan.[171] More recent research by historians and museologists McCarthy, Paul Tapsell, Deidre Brown and Fiona Ruth Cameron has foregrounded the complex relationships between museums, Māori communities and taonga, revealing mutual negotiations that challenge earlier portrayals of Māori as passive subjects of museum authority. [172] McCarthy and Joanna Cobley argue New Zealand colonial museums should not be seen as provincial backwaters but as sites integrated into global intellectual networks.[173]

The scholarship of McCarthy and Henare represent the only sustained works that discuss New Zealand museum and exhibition practice in tandem. In his PhD dissertation *From Curio to Taonga,* McCarthy demonstrates how Māori actively engaged with both museums and international exhibitions, revealing a complex negotiation of taonga within imperial display systems.[174] These exchanges shaped both overseas exhibitions and local museums, revealing Māori as active partners rather than passive subjects and complicating narratives of

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[169] F. A. Bather, "Some Colonial Museums," in *Museums Association: Report of Proceedings with the Papers Read at the 5th Annual General Meeting, Held in Dublin, June 26–29, 1894*, eds., E. Howarth and H. M. Platnauer, 193–239 (Museums Association, 1895); S. F. Markham and W. R. B. Oliver, *A Report on the Museums and Art Galleries of New Zealand* (The Museums Association, 1933); Keith Westhead Thomson, *Art Galleries and Museums of New Zealand* (Reed, 1981).
[170] Markham and Oliver, *A Report on the Museums and Art Galleries of New Zealand*, 81.
[171] R. K. Dell, *Dominion Museum* (Dominion Museum, 1965); Thomas Heyes, *Diatoms to Database: A History of the North Otago Museum: Chronicles, 1863 to 1994* (North Otago Museum, 1995); Seán G. Brosnahan, *To Fame Undying: The Otago Settlers Association, 1898–2008* (Otago Settlers Association, 2008).
[172] Paul Tapsell, *Pukaki: A Comet Returns* (Reed, 2000); Deidre Brown, "Museums as Cultural Guardians," in *South Pacific Museums: Experiments in Culture*, eds. Chris Healy and Andrea Witcomb (Monash University ePress, 2006); Fiona Ruth Cameron, *Shaping Maori Identities and Histories: Collecting and Exhibiting Maori Material Culture at the Auckland and Canterbury Museums from the 1850s to the 1920s* (PhD diss., Massey University, 2000).
[173] McCarthy and Cobley, "Museums and Museum Studies in New Zealand," 398.
[174] McCarthy*, From Curio to Taonga.*

unilateral colonial authority.[175] McCarthy's research on the Colonial Museum is vital in this regard, and he notes how much of the Colonial Museum's time and resources were spent in organising or contributing to exhibitions, especially during Hector's era.[176]

Henare, in her seminal *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange,* notes that, like the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition stimulated public interest in museums and contributed directly to the establishment of at least four New Zealand museums.[177] Henare argues that both museums and international exhibitions played a significant role in the colonial process, by developing knowledge of the landscape and its resources which facilitated industrial exploitation, and by generating theories about Māori that were used to justify colonial authority.[178] While Henare's scholarship provides a broad overview of the establishment of New Zealand museums, this thesis builds on her work by examining the specific circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Canterbury, Colonial and Otago museums.

New Zealand museums were entwined with international exhibitions from the beginning. Merchant John Alexander Smith's coordination of Auckland's contributions to the 1851 Great Exhibition laid the foundations for the establishment of Auckland Museum in 1852 as well as for the museum's collections of economic botany.[179] Academic Andrew McKay's recent doctoral thesis and subsequent publication with Richard Wolfe, *The Collector,* offer the first sustained, scholarly account of Auckland Museum curator Thomas Cheeseman's curatorial career, exploring how Cheeseman transformed the museum by adopting emerging international museological practices and building extensive scientific and ethnographic exchange networks.[180] McKay highlights Cheeseman's engagement with international exhibitions, although the time commitment and expense for travel precluded him from attending many in person.[181] McKay's account is a valuable counterpoint to this study of

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[175] Ibid., 67.
[176] Ibid., 63.
[177] Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*, 168.
[178] Ibid., 178.
[179] Gore, *Representations of History,* 75; MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 188.
[180] McKay, *The Man and the Museum;* Andrew McKay and Richard Wolfe, *The Collector: Thomas Cheeseman and the Making of The Auckland Museum* (Massey University Press, 2025). Botanist and long-serving curator of the Auckland Museum (1874–1923), Thomas Cheeseman (1845–1923) is best known for his work on New Zealand flora. He contributed botanical collections to several international exhibitions, including the 1886 Indian and Colonial Exhibition.
[181] McKay, *The Man and the Museum,* 95.

contemporary curators, Haast, Hector and Hutton, all of whom corresponded with and traded with Cheeseman. While financial and time constraints limited travel opportunities for Haast, Hector, and Hutton – difficulties compounded by New Zealand's geographic isolation, which meant that journeys to Europe or North America could take many months by sea – Haast and Hector nevertheless later undertook paid international travel as exhibition commissioners, attending major exhibitions in London, Philadelphia, Sydney and Melbourne.

Early museum activity in Nelson predates Auckland. The first recorded New Zealand museum proposal emerged during the voyage of the New Zealand Company ship *Whitby* in May 1841, when settlers discussed the formation of the Nelson Literary and Scientific Institution.[182] A library and reading room followed in 1842, forming the nucleus of today's Nelson Provincial Museum.[183] By the 1860s, Nelson possessed a museum building, mechanics' institute, philosophical society and a growing natural history collection that included significant donations from Haast.[184] Despite such intellectual ambition, MacKenzie notes that Nelson, like many early New Zealand towns, remained a "wild and unkempt place," a reminder that these first institutions existed within fragile environments.[185]

By the late nineteenth century, museums had proliferated across New Zealand. Despite ongoing warfare in the districts, museums were established in both New Plymouth and Napier in 1865, soon after the New Zealand Exhibition.[186] Hector's Colonial Museum likewise opened in 1865, followed by Haast's Canterbury Museum in 1867 and the initial Otago Museum collection in 1868. By 1874, at least ten public museums had been established, with the earliest museums of Auckland and Nelson followed by museums in Hokitika, Invercargill and Marlborough.[187] Public art galleries emerged in the 1880s and 1890s, often linked also to the momentum of international exhibitions.[188] By 1934, the Museums Association recorded twenty-six museums and art galleries nationwide, an unusually high number relative to New Zealand's population.[189]

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[182] Gore, *Representations of History,* 74.
[183] Ibid.
[184] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 185.
[185] Ibid., 186.
[186] Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*, 168.
[187] Ibid., 176.
[188] Gore, *Representations of History,* 76.
[189] Ibid., 77.

Building on the broader historiography of international exhibitions, museums and the colonial New Zealand context, the following section considers the specific historiographical treatment of curators Haast, Hector and Hutton.

1.3 Curating Empire: Haast, Hector and Hutton in Scholarship

Haast and the Canterbury Museum

As S. H. Jenkinson observed in *New Zealanders and Science,* Julius von Haast was "foremost among the geomorphologists of New Zealand in the last century."[190] He was:

> … indisputably a great scientist … a good singer and violinist, a charming companion, one who made friends everywhere and who forced his friends to become interested in his schemes … for the advancement of science.[191]

Central to understanding Haast's legacy is his inward correspondence, preserved in the Alexander Turnbull Library's Haast Family Collection. Inscribed on the UNESCO Memory of the World New Zealand register in 2019, this archive spans Haast's life in New Zealand from 1858 until his death in 1887.[192] It contains several thousand letters in English, German, French and Italian, alongside manuscripts, certificates, official papers and printed material.[193] The archive is organised into 385 folders across twelve series: eight relating to Haast and four to his son Heinrich Ferdinand von Haast (1864–1953), who donated the papers.[194] Most of the material is catalogued under the accession number MS-Papers-0037, with some items later separated as MS-Papers-0171.

The Haast Family Collection has long attracted scholarly attention. Editions of selected correspondence – such as Ferdinand von Hochstetter's letters to Haast, translated and edited by Sascha Nolden – have illuminated Haast's scientific and personal networks.[195] Haast's letters with eminent figures including Charles Darwin, Hooker, Hector, and Eugene von Guérard have also been published.[196] More recently, Lady Mary von Haast's letters to

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[190] S. H. Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science* (Department of Internal Affairs, 1940), 47.
[191] Ibid., 47.
[192] Nolden, ed., "The Correspondence of Sir Julius von Haast," 166.
[193] Ibid., 167.
[194] Sascha Nolden, "Sir Julius von Haast: Exploring an Archival Documentary Heritage Collection in the Alexander Turnbull Library," *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 47, no. 1 (2017): 126.
[195] Nolden, ed., *The Letters of Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast*.
[196] Darwin Correspondence Project, accessed April 15, 2025, https://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/; Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker, 1861–1886*; Nolden et al., eds., *The*

her family, particularly those written during the Haasts' overseas travels in 1886, were transcribed and published in 2024, part of a broader effort to restore Mary's presence within the Haast narrative.[197] Yet, as Nolden observes, only several hundred of the thousands of extant Haast Family Collection letters have so far been explored.[198]

The most substantial account of Haast's life remains *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast*, the monumental 1,142-page biography by his son Heinrich.[199] Long regarded as hagiographic, the biography is better understood as both celebratory and defensive: Heinrich exalts his father's achievements while candidly acknowledging his temper and impulsiveness, which often led to professional conflict.[200] The book's main challenge lies less in bias than in its size and unwieldy structure. Nevertheless, its value endures: Heinrich had privileged access to his father's correspondence, and his subsequent deposit of the family papers in the Alexander Turnbull Library between 1948 and 1953 preserved them for future scholarship.[201]

Haast's early life remains problematic: few verifiable records survive for his first thirty-five years, and he himself propagated myths and embellishments.[202] Historian R. M. Burdon's essay, written before the Haast archive was accessible, reflects contemporary perceptions of Haast as both brilliant and "an unmitigated nuisance."[203] Palaeontologist Wolfhart Langer's investigative work in German archives corrected inaccuracies in Haast's self-narratives, such as the false claim that his father, Matthias Haast, was ever Mayor of Bonn.[204] Subsequent research, from Peter B. Maling to MacKenzie,[205] largely recycled earlier accounts. However,

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Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector, 1862–1887; Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector, 1862–1887*; Thomas A. Darragh and Ruth Pullin, eds., *Lieber Freund! Letters from Eugen von Guérard to Julius von Haast* (Art Gallery of Ballarat, 2018).

[197] Sascha Nolden and Karen Manton, eds., "The Letters of Mary von Haast to Her Family," *Geoscience Society of New Zealand: Journal of Historical Studies* 80 (March 2024).

[198] Nolden, ed., "The Correspondence of Sir Julius von Haast," 165.

[199] H. F. von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast: Explorer, Geologist, Museum Builder* (H. F. von Haast, 1948).

[200] Simon Nathan, "The Making of a Monumental Biography," *Canterbury Museum Bulletin* 11 (2022): 159.

[201] Nolden, ed., "The Correspondence of Sir Julius von Haast," 166.

[202] Sascha Nolden, "The Life and Legacy of Sir Julius von Haast: Exploring Archival Documentary Heritage Collections," *Records of the Canterbury Museum* 30 (2016): 68.

[203] R. M. Burdon, *New Zealand Notables: Series Three* (The Caxton Press, 1950), 173–74.

[204] W. Langer, "Der Bonner Neuseelandforscher Sir Johann Franz Julius von Haast (1822–1887)," *Bonner Geschichtsblätter* 39 (2010 [1992]): 52–70.

[205] Peter B. Maling and Simon Nathan, "Haast, Julius von," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published 1990, *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, accessed October 17, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/126931/print; MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire.*

more recent studies have deepened understanding of Haast's career and networks: Ruth Barton examined Haast's strategic trade in moa bones to build Canterbury Museum; C. J. Burrows analysed his surveying work; Mark Edward Caudel highlighted the influence of freemasonry; Elaine Marguerite Cooper investigated Haast's engagement with Māori culture; Rosi Crane explored Haast's influence on Otago Museum; and Nolden produced a critical reassessment of Haast's life and scientific output.[206] While Caudel and Cooper's work relies heavily on secondary sources, Barton and Nolden's research – particularly with Nolden's fluency in German and his translations, transcriptions and detailed notations of Haast's letters – have significantly advanced scholarship. Nolden's Haast Correspondence Project is ongoing, with planned translations of Haast's French and German letters underway.[207]

The challenge of engaging with Haast's German-language sources remains a key limitation for many Anglophone researchers.[208] Austrian researcher Marianne Klemun[209] has further broadened the international scope of Haast studies, exploring Haast and Hochstetter's involvement in the 1873 Vienna World Exhibition through newly uncovered German and Austrian archival material. Along with Nolden and Simon Nathan's examination of Haast's letters,[210] namely those written to his children during 1886–1887 while Haast was overseas at the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, Klemun's study remains the only other work to date examining Haast's participation in an international exhibition. Relevant materials are found within the Haast Family Collection, "Official papers and correspondence" (MS-Papers-0037-001), which includes documents from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, viewed for this study on microfilm (MS-Copy-Micro-0717-01).

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[206] Ruth Barton, "Haast and the Moa: Reversing the Tyranny of Distance," *Pacific Science* 54, no. 3 (2000): 251–63; C. J. Burrows, *Julius Haast in the Southern Alps* (Canterbury University Press, 2005); Mark Edward Caudel, *Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation of His Life and Work* (Master's thesis, University of Canterbury, 2007); Elaine Marguerite Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori* (Master's thesis, Massey University, 2011); Rosi Crane, "Rivalry and Cooperation: Julius von Haast's Influence on the Otago Museum," *Canterbury Museum Bulletin* 11 (2022): 47–60; Nolden, "The Life and Legacy of Sir Julius von Haast"; Nolden, "Sir Julius von Haast"; Nolden, ed., "The Correspondence of Sir Julius von Haast."

[207] Dr Sascha Nolden to Rosalie Elliffe, email message, October 28, 2025.

[208] Nolden, "The Life and Legacy of Sir Julius von Haast," 68.

[209] Marianne Klemun, "Julius Haast, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, New Zealand and the 1873 World Exhibition in Vienna: Mobilising Nature by Knowledge, Objects, Labels and Inscriptions," *Canterbury Museum Bulletin* 11 (2022): 97–115.

[210] Sascha Nolden and Simon Nathan, "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," *Geoscience Society of New Zealand: Journal of Historical Studies* 87 (August 2025).

The history of Canterbury Museum has been preserved in detail because Haast documented it meticulously. In his 1881 address to the Philosophical Institute, Haast articulated his vision for the educational and intellectual role of museums:

> [W]hat great importance, principally in a newly-inhabited country, a public museum is; how many invisible influences it exercises in almost every direction; how thought, observation and research are incited by its existence; how, in a pleasant way, youth and age alike gain knowledge; and how, in one word, the intellectual and material welfare of the province have been promoted in many ways by its help.[211]

Hutton helped to further cement Canterbury Museum's history in his *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895).[212] Sheets-Pyenson's foundational text *Cathedrals of Science* is built on by Cameron, who compares the Auckland and Canterbury Museums' differing approaches to the collection and display of Māori taonga, while later studies such as MacKenzie have expanded this comparison of Canterbury Museum's development using an evolutionary framework of museum development from the early 1850s to the late 1920s.[213] Ongoing institutional research is published in the *Records of the Canterbury Museum,* an in-house scholarly journal established in 1907 which continues to document the Museum's collections, exhibitions and scientific investigations, with vital scholarship by Sally Burrage, Emeritus Curator.[214]

Hector and the Colonial Museum

Early attempts to reconstruct James Hector's life relied heavily on the archival "Hector Collection," held in the Hocken Collections, Dunedin. This collection (MS-0443-1) includes Hector's notebooks, correspondence, papers relating to the Palliser Expedition, personal papers and miscellaneous scientific papers, all donated by his son, Charles Hector.[215] Charles

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[211] Julius von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum: being the Annual Address," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 14 (1881), 504.
[212] Frederick Wollaston Hutton, *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (Canterbury Museum, 1895).
[213] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*; Cameron, *Shaping Maori Identities and Histories;* MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*.
[214] Sally Burrage, "Exchange of Native Bird Skins, Skeletons and Eggs by the Canterbury Museum from 1869–1913," *Records of the Canterbury Museum* 15, no. 1 (2001): 1–7; "Ngā whakaputanga. Publications," *Canterbury Museum,* accessed September 10, 2025, https://www.canterburymuseum.com/research-education/publications
[215] Simon Nathan. "James Hector and the Geological Map of Otago" (2011), Hocken Collections, Dunedin, accessed April 5, 2025, https://www.otago.ac.nz/library/treasures/hector/further_sources.html.

had planned to write a biography of his father and collected all the surviving family papers in the 1920s. Unfortunately, he died before this was completed, and in 1934 his widow donated the assembled material to the Hocken.[216]

R. I. M. Burnett's 1936 thesis represents the first systematic attempt to trace Hector's career using this material.[217] Burnett noted the disordered state of the collection and the difficulties caused by Hector's notoriously illegible handwriting, observing: "Even in the best of times, Hector was a bad writer."[218] Burnett's efforts to inventory and index the papers made the collection more accessible to subsequent researchers, although Burnett himself acknowledged the fragmentary nature of the surviving sources.[219] Unfortunately, Burnett's index (MS-0442) was later disturbed, and the order established was completely destroyed.[220] Using Hector's geological notebooks and surviving correspondence with fellow scientists, Burnett reconstructed Hector's Canadian explorations, early geological work in Otago, and later administrative roles, although his focus remained institutional rather than personal, and he did not mention Hector's international exhibition work.

Complementary studies, such as those by J. L. Ewing and A. G. Hocken, further illuminated Hector's formative years and professional activities in Otago.[221] Later scholarship expanded this foundation. Reid's detailed 2007 study of Hector and the New Zealand Institute was followed by Nathan and Mary Varnham's edited collection *The Amazing World of James Hector*, a comprehensive examination of Hector's life and work.[222] The collection addresses Hector's role in the Palliser expedition, his early years in Otago and the formative development of the Colonial Museum. It also explores his contributions to key scientific and cultural institutions, including the New Zealand Institute, the Colonial Botanic Garden, the Meteorological Department, the Colonial Observatory, and the University of New Zealand.

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[216] Ibid.
[217] R.I.M. Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector* (Master's thesis, University of Otago, 1936).
[218] Ibid., 4.
[219] Ibid.
[220] R.I.M. Burnett, *Papers relating to his MA history thesis "The Life and Work of Sir James Hector, with special reference to the Hector collection"* (1936 [c.1934–1936]), MS-0442, Hocken Collections, University of Otago, Dunedin.
[221] J.L. Ewing, *The Work in Otago of Sir James Hector, Provincial Geologist 1862–1865* (Master's thesis, University of Otago, 1929); A. G. Hocken, *The Early Life of James Hector, 1834 to 1865*, (PhD diss., University of Otago, 2008).
[222] Reid, *The Province of Science;* Simon Nathan and Mary Varnham, eds., *The Amazing World of James Hector*, 1st ed, Awa Science (Awa Press, 2008).

Alongside these professional endeavours, the essays provide insight into Hector's life as a husband and father, an area often neglected in earlier scholarship.

The Hector Correspondence Project, led by Nathan, Emeritus Scientist with GNS Science, was an offshoot of a research project that he undertook while preparing the first biography of Hector.[223] Nathan and his collaborators transcribed, annotated and published eight volumes of correspondence (over 800 letters) between Hector and his contemporaries, primarily from the Alexander Turnbull Library, Te Papa Tongarewa Archives, the Hocken Collections, and the archives of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew.[224] The volumes include letters between Hector and his wife Georgiana; correspondence from his years in Northland (1865–1866), letters written while overseas (1875–1876); forty years of exchanges between Hector and Hooker; 300 letters between Hector and Haast; selected correspondence with Hutton; and letters between Hector and his London agent James Farmer.[225] Nathan also produced a comprehensive bibliography of Hector's published works.[226]

Published to mark the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Geological Survey and the Colonial Museum, Nathan's 2015 biography, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader,*[227] provides a nuanced overview of Hector's life, from his Scottish upbringing to his central role in shaping New Zealand's scientific institutions. Nathan argues that Hector has been largely overlooked by historians, and the biography works to redress this neglect. The study examines Hector's leadership of the Geological Survey, his involvement with the New Zealand Institute, and his administration of the Colonial Museum, the Meteorological Department, and the Colonial Observatory, as well as his engagement with international exhibitions. Archivist Anna Petersen's recent chapter on Otago photographers William

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[223] Simon Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader* (Geoscience Society of New Zealand, 2015).
[224] Simon Nathan, "Collections of letters written by or about James Hector," November 28, 2013, *Environmental History Network,* https://www.environmentalhistory-au-nz.org/2013/11/collections-of-letters-written-by-or-about-james-hector/
[225] Nathan and Nathan, eds., *My Dearest Georgie*; Rowan Burns and Simon Nathan, eds., *James Hector in Northland, 1865–1866* (Geoscience Society of New Zealand, 2013); Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home*; Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker, 1861–1886*; Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector, 1862–1887*; Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton to James Hector and Julius Haast*; Mildenhall and Nathan, eds., *Letters from James Farmer to James Hector, 1876–1891*.
[226] Simon Nathan et al., *A Bibliography of Publications by or about James Hector (1834–1907)* (Geoscience Society of New Zealand, 2015).
[227] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader.*

Meluish and Joseph Perry also offers valuable insight into Hector's photographic work, including his involvement with the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition.[228]

The archives of Te Papa Tongarewa, the Museum of New Zealand, contain the records of the Colonial Museum, which Hector led from 1865 to 1903, as well as the records of the New Zealand Geological Survey, the Meteorological Department, the Botanic Gardens and the Patent Office, among many of Hector's responsibilities.[229] The letterbooks were imaged in 1998, and in 2009 the Archives team began creating catalogue records for each letter, with the first complete volume (1865–1870) now accessible online (MU000013/001/0001).[230] The Colonial Museum's formative decades have since been the subject of studies by Dell, Thomson, Smith, and, most extensively, McCarthy.[231]

Hutton and the Otago Museum

Very little has been written about the history of Tūhura Otago Museum. Broader histories of Australian and New Zealand museums have tended to overlook Otago's contribution.[232] The most comprehensive study remains A. D. McRobie's 1966 master's thesis,[233] an unpublished work which traces the administrative history of the museum from its foundation in 1868 through to 1966. Megan Rosemary Well's 2008 honours thesis offers a more focused examination of the museum's formative years – from its conception in the 1860s to the departure of Hutton in 1879 – situating Otago's development within international contexts of scientific organisation and museum collecting.[234] More recently, Crane, Honorary Curator

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[228] Anna Petersen, "The Give and Take of Photographs: Early Views of Dunedin and Otago," in *A Different Light: First Photographs of Aotearoa*, eds., Catherine Hammond and Shaun Higgins (Auckland University Press, 2024).
[229] "The Hector Letters," Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, accessed July 15, 2025, https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/3710. The letterbook accession numbers are MU000013/001/0001, MU000013/001/0002, MU00094, MU00095 and MU000147.
[230] "Outward letterbook," Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, accessed July 15, 2025, https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/238399.
[231] Huhana Smith, "The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa," in *South Pacific Museums: Experiments in Culture*, eds., Chris Healy and Andrea Witcomb (Monash University ePress, 2006); McCarthy, *From Curio to Taonga*; McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori*; McCarthy, "Displaying Natural History"; McCarthy and Cobley, "Museums and Museum Studies in New Zealand"; McCarthy, "Carving out a Place"; McCarthy, *Te Papa*; McCarthy, *From Histories of Museums to Museum History*.
[232] Rosi Crane, "What Were They Thinking? Tracing Evolution in the Otago Museum, 1868–1936," *Museum History Journal* 13, no. 1 (2020): 63.
[233] A. D. McRobie, *An Administrative History of the Otago Museum* (Master's thesis, University of Otago, 1966).
[234] Megan Rosemary Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879: Origins and Early Development* (Honours thesis, University of Otago, 2008).

at Otago Museum, has published a series of papers on the museum's first three curators, with particular attention to Thomas Jeffery Parker (curator 1880–1897).[235]

Surviving early records for the Otago Museum are limited. Changes in administrative structure over time resulted in inconsistently kept, and in some cases missing, documentation.[236] The museum's own archives largely begin in 1912, when H. D. Skinner became curator.[237] Accordingly, the history of Hutton's curatorial work at Otago Museum and his potential involvement with international exhibitions is explored through alternative sources: minute books of the University of Otago held in the Hocken Collections; international exhibition catalogues and minute books also held at the Hocken Collections; Hutton's correspondence (variously held in the Hocken Collections, the Alexander Turnbull Library and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa archives); the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*; and newspaper coverage, particularly the *Otago Witness* and *Otago Daily Times.* Of particular importance is Esme Mildenhall, Rowan Burns and Nathan's *Geoscience New Zealand* publication[238] for their transcriptions of selected Hutton letters to Haast and Hector.

Although there have been a select number of articles published on aspects of Hutton's life and work, such as Jenkinson, C. A. Fleming, John Stenhouse, H. N. Parton and Elliot W. Dawson,[239] a full biography has never been published and is well overdue. There has never been published research into Hutton's involvement with international exhibitions.

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[235] Rosi Crane, "Show and Tell: TJ Parker and Late Nineteenth-Century Science in Dunedin," *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 47, no. 1 (2017): 61–66; Crane, "What Were They Thinking?"; Rosi Crane, "Natural History Trading with Tūhura Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand, c.1860s–1890s," *New Zealand Journal of History* 59, no. 1 (2025): 79–97; Crane, "Rivalry and Cooperation: Julius von Haast's Influence on the Otago Museum."

[236] Rosi Crane to Rosalie Elliffe, email message, March 10, 2025.
For instance, formal Otago Museum collection registers began only in 1893. Prior to this, a logbook was kept which sometimes listed clearly identifiable acquisitions but more often the entries contained sparse information with no provenance details. Annual reports were written in early years, but regular publication began only in 1904. For further details on governance changes at the University of Otago, see Appendix G.

[237] Gareth West to Rosalie Elliffe, email message, March 10, 2025.

[238] Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton.*

[239] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*; C. A. Fleming, "Buller, Hutton, Haast and Hector: A Storm in a Victorian Teacup," *NOTORNIS* 30 (1983): 7–14; John Stenhouse*, The 'Battle' Between Science and Religion Over Evolution in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand* (PhD diss., Massey University, 1985), 48; H. N. Parton, "Hutton, Frederick Wollaston," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography,* first published in 1993. *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* accessed June 30, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2h59/hutton-frederick-wollaston; Elliot W. Dawson, *F.W. Hutton (1846–1905), Pioneer New Zealand Naturalist: A Bibliography and Taxonomic Analysis*, Occasional Papers of the Hutton Foundation, no. 5 (Hutton Foundation at the Wallypug

The uneven historiography of Haast, Hector and Hutton reflects not their relative historical importance, but the survival of archives, institutional continuity and later scholarly interest.

Summary

In conclusion, the historiographical strands discussed in this literature review reveal a significant gap in existing scholarship. While international exhibitions, museum development and colonial science networks have each been examined, the work of curators who operated across all three domains in New Zealand – such as Haast, Hector and Hutton – has not been fully integrated into broader histories of nineteenth-century knowledge production. This omission can be partly explained by the predominantly Eurocentric focus of international exhibition historiography, which has limited sustained attention to New Zealand's participation in these global networks. No study has yet examined in detail the involvement of New Zealand museum curators in international exhibitions, nor the ways in which this engagement shaped collecting strategies and institutional practices. By analysing Haast, Hector and Hutton's collecting activities, exhibition involvement and curatorial work, the case study chapters that follow help to address this gap and demonstrate how New Zealand curators utilised international exhibitions to establish and develop three of the country's earliest museums.

Press, 1994). Dawson's working papers are held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, including his correspondence with Professor Marshall Laird, biologist and entomologist who had an interest in Hutton and hoped of "tackling a Hutton biography one day." See Marshall Laird to Elliot Dawson, June 2, 1994, MS-Papers-10770-012, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Figure 2: Johann Franz Julius von Haast. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, 1/4-002124-G.

Chapter Two: Sir Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum and International Exhibitions

A geologist, museum founder and tireless advocate for scientific advancement, Julius von Haast (1822–1887) devoted his career to the creation and promotion of Canterbury Museum. Having surveyed the relevant literature in the previous chapter, this case study investigates a less-explored dimension of Haast's career: his involvement with international exhibitions, and how this work impacted his museum-building activities.

Born Johann Franz Haast in Bonn, Germany, in 1822, he emigrated to New Zealand in 1858 under commission from the London shipping firm Willis, Gann and Co., which tasked him with assessing prospects for German emigration.[240] Largely self-taught, he had travelled widely in Europe and worked in a range of commercial, publishing and immigration-related roles before arriving in the colony.[241] Further details of Haast's early life are provided in Appendix D. His scientific career began soon after his arrival, when he formed a close partnership with the Austrian geologist Hochstetter during their 1859 geological survey of Auckland and Nelson.[242] This collaboration provided Haast with field experience, international credibility and entry into European scientific networks.[243] These networks would later prove central to Haast's engagement with both international exhibitions and his museum-building work.

2.1 Haast's Canterbury Museum

The Nucleus of Canterbury Museum

On 15 February 1861, Haast began work as Canterbury's Provincial Geologist,[244] a position in which he systematically analysed and classified the local environment. This classification work enabled colonists such as Haast to understand the contents of a new environment,

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[240] Nolden, "The Life and Legacy of Sir Julius von Haast," 74.
[241] Caudel, *Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation,* 13.
[242] Simon Nathan, "A Short Biography of Sir Julius von Haast," *Canterbury Museum Bulletin* 11 (2022), 11. Ferdinand von Hochstetter (1829–1884) was an Austrian geologist and naturalist who came to New Zealand as part of the Novara Expedition (1857–1859). He left the expedition to undertake geological surveys in Auckland and Nelson, inviting Haast to join him, and they developed a close professional and personal friendship. Once he returned to Austria in late 1859, he published multiple texts based on his New Zealand research. He maintained a regular correspondence with Haast and supported the growth of Canterbury Museum through exchanges and donations.
[243] Burrows, *Julius Haast in the Southern Alps*, 21.
[244] Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 29.

identify it and ultimately exploit it.[245] Canterbury Museum grew out of this process of documenting the natural environment with a view to commercial and scientific advantage.[246]

Haast's intentions for his geological specimens were clear. Writing to Superintendent William Sefton Moorhouse shortly after attaining the position of Provincial Geologist, he stressed that "all my collections … will form the nucleus of the future provincial museum."[247] He used his surveying missions to collect museum specimens, such as during one trip to the Southern Alps where he ventured deliberately to "procure specimens of natural history for the Museum."[248] Within a year, he had amassed seven cases of geological specimens and a large herbarium.[249] As noted by historian Sheets-Pyenson, Canterbury Museum's foundation so early in the history of Canterbury province was solely due to "the dynamic leadership and untiring energy of Haast."[250]

The township of Christchurch, "a low, flat, rather swampy plain at the base of the volcanic Port Hill," was often derided in the 1860s as a "city of abominations" plagued by poor drainage, disease and drunkenness.[251] Yet by the late 1860s and early 1870s, under the superintendency of William Rolleston and with the arrival of new middle-class immigrants, the town of around 10,000 residents was being reshaped into a clean, ordered city.[252] Alongside improvements came institutions designed to embody refinement and learning: Christ's College (1850), the Christchurch Club (1856), the Christchurch Mechanics' Institute (1859), the Philosophical Society (later Institute, 1862) and eventually Canterbury College (1873).[253] Canterbury Museum fitted neatly into this trajectory.

Haast co-founded the Philosophical Society of Canterbury in 1862 as a scientific association that could serve as both an intellectual hub and a propagandist body, promoting local

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[245] Cameron, *Shaping Maori Identities and Histories*, 77.
[246] Ibid., 10.
[247] Haast to the Superintendent, Christchurch, June 18, 1861, in Caudel, *Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation,* 62.
[248] "Latest Telegrams," *Press,* April 1, 1869, 2.
[249] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 504.
[250] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science,* 49.
[251] Ibid., 48.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Ibid.

natural history while laying the groundwork for a museum.[254] The society became the scientific and literary centre of Christchurch.[255] It aimed to promote not only intellectual discussion but also the formation of a public library, a museum and an observatory.[256] Haast served as inaugural president, a role which he would occupy repeatedly, and in his first public address he proposed the erection of a Christchurch museum of economic geology and natural history.[257] Darwin himself read a copy of the 1862 speech sent by Haast, and replied, "I have seldom in my life read anything more spirited & interesting than your address … it is really admirable to see a Scientific Institution founded in so young a nation."[258] Although Haast would later "have the greatest trouble to keep our Phil Institute alive,"[259] its 1868 affiliation with Hector's New Zealand Institute became an important lifeline.

Haast framed his campaign for a museum as a civic cause, finding common allies in the Christchurch Club, the Freemasons and the general public.[260] The idea for a Christchurch museum was not Haast's alone: Edward Jollie's original 1850 town plan included a site for a museum, and in 1859 the Colonists' Society passed a resolution for a natural history museum's establishment.[261] Support in the Canterbury Provincial Council was already strong enough that in 1862 Haast persuaded councillors to invest £100 in a mineralogical collection from Heidelberg comprising 2,613 specimens for the initial museum.[262] At the same time, Haast was "greatly rejoiced" at receiving fossils and minerals from Hochstetter and a cast of a moa skeleton from Nelson, set up by a palaeontologist in Vienna.[263]

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[254] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 212; Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science,* 48.
[255] Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 31.
[256] "Town and Country News," *Lyttelton Times*, July 26, 1862, 4.
[257] "Town and Country News," *Lyttelton Times*, October 4, 1862, 4; McCarthy, *From Histories of Museums to Museum History*, 98; Stenhouse, *The 'Battle' Between Science and Religion,* 47.
[258] Charles Darwin to Julius von Haast, January 22, 1863, DCP-LETT-3935, Darwin Correspondence Project, University of Cambridge, https://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/
[259] Julius von Haast to James Hector, September 1, 1868, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector, 1862–1887*, 149.
[260] Caudel, *Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation,* 63.
[261] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 214; Caudel, *Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation,* 60; Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 49.
[262] Burdon, *New Zealand Notables,* 172; von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 504.
[263] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 505**;** Burdon, *New Zealand Notables*, 172; "The Museum," *Press,* October 1, 1870, 2; MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 217. The moa cast belonged to Haast's first found moa skeleton from a cave in the Aorere Valley in Nelson. It was placed with the Nelson Museum, who then presented it to the Imperial Geological Museum in Vienna. The Imperial Museum then made money from preparing plaster casts of the moa to sell. MacKenzie notes that this was, no doubt, a lesson to Haast.

From the outset, Haast struggled for space in which to store his collections. In 1863 he proposed a Canterbury museum divided into two broad sections: natural history (living species, fossils, geological and mineralogical specimens) and art and culture (paintings, curiosities, books, manuscripts).[264] The Provincial Council rejected this proposal, granting him instead two office rooms in the provincial government buildings but no storage space.[265] Haast's collections quickly overflowed these rooms while he lobbied persistently for a permanent museum building.[266] Although he was initially allowed to convert the rooms into a temporary display of his collections, the Council soon reclaimed the display space, leaving Haast bitterly disappointed.[267] Haast's constant demands for more room irritated some councillors, and he was later described as an "unmitigated nuisance."[268]

Haast and his assistant Robert Langley Holmes devoted all their spare hours to arranging and classifying the collections.[269] Haast's *Wunderkammer* included thousands of rocks, minerals, ores, fossils, plant specimens, birds and moa bones.[270] By 1864, Haast reported to the Provincial Council that 5,860 specimens had been catalogued.[271] One visitor to Haast's cramped offices described "a heap of shells and books" amid which Haast and Holmes worked, the pair politely but firmly refusing entry to those expecting a public museum.[272] A sign on the door read: "No admittance except on business."[273]

On 24 September 1864, the *Christchurch Press* argued that Haast's efforts were wasted without a proper museum building, since collecting and arranging specimens was a task for generations.[274] The paper expressed: "A museum is a department of indispensable necessity in every country – ten times more necessary in a new country than in any other,"[275]

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[264] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast*, 333.
[265] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 505.
[266] Barton, "Haast and the Moa," 256.
[267] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 505.
[268] Burdon, *New Zealand Notables,* 173.
[269] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 505. Robert Langley Holmes (1833–1919) spent eleven years in New Zealand between 1859–1870 before settling in Fiji. At the end of 1863, Haast appointed Holmes custodian of Canterbury Museum as well as his personal assistant. In 1868, Holmes moved to Wellington to work at the Colonial Museum under Hector as secretary to the New Zealand Institute.
[270] "Report of the Geological Survey of the Province of Canterbury," *Lyttelton Times*, October 4, 1864, 2.
[271] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 507.
[272] *Lyttelton Times,* May 26, 1867, in Margaret Cullen, "Julius von Haast, Founder of the Canterbury Museum," *Canterbury Museum Information Series* 2 (1982): 3.
[273] Ibid.
[274] "The Provincial Geologist," *Press,* September 24, 1864, 2.
[275] Ibid.

emphasising the colonial public's enthusiasm for education. In response, and after serious lobbying by Haast, the Provincial Council invited architectural designs for a stone museum building on 28 October 1864.[276] However, progress stalled over disputes about the building's cost, style and location.[277] Haast hoped that Hector's "cheap wooden building," the newly built Colonial Museum, would do "some good in this respect."[278] It would take four more years of persistence for Haast to reach his goal for building approval, waging battles on three fronts: public opinion, science and politics. [279]

The Moa Trade

In 1866, workers draining a swamp at Glenmark Station uncovered one of the richest deposits of moa bones ever found. The estate's owner, George Henry Moore, invited Haast to view the site, provided men to help with excavation, and later donated most of the bones to the museum.[280] Haast returned to Christchurch with four wagonloads; in Haast's opinion, the site contained the remains of at least 1,000 moa.[281] The *Lyttelton Times* remarked that these "much esteemed natural curiosities" would allow Haast to secure valuable international exchanges,[282] a point of which Haast was well aware. In Haast's words, "a new era for the Museum began," proudly declaring his moa collection "unrivalled by any other museum."[283] A second discovery two years later permitted further exchanges with foreign museums, allowing moa bones to be displayed abroad beyond England. Until then, nearly all moa bones had been sent to London and Oxford, leaving European and American institutions with none.[284] Haast seized the opportunity to gain valuable collections for his museum.

Through networks facilitated initially by Hochstetter, Haast exchanged moa bones with museums in Vienna, Darmstadt, Munich, Stockholm, Calcutta, Cambridge (United States)

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[276] Julius von Haast to the Superintendent of Canterbury, October 15, 1864, R22195261, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch; Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 36.
[277] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 49.
[278] Julius von Haast to James Hector, November 14, 1865, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector, 1862–1887*, 92.
[279] Caudel, *Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation,* 65.
[280] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast*, 482.
[281] Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 42; Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 81.
[282] *Lyttelton Times*, January 16, 1867, 4.
[283] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History," 505, 509.
[284] Hutton, *The Collections of the Canterbury Museum*, 1.

and London.[285] William Henry Flower, at the time curator of the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, acted as Haast's London agent, parlaying Haast's moa bones and archaeological remains into British museum collections.[286] In general, however, Haast depended mainly upon barter to build up his museum collection, and he could soon count nearly thirty institutions in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia and North and South America among his collaborators.[287] Yet Haast's role as merchant reveals the precariousness of this exchange economy: he usually could only acquire when he had something to sell, and prices (and demand) fluctuated wildly.[288]

Haast traded moa bones aggressively, swapping them for impressive and large exhibits in exchange; others were sold, sometimes for £20–50 to fund acquisitions.[289] Haast even insisted the influential Owen pay commercial rates or provide specimens of rare value in exchange for his moa skeletons.[290] Research on moa had long been dominated by Owen, but as new material became available, Haast began publishing his own species identifications. By 1874, Owen acknowledged Haast's leading role in the field, praising him as his successor deserving full recognition.[291] This network of moa exchanges challenged the assumption that colonial institutions were merely peripheral, with Haast instead positioning New Zealand as a "centre of calculation" for moa research.[292]

By mid-1867, the taxidermist Frederick Fuller had articulated seven complete moa skeletons for Canterbury Museum; by 1873, sixteen.[293] As Barton outlines, moa bones quickly became central to the museum's growth: scientifically, they established authority; diplomatically

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[285] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 514.
[286] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 82.
[287] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 605; Julius von Haast to Edward Jollie (Secretary of Public Works), October 6, 1870, R25958002, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch.
[288] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 81–83.
[289] Barton, "Haast and the Moa," 252.
[290] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 81. British biologist, comparative anatomist and palaeontologist, Richard Owen (1804–1892) served as Superintendent of the Natural History Department at the British Museum and later helped to establish the Natural History Museum, London. Owen played a pivotal role in the scientific study of moa fossils and was the first to recognise the moa as a giant, extinct bird from a single bone fragment given to him in 1839. Owen regularly exchanged specimens with colonial scientists, including Haast, Hector and Hutton.
[291] Maling and Nathan, "Haast, Julius von."
[292] Barton, "Haast and the Moa," 252.
[293] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 504; Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 482; Barton, "Haast and the Moa," 252. Frederick Richardson Fuller (1830–1876) had been employed by Haast since August 1865 and would continue to work for Haast until July 1876.

(when gifted to influential patrons) they carried symbolic and political weight; and commercially, they served as valuable trade currency.[294] As a prior salesman and trader of mineralogical specimens, Haast understood business techniques and took full advantage of their commercial value to build his museum collection.[295]

Figure 3: Photograph of Moa Skeletons, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, PAColl-9484.

The Growth of the Museum

By the end of 1866, the Canterbury collections had grown so extensive that, in Haast's words, "it was utterly impossible to find space for them in the rooms occupied by me as offices."[296] In 1867, with Haast's geological survey running significantly behind schedule, a vote for a stone museum building, budgeted at £2,500, was on the agenda paper of the Provincial Council.[297] At first it appeared the pro-museum party were going to have their

[294] Barton, "Haast and the Moa," 252.
[295] Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 43; Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 81.
[296] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 509.
[297] Caudel, *Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation,* 65; Burdon, *New Zealand Notables,* 175. The Provincial Council originally estimated two years to complete the survey but by 1864 Haast told them it could not be completed before 1867.

way, and Haast was jubilant.[298] In the meantime, Haast was given a small cottage on Kilmore Street for use as an office and storeroom and he also secured the "coffee-room" above Bellamy's, part of the Provincial Council Buildings, for museum purposes.[299]

Haast's temporary Canterbury Museum first opened 3 December 1867 in the Provincial Council building, although its two rooms were at opposite ends of the building – a flaw that caused many visitors to miss seeing half the collection.[300] Despite this, the interim museum proved popular with both press and public; the *Lyttelton Times* praising the mineral, fossil and shell collections as "especially worthy of note," crediting the "patience and skill of Dr Haast and his assistant."[301] By November 1868, the paper noted that the "fame" of Canterbury Museum had spread far and wide: "It is known, by reputation, to most scientific men of note in the Southern Hemisphere."[302] Hector, on a visit from Wellington, praised the museum as "a perfect model of good arrangement."[303]

Haast's role as Provincial Geologist ended in June 1868 with the closure of the Canterbury Geological Survey. He handed over maps, diagrams and 7,886 specimens to the Provincial Government.[304] He considered leaving New Zealand, but at his request Hector employed him on contract to undertake fieldwork in different parts of the South Island, especially reporting on coalfields in Canterbury.[305] Anxious for his collection's safekeeping, he offered his services as unpaid honorary director of the museum until the next meeting of the Provincial Council, a proposal that was accepted.[306] With Rolleston's election as

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[298] Julius von Haast to James Hector, January 15, 1867, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector,* 111. Haast wrote to Hector: "a great fight in our Prov. Council about Geol Survey … it has ultimately been arranged that I have to finish in 18 months & arrange the collections to which I agreed. In the mean time a stone building (£2,500) will be erected for a Museum. The Government wanted £1,000 only for a wooden Building but the Council declared the collections were too valuable."
[299] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 509.
[300] Hutton, *The Collections of the Canterbury Museum*, 1; Burdon, *New Zealand Notables,* 176.
[301] Caudel, *Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation,* 67–70; *Lyttelton Times*, December 13, 1867, 2.
[302] *Lyttelton Times,* November 16, 1868, 2.
[303] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, June 3, 1868, in Rowan Burns and Simon Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker: Transcriptions of Letters from James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker between 1860 and 1898* (Geoscience Society of New Zealand, 2012), 104.
[304] Burdon, *New Zealand Notables,* 165; von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 510. As carefully noted by Haast, 4,312 of these specimens were collected by him during the progress of the survey.
[305] Julius von Haast to Sir Roderick Murchison, July 9, 1869, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker,* 143–144. Haast wrote: "… although I should deeply regret leaving Canterbury & New Zealand, where I have spent so many years of my life, still I have made up my mind to do so in case I could obtain another appointment where I should have a larger sphere for my labours."
[306] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 512.

Superintendent later that year, Haast's museum finally gained official backing.[307] For eight years, Haast's collections had grown while the public regarded them with "that impatient toleration which science extorts," the *Lyttelton Times* noted, "would [it] not be wise to make such provision for the Canterbury museum as will render it really available for the education of the present and all future generations[?]."[308]

On 18 December 1868, after a period of worrying uncertainty, the Provincial Council approved £1,200 for a permanent stone building.[309] Holmes congratulated Haast: "I certainly was very much surprised to hear that the Council gave in with such a good grace," adding the following month, "I have not the least doubt that the whole affair will be a great success."[310] Haast went on to raise a further £483 through public subscriptions to fund the build.[311] He still worried that, despite his fundraising work and the promise of a permanent home, "there will be no means to maintain" the museum "in a proper & efficient manner."[312]

In February 1869, Haast was formally appointed founding Director of the Canterbury Museum.[313] His campaigning did not waver, however, as his anxiety drove a desire for permanence: the same month he wrote to the Secretary of Public Works requesting additional funds for acquisitions as well as an improved salary, the initial of which he "only accepted because I wished the collections made by me purposely be used and preserved."[314] The following month he sent an exhaustive memorandum arguing for an endowment for the future of the museum and the salary of its staff, as well as for the benefit of long-term

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[307] Caudel, *Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation,* 67–70.
[308] *Lyttelton Times,* November 16, 1868, 2.
[309] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 595; Julius von Haast to James Hector, May 24, 1869, and June 12, 1869, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector,* 167, 170. In mid–1869, unsettled by the lack of promises for the museum collection's upkeep, Haast proposed to Hector that Canterbury Museum be absorbed into Wellington's Colonial Museum. He also pleaded with Hector for a permanent place within the Geological Survey or Colonial Museum, stating, "I am now more than ever unsettled."
[310] Robert Langley Holmes to Julius von Haast, January 26, 1869, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Dr Haast,* 41; Ibid., February 8, 1869*,* 44.
[311] "To The Subscribers of the Canterbury Museum Fund," *Press*, September 27, 1870, 3.
[312] Julius von Haast to Sir Roderick Murchison, July 8, 1869, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker,* 143–144.
[313] Barton, "Haast and the Moa," 256.
[314] Julius von Haast to Secretary of Public Works, February 28, 1869, R8418221, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch. In a small footnote on the reverse of the paper, the receiver has written: "I don't think Dr Haast is entitled to write a letter of this kind."

international exchanges.[315] "[T]he Canterbury Museum," he stated, "has higher aims than to be considered only a collection of curiosities."[316] Despite Haast's enthusiasm and determination, the absence of long-term planning and stable resources from the beginning meant Haast was constantly fighting an uphill battle, and the museum was ultimately shaped by ad hoc arrangements.[317]

Benjamin Mountfort's neo-Gothic design was selected, and construction began in April 1869 using stone quarried from the Port Hills.[318] By August, Haast and Fuller were "busily engaged in arranging the various collections in the new building," Haast describing to Hector that he had been working "in the Museum from early till late & am generally at night so very tired from the continual running up & down & carrying things, that I am in the evening not fit for work."[319] Haast also supervised the construction of the building.[320] By September the building was nearly complete.[321] To inaugurate it, Haast organised a temporary exhibition, which included an art show held from February to April 1870.[322]

On 1 October 1870, Superintendent Rolleston formally opened the Canterbury Museum at its new site in the Christchurch Botanic Gardens on the meandering river Avon.[323] Visitors marvelled at the central group of towering moa skeletons, described by one reviewer as the "Niagara" of the bird world.[324] Taonga hung from the surrounding gallery, where pictures, maps, and geological and mineralogical specimens were exhibited.[325] A small lean-to housed an office and workroom. On 24 November 1870, the Canterbury Museum and Library Ordinance passed, establishing a Board of Trustees to manage the affairs and property of the museum and ensuring long-term institutional support through land revenue.[326]

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[315] Julius von Haast to Secretary of Public Works, "Memorandum concerning the Canterbury Museum," March 3, 1869, R8418219, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch, 1.
[316] Ibid., 2.
[317] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 49.
[318] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 597; Thomson, *Art Galleries and Museums of New Zealand*, 76.
[319] *Lyttelton Times,* August 9, 1870, 2; Julius von Haast to James Hector, June 7, 1870, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector,* 215.
[320] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 49.
[321] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 597.
[322] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 514.
[323] Burdon, *New Zealand Notables,* 177.
[324] "The Museum," *Press,* October 1, 1870, 2; Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 81.
[325] Ibid., 49.
[326] Von Haast*, The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 611.

Haast's Exchange Empire

Haast intensified his efforts to transform Canterbury Museum into a scientifically rigorous institution through exchanging duplicates with institutions all over the world.[327] In his own fieldwork, he moved from purely geological resource identification towards a more comprehensive representation of the natural history of the area, including zoological and botanical specimens.[328] Driven by the conviction that Canterbury would rise more quickly in status if provision were made for "the highest instruction," he sought to build a museum of encyclopaedic scope.[329]

Haast envisioned Canterbury Museum as the nucleus of a broader educational complex, including a library and school of technical science.[330] In 1870, Haast offered to deliver regular lectures in scientific subjects in conjunction with the museum and the Philosophical Institute.[331] In 1873 the museum was formally affiliated with Canterbury College (later to become the University of Canterbury), and Haast became lecturer, then Professor of Geology in 1876.[332] He lectured a small group of students in geology, palaeontology and chemistry, four hours a week.[333] Canterbury College, New Zealand's second-oldest university after the University of Otago, was a constituent college of the University of New Zealand until 1961.[334]

While continuing to develop local natural history collections, Haast placed particular emphasis on acquiring representative mammals and birds. He sought a "complete" series of specimens "from all other natural Kingdoms … type collections from all parts of the world for

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[327] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 50.
[328] Cameron, *Shaping Maori Identities and Histories*, 80.
[329] Ibid.
[330] Cullen, "Julius von Haast, Founder of the Canterbury Museum," 5.
[331] Julius von Haast to Edward Jollie, October 6, 1870, R25958002, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch, 7.
[332] Cullen, "Julius von Haast, Founder of the Canterbury Museum," 5.
[333] "Royal Commission on the University of New Zealand," *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR),* 1879, Session I, H–01, 212.
[334] Kerryn Pollock, "Tertiary education," *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, May 29, 2012, accessed January 14, 2026, https://teara.govt.nz/en/tertiary-education/page-1. The University of Otago – New Zealand's first university – was founded by the Otago Provincial Council in 1869 and opened for teaching in 1871. Following lobbying by prominent Canterbury men, who favoured a single colonial university over separate provincial institutions, the government passed legislation in 1870 to create the University of New Zealand. This overarching body affiliated local colleges (predecessors of today's universities), governed by a senate that conducted examinations and granted degrees, while teaching remained at the colleges. It remained in place until 1961. Canterbury College was the first affiliated college in 1873, followed by Otago (which retained its title but could no longer grant degrees) in 1874, Auckland University College in 1883, and Victoria University College in 1899.

comparison and teaching."[335] In partnership with Otto Finsch from Germany, Haast sought at least one type specimen for every avian genus worldwide.[336] As Cameron notes, foreign collections provided benchmarks for naming and identifying local flora and fauna.[337]

His first exchange had been back in 1862: a kea swapped with lawyer and naturalist Walter Buller for the skin of a Mantell's kiwi.[338] By the mid-1860s, bird skins were Haast's stock-in-trade.[339] In 1866 he received "two fine Huias" from Hector, noting "they are very good birds indeed & will make a fine show, when once we can put our collections together."[340] Nearly 3,000 native bird skins were documented as exchanges in the early Canterbury Museum exchange books.[341]

Haast's relentless collecting eventually drew criticism. By 1878, the Museum Board declared itself "very much averse to the destruction of the New Zealand fauna for the purpose of exchanges with other Museums," instead suggesting Haast exchange fossils.[342] MacKenzie notes that Haast helped drive some New Zealand birds to extinction due to his "utterly profligate" bird skin trade.[343]

By opening day in 1870, the museum already housed more than 25,000 specimens, many obtained through exchange but also through "[m]any and valuable gifts" from both the local public and Haast's international connections.[344] Moa bones and bird skins had become Haast's principal currency, traded internationally for fossils, minerals, zoological specimens

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[335] Julius von Haast to Secretary of Public Works, March 3, 1869, R8418219, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch, 3.
[336] Burrage, 2; Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 626. German ornithologist and naturalist Otto Finsch (1839–1917) exchanged, donated and sold bird collections to museum collections worldwide, including to Canterbury Museum and the Otago Museum.
[337] Cameron, *Shaping Maori Identities and Histories*, 81.
[338] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 505. Lawyer, magistrate and keen ornithologist, Walter Buller (1838–1906) is best known for his *A History of the Birds of New Zealand* (1873). He served as New Zealand Commissioner for the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition alongside Haast. He exhibited ethnological taonga at both the Melbourne 1888 and the Paris 1889 exhibitions.
[339] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 509.
[340] Julius von Haast to James Hector, September 5, 1866, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector,* 104; Julius von Haast to James Hector, September 25, 1866, 106–107.
[341] For a detailed list of the birds exchanged, and the institutions involved, see Burrage, 1–7.
[342] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 557.
[343] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 222.
[344] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 515; Julius von Haast to Edward Jollie, October 6, 1870, R25958002, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch. As noted by Haast in his report, recent offers of exchange came from Paris, London, Dublin, Brussels, Frankfurt, Berlin, Vienna, New York, Washington, South Africa, Shanghai, Hongkong, St. Petersburg, Christiania, Stockholm, Perth (Western Australia), Sydney, and Melbourne.

and ethnographic objects.[345] His trading connections were particularly strong with German-speaking scientists, including Louis Agassiz at Harvard, Ferdinand von Mueller in Melbourne, and Gerard Krefft in Sydney.[346] Canterbury Museum's first large shipment of seventy-eight specimens went to Agassiz.[347] One early reviewer noted wryly that Canterbury's holdings were "European – chiefly German."[348] By 1886, Haast had sold specimens on behalf of the museum to the value of £20,000.[349]

Haast likewise sought to collect Māori taonga for his museum. The inclusion of Māori and Moriori remains in Haast's trading reflects his ethical blind spots.[350] Demand for exchanges meant collecting practices could be ethically abhorrent by today's standards. Haast undertook disreputable methods to obtain both kōiwi tangata and taonga. For example, in reply to Hooker's request for Māori "stone implements" in 1868, Haast hoped that he would "have no doubt that one day I shall come upon an old Maori burial place & get a lot of them."[351] The first repatriation from the Natural History Museum in Vienna in 2022 included a group of Māori and Moriori ancestors representing approximately sixty-four individuals.[352] Records indicated that forty-nine of these ancestors were uplifted by Austrian taxidermist Andreas Reischek, who worked for Haast for twelve years from 1877 to 1889.[353] In his exchanges, Haast was not unaware of the unethical nature of the 'collecting,' with one collector pointing out to him: "You doubtless know how [Māori] respect the bones of their ancestors."[354]

Haast's lack of ethical concern in regard to Māori kōiwi may be in part due to his view of Māori as an 'inferior race,' considering Māori to have reached only a Neolithic stage of development.[355] Haast's drive to represent a complete historical narrative of New Zealand

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[345] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 508.
[346] Crane, "Rivalry and Cooperation," 49.
[347] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 508.
[348] "From Dunedin to Auckland," *Otago Daily Times,* April 12, 1871, 3.
[349] "The Colonial Exhibition," *New Zealand Mail,* September 24, 1886, 26.
[350] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 627, 633.
[351] Julius von Haast to Joseph Dalton Hooker, January 28, 1868, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker,* 124–125.
[352] "Austria returns ancestral remains stolen by notorious grave-robber," Heather Byrne, September 27, 2022, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/press-and-media/press-releases/2022-media-releases/austria-returns-ancestral-remains-stolen
[353] Ibid.
[354] Amber Kiri Aranui, *Kōiwi Tangata Report: Te Taiwhenua o Waimarāma* (Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme, 2013), 14, 29–33.
[355] Cameron, *Shaping Maori Identities and Histories*, 90–97.

also reflected the nineteenth century idea that Māori were a dying race, with museums frantically embarking on a "scramble for the remnants of the old time Māori."[356] As Haast argued, he endeavoured "to save the records of an interesting people" who "in years to come … will lose their former original customs and habits and assimilate with the European immigrants and their descendants."[357] Haast also strongly believed moa had vanished before Māori arrived and argued for an earlier, unknown human race in New Zealand.[358] As Canterbury Museum curator Julia Bradshaw argues, Haast exhibited a blindness to indigenous culture, values, knowledge and occupation of the land, a stance that permeated both his collecting practices and his scientific writing.[359]

Expanding Canterbury Museum

Haast's obsessive collecting drove his relentless campaigns for museum expansion. In November 1872 he wrote to Provincial Secretary Walter Kennaway that "further additions … on a large scale" were highly desirable to house the incoming collections.[360] The Council approved £2,000 to add a two-storey, gabled, Gothic structure at right angles to the original building. Legislators aimed to minimise costs, ignoring Haast's warnings.[361] The addition was shortened by seven feet and convicts were drafted to lay the foundations.[362]

Sheets-Pyenson notes Haast's vast collecting created a vicious circle: empty galleries demanded specimens but acquisitions required more space and curatorial care, raising costs and straining Council goodwill.[363] Haast's June 1873 report listed the long array of objects awaiting display: 23 unarticulated moa skeletons, 387 mounted birds, 17 mammals, nearly 2,000 bird skins, 8,000 insects, 60 quadruped skins, 10,000 herbarium specimens, and thousands of fossils and rocks "awaiting curation space."[364] Total holdings had more than

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[356] Rice, *The State Collections of Colonial New Zealand Art,* 209; McCarthy, *From Curio to Taonga,* 72.
[357] "Report of the Director to the Provincial Council, Christchurch," April 20, 1875, 5, in Cameron, *Shaping Maori Identities and Histories*, 110.
[358] For details on Haast's theories on moa and Māori, see Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 63–64.
[359] Julia Bradshaw, "'never Anybody Been in That Part of the Country': Contextualising Haast's Journey over Tioripātea," *Canterbury Museum Bulletin* 11 (2022): 28.
[360] Julius von Haast to William Kennaway [Secretary of Public Works], November 27, 1872, R25958002, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch, 1–2.
[361] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 50.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Ibid.
[364] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 678.

doubled to 56,000 specimens.[365] The Annual Report warned that the "system of exchanges carried out by the Director" could not continue unless "further assistance" was provided.[366]

That same year, Haast petitioned the Provincial Council for £5,000 to extend the building. Although granted, the project was delayed due to concerns about sustaining associated institutions with the limited land endowment.[367] In 1874, he wrote "I am at my wits end for space," expressing gratitude for the grant but pointing out that "in order to erect a building which for years to come will offer sufficient accommodation, facilitate the proper classification and display of specimens, a larger grant is required," instead proposing a sum of £9,000.[368] Only through Haast's aggressive pursuits (including lawsuits instigated by Haast against provincial authorities) were financial grants received.[369] By the 1880s, successive expansions had created a major provincial institution, including a mammal gallery, a moa room, two lecture rooms, workrooms, a technology hall, and over 3,700 square metres of exhibition space, the largest museum building in the country.[370] By Haast's death in 1887, the museum housed some 150,000 labelled specimens.[371]

2.2 Haast and International Exhibitions

The New Zealand Exhibition, Dunedin, 1865

In March 1864, Haast was appointed to a fifteen-member committee tasked with promoting the representation of Canterbury's resources at the forthcoming New Zealand Exhibition in

[365] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 83.
[366] *Reports of the Canterbury Museum, year ending 30 September 1873*, Records of the Canterbury Provincial Government, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch, CH 287, Papers of the Provincial Council, item CP 656b/3, in Barton, "Haast and the Moa," 257.
[367] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 657. The associated institutions were the Public Library and the School of Technical Science.
[368] "Memorandum Concerning the New Museum Building," July 1874, R25958002, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch.
[369] "Memorandum Concerning the New Museum Building," July 1874, R25958002, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch; Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*, 51. By the mid–1870s, financial restraint replaced the relative generosity that the Provincial Government had previously shown Canterbury Museum, in part due to the management having passed from its own Board of Trustees to the Board of Governors of Canterbury College.
[370] Cullen, "Julius von Haast, Founder of the Canterbury Museum," 5; Thomson, *Art Galleries and Museums of New Zealand*, 76.
[371] Ibid., 6.

Dunedin.[372] Simultaneously, Hector, newly appointed commissioner of the exhibition, requested that Haast prepare an essay on the geology of Nelson and Canterbury.[373]

Haast met Hector in April 1864 to discuss plans for the exhibition, and presented him with a collection of labelled specimens and an offer of chemical analyses of coals and building stones.[374] In exchange, Haast requested duplicates of shells, minerals and plants for the future Canterbury Museum.[375] Their shared correspondence and exchanges show the mutual respect they held for each other during this time: Hector noted Haast as a "very good fellow" and Haast described Hector in return as a "fine fellow, who lives only, body & soul, for Science."[376] This relationship would later deteriorate sharply after the Sumner Cave controversy of 1874.[377]

Haast's preparations for the 1865 exhibition were time-consuming, writing in December, "[F]or the last month I have been occupied day & night with the preparations for the Otago Exhibition."[378] Despite initial uncertainty over his ability to travel to Dunedin – news that reportedly left Hector "quite aghast" – Haast arrived in January 1865, overseeing the arrangement of Canterbury's exhibits and bringing necessary display cases.[379] Exhibiting under his own name, Haast displayed geological maps and sketches of Canterbury; six cases of rocks, minerals and fossil specimens of Canterbury; sixteen "Glass Franks" containing alpine botanical specimens; and sectional drawings and rock specimens of the Lyttelton

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[372] *Official Catalogue of the New Zealand Exhibition: 1865* (Mills, Dick and Co, 1865), 30.
[373] James Hector to Julius von Haast, February 20, 1864, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector,* 45.
[374] Julius von Haast to James Hector, April 10, 1864, in Nolden et al, eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector,* 47.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Julius von Haast to Joseph Dalton Hooker, January 10, 1864, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker,* 59.
[377] The Sumner Cave controversy of 1874 started when Hector published, through his colleague Alexander McKay, findings from Haast's excavations without his consent. The episode divided New Zealand's scientific community and has been extensively described. For details, see: Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector, 1862–1887*, 5; Francis Lucien Reid, "The Sumner Cave Controversy Reconsidered: Provincialism, Identity and 'Colonial' Science," *New Zealand Journal of History* 43, no. 1 (2009): 18–38; J. Yaldwyn, E. Dawson, and J. Davidson, "The First Ethical Controversy in New Zealand Archaeology: Joseph Hooker's Confidential Ruling in the Haast v. McKay Case," *Archaeology in New Zealand* 49, no. 4 (2006): 282–92.
[378] Julius von Haast to Joseph Dalton Hooker, December 16, 1864, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast to Joseph Dalton Hooker,* 60.
[379] Julius von Haast to James Hector, October 31, 1864, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker,* 65; Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 358, 360.

Tunnel project.[380] He also exhibited works on behalf of his friend Hochstetter, including Hochstetter's book, atlas and large geological report.[381] Haast's essay on the geology and physical geography of Nelson and Canterbury was finalised in early 1865, although it would not be published until 1868,[382] by which time Haast had revised his views considerably. He requested that Hector either allow him to revise the paper or suppress its publication altogether.[383]

Central to Haast's efforts in the New Zealand Exhibition was Holmes, who acted as Haast's indispensable assistant and the Canterbury Committee secretary.[384] Engaged and funded personally by Haast, Holmes organised museum collections, managed correspondence, accompanied Haast on survey expeditions, and oversaw the transport, installation and packing of the Canterbury exhibits during the 1865 Exhibition.[385] On 14 December 1864 Holmes wrote to confirm his safe arrival in Dunedin with the Canterbury goods.[386] He reported careful handling of Haast's botanical and cartographic specimens, although noted wryly that with ninety-four articles under his care most "had to take their chances."[387] Holmes' detailed letters from Dunedin reveal the logistical challenges he faced, such as limited exhibition wall space, but also the successes, including the careful arrangement of

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[380] *Official Catalogue of the New Zealand Exhibition: 1865,* 34–37.
[381] Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast, June 12, 1864, in Nolden, ed., *The Letters of Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast,* 105. Published in 1864 and translated into English by Dr. C. F. Fischer, Hochstetter's book was titled: *The geology of New Zealand: in explanation of the geographical and topographical atlas of New Zealand* (T. Delattre, 1864).
[382] Rowan Burns and Simon Nathan, *My Dear Dr Haast: Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Robert Langley Holmes to Julius Haast between 1864–65 and 1868–70* (Geoscience Society of New Zealand, 2012), 7.
[383] Julius von Haast to James Hector, July 11, 1867, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector,* 119; May 15, 1868, 134. The non-publication of the 1865 Exhibition essays, due in part because of Hector's workload, caused some distress. By 1867, Haast wrote to Hector: "When will you let those unfortunate Essays be printed?!" By May 1868, Haast wrote with frustration: "When I was requested in the beginning of 1865 to write an essay on the Geology of Nelson & Canterbury for the Royal Commission of the N.Z. Exhibition, I was very much prepared to complete it at once … It is now more than three years ago, that I handed over that Essay … I never have heard any thing [sic] more of it."
[384] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 359; *Official Catalogue of the New Zealand Exhibition: 1865,* 31. Holmes was also on the Canterbury Local Committee and acted as the Committee's Secretary for the 1865 Exhibition.
[385] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 359.
[386] Robert Langley Holmes to Julius von Haast, December 14, 1864, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Dr Haast*, 4.
[387] Ibid.

specimens and positive feedback from the exhibition commissioners.[388] Haast's exhibits were met with considerable interest from scientific visitors.[389]

Holmes returned to Dunedin in April 1865 to supervise the dismantling and packing of the Canterbury exhibits after the exhibition closed.[390] He expressed frustration that the Canterbury Provincial Council had failed to seize the chance to purchase valuable specimens cheaply at the subsequent auction, a feeling Haast no doubt shared. Holmes admitted he "tried a little begging for some things for our Museum," but while items were for sale, none were given away.[391] As he lamented, "our economical Govt. have lost a chance which will not come again for many a day."[392] To reduce freight costs to Christchurch, he sold off some of Canterbury's bulkier holdings.[393]

For his own part, Haast's involvement in the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition extended beyond scientific display. While in Dunedin, he visited the Otago goldfields and acquired specimens for the future Canterbury Museum, and actively engaged in the exchange of knowledge with European scientific bodies, sending Hector a comprehensive list of potential recipients for the exhibition essays.[394] Haast was awarded a silver medal for his essay, his "extensive and admirably arranged Collections" and his "general services to New Zealand as a Naturalist and Explorer, and his zealous efforts to promote the success of the Exhibition."[395] Hochstetter was also awarded a silver medal.[396] The exhibition boxes, once returned to Haast, remained unpacked for some time as Haast had "no room to put them."[397]

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[388] Ibid., December 20, 1864, 7.
[389] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 507.
[390] Robert Langley Holmes to Julius von Haast, May 8, 1865, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Dr Haast,* 17.
[391] Ibid., June 11, 1865, 20.
[392] Ibid.
[393] Ibid., May 8, 1865, 17. Holmes remained closely associated with Haast until 1868, when provincial budget cuts reduced his meteorologist salary from £250 to £150, prompting his resignation.
[394] Von Haast, "Origin and Early History of the Canterbury Museum," 507; Julius von Haast to James Hector, September 26, 1865, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast to James Hector,* 89–91. This list comprising almost 40 scientific bodies in Austria, Germany, Russia, France, Italy and Australia displays Haast's vast networking capabilities.
[395] *New Zealand Exhibition, 1865: Reports and Awards of the Jurors and Appendix* (Mills, Dick and Company, 1866), 509.
[396] Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast, February 20, 1867, in Nolden, ed., *The Letters of Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast,* 35.
[397] Julius von Haast to James Hector, June 4, 1866, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector,* 98.

The Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1867

Haast was commissioned to prepare a display on the Lyttelton Rail Tunnel (then called the Moorhouse Tunnel) for the 1867 Paris Exposition. With provincial engineer Edward Dobson, he produced sectional and geological drawings accompanied by rocks and mineral specimens.[398] Pressed for time, by November 1866 Haast admitted to Hector that he could not send him "any new specimens" for the Colonial Museum because his collections for the "Paris Exhibition" were due to leave in a few days.[399]

The Exposition Universelle 1867 catalogue lists "Haast, Julius," Provincial Geologist for Canterbury, as contributor of two geological models of the Lyttelton tunnel and railway, photographs of the caldera wall, and 280 specimens illustrating the volcanic strata encountered during the tunnel's construction.[400] New Zealand's overall contribution to the Exposition was small: Haast's display made up nearly the entirety of the colony's contribution, alongside a Banks Peninsula map from the Survey Department, moa bones and a small selection of photographs.[401] In January 1867, the Provincial Council praised Haast's 1867 Exposition work as "a valuable contribution to science."[402]

New Zealand Interprovincial Exhibition, Christchurch, 1872–73

New Zealand's decision to participate in the Weltausstellung 1873 Wien, or Vienna World's Fair, followed formal encouragement from New Zealand's Agent-General in London, Isaac Featherston, who in mid-1872 alerted the colonial government to the opportunity for international exposure that the Vienna Exhibition presented.[403] The government acted quickly. With limited time to prepare, it adopted a two-pronged strategy, devised by Hector, which combined direct government procurement of exhibits with a public competition to collect colonial products. This resulted in the New Zealand Interprovincial Exhibition (also known as the Colonial and Vienna Exhibition), held in Christchurch during the summer of 1872–73. The exhibition opened on 16 December 1872 under the patronage of Governor

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[398] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 480.
[399] Julius von Haast to James Hector, November 10, 1866, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector,* 109.
[400] *Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867: Catalogue of the British Section* (Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioners, 1868), 361–362.
[401] Ibid.
[402] "Provincial Council," *Lyttelton Times*, January 11, 1867, 2.
[403] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 130.

George Bowen and served as a mechanism for selecting suitable items for international display.[404]

Haast was appointed to the Executive Committee of the New Zealand Interprovincial Exhibition and by 3 January 1873, Haast and the committee had finalised the selection of items to be forwarded overseas.[405] Haast and Hector were also appointed joint judges of the mineral court.[406]

In the New Zealand Interprovincial Exhibition catalogue, the contributions from Canterbury Museum are expansive and include a large set of ores and minerals "in order to supplement the type collection sent from the Colonial Museum," a collection of Māori "Stone Implements," Canterbury building stones, a large collection of timber, and a collection of "Maori Carvings and Weapons, in wood," shown as a "trophy" at the end of the hall.[407] This 'trophy,' with taonga from both the Colonial Museum and Canterbury Museum, involved an assemblage of carvings and whāriki, arranged with flax and other native foliage.[408] As McCarthy has argued, the exhibition of Māori taonga in such contexts carried an implicit message of "colonial possession" – presenting people and their land as collectable and displayable, akin to flora and fauna.[409] In this way, Haast's Canterbury Museum display made visible the connections between museum collections and imperial power.

The Vienna World's Fair (Weltausstellung 1873 Wien), 1873

Haast worked closely with Hector in preparing exhibits for the 1873 Vienna World's Fair, an immense event that spanned 233 hectares, featured 42,000 exhibitors and attracted more than seven million visitors.[410] New Zealand's participation in the Vienna exhibition was organised as a specifically colonial endeavour distinct from the general British Commission.[411] The colony's appointed commissioners – Featherston and Charles Clifford – coordinated logistics and policy while relying on Haast and Hector for the selection and

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[404] Ibid.
[405] "The Exhibits for Vienna," *Star (Christchurch),* January 3,1873, 3.
[406] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 644–45.
[407] *Catalogue of the New Zealand and Vienna Exhibition Held at Christchurch, Canterbury New Zealand 1872–73* ("Times" Office, Gloucester Street, 1872), 22.
[408] Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 92.
[409] McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori*, 13.
[410] Klemun, "Julius Haast, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, New Zealand," 98.
[411] Ibid., 100.

scientific presentation of raw products and natural history specimens.[412] From the outset, Hochstetter, as one of 216 members of the Vienna organising committee, acted as scientific intermediary, assuring the New Zealand Government in November 1872 that he was "already in communication with my friend Haast" regarding planning.[413]

Haast hoped he might travel to Vienna as exhibition commissioner. Although the Provincial Council were supportive, the Colonial Government denied Haast's request. John Hall wrote to the Superintendent of Canterbury, stating: "I regret the Colonial Government has no appropriation of money which will enable it to avail itself of your Honors [sic] proposal."[414] Haast expressed his disappointment in a letter to Hooker: "I must confess I was rather disappointed as I should have liked so very much to see my old & new friends at home."[415] Hochstetter was likewise disappointed. [416]

Haast's key contribution, along with his exhibits sent from the Interprovincial Exhibition, were three moa skeletons. Hochstetter knew that Haast's moa skeletons would make a "major improvement" to the Vienna exhibition.[417] However, when it opened in May, Haast's much anticipated skeletons had not yet arrived due to shipping delays and divided consignments. [418] Their absence was noted in the Austrian press, although no word of it reached New Zealand.[419] Meanwhile, the prize jury had already begun its assessments. Thanks to Hochstetter's lobbying, Haast was eventually awarded a medal for his displays.[420]

The moa skeletons became the centrepiece of the New Zealand Court. Under Hochstetter's supervision, they were assembled with meticulous care. Hochstetter recalled spending four

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[412] "The Vienna Exhibition, (Papers Relating To)," *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1873 Session I, H–05, 3, 12. Charles Clifford (1813–1893) was former speaker of the New Zealand House of Representatives and Issac Earl Featherston (1813–1876) was the first Agent General for New Zealand in London.
[413] Ibid, 5–6; Klemun, "Julius Haast, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, New Zealand," 104.
[414] John Hall to Superintendent of Canterbury, December 6, 1872, R22679777, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch.
[415] Julius von Haast to Joseph Dalton Hooker, January 10, 1873, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker,* 166.
[416] Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast, November 30, 1872, in Nolden, ed., *The Letters of Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast,* 160.
[417] Ibid., June 26, 1873, 62.
[418] Klemun, "Julius Haast, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, New Zealand," 102.
[419] Ibid.
[420] Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast, August 29, 1873, in Nolden, ed., *The Letters of Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast,* 162; "The Vienna Exhibition, (Papers Relating To)," *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR),* 1874 Session I, H–07, 10.

"quiet weeks" working daily on the moa reconstruction with a team of five.[421] He wrote with satisfaction to Haast: "[T]he moa skeletons are standing upright before me, a truly magnificent sight. … The task was a colossal one."[422] Drawing inspiration from Canterbury Museum, where Haast had already erected seven articulated moa, Hochstetter positioned the moa in the centre of the exhibition rotunda, flanked by kiwi, flax samples, bird skins, minerals, maps and photographs.[423] The English label was inscribed:

> The flightless birds of New Zealand, the extinct moas and the still living kiwi. Exhibited by Canterbury Museum Christchurch, New Zealand, Director Dr Julius Haast. [424]

New Zealand's natural history displays attracted considerable attention. According to one official: "[I]f there was one thing more than another which attracted general observation, I should say it was the group of articulated moas (*Dinornis*) sent by Dr. Haast and set up by Professor von Hochstetter."[425] Even Emperor Franz Joseph reportedly paused in astonishment before the skeletons.[426] The moa tableau sparked both palaeontological intrigue and public fascination with extinction. Klemun notes that Austrian commentators sometimes drew parallels between the extinction of the moa and the colonial fate of Māori, with critiques of British imperialism layered into their analysis.[427] Back in New Zealand, the reception was enthusiastic, particularly in praise of Haast's moa, one commentator declaring "we think this is the finest exhibition of its kind."[428]

The exhibition officially closed on 31 October 1873. Hochstetter recommended donating the moa skeletons to the imperial museums in Vienna. He promised to "vigorously represent [Haast's] interests" in such work.[429] Ultimately, Haast's moa and bird exhibits were entrusted

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[421] Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast, June 26, 1873, in Nolden, ed., *The Letters of Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast,* 161.
[422] Ibid.
[423] Nolden, ed., *The Letters of Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast,* 2013, 161–162. On behalf of the Canterbury Museum, Haast exhibited 60 mounted specimens of New Zealand birds and three moa skeletons, while the other major collections of mounted bird skins were exhibited by James Brogden.
[424] Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast, June 26, 1873, in Nolden, ed., *The Letters of Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast,* 161.
[425] "The Vienna Exhibition, (Papers Relative To)," *AJHR,* 1874 Session I, H–07, 7.
[426] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 675.
[427] Klemun, "Julius Haast, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, New Zealand," 111–12.
[428] "News of the Day," *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle,* October 6, 1873, 3.
[429] Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast, August 29, 1873, in Nolden, ed., *The Letters of Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast,* 162–163.

to Hochstetter, while 54 other crates were sent to London for storage and redistribution.[430] Some specimens were allocated to museums in Cracow, Lisbon, Tunis, St Petersburg, Hamburg and Vienna.[431] It was noted that the applications for samples and specimens for museum purposes were innumerable.[432] The wide dispersal of exhibits expanded the scientific influence of both Haast and the Canterbury Museum and strengthened their global networks of collaboration.

The Sydney International Exhibition 1879

In 1879, Haast travelled expressly to attend the Sydney International Exhibition. According to the *Official Catalogue*, Haast contributed a collection of Canterbury building stones and timbers.[433] Haast's core feature, however, was a large display of over 1,000 ethnological items, including Māori and Moriori stone tools, moa remains, midden materials and comparative prehistoric taonga from the Pacific, Europe, North America and Asia.[434] In Haast's schema, the stone tools served as evidence of a shared trajectory of civilisation, with tools used by Māori and Moriori placed alongside tools from ancient Egypt, the British Isles and North America. Cameron indicates how, as signifiers of "past life," Māori were effectively written out of the colony's present and future in such displays.[435]

Haast's correspondence during this period reveals significant financial and logistical strain. Despite receiving limited committee funding for the Sydney exhibition,[436] he volunteered extensive unpaid labour, supervised taxidermy work, prepared multiple articulated moa skeletons and personally oversaw the packing and cataloguing of over 1,000 taonga on display.[437] Haast also exhibited maps, sections and drawings, including photographs of Canterbury Museum displays.[438]

The *Lyttelton Times* offered a favourable review of the collection prior to it being sent to Sydney, describing "perfect" moa skeletons and "instructive" displays of stone taonga of

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[430] "The Vienna Exhibition, (Papers Relative To)," *AJHR,* 1874 Session I, H–07, 5.
[431] Ibid., 7.
[432] Ibid.
[433] *New Zealand Court: International Exhibition 1879 Sydney Official Catalogue* (Foster and Fairfax, 1879) 6, 52.
[434] Ibid., 29.
[435] Cameron, *Shaping Maori Identities and Histories*, 296.
[436] Julius von Haast to James Hector, May 24, 1879, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector,* 270.
[437] Ibid., May 13, 1879, 268.
[438] *New Zealand Court: International Exhibition 1879 Sydney Official Catalogue,* 30.

both Māori and Moriori origin.[439] The newspaper also commented on Haast's inclusion of prehistoric tools from the Solomon Islands and Europe, interpreting the ethnological display as a demonstration of cross-cultural parallels in technological development, noting: "Dr von Haast sends to Sydney also a collection of the stone implements … in order to show the nations in all parts of the world, when they had reached a similar stage of civilization, used the same kinds of implements."[440] Haast's decision to invite a reporter to preview the collection suggests a strategic use of the press to cultivate public support. On behalf of Canterbury Museum, Haast was awarded a first degree of merit for his ethnology and building stone collections and a commended award for his timber collection.[441]

Melbourne International Exhibition 1880–81

Following the Sydney Exhibition, Haast arranged for his collection to be transferred to Melbourne for the 1880–1881 International Exhibition in a few months' time. Again, he secured local government monetary support, receiving £75 for travel, £100 for museum acquisitions, and a further £50 to procure objects for the new Technological and Art Department of the Canterbury Museum.[442]

Prior to leaving for Melbourne, Haast served on the Committee of Management for Christchurch's 1880 Industrial Exhibition, intended both to promote local industry and to generate exhibits for Melbourne.[443] Initially planned for three days, it was extended to six and produced a substantial body of material for international display, including "special exhibitions" by Haast.[444]

Haast's three moa skeletons again featured prominently in Melbourne, alongside an expanded ethnological section. The *Bruce Herald* praised Canterbury Museum's display, describing it as "a happy success" despite its spatial limitations.[445] The *Waikato Times*

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[439] "Canterbury Museum Exhibits for Sydney," *Lyttelton Times,* July 29, 1879, 5.
[440] Ibid.
[441] "Sydney International Exhibition 1879 Certificate of Award – Collection Illustrating New Zealand Ethnology," MS-Papers-0171-25, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; "Sydney International Exhibition 1879 Certificate of Award – Building Stones of Canterbury," MS-Papers-0171-24, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; "Sydney International Exhibition 1879 Certificate of Award – Timbers of Canterbury and Westland," MS-Papers-0171-26, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[442] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 884.
[443] Ibid., 876; "Industrial Exhibition," *Lyttelton Times,* August 12, 1880, 2.
[444] Ibid.
[445] "The Melbourne Exhibition," *Bruce Herald,* October 8, 1880, 5.

highlighted again Haast's argument that all societies, upon reaching a certain developmental threshold, produced stone tools in similar forms.[446] In Melbourne, Haast received multiple awards, including first order of merit for his ethnological exhibit and fossil birds, alongside recognition for timber, building stone and educational displays.[447]

Haast spent "the whole March" in Melbourne.[448] He reunited with his friend Eugene von Guérard, the inaugural curator of the National Gallery of Victoria.[449] Although von Guérard initially dismissed the exhibitions as costly and impractical,[450] by late 1880 he had revised his opinion, describing the Melbourne exhibition as "really magnificent and capable of showing us what the great world exhibitions … might be."[451] Haast also spent time with German physician and geographer Ferdinand von Müller.[452] Haast's long-standing ties with such German scientists culminated in his appointment as German Consul in Christchurch in April 1881.[453]

Haast used his time in Melbourne to expand Canterbury Museum's collections through acquisitions, including purchasing scientific instruments and mechanical models from Europe and North America. These included seven cases of educational models from the Frères Chrétiens in Paris; models of modern machinery from New York and Darmstadt; and collections demonstrating electricity and magnetism for use by the Canterbury School of Mines.[454] Canterbury Museum also received gifts thanks to Haast's connections. Professor Reull, the German commissioner at the Sydney Exhibition, donated educational materials from the Württemberg Ministry of Education, including over 100 plaster and wooden models and several volumes of diagrams.[455]

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[446] "The New Zealand Court at the Melbourne Exhibition," *Waikato Times,* November 30, 1880, 3.
[447] "Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880 (Papers Relating to the)," *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR),* 1882 Session I, H–05a, 14–15.
[448] Julius von Haast to James Hector, December 3, 1880, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector,* 278.
[449] Darragh and Pullin, eds., *Lieber Freund! Letters from Eugen von Guérard to Julius von Haast*, 8.
[450] Eugen von Guérard to Julius von Haast, January 16, 1879, in Darragh and Pullin, eds., *Lieber Freund! Letters from Eugen von Guérard to Julius von Haast*, 31.
[451] Ibid., November 27, 1880, 42.
[452] Julius von Haast to Joseph Dalton Hooker, May 19, 1881, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker,* 193.
[453] "Untitled," *New Zealand Times,* April 8, 1881, 2.
[454] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 884.
[455] "And Thames Valley Gazette," *Waikato Times,* April 28, 1881, 2.

Haast's personal connections were also instrumental in the expansion of Canterbury Museum's technical wing, a project explicitly linked to his success at the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions.[456] According to the *Lyttelton Times*, the international exhibitions gave "a fresh impetus" to Haast's technological vision, enabling the acquisition of new material "with the limited means at his command."[457] The financial support provided by the Canterbury Provincial Council for his travel to Sydney and Melbourne suggests that he was sent to these exhibitions specifically to acquire material for the museum.

The Industrial Exhibitions 1882–1885

Between 1882 and 1885, Haast remained closely involved in a series of industrial exhibitions in Christchurch and Wellington, using each as an opportunity to promote local industry and expand the museum's collections.

When Jules Joubert and Richard Twopeny, organisers of several successful Australian exhibitions, sought local support for an international exhibition in Christchurch, Haast became a key advocate, appealing to local manufacturers.[458] Resistance from some members of the Christchurch Industrial Association, who feared that foreign goods would undermine local industries, delayed preparations.[459] Nonetheless, Haast was nominated Vice-President of the exhibition committee and played a leading role in arranging exhibits of ores, building materials and industrial products, as well as in coordinating judging procedures.[460]

A site was secured in Hagley Park, and the exhibition formally opened on 10 April 1882, featuring industrial exhibits alongside art displays, a Māori court and musical entertainments.[461] The New Zealand International Exhibition, as it was called, ran for fourteen weeks, but the promoters' hopes were disappointed when the event lost money despite the 226,300 visitors.[462] Haast's participation, however, was not motivated solely by civic pride. He saw the exhibition as an opportunity to strengthen the technological and art collections of the Canterbury Museum. Upon its opening, he issued a circular highlighting

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[456] "The Museum," *Lyttelton Times,* February 16, 1882, 5.
[457] Ibid.
[458] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 880.
[459] Ibid.
[460] Ibid.
[461] Ibid.
[462] Phillips, "Exhibitions and World's Fairs."

the museum's financial difficulties, noting that funds had been diverted to the Public Library and the newly established School of Art.[463] Although Haast's appeal failed to reach its £1,000 target, it raised over £500, enabling the museum to acquire several significant artworks.[464]

Haast's involvement continued in the 1883 New Zealand Industrial Exhibition, held in the Christchurch drill shed and promoted by the Industrial Association. Acting on the Executive Committee, Haast oversaw exhibits showcasing Canterbury's natural resources – especially those accessible via routes to the West Coast – highlighting the potential economic benefits of an expanded railway network.[465] He also served on the Entertainment Committee and took responsibility for arranging the art gallery, where he exhibited works from the recently established School of Art.[466] The *Evening Star* noted how the whole exhibition was "lit throughout with the electric light," a new phenomenon made more exciting when the lights went out for several minutes on opening night.[467]

Later, in 1885, Haast was involved in the Wellington Industrial Exhibition. Anticipating the forthcoming 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London, Haast used the Wellington exhibition as a platform to gather commercial products for international display.[468] The exhibition included art displays and concerts and ran for three months.[469]

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886

The appointment as New Zealand's Executive Commissioner to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886 was both an imperial honour and a personal triumph for Haast, who had long been determined to "break down the monopoly that Hector had hitherto enjoyed" as Executive Commissioner.[470] Haast had lobbied Julius Vogel, former Premier and then Agent-General in London, citing his experience in previous exhibitions in Vienna, Sydney and Melbourne. Vogel telegraphed him on 4 May 1885 to confirm the appointment.[471] During his absence, Hutton took over his lecturing duties at Canterbury University, while Haast's son

[463] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 880–881.
[464] Ibid.
[465] Ibid., 882.
[466] Ibid.
[467] "The Christchurch Industrial Exhibition," *Evening Star,* December 20, 1883, 4.
[468] *Hawke's Bay Herald,* October 19, 1885, 1.
[469] Phillips, "Exhibitions and World's Fairs."
[470] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 876.
[471] Ibid., 904.

Heinrich oversaw the Canterbury Museum.[472] At 63, Haast might have considered retirement; instead, he embarked on what would become one of the most demanding assignments of his career.

The 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London aimed to showcase the British Empire's peoples, products and cultures, attracting over five million visitors.[473] Initiated by the Prince of Wales, it combined commercial, cultural and imperial objectives on the South Kensington site. In preparation for the exhibition, Haast conducted a national tour of New Zealand, visiting every significant town to promote his vision and solicit contributions.[474] In Invercargill, for example, he stressed the exhibition's value in elevating New Zealand's international profile: "[I]t would do more good than hundreds of emigration agents could accomplish."[475] Haast envisioned an exhibition that was not only attractive but also educational, presenting New Zealand as an advanced and civilised society.[476] He liaised extensively with government departments: drafting requisitions, designing exhibit classifications, preparing official programmes and issuing detailed instructions to exhibitors.[477] His efforts were rewarded with a greater volume of support than anticipated.[478] Haast secured contributions from woollen mills, tanneries, plumbers, jewellers, leatherworkers, meat processors and furniture manufacturers, and emphasised natural history collections and the recent innovation of refrigeration technology.[479] He also engaged with regional museums, selecting specimens which later drew international attention.[480]

Haast sailed to London with his wife Mary and two of their children, George and Eva.[481] During their voyage, the *SS Ruapehu* stopped in Rio de Janeiro, where the family visited the

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[472] Canterbury College to Julius von Haast, May 30, 1885, Haast Family Collection, Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Papers, MS-Copy-Micro-0717-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[473] Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 101.
[474] *Hawke's Bay Herald,* July 9, 1885, 3.
[475] "Indian and Colonial Exhibition," *Clutha Leader,* August 14, 1885, 6.
[476] "Colonial And Indian Exhibition," *Hawke's Bay Herald,* July 11, 1885, 3.
[477] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 908.
[478] "Indian and Colonial Exhibition: The New Zealand Court," *Star*, November 10, 1885, 4.
[479] Rosi Crane, "Skeletons in the Attic," (Unpublished manuscript, 2021), 4; Crane, "Skeletons in the Attic," 4.
[480] J. M. Forrester, "Oamaru diatoms with some reference to a museum," March 17, 1948, 76/9a, Waitaki Museum and Archive, Ōamaru. At the Oamaru Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute, Haast selected a lump of what he believed to be kaolin. Later, in London, this sample attracted international attention among microscopists, who identified it as diatomaceous earth.
[481] Nolden and Manton, eds., *The Letters of Mary von Haast to Her Family,* 29; Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 916. During their eighteen months overseas, George von Haast enrolled at the Düsseldorf

Brazilian National Museum and met with its director, Ladislau Netto.[482] Haast traded items with Netto, including tuatara, and Netto promised to have "some extensive collections prepared" for Canterbury Museum.[483] Haast was pleased that he had already "done a good stroke of business" so early in his trip.[484]

Upon settling in London, Haast immersed himself in intensive exhibition preparations. According to Mary, Haast was the "Commissioner who really worked," working long days in the unheated exhibition buildings, often followed by long evenings of social or scientific engagements.[485] Haast's gregarious personality won him many admirers, with Mary noting he was "a great favourite wherever he goes."[486]

Despite the title of Executive Commissioner "in charge of exhibits," Haast found his authority constrained, remaining formally subordinate to Francis Dillon Bell, New Zealand's Agent-General.[487] In correspondence he expressed frustration, insisting that given his vast responsibilities, he deserved recognition as the primary organiser.[488] The exhibition as a whole was managed by Francis Philip Cunliffe-Owen, who took a year's leave from his post as Director of the South Kensington Museum.[489]

Planning the New Zealand Court

Haast arranged the New Zealand Court into industrial, natural history and Māori ethnology sections. As with his work in Sydney, Haast's guiding principle was to juxtapose the products of New Zealand's modern colonial industry with the perceived "primitive" culture of

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Academy of Art, while Eva von Haast attended a private ladies' boarding school in Bonn. Meanwhile Julius and Mary's sons Heinrich, Leo and Hermann remained in Christchurch, cared for by "Grandpapa and Grandmama" Dobson (Mary's parents, Edward Dobson and Mary Ann Dobson). Eva and her parents returned to New Zealand the following year, while George remained in Germany to continue his studies.

[482] Nolden and Manton, eds., *The Letters of Mary von Haast to Her Family, 38.*
Ladislau Netto was a Brazilian botanist with an interest in anthropology. In 1882 the Brazilian National Museum had hosted the Brazilian Anthropological Exhibition.

[483] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 916–17.

[484] Ibid.

[485] Ibid.*,* 917–919.

[486] Mary von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, June 16, 1886, in Nolden and Manton, eds., *The Letters of Mary von Haast to Her Family,* 67.

[487] *Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886: Official Catalogue* (William Clowes and Son, 1886). The positions noted in the *Official Catalogue* were as follows: Secretary of the Royal Commission, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen; Assistant Secretary to the Royal Commission, Edward Cunliffe-Owen; Executive Commissioner of the New Zealand Commission, Sir Francis Dillon Bell; Commissioner in charge of exhibits, Dr Julius von Haast; Secretary, P. L. Simmons.

[488] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 905–6.

[489] Ibid., 902.

Māori.[490] This ideological contrast was central to Haast's curatorial strategy, reflecting a common colonial narrative of progress over indigeneity.

In a draft memorandum to Vogel, a wide range of materials and industries were proposed for exhibition, including artworks, greenstone, gold, copper, wool, timber, coal and frozen meat.[491] Haast planned to re-use natural history specimens from Sydney and Melbourne, coordinating with fellow scientists on their presentation.[492] Haast even considered the inclusion of live fish, proposing the use of manually aerated tanks monitored overnight by attendants. The plan was ultimately abandoned due to cost.[493]

Haast believed that with displays from the "Colonial Museum and the Museums of Dunedin, Auckland & Christchurch a fine [show of New Zealand] inhabitants should be accorded."[494] Cheeseman from Auckland Museum sent a collection of marine molluscs; Buller, who had been involved with Canterbury Museum from its earliest days and was a fellow commissioner, submitted his ornithological specimens alongside his extensive ethnological collection; Hector exhibited geological minerals and fossils from the Colonial Museum; Parker from Otago Museum prepared fish specimens; and Canterbury Museum displayed three articulated moa skeletons alongside native bird and reptile skeletons, maps, and ethnological material.[495]

One of the most celebrated aspects of the court was the fernery, designed by Haast in collaboration with Hooker. During the planning phase, Haast proposed sending 250 fern species and 50 tree ferns, intending to create a living representation of New Zealand's unique flora.[496] Haast wrote to Hooker: "I know you will do all in your power to help me [so] that the New Zealand Court shall be a success."[497] In return for his assistance with the fernery, Haast assured Hooker that Kew Gardens would receive the "lions [sic] share of the

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[490] Ibid., 908.
[491] "Memo for the Noble. Col. Treasurer from J. Haast," Indian and Colonial Exhibition 1886 Official Papers, Haast Family Collection, Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Papers, MS-Copy-Micro-0717-01, Alexander Turnbull Library.
[492] Ibid.
[493] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 913.
[494] "Memo for the Noble. Col. Treasurer from J. Haast," n.d., Haast Family Collection, Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Papers, MS-Copy-Micro-0717-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[495] *Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886: Official Catalogue*, 271–272.
[496] Ibid., 913.
[497] Julius von Haast to Joseph Dalton Hooker, June 3, 1885, Haast Family Collection, Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Papers, MS-Copy-Micro-0717-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

collection at the end of the Exhibition." He noted in the same letter that he felt "overwhelmed with work, as besides my museum work, and lectures, this new burden is a very heavy one."[498] Hooker responded with cautious support and proposed involving the Royal Horticultural Society, who agreed in July 1885 to assist with fern cultivation and housing.[499]

At the centre of Haast's New Zealand ethnographic display was Te Tākinga, a famous carved pātaka of Ngāti Pikiao origin, on loan from Buller.[500] Te Tākinga stood in the marae gardens near Rotoiti, the whales on its maihi representing the prosperity of the Ngāti Pikiao iwi.[501] On display in the exhibition, Te Tākinga was surrounded by native ferns, flax and cabbage trees as a distinct Māori Court.[502] McCarthy has interpreted the display of Māori culture in this context as exemplifying "colonial capture," presenting Māori as emblematic of a static, ancient culture contrasted with colonial progress, with Te Tākinga presented as a remnant salvaged from a disappearing race.[503] Haast's framing of the Māori court aligned with this view, but it also drew upon European Romanticism's idealisation of the indigenous.[504] Visitors responded as he hoped, with one correspondent noting that they had been led into "Old New Zealand."[505]

Despite his determination that the "NZ Court will be a great success," Haast noted "it is very hard work."[506] Some manufacturers, particularly in Christchurch, failed to send their promised exhibits, a fact that caused Haast great frustration.[507] The allotted floor space was smaller than desired, and the colony lacked dedicated agents to unpack and assemble displays. Haast had to assume the unpacking personally as his assigned secretary was only capable of clerical work.[508] Eventually, Haast secured the assistance of his nephew-in-law,

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[498] Ibid.
[499] Joseph Dalton Hooker to Julius von Haast, July 18, 1885, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker,* 204; J. Mason to Sir Francis D. Bell, July 20, 1885, Haast Family Collection, Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Papers, MS-Copy-Micro-0717-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[500] McCarthy, *From Curio to Taonga,* 74. Note that Te Tākinga pātaka remains on display in Te Papa Tongarewa's *Mana Whenua* exhibition.
[501] Ibid.
[502] Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 99.
[503] McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori,* 75.
[504] Rice*, The State Collections of Colonial New Zealand Art*, 209.
[505] "The Colonial and Indian Exhibition," *Taranaki Herald,* June 28, 1886, 2.
[506] Julius von Haast to Heinrich Haast, April 9, 1886, in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 10.
[507] Ibid., May 7, 1886, 17.
[508] Ibid.

Ben Todhunter, who was "very quick & has his wits about him."[509] With unpacking, labelling and "beautifying," including installing artworks in the Royal Albert Hall Gallery,[510] Haast's hands-on management of every stage of installation highlights both the practical difficulties of exhibition work and his commitment to presenting New Zealand effectively.

The Exhibition's Reception

Opening in May 1886, Haast declared his court was "a great success" and his natural history display "the best in the whole Exhibition."[511] The *Times* praised its "systematic arrangement" and scientific character.[512] The Prince of Wales admired the New Zealand Court and Haast, chuffed, declared: "he made some most admirable remarks, so that he quite won my heart."[513] Visitors were struck by the contrast between the lush fernery, the reconstructed Māori display, and the industrial and agricultural products. The *Hawke's Bay Herald* highlighted the quality of contributions from the colony's museums.[514] The *New Zealand Herald* praised the "gigantic moas" but also the suite of furniture made from native timbers, including a large cabinet "the joint work" of Māori and Pākehā.[515] With relief, Haast noted "I can breathe a little more freely."[516]

In June, Haast was awarded his knighthood, marking the high point in his public career.[517] He described to his son Heinrich how he "rushed at once" to tell Mary that she was now "Lady von Haast," adding that "congratulations are pouring in from all sides … I was much pleased."[518] Sir Julius and Lady von Haast attended the State Ball at Buckingham Palace the same month.[519] Despite the positives, Haast privately admitted: "It will be for me an awfully hard month," as besides exhibition work and preparing a lecture on the mineral resources of

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[509] Ibid.
[510] Julius von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, n.d., in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 79.
[511] Ibid., May 7, 1886, 17.
[512] *The Times,* July 24, 1886, in "The Indo-Colonial Exhibition," *Lyttelton Times*, October 28, 1886, 2.
[513] Julius von Haast to Eva von Haast, May 2, 1886, in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 15.
[514] "At The Exhibition," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, August 7, 1886, 3.
[515] "News in Brief," *New Zealand Herald,* June 18, 1886, 6.
[516] Julius von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, May 7, 1886, in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 17.
[517] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 925.
[518] Julius von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, June 22, 1886, in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 26.
[519] Ibid., June 3, 1886, 21.

New Zealand for the Geologists' Association, he had "innumerable" social functions and scientific engagements to attend.[520]

The exhibition reignited calls for a permanent colonial presence in London. Although a "Colonial Museum" had been proposed after the 1862 London Exhibition, it had since stalled.[521] Haast revived the idea, arguing in a May 1886 memorandum that such a museum – featuring each colony's produce, natural history and ethnology – would encourage emigration, investment and imperial pride.[522] "I have just finished a long Memo on the question of having a permanent Colonial Museum in London … Being myself a Museum Director," Haast wrote, "Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen … thought my voice would have some weight."[523] Despite initial support,[524] disagreements over funding and British control derailed the plan. Colonial leaders, including Bell, resisted centralised management.[525] The idea eventually morphed into the Imperial Institute of 1893, later to become the Commonwealth Institute, which diverged from Haast's vision.[526]

[520] Ibid., June 15, 1886, 23.
[521] Sir Daniel Cooper to Julius von Haast, May 30, 1886, Haast Family Collection, Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Papers, MS-Copy-Micro-0717-01, Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[522] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 950–51.
[523] Julius von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, May 19, 1886, in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 19.
[524] James Francis Garrick to Julius von Haast, 1886, Haast Family Collection, Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Papers, MS-Copy-Micro-0717-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[525] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 958.
[526] Ibid., 963.

Figure 4: Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886. Woodbury Permanent Photographic Printing Company. Hocken Collections, Dunedin, Box-202-001-005.

Conflict and Criticism at Home

Haast's conception of the Māori court was not universally welcomed. In Christchurch, the Industrial Association condemned it as a misrepresentation of the colony, arguing that New Zealand should be presented as a modern, prosperous society rather than one associated with primitivism.[527] Outraged, Haast accused the Association of disseminating falsehoods that threatened the exhibition's success. He questioned whether they intended to sabotage Canterbury's participation, concluding he would collect Christchurch's exhibits himself to avoid the region going unrepresented.[528] A sub-committee formed to consider his letter, with one member remarking that Haast's "special training made him look upon the matter from the Museum point of view."[529]

On 7 July 1886, during the exhibition, a telegram from New Zealand authorities expressed concern that the New Zealand Court was "inferior to other Colonies," resembled "a third-

[527] Ibid., 910.
[528] Ibid.
[529] Ibid., 911.

rate kind of museum," and gave too much prominence to the natural history collections.[530] "Everybody is most indignant," Haast wrote privately, "as it is one of the finest Courts & is much admired."[531] The criticisms were addressed in a special commissioners' meeting on 12 July. Bell rejected the accusations, noting that an exhibition could only reflect what was submitted and Haast had done his best with the materials provided.[532] Robert Pharazyn, commissioner and politician, suggested the court may have lacked popular appeal due to its strong museological character.[533]

Haast defended his work, stating he had complied with government orders despite personal reservations. He denied that natural history dominated the court and argued the displays were highly praised by visiting scientists with many offers from people who wished to buy specimens. "As to the industries generally," he said, "I did all I could to get exhibits, but many of the industries sent nothing at all."[534] He emphasised that it was not the industrial products but the fernery, natural history specimens, and Buller's ethnological displays that drew visitors: "[t]he industries alone would not have attracted visitors to the Court."[535] Clifford likely captured the political undertones of the situation when he remarked that Haast had probably "been treading on some unfortunate man's toes," a sentiment Haast shared.[536] In a second meeting on 19 July, Haast assured the committee that he would "try to wake the people up … and perhaps induce them to send a better set of exhibits" for future exhibitions.[537]

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[530] "New Zealand Court: Telegram from the New Zealand Government," July 7, 1886, Haast Family Collection, Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Papers, MS-Copy-Micro-0717-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. The telegram read: "Reflections are being made on the New Zealand Court. It is said to be inferior to other Colonies and not worthy of New Zealand; that it is a third rate kind of museum; that Dr Buller's collection is too prominent; that it contains too much natural history; that inadequate attention has been paid to useful productions; that the timbers have not received justice; and that a gold obelisk would be desirable. The Government desires to know what truth there is in these statements, and what is really the general estimate of the Court; and whether it would be advisable to take any special steps in the matter."

[531] Julius von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, July 3, 1886, in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 33

[532] "Minutes of Meeting of New Zealand Commissioners," July 12, 1886, Haast Family Collection, Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Papers, MS-Copy-Micro-0717-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, 17.

[533] Ibid., 18.

[534] Ibid.

[535] Ibid.

[536] Ibid.; Julius von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, July 3, 1886, in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 33.

[537] "Minutes of Proceedings at the Adjourned Meeting of the New Zealand Commissioners, Held at the [Indian and Colonial] Exhibition," July 19, 1886, Haast Family Collection, Colonial and Indian Exhibition Official Papers, MS-Copy-Micro-0717-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, 21.

Scientific Networking and Collecting

Towards the end of the exhibition, the pressure eased sufficiently for Haast to tour museums in Britain with Mary, using the opportunity to pursue exchanges and acquisitions. In Exeter, he confronted the Royal Albert Memorial Museum curator over a moa skeleton for which he had received no reciprocal exchange.[538] He later remarked that his methods sometimes involved "a little persuasion."[539] At Cambridge's Archaeological and Ethnological Museum he obtained "all their duplicates," including items from Mexico, Fiji and Borneo.[540]

Haast also strengthened scientific networks that directly benefitted Canterbury Museum. He sent fossil plants to the Austrian botanist Constantin von Ettinghausen for description before their return to Christchurch, and used moa skeletons as exchange currency, selling one to the Edinburgh Museum and another to the British Museum to offset freight costs.[541] Visiting scientists "all on official missions" frequently called on Haast, prompting him to reassure his son Heinrich that he was "not bedded on roses."[542]

Ethnological collecting remained his primary objective. Participating fully in the nineteenth century "great scramble" for ethnographic material, Haast warned of the urgency of acquisition: "Our principal object at present must be to get as many ethnological objects as possible. Every day they disappear more and more."[543] Despite limited funds, additional grants from the Canterbury College and private donors enabled further purchases, while Haast reported promises of collections from "Several of the Commissioners" of other countries.[544] "I have had no end of promises from lots of people & Institutions," he wrote, convinced the exhibition would "offer fine things"[545] for Canterbury Museum's collection.

Haast's office in South Kensington became a hub of scientific exchange. Museum directors from Europe, America and Africa visited constantly – "[m]y little office is like a pigeon house,

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[538] Mary von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, October 4, 1886, in Nolden and Manton, eds., *The Letters of Mary von Haast to Her Family,* 105.
[539] Julius von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, June 15, 1886, in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 24.
[540] Ibid.
[541] Ibid., June 22, 1886, 26; Ibid., August 25, 1886, 43.
[542] Ibid., September 8, 1886, 46.
[543] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 9; Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 946.
[544] "Sir Julius von Haast," *Star (Christchurch),* August 31, 1886, 3; Julius von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, July 22, 1886, in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 37.
[545] Ibid., August 25, 1886, 43.

people coming in & out."[546] By late 1886 he had secured fossils and ethnological material from major British institutions and anticipated receiving "a magnificent series" from Paris.[547] Reviewing Māori holdings at the British Museum, he selected taonga "what we have not got," while wondering pragmatically, "How we shall find room for them is a rather difficult question."[548]

The exhibition's closure generated further labour. Haast oversaw the packing of New Zealand exhibits alongside extensive acquisitions from other courts and British museums, ranging from Asian and African ethnological material to antiquities and natural history specimens.[549] He anticipated at least thirty cases of material would be sent back to Canterbury Museum.[550]

Following the exhibition, Haast undertook an intensive tour of European museums, trading New Zealand specimens for fossils and ethnographic material.[551] As his son later recalled, "He haunted the Museums," selecting items from store-rooms prepared for him.[552] The physical strain soon became evident: by the time the couple reached Bonn, Haast was so unwell he could only "crawl along with a stick."[553] Advised to return home, he nevertheless continued, attributing his condition to the cold and damp exhibition buildings.[554]

Although he partially recovered and completed further exchanges in continental Europe, the cumulative toll on his health was severe.[555] Returning to Christchurch in July 1887, Haast resumed his curatorial work but had little opportunity to unpack the vast collections he had assembled overseas, "so large indeed that it will probably be some time ere they can be displayed."[556] His health deteriorated rapidly, and he died on 16 August 1887.[557]

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[546] Ibid., September 8, 1886, 49.
[547] "Canterbury Museum," *Lyttelton Times,* December 15, 1886, 6.
[548] Julius von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, September 29, 1886, in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 52.
[549] Ibid.; Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 967–68; Julius von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, November 25, 1886, in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 59.
[550] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 967–68.
[551] Ibid.
[552] Ibid.
[553] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 942; Julius von Haast to Heinrich von Haast, January 9, 1887, in Nolden and Nathan, eds., "The Letters of Sir Julius von Haast to His Children," 67.
[554] Ibid.
[555] Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 943–944.
[556] "Town & Country," *Lyttelton Times,* July 20, 1887, 4; "Canterbury Museum," *Lyttelton Times,* July 23, 1887, 5.
[557] Nathan, "A Short Biography of Sir Julius von Haast," 14.

Summary

The 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition represented the pinnacle of Haast's long engagement with international exhibitions. Far from being a peripheral activity, exhibitions formed a central mechanism through which Haast built scientific authority, advanced the status of Canterbury Museum and positioned New Zealand within imperial networks of scientific exchange. The acclaim he received in London, including his knighthood and the expansion of the museum's collections, was the visible outcome of decades of strategic collecting, negotiation and self-promotion.

By foregrounding Haast's sustained utilisation of international exhibitions, this study draws attention to his skilled mobilisation of these events as tools of scientific legitimacy. In doing so, it highlights the way in which Canterbury Museum, international exhibitions and colonial scientific exchange were mutually beneficial. For the ambitious Haast, exhibitions were instruments of influence – stages on which he could shape perceptions, forge scientific connections and cement his legacy. By the time of his death, Canterbury Museum, his lasting monument, was noted as the thirteenth largest museum in the world.[558]

[558] G. Hogben, "Biography of Julius Haast," *Philosophical Institute of Canterbury Annual Meeting,* 1888, 19; Edward Ellis Morris, ed., Cassell's Picturesque Australasia (Cassell, 1887), 22.

Figure 5: Studio Portrait of Sir James Hector, c. 1863. Photograph by John McGregor, Dunedin. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, PA1-q-264-17-4.

Chapter Three: Sir James Hector, the Colonial Museum and International Exhibitions

Historian Michael Hoare has described the period from 1865 to 1903 as the "Hector hegemony,"[559] reflecting the extent of Sir James Hector's (1834–1907) scientific and intellectual dominance in late nineteenth-century New Zealand. A devoted public servant and pioneering scientist, Hector played a central role in shaping the colony's scientific institutions. Between 1862 and 1895, he also devoted considerable time and energy to organising displays for both national and at least eight international exhibitions – an important yet under-examined dimension of his career.

Born in Edinburgh, Hector's aptitude for chemistry and natural history led him to study medicine at the University of Edinburgh. He earned an M.D. in 1856, which he regarded not as a professional qualification but as preparation for a scientific career.[560] During his studies, he acquired substantial field experience in geology and mineralogy.[561] His first major professional appointment came in 1857 as surgeon-geologist on the British North American Exploring Expedition, where he conducted extensive surveys across western Canada, identified key mountain passes and gained recognition from leading scientific societies.[562] In 1862, Hector emigrated to New Zealand to undertake a three-year geological survey in Otago, during which he carried out extensive fieldwork and assembled collections for both local and international study.[563] For a more detailed account of Hector's early life and Otago work, see Appendix E; this formative period laid the groundwork for his later scientific and curatorial achievements in New Zealand.

Building on this study's examination of Haast's museum-building career and engagement with international exhibitions, this chapter examines how Hector similarly – yet in distinct institutional and political contexts – used international exhibitions to promote New Zealand's

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[559] Michael Hoare, "The New Zealand Institute (I): The Hector Hegemony (1867–1903)," Royal Society of New Zealand Bulletin 18 (1987).
[560] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 15.
[561] Ibid., 17; Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector,* 15. Hector's surviving notebooks for the years 1854 to 1856 record his visits to many places in the Scottish Highlands, as well as the Isle of Skye and the Farne Islands.
[562] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 24.
[563] Ibid., 49.

industries and natural resources while advancing the profile of the Colonial Museum in Wellington.

3.1 The New Zealand Exhibition, Dunedin, 1865

Figure 6: Exhibition Building, c. 1865. Photograph by Joseph Weaver Allen. Hocken Collections, Dunedin, P2016-035-2-007.

As host of New Zealand's two major international exhibitions of the nineteenth century – the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition and the 1889–90 New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition, as well as the country's first university and several cultural institutions – Dunedin asserted itself as the cultural and economic capital of New Zealand in the latter half of the century.[564] Dunedin's economy grew exponentially from the 1860s, boosted first by a gold rush and then by the beginnings of a successful frozen meat export industry.[565] By 1864, the gold rush had subsided, but Dunedin had already benefitted: it was the largest and richest city in New Zealand.[566]

[564] Rice, "A Red-Letter Day," 234. New Zealand's first school of art opened in Dunedin in 1870 with David Con Hutton as the drawing master. In 1884, the first public art gallery was opened in Dunedin occupying a space in the Otago Museum.
[565] Ibid.
[566] Smith, *The History of New Zealand Exhibitions*, 27.

Writing in 1886, politician Alfred Cox reflected that: "[m]uch of the brilliant success of that first New Zealand Exhibition was admittedly due to the energy and genius of Dr. Hector."[567] The 1865 New Zealand Exhibition aimed to benefit Otago by promoting local manufacturing and production and by enhancing the skills and knowledge of its population.[568] The exploitation of resources by Pākehā settlers went largely unquestioned, although Māori were not wholly excluded; Alfred Eccles, in his 1925 reflection on the exhibition, stated he had hoped Māori "would be strongly interested in [the Exhibition], both as exhibitors and visitors."[569]

The exhibition's origins lay in a smaller event: the Church of England Fancy Bazaar and Industrial Exhibition, held in Dunedin in December 1862 to raise funds for St Paul's Anglican Church.[570] Among the attractions – although not for sale – was a collection displayed by Hector, comprising geological and botanical specimens, maps and instruments.[571] Combining his own Otago specimens, amassed within eight months, with purchased examples of minerals from London, and tertiary fossils from Melbourne, he arranged a striking display on "a dozen large boards placed in front of the counter, on which are displayed native mosses, seaweeds and ferns."[572]

The success of this small-scale display prompted the Otago Provincial Government to allocate £400 for the construction of a temporary museum attached to Hector's geological department.[573] Yet progress was slow. By 1864, Hector lamented that although "a varied collection has been accumulated and roughly catalogued," the specimens were still "lodged in one of the Barrack Rooms, and are not only difficult of access for the purpose of reference … but are also liable to damage."[574] He insisted the museum's existence "is greatly to be desired."[575] Despite these challenges, the experience revealed both the public appetite

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[567] Alfred Cox, *Men of Mark of New Zealand* (Whitcombe and Tombs, 1886), 99.
[568] Minute Book of the Commissioners (New Zealand Exhibition), Vol. I, 1865, MS-0328, Hocken Collections, University of Otago, Dunedin, 19.
[569] Eccles, *The First New Zealand Exhibition*, 5.
[570] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 140–41.
[571] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 63.
[572] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 140–41; "Church of England Fancy Bazaar and Industrial Exhibition," *Otago Daily Times*, December 17, 1862, 4.
[573] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 140–41; McRobie, *An Administrative History,* 7.
[574] James Hector, "Departmental Report: Geological Survey Department," *Proceedings of the Provincial Council of Otago,* Session 18, Report 11, 92–6.
[575] Ibid.

for scientific display and Hector's talent for organising it, laying the groundwork for the later development of Otago Museum.

Encouraged by this response and buoyed by the prosperity of Otago's gold rush, Dunedin's leaders began planning a grander event. Eccles, chair of the 1862 bazaar committee, successfully persuaded both the Otago Provincial and the central government to support a national exhibition modelled on the 1862 Great London Exposition.[576] A commission was established with Hector's name leading the list, and the exhibition opening was scheduled for January 1865.[577] Returning from West Coast fieldwork in late 1863, Hector learned of his appointment as commissioner, and over the next eighteen months he immersed himself in the planning, design and administration of the event.[578] He noted to Hooker just how busy he was: "This year what with my survey, the museum, the Exhibition & an acclimatization society of which I am chairman I shall have to throw off my inherent laziness and work like a horse."[579]

Hector personally travelled throughout the North Island from May to mid-July 1864 to solicit commitments, financial guarantees and contributions.[580] He noted that the six-week venture "makes a nice trip for me."[581] He also used the opportunity to investigate regional geology and goldmining and to scout for future employment opportunities.[582] His diplomatic efforts were largely successful in Nelson, Marlborough and Wellington, although less so in New Plymouth and Auckland, where the ongoing New Zealand Wars hampered engagement.[583] On his return south, he held a successful meeting with Haast in Christchurch, where they

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[576] Crane, "Skeletons in the Attic," 2. The categories of exhibits were modelled on those of an international exhibition called The Great London Exposition held between May and November 1862, which was in turn modelled on a smaller version of the 1851 Great Exhibition.
[577] "The New Zealand Gazette," *Daily Southern Cross*, September 14, 1863, 2.
[578] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 141–42; Tony Hocken, "Exploring the South, Otago Provincial Government," in *The Amazing World of James Hector*, 1st ed, eds., Simon Nathan and Mary Varnham, Awa Science (Awa Press, 2008), 35.
[579] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, January 16, 1864, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 41–42. The Otago Acclimatisation Society was operative from 1864, with Hector elected as chairman. In May 1871, Hector began an acclimatisation society in Wellington, with plans to "have a few acres of the Bot. Gardens fenced in for rearing birds & fishes." James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, May 15, 1871, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker,* 153.
[580] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 142.
[581] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, May 17, 1864, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 47.
[582] Reid, *The Province of Science,* 18.
[583] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 143.

swapped specimens and compared exhibition plans.[584] By October, Hector was positive but realistic about the 1865 exhibition's prospects, reporting that although it could not offer a "complete" display of raw materials it would still "prove successful" as a "first attempt."[585]

By late 1864, Hector had completed a detailed geological map and accompanying sections of Otago for the exhibition.[586] He also prepared a broader geological map of the entire colony – the first of its kind – compiled from scattered data and based on his own reconnaissance surveys, noting: "I have been hard at work getting out a Geological map of the whole of N.Z. which is to embody all that is at present known."[587] In November 1864, this map was handed to draughtsman Thomas Forrester for finalisation and sent to England for publication the following year.[588] Hector also organised for photographer Joseph Perry to photograph one hundred Otago landscapes to display at the exhibition, a three-month venture Perry undertook in late 1864.[589] Hector wrote proudly of the exhibition progress: "I am very busy just now with the Exhibition which is to be opened in two months. Things are beginning to come in & the Building is finished."[590] As well as organising exhibits, Hector co-ordinated the publication of a series of essays on various aspects of New Zealand's natural and economic resources, including his own on the geology of Otago.[591]

In his dual capacity as Otago Provincial Geologist and exhibition commissioner, Hector viewed the exhibition as an opportunity "of arranging and exhibiting to the public the collection belonging to the department."[592] Assisted by his key staff, including chemist

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[584] Julius von Haast to James Hector, April 10, 1864, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector, 1862–1887*, 47.
[585] "Report of Dr Hector to the Royal Commissioners of the New Zealand Exhibition," *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, October 22, 1864, 3.
[586] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 144.
[587] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, November 15, 1864, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 53.
[588] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 148. Thomas Forrester (1838–1907) was also superintendent of the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition. He later moved to Ōamaru, where he became known for his work as an architect, and as curator of the Ōamaru Athenaeum and Mechanics' Institute.
[589] Petersen, "The Give and Take of Photographs: Early Views of Dunedin and Otago," 150–51. Initially eight or ten of Perry's photographs hung on the staircase next to the Otago Court. From April another instalment arrived, bringing the total photographs to thirty-seven. Photography as a profession was in its infancy in the 1860s, and it shows Hector's foresight that he commissioned photographic works both for the exhibition and for his own survey work. For more detail regarding early New Zealand photography, see Catherine Hammond and Shaun Higgins, eds., *A Different Light: First Photographs of Aotearoa* (Auckland University Press, 2024).
[590] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, October 17, 1864, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 52–53.
[591] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 63.
[592] "XI – Geological Survey Department. Geological Survey, Otago, New Zealand. Dunedin, 13 April 1864," *Votes and Proceedings of the Provincial Council of Otago*, Session 18, Report 11 (1864), 85.

William Skey, clerk and meteorological observer Richard Benjamin Gore, and draughtsman and botanical artist John Buchanan, as well as assistant surveyor T. R. Hackett, Hector oversaw the assembly of more than 5,000 specimens under the title "Otago Museum."[593] The collection included thousands of geological specimens, taxidermy birds, plants and natural materials gathered across Otago, earning praise for its educational value.[594] With the objects housed in just fifteen cases, the display was overflowing with specimens illustrating the geology and natural history of Otago.[595] "To those who delight in the pursuits of science," one reviewer wrote, "the Otago Museum, and similar collections sent from other Provinces, are perhaps the most interesting features of the Exhibition."[596] The immense task of preparing labels and displaying such a large number of specimens demonstrates Hector's dedication to making scientific knowledge accessible to the public.

The *North Otago Times* likewise praised the collection, nicknamed the "Geological Museum," for its educational value, particularly in advancing scientific knowledge: "there is more to instruct the young student of the natural sciences in this Otago museum than one would have thought possible."[597] Officials praised the instructive exhibits, classified and labelled by Hector and Haast.[598] Although a printed catalogue ensured some degree of permanence, and its preface declared that the aim was to "disseminate a knowledge of the great natural resources of the Colony," many members of the public lamented the temporary nature of the display and urged that the collection be permanently preserved.[599]

The New Zealand Exhibition opened in Dunedin on 12 January 1865 and ran until 6 May.[600] Despite some setbacks,[601] including the absence of the Governor of New Zealand, George

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[593] *Official Catalogue of the New Zealand Exhibition: 1865*, 56.
[594] Ibid., 56. Of the collection, 3,768 were geological samples of rocks, minerals and fossils, 240 were taxidermy birds and fish, 650 dried plants, 100 woods, 150 fibrous materials and a comparative set of 479 European rocks donated by Dr Lauder Lindsay.
[595] Ibid.
[596] "New Zealand Industrial Exhibition," *North Otago Times,* March 16, 1865, 3.
[597] "Otago Museum," *Otago Daily Times,* August 8, 1868, 7; "New Zealand Industrial Exhibition," *North Otago Times,* March 16, 1865, 3.
[598] McCarthy, "Dunedin 1865," in Findling and Pelle, eds., *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, 35.
[599] *New Zealand Exhibition, 1865: Reports and Awards of the Jurors and Appendix*, v; "New Zealand Industrial Exhibition," *North Otago Times,* March 16, 1865, 3.
[600] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 66.
[601] Eccles, *The First New Zealand Exhibition*, 5–6. Shipping delays prevented the British and Indian exhibits from arriving in time for the Exhibition opening. Further setbacks arose from disputes with the Provincial Government over finances and the allocation of exhibition space. As Hector observed, "Owing to squabbles

Grey,[602] it was widely hailed as a landmark event, especially as it was the first official international exhibition held in the colony.[603] Eccles noted it was also the first exhibition "in the history of the Southern Colonies" open to all nations, with Canada, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Britain and India exhibiting.[604]

Hector's fellow commissioners presented him with a silver medal "for the indefatigable and unwearied services rendered by him as a promoter, commissioner and juror."[605] Hector privately noted with both relief and frustration that the exhibition was "at last open," expressing his exhaustion: "I have been so much occupied & I may say overworked with the preparation of the N.Z. Exhibition … The Exhibition has kept me in town & has made me lose the best of the collecting season."[606] Later that year, he reflected that the exhibition had caused "a great deal of labour & worry & I sincerely trust that it wont [sic] be all thrown away."[607] However, he felt positive about the exhibition's reception, praising its educational attributes: "It is daily growing in favour & becoming popular & is really well worth careful study … it has rather the character of a Museum than an Exhibition."[608] Hector's comments underscore his curatorial philosophy: he valued exhibitions that went beyond entertainment to provide structured, accessible scientific knowledge, treating the event as an extension of a museum's educational mission.

Hector's role in the 1865 Exhibition is credited with bringing him to the attention of central government, who subsequently secured his services for the Geological Survey in Wellington.[609] With his sight set on founding a national museum, Hector saw the exhibition

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with the Local Govt., we are six weeks behind time." James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, November 15, 1864, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 55.

[602] Eccles, *The First New Zealand Exhibition*, 6. Owing to the New Zealand Wars, Sir George Grey (1812–1898) was unable to travel to Dunedin to attend the Exhibition as originally planned. Eccles recorded that Grey's absence caused resentment in Otago. Hector noted his personal disappointment at Grey's absence: "The Governor played us all in the South a most shabby trick in changing his mind at the last moment without notice & not coming to the exhibition in person. All the great Balls Dinners &c. that were prepared for his reception went off very flat." James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, January 18, 1865, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 56.

[603] McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 9.

[604] Eccles, *The First New Zealand Exhibition*, 7–8.

[605] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 147.

[606] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, January 18, 1865, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 56.

[607] Ibid., July 17, 1865, 69.

[608] Ibid., February 15, 1865, 57.

[609] Rice, *The State Collections of Colonial New Zealand Art*, 121.

as an opportunity to secure "a fine collection for a Colonial Museum"[610] and actively obtained all the Natural History specimens he could.[611] Yet he noted his disappointment in leaving his Otago collections behind as "now they will all fall into the hands of the Provincial Museum."[612] Hector lamented:

> When I leave [Dunedin] in a few months I shall leave behind a Capital little museum containing over 3,000 Rock & Fossil specimens, all worked up & Catalogued for reference. Also 90 or 100 birds of the Province all set up … A full set of all the woods … About 50 of the more interesting of the fishes and a lot of the odds & ends.[613]

Hector informed Vogel that only the central government was then prepared to secure key exhibits for a colonial museum and warned him that if provincial governments also attempted to acquire the specimens, it could hinder the completion of the geological survey of New Zealand.[614] "It was necessary," he argued, "to have the most complete collection of specimens, fossils … in one place."[615] Despite Hector's prior efforts to establish a museum in Otago, his turn towards a national museum also hindered it.[616] By the end of the exhibition in May, the Otago Local Committee had "taken some steps" towards establishing a permanent museum, placing pressure on the Provincial Government to take the steps necessary to preserve and store the acquisitions until a museum could be established.[617] Three years later, this collection would form the nucleus of the Otago Museum.

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[610] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, February 15, 1865, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 57.
[611] Ibid., May 17, 1865, 65.
[612] Ibid.
[613] Ibid., November 15, 1864, 53.
[614] Minute Book of the Commissioners (New Zealand Exhibition), Vol. 2, 1865, MS-0329, Hocken Collections, University of Otago, Dunedin, 93.
[615] Ibid.
[616] Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 24.
[617] "Dunedin," *North Otago Times,* June 7, 1865, 2; McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 15.

Figure 7: 1865 New Zealand Exhibition, Furniture Court and Museum, 1865. Photographer unknown. Hocken Collections, Dunedin, P2011-021-3-01.

3.2 The Establishment of the Colonial Museum

In 1864, Wellington's Provincial Geologist James Coutts Crawford and fossil-hunter and politician Walter Mantell convinced Premier Frederick Whitaker of the need for a national geological survey.[618] Hector was consulted and formally invited to establish the new organisation. On 17 June 1864, he accepted in principle, setting out detailed conditions for his appointment: the survey must include an analytical laboratory, a museum and a scientific library.[619] He listed the staff he wished to be appointed, the buildings he would need, and an estimate of initial and annual expenses.[620] He also stipulated that the staff be permanently employed, arguing that continuity was essential to build a Geological Survey comparable to other colonies.[621] Permanent, state-funded positions were rare for nineteenth-century men of science, and the offer of such security persuaded Hector to remain in New Zealand.[622]

The timing was fortuitous. The seat of government was being transferred from Auckland to Wellington, and the Weld administration sought to anchor the new capital with permanent national institutions.[623] Crawford wrote to Hector urging him to use his influence "at once to get a Museum built here now when they are spending money."[624] Hector promptly proposed that the museum building be constructed in a single phase, arguing that an expenditure of £1500 at once would be the most economical in the long run.[625] The government approved, and plans for the Colonial Museum advanced rapidly.

Hector's departure from Otago was delayed by his obligations to the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition. "I am still down here," he wrote to Hooker, "though my head quarters are soon in Wellington at the seat of Government where I am to establish a Colonial Museum – but until

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[618] Ian Speden, "Mapping the Country: New Zealand Geological Survey," in *The Amazing World of James Hector*, 1st ed, eds., Simon Nathan and Mary Varnham, Awa Science (Awa Press, 2008), 37.
A politician, naturalist and public servant, Walter Mantell (1820–1895) is best known for his work collecting and exchanging fossils as well as for his controversial involvement in land purchases and native affairs. He was a supporter of the Colonial Museum, supplying the museum with some of its first collections. He was often acting director during Hector's absences. Wellington's Provincial Geologist from 1861–1864, James Coutts Crawford (1817–1889) was a keen scientist and would later publish numerous papers in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*.
[619] Speden, "Mapping the Country," 37.
[620] Ibid., 38.
[621] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 74.
[622] Reid, *The Province of Science,* 15. Hector had planned to return to Britain on the conclusion of his Otago contract.
[623] Dell, 3.
[624] James Coutts Crawford to James Hector, January 1865 in Reid, *The Province of Science,* 19–20.
[625] Reid, *The Province of Science,* 19–20.

the close of the Exhibition I cannot leave this."[626] Although formally appointed Director of the Geological Survey on 1 April 1865, Hector and his core team, whom he had recruited to join him in Wellington – Skey, Gore and Buchanan – remained in Dunedin until August.[627] The staff spent most of their time from April to July packing up the exhibition and preparing for their move north.[628] Although Hector had to leave the bulk of his Otago collections in Dunedin, he took duplicate rocks, plants and birds for the new Colonial Museum.[629]

Designing the Colonial Museum

The architectural commission for the Colonial Museum was awarded to the Dunedin firm Mason and Clayton, with William Clayton, architect of the 1865 Exhibition building, taking the lead in design.[630] Cabinet approved the plans on 3 June 1865, and the building was constructed in prefabricated sections in Dunedin before being shipped to Wellington.[631] Clayton drew inspiration from James Pennethorne's Museum of Practical Geology in London, producing a simple rectangular structure.[632] The building's lantern roof replaced conventional windows to provide even, natural illumination, an innovation reflecting Clayton's experience with modern museum display.[633]

Erected on Museum Street behind Government House, the building's timber construction was a deliberate response to Wellington's seismic risk; Hector and Clayton judged the danger of earthquake greater than that of fire.[634] Italianate in style, with arched windows and entranceway, its total cost, including fittings, was £945 19s 10d.[635] The use of cast-iron columns and prefabricated panels reflected the influence of industrial modernity and British museum architecture, including that of Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace.[636] The hybridisation

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[626] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, April 17, 1865, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 59.
[627] Dell, 3; Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 61, 113; Speden, "Mapping the Country," 38.
[628] Hocken, "Exploring the South, Otago Provincial Government," 36; Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 74–75.
[629] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 72.
[630] Ibid., 74.
[631] Shirley Anne Crighton, *William Henry Clayton (1823–1877): Colonial Architect* (Master's thesis, University of Canterbury, 1985), 84–85; Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 75. It was at Hector's suggestion that the framing be constructed in Dunedin which resulted in a prefabricated shell being shipped to Wellington.
[632] John E. Martin, *Empire City: Wellington Becomes the Capital of New Zealand* (Te Herenga Waka University Press, 2022), 410.
[633] Linda Tyler, *Art in the Service of Science: Dunedin's John Buchanan, 1819–1898* (Gus Fisher Gallery, 2012), 21.
[634] Crighton, *William Henry Clayton,* 85.
[635] Tyler, *Art in the Service of Science*, 21.
[636] Crighton, *William Henry Clayton,* 87–88.

of allusions to the past and the technology of the present suited the ambitions of Hector well.[637]

Crawford updated Hector regularly on the construction progress, informing him in July that the museum walls were up and by the end of July the building was almost complete.[638] After arriving in Wellington in August, space was scarce: Skey's laboratory occupied a workman's shed, which, Hector reported, was so insufficient it endangered the accuracy of Skey's experiments.[639] However, the construction moved rapidly and Hector wrote with enthusiasm to Hooker: "I have had to start a Museum here at once … As soon as I get into the Field however I will get collecting to supply this place."[640] Although they took time away from each other, Hector saw the Geological Survey and the Colonial Museum as inextricably entwined, and they would remain so throughout his tenure.

Establishing the Colonial Museum

Hector had little time to organise his new department before being dispatched to the field. Something he was glad of, noting: "I am quite sick of Town life & long to get into the Field again."[641] His first geological survey assignment, in the summer of 1865–66, was to explore the geology of Northland, assessing coal seams at Kamo near Whangārei and at Kawakawa.[642] Hector took Buchanan with him and they spent three months exploring and mapping the area to the north of Whangarei.[643] Hector collected with mixed success: "All that I have got yet will not form a brilliant addition to [the museum], but I have been too much on the move."[644]

In his absence, Mantell oversaw the museum construction as well as the curation of displays and the setting up of the laboratory.[645] Hector's written *Memo [of] Instructions for the*

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[637] Tyler, *Art in the Service of Science*, 24–25.
[638] Dell, *Dominion Museum,* 3.
[639] Burton, *New Zealand Geological Survey,* 14.
[640] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, November 12, 1865, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 75.
[641] Ibid., July 17, 1865, 69.
[642] Burns and Nathan, eds., *James Hector in Northland, 1865–1866*, 3. Because coal had to be imported from Australia at considerable expense, the government placed a high priority on locating and developing workable domestic coal seams.
[643] Burns and Nathan, eds., *James Hector in Northland, 1865–1866*, 3.
[644] James Hector to Walter Mantell, December 28, 1865, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *James Hector in Northland, 1865–1866*, 29.
[645] Dell, *Dominion Museum*, 4.

Museum (1865) outlined his expectations of Mantell during this period, such as his advice for the collections:

> In the small space thus marked off all the Nat. Hist. & Ethnological collections should be arranged & the rest of the Museum devoted to Geology. All the specimens should be spread out in trays if necessary & labelled leaving blanks when the information cannot be obtained.[646]

The foundational collections were primarily geological. As Hector explained: "I shall not have much to start it with at first … However I shall have a good set of Tertiary Fossils & Recent Shells & a fair share of Rock Specimens."[647] Duplicates from Otago provided a geological series and Crawford's Wellington specimens were presented alongside survey material from Nelson.[648] The holdings of the former New Zealand Society were transferred to the museum.[649] Mantell himself deposited his substantial private collection.[650] By September 1866, Hector recorded the Colonial Museum's collection as containing 9,297 specimens of rocks, minerals, and fossils; 2,846 shells; and 1,811 specimens of natural history, including woods, fishes, wools and Māori taonga.[651] During this period, taonga were included under the banner of natural history, with dedicated ethnographic collections developed in the 'ethnographic turn' of the late nineteenth century.[652] On the 8 December 1865 opening, the Colonial Museum held nearly 14,000 specimens, over half geological.[653]

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[646] James Hector to Walter Mantell, 1865, "Memo Instructions for the Museum," in Burns and Nathan, eds., *James Hector in Northland, 1865–1866*, 38.
[647] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, September 13, 1865, in Burns and Nathan, *My Dear Hooker*, 72.
[648] Dell, *Dominion Museum*, 4.
[649] Dell, *Dominion Museum*, 1; Tyler, *Art in the Service of Science*, 21. The Colonial Museum was preceded in Wellington by a small collection assembled by the New Zealand Society during its two unsuccessful attempts to establish a lasting institution in 1851 and 1859. Walter Buller played a leading role in the formation and curation of this collection, which was housed in a room on the upper floor of the Provincial Government offices. When the Society failed to thrive, its collections were subsequently transferred to the newly established Colonial Museum.
[650] C. Hodder and A. P. W. Hodder, "The Scientific Exertions of an Enterprising Colonial Son: Walter BD Mantell," *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 47, no. 1 (2017), 50. Much of Mantell's private collection originated from his father Gideon Mantell's Mantellian Museum in Bristol (est. 1837). Among these items was the famous Iguanodon tooth, discovered by Walter's mother, Mary Ann Mantell, in 1820, which is now held by Te Papa Tongarewa Museum (GH004839). This Iguanodon tooth is currently considered the most valuable single specimen in the Te Papa collection.
[651] Dell, *Dominion Museum*, 4.
[652] McKay, *The Man and the Museum,* 148.
[653] James Hector, "Memorandum Concerning the Colonial Museum," *Appendix to the Journal of the New Zealand House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1866 Session I, D–09, 4.

Hector valued Mantell's curatorial oversight and was grateful for his hard work. "As I expected," he wrote, "you are going boss at the Museum far better than I could do … I will feel thankful to you for ever if you can knock the Museum into shape before I return."[654] Although exacting in his expectations, Hector does not appear overtly controlling, telling Mantell to ignore "any thought of my criticism" and to arrange the collections as he saw fit, given he "never felt strong in that branch."[655] Later he quipped that he believed "the Museum is a great gainer" by his being "so long out of the way."[656] Although Hector considered classification a vital aspect of museum practice, it was not a personal strength or favourite task.

The museum opened twice weekly and visitor numbers during the first eight months totalled about 1,600.[657] The museum was popular from its inception, with the number of visitors increasing from 3,000 in 1866–67 to 10,000 in 1870–71, and to 15,000 in 1877–78.[658] Hooker noted of the success: "I am heartily glad you have started the Museum at Wellington; there is nothing like a museum & gardens to screw money out of the public for science."[659] Hooker's wry comment underscores the practical realities of sustaining colonial institutions, where educational ambition and financial necessity were intertwined.

One of the earliest setbacks occurred just weeks after the Colonial Museum's opening, when it was burgled on the night of 1 February 1866. The theft involved 58 items valued at approximately £200.[660] Among the stolen items were scientific instruments such as chronometers and field glasses, as well as objects like a lock of Napoleon's hair, a silver medal of Oliver Cromwell and a pounamu mere.[661] A reward of £100 was offered for

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[654] James Hector to Walter Mantell, December 23, 1865, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *James Hector in Northland, 1865–1866*, 27.
[655] Ibid.
[656] Ibid., February 5, 1866, 33–34.
[657] Dell, *Dominion Museum*, 4.
[658] Gore, *Representations of History,* 204.
[659] Joseph Dalton Hooker to James Hector, January 13, 1886, in John Yaldwyn and Juliet Hobbs, eds., *My Dear Hector, Letters from Joseph Dalton Hooker to James Hector 1862–1893* (Museum of Te Papa Tongarewa, 1998), 66.
[660] Hodder and Hodder, "The Scientific Exertions of an Enterprising Colonial Son," 51.
[661] *Evening Post,* February 2, 1866, 2.

information leading to the conviction of the burglar.[662] Ultimately, all items were recovered and the burglar was sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment.[663]

The burglary left both Hector and Mantell shaken, with Mantell giving Hector notice to withdraw all his deposits to the museum, and Hector later stating that although he was glad the property had been recovered, he had made up his mind "to return every article of value that has been lent to the Museum … unless I can be fully assured of their safety."[664] The *Otago Witness* unkindly remarked that the burglary represented "the first symptom of interest which the inhabitants have manifested in the [Colonial Museum] … The love of science appears in the Empire City to be confined to the criminal class."[665]

Hector arrived back in Wellington on 17 May 1866, having been away for six months, and immediately plunged into a backlog of administrative work.[666] In the early years, Hector balanced the management of the Colonial Museum with a busy schedule of field trips, often leaving the day-to-day management of the museum to colleagues Gore and Mantell. Gore organised the manufacture of cases and assisted with the labelling and arrangement of exhibits, all of which was intimately detailed in regular letters to Hector.[667]

Improving the Colonial Museum

From the beginning, the Colonial Museum building proved inadequate – structurally unsound, poorly ventilated and chronically overcrowded.[668] By August 1866 the roof leaked and the building was damp and unheated.[669] Poor storage and neglect led to the loss of many early specimens, establishing a long tradition, initiated by Hector, of Colonial Museum directors lobbying the government for improved facilities.[670] Hector's letters reveal the fragile foundations of early museum work, including insufficient funding and political

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[662] George Didsbury, *Poster: New Zealand Police: £100 Reward* (1866), Eph-D-MUSEUM-1866-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[663] Burns and Nathan, eds., *James Hector in Northland, 1865–1866*, 45.
[664] Walter Mantell to James Hector, February 2, 1866, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *James Hector in Northland, 1865–1866*, 46; James Hector to Walter Mantell, March 18, 1866, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *James Hector in Northland, 1865–1866*, 36.
[665] "News of the Week," *Otago Witness,* February 10, 1866, 11.
[666] Burns and Nathan, eds., *James Hector in Northland, 1865–1866*, 3, 53.
[667] Rice, *The State Collections of Colonial New Zealand Art*, 134.
[668] Gore, *Representations of History,* 204.
[669] Dell, *Dominion Museum*, 7.
[670] Barry C. Russell, "Type Specimens of New Zealand Fishes Described by Captain F.W. Hutton, F.R.S. (1836–1905)," *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 26, no. 2 (1996), 218–219; Gore, *Representations of History,* 204; Tyler, *Art in the Service of Science,* 20.

obstacles. In one such letter, he wrote: "I can't get a vote this year for my Museum … the Provincialists & the Centralists are fighting so hard in the Assembly that neither will let the other have any money."[671]

In his 1866 *Memorandum concerning the Colonial Museum*, Hector outlined his vision of a national scientific institution modelled on British examples advocating comprehensive specimen representation for expert use.[672] Hector took care to distinguish the scientific role of the Colonial Museum from that of "popular" museums, with the Colonial Museum firmly in the scientific category.[673] He described its purpose as a scientific museum facilitating "the classification and comparison of the specimens collected in different localities during the progress of the survey," and urged that it support, rather than compete with, regional museums.[674] Hector called for better accommodation and a board of trustees to provide continuity during his absences.[675] Hector's 1870 *Catalogue of the Museum*, a 237-page academic inventory of the collection for specialist learners, reflected his ambition for a systematic and educational approach to museum collections.[676]

Despite the difficulties, improvements did occur. The museum's roof was eventually replaced with corrugated iron, an expensive option at the time.[677] A chemical analysis laboratory was added in 1867, followed by a second wing in 1868 for ethnological and geological exhibits.[678] That same year a beautifully carved whare whakairo, Te Hau-ki-Tūranga (the breath of Tūranga) was incorporated into the museum, having been taken in controversial circumstances from Orakaiapu pā near Gisborne.[679] Hector quickly discovered that the

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[671] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, September 7, 1866, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 85.
[672] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 83.
[673] Hector, "Memorandum Concerning the Colonial Museum," *AJHR,* 1866 Session I, D–09, 3.
[674] Ibid.
[675] Ibid., 4.
[676] James Hector, *Catalogue of the Colonial Museum, New Zealand* (Colonial Museum, 1870), v.
[677] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 81.
[678] Dell, *Dominion Museum*, 5; Martin, *Empire City*, 412.
[679] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 87; Martin, *Empire City,* 411. During Hector's absence on the West Coast in March 1867, the museum was overseen by James Crowe Richmond, Minister for Native Affairs. Richmond travelled to Poverty Bay, holding a series of hui with local iwi to discuss recent fighting. His meeting with Tūranga iwi took place at Te Hau ki Tūranga ("the breath of Tūranga"), a large whare whakairo at Orakaipo Pā near Gisborne, completed in 1842. Richmond viewed the whare as a desirable addition to the Colonial Museum, although he later gave conflicting accounts of his motivations – claiming it was in poor repair, that he purchased it, or that it was confiscated. The day after the hui, he instructed Captain Fairchild to dismantle the meeting house and transport it to Wellington, where it was reconstructed as a Māori-themed exhibition room in the Colonial Museum, with the carvings rearranged for display.

disassembled whare was incomplete, lacking most of the exterior carvings and some supporting beams, so he reconstructed it as a Māori-themed room.[680]

Hector pressed for completion of the original museum plan, including a new two-storey block in front, for the offices of the Geological Survey, and a south wing.[681] A £4,000 grant was approved for an extension in 1874, and the reconstruction was completed in 1875; the museum reopened in 1876 after closure for building work of offices and a vestibule in front of the main hall, with two wings on either side, with no further major additions to follow on this site.[682] Hector likewise pushed forward with establishing scientific networks to support the Colonial Museum, notably through specimen exchanges with the Natural History Museum in London. Between 1871 and 1877, the Colonial Museum dispatched numerous consignments of New Zealand fish and bird specimens to Albert Günther.[683]

Alongside these physical improvements, the New Zealand Institute Bill for the Advancement of Science and Art created a national body to unite existing and future local philosophical societies and coordinate scientific work across the colony.[684] It provided for a board of governors and a government-appointed manager – Hector himself.[685] Under Hector's leadership, the New Zealand Institute became the parent organisation for key scientific institutions, including the Colonial Museum, Colonial Laboratory, Colonial Observatory, Geological Survey and Colonial Botanic Gardens. While Hector's authority partly stemmed from his position as the "lucky first," he proved himself a capable administrator and organiser.[686] As founder, manager and editor of the Institute's *Transactions and Proceedings* from 1867 to 1903, Hector also oversaw every issue, adding personal commentary, arranging papers and publishing seventy of his own.[687] By his retirement, over 2,000 papers had been

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[680] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 87; James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, March 1, 1868, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 102.
[681] Dell, *Dominion Museum*, 7.
[682] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, August 28, 1874, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 167; Dell, *Dominion Museum*, 8; McCarthy, "Displaying Natural History," 52. Although the collections and activities of the Colonial Museum and Geological Survey almost immediately outgrew the original 1865 structure, it would remain the home of the Museum until the transfer to the Mount Cook site in 1936.
[683] Russell, "Type Specimens of New Zealand Fishes," 218.
[684] Tyler, *Art in the Service of Science*, 26.
[685] Jenkinson, 57.
[686] Hamish Campbell, "Introduction," in *The Amazing World of James Hector*, 1st ed., eds., Simon Nathan and Mary Varnham (Awa Press, 2008), 5. For a detailed overview of Hector's involvement with the New Zealand Institute, see: Reid, *The Province of Science.*
[687] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 57.

published, representing the research of nearly every significant scientific figure in nineteenth-century New Zealand.[688]

3.3 Hector's International Exhibition Work, 1872–1890

New Zealand Interprovincial Exhibition, 1872–73, Christchurch, and the Weltausstellung, 1873, Vienna

Hector ensured that the Colonial Museum's collections were well represented at both the New Zealand Interprovincial Exhibition 1872–73 and the Vienna World's Fair 1873, forwarding a broad array of items, including rocks, minerals, flax products and ethnological material.[689] The latter were described only generally in the catalogue as "Maori carved work, canoe heads, &c.," although the taonga included carved panels from Te Hau-ki-Tūranga, as well as flax and kākahu, korowai, eel nets, bags and baskets.[690] These inclusions underscored both the value placed on Māori industries and art as representative of New Zealand's cultural distinctiveness, and the colonial tendency to anonymise or generalise Māori contributions, particularly through the anonymising erasure of individual contributors.

Logistics for the Vienna display were meticulous. Hector prepared a detailed *Memorandum of Suggestions* for the Agent-General, outlining not only the nature of the exhibits but also their recommended arrangement.[691] Alongside Haast he judged and selected items from the Christchurch exhibition for immediate shipment to Vienna via the Suez Mail, ensuring their arrival in time for the exhibition's opening.[692] The memorandum was highly specific. He advised that wool, the colony's primary export, should be arranged in fifty glass compartments, each thirty inches square and seven inches deep.[693] Grain required a similar display method, and minerals and ores were to be displayed in glass cases on a blue background, carefully segmented with black wooden beading.[694] Photographs were to be mounted under glass on a stand designed to slope at eye level "like a long music stand."[695]

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[688] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 198–99.
[689] *Catalogue of the New Zealand and Vienna Exhibition,* 16–21.
[690] Ibid. For a full list of items contributed by the Colonial Museum, see pages 16–21.
[691] *The Vienna Exhibition (Papers Relating To), AJHR,* 1873 Session I, H–5, 4.
[692] Ibid.
[693] "Hector's Memorandum of Suggestions for Arrangement of the New Zealand Exhibits in Vienna," *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1873 Session I, H–05, 4–5.
[694] Ibid.
[695] Ibid.

The level of detail in Hector's instructions demonstrates his conviction that presentation was central to the educational and promotional function of exhibitions.

In terms of content, the New Zealand contribution showcased an ambitious range of products. In Hector's memorandum, the order of industries listed demonstrated the economic priorities: (1) Wool, (2) Woollen Goods, (3) Phormium, (4) Grain, (5) Coals, (6) Minerals and Ores (including gold), (7) Woods, (8) Miscellaneous Objects (which included preserved meats, tanning barks, photographs, moa skeletons, plans and maps).[696] The inclusion of "ear fungus" mushrooms collected by Māori and exported to China, signalled the colony's participation in wider trans-imperial trade networks.[697] Hector suggested that the explanatory signs should be multilingual, in English, French, and German.[698]

The final arrangement of the New Zealand Court at Vienna was largely governed by Hector's memorandum, although the actual implementation fell to Phillips Bevan, a London-based agent jointly representing Victoria, Queensland and New Zealand in Vienna.[699] The division of responsibility created tension. While Hector's guidelines were largely followed, Bevan adjusted some aspects, such as reducing the use of glass cases, which he deemed "too lavish."[700] Hector was not present at the exhibition and neither was Featherston, who had become too ill to travel.[701] The only official New Zealand representative in Vienna was Charles Clifford, a prominent colonial figure but not an expert in scientific display.[702] This lack of direct representation perhaps explains some of the missteps in the final layout. Hochstetter, assisting with the New Zealand Court, later wrote: "Mr Bevan, who does not know New Zealand at all, was certainly not the right person."[703]

By May 1873, all packages from New Zealand had arrived safely in Vienna, and the colonial government received favourable reports from Bevan and Clifford regarding the reception of the exhibits. Clifford praised Hector's "careful classification," which, he argued, enhanced the

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[696] Ibid.
[697] *Catalogue of the New Zealand and Vienna Exhibition,* 21.
[698] "Hector's Memorandum of Suggestions for Arrangement of the New Zealand Exhibits in Vienna," *AJHR,* 1873 Session I, H–05, 5.
[699] "The Vienna Exhibition, (Papers Relating To)," *AJHR*, 1873 Session I, H–05, 11.
[700] Ibid.
[701] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 132.
[702] Ibid.
[703] Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast, August 29, 1873, in Nolden, ed., *The Letters of Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast,* 162.

educational value of the materials and eased the burden of unpacking and display.[704] He further recommended that some items of "no intrinsic worth" be gifted to European museums and societies through Hochstetter, as a diplomatic gesture and as a means of strengthening scientific ties.[705] These included botanical, mineralogical and zoological specimens, as well as raw material.[706]

After the close of the Vienna Exhibition, the New Zealand materials were shipped to London and stored in a warehouse, awaiting potential reuse in subsequent exhibitions.[707] While Hector's contributions were not individually itemised in the final reports, he is credited, under the banner of the Geological Survey Department, with providing geological maps, fossil specimens, minerals and models.[708] One notable output was a new geological map of New Zealand, prepared for the exhibition with the assistance of senior draftsman Augustus Koch from the Public Works Department.[709] Hector recognised the opportunity for international visibility and took advantage of government support to complete it.[710]

The exhibition ended in October 1873. Back home, Hector had been invited to participate in the Nelson Horticultural Art and Industrial Exhibition in November with a "special request … to come over a few days before the opening to assist them in assaying the mineral exhibits and also in giving them the benefit of your advice in other matters."[711] It is unclear if Hector attended. The *Daily Examiner* noted that the provincial exhibition was "replete with exhibits of industry, produce, manufactures, minerals, antiquities and works of art" with a musical display also.[712] Although, one correspondent briskly remarked: "no one out of the Nelson province took the slightest notice of the affair."[713]

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[704] "The Vienna Exhibition, (Papers Relating To)," *AJHR,* 1873 Session I, H–05, 14.
[705] Ibid.
[706] Ibid.
[707] Klemun, "Julius Haast, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, New Zealand," 104.
[708] *Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886: Official Catalogue*, 272.
[709] Klemun, "Julius Haast, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, New Zealand," 104.
[710] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 130–31.
[711] Oswald Curtis to James Hector, October 23, 1873, MU000094/002/0256, Te Papa Tongarewa Archives, Wellington.
[712] *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, December 2, 1873, 3.
[713] Ibid.

The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, 1876

In 1875, Hector was granted a year's leave to visit Britain with the explicit purpose of renewing scientific connections, arranging museum exchanges and advancing the Colonial Museum's collections.[714] The trip was fully funded by the government and undertaken at a critical moment in the museum's expansion, with Mantell assuming responsibility for the Colonial Museum and Geological Department during Hector's absence, including oversight of the £4,000 building expansion.[715] Mantell later remarked on the disorder created by the ongoing works, highlighting the institutional strain caused by Hector's departure.[716]

Hector travelled with an "overwhelming amount" of specimens to exchange,[717] including zoological, botanical and geological specimens.[718] Live birds were deposited at the London Zoo, botanical collections were directed to Kew Gardens and fossil material was dispatched for identification by palaeontologist Robert Etheridge.[719] He also facilitated exchanges on behalf of the Wellington Acclimatisation Society of which he was Vice President,[720] reinforcing the interlocking relationships between museums, exhibitions and acclimatisation networks. To help manage these transactions, Hector appointed Farmer as his British agent, a role which continued until 1887.[721]

While in Britain, Hector was deeply engaged in metropolitan scientific life. He attended meetings and social events organised by major scientific societies, including the British Association, using these occasions to promote New Zealand's natural resources and scientific

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[714] Colonial Secretary's Office to James Hector, September 11, 1874, MU000094/003/0385, Te Papa Tongarewa Archives, Wellington. The Colonial Secretary's Office wrote to Hector granting the leave: "One years' leave granted to Dr Hector to visit England on full pay – to take collections home & secure articles in England for Museum. … The expense of transport of such articles as you may desire to take home, or as you may obtain in Europe for the Colony, will be paid for by the Government."

[715] Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home*, 3.

[716] Walter Mantell to Joseph Dalton Hooker, February 16, 1875, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 8. Mantell wrote that Hector "has left behind an unhappy Museum suffering under builders & architects who seem to delight in starting their creations from the most orthodox chaos."

[717] Walter Mantell to Joseph Dalton Hooker, February 16, 1875, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 8.

[718] James Hector to Walter Mantell, May 16, 1875, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 8–9.

[719] Ibid, June 10, 1875, 11–12; Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home*, 4. Robert Etheridge worked at the Royal School of Mines.

[720] James Hector to Walter Mantell, June 20, 1875, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 12.

[721] Mildenhall and Nathan, eds., *Letters from James Farmer to James Hector, 1876–1891*, 5.
Originally from Fife, Scotland, James Farmer (1822–1908) emigrated to New Zealand in 1847. He served as a parliamentarian in the late 1860s and early 1870s, when Hector would have known him. With his wealth gained from gold-mining investments in Thames, he retired early to live as a gentleman in London. He acted as agent for Hector in the United Kingdom from 1876 to at least 1887.

potential.[722] He was granted workspace at the British Museum, where he became critical of both its physical condition and the professional dominance exercised by Owen, whose earlier appropriation of Hector's research exemplified the tensions that could arise between colonial and metropolitan scientists.[723] Fossil material was assessed by Günther of the British Museum, who offered £350 for its acquisition.[724]

Hector also undertook an extensive tour of European museums, acquiring books, fossils, minerals and scientific equipment for the Colonial Museum.[725] In March 1876 he shipped out multiple cases of specimens and publications from Britain, including material from the British Museum encompassing mammals, birds, reptiles, fish, invertebrates and type minerals.[726] Some acquisitions were funded personally,[727] underscoring Hector's commitment to building the Colonial Museum's collections and strengthening its standing within international museum and exhibition networks.

While overseas, the New Zealand Government appointed Hector as Special Commissioner to the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, entrusting him with overseeing the nation's contributions.[728] New Zealand's involvement in the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia was a major undertaking. The exhibition, organised to mark 100 years since the signing of the United States Declaration of Independence, was the first world's fair held in America, drawing over ten million visitors between May and November.[729] Thirty-five nations participated, showcasing their industrial, agricultural and cultural outputs across more than 200 pavilions.[730] Although Mantell remained in Wellington to manage administrative aspects, and secretary Arthur Thomas Bothamley was appointed to assist on-site in

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[722] James Hector, "Account of Travels in Europe and America," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 9 (1876), 616.
[723] James Hector to Walter Mantell, June 20, 1875, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 12.
[724] Ibid., November 15, 1875, 23.
[725] Ibid., August 17, 1875, 22; October 20, 1875, 25–26; November 15, 1875, 28–30.
[726] James Hector to Walter Mantell, March 9, 1876, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 41–42.
[727] Ibid., January 11, 1876, 35–37.
[728] Ibid., October 20, 1875, 25–26; "Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition of 1876," *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR),* 1877 Session I, H–23, 4.
[729] *International Exhibition, 1876: Official Catalogue* (J.R. Nagle and Co., 1876), 7.
[730] Chris Hector, "Settling Down: Husband and Father," in *The Amazing World of James Hector*, 1st ed, eds., Simon Nathan and Mary Varnham, Awa Science (Awa Press, 2008), 143.

Philadelphia,[731] Hector ultimately bore the bulk of the responsibility for organising New Zealand's presence.

Hector's preparations began during his time in Britain. In London, he personally unpacked materials from the 1873 Vienna World's Fair, many of which had been carelessly stored.[732] He wrote to Mantell in slight despair: "it took me 4 days to get them straight. Rough boxes had been filled at random … with hardly any papers & the labels all adrift."[733] His knowledge of the specimens proved crucial in reassembling the collection.

Bureaucratic inefficiencies also plagued the planning phase. It was not until March 1876 – just two months before the exhibition's opening – that Hector received official confirmation of his duties.[734] He immediately began selecting exhibits from London-based merchants, coordinated shipping with Bothamley, and personally compiled and printed the general catalogue.[735] He also prepared a relief model of New Zealand while "working only at night generally after dinner parties."[736] Hector felt apprehensive about the exhibition's prospects within the tight timeframe, noting: "I fancy N.Z. will not show well but I'll do the best I can."[737] Even Haast, who – as discussed in Chapter Two – was eager to participate in international exhibitions, contributed only a small number of geological plans to the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition.[738]

Upon arriving in Philadelphia on 24 April, Hector found the New Zealand Court in disarray.[739] His "abstract journal" held in the Alexander Turnbull Library provides a vivid account of the work that followed.[740] Bothamley had arrived a month earlier, but construction had yet to begin. Half of the allocated space had been relinquished, and display cases were delayed,

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[731] *International Exhibition, 1876: Official Catalogue*, 39. Arthur Thomas Bothamley (1846–1938) worked for the Legislative Council from 1871 and was an artist and photographer. He acted as secretary of the Philadelphia Exhibition and worked closely with Hector in the preparation for the exhibition.
[732] James Hector to Walter Mantell, November 15, 1875, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 28–29.
[733] Ibid.
[734] "Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition of 1876," *AJHR,* 1877 Session I, H–23, 26.
[735] James Hector to Walter Mantell, January 20, 1876, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 38; "Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition of 1876," *AJHR,* 1877 Session I, H–23, 3–4.
[736] Ibid., April 6, 1876, 46.
[737] Ibid., January 13, 1876, 37.
[738] *International Exhibition, 1876: Official Catalogue*,155.
[739] "Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition of 1876," *AJHR,* 1877 Session I, H–23, 26.
[740] James Hector to Walter Mantell, "Abstract Journal: Philadelphia 1876. Dr Hector," in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 48–52.

leaving unpacked boxes in a heap on the floor.[741] Working twelve to thirteen hour days, Hector oversaw construction, unpacked exhibits, sourced materials, and travelled between Philadelphia, New York and Washington to arrange display cases and additional exhibits.[742] He secured a loan of Māori taonga and moa bones from the Smithsonian in Washington.[743] On the eve of the opening on 10 May, Hector worked until the early morning to get the exhibition to a "respectable" state, managing only three hours of rest before welcoming the first visitors.[744] Hector noted with desperate relief: "Considering how poor the Exhibits were I have thought it right to go to some expense to make them look as well as possible & the general effect seems to give satisfaction."[745]

Despite these challenges, the New Zealand Court became one of the most frequented. A prominent eight metre gilded pillar symbolised the yield of the goldfields since 1862, and Māori taonga, including carvings and feathered cloaks, adorned the entrance.[746] Through Resident Magistrate R. W. Woon, several prominent rangatira of Te Ātihaunui-ā-Paparangi, including Mete Kīngi and Te Rangihiwinui, sent a large display of taonga, with the heirloom names and their connection to whakapapa noted in the catalogue.[747] This display reflected a Māori value system which contrasted with Hector's scientific "ethnological series."[748]

The industrial display primarily consisted of raw materials – gold, coal, wool, flax, timber, and grain – accompanied by manufactured items like cloth, soap, rope, preserved meats and wine.[749] Photographs, maps, watercolours and a large moa skeleton contributed to the visual appeal,[750] and also contributed to the display tactic of 'object lessons' whereby audiences were presumed to learn through visual experience alone. The juxtaposition of objects in different media both enhanced the visual appeal of the exhibit and better conveyed an

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[741] "Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition of 1876," *AJHR,* 1877 Session I, H–23, 31–32; James Hector to Walter Mantell, April 24–25, 1876, June 3, 1876, "Abstract Journal: Philadelphia 1876. Dr Hector," in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 48.
[742] Ibid., May 5–8, 1876, 49.
[743] James Hector to Walter Mantell, June 3, 1876, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 52.
[744] Ibid; James Hector to Walter Mantell, May 9, 1876, "Abstract Journal: Philadelphia 1876. Dr Hector," in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 49.
[745] James Hector to Walter Mantell, June 3, 1876, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 52.
[746] "Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition of 1876," *AJHR,* 1877 Session I, H–23, 27.
[747] McCarthy, *From Curio to Taonga,* 67.
[748] Ibid.
[749] "Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition of 1876," *AJHR,* 1877 Session I, H–23, 27.
[750] Ibid.

educational message.[751] Unfortunately, Hector's relief model of New Zealand, an anticipated centrepiece, arrived "a shattered mess" well after the exhibition's opening.[752] He was also disappointed in the *Official Catalogue*, as the 1,114 exhibits were neither arranged nor labelled like they were listed.[753] Of the exhibits shown in the New Zealand Court at Philadelphia, 467 of these were from London, 136 were from loaned collections in America and the remaining 511 were from New Zealand.[754]

The court continued to evolve well after the exhibition opened, with Hector only able to declare it complete by mid-June, long after Bothamley's departure in May.[755] He admitted "it has been very up hill [sic] work as there are all kinds of official obstructions & it is not easy to do anything with all the visitors in the way."[756] However, Hector was proud that the court was generally crowded and "the most attractive of any of the Colonies."[757] He was grateful for the 1,000 copies of the *Handbook of New Zealand* which he was able to distribute.[758] He initiated a New Zealand Register, allowing visitors to leave messages or record their impressions.[759] Positive reactions from visitors noted the kauri gum, Māori taonga, timber, wool and grain exhibits.[760]

By early June, Hector wrote positively about the exhibition overall, proud of its scientific nature, stating: "there is no doubt that it is the greatest & most practical Exhibition ever achieved … It is teeming with instruction in every branch."[761] Education, always, was a core part of his exhibition methodology.

Beyond managing the exhibit, Hector leveraged the opportunity to build the Colonial Museum's collections. He received significant donations from American scientists such as Professors Joseph Henry and Spencer Baird, and negotiated ongoing exchanges of books and

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[751] Rice, *The State Collections of Colonial New Zealand Art*, 145.
[752] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, June 11, 1876, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 54.
[753] Ibid.
[754] Johnston, *Representing the Pacific,* 237.
[755] "Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition of 1876," *AJHR,* 1877 Session I, H–23, 26.
[756] James Hector to Walter Mantell, June 3, 1876, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 52.
[757] Ibid.
[758] "Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition of 1876," *AJHR,* 1877 Session I, H–23, 26; Julius Vogel, *The Official Handbook of New Zealand* (Wyman and Sons, 1875).
[759] "New Zealand Register for the Centennial Exhibition," May 30–November 28, 1876, MS-Papers-12153-04, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[760] Ibid.
[761] James Hector to Walter Mantell, June 3, 1876, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 52.

scientific publications.[762] With remaining funds, he purchased photo lantern slides, fossils, atlases and scientific publications, all shipped back to Wellington.[763] He also arranged for the entire exhibition – except for gold specimens earmarked for minting – to be transferred to the Smithsonian Institution at the conclusion, where it would be preserved as a distinct New Zealand collection.[764]

Hector arrived in Wellington on 14 September and gave a report to the Wellington Philosophical Society two days later.[765] He returned not only with valuable scientific contacts but with multiple cases of collections collated during his travels across Europe and America, with Hector admitting he had "ransack[ed] Museums for everything of New Zealand interest," particularly ethnological material.[766] Reflecting on the Philadelphia exhibition, he declared it to be "the most wonderful industrial collection that the world had ever seen."[767]

Hector's service was formally recognised with a Centennial Exhibition Medal and various awards for the Colonial Museum's exhibits, including kauri gum, vegetable fibres, geological maps, and the New Zealand Institute's *Transactions and Proceedings.*[768] The Government of New Zealand was awarded a diploma for "a large and superior collection, showing the vast natural wealth and productive industry of their Colony."[769] The exhibit was praised in official reports for its coherence and adherence to the exhibition rules, particularly in the bulk display of agricultural materials.[770] Hector's role was widely acknowledged as essential to the success of New Zealand's presence. Letters of appreciation from officials commended Hector's dedication.[771]

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[762] James Hector to Walter Mantell, May 12–14, 1876, "Abstract Journal: Philadelphia 1876. Dr Hector," in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 49.
[763] James Hector to Walter Mantell, July 10, 1876, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home,* 56.
[764] "Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition of 1876," *AJHR,* 1877 Session I, H–23, 26–27; James Hector to the Chairman of the Philadelphia Exhibition Commission, March 7, 1876, MU000177/001/0103, Te Papa Tongarewa Archives, Wellington.
[765] Hector, "Account of Travels in Europe and America," 615.
[766] Ibid., 616.
[767] Ibid.
[768] "Philadelphia Exhibition," *Evening Star,* February 3, 1877, 4.
[769] "Photograph Album Relating to the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia, USA," PA1-f-257, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[770] Philadelphia Exhibition," *New Zealand Times,* January 30, 1877, 3.
[771] [?] Webb to James Hector, February 9, 1877, MU000177/001/0156, Te Papa Tongarewa Archive, Wellington.

Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1878

One month after arriving home from Philadelphia, Hector recommended that New Zealand participate in the upcoming Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1878. Drawing on the lessons learned from Philadelphia, particularly the challenges caused by delayed planning and the arrival of disorganised exhibits, Hector proposed a far more methodical approach. In a memorandum written in October 1876, he urged that exhibits be selected, categorised and packed systematically in advance, so that "nothing [would need] to be done at the Exhibition, but the unpacking and setting up of the articles on the spaces allotted."[772] He advocated for a concise and carefully curated collection, recommending against duplications and unnecessary bulk.[773] Despite Hector's foresight, the New Zealand Government ultimately chose not to officially participate in the Paris exhibition.[774]

Sydney International Exhibition, 1879

In April 1879, Hector was appointed Vice-President and Executive Commissioner for New Zealand's participation in the Sydney International Exhibition.[775] As Chairman, Hector led the eight-strong commission and outlined a clear set of objectives.[776] Seventeen regional committees were established across New Zealand to coordinate local contributions.[777] St George's Hall in Wellington was leased as a central depot where all items were checked, catalogued and packed for shipment by Hector and the commission secretary Charles Callis, avoiding the problem of disorganised arrival as in Philadelphia.[778] Drawing from his prior experience, Hector ensured that only high-quality items were selected, aiming to present a tightly curated and representative collection. He insisted that the exhibition was not about competing with other countries but about demonstrating New Zealand's material resources and economic potential.[779]

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[772] "The Paris Exhibition (Papers Relating To)," *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1878 Session I, H–05, 1.
[773] Ibid.
[774] Ibid., 7.
[775] "Sydney International Exhibition, 1879 (Papers Relative to the)," *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1879 Session I, H–13, 2.
[776] "General News," *New Zealand Times,* January 31, 1879, 2.
[777] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*,154.
[778] Charles Callis (1843–1914) worked as commission secretary for Hector for multiple international exhibitions, including Sydney 1879, Melbourne 1880–1881 and Melbourne 1888–1889.Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 154.
[779] "Sydney International Exhibition, 1879," *AJHR,* 1879 Session I, H–13, 3.

The exhibit list included a wide array of natural and manufactured goods: gold, grain, wool, coal, timber, kauri gum, preserved meat, leather, dyes, rope, spirits and mineral water.[780] Manufactured items were complemented by raw products to showcase both the colony's natural wealth and emerging industries. Under his own name, Hector exhibited relief maps, geological maps, sections and plans, as well as a large collection of geological specimens, fossils, ores and minerals from the Colonial Museum and Geological Survey, and a smaller collection of ethnological items.[781] A correspondent noted that the New Zealand Court was "exceedingly interesting" and Hector had done "everything … to arrange the exhibits entrusted to his care to the best advantage."[782]

Hector was tasked with preparing a *Handbook of New Zealand* for the Sydney Exhibition.[783] This handbook was a distillation of earlier works, including the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition jurors' reports, Vogel's 1875 *Handbook of New Zealand*, and Hector's own reports from Philadelphia.[784] It provided a comprehensive and authoritative account of New Zealand's history, natural resources, Māori origins and culture, and economic development.[785] The handbook would remain one of the most influential publications on New Zealand for many years, with four editions produced for subsequent exhibitions, and eventually evolved into the *New Zealand Official Yearbook* 1893.[786]

The New Zealand Court attracted strong attendance over the exhibition's six-month run, which saw more than one million visitors.[787] Hector received a first order of merit for his geological specimens and ethnological collection, and the Colonial Museum also earned an honourable mention for its display of timbers.[788] Human remains were also exhibited alongside these trophies as part of a supposed "relics of Maori cannibal feast" reflecting the

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[780] Ibid.
[781] *New Zealand Court, International Exhibition, Sydney, 1879: Official Catalogue of Exhibits* (Foster and Fairfax, 1879), 11, 28.
[782] "New Zealand at the Sydney Exhibition," *New Zealand Mail,* October 18, 1879, 6.
[783] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 159.
[784] James Hector, *Handbook of New Zealand: Sydney International Exhibition, 1879* (Lyon and Blair, 1879), Preface; "Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition of 1876*," AJHR,* 1877 Session I, H–23.
[785] Hector, *Handbook of New Zealand,* 3.
[786] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector,* 159; Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 154.
[787] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 155.
[788] Ibid., 136; "Sydney Exhibition Commission," *New Zealand Mail,* June 12, 1880, 21; "International Exhibition, 1879: Certificate of Award to Colonial Museum of New Zealand, Wellington," C-098-003, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

growing interest in phrenology, and efforts to interpret a pre-European Māori past.[789] The exhibition's influence extended well beyond its closing in April 1880, as many of the displays were transferred to Melbourne for the subsequent exhibition later that year.[790]

One of the most distinctive features of the New Zealand Court in Sydney was the display of the whare whakairo Mātaatua, built in 1874. Inspired by the popularity of Te Hau ki Tūranga in the Colonial Museum, Hector sought to "tranship a good specimen of a Maori house," and Ngāti Awa initially welcomed the opportunity to "show to the world" their carving traditions.[791] Negotiations for Mātaatua were conducted by Opotiki magistrate George Preece, although, as Barringer notes, no formal transfer agreement existed.[792] When the whare was removed in 1878, the government acted "ruthlessly," ignoring protests from within the iwi.[793] The forced separation of the whare from its whenua was regarded as a desecration and became emblematic of the wider mistreatment of whare whakairo in captivity.[794]

Although Ngāti Awa rangatira and tohunga were originally to reassemble the whare in Sydney, this plan was abandoned.[795] Instead, Hector arranged Mātaatua according to his own aesthetic and economic priorities. Citing the £700 cost of authentic construction, he reversed the walls so that the carved poupou and tukutuku panels faced outward and covered the roof with Chinese matting, reducing the cost to £165.[796] Mātaatua was also installed late, well after the exhibition's September opening.[797] The sole concession to Ngāti Awa was the inclusion of Mātaatua's history, recounted by the carver Wepiha Apanui, and placed on the mahau.[798] Its genealogical depth contrasted sharply with press descriptions of

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[789] Johnston, *Representing the Pacific,* 2.
[790] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 155.
[791] "Sydney Exhibition Commission," *New Zealand Times,* February 5, 1879, 2; McCarthy, *From Curio to Taonga*, 70.
[792] Barringer, "The South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project," 148.
[793] Ibid.
[794] Ibid., 149.
[795] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 154.
[796] "Sydney International Exhibition, 1879 (Further Papers Relative Thereto)," *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR),* 1880 Session I, H–05a, 2; Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 154–55; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Zed Books, 2021), 53–54.
[797] "Sydney International Exhibition, 1879," *AJHR,* 1880 Session I, H–05a, 2. The New Zealand court was only fully complete by the middle of November. Soon after, Hector returned to New Zealand, leaving the control of the New Zealand court in charge of Mr. A. S. Webster.
[798] McCarthy, *From Curio to Taonga,* 70.

the whare as “grotesque” and “novel.”[799] While judges praised Mātaatua as “an excellent example of Maori architecture” and awarded the government a first order of merit,[800] Ngāti Awa saw the wharenui transformed from a living meeting house into an ethnological object “for strange people to look at the wrong way and in the wrong place.”[801]

Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880–1881

Hector and Callis set off for Australia only four months after the Sydney exhibition to install the New Zealand Court for the Melbourne exhibition. Buoyed by gold revenue, Melbourne was able to mount an even more elaborate exhibition.[802] Although Victoria had initiated plans for an exhibition as early as 1877, internal political delays meant that Sydney’s event in 1879–80 preceded Melbourne's by a full year.[803] This allowed many of the New Zealand exhibits to be reused, which Hector acknowledged, somewhat jadedly: “I had to husband my resources & show them over again.”[804]

During arrangements, Hector prepared regulations, a classification system, entrant application forms, and a judges report form, and during his few months in New Zealand he met with local committees in Christchurch, Dunedin and Invercargill to “urge on the business of collecting suitable exhibits.”[805] By July, Hector noted the delay in space allocation and late applications by exhibitors, admitting that this would “no doubt, lead to some inconvenience and crowding when the exhibits come to be arranged.”[806] Hector meanwhile prepared the official catalogue and a “new and improved edition” of his *Handbook of New Zealand*, of

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[799] Ibid. As noted in the *Timaru Herald:* “A Maori house is being erected in the Palace grounds, and bids fair to be a grotesque as one could well imagine.” “The Sydney International Exhibition,” *Timaru Herald,* November 7, 1879, 3.
[800] “Sydney Exhibition Commission,” *New Zealand Mail,* June 12, 1880, 21.
[801] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 59; Brown, “Museums as Cultural Guardians,” 09.3; Tapsell, *Pukaki*, 15. Mātaatua’s journey was not over. After Sydney and Melbourne, the New Zealand Government appropriated Mātaatua and the whare journeyed to England, where it was variously: displayed at the South Kensington Museum, stored for forty years at the Victoria and Albert Museum, displayed again at the Wembley British Empire Exhibition in 1924, shipped back to New Zealand for the South Seas Exhibition in Dunedin in 1925, and then ‘given’ by the government to Otago Museum where it remained for another seventy years. In 1996, Mātaatua was finally repatriated to Whakatāne. Mātaatua’s journey mirrors the broader indigenous experience of cultural dispossession and the power of reclamation. As Tapsell argues, taonga often have a comet-like trajectory through time and space which ultimately enables their return home, reappearing “charged with the spiritual energy of past ancestors, returning home to their descendants in a blaze of rediscovery.” Their return only strengthens their mana as living ancestors.
[802] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 155.
[803] Ibid., 152.
[804] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, March 26, 1881, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker,* 192.
[805] “Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880,” *AJHR,* 1882 Session I, H–05a, 3.
[806] Ibid., 4.

which he would give out over 2,000 copies during the course of the exhibition.[807] Hector sailed to Melbourne in late August and spent the following five weeks arranging the New Zealand Court.[808]

Hector and his team, Callis and John Blackwood, succeeded in arranging a "greatly crowded" but popular exhibition.[809] Hector listed his contributions:

> the planning and erection of show-cases, the decoration of the court, erection of ferneries, and laying on water for the fountains, the erection of the gold and other trophies, the unpacking and arrangement and labelling of the exhibits, preparation and publication of the catalogue, and furnishing minute returns to the Customs authorities.[810]

Over 6,500 exhibits were eventually displayed in the New Zealand Court in Melbourne, exceeding the 5,453 shown in Sydney, although within a more restricted floor area.[811] With some satisfaction, Hector noted the court "appears to be a source of attraction, and, so far, has been daily thronged by visitors."[812]

According to *The Argus*, the court's entrance was marked by nikau palms and flax sent by the Colonial Museum, as well as a semi-circular display of alluvial gold and silver, a full flax processing demonstration and an ethnographic display.[813] The reporter praised the overall effect, noting that the court "is rich in scientific collections. The principal one, by Dr. Hector, fully illustrates the palaeontology of the colony."[814]

Hector left Melbourne in mid-October, shortly after the exhibition opened, leaving Resident Commissioner Blackwood to look after the New Zealand Court and co-ordinate the judging.[815] As reported by the *Evening Post* on 24 March 1881, 53% of New Zealand's Melbourne entries gained awards compared with 44% at the Sydney Exhibition – second only to Victoria for the number of awards.[816] Hector was awarded a first order of merit for

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[807] Ibid., 4, 10–11.
[808] Ibid., 4.
[809] Ibid., 5.
[810] "Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880," *AJHR*, 1882 Session I, H–05a, 10.
[811] Ibid., 5.
[812] Ibid.
[813] "New Zealand," *The Argus (Melbourne),* October 6, 1880, 14.
[814] Ibid.
[815] "Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880," *AJHR*, 1882 Session I, H–05a, 4, 10–11.
[816] "Major Atkinson's Speech," *Evening Post,* March 24, 1881, 2.

geological specimens and further distinctions for his maps and educational materials.[817] The Colonial Museum received a first for its flax and hemp display, a second for timbers and a fourth for gold specimens.[818]

Despite this success, Hector acknowledged his exhaustion: "I am just closing up the Exhibition matters & will be glad when I am done with them as it has been a weary business."[819] His London friend and agent, Farmer, was conciliatory: "I am sure, that you must be heartily tired of Exhibitions. They do interfere with your other work. Otherwise, you would have much pleasure in seeing the products of the world."[820]

Wellington Industrial Exhibition, 1885, and the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, London, 1886

Although Hector held no official title within the organising committee of the 1885 New Zealand Industrial Exhibition, in an opening address the Premier thanked "Dr Hector who had done so much for the present Exhibition."[821] The *Report of Geological Exploration for 1885* notes that Hector spent several months preparing displays.[822] Hector effectively acted as Executive Commissioner in all but name and spent most of 1885 organising the exhibition.

The exhibition was conceived by Vogel, who had returned to political office in 1884 amid hopes that he could revive New Zealand's struggling economy.[823] Within a week of his appointment, Vogel proposed a national exhibition focused on New Zealand's industrial development and raw materials, deliberately excluding imported goods and museum artefacts.[824] Committees across the country were tasked with gathering regional contributions, and it was anticipated that awards from the exhibition would serve as valuable endorsements for future advertising.[825] A government notice in Māori was sent out

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[817] "Melbourne International Exhibition," *AJHR*, 1882 Session I, H–05a, 13–15.
[818] Ibid., 15–16.
[819] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, July 17, 1881, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker,* 193.
[820] James Farmer to James Hector, May 16, 1881, in Mildenhall and Nathan, eds., *Letters from James Farmer to James Hector, 1876–1891*, 60.
[821] *The Official Record: New Zealand Industrial Exhibition, 1885, Wellington* (George Didsbury, Government Printer, 1885), 30.
[822] Nathan et al., *A Bibliography of Publications by or about James Hector (1834–1907)*, 43.
[823] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 173.
[824] Ibid.
[825] Ibid., 174.

to encourage iwi to send exhibits, which used the word *taonga* for both agricultural produce and handmade crafts.[826]

Hector worked closely with Callis to oversee preparations, with displays housed in a modified drill shed near Lambton Quay in Wellington.[827] By opening day, the exhibition was largely complete, an unusual accomplishment compared to earlier colonial exhibitions. Public enthusiasm exceeded expectations: large crowds overwhelmed the venue, with many performers and dignitaries struggling to access the stage.[828] The exhibition would go on to make a heavy financial loss, with Vogel's scheme for holding biennial industrial exhibitions lapsing after he left office.[829]

When the Industrial Exhibition was underway, news arrived of a much larger event: the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London. Vogel consulted Hector, who submitted a detailed plan for New Zealand's participation, including the appointment of an executive commissioner to collect exhibits and coordinate the display in London.[830] It would be a prestigious appointment, with a fully paid trip to Britain and the possibility of a knighthood. It was rumoured that Buller, Haast and Hector were all contenders, and the government ultimately appointed Haast to the role in May 1885 "much to the disappointment of the other candidates."[831]

Despite this apparent slight, Hector cooperated with Haast in preparing the New Zealand Court. While Haast travelled to London and oversaw the general layout, Hector focused on the geological exhibits. Drawing from the Colonial Museum's collections, he curated a display for London which included geological maps and sections, casts of extinct New Zealand reptiles, and three relief models: a general model of New Zealand in 15 slabs, the central volcanic plateau of the North Island, and Milford Sound.[832] The large coloured relief

[826] McCarthy, "Carving out a Place," 57.
[827] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 174.
[828] Ibid.
[829] Smith, *The History of New Zealand Exhibitions*, 40.
[830] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 174.
[831] "Political News," *Timaru Herald,* September 18, 1885, 3.
[832] *Indian and Colonial Exhibition, London, 1886: New Zealand Court* (Government Printer, 1886), 40.

model of New Zealand took him three weeks of continuous work.[833] Hector also revised and republished his *Handbook of New Zealand*, which was distributed at the exhibition.[834]

In recognition of his decades of scientific service and for his work on the Wellington Industrial Exhibition, Hector was nominated for a knighthood, the Order of St Michael and St George, shortly after the exhibition closed in November 1885.[835]

Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888–1889

The Melbourne Centennial International Exhibition marked 100 years of British settlement in Australia, and the New Zealand Government moved quickly to ensure strong representation.[836] Following the death of Haast in 1887, Hector was the obvious choice for Executive Commissioner, formally appointed in May 1888, and served as Vice-President of the New Zealand Commission under William Jervois.[837] With Callis as his secretary, Hector mobilised contributors nationwide and planned to reuse exhibits from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London.[838] In their *Abstract of Commissions,* Hector insisted upon quality: "It is very necessary to insure [sic] that nothing is exhibited which does not excel."[839] The resulting display was the largest and most elaborate Hector and Callis organised.[840]

Arriving in Melbourne in late May, Hector oversaw the unpacking and construction of the New Zealand Court, coordinating more than 1,000 packages of exhibits and a sizeable workforce.[841] His curatorial strategy emphasised New Zealand's natural resources, industrial capacity and scientific achievement. The Colonial Museum contributed geological models,

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[833] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 175.
[834] Ibid.
[835] Ibid.
[836] "Centennial International Exhibition 1888–9, Melbourne, Victoria: Abstract of General Regulations," Eph-B-EXHIBITION-1888-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[837] "The Colonial Secretary appointing Hector Executive Commissioner to Centennial International Exhibition," May 4, 1888, MU000095/005/0139, Te Papa Tongarewa Archive, Wellington; "Centennial International Exhibition 1888–9, Melbourne, Victoria: Abstract of General Regulations," Eph-B-EXHIBITION-1888-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[838] "Centennial International Exhibition at Melbourne, 1888 (Report of the Executive Commissioners on the)," *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1889 Session I, H–23, 3; Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 180.
[839] "Centennial International Exhibition 1888–9, Melbourne, Victoria: Abstract of General Regulations," Eph-B-EXHIBITION-1888-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Haast and Callis requested the following exhibits: grain, malt, flour, meal, wool, woollen goods, coal, timber, furniture, flax, rope, kauri gum, tanning barks, leather, dyes, paint, preserved meat, tallow, beef and mutton, cheese, butter, honey, hams, bacon and chaps, wine, beer and spirits, tobacco leaf and cigars, mineral waters, minerals and ores, and works of art.
[840] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 180.
[841] "Centennial International Exhibition at Melbourne, 1888," *AJHR,* 1889 Session I, H–23, 4.

fossils, minerals, ethnological taonga, maps, timber-testing machinery, relief models, alongside Hector's invention of a self-regulating tide gauge.[842] Agricultural and botanical abundance was demonstrated through grains, live ferns, flax, wool, cheese and kauri gum, with nearly 4,000 items exhibited in total.[843]

The *Official Record* praised the court's arrangement, with Te Tākinga pātaka as its centrepiece and a carefully staged progression from food products to manufactured goods and fine arts.[844] Other museums also contributed: Otago Museum, despite depleted collections following the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, prepared a display of preserved food fishes, which reinforced the exhibition's framing of biodiversity as a national scientific and economic asset.[845]

Not all aspects were successful. The absence of a major mining exhibit at the opening drew criticism in the New Zealand press, especially given the prominence of Australian mining exhibits.[846] The omission, caused by cost-cutting within the Mines Department, was partly remedied when Hector arranged a late shipment of large gold bearing specimens.[847]

Despite such challenges, New Zealand's participation was highly successful in terms of recognition. The colony received 355 awards, including numerous first prizes.[848] Hector was awarded a gold medal for his tide gauge, and the Colonial Museum received firsts for its timber collections, fossils and testing machinery; Otago Museum's fish display also received a first-class medal.[849] The final report to Parliament concluded that the exhibition had been "highly beneficial" in promoting the colony's natural resources, crediting the success of the New Zealand Court to Hector's tireless efforts.[850]

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[842] *New Zealand Court: Centennial International Exhibition, 1888, Melbourne, Catalogue* (Mason, Firth and McCutcheon, Printers, 1888), 12–18; "Centennial International Exhibition at Melbourne, 1888," *AJHR,* 1889 Session I, H–23, 22.
[843] Ibid., 7.
[844] *Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888–1889* (Sands and McDougall Limited, 1890), 249.
[845] Crane, "Skeletons in the Attic," 8.
[846] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 181–82; "Melbourne Exhibition: Alleged Failure of NZ Mining Exhibits," *Thames Star,* August 16, 1888, 2.
[847] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 181–82.
[848] "Centennial International Exhibition at Melbourne, 1888," *AJHR,* 1889 Session I, H–23, 1.
[849] *Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888–1889*, 525, 1014, 523.
[850] "Centennial International Exhibition at Melbourne, 1888," *AJHR,* 1889 Session I, H–23, 1; *Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888–1889*, 249.

New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, Dunedin, 1889–1890

The New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, held in Dunedin from November 1889 to April 1890, commemorated the colony's fiftieth anniversary while also serving commercial and promotional aims.[851] Although framed as a Jubilee celebration and a means of strengthening ties with Australia and the Pacific, contemporary commentators noted its more practical origins in the reuse of exhibits from Melbourne 1888–89.[852] For the organisers Twopeny and Joubert, the exhibition also functioned as a showcase for Dunedin's urban and economic progress.[853]

Opening on 20 November 1889, the exhibition attracted more than 600,000 visitors – exceeding New Zealand's population at the time – and included exhibits from Europe, Britain, the Australian colonies, Japan and the Pacific Islands.[854] Alongside industrial and commercial displays were courts devoted to minerals, natural history, education and tourism, as well as extensive entertainments, reflecting the increasingly hybrid character of late nineteenth-century exhibitions.[855]

Although Hector held no formal administrative role, he was listed as a vice president of the exhibition and was responsible for organising the government-sponsored Mineral Court.[856] The New Zealand Geological Department and the Colonial Museum were the principal contributors, supplying minerals, fossil models, ethnological material, geological maps and relief models, many of which were reused from earlier exhibitions.[857] This proved to be Hector's final exhibition display and, as in the past, required sustained personal supervision; his earlier work at the 1865 Dunedin exhibition was repeatedly acknowledged in public speeches.[858]

The Natural History Court further demonstrated the integration of academic science with public display. Curated by Parker of the Otago Museum, it drew on collections from

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[851] Conal McCarthy, "Dunedin 1889–1890," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, eds., Findling and Pelle, 108.
[852] "The New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, 1889–90," *Mount Ida Chronicle,* November 30, 1889, 2.
[853] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 183.
[854] McCarthy, "Dunedin 1889–1890," 108.
[855] Ibid.
[856] *New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, Dunedin, 1889–90, Opened November 26, 1889: Official Catalogue of the Exhibits, Preceded by Historical Introduction and Statistics* (Exhibition Commissioners, 1889), iii.
[857] Ibid., 138–142.
[858] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 183.

institutions across the country, exemplifying collaboration over competition. Auckland Museum contributed North Island ferns and zoological specimens; Canterbury Museum provided material for the anthropometrical laboratory, which tested and measured the "human faculties" of 10,000 visitors; and the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute supplied a large collection of Māori taonga.[859] Otago Museum's displays ranged from systematic animal collections to dramatic taxidermy scenes,[860] arranged according to evolutionary principles that guided visitors from "lower" life forms to humanity.[861] Together, the Mineral Court and the Natural History Court signalled the emergence of science as a central organising principle of exhibition culture, shaping how knowledge and progress were presented to the public. By the late nineteenth century, museums occupied a central role in this development.

3.4 Hector's Final Years

Hector's involvement with local industrial exhibitions can be understood as an extension of his long-standing engagement with international exhibitions, rather than a separate or purely local concern. Both contexts formed part of a shared exhibitionary culture in which industrial fairs functioned as sites for the display, promotion and evaluation of economic progress. Late nineteenth-century industrial and jubilee exhibitions in New Zealand – such as those held in New Plymouth (1891), Wellington (1896), Auckland (1898), Dunedin (1898) and Christchurch (1895 and 1900) – drew upon exhibition conventions established in international forums, particularly in their emphasis on systematic organisation and promotion of industrial products.[862]

Having previously reported on the 1883–1884 Christchurch Industrial Exhibition,[863] Hector was again asked by the government to provide an evaluative report on the 1895 Christchurch Industrial Exhibition. Arriving on 15 September 1895, he spent five days

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[859] *New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, Dunedin, 1889–90,* 179; McCarthy, "Dunedin 1889–1890," 108; *New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, Dunedin, 1889–90,* 176–177. Augustus Hamilton's collection including a large collection of Māori taonga, at the heart of which was the "Carved House," noted as a "magnificent specimen," presumably Mātaatua. It is noted in the catalogue that owing to fire risk "it has been impossible to construct the framework of this house in Maori fashion. The interior is, however, in strict accordance therewith."
[860] Ibid., 132–133.
[861] Ibid., 187.
[862] Philips, "Exhibitions and world's fairs."
[863] "New Zealand Industrial Exhibition Held at Christchurch in December 1883 and January 1884 (Report on)," *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1884 Session II, H–15, 2.

examining the exhibits.[864] His report was detailed and positive, offering a systematic review of each section.[865] His critique of the comparatively weak scientific and mineral displays[866] reveals the extent to which his expectations were shaped not only by international exhibition practice but also his own curatorial priorities; had he contributed, the scientific section would have been front and centre.

The 1895 exhibition resulted in a profit of £2,000.[867] Hector offered strong support for the profit to be invested in a permanent home for industrial exhibitions with "class-rooms where technical education will be imparted."[868] He argued that such infrastructure would facilitate future exhibitions and support the colony's industrial development:

> From the experience gained it appears to be very desirable, in the interests of our rapidly developing industries, that such expositions should be repeated frequently in different parts of the colony, as they exercise a marked influence on the educational development of the adult population in a new country.[869]

By the 1890s, the world of museums was changing. As discussed in Chapter One, British reformers advanced new principles of museum display which emphasised high-quality exhibits presented without clutter.[870] Hector's Colonial Museum, by contrast, increasingly appeared out of step with these developments. Overcrowded displays, insufficient storage and a lack of interpretive signage marked it as a relic of earlier museological practice, and the denial of repeated appeals for expanded facilities did little to improve matters.[871] A damning 1893 report by Francis Arthur Bather described the Colonial Museum as the worst-managed in the Southern Hemisphere.[872] Bather cited chaotic displays, mislabelled

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[864] "Christchurch Industrial Exhibition," *New Zealand Herald,* September 16, 1895, 5.
[865] "Christchurch Industrial Exhibition (Report On, By Sir J. Hector, K.C.M.G., M.D., F.R.S., Director Colonial Museum and Geological Survey of New Zealand)," *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1895 Session I, H–30, 2–4.
[866] Ibid., 4.
[867] "New Zealand," *Bruce Herald,* November 8, 1895, 3.
[868] "Christchurch Industrial Exhibition," *AJHR*, 1895, H–30, 4. Hector, at this time, also held the role of Chancellor of the University of New Zealand and thus education was often at the forefront of his mind.
[869] Ibid.
[870] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 203.
[871] Ibid., 149.
[872] Francis Arthur Bather was an assistant geologist employed at the British Museum in London. Aged 30, he took a lengthy sea voyage in 1893 that included South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Hong Kong. He visited the local museums in each town he stopped at, and on his return prepared a report on his observations that was published by the Museums' Association. See Bather, "Some Colonial Museums," 193–208.

specimens and a lack of curatorial order, an outcome he partly attributed to overworked staff, but ultimately to Hector's failure or refusal to modernise.[873] In contrast, Auckland, Otago and Canterbury museums received largely positive assessments for their well-ordered displays.[874] Perhaps as a defence against unfavourable comparisons, Hector began to state that the Colonial Museum was a specialist geological museum, repeating this claim in numerous letters during the 1890s.[875]

By 1893, Hector's career had effectively ended, largely due to political opposition from Richard Seddon.[876] Seddon, as Minister of Mines under the Ballance Government, redirected funding from the Geological Survey to the Colonial Museum and Meteorological Department in 1892, while transferring key staff to the Mines Department.[877] Hector was relegated to overseeing the museum with minimal staff, primarily the faithful Gore, and with drastically reduced funds. No money was forthcoming to carry out the urgently needed repairs.[878] By 1894 Hector warned the Minister for Public Works that the museum's "timber is now perishing, the joints opening & the roof leaking."[879] Persistent structural decay and the constant need to justify the museum's practical value left Hector little time to expand or refine the collections he had founded.

Even the promotion of New Zealand's interests at overseas exhibitions was denied to him. Hector does not appear to have been involved in New Zealand's preparations for the World Columbian Exposition in 1893 nor the Hobart Exhibition in 1894. "I regret to inform you," he wrote in 1894 in reply to a request to assist, "that as the government has decided not to be represented I am unable to accept the position."[880]

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[873] Bather, "Some Colonial Museums," 207–208. Bather criticised: "At some distant period there seems to have been an attempt to keep the geological specimens in one room, the zoological in another, and the ethnological in a third; but now specimens are simply placed where room can be best made for them. … Even in the cases the things are badly arranged, and the labels, if found at all, are often attached to the wrong specimens. … [I]t is … the worst-managed Institution of the kind in probably the whole of the Southern hemisphere."
[874] Ibid., 201–206, 211.
[875] Reid, *The Province of Science*, 164.
[876] Burton, *New Zealand Geological Survey,* 37.
[877] Ibid., 37.
[878] Dell, *Dominion Museum*, 8.
[879] James Hector, "Memo. for the Hon. the Minister for Public Works," April 13, 1894, in Reid, *The Province of Science*, 164.
[880] Burton, *New Zealand Geological Survey,* 37.

Despite growing criticism, Hector remained a widely respected figure. He was deeply committed to public service and was supported by long-time collaborators until ill health necessitated their retirement in the early twentieth century.[881] Hector's own retirement in 1903 was managed with dignity: he was granted a generous pension and leave on full pay for three months so he could carry out a planned trip to Canada.[882] Hector's scientific achievements had previously been recognised through numerous fellowships and honours,[883] but his greatest triumph was the monument erected in his honour by the Canadian government at the highest point of the Great Divide.[884] His final journey to Canada symbolically closed the circle of his scientific career, revisiting the landscapes where he had first achieved renown half a century earlier. Hector died on 6 November 1907, aged seventy-three.[885]

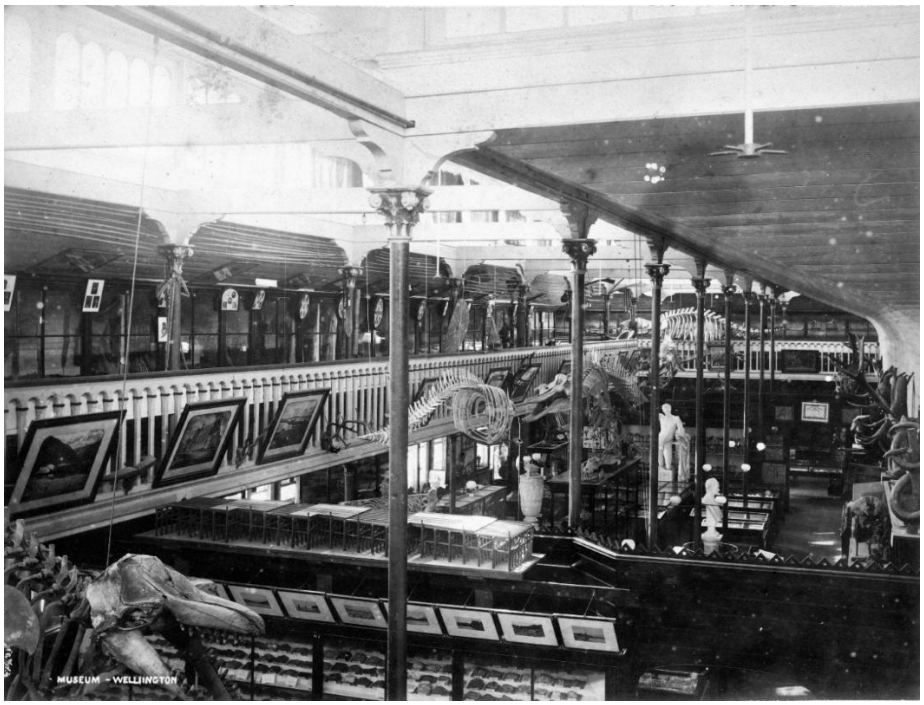

Figure 8: Colonial Museum Interior, Museum Street, Thorndon, Wellington. Photographer unknown. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, PAColl-3114-2.

[881] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 221–22.
[882] Ibid., 224.
[883] Cox, *Men of Mark of New Zealand*, 100. In 1857, Hector was elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Geological Society of London, and the Royal Geographical Society. In 1866, he became a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and was also elected to the Linnean, Zoological, Statistical and Mineralogical Societies. In 1874 he was conferred the Order of the Golden Cross by the German Emperor, and the Lyell medal awarded to him by the Geological Society in 1877. In 1875 he was created a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George (CMG) and in 1886 he was granted his knighthood.
[884] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science,* 58.
[885] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 230.

Summary

As Hector's biographer observed, "James Hector was born organised."[886] Over his long career, Hector managed an extraordinary administrative workload, and many of the institutions he established continue to endure. By 1890, Hector oversaw the Colonial Museum (now the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa), the Geological Survey (now GNS Science), the New Zealand Institute (now the Royal Society of New Zealand), and the Colonial Botanic Gardens and Observatory (now the Wellington Botanic Gardens).[887] He also served as Chancellor of the University of New Zealand from 1885 until 1903.[888] Regarded as a "safe pair of hands,"[889] Hector's administrative reach was exceptional, but so too was his ability to use international exhibitions as instruments of statecraft. Through displays that highlighted natural resources, industrial potential and scientific order, Hector projected an image of New Zealand as a prosperous and intellectually ambitious colony within the wider imperial network. In doing so, he also successfully promoted the work of both the Colonial Museum and the Geological Survey on an international stage.

Yet the very qualities that made Hector indispensable – his dependability, authority and unwavering commitment to science – also eventually constrained the institutions he built. As museological practice shifted internationally in the late nineteenth century toward clearer interpretation, the Colonial Museum remained largely static, hindered by inadequate facilities, underfunding and Hector's immense workload. Ironically, despite Hector's efforts toward a systematic scientific institution, it still resembled a cluttered cabinet of curiosities.

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[886] Ibid., 8.
[887] Nathan and Nathan, eds., *My Dearest Georgie*. 3.
[888] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 147–148.
[889] Ibid., 3.

Figure 9: Frederick Wollaston Hutton, Professor, 1879. Unknown photographer. Hocken Collections, Dunedin, Box-293-002.

Chapter Four: Captain Frederick Wollaston Hutton and the Formation of Otago Museum

Otago Museum's foundation is closely entwined with the nineteenth-century international exhibition movement. The idea of an "Otago Museum" first took shape in 1865, when Hector collected geological specimens for display at the New Zealand Exhibition in Dunedin. While the previous chapter examined Hector's influence in assembling the nucleus of the museum's collections, this chapter turns to a lesser-studied figure: Otago Museum's first official curator, Captain Frederick Wollaston Hutton (1836–1905). A geologist, zoologist and biologist with a keen interest in evolutionary theory, Hutton worked successively at the Auckland Museum (1867–1869); Colonial Museum (1871–1873); Otago Museum (1873–1879); and the Canterbury Museum (1887–1888; 1893–1905). During his tenure as Otago Museum curator from 1873 to 1879, he played a crucial role in positioning Otago Museum within broader global scientific and imperial networks. The following comparative case study explores Hutton's museum-building activities and investigates whether he engaged with international exhibitions, and how such involvement may have shaped his museum practice.

Before emigrating to New Zealand in 1866, Hutton had worked with the British Geological Survey, publishing geological maps and emerging as an early and articulate supporter of Darwinian evolution.[890] After arriving in New Zealand, Hutton quickly established himself within the colony's scientific networks, serving as Honorary Curator of the Auckland Museum, co-founding the Auckland Philosophical Institute, undertaking geological surveys for Hector's Geological Survey and working for three years as his Assistant Geologist.[891] Although frustrated by inconsistent government support, Hutton gained a reputation as a prolific researcher and systematic classifier.[892] Given the limited biographical information available, Appendix F provides an account of Hutton's early life.

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[890] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 63.
[891] Burton, *New Zealand Geological Survey,* 19; "Auckland Museum," *Wanganui Chronicle,* June 15, 1867, 3; Reid, *The Province of Science,* 43; Dawson, *F.W. Hutton (1846–1905),* 111.
[892] Ibid. Dawson credits Hutton with no less than 620 publications within the realms of zoology, palaeontology and geology.

4.1 Hutton's Otago Museum, 1873–1879

Early interest in a museum in Otago can be traced to the founding of the Dunedin Mechanics' Institution in 1851, part of a wider British and colonial movement aimed at promoting scientific and practical education.[893] Although the Institution initially envisaged a museum alongside its lectures and library, this ambition was never realised.[894]

The Otago Museum was formally established in 1868, when collections from the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition were transferred from storage and displayed in rooms at the Princes Street Post Office.[895] Despite public interest, this early museum struggled with inadequate funding, reliance on donations and weak administration.[896] From 1869, the University of Otago assumed a growing role in its oversight, but the museum remained largely stagnant until 1873,[897] when increased funding and the appointment of Hutton as Otago Provincial Geologist and curator of Otago Museum marked a decisive shift towards professionalisation and institutional development. An overview of Otago Museum's earliest years is provided in Appendix G.

Hutton energetically embraced his role as Otago Museum's builder.[898] His first order of business was improving the collections, given, as he put with characteristic bluntness, "there is hardly anything in it."[899] Although fieldwork took priority, in the winter he planned to rearrange the museum and "add considerably to it."[900] Within a month of his arrival in Dunedin, he had written to Hector requesting "articles for Dunedin Museum" and to Haast a

[893] Mechanics' Institute Minute Book 1859–1882, Preamble, 87-143-1, Hocken Collections, University of Otago, Dunedin; Martyn Walker, *The Development of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Britain and beyond: Supporting Further Education for the Adult Working Classes* (Routledge, 2018), 14.
[894] Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 11; Mechanics' Institute Minute Book 1859–1882, October 3, 1860.
[895] "Otago Museum," *Bruce Herald,* September 16, 1868, 7.
[896] "Otago Museum," *Otago Daily Times,* July 2, 1868, 5; "Otago Museum," *Otago Witness,* August 16, 1868, 1; "Otago Museum," *Bruce Herald,* September 16, 1868, 7.
[897] Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 29.
[898] Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, February 13, 1877, AG-180-1/01, Hocken Collections, University of Otago, Dunedin.
[899] Frederick W. Hutton to Haast, November 12, 1873, in Mildenhall et al., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 140.
[900] Ibid.

request for exchange of specimens.[901] He also took care to improve the displays. In his first annual report, dated 4 April 1874, he noted:

> My first care was … to appoint a Taxidermist. Mr Jennings received the appointment; and the number and beauty of the birds that he has set up since then will speak for his zeal and talent.[902]

From the outset, Hutton worked to make the museum publicly accessible – arranging it to be open every afternoon, including public holidays, and, controversially, from 1877, on Sundays.[903] Students and travellers could also access the museum in the mornings by private appointment.[904] These extended hours helped broaden its appeal.[905]

Yet Hutton's ambition extended well beyond public engagement. "I wish to get up a type collection for teaching Natural History," he wrote, "and not just a peep show of birds."[906] His curatorial vision sought to balance scientific and educational value with popular interest. Writing to Dr John Gray of the British Museum, he declared his ambitions:

> the collection in this museum will be divided into two parts (1) General collection representing the typical forms in the Animal Kingdom with skeletons &c – for generally public instruction (2) New Zealand collection containing series of all species of New Zealand animals, together with specimens or the same or allied species from foreign countries. For the use of scientific men and my own pupils.[907]

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[901] Frederick W. Hutton to James Hector, November 7, 1873, MU000094/002/0261, Te Papa Tongarewa Archive, Wellington; Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, November 12, 1873, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 140.

[902] "The Otago Museum," *Otago Daily Times,* May 2, 1874, 2; "The curious case of the Falkland Islands wolf," Hamish McNeilly, June 16, 2024, www.stuff.co.nz/nz-news/350309142/curious-case-falkland-islands-wolf. Edwin Jennings (1835–1910) was appointed taxidermist in 1873 and would go on to work for the first three curators of Otago Museum. Jennings is responsible for around 126 surviving mammal mounts in Tūhura Otago Museum and is thought to have stuffed well over 200 total.

[903] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, July 4, 1877, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 160*;* Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, July 17, 1877, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 160. Hutton was in favour of opening the museum from 2pm to 4pm on Sundays. The "Sunday Question," became the subject of one of the largest meetings ever held in Presbyterian-strong Dunedin in August 1877, see *Bruce Herald,* 24 August 1877, 4. Hutton asked Haast for advice and thanked him for his positive report of Canterbury Museum weekend visitor numbers, writing: "The information about your Museum was just what I wanted – it will enable me to have ours opened on Sunday."

[904] "Royal Commission on the University of New Zealand," *AJHR,* 1879, H–01, 335.

[905] *Otago Daily Times,* September 22, 1874, 2.

[906] Frederick W. Hutton to Dr Gray, July 26, 1874, in Crane, "What Were They Thinking?" 65.

[907] Ibid.

Ultimately, despite his wishes against a "peep show," Hutton's legacy is embedded in over 600 taxidermy bird specimens bearing his distinctive handwritten labels.[908]

Under Hutton's leadership, the museum's collections grew rapidly. Gifts included foreign bird skins from Hector at the Colonial Museum; a "very valuable" donation of thirty-eight bird skins collected in the South Sea Islands; a donation of moa bones, skin and feathers from A. T. Thomson of Clyde, and significant finds of moa remains from a swamp in Hamilton and a cave near Alexandra.[909] In 1875, Mr Gerrard, a naturalist, sent a case of mammal skins in exchange for moa bones.[910] That same year, Hutton acquired two whale skeletons from Kai Tahu Māori at Waikouaiti.[911] In order to accommodate these "rapidly increasing collections," Hutton longed not only for the "want of room" to sort and store collections, but also a permanent building.[912]

A New Museum Building

As the museum outgrew its space, Hutton advocated for a purpose-built facility. He stressed the need for not just expanded exhibition space, but rooms to sort, prepare and house specimens, especially the fragile moa bones and taxidermy collections that were difficult to move without risk.[913] With Superintendent James Macandrew's support, in October 1874 the present site in Great King Street had been chosen and the foundation stone laid in December.[914] Designed by architect David Ross, the building consisted of a two-storey large hall with two galleries as well as lecture rooms in the basement, arranged "so that a wing may be added at any time on either side."[915] His original plan of a central building with two wings had been curtailed: he had hoped for one wing to be a technological museum, and the other to be a space for New Zealand collections and an aquarium.[916]

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[908] Crane, "What Were They Thinking?" 67.
[909] Frederick W. Hutton to James Haast, November 9, 1874, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 146; "The Otago Museum," *Otago Daily Times,* May 2, 1874, 2.
[910] "News of the Week," *Otago Witness,* September 11, 1875, 14.
[911] *Grey River Argus,* October 30, 1875, 2.
[912] "The Otago Museum," *Otago Daily Times,* 2 May 1874, 2.
[913] Ibid.
[914] Neville Peat, *Otago Museum: Collected Stories* (Otago Museum, 2004), 4; McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 44; Morrell, *The University of Otago,* (University of Otago Press, 1969), 45.
[915] Frederick Wollaston Hutton, *Guide to the Collections of Zoology, Geology and Mineralogy* (Otago University Museum, 1878), 4.
[916] "Royal Commission on the University of New Zealand," *AJHR,* 1879, H–01, 338.

Progress was slow and setbacks frequent. In July 1875, a glass case was broken into and a coin collection stolen.[917] More critically, the Provincial Executive hesitated to sign the contract for the new museum building and concerns grew that if the collections were moved, Hutton might leave as well.[918] Delays and rising costs frustrated Hutton, especially the higher costs required for making the building fireproof.[919] By mid-1876, he wrote:

> My collections are increasing very fast, but the building goes on very slowly … There is very little chance of [the new Museum] being open to the public before a year's time.[920]

Opening of Otago Museum

Having spent the year in a lean-to attached to the museum site, Hutton and Jennings worked hard to ensure there would be plenty of specimens on show in the new museum. They succeeded: by early 1876, Hutton and Jennings had mounted skeletons of six moa, an ostrich, cassowary, rhea and an extinct New Zealand goose.[921] They would go on to mount two large collections of bird skins: 347 mostly European bird skins acquired from German ornithologist Otto Finsch and 550 Indian and Himalayan birds donated by William Bell, a New Zealand born tea-planter based in India.[922] The *Otago Daily Times* would later describe the effect: "birds of all imaginable colours, from those of the homeliest and most unpretentious feathers to the magnificently plumaged Birds of Paradise" were on display.[923]

At an August 1876 council meeting, the future of the museum was debated. Councillors affirmed that "Museums were admittedly very valuable adjuncts to arts, science and learning; and if they were [to] allow their Museum to fall to the ground after making such a fair beginning to establishing one, it would be a matter of deep regret to the whole Province."[924] A motion was passed to provide £2,000 for fittings and cases and additional funds for expenses.[925]

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[917] *Grey River Argus,* July 31, 1875, 2.
[918] *Daily Southern Cross,* October 25, 1875, 2.
[919] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, September 8, 1875, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 153.
[920] Ibid., May 19, 1876, 157.
[921] *Otago Daily Times,* February 5, 1876, 2.
[922] Crane, "What Were They Thinking?" 67.
[923] *Otago Daily Times,* August 11, 1877.
[924] "The Otago Museum," *Evening Post,* August 12, 1876, 2.
[925] Ibid.

It was reported that Parliament later awarded Otago Museum £2,000 and Canterbury Museum £875 for their respective museum builds.[926] However, Hutton clarified to Cheeseman at Auckland Museum that Otago's funding came entirely from local sources.[927] By mid-1877, Hutton was installing exhibits while lecturing at the University of Otago. He admitted, "we are in a dreadful mess at present, but things look as if they would get straight soon."[928]

On 11 August 1877, the museum officially opened to the public at a final cost of £12,500.[929] The entrance floor featured fauna specimens: the skeletons of a whale and giraffe, alongside lions, tigers, seals, sharks and large birds. The first floor displayed Māori taonga alongside fossils and silicified woods. Taonga are listed as being part of the ethnology collection, described broadly as including: "Maori fishhooks, Maori images, and other mementoes of ancient local industries."[930] The upper gallery housed an "immense collection" of birds, with one section dedicated to New Zealand species.[931] The opening drew a large crowd.[932]

Hutton's *Guide to the Museum* (1878), published to coincide with the opening of the Otago Museum, reflected his scientific interests. The *Guide* offered visitors a suggested route through the galleries, but spatial constraints, especially the museum's many windows, prevented what Hutton called "a strictly scientific arrangement, leading from the highest animals to the lowest."[933] He defended this compromise, explaining that "a good light

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[926] "House of Representatives," *Lyttelton Times,* October 10, 1876, 2.
[927] Frederick W. Hutton to Thomas Cheeseman, March 26, 1877, in J. D. Campbell, "Hutton, the natural scientist: delivered to the Otago Branch, Royal Society of New Zealand, May 10, 1977, in the Hutton Theatre, Otago Museum," QE22.H9 C36, Hocken Collections, University of Otago, Dunedin, 2.
[928] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, May 28, 1877, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston* Hutton, 159–160.
[929] Peat, *Otago Museum: Collected Stories*, 4; McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 86; Hutton, *Guide to the Collections of Zoology, Geology and Mineralogy.* In his report to Parliament, Hutton stated that the building cost £10,000, and the fittings £2,000, and there were extras which amounted to about £1,000. "Royal Commission on the University of New Zealand," *AJHR,* 1879, H–01, 338.
[930] Hutton, *Guide to the Collections of Zoology, Geology and Mineralogy,* 4–5; "The New Museum," *Otago Daily Times,* August 11, 1877, 3.
[931] Ibid.
[932] *Bruce Herald,* August 17, 1877, 4.
[933] Hutton, *Guide to the Collections of Zoology, Geology and Mineralogy,* 5; Thomas Jeffery Parker, "The Otago Museum," in *The Otago University Review: A History of the Otago University During its Minority* (Otago University Students Association, 1893) in Crane, "What Were They Thinking?" 70. Hutton's successor later described the building's flaws: the "absurdly narrow and inconvenient staircases, the insufficient slope and defective construction of the roof, resulting in constant leaks, and the presence of cross-lights, which often interfere seriously with the view of the specimens in the cases."

through the whole building was of more importance than the details of arrangement."[934] This progressive march through the animal kingdom – evolutionary in all but name – was left to visitors to interpret or understand as best they could.

Figure 10: Otago Museum, 1878. Photograph by Joseph Weaver Allen. Hocken Collections, Dunedin, P1990-015-40-001.

Unlike Hector's 1870 *Catalogue of the Colonial Museum*, intended for scientific readers, Hutton's *Guide* was written for the "general public more than to the scientific student."[935] "The object of this Guide," he wrote, "is not to catalogue all the specimens in the museum, but only to point out the manner in which they are arranged."[936] He included both Māori and Latin names and described the collections in plain language:

> One hundred and fifty-eight different kinds of birds are known from New Zealand, and of these the Museum Collection contains one hundred and twenty. The first

[934] Hutton, *Guide to the Collections of Zoology, Geology and Mineralogy*, 5.
[935] Ibid., 4.
[936] Ibid.

> thing that will strike the visitor is the very small number of Land birds in proportion to the number of Shore and Water birds.[937]

His enthusiasm for New Zealand's natural history is evident:

> The most remarkable fact in the Natural History of New Zealand is that not many hundreds of years ago no less than fourteen different kinds of Moa (*Dinornis*) was living in these islands. Skeletons of seven of these species will be found in the centre of the Hall.[938]

Hutton was also candid about the museum's limited resources, noting of the fish: "very few … of those preserved in spirit are exhibits, from want of funds."[939] Despite financial and spatial constraints, Hutton's *Guide* presented a vision of the Otago Museum as an educational institution, accessible to all.

Hutton's approach was not just about amassing a diverse collection of specimens; it was also about fostering a broader engagement. The Otago Institute held monthly conversaziones at the museum, scholarly social gatherings held for discussion of scientific topics.[940] These evenings combined exhibits, music and lectures to engage the wider (mostly middle-class) public. Hutton displayed recently acquired museum specimens, such as in October 1877 when he exhibited a case containing silkworms, eggs, moths, cocoons and raw silk in various stages of preparation.[941] Hutton held the position of secretary of the Otago Institute in 1877, becoming President in 1878 and 1879.[942] Even prior to the completion of the new museum building, Hutton requested permission to use the lounge hall of the University for holding conversaziones.[943] Hutton also gave free public lectures on geology every Monday evening. These lectures were well attended, with the highest number of attendees being 195 and the lowest 90.[944]

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[937] Ibid., 32.
[938] Ibid., 30.
[939] Ibid., 35.
[940] Crane, "Skeletons in the Attic," 6.
[941] "The Dunedin Athenaeum Conversazione," *Otago Daily Times,* October 20, 1877, 3.
[942] Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 46.
[943] Otago University Council Minutes, vol. I, 15 October 1875.
[944] "Royal Commission on the University of New Zealand," *AJHR,* 1879, H–01, 339.

Hutton stated in 1879 that his New Zealand plant and animal collection was "nearly complete," while his foreign collections consisted of more than 200 species of mammals, 1,300 species of birds, and more than 2,500 species of Mollusca with hundreds more Crustacea, Echinodermata and Coelenterata.[945] He continued his systematic cataloguing, describing twenty-one new species while at Otago Museum, and sent type specimens to scientific institutions such as the Natural History Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, University College Dundee and multiple Australian museums.[946]

Governance and Financial Struggles

With justification, Hutton was worried about the future financial stability of the Otago Museum and confided to Haast, "I am rather doubtful as to how our museum & myself will get on after the abolition of provinces as we have no endowment."[947] Despite the uncertainties, the museum remained popular. One observer noted working men carrying stone specimens to the museum in order to identify them.[948]

With the Abolition of Provinces Act 1875 becoming operative in late 1876, Hutton's position as Provincial Geologist ended. He was instead appointed to the newly endowed Chair of Natural Science at the University of Otago, and from December 1877 became the museum's official curator as it came under the control of the University of Otago via the Otago Museum and Dunedin Athenaeum Act 1877.[949] This appointment was not without its detractors: the Presbyterian Synod, fearing that Hutton, a devout Anglican and well-known supporter of evolution, would secure the appointment, refused to support the post.[950]

In return for administering the Trust placed upon it, the University staff and students would have free and unlimited access to all collections housed in the museum, especially the natural science professor, whose department was located in the museum's basement.[951] Over time, the University Council increasingly treated the museum as a University

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[945] Ibid., 335.
[946] Russell, "Type Specimens of New Zealand Fishes," 217–218.
[947] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, August 6, 1875, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton*, 151.
[948] "The Otago Museum," *Otago Witness,* August 19, 1876, 6.
[949] McRobie, *An Administrative History,* 54; Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, February 13, 1877; Peat, *Otago Museum: Collected Stories*, 4; McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 48.
[950] A. H. McLintock, *The History of Otago*, Otago Centennial Historical Publications, Whitcombe and Tombs (Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949), 524; Morrell, *The University of Otago*, 53.
[951] McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 52.

department, limiting its independence.[952] Hutton valued museum work "just as much as lecturing," spending every morning and every Saturday working at the museum.[953] A Medical School requirement that a teacher be recognised for one subject only forced Hutton to concentrate on zoology.[954] He spent considerable time collecting specimens for his zoology classes for students to dissect.[955]

It was largely as a result of Hutton's efforts that the Otago Museum remained open during this transitional period, with judge Henry Samuel Chapman declaring: "Any one [sic] who knew what the museum owed to Captain Hutton, knew a great deal, but not all that it was likely to owe to him."[956] Between 1875 and 1877, no annual grant was received, and when the University took over the museum's administration, the museum accounts showed a deficit of nearly £300.[957] Hutton had paid a number of its liabilities out of his own pocket, and Jennings had forgone his salary for nearly six months.[958] Hutton claimed that he had done his "best to keep the Museum from closing, but I regret to say that I am quite unable to make any further payments."[959] A letter from Hutton was read to the University Council with details of the financial position of the museum, pleading for their early attention.[960]

A newly formed museum committee met on the 18 December 1877 and formally "took over on behalf of the University."[961] They refunded Hutton £295, retained all staff, and allocated an annual grant of £500, later raised to £600 in March 1879.[962] A further £46 was authorised to Hutton "for the payment of outstanding liabilities."[963] Although significantly delayed, in 1877 the museum received a land endowment of 11,000 acres consisting of two sheep runs

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[952] Ibid., 54–55.
[953] "Royal Commission on the University of New Zealand," *AJHR,* 1879, H–01, 336.
[954] Morrell, *The University of Otago*, 46.
[955] "Royal Commission on the University of New Zealand," *AJHR,* 1879, H–01, 336.
[956] McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 54; "The Otago Museum," *Otago Witness,* August 19, 1876, 6.
[957] Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, December 11, 1877.
[958] McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 86.
[959] "University Council," *Otago Witness,* December 15, 1877, 11.
[960] Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, December 15, 1877.
[961] Ibid., Feb 12, 1878. This museum committee, by 1879, had only met twice, once when they took over the institution, and once in March 1878 after the endowment land was let.
[962] The staff included Hutton (who received £600 per year for his services as Professor of Natural Science but received no extra sum for his museum work), Jennings (taxidermist, paid £220), the articulator, paid £150, and the janitor, paid £80). Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, June 8, 1878, and March 11, 1879.
[963] Ibid., March 11, 1879.

near Middlemarch, the revenue of which would be used primarily for the maintenance of the museum.[964] By 1879, this revenue had yet to appear.

In 1879, Hutton reported that he only had £150 a year left over for the museum after paying wages, but with that amount he also had to pay for gas and coal for the lecture rooms.[965] Hutton was forced to launch a private subscription campaign for essential materials for specimen preservation, raising £240, enough to cover the costs and to also purchase floor cloths for the galleries.[966]

Hutton's Departure

In late 1877 and early 1878, Hutton was granted leave to give a series of forty lectures on geology at Sydney University, during which time he also classified crustaceans for Sydney Museum and exchanged specimens.[967] Upon his return, despite Otago Museum's £600 annual grant, he criticised the limited financial support: "It is just sufficient to prevent things going to the bad."[968] Hutton was disillusioned with the University management, stating that after he returned from Sydney he had found "no steps at all had been taken towards leasing the [land] endowments" which would enable funding for the museum.[969] The Reverend Donald McNaughton Stuart even threatened to fire Jennings, the taxidermist, stating there was no money for his salary.[970] This threat, however, was not carried out. Hutton's combative personality likely fuelled tensions. Hector's private comment that Hutton had

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[964] "Royal Commission on the University of New Zealand," *AJHR,* 1879, H–01, 337. The rent of the sheep runs was £916 a year; after the land tax was deducted, £870. Of that, one-tenth had to go to the Atheneum. The net revenue left for the Museum was £783. The museum committee informed Hutton that they would allow the museum £600 a year, with the remainder being used to pay debts for the museum build. As McRobie notes, the decision in 1877 to provide permanent funding for the museum through a pastoral endowment initially appeared sound. However, changing patterns of farming in New Zealand reduced the real value of run properties, many of which remained static or declined even as land values generally rose. In 1879, income from the museum endowment was only just adequate, and it soon proved wholly insufficient in the face of rising costs. McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 97.

[965] Ibid.

[966] Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 56.

[967] Otago University Council Minutes, vol. I. November 13, 1877; "Odds and Ends." *Otago Witness,* May 11, 1878, 4; "News of the Week," *Otago Witness,* November 17, 1877, 15.

[968] "Royal Commission on the University of New Zealand," *AJHR,* 1879, H–01, 339.

[969] Ibid.

[970] Ibid. Scottish-born Presbyterian minister, Reverend Donald McNaughton Stuart (1819–1894) became a major figure in colonial Otago. From 1860 he was the first minister of Knox Church and he championed multiple social and educational causes, including the development of the University of Otago. Hutton and Stuart clashed in their ideological ideals, particularly surrounding evolution.

"chosen to go it alone" and should be "left to his own resources," suggests that it was not only the University of Otago who Hutton clashed with during this period.[971]

Hutton's difficult relationship with the University Council – particularly with Stuart – worsened after their 1877 clash over the Sunday opening of the museum.[972] Hutton's identity as an English Anglican in Scottish Presbyterian Dunedin was notable and caused tension. A devout Christian, he found no contradiction between faith and evolution, a position which alarmed some in Dunedin, particularly in the Synod.[973] Hutton maintained that God worked through natural laws, insisting that there was nothing in evolution to shake Christianity.[974] He publicly defended Darwin's theories in a series of debates, even persuading Reverend William Salmond to abandon opposition to evolution in favour of a theistic interpretation.[975]

Hutton left for Christchurch in January 1880 to take up a position at Canterbury College. In his words, he was "transferred to Canterbury College"[976] which leaves unanswered his real reasons for the move, although Morrell describes Hutton as having "found the air of Dunedin uncongenial."[977] Personal and professional tensions likely contributed.

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[971] James Hector to Walter Mantell, June 20, 1875, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *A Quick Run Home*, 12.
[972] *Otago Daily Times,* August 14, 1877, 2; "The Otago Museum," *Bruce Herald*, August 17, 1877, 7; "Professor Hutton's Letter," *Otago Daily Times,* August 18, 1877, 2.
[973] Crane, "What Were They Thinking?" 64.
[974] Stenhouse, *The 'Battle' Between Science and Religion,* 42.
[975] *Otago Daily Times,* October 19, 1876, 2.
[976] Frederick W. Hutton to James Hector, November 24, 1879, in Crane, "Rivalry and Cooperation," 54.
[977] Crane, "What Were They Thinking?" 67; Morrell, *The University of Otago*, 61.

Figure 11: The Interior of Otago Museum, 1878. Photographed by Burton Brothers, Dunedin. Collection of Tūhura Otago Museum, Dunedin.

4.2 Trading Nature: Building the Otago Museum Collection

Hutton had not always supported trading in scientific material. In 1867, while at Auckland Museum, he asked Haast for a moa skeleton, but Haast demanded a list of items in return.[978] Hutton was adamant: "As I do not like bargaining in science I shall say no more about it."[979] But by the time he worked for Otago Museum, his stance had softened. "I shall be very glad to arrange exchanges," he told Haast, "as it will do us both good."[980] He sent Haast one of twelve rare moa feathers, noting he had only three remaining.[981] Haast sent Hutton two consignments of bird skins in 1873, and later in 1876 a further dozen.[982]

Although aware of the limitations of Otago's resources, Hutton was confident in the strength of its natural science collections, writing to Haast:

> I cannot hope to compete with you in buildings or foreign collections, but I shall do my best to beat you in New Zealand collections.[983]

Hutton believed strongly in Otago Museum's role as a cultural and scientific beacon in the south. In an 1874 Otago Institute meeting, he emphasised the value of the museum's southern location: "the Otago Museum [is] the most southerly situated Museum in the whole world, and therefore the best for securing whatever pertained to high latitudes."[984] By leveraging Otago Museum's unique geographical position, Hutton facilitated the acquisition of specimens that enriched the museum's collections.

In January 1874, Hutton discovered "five or six waggon [sic] loads of bones" in swampland at Hamilton's diggings, near Ranfurly.[985] He immediately recognised the value of the moa bones, writing with enthusiasm to Haast: "These bones will be the making of this museum."[986] After storing the moa collection in the University basement and measuring

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[978] Frederick W. Hutton to James Hector, June 27, 1867, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 20.
[979] Ibid.
[980] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, June 25, 1874, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 142.
[981] Ibid., July 6, 1874, 144.
[982] Crane, "Rivalry and Cooperation," 47.
[983] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, July 6, 1874, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 144.
[984] "Interprovincial," *Press,* July 18, 1874, 3.
[985] "Important Discovery of Moa Remains in Otago," *Otago Daily Times,* January 19, 1874, 2.
[986] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, January 19, 1874, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 141.

over 2,000 bones, he selected seven skeletons for exchange.[987] Three were sent to London, two to Germany, one to Auckland Museum and one to Naples.[988] He also sent bones to University College Aberystwyth, Wales, in response to a request from geologist Frederick Rudley, receiving over 300 Cambrian and Silurian fossils in return.[989]

Hutton's exchanges brought to Otago Museum jaguars, civets, leopard and monkey specimens, a beaver, indri, antelopes, an American ostrich, and lionesses. These exotic acquisitions, many of which still reside in the museum's Animal Attic, came via shipments from the British Museum, the Paris Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, and United States institutions. [990] Even the cost of transporting these collections was mitigated. Shipping companies such as Shaw, Savill and Co and the New Zealand Shipping Company delivered specimens addressed to Otago Museum free of charge.[991] By May 1876, exchanges were so frequent that Hutton declined a giraffe skin from America in favour of one from Paris.[992]

Museum-to-Museum Networks

The first five years of Otago Museum's operation (1868–1873) saw just five purchases compared to more than 800 donations.[993] Although these local donations continued during Hutton's tenure, he sought to improve Otago Museum's collections through a combination of exchange, purchase and field collecting. In 1874, Hutton spent £9 on birds from Adolphe Boucard and £30 for vertebrates.[994] He purchased a shipment of marine life from Victor de Robillard of Mauritius for £41, having bargained the price down due to the specimens' poor condition.[995] Hutton also sold "duplicates" to institutions in London, Liverpool and Cambridge.[996] However, payments were rare, and many transactions were effectively trades.

Hutton cultivated regular exchanges with the Australian Museum in Sydney, initially offering moa skeletons in return for sharks and fossils. "I am much obliged," he wrote to director

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[987] Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, January 19, 1874; "Dimensions of Moa Bones," *Otago Daily Times,* October 13, 1874, 2.
[988] *Otago Daily Times,* November 11, 1874, 2.
[989] Crane, "Rivalry and Cooperation," 50.
[990] "News of the Week," *Otago Witness,* May 16, 1874, 19.
[991] *The Evening Post,* May 20, 1874, 2.
[992] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, May 19, 1876, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcription of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 157.
[993] Crane, "Natural History Trading," 84.
[994] Ibid.
[995] Ibid., 82–83.
[996] Ibid., 88.

Robert Etheridge, "for the specimens of sharks … I am sorry to say that I have only one (moa skeleton) left sufficiently complete for articulation … there is no knowing when there will be any more for it all depends on some lucky find."[997] Later, in January 1878, Hutton sent another collection of fossils, birds, eggs, shells and crustaceans, and added he planned to visit the Australian Museum in March.[998] While in Sydney, Hutton wrote a list of some 110 New Zealand birds he had provided them.[999] He exchanged these for 110 skins of Australian birds, four mounted birds, four mammals, eight skulls of mammals, one skeleton of echidna, one skeleton of emu, three fishes and two shark jaws.[1000] Not all exchanges were so smooth, as the National Museum of Victoria's Frederick McCoy noted with disappointment when Hutton's 1878 shipment never arrived: "supposed it went by mistake to some other Museum."[1001]

Hutton also exchanged with British museums, particularly in moa skeletons. He exchanged moa bones with Liverpool Museum's director, Thomas John Moore, who sent mammal skins including civets, a harp seal and a tayra.[1002] Owen of the British Museum thanked Hutton for his "consignment of Moa" sent in 1876.[1003] The monetary value of a moa skeleton survives in a single letter written in 1875, where Edward Gerrard Jnr of Gerrard and Sons valued one consignment from Hutton at £50.[1004] For Scottish natural historian Charles Wyville Thomson, his delight at receiving moa bones from Hutton was evident: "they are such very special New Zealand things."[1005]

The exchanges Hutton undertook were primarily with natural history museums, although he did trade with individual traders such as naturalist and entomologist Charles French and

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[997] Frederick W. Hutton to Robert Etheridge, June 15, 1877, in Crane, "Natural History Trading" 92.
[998] Crane, "Natural History Trading," 92.
[999] Ibid.
[1000] Ibid.
[1001] Frederick McCoy to Frederick W. Hutton, January 2, 1879, MS-Papers-1256-1, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Irish-born palaeontologist and natural scientist, Frederick McCoy (1817–1899) was Professor of Natural Science at the University of Melbourne and founding director of the National Museum of Victoria (1858–1899).
[1002] Crane, "Natural History Trading," 91.
[1003] Richard Owen to Frederick W. Hutton, June 21, 1876, MS-Papers-1256-1, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[1004] Edward Gerrard (junior) to Frederick W. Hutton, May 3, 1875, CA000372/001/001, Te Papa Tongarewa Archives, Wellington.
[1005] T. Wyville Thompson to Frederick W. Hutton, July 3, [1872–76], MS-Papers-1256-1, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Austrian nobleman Anatole von Hügel.[1006] Hutton likely knew of specimen dealers like Gerrard (London), Henry Ward (New York), and Vaclav Fric (Prague), who supplied biological specimens to museums globally. Yet, he appears to have largely avoided such intermediaries, preferring direct trades or donations.[1007] He did, however, interact with collectors like Eli Waller of Sydney and Finsch.[1008] In 1872, Finsch sent a large bird collection to the Otago Institute, followed in 1875 by a second consignment of specimens to the museum, prompting Hutton to request "I do not want any European birds, nor those of Australia except … anything rare."[1009]

Hutton, likely because of his association with acclimatisation societies, was also conscious of the environmental consequences of collecting. In one such case, he declined to buy rare rail bird skins from collector William Hawkins, noting: "[T]he more Hawkins gets, the greater the chance of the bird being exterminated."[1010]

4.3 Hutton and International Exhibitions

Hutton arrived in New Zealand the year after the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition in Dunedin. His interest in the exhibition was scientific, thanking Hector for sending him the Jurors' Report and praising it for its "immense amount of valuable information."[1011] Hutton later commended Buller's published list of New Zealand birds found in the "Dunedin Exhibition," specifically noting Buller's accurate identification of the scientific name for the riro-riro (grey warbler) and later noting that Buller's bird collection had "especial value, as it had been catalogued for the New Zealand Exhibition."[1012]

[1006] Charles French to Frederick W. Hutton, July 8, 1877, MS-Papers-1256-1, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; A. Von Hugel to Frederick W. Hutton, December 1, 1875, MS-Papers-1256-1, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[1007] Crane, "Natural History Trading," 88–89.
[1008] E.J. Waller to Frederick W. Hutton, September 8, 1875, CA000372/001/001, Te Papa Tongarewa Archives, Wellington.
[1009] "[List of] Birds sent in exchange for Cpt Hutton by Dr O Finsch, Bremen," June 12, 1872, MU000149/004/0029, Te Papa Tongarewa Archives, Wellington; Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, June 25, 1874, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcription of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 142.
[1010] Frederick W. Hutton to Walter L. Buller, December 6, 1892, ATL MS-Papers-0048-27, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[1011] Frederick W. Hutton to James Hector, August 10, 1867, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcription of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 29.
[1012] Frederick W. Hutton to James Hector, April 29, 1869, in Mildenhall et al, eds., *Transcription of Selected Letters,* 87; "Captain Hutton's Remarks," *Otago Witness.* July 29, 1871, 6.

On 14 April 1875, Hutton and Haast toured several public institutions in Otago.[1013] Shortly after, Hutton publicised a request in the *Evening Star* on behalf of the government, asking for Otago exhibits for the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. He called for potential exhibitors to contact him as soon as possible.[1014] It is likely Hector, Executive Commissioner for the Exhibition, enlisted Hutton's help in sourcing exhibits from Otago, and it is possible that Haast likewise encouraged him to participate. The items requested ranged from wool, preserved meat and sealskins to whalebone, oil, timber, flax, building stone, minerals, ores and materials for pottery and glass.[1015] While producers would receive credit for their contributions, Hutton emphasised that the items had to be "at the absolute disposal of the Government," and those who opted not to donate would be fairly compensated.[1016] It is notable that neither Hutton nor Otago Museum made a contribution to the exhibition.

For the 1879 Sydney International Exhibition, Hutton was part of the Otago local committee alongside Professor Ulrich of the Otago School of Mines.[1017] The committee met on 25 July 1879, to review applications for exhibition space from Otago exhibitors. Hutton requested permission from the University to send "8 or 9 specimens of stuffed animals to the Sydney Exhibition" from the museum, which was agreed.[1018] Otago Museum also sent specimens of native timbers, as well as a portion of a Totara log worked with stone toki from Shag River.[1019] This collection was exhibited alongside Haast's more extensive collection of Canterbury and Westland timbers.[1020] In August 1879, the Otago contributions were put on display in Dunedin prior to being sent to Sydney.[1021] Otago Museum was ultimately awarded a first for its timber collection.[1022]

[1013] "The Otago Daily Times," *Otago Daily Times,* April 14, 1875, 2.
[1014] "Philadelphia Exhibition," *Evening Star,* April 30, 1875, 3.
[1015] Ibid.
[1016] Ibid.
[1017] "Sydney Intercolonial Exhibition," *Otago Daily Times,* July 26, 1879, 3. German-born mineralogist, geologist and academic, George Henry Frederick Ulrich (1830–1900) assessed the Otago goldfields in 1875 alongside Hutton. In 1877 he became the inaugural director of the School of Mines at the University of Otago as well as temporary director of the Otago Museum following Hutton's departure for Canterbury.
[1018] Otago University Council Minute Book vol. I, June 12, 1879.
[1019] *New Zealand Court, International Exhibition, Sydney 1879: Official Catalogue of Exhibits* (Foster and Fairfax, 1879), 54.
[1020] Ibid., 52–54.
[1021] "Sydney Intercolonial Exhibition," *Otago Daily Times,* August 15, 1879, 7.
[1022] "Exhibition Awards," *The Sydney Morning Herald,* March 29, 1880, 6.

Hutton supported Haast's efforts for the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London, at least in correspondence, expressing his enthusiasm: “I should much like to see the exhibition, which I feel sure must be splendid.”[1023] His hopes turned to practical matters as he wondered whether Haast would succeed in persuading the British Museum authorities to catalogue New Zealand fossils whilst overseas, as “nothing more important for science in New Zealand could be done.”[1024] After Haast’s death in 1887, Hutton took over as interim curator of the Canterbury Museum and rearranged the museum according to a “systematic and scientific plan,” making room for the “many interesting and valuable specimens” Haast had returned with after the Colonial and Indian Exhibition.[1025] In his *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum,* Hutton offers a guide for the “ordinary visitor” with maps, navigation suggestions and an overview of the vast collections, but not before admitting, “… as the building was put up before the arrangement of its contents had been decided upon … a strictly logical arrangement cannot be carried out.”[1026]

Hutton’s dedication to systematic science, especially his focus on lecturing, scientific research and cataloguing and classifying collections, prevented his participation in international exhibitions to the degree of his contemporaries. Unlike Haast and Hector, Hutton does not appear to have entered specimens in international exhibitions under his own name. While in Canterbury, Hutton’s name does not appear in the 1882 New Zealand International Exhibition, nor the 1895 Industrial Exhibition or the 1900 Jubilee Industrial Exhibition. While Hutton seldom participated in exhibitions personally or professionally, his activities and writings suggest that his interests were primarily intellectual rather than economic. Prior to Haast’s return to New Zealand in 1887, he asked to take over Haast’s lecturing position permanently, stating: “I am willing to give them for nothing provided I am made Professor of Geology as well as Biology.”[1027] He contributed indirectly to international exhibitions through the publication of his research in the *Transactions and Proceedings of*

[1023] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, August 14, 1886, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcription of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 166.
[1024] Ibid.
[1025] “The Museum,” *Lyttelton Times,* November 30, 1887, 3.
[1026] Hutton, *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum,* Preface, 3.
[1027] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, February 9, 1887, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 170.

the New Zealand Institute, with Hector submitting the *Transactions* in multiple exhibitions, including the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition.[1028]

Hutton's successor at Otago Museum, Thomas Jeffrey Parker, was a keen proponent of international exhibitions. Otago Museum continued to appear in exhibition catalogues for the 1880 Melbourne Exhibition, the 1881 Dunedin Industrial Exhibition, the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition and the 1889–90 New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition.[1029]

Summary

Building on Otago Museum's origins in the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition, Hutton transformed the museum from a modest provincial repository into a scientifically driven institution connected to global networks of exchange. Working with limited resources, he used moa bones, geological material and zoological duplicates as a form of scientific currency, expanding the museum's collections far beyond what Otago itself could supply. True to his conviction that "a Museum should never stand still,"[1030] he ensured the institution grew not through spectacle but through scholarship. Hutton valued specimens for their evidential power rather than their exhibition appeal. His emphasis on classification, systematisation and teaching shaped the museum's intellectual culture and left a legacy grounded in scientific integrity rather than promotional display.

[1028] "Philadelphia Exhibition," *Evening Star,* February 3, 1877, 4.
[1029] Crane, "Skeletons in the Attic," 4.
[1030] Hutton, *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum,* Preface.

Chapter Five: Analysis and Discussion

Drawing on the comparative case studies of Haast, Hector and Hutton's work at the Canterbury, Colonial and Otago Museums, this chapter synthesises the findings of the preceding chapters and situates them within the broader historiographical debates discussed in Chapter One. This analysis identifies four key findings: first, that international exhibitions and museums in nineteenth-century New Zealand often functioned as interdependent institutions rather than distinct cultural enterprises; second, that exhibitions operated as powerful engines of museum collection-building; third, that curators were active agents within imperial networks; and finally, that education formed the conceptual foundation of both exhibition practice and museum development.

5.1 Museums and Exhibitions as Interdependent Institutions

A central finding of this thesis is that international exhibitions and museums in nineteenth-century New Zealand operated not as sequential or distinct enterprises, but as mutually reinforcing institutions embedded within a shared exhibitionary culture. While exhibitions were ephemeral – their collections dispersed and their buildings often dismantled shortly after closure – and museums aspired to permanence, this distinction has tended to obscure the extent to which both forms of display shared organisational principles and educational ambitions. For curators such as Haast and Hector, and more selectively Hutton, museums and exhibitions constituted a connected institutional system through which scientific knowledge was ordered and communicated to the public.

This interpretation aligns closely with Bennett's idea of the "exhibitionary complex,"[1031] situating museums and international exhibitions within a broader nineteenth-century project of making knowledge visible and governable. Exhibitions and museums emerged from the same impulse to order objects, people and ideas within publicly accessible spaces, thereby transforming spectators into self-regulating citizens and the crowd "visible to itself."[1032] From this perspective, exhibitions did not simply precede museums historically; rather, both operated as cultural technologies linking spectacle and education.

[1031] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 79.
[1032] Ibid., 68.

MacKenzie's characterisation of exhibitions and museums as "tools of empire" further clarifies the political work performed by museums and exhibitions.[1033] For MacKenzie, exhibitions were not passive reflections of imperial power but active instruments through which imperial knowledge, values and hierarchies were circulated. Read together with Bennett, this framework highlights how the exhibitionary complex functioned not only as a technology of visibility but also as a mechanism for extending imperial authority through education, classification and display.

The case studies of Haast and Hector demonstrate how colonial curators actively used international exhibitions to present scientific theories and collections, educate publics, acquire display strategies and enhance the visibility and authority of their museums. In return, as evidenced by the establishment of the Canterbury, Colonial and Otago Museums, exhibitions supported the lifeblood of museums by generating public and governmental support, often materialising as permanent buildings and ongoing, if limited, funding. Greenhalgh's analysis of international exhibitions as temporary institutions with enduring cultural afterlives further supports this reading.[1034] Exhibitions functioned as experimental sites for new classification systems and display techniques, which were later absorbed into more permanent museum settings.

Haast's curatorial career exemplifies this interdependence. At the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition, two years before the formal establishment of Canterbury Museum, Haast contributed extensive collections of botanical, mineral and geological specimens, overseeing the installation of museum-style cases and labels. Contemporary praise for his court as "extensive and admirably arranged,"[1035] emphasised museum values of order and didactic clarity rather than commercial spectacle. In doing so, Haast transplanted museum display practices into exhibition spaces and positioned himself as a leading scientific authority. Drawing on Hooper-Greenhill,[1036] Haast's exhibition work can be read not simply as public communication but as active knowledge production.

[1033] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 7.
[1034] Greenhalgh, *Fair World.*
[1035] *Official Catalogue of the New Zealand Exhibition: 1865,* 509.
[1036] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*.

Later exhibitions, including the 1872–73 Interprovincial Exhibition of Christchurch, the 1873 Vienna World's Fair and the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, further illustrate collaboration between museums and exhibitions. Haast and Hector consciously coordinated displays to complement one another, and worked with museums in Auckland, Dunedin and smaller centres to plan a comprehensive scientific display. Even when professional disagreements arose, Haast used exhibitions to assert the authority of his own collections, demonstrating the fluidity of institutional interdependence. The criticism levelled at the New Zealand Court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London – that it resembled a "third-rate kind of museum"[1037] – is particularly revealing. Intended as a dismissal, the critique inadvertently confirms the fundamentally museological character of the display. Haast's defence of the court was explicitly grounded in museum principles, emphasising classification, educational value and scientific merit rather than spectacle.

Building on crucial scholarship by McCarthy, Cobley, Tapsell and Cameron demonstrating the complex negotiation of taonga within imperial display systems,[1038] a recurring thread in this thesis is that the treatment of Māori taonga and whare whakairo within exhibitions highlights how museum ethnology and exhibition aesthetics converged. Drawing on Mitchell's argument that exhibitions reorganised the world into legible and governable displays, taonga were frequently arranged by Haast and Hector as trophy-like assemblages that emphasised visual impact over tikanga.[1039] This mode of display reflects not only curatorial bias, but also the imperial publics for whom these spaces were designed.

Hector's early exhibition work in Otago demonstrates that exhibitions functioned as proof-of-concept for museums, generating political leverage and public interest that translated into lasting institutions. This aligns with McCarthy's argument that international exhibitions provided opportunities for curators to secure funding, visibility and the adoption of new display technologies.[1040] The 1865 New Zealand Exhibition explicitly framed the collections of the Otago Geological Survey as a museum display, leading directly to the founding of both

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[1037] New Zealand Court: Telegram from the New Zealand Government, July 7, 1886, Haast Family Collection, MS-Copy-Micro-0717-01, Alexander Turnbull Library.
[1038] McCarthy, *From Curio to Taonga*; McCarthy, "Carving out a Place"; McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori*; McCarthy and Cobley, "Museums and Museum Studies in New Zealand"; Tapsell, *Pukaki;* Cameron, *Shaping Maori Identities and Histories.*
[1039] Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition."
[1040] McCarthy, "Displaying Natural History," 57.

the Colonial Museum and, three years later, the Otago Museum. In line with Henare's position that the New Zealand Exhibition generated public interest in museums and translated exhibitionary excitement into lasting institutions,[1041] this thesis suggests that museums can be understood as the enduring repositories of exhibitions, preserving what was first assembled for temporary display.

Hoffenberg's argument that museums can be understood as "results and summaries"[1042] of international exhibitions is particularly apt here: under Hector, exhibition catalogues, display techniques and classificatory systems were repeatedly reincorporated into museum practice, reinforcing a shared exhibition logic rather than a strict institutional divide.

Hutton's career provides a counterpoint: he inherited the Otago exhibition-born collection and deliberately reoriented the museum toward research and teaching, minimising engagement with exhibition culture during his tenure as curator. His 1878 *Guide to the Otago Museum* emphasised systematic arrangement over spectacle, showing that exhibition participation was neither universal nor necessary for museum-building.

In summary, exhibitions and museums in nineteenth-century New Zealand were mutually reinforcing. Exhibitions provided visibility, opportunity and momentum, while museums offered permanence and authority. Curators such as Haast and Hector operated fluidly across both domains, translating ephemeral exhibitionary practices into enduring museum collections.

5.2 Exhibitions as Engines of Museum Collection-Building

International exhibitions functioned as critical infrastructures for museum acquisition and expansion. Rydell's metaphor of exhibitions and museums as a "hand-in-glove relationship"[1043] captures the dynamic: exhibitions generated surplus collections, facilitated exchanges and strengthened curators' claims for institutional support, while museums absorbed, preserved and curated these acquisitions.

[1041] Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*, 168.
[1042] Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display,* 13.
[1043] Rydell, "World Fairs and Museums."

Haast treated exhibitions as strategic collection-building opportunities. The 1865 New Zealand Exhibition allowed him to gather objects that might otherwise "not come again."[1044] His assistant, Holmes, complained of having to resort to "begging" for objects on Haast's behalf and expressed frustration at the lack of acquisition funds,[1045] underscoring the extent to which exhibitions were understood as critical, fleeting collection-building opportunities. As Sheets-Pyenson and MacKenzie both emphasise, colonial museums operated under chronic conditions of scarcity.[1046] Exhibitions suspended these constraints, creating rare moments of material opportunity in which curators such as Haast could act opportunistically to build on their collections, particularly at a time when overseas travel was both time-consuming and prohibitively expensive. At the same time, exhibitions made the limits of colonial museum budgets newly visible.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of exhibitions as instruments of museum collection-building can be seen in Haast's use and exchange of moa skeletons. Building on his worldwide exchange empire and his renowned moa bone collection, Haast's fully articulated moa shown at the Vienna World's Fair in 1873 were prominently labelled as "Exhibited by Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, New Zealand, Director Dr Julius Haast."[1047] Their presence operated simultaneously as evidence of Canterbury Museum's prestige and as an assertion of Haast's personal scientific authority. Moa skeletons were not merely display objects for Haast; they were boundary objects[1048] functioning as scientific currency across exhibition, research and diplomatic contexts. Their prominent display overseas enhanced their exchange value, and Haast sold two skeletons while they were still abroad.

By the late 1870s, this strategy had become formalised. The Canterbury Provincial Council explicitly funded Haast to acquire objects for the museum at the 1879 Sydney International Exhibition and the 1880–81 Melbourne International Exhibition, recognising exhibitions as collection-building expeditions. At both exhibitions, Haast's moa displays featured prominently. Gifts from European commissioners flowed directly into Canterbury Museum, reinforcing an exhibition–museum pipeline that culminated at the Colonial and Indian

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[1044] Robert Langley Holmes to Julius von Haast, June 11, 1865, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Dr Haast,* 20.
[1045] Ibid.
[1046] Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science;* MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*.
[1047] Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast, June 26, 1873, in Nolden, ed., *The Letters of Ferdinand von Hochstetter to Julius von Haast,* 161.
[1048] Star and Griesemer, "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects."

Exhibition in London in 1886. From this event alone, Haast collated some thirty cases of material – acquired through purchase, exchange and diplomatic gifting – that returned to Christchurch. In this sense, the exhibition operated as a clearing house through which Canterbury Museum dramatically expanded its collections.

Hector's approach was more systematic and national in scope. Exhibitions under his guidance consolidated collections at the Colonial Museum in Wellington, using displays to legitimise national scientific authority. Objects of limited intrinsic value – or duplicates – were strategically gifted to overseas museums to secure enduring relationships. The 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition provides the clearest example. Hector arrived with exchange material and departed with donations from the Smithsonian Institution as well as purchased atlases, fossils, lantern slides and scientific publications. Most significantly, he transferred the entire New Zealand Court – excluding gold specimens – to the Smithsonian Institution as a coherent national collection. This decision simultaneously relieved the colony of return costs, cemented diplomatic relationships and reinforced the Colonial Museum's status as the authoritative centre of New Zealand science.

Subsequent exhibitions in Sydney 1879 and Melbourne 1880–81 extended this pattern. The Colonial Museum under Hector's leadership repeatedly supplied geological, botanical and ethnological material, reusing and redeploying exhibits across multiple venues. This circulation highlights that exhibitions were iterative testing grounds in which collections were refined, reclassified and redeployed for future displays.

Unlike Haast and Hector, Hutton expanded Otago Museum's collections without sustained engagement in international exhibitions, relying instead on exchange networks, moa bones as scientific currency and systematic museum-to-museum trading. His discovery of extensive moa remains at Hamilton's swamp – hailed as "the making of this museum"[1049] – became the foundation of a strategic exchange programme. Moa skeletons and bones were distributed worldwide, yielding fossils, mammals, birds and articulated skeletons for Otago Museum in return. Without exhibitions, the growth of Otago Museum relative to the Canterbury and Colonial Museums was slower and highlights what exhibitions uniquely

[1049] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, January 19, 1874, in Mildenhall et al., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 141.

provided: speed, scale and visibility. Hutton's career clarifies the mechanisms exhibitions enabled, without implying they were strictly necessary for museum development.

Thus, exhibitions were engines of collection-building, accelerating circulation, raising institutional prestige and enabling diplomatic exchanges with a speed and scale that museums alone could seldom achieve.

5.3 Curators as Active Agents in Imperial Networks

Haast, Hector and Hutton were strategic actors within imperial networks, translating local resources into globally recognised scientific knowledge. This challenges older centre–periphery models of colonial science, such as Basalla's three-stage framework,[1050] which portrayed colonial science as largely derivative. While all three curators relied on metropolitan validation, their practices align more closely with the negotiated and dynamic exchanges identified by MacLeod and MacKenzie.[1051] As MacLeod has argued, colonial science operated through both dependence and innovation, with colonial actors exercising agency within the constraints of imperial structures. MacKenzie's analysis of museums as technologies of empire likewise provides a critical framework for understanding this agency. Museums and exhibitions were not neutral repositories but instruments through which imperial authority and narratives of progress were produced. Within this system, curators exercised considerable power by selecting what was collected, how it was classified and how it was displayed.

This agency was not only institutional but personal. Haast, Hector and Hutton pursued scientific authority as a form of social and professional advancement within colonial society, using their museum collections, research publications and international exhibition work to consolidate personal status. Their participation in imperial networks therefore reflected both intellectual objectives and individual ambition. While Haast, Hector and Hutton relied on metropolitan validation, their practices demonstrate agency and initiative:

- Haast: entrepreneurial, expansive and politically astute; used exhibitions and correspondence to assert his exchange empire and Canterbury Museum's authority globally.

[1050] Basalla, "The Spread of Western Science."
[1051] MacLeod, "Reading the Discourse of Colonial Science"; MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*.

- Hector: methodical, diplomatic and administrative; he built and managed networks locally and internationally, coordinated exhibitions and consolidated the national collection. He exemplified the ideal of a state scientist.
- Hutton: pedantic, combative and research-focused; exercised agency primarily through publications, teaching and correspondence, demonstrating that authority could exist without exhibition participation, but with limitations on visibility and institutional influence.

As an entrepreneurial curator, Haast actively shaped imperial scientific and museum networks. He corresponded with hundreds of scientists worldwide, positioning Canterbury Museum as a node within global exchange networks. While much of this exchange was epistolary, international exhibitions – particularly Sydney 1879 and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886 – allowed Haast the rare opportunity to undertake funded travel explicitly for the purpose of negotiating exchanges. In preparation for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, Haast undertook a national tour to solicit exhibits, a move that demonstrates political as well as scientific agency. During the exhibition itself, his office in South Kensington became a hub of global museum exchange, where he negotiated simultaneously with commissioners, curators, royalty and scientists. These negotiations were not incidental but integral to his curatorial authority. Through exhibitions, Haast converted New Zealand's natural and ethnographic resources into imperial scientific capital while reinforcing Canterbury Museum's international standing.

Operating at a larger and more centralised scale, Hector was not merely participating in imperial networks; he was building and managing them, using exhibitions as points of convergence. From the planning of the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition onwards, Hector personally toured the country to secure participation, funding and political goodwill. These journeys doubled as opportunities to gather geological intelligence and assess scientific and industrial resources, revealing how exhibition planning intersected with knowledge production. Exhibitions also functioned as platforms for career advancement: Hector's visibility and organisational competence reinforced his appointment to national office as leader of the New Zealand Geological Survey.

The 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition offers a particularly clear illustration of Hector's agency. His abstract journal reveals the extent of his curatorial labour: organising and arranging the New Zealand Court through sheer effort, negotiating loans from the Smithsonian, coordinating transatlantic shipping, producing catalogues, overseeing the creation of display cases, installing the displays and managing the security of the court. This work was simultaneously manual, bureaucratic and intellectual. Hector also oversaw the institutionalisation of exhibition-derived networks through the New Zealand Institute, using the Institute's *Transactions and Proceedings* to unite local scientific activity under national control. In doing so, he became the colony's principal scientific gatekeeper.

Hector's role as Executive Commissioner at the 1888–89 Melbourne Centennial Exhibition further demonstrates this administrative authority. Coordinating thousands of packages, he emphasised coherence, quality and scientific credibility, ensuring that New Zealand's exhibits reflected institutional maturity rather than colonial novelty. Secord's concept of "knowledge in transit"[1052] is particularly useful here, highlighting how objects acquired new meanings as they moved through institutional and geographical contexts under curatorial control. Hector's exhibition work exemplifies this process, as specimens were transformed from colonial resources into internationally validated scientific evidence.

Hutton's career demonstrates that curatorial agency was multifaceted: exhibitions were one path to influence, but publications, classification and networked correspondence could also assert authority within imperial structures. His exchanges with British, European and Australian naturalists and museums positioned him firmly within imperial knowledge circuits. His influence circulated primarily through publications – particularly through the *Transactions* of the New Zealand Institute – rather than through exhibitions.

In conclusion, curators were not passive transmitters of knowledge but active agents, shaping the flow, classification and interpretation of objects, and embedding New Zealand museums within global scientific systems.

[1052] Secord, "Knowledge in Transit."

5.4 Conceptual Foundations: Education and Classification

Education was a central justification for museums and exhibitions in nineteenth-century New Zealand. Museums and exhibitions were framed as institutions of public instruction, intended to disseminate scientific knowledge, encourage moral and intellectual improvement, and cultivate an informed colonial public.[1053] Education was inseparable from classification, which structured visitors' understanding of objects according to scientific taxonomy. This nineteenth-century emphasis on classification and visual pedagogy aligns with what Barringer has described as the imperial ordering of knowledge[1054] in which scientific display rendered colonial landscapes and cultures legible within metropolitan systems of authority – a principle evident in Haast's typological displays, Hector's systematic geological models and Hutton's evolutionary teaching series. These pedagogical priorities can be seen clearly in their practices:

- Haast: structured exhibitions and museums to teach through typological displays, geological models and comparative ethnology. Visual pedagogy reinforced Social Darwinist hierarchies and presented Māori culture through a scientific, imperial lens.
- Hector: emphasised systematic order, industrial capabilities, geological maps, data-rich handbooks, and labelled specimens which reflected not only pedagogical priorities but also the cultivation of a colonial identity.
- Hutton: prioritised public instruction through type collections and teaching series, using spatial sequencing to convey evolutionary logic, complemented by public lectures and private university laboratory use.

Education was inseparable from broader aims of national and imperial projection. As Greenhalgh notes, international exhibitions sought not only to instruct but also to promote peace, trade and the advancement of national progress.[1055] In the colonial New Zealand context, Haast and Hector created vast displays of scientific specimens, maps, photographs and practical industries to not only promote their respective museums but to demonstrate the scientific and economic potential of the colony.

[1053] Brown, *The Principles of Museum Administration*.
[1054] Barringer, "The South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project," 11.
[1055] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 27.

Greenhalgh's work further offers a comprehensive framework for understanding international exhibitions as "creatures of modernity,"[1056] shaped by four key phenomena: mass production, prefabrication, communication and urbanisation. These processes created new publics and visual environments that positioned exhibitions as powerful instruments of education. Haast, Hector and to a lesser extent, Hutton, translated these modernising exhibition principles into local forms: Haast and Hector through large-scale displays of specimens and industrial samples, and Hutton through curated type collections and teaching series. Their classification methods likewise did not merely inform; they structured ranking and valuation of objects, taonga and specimens, reinforcing imperial and scientific authority. This is evident in Haast's comparative ethnological displays, Hector's systematic handbooks and Hutton's teaching collections, which ranked and sequenced knowledge to convey both scientific and colonial hierarchies.

The case studies confirm that international exhibitions were multifunctional platforms where education, scientific authority and nation-building intersected. As Davidson and Pérez Castellanos argue, exhibitions functioned as national branding at its most intense;[1057] in New Zealand, Haast, Hector and Hutton translated these global practices into local forms, using their museum collections and exhibition opportunities to educate colonial publics.

Summary

This discussion chapter demonstrates that nineteenth-century New Zealand museums and exhibitions were deeply interconnected institutions. Exhibitions served as drivers of collection-building, platforms for curatorial agency and instruments for education, while museums provided permanence, authority and the institutionalisation of ephemeral practices. Curators such as Haast, Hector and Hutton were active agents within imperial networks, navigating exhibitions, correspondence and classification systems to embed New Zealand knowledge within global scientific and political infrastructures.

[1056] Greenhalgh, *Fair World,* 193.
[1057] Davidson and Pérez Castellanos, *Cosmopolitan Ambassadors*, 175.

Conclusion

Drawing on archival research and secondary source review, this thesis examined the extent of Haast, Hector and Hutton's participation in international exhibitions and the ways in which this work shaped their museum-building activities in nineteenth-century New Zealand. By analysing their exhibition activity alongside their museum-building work, this thesis demonstrated that international exhibitions were not peripheral spectacles but powerful engines of museum formation. This approach revealed several key themes: exhibitions and museums as interdependent institutions; exhibitions as drivers of collection-building; curators as active agents within imperial networks; and education and classification as intertwined practices. Together, these findings reposition international exhibitions as central to understanding how, why and under what conditions three of New Zealand's earliest museums were created and sustained.

By examining the work of Haast, Hector and Hutton in relation to the development of the Canterbury, Colonial and Otago Museums respectively, this thesis illustrated how each curator leveraged international exhibitions in distinct ways. Research revealed that Haast mobilised exhibitions to cultivate personal prestige, advance his scientific theories and elevate Canterbury Museum's collections onto the international stage. Hector operated at a larger, more centralised scale, using exhibitions as instruments of state science, national development and the improvement of the collections of the state-funded Colonial Museum. Hutton, by contrast, exercised curatorial authority primarily through classification and publication rather than display.

Returning to the concept of the exhibitionary complex articulated by Bennett,[1058] the case studies of Haast and Hector confirm that museums and exhibitions operated as mutually reinforcing technologies of visibility, order and authority. Rather than existing on a linear trajectory from temporary spectacle to permanent institution, exhibitions and museums formed a continuous system in which objects, classificatory logics and institutional ambitions circulated. This finding supports and extends the work of Rydell and McCarthy,[1059] demonstrating that the interdependence of exhibitions and museums was particularly

[1058] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*.
[1059] Rydell, "World Fairs and Museums"; McCarthy, "Displaying Natural History"; McCarthy, "Carving out a Place"; McCarthy, *From Histories of Museums to Museum History*.

pronounced in colonial contexts, where exhibitions provided critical opportunities for legitimacy, collection-building and international connection that were otherwise difficult to secure.

A key finding of this study lies in its emphasis on the material afterlives of exhibitions. Building on Ferguson's insight that nineteenth-century museums often emerged from exhibition culture,[1060] this thesis demonstrates that exhibitions functioned as key drivers of collection-building, enabling colonial museums to acquire specimens, develop exchange networks and expand institutional authority at a pace and scale that local conditions alone could not sustain. By tracing how objects moved from exhibition contexts into museum collections, this discussion has highlighted the importance of exhibitions as tools that scientists, especially curatorial scientists, could harness to support their museological work.

Equally significant is the repositioning of curators as active, strategic agents within imperial networks. In contrast to older centre–periphery models of colonial science,[1061] the careers of Haast, Hector and Hutton reveal a spectrum of curatorial agency shaped by their personalities, positions, access to exhibitions and engagement with imperial circuits of exchange. Drawing on the work of MacKenzie, MacLeod, Sheets-Pyenson and Secord,[1062] this discussion has shown that colonial curators were strategic agents who shaped the interpretation of scientific information. Their actions demonstrate that empire operated not only through structures imposed from the metropole, but through negotiated practices enacted by colonial actors.

The integration of education and classification further underscores the cultural work performed by museums and exhibitions. As pedagogical spaces, these institutions taught colonial publics how to see, order and understand the world through scientific frameworks. Geological maps, typological series, ethnological classifications and evolutionary narratives rendered New Zealand's landscapes, resources and peoples legible to both settler and imperial audiences. Classification was not merely a technical necessity, but a central educational strategy that reinforced scientific authority, narratives of progress and imperial

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[1060] Ferguson, "Technical Museums and International Exhibitions."
[1061] Basalla, "The Spread of Western Science."
[1062] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*; MacLeod, "Reading the Discourse of Colonial Science"; Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science*; Secord, "Knowledge in Transit."

epistemologies. These practices were not neutral. They privileged certain forms of knowledge, framed Māori culture within evolutionary hierarchies and naturalised colonial authority through visual order. International exhibitions amplified these effects by projecting local classifications onto a global stage. By exploring how Haast, Hector and Hutton deployed classification in both exhibition and museum contexts, this thesis has shown that education often functioned as a form of governance.

Collectively, these findings show that international exhibitions advanced the museological agendas of their scientific founders. Exhibitions provided curators with opportunities to connect with global scientific theories and curatorial practices, while museums absorbed and stabilised these exhibitionary techniques over time. The differences observed between Haast, Hector and Hutton's practices further demonstrate that engagement with exhibitions was neither uniform nor inevitable, but contingent on individual ambition, institutional support and access to imperial networks.

By synthesising these themes, this thesis has positioned international exhibitions as integral components of the cultural and scientific infrastructure of nineteenth-century New Zealand. Recognising exhibitions and museums as interconnected, mutually constitutive institutions allows for a more nuanced understanding of museum formation in colonial New Zealand and contributes to broader historiographical debates concerning empire, science and display.

Simultaneously, however, the inclusion of the case study of Hutton demonstrates that the relationship between museum-building and international exhibitions was not inevitable. Although the Otago Museum itself originated in an exhibition context, Hutton deliberately reoriented it away from exhibition culture towards a focus on classification, teaching and systematic exchange, a pattern he continued in his later curatorial role at Canterbury Museum. His career confirms that nineteenth-century museums could be globally connected and scientifically rigorous without direct engagement with international exhibitions. In doing so, Hutton defines the limits of the exhibition–museum relationship.

The scope of this analysis was necessarily selective, shaped by the practical limits of time and length. The extensive archival material relating to Haast and Hector could sustain further detailed studies of their international exhibition activities beyond what has been possible here. While this thesis focused on Hutton's tenure at the Otago Museum, his later work at

Canterbury Museum warrants closer examination. The comparatively sparse surviving primary sources for Hutton's Otago period also constrained the depth of analysis in that case study.

Future research might build on this analysis to include other New Zealand curators involved in international exhibitions, such as Cheeseman at Auckland Museum or Parker at Otago Museum, as well as regional figures like Thomas Forrester, Samuel Henry Drew, and early staff of the Nelson Provincial Museum. Comparative studies with Australian museums could illuminate shared and distinctive exhibitionary dynamics across Australasia, while investigations into Māori participation in early exhibitions would address a notable gap in scholarship. Additionally, exploring modern parallels between world expos and contemporary museum practice, or applying network-based theoretical frameworks such as Actor-Network Theory, could provide new insights into how objects, correspondence, exhibitions and institutions collectively shaped museum authority in a New Zealand context.

The findings of this thesis demonstrate that the formation of New Zealand's early museums cannot be understood without close attention to the exhibitionary contexts in which they emerged, nor without recognising the central role of the curator in translating ephemeral displays into enduring museum collections. By tracing how Haast, Hector and Hutton navigated exhibitionary networks to build collections, assert authority and engage audiences, this thesis reframes the history of three of New Zealand's earliest museums around the practices of the curators themselves. It demonstrates that the origins and enduring influence of their museums are inseparable from the exhibitionary culture that both enabled and amplified their scientific, pedagogical and economic missions. International exhibitions were fleeting spectacles, but the museums that grew around them constitute their lasting legacy.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Timeline of Major International Exhibitions

The Bureau International des Expositions (BIE) describes international exhibitions, officially known as International Registered Exhibitions or World Expos, as a "global gathering of nations dedicated to finding solutions to pressing challenges of our time."[1063] The BIE recognises four types of Expos: World Expos, Specialised Expos, Horticultural Expos and the Triennale di Milano.[1064]

The proliferation of international exhibitions in the nineteenth century prompted calls for regulation. The 1910 Diplomatic Conference of Berlin laid the groundwork for a standardised system of classification, culminating in the 1928 Convention which established the Bureau International des Expositions to regulate the frequency, length and quality of exhibitions.[1065] There was to be no exhibition anywhere with separate national pavilions more than once every six years and no exhibition without separate national pavilions more than once every two years. However, as Greenhalgh argues, the Convention proved ineffective; within a decade numerous nations were already circumventing its conditions.[1066] Ultimately it was not the Convention which halted the continuing growth of international exhibitions but the Second World War.[1067]

The following table lists the International Registered Exhibitions recognised by the BIE. Information for this table is sourced from the BIE, as well as scholarly publications by Mattie,[1068] Allwood[1069] and Findling and Pelle.[1070] Exhibitions marked with an asterisk (*) are those in which New Zealand is known to have participated, either as part of the British

[1063] "About World Expos," Bureau International des Expositions, accessed December 8, 2025, https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/about-world-expos.
[1064] "What is an Expo?" Bureau International des Expositions, accessed December 8, 2025, https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/expos/about-expos/what-is-an-expo.
[1065] Torreblanca, "Barcelona's Universal Exhibition of 1888," 46.
[1066] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 16.
[1067] Ibid.
[1068] Mattie, *World's Fairs*.
[1069] Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions*.
[1070] Findling and Pelle, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs.*

Empire, the Commonwealth or individually. If an exhibition is not bolded, it is not considered an International Registered Exhibition by the BIE. I include the latter for their significance.

Table A1: International Registered Exhibitions, 1851–2025

Year	International Exhibition	Opening and Closing Dates	Nations	Total visitors
1851	**The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations (1851)** – London, United Kingdom	1 May 1851 – 11 Oct 1851	25 *	**6,039,195**
1855	**Exposition Universelle des produits de l'agriculture, de l'industrie et des beaux-arts de Paris 1855** – Paris, France	15 May 1855 – 15 Nov 1855	28	**5,162,330**
1862	**London International Exhibition of Industry and Art** – London, United Kingdom	1 May 1862 – 1 Nov 1862	39 *	**6,096,617**
1867	**Exposition Universelle de Paris 1867** – Paris, France	1 Apr 1867 – 3 Nov 1867	42 *	**~15,000,000**
1873	**Weltausstellung in Wien** – Vienna, Austria	1 May 1873 – 31 Oct 1873	35 *	**7,255,000**
1876	**Centennial Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Products of the Soil and Mine** – Philadelphia, United States	10 May 1876 – 10 Nov 1876	35 *	**~10,000,000**
1878	**Exposition Universelle de 1878, Paris** – Paris, France	20 May 1878 – 10 Nov 1878	35	**16,156,626**
1879–1880	Sydney International Exhibition	17 Sep 1879 – 20 April 1880	23 *	1,117,536
1880–1881	**International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Agricultural and Industrial Products of all Nations** – Melbourne, Australia	1 Oct 1880 – 30 Apr 1881	33 *	**1,330,000**
1886	Colonial and Indian Exhibition – London, United Kingdom	4 May 1886 – 11 Nov 1886	n/a *	~5,500,000

1888	**Exposición Universal de Barcelona 1888** – Barcelona, Spain	6 May 1888 – 10 Dec 1888	30	**2,300,000**
1889	**Exposition Universelle de 1889, Paris** – Paris, France	6 May 1889 – 31 Oct 1889	35 *	**32,250,297**
1893	**World's Columbian Exposition** – Chicago, United States	1 May 1893 – 30 Oct 1893	19 *	**27,500,000**
1897	**International Exhibition of Brussels 1897** – Brussels, Belgium	10 May 1897 – 8 Nov 1897	27	**6,000,000**
1900	**L'Exposition de Paris 1900** – Paris, France	15 Apr 1900 – 12 Nov 1900	40	**50,860,801**
1904	**Louisiana Purchase Exposition (St. Louis World's Fair)** – St. Louis, United States	30 Apr 1904 – 1 Dec 1904	60 *	**19,694,855**
1905	**Universal Exhibition of Liège 1905** – Liège, Belgium	27 Apr 1905 – 6 Nov 1905	35	**~7,000,000**
1906	**Esposizione internazionale del Sempione** – Milan, Italy	28 Apr 1906 – 11 Nov 1906	40	**~4,000,000**
1910	**Universal and International Exposition of Brussels 1910** – Brussels, Belgium	23 Apr 1910 – 7 Nov 1910	26	**~13,000,000**
1913	**International Universal Exhibition of Ghent 1913** – Ghent, Belgium	26 Apr 1913 – 3 Nov 1913	24	**9,503,419**
1915	**Panama-Pacific International Exposition** – San Francisco, United States	20 Feb 1915 – 4 Dec 1915	41 *	**18,876,438**
1924–1925	British Empire Exhibition – Wembley, United Kingdom	23 Apr 1924 – 1 Nov 1924, 9 May 1925 – 31 Oct 1925	56 *	**~25,000,000**

1929	**International Exhibition of Barcelona 1929** – Barcelona, Spain	20 May 1929 – 15 Jan 1930	29	**~5,800,000**
1933–1934	**A Century of Progress, International Exposition** – Chicago, United States	27 May 1933 – 12 Nov 1933, 1 June 1934 – 31 Oct 1934	21	**38,872,000**
1935	**Exposition universelle et internationale de Bruxelles 1935** – Brussels, Belgium	27 Apr 1935 – 6 Nov 1935	25	**~20,000,000**
1937	**Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne** – Paris, France	25 May 1937 – 25 Nov 1937	45	**31,040,955**
1939–1940	Golden Gate International Exposition – San Francisco, United States	18 Feb 1939 – 29 Oct 1939, 25 May 1940 – 29 Sep 1940	27	**~17,000,000**
1939–1940	**New York World's Fair** – New York, United States	30 Apr 1939 – 31 Oct 1939, 11 May 1940 – 27 Oct 1940	54 *	**~44–45,000,000**
1949–1950	**Bicentennial International Exhibition of Port-au-Prince, 1949–1950** – Port-au-Prince, Haiti	8 Dec 1949 – 8 Jun 1950	18	**~250,000**
1958	**Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Bruxelles - Wereldtentoonstelling Brussel 1958** – Brussels, Belgium	17 Apr 1958 – 19 Oct 1958	39	**41,454,412**
1962	**Century 21 Exposition** – Seattle, United States	21 Apr 1962 – 21 Oct 1962	49	**~9,000,000**
1967	**Universal and International Exhibition Montreal Expo '67** – Montreal, Canada	28 Apr 1967 – 29 Oct 1967	62	**50,306,648**
1970	**Japan World Exposition Osaka 1970** – Osaka, Japan	15 Mar 1970 – 13 Sep 1970	77 *	**64,218,770**

1988	Expo ’88 – Brisbane, Australia	30 Apr 1988 – 30 Oct 1988	41 *	18,574,476
1992	**Universal Exhibition of Seville** – Seville, Spain	20 Apr 1992 – 12 Oct 1992	108 *	**41,814,571**
2000	**Expo 2000 Hannover** – Hannover, Germany	1 Jun 2000 – 31 Oct 2000	174	**18,100,000**
2005	**Expo 2005 Aichi, Japan** – Aichi, Japan	25 Mar 2005 – 25 Sep 2005	121 *	**22,049,544**
2010	**Expo Shanghai 2010** – Shanghai, China	1 May 2010 – 31 Oct 2010	246 *	**73,085,000**
2015	**Expo 2015 Milan** – Milan, Italy	1 May 2015 – 31 Oct 2015	139	**~21,500,000**
2020	**Expo 2020 Dubai** – Dubai, UAE	1 Oct 2021 – 31 Mar 2022 (postponed from 2020)	200 *	**24,102,967**
2025	**Expo 2025 Osaka Kansai** – Osaka, Japan	13 Apr 2025 – 13 Oct 2025	159	**29,017,924**

Appendix B: Australasian Exhibitions in the Nineteenth Century

Between 1855 and 1914, an international exhibition involving more than twenty nations was held somewhere in the world on average every two years.[1071] However, many types of exhibitions – international, national, colonial, industrial, regional – were held worldwide, particularly prior to the Bureau International des Expositions' creation in 1928. In the Australasian colonies, exhibitions were likewise prevalent but have been little studied to date, and no comprehensive list has yet been published. To assist with understanding the exhibition landscape of the period, a timeline of Australasian international exhibitions has been collated below. Data has been sourced from Johnston,[1072] Findling and Pelle,[1073] and, primarily, nineteenth-century newspaper records. In this appendix, 'international' includes exhibitions styled as intercolonial or industrial where participation extended beyond a single colony.

Table B1: Australasian Intercolonial and International Exhibitions, 1854–1900

Year	**Exhibition**	**Place**
1854	Melbourne Exhibition	Melbourne, Victoria
1861	The Queensland Exhibition [also known as the Brisbane Exhibition, a precursor to the 1862 London International Exhibition]	Brisbane, Queensland
1861	The Victorian Exhibition 1861	Melbourne, Victoria
1862	Church of England Fancy Bazaar and Industrial Exhibition	Dunedin, New Zealand
1862–1863	Exhibition of Art, Science and Industry	Geelong, Victoria
1865	New Zealand Exhibition	Dunedin, New Zealand
1866	National Industrial Exhibition [also known as the Ballarat Exhibition]	Ballarat, Victoria
1866–1867	Intercolonial Exhibition of Australasia	Melbourne, Victoria
1870	Intercolonial Exhibition of General Industries and Arts	Sydney, New South Wales
1872–1873	The Victorian Exhibition 1872–73	Melbourne, Victoria

[1071] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas,* 15.
[1072] Johnston, *Representing the Pacific.*
[1073] Findling and Pelle, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs.*

1872–1873	New Zealand Interprovincial Exhibition	Christchurch, New Zealand
1873	Metropolitan Intercolonial Exhibition	Sydney, New South Wales
1873	Nelson Horticultural, Art and Industrial Exhibition	Nelson, New Zealand
1875	Victorian Intercolonial Exhibition	Melbourne, Victoria
1875	The Intercolonial Exhibition	Sydney, New South Wales
1876	Adelaide Industrial Exhibition	Adelaide, South Australia
1876	Intercolonial Exhibition	Brisbane, Queensland
1877	Sydney Metropolitan Intercolonial Exhibition	Sydney, New South Wales
1877	Adelaide Industrial Exhibition	Adelaide, South Australia
1878	Australian Juvenile Industrial Exhibition	Ballarat, Victoria
1879	Juvenile Industrial Exhibition	Bendigo, Victoria
1879	Geelong Juvenile and Industrial Exhibition	Geelong, Victoria
1879	Intercolonial Juvenile Industrial Exhibition	Sydney, New South Wales
1879	Sydney International Exhibition	Sydney, New South Wales
1879–1880	Intercolonial Juvenile Industrial Exhibition	Melbourne, Victoria
1880	Christchurch Industrial Exhibition	Christchurch, New Zealand
1880	Industrial and Juvenile Exhibition	Adelaide, South Australia
1880–1881	Melbourne International Exhibition	Melbourne, Victoria
1881	Adelaide Exhibition	Adelaide, South Australia
1881	Ashburton Industrial Exhibition	Ashburton, New Zealand
1881	Wellington Industrial Exhibition	Wellington, New Zealand
1881	Dunedin Industrial Exhibition	Dunedin, New Zealand
1882	New Zealand International Exhibition	Christchurch, New Zealand
1883	Tasmanian Juvenile and Industrial Exhibition	Hobart, Tasmania
1883	Launceston Art and Industrial Exhibition	Launceston, Tasmania
1883–1884	Christchurch Industrial Exhibition	Christchurch, New Zealand
1884	Victorian International Exhibition 1884 of wine, fruit, grain and other products of the soil of Australasia	Melbourne, Victoria
1884	Grand Industrial Exhibition	Adelaide, South Australia
1884–1885	Victorians' Jubilee Exhibition	Melbourne, Victoria
1885	New Zealand Industrial Exhibition	Wellington, New Zealand
1886	Juvenile and Industrial Exhibition	Bendigo, Victoria
1886	Launceston Industrial Exhibition	Launceston, Tasmania

1886	West Australian Exhibition	Perth, Western Australia
1887	Geelong Jubilee Juvenile and Industrial Exhibition	Geelong, Victoria
1887–1888	Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition	Adelaide, South Australia
1888–1889	Melbourne Centennial Exhibition	Melbourne, Victoria
1888–1889	Victorian Juvenile Industrial Exhibition	Melbourne, Victoria
1889	New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition	Dunedin, New Zealand
1890	Australian Juvenile Industrial Exhibition	Ballarat, Victoria
1891	Industrial Exhibition of South Australian Industries, Products and Manufactures	Adelaide, South Australia
1891	Exhibition of the Industrial and Fine Arts	Taranaki, New Zealand
1891–1892	Tasmanian International Exhibition	Launceston, Tasmania
1894–1895	Tasmanian International Exhibition	Hobart, Tasmania
1895	Exhibition of Art and Industry	Adelaide, South Australia
1895	Australian Industrial Exhibition	Ballarat, Victoria
1895	Christchurch Industrial Exhibition	Christchurch, New Zealand
1896–1897	Wellington Industrial Exhibition	Wellington, New Zealand
1897	Queensland International Exhibition	Brisbane, Queensland
1898–1899	Industrial and Mining Exhibition	Auckland, New Zealand
1898	Otago Jubilee Industrial Exhibition	Dunedin, New Zealand
1898	Tasmanian Juvenile Industrial Exhibition	Launceston, Tasmania
1899	Western Australian International Mining and Industrial Exhibition [Coolgardie International Exhibition]	Coolgardie, Western Australia
1900	Century Exhibition of Arts and Industries	Adelaide, South Australia
1900–1901	Canterbury Jubilee Industrial Exhibition	Christchurch, New Zealand

Appendix C: International Exhibitions in New Zealand

The table below presents the dates and total visitor numbers for the national, international and industrial exhibitions held in New Zealand between 1865 and 1940. The frequency of large-scale exhibitions declined after 1940 and ceased altogether following the unsuccessful 1990 sesquicentennial exhibition in Wellington.

However, overall exhibition attendance increased markedly in the twentieth century compared with the nineteenth century. This rise can be attributed partly to exhibitions being scheduled during the summer months, as well as to their declining frequency, which led to greater promotional effort for the few that were held.[1074] Improvements in transportation also made travel faster, easier and more affordable for visitors. The most highly attended exhibition was the New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition held in Dunedin in 1925–1926, which attracted over three million visitors – more than twice New Zealand's population at the time. As can be seen below, South Island cities held the majority of exhibitions until the twentieth century, primarily due to the greater industrial development of the South Island compared with the North Island's slower and more difficult development in settlement and communications.[1075]

The data below are collated from *Auckland Star, Evening Star, Otago Daily Times, Otago Witness, South Canterbury Times* and *Star (Christchurch)* newspaper records, with reference to data in published sources by McLean and Phillips for the bolded key exhibitions.[1076] The six exhibitions in bold are those which were international in scope.

Table C1: National and International Exhibitions Held in New Zealand, 1862–1940

Year	Title	Location	Exhibition Dates	Days	Attendance
1862	Church of England Fancy Bazaar and Industrial Exhibition	Dunedin	16 Dec – 20 Dec 1862	5	n/a
1865	**New Zealand Exhibition**	**Dunedin**	**12 Jan – 6 May 1865**	**116**	**31,250**
1872–1873	New Zealand Interprovincial Exhibition	Christchurch	16 Dec 1872 –	24	n/a

[1074] Phillips, "Exhibitions and World's Fairs."
[1075] Smith, *The History of New Zealand Exhibitions*, 10.
[1076] McLean, "The Colony Commodified"; Phillips, "Exhibitions and World's Fairs."

			8 Jan 1873		
1873	Nelson Horticultural, Art and Industrial Exhibition	Nelson	25 Nov – 28 Nov 1873	4	n/a
1880	Christchurch Industrial Exhibition	Christchurch	15 Jul – 20 Jul 1880	6	24,000
1881	Ashburton Industrial Exhibition	Ashburton	28 Mar – 30 Mar 1881	3	n/a
1881	Wellington Industrial Exhibition	Wellington	23 May – 28 May 1881	6	n/a
1881	Dunedin Industrial Exhibition	Dunedin	14 Jun – 12 Jul 1881	29	~45,000
1882	**New Zealand International Exhibition**	**Christchurch**	**10 Apr – 14 Jul 1882**	**96**	**226,300**
1883–1884	Christchurch Industrial Exhibition	Christchurch	17 Dec 1883 – 2 Feb 1884	48	n/a
1885	New Zealand Industrial Exhibition	Wellington	1 Aug – 31 Oct 1885	92	133,000
1889–1890	**New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition**	**Dunedin**	**26 Nov 1889 – 19 Apr 1890**	**145**	**625,478**
1891	Taranaki Jubilee	New Plymouth	29 Mar – 5 Apr 1891	8	n/a
1895	Christchurch Industrial Exhibition	Christchurch	29 Aug – 14 Oct 1895	47	~80,000
1896–1897	Wellington Industrial Exhibition	Wellington	18 Nov 1896 – 3 Feb 1897	78	~180,000
1898	Otago Jubilee Industrial Exhibition	Dunedin	22 Mar – 4 Jun 1898	75	~200,000
1898–1899	Industrial and Mining Exhibition	Auckland	1 Dec 1898 – 18 Feb 1899	80	~250,000
1900–1901	Canterbury Jubilee Industrial Exhibition	Christchurch	1 Nov 1900 – 31 Jan 1901	92	~250,000
1906–1907	**New Zealand International Exhibition**	**Christchurch**	**1 Nov 1906 – 15 Apr 1907**	**166**	**1,967,632**
1911	Coronation Industrial Exhibition	Wellington	24 May – 29 Jul 1911	67	164,620
1913–1914	Industrial, Agricultural and Mining Exhibition	Auckland	1 Dec 1913 – 18 Apr 1914	139	~800,000

1921	New Zealand Industries Exhibition	Wellington	27 Oct – Early Nov 1921	~7–15	n/a
1922–1923	Dominion Industrial Exhibition	Christchurch	18 Nov 1922 – 6 Jan 1923	50	~120,000
1923–1924	British and Intercolonial Exhibition	Hokitika	15 Dec 1923 – 2 Feb 1924	50	~70,000
1924	Dominion Industrial Exhibition	Auckland	10 Jun – 28 Jun 1924	19	~150,000
1925	Dominion Industrial Exhibition	Wellington	30 Jul – 15 Aug 1925	17	~100,000
1925–1926	**New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition**	**Dunedin**	**17 Nov 1925 – 1 May 1926**	**166**	**3,200,498**
1939–1940	**New Zealand Centennial Exhibition**	**Rongotai, Wellington**	**8 Nov 1939 – 4 May 1940**	**179**	**2,641,043**

Appendix D: An Overview of the Early Life of Julius von Haast

Born Johann Franz Haast in Bonn, Germany, in 1822, Haast developed a wide-ranging interest in the natural sciences at an early age, particularly geology and mineralogy, although he never completed formal university training.[1077] Much about his early life remains obscure, and surviving biographical accounts are frequently contradictory.[1078] It is accepted, however, that Haast travelled widely in Europe as a young man, possibly as a trader of mineral specimens.[1079] The earliest surviving document in the Haast Family Papers at the Alexander Turnbull Library is a Masonic certificate from Belgium dated 1842, in which Haast altered his name from "Jean" (the French form of Johann) to "Jules," the French equivalent of Julius.[1080]

In 1844 Haast moved to the free city of Frankfurt am Main, relinquishing his Prussian citizenship two years later to become a Frankfurt citizen.[1081] There he became active in the musical community, taking singing and violin lessons, and met his first wife, Antonie Auguste Caroline Schmitt, a pianist from a prominent musical family.[1082] They married on 26 October 1846, and their son, Mathias Robert Haast, was born on 10 January 1848.[1083] Robert was raised by his mother's family after Antonie's death in 1859 and went on to serve in the Prussian military. He did not see his father again until Haast's European tour in 1886.[1084]

Haast himself pursued a series of commercial ventures in Frankfurt, working variously as a textile and flower trader, haulage contractor, salesman and bookseller.[1085] In 1857, Haast was commissioned to translate Charles Hursthouse's *New Zealand, or Zealandia, the Britain of the South* into German, although his name does not appear on the publication.[1086] If Haast was indeed the translator, this work likely sparked his interest in New Zealand and led to his

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[1077] Nathan, "A Short Biography of Sir Julius von Haast," 11.
[1078] Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 18.
[1079] Ibid.,19, 24. Note that while von Haast (1948) and Sheets-Pyenson (1988) states Haast worked for August Krantz of Bonn, a well-known dealer in geological and mineralogical specimens, later research cast some doubt on this. Langer (1992, 278) found that according to the company archives there was no evidence for such a business connection.
[1080] Nolden, "The Life and Legacy of Sir Julius von Haast," 71.
[1081] Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 22.
[1082] Ibid.; Nolden, "The Life and Legacy of Sir Julius von Haast," 70.
[1083] Burrows, *Julius Haast in the Southern Alps*, 18.
[1084] Nolden, "The Life and Legacy of Sir Julius von Haast," 70.
[1085] Caudel, *Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation,* 13.
[1086] Nathan, "A Short Biography of Sir Julius von Haast," 11.

engagement with the London shipping firm Willis, Gann and Company, who in 1858 commissioned him to assess prospects for German emigration to New Zealand.[1087]

Haast departed Gravesend, England, aboard the *Evening Star* on 11 September 1858, arriving in Auckland on 21 December.[1088] The following day the Austrian frigate *Novara* arrived, carrying scientists on a world expedition.[1089] On board was Hochstetter, who had been invited to conduct a reconnaissance survey of Auckland Province.[1090] Haast requested to join him, and the two soon formed a working partnership which launched Haast's scientific career.[1091] Hochstetter later noted that Haast became his "inseparable travelling companion."[1092] Their 1859 surveying of Auckland and Nelson gave Haast valuable field experience, including geological and topographical mapping, and a growing scientific reputation.[1093] When Hochstetter returned to Vienna in late 1859, he recommended to the Nelson Provincial Government that Haast complete the survey.[1094] Haast's 150-page report on the results, published in March 1861, earned him an honorary doctorate from the University of Tübingen in 1862.[1095]

During this period, Haast also wrote travel articles for leading German journals and contributed under the pseudonym "Julius Hanf" to the *Wiener Zeitung* in April 1859, continuing the series begun by Hochstetter.[1096] Haast also translated a *New Zealand Handbook* into German for his immigration work with Willis, Gann and Company.[1097] Despite his overall positive reports, Haast was disturbed by the ongoing New Zealand Wars,

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[1087] Nolden, "The Life and Legacy of Sir Julius von Haast," 74.
[1088] Ibid., 71.
[1089] Michael King, *The Collector: A Biography of Andreas Reischek* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1981), 25.
The Novara expedition of 1857–59 was an Austrian initiative sponsored by the Archduke Maximilian. It involved a scientific staff of seven, including Professor Ferdinand von Hochstetter.
[1090] Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 26; King, *The Collector*, 25.
After the *Novara* docked at Auckland on 22 December 1858, Hochstetter was asked by the Provincial Government to undertake a geological survey and to examine coalfields at Drury and Hūnua. Officials were so impressed that they requested further surveys in the Auckland and Nelson provinces and Hochstetter remained in the country nine months. The *Novara* returned to Europe without him.
[1091] Nathan, "A Short Biography of Sir Julius von Haast," 11.
[1092] King, *The Collector*, 26. At the time, Haast was aged 36 and Hochstetter 29.
[1093] Nathan, "A Short Biography of Sir Julius von Haast," 11.
[1094] Burrows, *Julius Haast in the Southern Alps*, 21.
[1095] Johannes Mattes, "Working from Overseas: The New Zealand Naturalist and Collector Julius von Haast and European Scientific Societies on the Other Side of the Globe," *Canterbury Museum Bulletin* 11 (2022), 138.
[1096] Nolden, "The Life and Legacy of Sir Julius von Haast," 74.
[1097] Willis Gann to Superintendent of Canterbury, "Introduction for Julius von Haast," September 10, 1859, R22188615, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch.

particularly in Taranaki. By 1860 he declined to support further emigration schemes, resigning as an immigration agent.[1098]

Haast's scientific career accelerated rapidly. In 1861, he was appointed Provincial Geologist of Canterbury, after he had completed a geological survey of Banks Peninsula and provided a positive report regarding the prospects of continuing work on the stalled railway tunnel between the Port of Lyttelton and the Canterbury Plains.[1099] Hochstetter published the book *New Zealand: Its Physical Geography, Geology and Natural History* in 1867, detailing Haast's service to him in Auckland and Nelson.[1100] This publication brought Haast's name before the eyes of scientists around the world.

Haast would go on to be Provincial Geologist of Canterbury for seven years.[1101] Over this time, Haast and his assistants systematically explored the eastern catchments of the Southern Alps, mapping mountains, valleys and glaciers, and producing important field sketches.[1102] The results were eventually published as *Geology of the Provinces of Canterbury and Westland*.[1103]

Hooker and Hochstetter were both influential friends, and Haast took full advantage of their acquaintance to gain membership to scientific societies, starting with the Imperial Geographical, Zoological and Geological Societies of Vienna, with honours later bestowed by the Geological Societies of London, Edinburgh and Berlin, the Royal Societies of Dublin and Victoria, and the Linnean Society of London.[1104] Haast was self-consciously ambitious, admitting: "Everybody has his little weaknesses, mine is amongst many others that I am ambitious."[1105] In 1864, he asked to be nominated to become a Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS), which Hooker obliged although not before nominating Hector, with Hector elected in

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[1098] Burrows, *Julius Haast in the Southern Alps*, 21; Hogben, "Biography of Julius Haast," 5.
[1099] Burrows, *Julius Haast in the Southern Alps*, 23–24; Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 39.
[1100] Caudel, *Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation,* 49.
[1101] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 39.
[1102] For an overview of Haast's surveying and exploration work, see Burrows, *Julius Haast in the Southern Alps*; and Bradshaw, 27–46.
[1103] Julius von Haast, "Geology of the Provinces of Canterbury and Westland, New Zealand. A Report Comprising the Results of Official Explorations," (The Times Office, 1879).
[1104] Julius von Haast to James Hector, November 5, 1862, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector*, 25; Hogben, "Biography of Julius Haast," 16.
[1105] Julius von Haast to James Hector, January 10, 1864, published in Nolden et. al. *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector*, 60.

1866 and Haast elected in 1867.[1106] Hooker also supplied seeds and plants for Haast's growing museum, such as in February 1864 when he sent a "huge parcel" of 900 seeds.[1107] Haast sent Hooker alpine plants in return.[1108] Social hierarchies and connections were central to nineteenth-century culture, and Haast carefully cultivated his friendships.[1109]

From his arrival in New Zealand, Haast adopted the name Julius and signed his name Julius Haast.[1110] After Antonie's death in 1859, Haast chose to remain in the colony, becoming a naturalised British subject in 1861 and joining the Anglican Church.[1111] Two years later, he married Mary Ann Dobson; together, they had five children.[1112] His name on their 1863 marriage certificate appears as John Francis Julius Haast.[1113] In 1865, following determined lobbying by Hochstetter, Haast was awarded the Order of Franz Joseph from Vienna and in 1875 he received an Austrian hereditary knighthood, the Order of the Iron Cross, adding "von" to his name and consolidating his reinvention as Julius von Haast.[1114] In 1886, Haast received his long-awaited knighthood and transformed into Sir Julius von Haast.[1115]

[1106] Joseph Dalton Hooker to James Hector, November 24, 1865, in Yaldwyn and Hobbs, eds., *My Dear Hector,* 63; Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker,* 77.
[1107] Joseph Dalton Hooker to Julius von Haast, February 18, 1864, in Nolden et. al., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker,* 64.
[1108] Joseph Dalton Hooker to Julius von Haast, December 12, 1866, in Nolden et. al., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker, 1861–1886,* 105.
[1109] Reid, *The Province of Science*, 13.
[1110] Maling and Nathan, "Haast, Julius von."
[1111] Caudel, *Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation,* 36 –37; Nathan, "A Short Biography of Sir Julius von Haast," 11.
[1112] Ibid.
[1113] Ibid.
[1114] Cooper, *Julius Haast, the Canterbury Museum and Māori*, 30; Martin Krenn, "Searching for the 'von': Details on the Elevation of Julius von Haast to the Austrian Nobility," *Canterbury Museum Bulletin* 11 (2022), 119.
[1115] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 175.

Family of Julius von Haast

Antonie Johanna Caroline Schmitt (1825–1859)	Haast's first wife, married 26 October 1846 in Frankfurt am Main. Antonie was the daughter of the pianist and composer Aloys Schmitt (1788–1866) and Auguste Caroline Wohl (1802–1872). Haast and Antonie had one son, Mathias Robert Haast (1848–1895), who was raised by his mother's family after her death.
Mary Ann von Haast née Dobson (1844–1913)	Haast's second wife, Mary, daughter of Canterbury Provincial Engineer Edward Dobson (1816–1908) and his wife Mary Ann Lough (1821–1913). Married 25 June 1863 in Christchurch. Haast and Mary had five children: • Heinrich Ferdinand von Haast (1864–1953) • George Augustus von Haast (1867–1954) • James Leopold von Haast (1868–1956) • Eva Veronica von Haast (1871–1909) • Julius Hermann von Haast (1873–1941)
Benjamin Edward Todhunter (1865–1952)	Haast's nephew, son of Caroline Todhunter née Dobson (1845–1932). He assisted Haast at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London 1886.

Appendix E: An Overview of the Early Life of James Hector

James Hector was born in Edinburgh on 16 March 1834 into a comfortably middle-class family. Educated at Edinburgh Academy and later Edinburgh High School, he left at fourteen and briefly worked in his father's legal office before beginning an apprenticeship with an actuary while attending evening science classes.[1116] His aptitude for chemistry and natural history led him to matriculate in medicine at the University of Edinburgh in 1852.[1117] In the absence of science degrees until the 1870s, medicine was considered basic training for anyone interested in the natural sciences.[1118] Although he qualified with an M.D. in 1856, Hector never practised medicine, viewing it instead as a foundation for a scientific career.[1119]

At university, he studied geology and mineralogy under Professor Edward Forbes, and he attended lectures by Robert Jameson and John Hutton Balfour.[1120] By the time he graduated, Hector had amassed substantial field experience.[1121] He completed a master's thesis titled *Sketches of Evidence concerning the Antiquity of the Human Race,* the same title as the well-known book published by Charles Lyell in 1863.[1122] As noted by Jenkinson, this showed Hector's "bent towards pure science."[1123]

Hector's first major opportunity came in 1857, when Balfour recommended him as geologist and medical officer on the British North American Exploring Expedition (1857–60), led by Captain John Palliser.[1124] Backed by the Royal Geographical Society and the Colonial Office, the expedition aimed to chart possible transport routes through the Rocky Mountains to find a pass suitable for a transcontinental railway to the Pacific coast.[1125] Endorsed by Roderick

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[1116] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 13; Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 13–15.
[1117] Ibid.,15.
[1118] Simon Nathan et al., "Introduction," in *The Amazing World of James Hector*, 1st ed, Awa Science (Awa Press, 2008), 1.
[1119] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 15.
[1120] Ibid., 17; Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 14. Professor Edward Forbes, a former president of the Geologist Society of London, included lectures on mineralogy and palaeontology. Professor Robert Jameson occupied the Chair of Natural History at the University of Edinburgh from 1804 till 1854 and taught a systematic course of study in geology, supplemented by field excursions. Professor John Hutton Balfour, Professor of Botany in the University, took students on botanical excursions every Saturday over many parts of the country.
[1121] Ibid.
[1122] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 19; Cox, *Men of Mark of New Zealand,* 97.
[1123] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 49.
[1124] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 34.
[1125] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 21, 33.

Murchison, Hector joined as surgeon-geologist and spent three arduous years conducting geological and ethnographic surveys across western Canada.[1126] Hector identified several passes, among them Vermilion Pass and the now-famous Kicking Horse Pass, which was named after an accident in which he was knocked unconscious by a horse and briefly thought dead by his companions.[1127]

Returning to London in 1860, Hector helped compile the expedition's final report, presented geological papers to the British Association, and co-authored ethnographic studies with W. S. W. Vaux in the *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*.[1128] Murchison ensured his election as a Fellow of both the Royal Geographical Society (FRGS) and the Geological Society (FGS) – an extraordinary honour for someone not yet thirty. Hector also curated and stored the specimens collected by the expedition, with the rocks and fossils going to the Museum of Practical Geology and the plant collections to the herbarium at Kew Gardens, his first foray into the museum world.[1129]

Following the Palliser Expedition, Hector received two offers: a post as a political agent and geologist in Kashmir, and another to lead a three-year geological survey in Otago, New Zealand. Although Kashmir was better paid and Otago offered few prospects beyond hard work, Murchison recommended Otago to Hector.[1130]

Otago's economy was stagnant by 1860, and Superintendent James Macandrew hoped that new mineral discoveries might spark prosperity.[1131] Through Murchison's recommendation, the Otago Provincial Council appointed Hector in 1861 at a salary of £800 per year – the highest-paid official position in the province.[1132] Hector offered "deep gratitude" to Murchison for the appointment.[1133] Before departing, he personally arranged the purchase of his surveying equipment, bought a set of typical mineral specimens,[1134] planned to study goldfields in Australia en route, and recruited chemist Charles Sturtevant Wood from the

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[1126] Ibid., 24.
[1127] Burton, *New Zealand Geological Survey,* 11.
[1128] Nathan, *James Hector*, 40.
[1129] Ibid., 41.
[1130] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science,* 51; Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 43.
[1131] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 43.
[1132] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 53; Reid, *The Province of Science*, 17–18.
[1133] James Hector to Roderick Murchison, January 17, 1861, M/H13/1, Micro-MS-Coll-20-1682, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[1134] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 39.

Bristol School of Mines as his assistant.[1135] Hector left London on 5 January 1862, arriving in Port Chalmers in April after a 102-day voyage.[1136]

Dunedin, founded by members of the Free Church of Scotland in 1848, had fewer than 2,300 residents in 1860 and the appearance of a frontier town, with wooden buildings, unsealed roads and only rudimentary drainage.[1137] However, the discovery of gold at Gabriel's Gully in May 1861 triggered a population boom. By Hector's arrival in April 1862, the residents exceeded 30,000.[1138] Between 1864 and 1881 Dunedin was the largest city in New Zealand.[1139]

Within weeks, Hector met the Superintendent, outlined his survey plans and secured a purpose-built office with laboratories and specimen storage.[1140] In a draft letter to Hooker he reported, "They have built me a capital office, museum store & laboratory, after my own plans."[1141] Within a week of his arrival, Hector had made contact with Haast,[1142] and the two men began a lively, occasionally turbulent correspondence that was to last for the next twenty-five years.

From the outset, Hector envisaged an integrated scientific survey encompassing geology, botany, zoology and meteorology – mirroring the interdisciplinary model of the Palliser Expedition.[1143] Including Hector, the Otago Geological Survey employed six to seven staff, as well as casual workers to assist fieldwork.[1144] Within a few months Hector had employed three men who were to remain with him for many years: chemist William Skey, clerk and meteorological observer Richard Benjamin Gore, and draughtsman and botanical artist John

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[1135] Hocken, "Exploring the South, Otago Provincial Government," 29. Almost immediately upon arrival in Dunedin, Wood was debilitated by health concerns exacerbated by the chilly weather, and by August was recommended to move to a warmer climate. Prior to doing so, he had taught and supervised William Skey, laboratory assistant, in chemical studies. Skey succeeded Wood upon his resignation.
[1136] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, February 20, 1862, in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker,* 33; Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 43–44.
[1137] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 47.
[1138] Ibid., 49.
[1139] Reid, *The Province of Science*, 6.
[1140] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 49.
[1141] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, July 9, 1862 in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 35.
[1142] James Hector to Julius von Haast, April 19, 1862 in Sascha Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector*, 7.
[1143] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 49.
[1144] Hocken, "Exploring the South, Otago Provincial Government," 29.

Buchanan.[1145] By late 1862, the Geological Department had classified over 500 mineral samples, and Hector was already complaining about the lack of storage space.[1146] By September, he had made a preliminary reconnaissance of one-third of Otago Province.[1147]

Between 1862 and 1864, Hector led extensive field expeditions across Otago and Southland, often accompanied by surveyor John Turnbull Thomson, mapping geological formations and identifying schist as the source of the region's alluvial gold.[1148] He predicted that only large-scale sluicing and reef mining could sustain production – an assessment later proven accurate.[1149] His surveys also assessed coal and limestone deposits and laid the groundwork for Otago's first scientific international exhibition.[1150]

He collected specimens from all his expeditions and sent many to Hooker at Kew for classification and identification. As Peggy Burton notes, during the "feverish rush of discovery from 1860 to 1875" hundreds of botanical and palaeontological specimens had to be shipped to England for detailed examination because the local scientists were too busy to classify them.[1151] Hector exemplified this in his work. He noted to Hooker that although he would keep "a full set" of collections for the future "Provincial Museum which they are going to let me build," he would send the rest to Hooker for classification, "so that you will be able to furnish me easily with the authentic names."[1152]

Hector's most ambitious venture in Otago was his 1863–1864 exploration of Fiordland, one of the last unmapped regions in New Zealand. Using the schooner *Matilda Hayes* as a base, he charted remote valleys and fiords, assisted by the intelligence of a local Māori family led

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[1145] Burton, *New Zealand Geological Survey,* 17; Nathan, James Hector: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 61, 113; Tyler, *Art in the Service of Science*, 19. Buchanan arrived in Port Chalmers in 1852 at the age of 30 and went on to accumulate a collection representative of Otago's flora totalling some 4,500 specimens, a set of 650 being retained for the future Otago museum, while the rest were forwarded to Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker at Kew. Hooker described Buchanan's collection as the most comprehensive collection received from Australasia.
[1146] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 139–40.
[1147] Ibid., *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 54.
[1148] Burnett, *The Life and Work of Sir James Hector*, 49; Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 51; Hocken, "Exploring the South, Otago Provincial Government," 31–32. John Turnbull Thomson (1821–1884) had been Otago Provincial Surveyor since 1856 and later became Surveyor-General for New Zealand. In December and January 1857–1858, Thomson carried out the first survey of Lakes Ōhau, Hāwea and Wānaka.
[1149] Burton, *New Zealand Geological Survey,* 12.
[1150] Ibid.
[1151] Ibid., 6.
[1152] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, May 11, 1863 in Burns and Nathan, eds., *My Dear Hooker*, 39.

by rangatira Tutoko.[1153] Hector presented Tutoko with gifts, and in return Tutoko gave him a large pounamu, now housed in the Otago Museum.[1154]

By mid-1864, Hector had completed a near-total geological reconnaissance of Otago. However, with limited political appetite for ongoing funding, the survey concluded in 1865.[1155] Despite his achievements in Otago, Hector never submitted a formal final report, a lapse that later drew criticism from the Provincial Council.[1156]

Family of James Hector

Maria Georgiana Hector née Monro (1840–1930)	Georgiana or Georgie, Hector's wife, was born in Nelson to Sir David Monro (1813–1877) and Lady Dinah Secker (1818–1882). Sir David was a politician who served as the Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1861 to 1870. Hector and Georgiana had nine children: • Barclay Hector (1869–1964) • Charles Monro Hector (1871–1935) • Constance Margaret Saxby née Hector (1873–1949) • David Carmichael Hector (1874–1875) • Douglas Hector (1877–1903) • Philip Landale Hector (1878–1879) • Lyell Hector (1882–1908) • Georgina Barton née Hector (1884–1979) • Marjory Hector (1886–1948)

[1153] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 58.
[1154] Ibid., 61; Doug Graham, "Ngai Tahu Settlement." October 14, 1998. *Beehive.govt.nz.* https://www.beehive.govt.nz/feature/ngai-tahu-settlement-120*.* Hector also named local features after the family, including Mount Tutoko, Sara Hills and May Hills (after Sara and May, the daughters of Tutoko) near the Kotuku River.
[1155] Reid, *The Province of Science,* 17–18.
[1156] Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 61, 72. Just before leaving Otago in August, Hector sent in a contents page for his report, and in October 1865 he wrote to the Superintendent writing that the report might be expected in the middle of next month, but it never appeared; Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast,* 456–57; Nathan, *James Hector*: *Explorer, Scientist, Leader,* 72.

Appendix F: An Overview of the Early Life of Captain Frederick Wollaston Hutton

Captain Frederick Wollaston Hutton is regarded as one of the founders of New Zealand geology and zoology.[1157] Born in November 1836 in Lincolnshire, England, Hutton was educated at Southwell Grammar School and at the Royal Naval Academy at Gosport, Hampshire.[1158] In 1854 he entered the Applied Science Department at King's College, London, to train as a civil engineer and studied mineralogy under Professor James Tennant, but at the outbreak of the Crimean War he joined the army as an Ensign in the 23rd Regiment (Royal Welsh Fusiliers) and saw active service in the Crimea and India.[1159] After returning to England, Hutton continued his training at Sandhurst and Woolwich, specialising in geology and mineralogy, and eventually attained the rank of Captain – a title he retained after moving to New Zealand.[1160]

In 1860, Hutton became associated with the British Geological Survey, accompanying officers over parts of Hampshire, Surrey, Berkshire and the Isle of Wight, and was elected a Fellow of the Geological Society of London.[1161] He went on to produce a geological map of Malta and published the article *The Importance of a Knowledge of Geology to Military Men*.[1162] After conversing with Andrew Ramsay, Director-General of the Geological Survey, on the matter of evolution, Hutton reviewed *On the Origin of Species* in the *Geologist*.[1163] He summarised each of Darwin's points and argued for the theory to be given due and serious consideration – reasoning against the "unjustness and uncharitableness of such attacks upon a new and well-studied theory."[1164] Hutton believed that the Biblical revelation and evolutionary science were mutually confirmatory, not contradictory.[1165] Darwin himself praised Hutton's

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[1157] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 62.
[1158] Russell, "Type Specimens of New Zealand Fishes," 216.
[1159] Dawson, *F.W. Hutton (1846–1905),* 9; Russell, "Type Specimens of New Zealand Fishes," 216.
[1160] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 62.
[1161] G. M. Thomson, "Biographical Notices: II: Frederick Wollaston Hutton." *New Zealand Journal of Science* 2, no. 7 (1885), 301; Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 63.
[1162] Campbell, "Hutton, the natural scientist"; G. M. Thomson, "Biographical Notices: II: Frederick Wollaston Hutton," 301; F. W. Hutton. The importance of a knowledge of geology to military men. *Journal of the Royal United Services Institution* 6(24), 342–360.
[1163] Dawson, *F.W. Hutton (1846–1905),* 10; F. W. Hutton, "Reviews: On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection; of the Preservation of Favoured Species in the Struggle for Life by Charles Darwin, M.A., London: John Murray. 1860," *The Geologist* 3, December (1860), 464–472.
[1164] Ibid., 466.
[1165] Stenhouse, *The 'Battle' Between Science and Religion,* 40.

sympathetic interpretation of his work, stating to his good friend Hooker: “he is one of the very few who see that the change of species cannot be directly proved & that the doctrine must sink or swim according as it groups & explains phenomena. It is really curious how few judge it in this way, which is clearly the right way.”[1166] Darwin congratulated Hutton directly: “I am much pleased to see how carefully you have read my Book, and, what is far more important, reflected on so many points with an independent spirit.”[1167]

In 1866, Hutton resigned his army commission and emigrated to New Zealand with his wife, Annie Montgomerie, and their two young children.[1168] They arrived in Auckland in June and Hutton wasted no time communicating his desire to work in the scientific realm. In a letter to Hector, then newly made Director of the New Zealand Geological Survey, he expressed enthusiasm for the position of Auckland Provincial Geologist:

> I am so fond of geology and natural history, and am so anxious to get employment in the scientific line, that I would willingly take the place for a very small salary, say £100 or £200 a year, and travelling expenses paid, and I am so interested in the volcanic phenomena of this province that I would sooner geologise here than anywhere else for twice the money. … I could also look after, and arrange, the Auckland Museum, which is sadly in want of somebody to look after it, as its contents are going to ruin.[1169]

By May 1867, Hutton was appointed Honorary Curator of the Auckland Museum, where he began organising its collections.[1170] Founded in 1852, by 1867 the museum was being relocated to a large basement room of the new Provincial Council offices on Princes Street.[1171] Merchant trader John Alexander Smith had been the first honorary secretary of the museum and assumed responsibility for coordinating Auckland’s contributions to

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[1166] Hutton had sent a copy of his review to Darwin and published an article in 1861, also in *The Geologist,* titled: *Some Remarks on Darwin’s Theory*. For Darwin’s full response to Hutton, see: Charles Darwin to Frederick Wollaston Hutton, April 20, 1861, DCP-LETT-3122, Darwin Correspondence Project, University of Cambridge, https://www.darwinproject.ac.uk; Charles Darwin to Joseph Dalton Hooker, April 23, 1861, DCP-LETT-3098, Darwin Correspondence Project, University of Cambridge, https://www.darwinproject.ac.uk
[1167] Ibid., April 20, 1861, DCP-LETT-3122.
[1168] “Shipping Intelligence,” *New Zealand Herald,* June 12, 1866, 3.
[1169] Frederick W. Hutton to James Hector, August 9, 1866, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 9.
[1170] Burton, *New Zealand Geological Survey,* 19; “Auckland Museum,” *Wanganui Chronicle,* June 15, 1867, 3.
[1171] "Provincial Council,” *New Zealand Herald,* June 18, 1867, 5.

London's Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in 1851.[1172] Encouraged by the industrial emphasis of the Great Exhibition, the original collections were focused on the region's economic botany, such as timber, clays, dyes, flax and wool.[1173] Without government support, Smith found himself in an untenable situation and left the museum in 1857, leaving the collections to fall slowly into disrepair.[1174]

Hutton arranged and classified the inconsistently recorded Auckland Museum collections, said to be in a "state of confusion," and worked hard to put them in "good order."[1175] He soon became frustrated with the lack of provincial government support, complaining that he was spending all his time "in arranging the Museum for nothing" and paying for turpentine and bottles for the taxidermy collections out of his own pocket.[1176] His dissatisfaction with the Auckland Provincial Council grew, and he expressed jealousy over the funding that the Canterbury Government had allocated for Haast's museum: "I wish I could get the semi-educated drunkards who govern up here, to do the same, but everything connected with education & science is ignored."[1177]

In late 1867, Hutton co-founded the Auckland Philosophical Institute with lawyer Thomas Gillies, hoping to cultivate Hector's patronage, particularly as the Institute was the first incorporated scientific society outside of Wellington.[1178] Auckland Museum was transferred to the Auckland Institute in October 1869.[1179] For all his frustrations, Hutton succeeded in improving the care of the collections during his time as Honorary Curator and also contributed eighteen papers to the Institute on geology alone, a pace of research he would

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[1172] McKay, *The Man and the Museum,* 59.
[1173] Ibid., 60–61.
[1174] Ibid., 61.
[1175] *Daily Southern Cross,* May 10, 1867, 4; "New Zealand Society," *Daily Southern Cross,* November 7, 1867, 3.
[1176] Frederick W. Hutton to James Hector, June 10, 1867, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 16–17; Ibid., August 10, 1867, 29–30.
[1177] Ibid., January 1, 1869, 78–79.
[1178] Reid, *The Province of Science,* 43. In the rooms of the Auckland Acclimatisation Society, Hutton and Gillies initiated the inaugural public meeting on November 6, 1867, to establish the Auckland Philosophical Society; soon renamed the Auckland Institute. The only prior Philosophical Society was that of Canterbury, co-founded by Haast in 1862. However, the Canterbury Society was not incorporated until its affiliation with the New Zealand Institute in 1867. Hutton and Gilles' meeting was called immediately following the General Assembly of New Zealand's constitution of the New Zealand Institute (now the Royal Society Te Apārangi).
[1179] "Auckland Institute," *New Zealand Herald,* October 19, 1869, 3.

keep up throughout his career regardless of duties or obligations.[1180] Robert Langley Holmes, friend of Haast, noted that the Institute "seem very industrious under Capt. Hutton."[1181]

Hector, thrilled to find a qualified geologist in the colony, employed Hutton on contract for various geological surveys from 1867 to 1869, including fieldwork in the Waikato, Thames and Great Barrier Island.[1182] Hector noted he was "quite pleased" with Hutton, given he was skilled in geology "& has a calm judgement & is not superstitious."[1183] In 1869, Hutton moved to Waikato and purchased a flax mill, but the venture soon proved financially unsound. He lamented to Hector that he "often wish[ed] now that I had never left you, but to give up my mill now would be to … leave me a beggar."[1184] After suffering a significant financial loss in 1871, Hutton once again turned to Hector for employment, asking to work as both a geologist and an assistant in the Colonial Museum.[1185] He realised that his true calling was "science with a fixed salary."[1186] Hutton was appointed Assistant Geologist to the Geological Survey on 15 April 1871.[1187]

During his three years working for Hector in Wellington, Hutton published several important catalogues of New Zealand's flora and fauna, including the *Catalogue of the Birds of New Zealand* (1871), drawn up chiefly from the Colonial Museum's collection of native birds, which had been purchased from lawyer and ornithologist Walter Buller.[1188] Buller "felt very sore" on hearing of this publication, given his own forthcoming catalogue published a year later.[1189] Hector also had Hutton compile catalogues of fish, echinoderms, land molluscs and fossils, published by the Colonial Museum and Geological Survey.[1190]

[1180] Dawson, *F.W. Hutton (1846–1905),* 12.
[1181] Robert Langley Holmes to Julius von Haast, September 10, 1868, in Burns and Nathan, eds., "My Dear Dr Haast," 31.
[1182]Dawson, *F.W. Hutton (1846–1905),* 111. Until Hutton's arrival, Hector had been the only qualified geologist working in the colony.
[1183] James Hector to Joseph Dalton Hooker, February 7, 1867, in Burns and Nathan, eds., "My Dear Hooker," 101.
[1184] Frederick W. Hutton to James Hector, November 21, 1870, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 119.
[1185] Ibid., February 29, 1871; April 23, 1871, 116–117, 128.
[1186] Ibid., January 23, 1871, 123.
[1187] Colonial Secretary to James Hector, April 15, 1871, MU000094/001/0452, Te Papa Tongarewa Archive, Wellington.
[1188] Fleming, "Buller, Hutton, Haast and Hector," 7.
[1189] Walter Buller to Frederick W. Hutton, April 19, 1875, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,*174.
[1190] See: Frederick Wollaston Hutton, *Fishes of New Zealand. Catalogue, with diagnoses of the species.* (James Hughes, 1872); Frederick Wollaston Hutton, *Catalogue of the Echinodermata of New Zealand, with diagnoses*

The post of Provincial Geologist of Otago had been vacant since Hector's departure for Wellington in 1865. In the middle of 1873, Hutton resigned as Assistant Geologist of the Geological Survey and briefly became Professor of Natural Science at the Wellington College prior to accepting the combined role of Provincial Geologist of Otago and Curator of the Otago Museum.[1191] It is clear from Hutton's correspondence with Haast that he had a falling out with Hector during his Wellington years, likely due to a clash in personality. Although never explicit, Hutton's letters are somewhat bitter, and he notes a particular breakdown in July 1872: "Because I differed from him in some professional points he has been giving out in Nelson that I am very insubordinate and ungrateful to him."[1192] Haast perceptibly noted: "I understand that Hector & Hutton do not at all pull well together."[1193]

Hutton's first impressions of Dunedin were favourable: "We like this place more the more we see of it. I am getting on very well so far, and find a very nice set of people here."[1194] Hutton had been in Dunedin twice before: in July 1871 and in January 1872.[1195] During the latter visit he gave a speech to the Otago Institute on the birds in the Otago Museum collection.[1196]

His tenure in Otago was marked by his ambitious geological surveys of the province, including a fifteen-month exploration of Otago, Southland and Stewart Island.[1197] His *Report on the Geology and Goldfields of Otago* (1875), co-authored with George Henry Frederick

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of the species (James Hughes, 1872); Frederick Wollaston Hutton, *Manual of the New Zealand mollusca a systematic and descriptive catalogue of the marine and land shells, and of the soft mollusks and polyzoa of New Zealand and the adjacent islands* (James Hughes, 1880).

[1191] *Daily Southern Cross*, March 10, 1870, 4; Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, 4–17 October 1873. It is unknown if Hutton was approached for the role of Provincial Geologist, or if he interviewed for it. It is likely that he discussed the possibility of the position during his visit to Dunedin in January 1872. On October 4, 1873, the Otago University Council read a letter from the Superintendent announcing his appointment. The letter also asked if an "arrangement could be made for the establishment of a Geological class in the University." A committee was created to arrange details with Hutton and by October 17, the minute book listed Hutton as the Geological Lecturer.

[1192] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, July 20, 1872, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 136–137.

[1193] Julius von Haast to Joseph Dalton Hooker, July 31, 1872, in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker,* 162–163.

[1194] Frederick W. Hutton to Julius von Haast, November 12, 1873, in Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton,* 140.

[1195] Campbell, "Hutton, the natural scientist," 2.

[1196] Ibid.

[1197] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 23.

Ulrich, was a landmark in New Zealand geology.[1198] The report was commissioned by the Otago Provincial Council. Although Hutton was primarily an academic naturalist, he clearly engaged with the economic dimensions of geological work in this publication, acknowledging auriferous (gold-bearing) gravels, quartz reefs and alluvial deposits with an eye to their commercial value and likely yields.[1199] At the same time, Hutton could not resist turning the report into a broader scientific exercise, delving into the stratigraphy and fossil content of Otago's rock formations, information of interest to geologists rather than miners.[1200] The report exemplifies how colonial geological surveys occupied an ambiguous space: they were publicly funded to serve economic purposes, yet the men leading them were all trained within a European academic tradition that valued systematic science for its own sake.

After the abolition of the provinces and transfer of the Otago Museum to the University in 1877, Hutton was appointed Professor of Natural Science at the University of Otago and official "Curator of the Museum" at £600 per annum.[1201] Two years later, Hutton resigned from his position to accept the Chair of Biology in Canterbury College, a role which later expanded to include zoology, geology and palaeontology, for a reduced salary of £400 per annum.[1202] He also became temporary curator of the Canterbury Museum after the death of Haast in 1887, a position he held until the appointment of osteologist Henry Forbes in late 1888.[1203] In turn, Hutton succeeded Forbes as permanent curator of Canterbury Museum in 1893.[1204]

Beyond his curatorial work, Hutton was deeply embedded in the scientific community. He was a member of the Auckland, Dunedin and Christchurch Institutes and the Wellington Philosophical Society; a fellow of the Geological Society of London; a corresponding member of the Zoological Society of London; and an honorary member of the Linnean Society of New South Wales. He was Vice President of the Auckland Acclimatisation Society, and in Dunedin

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[1198] Ibid., 65; F. W. Hutton and G. H. F. Ulrich, *Report on the Geology and Goldfields of Otago* (Mills, Dick and Co., 1875).
[1199] F. W. Hutton and G. H. F. Ulrich, *Report on the Geology and Goldfields of Otago*,155–235.
[1200] Ibid., see Sections III and IV, 23–74.
[1201] Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, February 13, 1877.
[1202] Ibid., November 3, 1879; Dawson, *F.W. Hutton (1846–1905),* 14.
[1203] MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 222.
[1204] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 66.

he formed the Dunedin Microscopical Society.[1205] He was secretary of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science from 1891 and president in 1902.[1206] In his Presidential Address, Hutton noted that it was "the greatest honour to which a scientific man in Australasia can aspire."[1207]

A prolific and studious academic, one bibliographic study credits Hutton with no less than 620 publications within the realms of zoology, palaeontology and geology.[1208] Hutton was a more than competent ornithologist, ichthyologist and entomologist who described countless numbers of new species. His work in palaeontology, particularly on molluscs, and his extensive cataloguing of the country's wildlife were foundational to the understanding of New Zealand's natural history. In recognition of his achievements, Hutton was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1892.[1209] His magnum opus, *Index Faunae Novae Zealandiae* (1904), listed and classified all known New Zealand animal species to date and represented the culmination of decades of systematic work.[1210]

In 1905, Hutton took leave to visit England but died aboard the *S.S. Rimutaka* on the return journey. He was buried at sea in the South Atlantic Ocean, near Cape Town.[1211]

[1205] *Daily Southern Cross*, March 10, 1870, 4; Carl Walrond, "Acclimatisation – Early acclimatisation societies," *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, accessed July 9, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/acclimatisation/page-2; *Otago Daily Times,* September 28, 1877, 2. The Auckland Acclimatisation Society was the first Acclimatisation Society in New Zealand, founded around 1861. Many followed, including in Whanganui and Nelson in 1863, and Otago and Canterbury in 1864. Their rules were very similar to the British Acclimatisation Society and focused on introducing all manner of new species to New Zealand as long as they were "innoxious."

[1206] Parton, "Hutton, Frederick Wollaston."

[1207] F. W. Hutton, *Presidential Address*, delivered in Hobart, January 8, 1902 (John Vail, Government Printer, 1902).

[1208] Dawson, *F.W. Hutton (1846–1905).*

[1209] Mildenhall et al., eds., *Transcriptions of Selected Letters from Frederick Wollaston Hutton*, 5.

[1210] Crane, "Rivalry and Cooperation," 48. Hutton's publication *The Animals of New Zealand: An Account of the Colony's Vertebrate Zoology* was published one year later, in 1905, and offered a more popular scientific synthesis compared to the scientific *Index Faunae Novae Zealandiae* (1904).

[1211] Parton, "Hutton, Frederick Wollaston."

Family of Frederick Wollaston Hutton

Annie Gouger Montgomerie Hutton (1845–1916)	Annie, Hutton's wife, was born in Lochgoilhead, Argyll, Scotland to Dr William Montgomerie (1797–1856) and Elizabeth Graham (1807–1855). Hutton and Annie married on 4 February 1863. They had six children: • Alice Montgomerie Grigg née Hutton (1864–1943) • Gilbert Montgomerie Hutton (1865–1911) • Mabel Montgomerie Rich née Hutton (1866–1944) • Ethel Montgomerie Lane née Hutton (1868–1956) • Hugh Montgomerie Hutton (1870–1918) • Vernon Montgomerie Hutton (1877–1949)

Appendix G: The Earliest Years of Otago Museum

The earliest serious consideration of an Otago provincial museum dates to 27 June 1851, with the founding of the Dunedin Mechanics' Institution by Reverend Thomas Burns.[1212] Globally, philosophical and mechanics' institutions sought to be vital centres of learning and education, inspired by the first Mechanics' Institute established in Glasgow by George Birkbeck in 1823.[1213]

As technological advancements accelerated during the British Industrial Revolution, a pressing need emerged for adult education in basic science, mathematics, English grammar and literacy. Voluntary institutions, particularly the mechanics' institutes, met that need through public lectures which often centred on scientific topics.[1214] Birkbeck organised a course of free lectures on 'the mechanical properties of solid and fluid bodies,' and by the fourth lecture of the course, 500 people were attending.[1215] By the 1850s, when the mechanics' institute movement reached its peak, approximately 600 similar institutions had been established throughout Britain alone.[1216] In New Zealand, mechanics' institutes were formed in every main settler centre throughout the 1840s and 1850s, and by 1873 nearly half of the public libraries and mechanics' institutes in New Zealand could be found in Otago.[1217] The main ethos of mechanics' institutes was scientific education.[1218]

The Dunedin Mechanics' Institution's objectives were to provide public lectures and classes "for Intellectual recreation, and advancement in Science, art and literature," establish a reading room, and eventually create a library and museum.[1219] While the Institution intended to offer affordable education and foster community connections, its focus was primarily on practical knowledge relevant to Otago's settler society – such as the uses of native woods – rather than abstract intellectual concepts. Despite these intentions, the

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[1212] Mechanics' Institute Minute Book 1859–1882, Preamble.
[1213] Walker, *The Development of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Britain and beyond*, 14.
[1214] Ibid., 5.
[1215] W. A. Munford, "George Birkbeck and Mechanics' Institutes," in *English Libraries 1800–1805,* London, 1958, 35.
[1216] Walker, *The Development of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Britain and Beyond*, 18–19.
[1217] Rachel Hurd, *Oamaru Athenaeum and Mechanics' Institute* (Honours thesis, University of Canterbury, 1995), 20.
[1218] For more on the intertwined relationship between education, science and mechanics' institutes, see: Steven Shapin and Barry Barnes. *Science, Nature and Control: Interpreting Mechanics' Institutes.* Social Studies of Science, Vol. 7 (1977), 31–74.
[1219] Mechanics' Institute Minute Book 1859–1882, April 16, 1859.

Institute's president James Macandrew lamented that little progress was made initially, with lectures only "occasionally delivered."[1220]

By 21 March 1859, discussions within the Mechanics' Institution turned towards amalgamation with the proposed Athenaeum.[1221] This merger gave rise to the Dunedin Athenaeum and Mechanics' Institution, which opened its library in 1863.[1222] Although this new iteration of the Institution saw some success, its object was amended to provide a "suitable Library and Reading Room" by October 1860, with no mention of a museum.[1223]

At the conclusion of the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition, after much deliberation, the exhibition building was converted into a hospital. Hector's "Otago Museum" collection was packed away, left to endure what was described as "three years of damp immurement" in a "very ugly iron store" on Great King Street.[1224] Fortunately, and quite remarkably, the taxidermied birds and other specimens did not suffer significant damage during this period.[1225]

From the outset, the New Zealand Exhibition commissioners, despite their strong Otago affiliations, favoured the establishment of a permanent colonial museum in London in order to advertise New Zealand as well as illustrate its resources.[1226] On 1 December 1864, the *Otago Daily Times* reported that Eccles had written to the Colonial Secretary stressing the importance of a Colonial Museum in London, and requesting that an appropriation of £3,000 be set aside to purchase exhibits for this purpose at the close of the exhibition. The Colonial Secretary replied that the government could not do so.[1227]

Eccles was an early advocate for the establishment of the Otago Museum and remained a leading figure in Dunedin's cultural life. A surgeon and lifelong lover of art, Eccles helped lead the construction of St Paul's Cathedral and chaired the committee that organised the 1862 Church of England Fancy Bazaar and Industrial Exhibition.[1228] Eccles also conceived the

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[1220] Mechanics' Institute Minute Book 1859–1882, Preamble.
[1221] Ibid., March 21, 1859.
[1222] "Dunedin Athenaeum," *Otago Witness*, September 28, 1866, 4.
[1223] "Dunedin Athenaeum and Mechanics' Institute," *Otago Daily Times,* January 12, 1864, 5; Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 11; Mechanics' Institute Minute Book 1859–1882, October 3, 1860.
[1224] "Otago Museum," *Otago Daily Times,* August 8, 1868, 7.
[1225] Ibid.
[1226] McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 10.
[1227] Ibid.
[1228] Nathan, *James Hector: Explorer, Scientist, Leader*, 63.

idea of the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition, intending it to demonstrate the colony's economic progress.[1229] Appointed commissioner alongside Hector, he was noted for his constant attendance at committee meetings and was described as "the 1865 Exhibition's planner and driving force."[1230] When the exhibition closed, the committee awarded him the sole gold medal produced for the event, "as a recognition of his indefatigable labours in originating and furthering the first New Zealand exhibition."[1231]

Prompted by a requisition from a "number of citizens," likely including Eccles and notable supporters Arthur Beverly and J. S. Webb, concerned about the Otago museum collection's future, the Solicitor-General of New Zealand appointed a museum committee in July 1868 responsible to the Otago Provincial Council.[1232] The museum committee held its first meeting in Superintendent James Macandrew's office on 1 July 1868.[1233] A suitable location for the museum was secured: the south gallery of the Post Office in Princes Street, located in Dunedin's Exchange area.[1234] Haast noted to Hector with delight, likely shared by many in Otago: "The Dunedin folks talk at last of having a Museum & they intend to arrange your former collections in some beautiful rooms in the new Post office."[1235]

During the second week of July, the collection was transferred from the Great King Street store to the new museum rooms.[1236] After three years of frustration and two-and-a-half months of intensive preparation, the initial Otago Museum officially opened to the public on 12 September 1868, with visiting hours on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.[1237]

The museum's layout included wall-mounted survey maps, geological drawings, and sectional diagrams. Notably displayed were Hector's geological map of the province and a reconnaissance map of the Lake District. The Zoological Room featured 200 taxidermy birds

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[1229] G. H. Scholefield, ed., "Eccles, Alfred," *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. I (Department of Internal Affairs, 1940), 130.
[1230] Ibid.
[1231] Ibid.
[1232] "Otago Museum," *Otago Daily Times,* July 2, 1868, 5. At the time, the Solicitor-General was John Hyde Harris, who held the position between 1867 and 1868 during the second Stafford Ministry. He served as Superintendent of Otago Province from 1863 to 1865.
[1233] Ibid. Present at the meeting were: the Superintendent; Mr L. O. Beale; Mr. R. McRobertson; Captain Fraser; Mr V. D. Murison; Mr. J. Hislop; Dr Hulme; and the Provincial Secretary and Treasurer.
[1234] Ibid.
[1235] Julius von Haast to James Hector and Alfred Eccles, May 1868 in Nolden et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Julius Haast and James Hector,* 133–134.
[1236] "Otago Museum," *Bruce Herald,* September 16, 1868, 7.
[1237] Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 2; "Otago Museum, *Bruce Herald,* September 16, 1868, 7.

representing seventy-eight species, primarily native to Otago, alongside a moa skeleton and preserved fish specimens used to demonstrate taxidermy techniques.[1238] As one commentator noted of the sparseness: "There is very much to be collected, before Otago will have such a Museum as ought to exist here."[1239] Given there were no funds available for the purchase of new acquisitions, and the museum had no surplus collections to trade, the new museum was to rely entirely on donations from the public.

To address the shortcomings, the museum committee placed a notice on the wall listing the types of donations they were "anxious" to receive. These included:

1. Local geological, botanical and zoological specimens;
2. A teaching collection of well-labelled animal and plant specimens;
3. An industrial collection showcasing natural productions;
4. A miscellaneous collection of rare or unusual specimens.[1240]

From the outset, the early Otago Museum faced significant financial challenges. On 7 September 1868, the museum committee reported that the £200 allocated by the Provincial Council for its establishment and maintenance was "totally insufficient."[1241] Outstanding expenses included £90 in rent arrears for the storage facility, £11 for transporting the collection, and further funds required for fitting out the rooms, purchasing new display cases and paying staff wages.[1242] It was resolved that "an appeal should be made to the public for subscriptions" to assist with expenditure.[1243]

In the first few months of the museum opening, newspaper articles discussed the institution. One reviewer described it as "not a pretentious establishment," calling it "nothing more than a collection – a very imperfect collection – of scientific curiosities."[1244] The *Southland Times* reported that the museum welcomed 1,100 visitors within its first nine days of operation.[1245] It was appreciated in the *Otago Witness* that the exhibits were "placed

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[1238] "Otago Museum," *Otago Daily Times,* August 8, 1868, 7.
[1239] Ibid.
[1240] "Otago Museum," *Bruce Herald,* September 16, 1868, 7.
[1241] Ibid.
[1242] Ibid.
[1243] "Otago Museum," *Otago Daily Times,* July 2, 1868, 5.
[1244] "Otago Museum," *Otago Witness,* August 16, 1868, 1.
[1245] *The Southland Times,* October 14, 1868, 2.

to the best possible advantage" and the rooms presented "a picture of methodological arrangement."[1246]

From 1868 to 1872, Otago Museum was in the care of acting curator Arthur Beverly. During this time, the *Otago Daily Times* reported that the collection "stood still from the want of an active controlling power," with few additions made since Hector's original curation.[1247] Yet, the museum remained alive in the public imagination. "The Dunedin Museum" even featured as a subject in singer and lyricist Charles Thatcher's concert on 28 January 1870.[1248]

Aberdeen-born Beverly was a watchmaker by trade and retired in 1865 while still in his forties. He devoted himself to scientific pursuits including astronomy, geometry, mechanics, geology and botany.[1249] Beverly was a member of the New Zealand Exhibition panel of judges and also an exhibitor, winning praise for two of his exhibits: a side-board clock and a planimeter for the measurement of irregular areas on maps and plans.[1250] Beverly became a member of the Otago Local Exhibition Committee who petitioned for a museum, a prominent museum committee member, and the leader for the sub-committee directly involved with the museum's day-to-day affairs.[1251] Although the Dunedin public respected his efforts, Beverly proved an ineffective administrator. Under his leadership, the museum saw little development, and its collections remained largely stagnant.[1252]

From its inception, there were growing calls to transfer control of the museum to a more specialised body, a move seen as essential for professionalising its operations and streamlining decision-making. Suggestions included placing it under the University of Otago or the newly formed Otago Institute. The Institute held its inaugural meeting on 19 July

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[1246] *Otago Witness,* December 12, 1868, 8.
[1247] *Otago Daily Times,* January 13, 1872, 2.
[1248] *Evening Star,* January 28, 1870, 3.
[1249] Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 29.
[1250] Hardwicke Knight and L. E. S. Amon, "Beverly, Arthur," *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, accessed December 14, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1b20/beverly-arthur.
[1251] McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 27, 29–30. The members of the first museum committee were: "The Superintendent; Mr L. O. Beale, Mr R McRobertson, Captain Fraser, Mr V. D. Murison, Mr J. Hislop, and Dr Hulme," *Otago Daily Times*, July 2, 1868, 5. Of these men, only Beverly and Dr [Matthew] Hulme appear to have been involved as members of the Otago Local Committee for the 1865 Exhibition. The sub-committee members were Captain Fraser, Mr L. O. Beale, and Arthur Beverly, with Beverly the convener. No minute book or correspondence has survived regarding this early museum committee, and apart from its inaugural meeting on 1 July 1868, few of its meetings were deemed newsworthy.
[1252] Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 29.

1869, with Beverly and Eccles serving as vice-presidents.[1253] It aimed to foster broad scientific engagement by encompassing a wide range of disciplines – a deliberate strategy to sustain interest and support within Otago's relatively small intellectual community.[1254] That same year, Eccles organised New Zealand's first major art exhibition, the Otago Fine Arts Exhibition.[1255] With Hector's assistance in sourcing artworks, the exhibition paved the way for the opening of New Zealand's first school of art in Dunedin in 1870.[1256]

In 1869 the recently established University of Otago moved into the same building as the museum.[1257] On 28 April, the University Council recorded a proposal that the museum "might very conveniently … be incorporated with the University, and placed more immediately under the charge of the Professor of Natural Science."[1258] This was resolved, establishing a formal connection that marked the beginning of a long-standing institutional relationship. Notably, the establishment of a chair of natural sciences as one of the foundational professorships was unprecedented, both in colonial and British university history.[1259] However, it was not until 1884 that the University of Otago gained the authority to confer degrees in science.[1260]

[1253] Ibid., 33.
[1254] Ibid., 31.
[1255] Rice, "A Red-Letter Day," 240.
[1256] Ibid.
[1257] Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, November 10, 1869; Morrell, *The University of Otago*, 1; Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 71.
The University of Otago was incorporated by a Provincial Ordinance of May 1869, and the first meeting of the Otago University Council was held on 10 November 1869. The origins of the University can be traced back to the fund established by the Otago scheme of settlement, which was part of the plan for founding a Free Church colony in New Zealand. Under an agreement between the Otago Association and the New Zealand Company, all land in the Otago block (which the New Zealand Company had bought in 1844 for £2,400) was to be sold to the settlers at £2 per acre, with one-eighth of the resulting revenue earmarked for religious and educational purposes. A portion of this fund was to support the construction of churches, schools and a college. Despite this ambitious plan, the scheme remained unrealised for 15 years until the discovery of gold at Gabriel's Gully in 1861. This discovery brought newfound prosperity to Dunedin and, by the end of the 1860s, the city began to take concrete steps toward the establishment of a university.
[1258] Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, April 28, 1870.
[1259] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 73–74; Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, November 10, 1869, April 28, 1870, and June 10, 1870. Originally the University Council could only afford to fund two academic chairs: one in classics and English literature, and another in mathematics and natural philosophy. To cover the cost of additional professors, the council petitioned the Otago Provincial Government for further support, specifically for a chair in natural sciences (chemistry and mineralogy). This appeal was successful, and the university was able to establish four chairs, with the mental and moral philosophy chair endowed by the Presbyterian Synod.
[1260] Jenkinson, *New Zealanders and Science*, 77. Prior to the BSc being offered from 1884, the BA was the only degree students could earn at the University of Otago. Scientific subjects like chemistry and zoology were

However, the Provincial Council's 1871–2 and 1872–3 financial estimates revealed a significant decline in institutional priority: the museum's annual budget halved from £200 to just £100.[1261] Even the initial amount had barely supported operational needs. Of the reduced grant, £75 went to caretaker Alexander Purdie, leaving almost no funding for acquisitions, maintenance or additional staff.[1262]

Recognising the museum's stagnation, the Provincial Council resolved in 1873 to dissolve the museum committee and replace it with a board of trustees.[1263] This marked the beginning of a gradual process to transfer control to the University of Otago. Although the plan was in motion by 1874, it was not formally completed until 1877, when the abolition of provincial governments made the transition unavoidable.[1264] It was at this time that the University of Otago became affiliated with the University of New Zealand and remained under its degree-granting authority until the University of New Zealand was disestablished in 1961.[1265]

Meanwhile, in 1871, Hutton was appointed as Assistant Geologist to the Geological Survey of New Zealand in Wellington. Over the next two years, he conducted surveys in Southland, the Kaikōura Coast and the East Coast.[1266] That same year, James Gow Black – a Scottish chemist and educator – was appointed the University's first Chair of Natural Science, and with it came responsibility for the museum.[1267] Public sentiment was optimistic about the museum's future under Black's stewardship.[1268]

However, Black's academic workload soon undermined these hopes. The Otago Provincial Council had tasked the University with providing instruction in both mining and agricultural chemistry, and the University Council had combined these responsibilities into the Chair of Natural Science.[1269] Although Black had expertise in each area, the breadth of the role

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included as options within the Bachelor of Arts. The initial curriculum and degree offerings reflected a classical liberal education model, patterned on Scottish universities like Edinburgh and St. Andrews.

[1261] "The Otago Museum," *Otago Witness,* February 8, 1873, 1; McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 31.

[1262] Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 34.

[1263] Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, October 17, 1873.

[1264] Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 34. The abolition of New Zealand's provincial councils officially occurred on January 1, 1877, following the Abolition of the Provinces Act 1875.

[1265] University of Otago, "History of the University of Otago," accessed February 18, 2026, https://www.otago.ac.nz/about/history

[1266] Burton, *New Zealand Geological Survey,* 19.

[1267] Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, February 22, 1871.

[1268] "The Chair of Natural Science," *Otago Witness*, January 20, 1872.

[1269] Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 35.

proved unmanageable. His time became even more limited in 1873 when he was appointed the Provincial Council Analyst, a position sanctioned by the University given the volume of analytical work he was already performing.[1270]

While Black was capable and well-respected, he was not, by inclination or training, a museum man.[1271] University of Otago Council minutes show that nearly all his requests were for laboratory equipment and chemical supplies, with only the occasional nod to museum needs, such as a granted request to purchase a new case for geological specimens.[1272] Although he encouraged public contributions and procured new collection items, including four cases of rocks and minerals, a collection of shells from Britain, and two large cases of British mosses,[1273] the museum remained largely neglected under Black's care.

By February 1873, criticism had grown. The *Otago Witness* described the museum as being "at a standstill" and "a reproach to the community." [1274] Visitor numbers had declined to a little over 200 per month.[1275] Another damning review in June 1873 stated, "As to the [Otago] Museum, too, it is a pity to say a great deal, as it would be very difficult to find a much worse one." [1276] This summed up public sentiment after five years of stagnation: the museum was still an underdeveloped institution, lacking both direction and adequate resourcing.

Likely due in part to the pressure for improvement, the Provincial Council raised the museum grant from £100 to £250 for the 1873–4 year.[1277] That same year, in a more decisive move toward revitalisation, Hutton was appointed to the role of Provincial Geologist and museum curator in November.[1278] According to Tūhura Otago Museum's *History,* Hutton is noted as Otago Museum's first official curator.[1279]

[1270] Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, July 11, 1872,
[1271] Morrell, *The University of Otago*, 45.
[1272] Otago University Council Minutes vol. I, May 29, 1873.
[1273] "Local and General," *Star (Christchurch),* September 16, 1873, 2.
[1274] "The Otago Museum," *Otago Witness,* February 8, 1873, 1.
[1275] Wells, *The Otago Museum, 1868–1879,* 41.
[1276] "The Universities," *Otago Witness,* June 28, 1873, 1.
[1277] McRobie, *An Administrative History*, 32.
[1278] *Otago Witness*, November 8, 1873, 19.
[1279] "History," *Tūhura Otago Museum,* accessed May 15, 2025, https://otagomuseum.nz/about/history/